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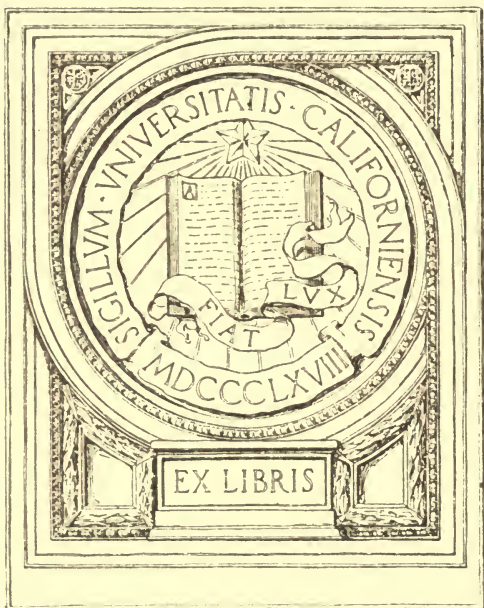
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IOWA BIOGRAPHICAL SERIES

SAMUEL JORDAN KIRKWOOD
—
CLARK



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IOWA BIOGRAPHICAL SERIES
EDITED BY BENJAMIN F. SHAMBAUGH

SAMUEL JORDAN KIRKWOOD



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BY

DAN ELBERT CLARK

THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF IOWA

IOWA CITY IOWA 1917

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EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION

SAMUEL J. KIRKWOOD is one of the outstanding figures in the political history of Iowa. Familiarly called the "War Governor", his name is perhaps more widely known than that of any other man in the annals of this Commonwealth. He was a pioneer, a westerner, a man of common sense and of decision. In his life and ideas he typifies much that is characteristic of the pioneer period in the history of Iowa.

BENJ. F. SHAMBAUGH

OFFICE OF THE SUPERINTENDENT AND EDITOR
THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF IOWA
IOWA CITY IOWA

AUTHOR'S PREFACE

THE life of Samuel Jordan Kirkwood is a part of the history of three Commonwealths. His boyhood and youth were spent in Maryland. In Ohio from 1835 to 1855 he practiced law, became prosecuting attorney of Richland County, and served in the convention which revised the State Constitution. Coming to Iowa at a time of great political upheaval, he was soon elected State Senator, and in 1860 was elevated to the position of Chief Executive. Subsequently he was United States Senator and Secretary of the Interior. But it is his service as the "War Governor" of Iowa from 1860 to 1864 that gives his name an assured place on the honor roll of the State and Nation.

In the pages which follow an attempt has been made to tell the story of Governor Kirkwood's life as far as possible by the use of his own letters and papers and those of his contemporaries. Hence the frequent quotations. This plan has been made possible by the great abundance of material. In fact, the problem with regard to sources was largely one of selection.

The manuscript sources are voluminous. Seven large *Military Letter-Books* for the Civil War period and three letter-books for the time when Kirkwood was Secretary of the Interior are in the possession of The State Historical Society of Iowa at Iowa City. In the Historical Department at Des Moines there is a large collection of letters written to Kirkwood, covering the period between 1850 and 1890. The Public Archives at Des Moines likewise contain a great mass of material bearing on his administrations as Governor. The printed sources are no less plentiful, as is indicated in the *Notes and References* at the close of the volume. It was of interest to the writer that most of the printed sources which he used were copies of books and pamphlets donated to The State Historical Society of Iowa by Mr. Kirkwood and bearing his name.

Special mention should be made of *The Life and Times of Samuel J. Kirkwood*, by Mr. Henry W. Lathrop, published in 1893. The manuscript of this volume was read and approved by Mr. Kirkwood before it was sent to the printer. Mr. Lathrop's work was therefore of no little assistance to the writer.

Among the persons to whom the writer is

indebted for help and information, his gratitude is first of all due to Mrs. Kirkwood, who is still living in the old home at Iowa City. Although nearly one hundred years of age her memory is remarkably keen and trustworthy. She generously placed valuable materials at the writer's disposal and furnished much personal information concerning her husband elsewhere unavailable.

The writing of this volume was suggested by the editor of the series, Dr. Benj. F. Shambaugh. To him the writer is under obligation, not only for his careful editing of the manuscript, but also for advice and encouragement throughout the preparation of the book. Miss Ruth Gallaher of the staff of The State Historical Society assisted in verifying the manuscript. Acknowledgments are due to Mr. Edgar R. Harlan, Curator of the Historical Department of Iowa, for facilitating the writer's researches in the materials at Des Moines.

DAN ELBERT CLARK

THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF IOWA
IOWA CITY IOWA

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I

BOYHOOD AND YOUTH IN MARYLAND AND
WASHINGTON CITY

THE War of 1812 was at its height when on December 20, 1813, there was born on a Maryland farm in the county of Harford a boy to whom was given the name of Samuel Jordan Kirkwood. Harford County, lying to the northwest of the head of Chesapeake Bay and west of the Susquehanna River and bordering on the Pennsylvania line, was not so far from scenes of hostility as to leave the inhabitants long in undisturbed peace of mind. As a matter of fact, in the spring of 1813 Havre de Grace, the principal coast town of the county, was the object of attack by British ships; while the late summer of the following year witnessed the destructive raid of the English through Baltimore to Washington City, not far to the southward.

The name Kirkwood was not unknown along the coast. Samuel's ancestors had come to this country in 1731 from Londonderry in the northern part of Ireland,¹ and found for themselves a home in New Castle, Delaware.² Here

the family was living when the Revolutionary War broke out, and one Robert Kirkwood³ enlisted and became a captain in the only regiment of troops furnished by Delaware. "The remnant of that corps, less than two companies, from the battle of Camden, was commanded by captain Kirkwood, who passed through the war with high reputation; and yet as the line of Delaware consisted but of one regiment, and that regiment was reduced to a captain's command, Kirkwood never could be promoted in regular routine. . . . Kirkwood retired, upon peace, a captain; and when the army under St. Clair was raised to defend the West from the Indian enemy, this veteran resumed his sword as the eldest captain of the oldest regiment." In the memorable defeat of St. Clair's army on November 4, 1791, Robert Kirkwood fell bravely fighting to avert what he must have known to be an inevitable disaster.⁴

Another Robert Kirkwood,⁵ the grandfather of Samuel, apparently became a well-to-do land owner, for he was able to start each of his five sons out in life with a goodly farm. To Jabez, the youngest son, born in 1776, he gave the quarter section of land in Harford County, Maryland, which was Samuel's birthplace. Jabez Kirkwood's first wife was Mary Coulson; and to them were born two sons, Robert and Coulson. But she died before many years, and

Jabez later married a widow named Wallace — a Scotch woman whose husband, a sea captain, had one day sailed for England and had never more been heard from. The children of this union were three sons, John, Wallace, and Samuel Jordan.⁶

On the Maryland farm Jabez Kirkwood made a comfortable living. The rather small, two-story log house, with its generous, old fashioned fire-place which had been built shortly before the Revolution, had received a substantial frame addition before Samuel's advent.⁷ Set on rising ground amid a small grove of trees it was clearly the home of a family able financially to enjoy at least the simple comforts of life. Possibly, however, the father could not have provided thus well for his family but for the fact that he was a blacksmith as well as a farmer. The blacksmith of that day was an important individual in any community, for many of the tools used on the farm and in the house were then the products of the smith's handicraft. The iron work of plows, chains, axes, knives, chisels, hay forks, nails, and many other articles were thus made. Jabez Kirkwood therefore found work to occupy much of his time at the forge; and to the older boys was left the management of the farm.

Thus the boyhood of Samuel Kirkwood was not overshadowed by the meagerness of oppor-

tunity which fell to the lot of so many who later attained prominence in public life. At the same time the economy of farm life at that day was extremely simple, even in the homes of the prosperous. Boiling, frying, baking, and roasting — all the operations of cooking — were done at the huge open fire-place, which was so large as “to use in one day wood enough to last a cook stove a whole week.”⁸ Within the home wool was carded, spun, and woven, and later made into clothing for the family — either by members of the family or by someone hired for the purpose. The shoemaker, likewise, made the round of the homes and, sitting in the kitchen with his kit of tools at hand, made all the shoes needed by members of the family. The days for going barefooted began as early as possible in the spring and extended oftentimes later than was comfortable into the fall, because it was sometimes late when the shoemaker arrived. Indeed, Samuel as a boy frequently “stood on the warm spots where the cows had lain over night to warm his toes chilled by the ungenerous frost”, when he was sent to drive up the animals for the morning milking.⁹

Since there were no girls in the family the lad doubtless ran more errands about the house and farm than did most boys, but he was not too early pressed into service unsuited to his years. In fact, his parents, both members of

the Presbyterian Church, in which the father was an elder, were firm believers in the virtues of education. And so, at a very early age he was sent to school in the log schoolhouse, with its oiled paper windows and split-log seats and desks, which stood on the corner of the Kirkwood farm. So anxious were his parents that he should be regularly in his place that he was frequently carried to school on the backs of his older brothers. Until he was ten years old he attended this country school, making such advancement that he was able to cipher as far as the "rule of three", an accomplishment which "in those days was deemed creditable in a youth of fifteen."¹⁰

Then at the age of ten the scenes of the boy's life were shifted and he found himself, not at home with his parents on a quiet Maryland farm, but almost alone among strangers amid the disconcerting noise and activity of the capital city of the Nation. It happened in this wise. Twenty-five years before, in 1798, one John McLeod, a man of some education, came to America from Ireland, which was then in the throes of a revolution, and engaged in teaching as a means of gaining a livelihood. In time he met, wooed and married a Miss Coulson, a sister of Mary Coulson who was Jabez Kirkwood's first wife. In this way the two men became brothers-in-law and friends. Later

John McLeod established a private school in Washington, D. C., engaging as an assistant his nephew, Robert Kirkwood, who was Samuel's elder half-brother. During vacations and at other times McLeod often found it pleasant to visit the family of his brother-in-law in Harford County; and perhaps he saw latent possibilities in the bright lad who was making such commendable progress in his studies in the log schoolhouse. At any rate in 1823, when he had practically mastered the curriculum of the home school, it was decided that Samuel should go to Washington and study under the tutelage of John McLeod and Robert Kirkwood.

It is not difficult to imagine the eagerness mingled with timidity with which the ten-year-old boy made the journey to the city and took up his abode with his half-brother. It was at the close of President Monroe's administration; and the national capital was not at that time by any means the beautiful city of which Americans to-day are rightfully proud. But to a boy all seemed wonderful. While he was too young to understand or be interested in politics and national affairs, just to catch an occasional glimpse of the President and other public men whose names were household words was enough to give zest to life. And so Samuel came as a lad to the seat of government of the Nation where later in life he was to sit for a time in high positions.

Four years were spent at McLeod's school, with the result that Kirkwood secured a good grounding in the English classics and learned to read Latin and Greek so well that he never entirely lost the proficiency thus gained. Public speaking also received emphasis in that school, and thus at an early age the boy began to acquire experience as a speaker that later stood him in good stead.

In 1827, when he was fourteen years of age, Samuel's mother died; and he remained for a time at home to be with his father and help him with the work. But it was not long before he was back again in Washington — this time not as a pupil but as a clerk in a drug store kept by one Patrick Leyne. During the time when he was thus occupied he was not intellectually idle; for, stimulated perhaps in part by the training received in McLeod's school and partly by the brilliant debates in Congress, he and some of his youthful associates formed a literary or debating society. The sessions of this society, at first private, were later opened to visitors; and here, sometimes in the presence of a considerable audience, the members of the organization developed their talents for public speaking. The inauguration of President Jackson was the great public event of this period which stood out in Samuel's memory.

After performing the duties of a drug clerk

for about a year Samuel, now seventeen years of age, decided to put his education to more practical use by teaching a country school. The school in question was in York County, Pennsylvania, just across the historic State line from his home in Harford County. Here he was welcomed to the home of his Aunt Sarah — his father's only sister — and here he was able to pay for his board by doing chores about the place mornings and evenings. At the conclusion of the term of school he removed to another neighborhood not far away and there established a "subscription school"— one of his pupils being his cousin, Daniel Kirkwood, who later attained eminence as an astronomer. Here he had no fixed abode, but "boarded around" among the patrons of his school.

But teaching was not altogether to the liking of the young man, and so after this second school was closed he was glad to accept an offer to return to Washington and to the position of drug clerk, this time in the store owned by his brother Wallace at the corner of Pennsylvania Avenue and Eleventh Street. To a youth of his age and intelligence life at the capital must now have proved intensely interesting. Men were still talking about Webster's reply to Hayne; and not long afterward the stormy episode of nullification furnished no little excitement. Many a time young Kirkwood sat in

the gallery and listened to the impassioned speeches of the great men who then occupied seats in the halls of Congress.¹¹

He was not, however, so engrossed in public and business affairs as to forego the pleasures to be found in the society of the young people of his acquaintance; nor was he insensible to the charms of the opposite sex. About this time he began the keeping of what for want of a better name might be called an autograph album. In it were inscribed, most often in a distinctly feminine hand, verses chiefly sentimental in character and signed by the initials of the friends who thus expressed their wishes to be remembered in later years. Kirkwood likewise displayed his own leaning toward the poetic expression of tender sentiments by copying into this album selections from such writers as Byron and Thomas Moore and from the current periodicals and newspapers of the day. And occasionally he even ventured to try his own powers in the gentle art of verse-making.¹²

But events were now shaping themselves toward a momentous change in the young man's environment and outlook on life. For two or three years he remained in his brother's employ, and then returned home, where before long he learned of his father's decision to move west. To the Kirkwood family had come the call that has lured so many of our people to follow

in successive generations the sunset trail to the West. The Kirkwoods, however, were never pioneers of the pioneers: they belonged rather in the ranks of those who came in after the land had been well spied out to assist in its real and permanent development.

II

WESTWARD OVER THE CUMBERLAND ROAD

THE reasons which caused Jabez Kirkwood to seek a new home in the West were not altogether of his own making, nor did they spring primarily from any yearning for an abode in a place less densely peopled. Financial embarrassment was the real cause of his decision, for he had been the victim of misplaced generosity and of later misfortune. First, he had furnished security for a friend, a merchant, who desired to borrow a considerable sum of money. In time the friend failed in business, thereby shifting to the shoulders of his bondsman such a burden that nearly all of Kirkwood's accumulated savings were swept away and he was left with little more than the farm with which he had started. Rallying from this severe blow, he turned to raising fine horses for the Baltimore market — a business that offered large returns. Success in this undertaking was just beginning to replenish the empty family treasury when there suddenly came another calamity: a fatal disease broke out among his horses and when it had run

its course scarcely one out of a goodly herd was left alive.¹³

To a man who was nearing three score years these reverses of fortune could have been little less than disheartening. The soil on a portion of the Maryland farm had long since become so exhausted that it had been allowed to lie uncultivated;¹⁴ while the patronage of country blacksmiths had greatly diminished as more and more manufactured tools and iron articles came into use. The prospect of again accumulating a comfortable competency in the home where he had lived so long seemed small indeed. And so, in the year 1835, at the age of fifty-nine, Jabez Kirkwood turned his face toward the West — the land of new hope for myriads of discouraged men — and determined to seek a more favorable home in the State of Ohio.

After disposing of his property, the elder Kirkwood secured the necessary equipment for the four hundred mile overland journey.¹⁵ A large, strong wagon was procured, possibly of the type called "mountain ship", with broad-tired wheels, curved bottom, and white canvas cover.¹⁶ Into this vehicle were loaded all of the goods which the family could take, and to it were hitched as many horses as were necessary to haul it to its destination. Then the emigrants — consisting of Jabez Kirkwood and certain of his sons including Samuel — bade

farewell to the Harford County home; the word was given to the horses, and the heavy wagon rolled out on the road that led westward.

From Baltimore there was a much traveled thoroughfare extending to the northwestward. After a space it joined another highway coming up from Alexandria and Washington City to the south; and thence followed very closely the path marked many years before by the ill-fated Braddock through forests and mountains until at last it emerged at Cumberland in the western end of the State.¹⁷ Marylanders bound for the Ohio Valley in 1835 found this road to be the best and most direct. Hence it would be natural for the Kirkwood party to prefer as soon as possible to strike this well-known highway rather than to seek their way over less frequented roads. But by whatever route they traveled they at last found themselves at the town of Cumberland on the Potomac, the eastern terminus of the great Cumberland or National Road which "carried thousands of population and millions of wealth into the West; and more than any other material structure in the land, served to harmonize and strengthen, if not save, the Union."¹⁸

The Cumberland Road in those days was no mere wilderness trail through an uninhabited country. It was a highway the like of which was never again built in America until the auto-

mobile worked a revolution in the character of the roads. Stretching like a ribbon from the Potomac through Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Indiana, it eventually reached the banks of the Mississippi; and throughout the greater part of this distance it was macadamized with a surface of crushed stone several inches thick. "Leaping the Ohio at Wheeling", the road extended "across Ohio and Indiana, straight as an arrow, like an ancient elevated pathway of the gods, chopping hills in twain at a blow, traversing the lowlands on high grades like a railroad bed, vaulting river and stream on massive bridges of unparalleled size."¹⁹

Nor did the traveler over this highway suffer from loneliness: at least in Pennsylvania and Ohio the National Road was a busy thoroughfare. It was traversed by regular stage lines carrying mail and passengers, both local and long distance, to and from the West in gaily decorated and richly upholstered coaches. Heavy freighters, drawn by six or eight horses, carried the manufactured goods of the East to the growing settlements in the Ohio Valley, and returned laden with the produce of western farms. Emigrants by the thousands also traveled over the road to find new homes in the West. Farmers hauled their wheat or corn or tobacco or drove large herds of cattle or hogs along the road to eastern markets. And finally,

the traveler along the National Road might expect to meet persons of note riding in stylish conveyances — capitalists, literary lights, Congressmen, and even the President of the United States.²⁰

Along this lively roadway Jabez Kirkwood and his sons journeyed after leaving the town of Cumberland on the Potomac. At first the road wound upward toward the west through the rugged, mountainous country of western Maryland. Then, finding a pass between the hills it turned into Pennsylvania, crossing the first westward-flowing water — the Youghiogheny River — at the town of Somerfield. A short distance further to the northwest the road passed close by the grave of General Braddock, the man who had blazed the trail which had now grown into a great highway. Thence, descending gradually into the fertile, smiling valley of the Monongahela, crossing the ponderous stone bridge at Big Crossings (now Smithfield), and passing through Uniontown, the route led at length to Brownsville, the village on the Monongahela River which in early years had attained prominence under the name of Redstone Old Fort. Crossing the river at this historic point the thoroughfare ran through the prosperous farms of Washington County across the West Virginia line to Wheeling, whence after cross-

ing the Ohio it continued its way almost in a direct line to the westward.²¹

How the Kirkwood party fared on the journey, whether they put up at night in taverns or in less pretentious road-houses which lined the way or slept in the open in the shelter of their wagon, how long they were on the road — all these and other details which would be of interest must be left to the imagination. Only one incident of the long trip apparently remained firmly fixed in the memory of the youngest member of the party. All the money belonging to the family had been put in a common purse and entrusted to the care of John, the oldest son. One morning upon arising and preparing for another day's travel it was discovered to their great consternation that the bag of money was missing. Here, indeed, was a pretty situation! Not only had they lost their small accumulations with which they had planned to buy land and the things necessary to set up a new home, but even on the Cumberland Road they could not travel far without at least a little money. There were tolls to pay and they must have food for themselves and their horses. Robbery of course was feared, but nevertheless a diligent search was made. The contents of the wagon were feverishly ransacked, but to no avail. At length the precious bag was found in the very bottom of the wagon, where it had fallen through the

chinks between the articles which made up the load.²² It is needless to say that thereafter the purse was guarded with even more jealous care.

Doubtless Jabez Kirkwood and his sons had already definitely determined upon the region where they would seek for land. In 1835 the country in north-central Ohio, somewhat back from the lake and away from the principal lines of travel, still offered better opportunities to settlers than were to be found in the more developed portions of the State. To reach this region the Kirkwoods would have the choice of at least two well-defined courses after crossing the Ohio River at Wheeling. From Bridgeport, across the river from Wheeling, there was a road running to the northwest through Cadiz and New Philadelphia to Wooster; and thence another road led westward to Mansfield in the heart of the region toward which the travelers were wending their way. Or they might proceed along the National Road across the State of Ohio until they reached a point about midway between Zanesville and Columbus, where they would strike a road running north through Newark and Mt. Vernon to Mansfield.²³

Although there is no way of telling which of these two routes the Kirkwoods adopted, they found themselves in Richland County, where the father was to spend the remainder of his days,

and where Samuel was to live for twenty years — years which gave to him the maturity and wide experience which fitted him later to assume a position of leadership in another western Commonwealth.

III

FIRST YEARS IN RICHLAND COUNTY

RICHLAND COUNTY, Ohio, had long ceased to be a frontier region before the Kirkwoods arrived: it was a well settled community in which nearly all the public land had been taken up and covered with prosperous farm homes. Indeed, the population of the county in 1835 must have been upwards of thirty thousand, for this was the period of the flood tide of emigration to Ohio.²⁴ Along the forks of the Mohican there were settlements as early as the year 1809, and during the following years there poured in a stream of pioneers, chiefly from Pennsylvania. Of these early settlers some were of German origin, while large numbers were Scotch-Irish Presbyterians;²⁵ and thus it goes without saying that they were a thrifty lot. At the same time it was remarked that the inhabitants were somewhat "behind the age in enterprise and public spirit", the assigned reason being that they lived so far "distant from any of the public improvements of the day". But in 1837 it was predicted that this handicap would soon be removed by the building of railroads and

canals, several of which were even then projected.²⁶

The character of the soil was indicated by the name of the county. Its surface was gently rolling, though in the southern part it might be called hilly; and throughout its length and breadth there was scarcely any waste land. Wheat, at that time the principal agricultural product, was manufactured into flour within the county and hauled overland to Lake Erie or to the Erie and Ohio Canal, whence it was shipped by boat to eastern markets. During the grain-hauling season "the highway was often blocked with long trains of wagons that would not give way for other vehicles. At night the wagons would be parked on the roadside near a creek, and the farmers and their boys would have a regular joyous picnic on provisions brought from home." The county was "also famed for its fine horses and neat cattle."²⁷

It was in the hilly region in the southern part of the county, sixteen or seventeen miles by road southeast from Mansfield, the county seat and principal town, that the Kirkwoods halted. The father soon afterward filed on eighty acres of wild government land which was covered with a dense growth of timber; while John bought an adjoining quarter section scarcely less in readiness for cultivation. On John's land there was a log cabin in the midst of a

small clearing — the work no doubt of a pioneer of the type that could not abide close neighbors and soon pressed on again to the frontier, selling his claim for what he could get. Into this cabin were moved the contents of the wagon, and the Kirkwoods entered upon a life that was new to them. Not far away was the great north and south road from Columbus to Cleveland with its busy traffic. Well-improved farms were all about them; and it was only four or five miles to the post village of Newville, where once each week they received their mail. In at least two respects, however, they were confronted with the conditions of pioneer life: practically every foot of their land must be subdued and their home was at first as rude and primitive as that of the first pathfinder.

The first years in Ohio, therefore, were years of hard toil. To clear heavily-timbered land was a task for the strong, and to prepare an area large enough to permit of the raising of crops worth while meant long and tedious labor. The undergrowth must be cleared away and burned, the trees felled and disposed of, and the stumps blasted and dug out of the ground. Eventually, however, some sixty acres were cleared and placed under cultivation. Meanwhile the cabin was improved and made more habitable, and a lean-to addition was built in the rear to serve as sleeping rooms.²⁸ The hard

times of 1837, which followed the bursting of the bubble of land speculation and the partial subsidence of the public improvement fever, pressed heavily upon the Kirkwoods; but they had gained a foothold which they were able to maintain through this period of adversity.

During the winters Samuel earned a little ready money by teaching district schools. In that part of the country the schoolhouses were mostly constructed of logs, but glass had replaced oiled paper in the windows and there were desks made of rough boards, although the seats were likely to be of the old split-log type. The wages received by teachers varied from eight to ten dollars a month for men, and from six to eight dollars for women, though there were comparatively few of the latter in those days. Of expenses there were almost none, for the teacher boarded around in the homes of the patrons of the school, staying about a week with each family. Nor was he an unwelcome guest in these homes, for to have the teacher at the table and in the family circle around the fire during the long winter evenings was a privilege much cherished by children and grown-ups alike. He was often the sole connecting link between the lonely, monotonous routine of farm life and the great world of learning. Sometimes, of course, the teachers by holding aloof and "putting on airs" succeeded only in

antagonizing the sturdy, democratic people among whom they labored; but Samuel Kirkwood was not of this type. Instead, he was able to enter into their lives in such a way as to learn much from them while giving of his own knowledge.²⁹

The album of verse, begun in Washington City and carried to the new home, received numerous additions during these years. New-found friends inscribed in it sentiments or words of advice; while Samuel wrote lines to this or that young lady. But it was not maidenly charms alone that inspired him; for when he read the famous "People's Charter" drawn up in 1838 by the Chartists in England his democratic spirit was deeply stirred, and he wrote a poem of which the following are the first, fourth, and fifth stanzas:

What sound comes over the mighty deep?
Do the fierce, wild winds its bosom sweep?
Is the Demon of death from his whirlwind car
Scattering woe and death afar?
Whence that deep sound? Does the earthquake shock
Shiver and scatter the mountain and rock,
The castle of noble and cottage of swain,
Alike undistinguished afar on the plain?

It comes from the land whence sprang our sires,
Whose hands first kindled those beacon fires,
Whose broad, bright light by the blessing of Heaven

Now reaches the land from which they were driven,
Has dispelled the deep darkness by tyranny cast
O'er the souls of men in times long past.
God grant that its beamings may brighten and spread
Till no slave stains the earth with his desolate tread.

They will — aye they must — for that fire from above,
While fed with the patriots devotion and love,
Neither princes of earth nor the powers of Hell
Its light or its increase can darken or quell.
It will stream to the sky; 'twill encircle the earth,
'Twill blaze on the altar, 'twill cheer the rude hearth,
God's mockers, Earth's Kings, from their proud seats
 be hurl'd,
And Freedom's fair sunbeam will gladden the world.³⁹

It was while teaching that Kirkwood met and became acquainted with Abram Armentrout, the assessor of Richland County, who apparently took a great liking to the young man. The upshot was that in 1840 Samuel was appointed as Armentrout's deputy and assigned the duty of assessing the property in thirteen townships of the county. In performing this task he tramped on foot most of the time, going from farm to farm, meeting the people and learning the extent of their worldly possessions. The compensation was one dollar and a half a day, a truly munificent sum when compared with the wages of a country school teacher; and besides, young Kirkwood thus began an ac-

quaintance among the inhabitants of the county which was helpful to him in later years.

The work of assessment was completed in due time, and then Abram Armentrout had other employment to offer his deputy. He had purchased a store and tavern, evidently at some small cross-roads village, possibly at the post town of Newville. Here for about a year Samuel Kirkwood exchanged merchandise for the money and farm produce of the settlers and helped minister to the wants of such travelers as stopped at the tavern for meals or to pass the night.³¹

But this was not the kind of a life for a young man with ambition and a taste for the society of keen minds. Neither did school teaching appeal to him as a life work. Farming, while reasonably agreeable to him, seemed to lead nowhere, since during those years of financial stringency he saw no hope of earning sufficient money as a farm-hand to buy a farm of his own. Soon, however, a way was opened to a career which offered many attractions; and so, in the year 1841, Kirkwood left the tavern and the farm and established himself in the county seat town which was to be his home for nearly fifteen years.

Mansfield, the seat of justice of Richland County, was beautifully located "upon a commanding elevation, overlooking a country hand-

somely disposed in hills and valleys'', nearly in the center of the county.³² Commercially it was also well situated, for it was the axis from which radiated, like the spokes of a wheel, well graded pikes and roads running in all directions to the principal towns and cities of the State.³³ Seventy miles to the southwest lay Columbus, the capital city; while off in the opposite direction at about an equal distance was the growing lake port of Cleveland at the north end of the Erie and Ohio Canal. It only needed a canal or, better, a railroad, to make Mansfield a place of considerable importance.

The town, at the time when Kirkwood first knew it, contained about fourteen hundred people. The business houses, consisting in 1837 of fifteen stores, five taverns, two apothecary shops, two printing offices, and a market house, faced a public square in the center of which was a two-story brick court house. Six church denominations, each with its own building, looked after the spiritual interests of the people; and four physicians and eight lawyers found patronage in the town and surrounding country. While the railroad had not yet reached its iron arms that far, four different stage coaches arrived and departed three times each week, carrying the mail and passengers; and besides, four mails each week were carried on horseback.³⁴ The town, therefore, did not

lack for frequent and regular communications with the outside world. Altogether, Mansfield was just the sort of a place for a young man entering upon a professional career.

Among the lawyers of the town there was none more prominent and successful than Thomas W. Bartley, one of the early settlers of the county and a man of sound common sense who enjoyed the confidence of all who knew him. It was the offer of an opportunity to study law in the office of this medium-sized, gruff-spoken lawyer that brought Samuel Kirkwood to Mansfield in 1841. Bartley at that time had represented the people of Richland County for one term in the lower house of the General Assembly, and had given such satisfaction that in 1841 he was elected to a seat in the State Senate, where he served for two years.³⁵

A rather uncertain prospect faced Kirkwood as he settled himself at a desk in Bartley's office in a small, one-story building facing the public square. His small supply of money would by no means cover his expenses during the two years which would expire before he could take the examinations and be admitted to the bar. But again fortune favored him. He had in Mansfield a friend, Dr. E. W. Lake,³⁶ who happened at that period to be clerk of the court of Richland County. Not wishing to

spend much of his time in the office, Dr. Lake virtually left Barnabas Burns, his deputy, in charge; and oftentimes there was more work of a clerical nature than one man could well perform. And so occasional employment for part time was offered to Kirkwood, such as copying records and doing a part of the large amount of writing required in the office — work which he was glad to accept. In this way he not only earned sufficient money to enable him to continue his studies, but was placed in a position to gain a knowledge of court procedure which was of great value to a prospective attorney. Furthermore, during these months of companionship there began a close and lasting friendship between Kirkwood and Barnabas Burns.³⁷

The two years in the office of Thomas W. Bartley passed without notable incident. Kirkwood no doubt found abundant inspiration to impel him to hard and serious study, for the Mansfield bar, in addition to Bartley, embraced some able and eminent lawyers. In the first place, there was Jacob Brinkerhoff, who shortly afterwards was sent to Congress where he attained fame by drafting the Wilmot Proviso, and who later served with distinction for fifteen years on the Supreme Court of Ohio. Another was Thomas H. Ford, a man who gained sufficient prominence throughout the

Commonwealth to be elected Lieutenant Governor. James Stewart and Jacob Parker were scarcely less well known. And finally, there was Charles T. Sherman, to whose office there came as a student about this time his younger brother John, whose name, along with those of his illustrious brothers, has a safe place in the annals of American history. These two Mansfield law students, Samuel J. Kirkwood and John Sherman, were destined to sit for a time as colleagues in the Senate of the United States and to become trusted counsellors of Presidents.

Late in life John Sherman recalled how, in order to prepare themselves in a practical way for future contests at the bar, the students in the various offices at Mansfield "organized a moot court, presided over by Joseph Newman, then in active practice as a partner of Mr. Stewart. We held famous moot courts in which cases were tried with all the earnestness, industry and skill that could have been evoked by real cases. In these trials Mr. Kirkwood and I were usually pitted against each other. . . . I have always regarded our contests in this moot court as the most important part of my legal training."³⁸

Other friendships made by Kirkwood during these years were likewise significant. With Barnabas Burns, the deputy clerk, he later formed a congenial and lucrative partnership.

Between him and Frank Barker, another young law student, there sprang up a warm friendship which was brought to a sudden end by a tragedy that gave Kirkwood his most important case before the court. But even more fortunate was the attachment which he formed for John Clark, a fellow reader of law in Bartley's office. It was through this young man that Kirkwood came to know the one who was to be his companion through life.

Social life among the young people of Mansfield was notable for its freedom and democracy. There were "social meetings, parties, dances, and an occasional ball during the winter, but in summer, riding in carriages and on horseback was the recreation of the day. Fleming's Ravine, about five miles from Mansfield, was the general gathering place for young and old. A small stream had cut a deep ravine with rocky banks on either side. An old mill with its overshot wheel spanned the ravine and filled it with noisy rattle. The adjacent woods, where the fire was lit and the coffee made, and the farm lands stretching beyond, made a picturesque scene often described and always admired." Here there were "dances, frolics, speeches and fun, with healthy exercise in the open air."³⁹

At length the time came when Kirkwood was ready to take the examinations for admission

to the bar. This involved a journey of more than one hundred and fifty miles across the State to Cincinnati, where the examinations were held. Frank Barker also desired to present himself before the examining board, and the two men decided to make the trip on horseback rather than to pay the charges and suffer the inconveniences of travel by stage. Doubtless they followed the direct route which lay first to Columbus and thence by the turnpike to the "Queen City" and metropolis.⁴⁰ The applicants were successful in passing the examinations; and thus in the year 1843 Samuel Jordan Kirkwood was admitted to practice in the Supreme Court of Ohio. Shortly afterward he returned to Mansfield, secured an office room, hung out his shingle, and sat down to await the coming of clients.

IV

MEMBER OF THE MANSFIELD BAR

ONE day a few months later as Kirkwood was sitting in his office, reading law cases or perchance idly watching some farmer as he drove up to the hitching rail which surrounded the public square, the door opened and in walked Thomas W. Bartley. Accepting the proffered seat, with characteristic directness he soon made known the object of his visit.

For several years, indeed during the time when Kirkwood had been a student in his office, Judge Bartley had been in partnership with his brother-in-law, a man of apparently minor consequence in the firm. This arrangement had been growing more and more unsatisfactory, and now the lawyer told his former pupil that the partnership had been dissolved. Following this announcement he asked Kirkwood if he had given any thought to the possibility of entering into a partnership. Kirkwood replied that he and Frank Barker had discussed the question in a very indefinite manner, but had come to no conclusion. Thereupon his visitor came directly to the point and offered to take

him into partnership — an offer which was both unexpected and flattering to Kirkwood.⁴¹

Far different now was the prospect which lay before the young attorney. Instead of being obliged to wait patiently for clients and gradually work himself into a practice, he could step into an assured position where he was to receive one-half of the proceeds of a well-established business. Of course he accepted the offer, pulled down his sign, and moved his effects to the old familiar office where for two years he had labored as a student. Moreover, at this time the new junior member of the firm had interests in addition to the troubles of quarrelsome neighbors and other people who needed legal service.

Among the earliest settlers of Richland County were two immigrants from Pennsylvania, Ichabod Clark and his young wife. Coming in the year 1811 they settled upon a half section of land about six miles to the south and west of the spot where in a few years there sprang up the town of Mansfield. It was then a region wild and almost uninhabited. Neighbors were few and far between, and to the west scarcely a tree or an acre of ground had been touched by the axe or the plow of the white man. Indians prowled about and oftentimes looked upon the intruders on their ancient hunting-grounds with such an unfriendly eye that the

squatters built for themselves a block-house to which they and their wives and children might flee in case of danger. Especially during the War of 1812 did the red man's tomahawk hang over the dwellers in the scattered cabin homes. It was partly for this reason that Ichabod Clark enlisted in the militia and in a number of the small engagements on the southern border of Lake Erie did his part to protect his country against English aggression and his fireside against savage foes.⁴²

After the war was over there began in dead earnest the long, up-hill struggle to make a farm out of a wilderness of trees and underbrush. Health and contentment, however, reigned in the Clark household and prosperity crowned the efforts of the pioneer and his capable, vigorous companion. Here were born ten robust children—two boys, Ezekiel and John, and eight girls, among whom was Jane born in the year 1821.

Now it was John, the younger of the two Clark boys, who was a fellow-student with Kirkwood in Bartley's office. It happened in the late fall of 1842 that John Clark was interested in a lawsuit which was scheduled to be heard before a country justice in the southern part of the county; and he persuaded Kirkwood to accompany him and be present at the hearing of the case. The road led past the Clark farm

and so the two embryo lawyers stopped over night at John's home, both going and returning from the trial. This was the first meeting of Samuel Kirkwood and Jane Clark, who was then in the bloom of young womanhood. The guest singled her out among her sisters and fell so completely under the spell of her charms that he was not able to remove her image from his mind and heart upon his return to Mansfield.

Then ensued a period of courtship, which was carried on at first largely by correspondence because Jane was teaching and was seldom to be found at home. Later, in order to see the lady of his choice, Samuel was willing to run the gauntlet of jibes and jokes sometimes incurred by calling upon her at the farm home where for the time she might happen to be staying. The summer of 1843 witnessed their betrothal and the wedding was set for an early day.⁴³

It was at about this time that the firm of Bartley and Kirkwood was formed, and the junior member soon found that while he was to receive his full share of the profits of the office, he would be obliged to earn this good fortune by doing more than half of the work. Fully twenty cases had been placed in Bartley's hands to be taken up at the next term of court. Some of these cases were of a very technical character, since they had to do with riparian rights

and damages due to the overflowing of lands caused by the erection of mill dams. Day after day went by and the senior partner seemingly, at least, paid no attention to the cases entrusted to his care. And so Kirkwood, realizing that the day for filing declarations or petitions was fast approaching, plunged into the work of drawing up the necessary papers.

Finally the papers were all drawn up to the best of Kirkwood's ability and placed on Bartley's desk for examination and criticism. Evidently, however, the old lawyer had implicit confidence in his new partner, for when the day came for the filing of the declarations the papers still lay undisturbed on his desk. With many misgivings, Kirkwood was obliged to gather up the documents, take them to the court house, and file them without so much as an opinion from the older and more experienced lawyer. The days which followed were anxious ones for Kirkwood, for much depended on his work. If there were defects in the declarations there would be demurrers on the part of the defendants, and the cases might be postponed to a later session of the court — a result which would certainly displease the clients of the firm. Great was his relief when the day came for the opening of court and no flaws had been found in his work. At this point, also, his partner took a hand and argued the cases before the court.⁴⁴

This experience, while trying, gave Kirkwood a measure of confidence in his own ability which enabled him to attack subsequent tasks with fewer fears of failure.

Amidst such activities the days sped by and the time set for the wedding was approaching. Late in December, 1843, the young attorney repaired to the Clark home, and there on the twenty-seventh day of the month Samuel J. Kirkwood and Jane Clark were married. The Clark family belonged to the Methodist Episcopal Church, the members of which denomination in that particular locality depended upon a circuit rider for their preaching. It had been hoped that he would perform the marriage ceremony. But for some reason he was unable to reach that part of his circuit in time to be present at the wedding. And so from the town of Lexington not far away a minister was brought, who, though a stranger to nearly everyone in attendance, said the necessary words in an entirely satisfactory manner.⁴⁵

The young people began housekeeping at Mansfield on a modest scale, in a four-room, frame cottage. It did not take long for them to win a place in the society of a town where everybody knew everybody else. Social life in a small Ohio town during the forties was simple and wholehearted: there was much genuine neighborliness and very little formality. There

were no theaters and consequently no theater parties. Formal dinners were almost unknown, but there was no lack of that true hospitality which caused people to delight in having their friends sit with them at table. The young people occasionally indulged in dancing parties, but for Samuel Kirkwood this form of recreation had little attraction since he was never very proficient as a dancer. Indeed, people in those days did not greatly feel the need of any particular diversion when they met together for an evening. The opportunity for conversation was generally sufficient to cause the hours to pass pleasantly in a gathering of neighbors.

The churches were to a considerable extent the centers of community activity. Mrs. Kirkwood soon joined the Methodist Church, and while her husband, whose training naturally inclined him toward Presbyterianism, did not ally himself as a member with any church, he took an interest in church affairs. Sociables, quilting bees, and the like afforded much real pleasure to the participants and were events of considerable social importance. Moreover, his membership in the Odd Fellows Lodge brought Kirkwood into intimate fraternal relations with a number of the leading men of Mansfield. Thus, the newly married couple soon came to feel that they had a definite place in the life of the town.⁴⁶

Kirkwood, however, had very little opportunity for indulgence in recreation and social pleasures, for his time was fully occupied at the office. He soon found that his partner had been wise in throwing him at once, unaided, into the midst of a sea of legal problems. During the year 1844 Thomas W. Bartley was called upon to act as Governor of the State of Ohio. Wilson Shannon, who had been elected chief executive in 1842, resigned the office early in 1844 to accept the position of Minister to Mexico, and it fell to Bartley, as Speaker of the Senate at the preceding session of the General Assembly, to fill out the unexpired term.⁴⁷ Consequently, much of his time during that year was spent at the seat of government, and Kirkwood was left almost completely in charge of the affairs of the firm. Not only was he now obliged to prepare the declarations and other necessary papers without advice and assistance from his partner, but it also devolved upon him to try the cases before the court. But if the work thus heaped upon him required diligence and long hours, it also served to prove his ability to the people of Mansfield and Richland County and to bring him more quickly into public notice than if at first he had been overshadowed by the presence of his better known and more experienced partner.

A staunch Democrat in politics, Kirkwood

had by this time begun to attract the attention of local members of his party. He was a ready speaker and he enjoyed the public discussion of political questions, so that as time went on he came to be relied upon to make stump speeches at the small towns within the county. Straightforward and convincing rather than eloquent, he spoke after the fashion of the debater rather than that of the orator. For this trait he owed much to his early training in McLeod's school and in the literary society in Washington, D. C. Another lesson, by which he ever afterward endeavored to profit, was firmly impressed on his mind by an episode which occurred during the early years of his law practice. One afternoon the famous Thomas Corwin made a speech in Mansfield. By means of gestures and grimaces, stories and wit and humour he furnished rich entertainment for his audience, which he kept almost continuously in roars of laughter. The speech was pronounced by one and all, except perhaps by Corwin's most confirmed political enemies, to have been a huge success. In the evening Kirkwood and several other young men of the place called upon Corwin at the hotel. What was their surprise to find him, not elated at what they all looked upon as a triumph, but very much depressed and downcast. Conversation lagged, and at length the distinguished visitor gave his callers

a valuable bit of advice. "Young gentlemen," he said, "learn a lesson. I believe there is enough in me to rank with the statesmen of this country. Unfortunately, I have successfully adopted the methods of the humorist and will be remembered as Tom Corwin the clown, not the statesman. Always address your audiences from the highest plane you can reach and furnish them argument, not amusement."⁴⁸

In the year 1845 Samuel J. Kirkwood received the Democratic nomination for Prosecuting Attorney of Richland County, and after a brief campaign was elected to the office. This was a position much coveted by young lawyers, not only for the experience which it offered in the trying of criminal cases, but also for the prestige which a successful term in that office added to their names in subsequent years. Especially was it an honor to one who only two years before had been admitted to the bar; but within a year it brought to him a painful duty.

One day in the summer of 1846 a tragedy was enacted in the streets of Mansfield: Franklin Barker was mortally stabbed by Robert M. Bowland. It was a sorry affair growing out of family troubles. The two men were brothers-in-law, Barker's wife being Bowland's sister. Both were sons of well-to-do and highly respected parents, the Barker family dwelling at Plymouth in the northwestern corner of the

county and the Bowlands living in Mansfield. Franklin Barker was one of the best liked of the promising young lawyers in Mansfield. Robert Bowland, on the other hand, was a ne'er-do-well, a young man who in all his life had done scarcely anything to support himself or reflect credit upon the family name. A few years earlier he had gone to New York City where he had taken up with a woman of dissolute character whom he finally married. Running short of funds and with characteristic disinclination to earn a living by his own efforts, he returned to Mansfield with this woman with the evident intention of shifting at least a part of the burden of her support to his parents.

It was shortly before this that Frank Barker had married Bowland's sister, Margaretta. He was highly incensed when his scapegrace brother-in-law brought his New York wife to the Bowland home, where, if Mrs. Barker were to visit her parents, she must associate with the unwelcome intruder. Not content with the mere expression of disapproval, Barker protested vigorously, and no doubt with little tact or discretion. In return he received threats of violence if he did not desist — threats that passed unheeded. And then occurred the catastrophe which horrified all Mansfield and vicinity and set up such a buzz of excitement as had seldom before been witnessed in the county.⁴⁹

As Prosecuting Attorney of Richland County it was the duty of Samuel J. Kirkwood to bring the murderer to justice, a task which would try his mettle and if carried out successfully would add much to his reputation. But in this case Kirkwood had a more vital interest and it was that fact which necessarily made it painful for him to bear the responsibility of directing the prosecution. Frank Barker, the murderer's victim, was one of the county attorney's most intimate friends, one of his very first acquaintances in Mansfield. With him he had studied law in Bartley's office; with him he had made the long journey on horseback to Cincinnati to take the examinations for admission to the bar; the two had tentatively considered entering into partnership until Judge Bartley's offer put an end to any such plans; and between Jane Kirkwood and Margaretta Barker there was a warm and loving friendship. Consequently, the killing of his friend was a severe shock to Kirkwood and left him with a sense of great personal loss.

Nevertheless, he shook off his hesitancy to take up a case in which his feelings were so strongly concerned, and assumed charge of the prosecution. The murderer had been promptly arrested and placed in confinement. He was next indicted by the grand jury and the case was set for trial at the November term of court.

Partly at the suggestion of Barker's father and partly because he was unwilling to rely solely upon his own knowledge and powers, Kirkwood secured able assistance. An older and more experienced prosecuting attorney from an adjoining county was called in; while from Sandusky came Ebenezer Lane,⁵⁰ one of the ablest lawyers in the State who had for many years been a Justice of the Ohio Supreme Court. Kirkwood himself put in long hours studying cases, gathering evidence, and securing the names of all possible witnesses; and he frequently corresponded with the Attorney General concerning points of law. Nothing was overlooked in the preparation for the trial which was sure to be a battle royal, since Thomas Ewing and Columbus Delano,⁵¹ both lawyers of talent and wide reputation, had been secured as counsel for the defendant.

The trial was held in a crowded court room and amid the breathless interest of the people of the entire county. Witnesses were examined and cross-examined for nearly a week, and finally the time came for the pleas of the counsel for the defense and for the prosecution. In this matter the young county attorney was inclined to defer to his older colleague, Judge Lane. "You are perfectly competent to present this case as it should be presented in all its aspects to the jury," replied Lane. "I have no repu-

tation to make in it, I was got here to help you out on legal questions and I will leave the case now in your hands." Mr. Kirkwood therefore made the closing speech to the jury.

The verdict of the twelve men who later filed back into the court room was murder in the first degree; and shortly afterward the judge sentenced Robert Bowland to receive the extreme penalty of hanging. Because the murderer's parents were old and respected citizens of the community, however, even the members of the Barker family were satisfied when the Governor of the State commuted this sentence to life imprisonment.⁵²

The outcome was a distinct victory for Kirkwood. "I offer my congratulations, for the result of the case, as a great act of public justice", wrote the veteran lawyer, Ebenezer Lane, who declined to accept any compensation for his services if it would diminish the sum to be received by Kirkwood. "What the Executive may do, is of no peculiar moment to us, as long as the Judicial Department has done its duty. . . . But I more particularly congratulate you, for the success of your Professional Efforts. There is but one opinion as to that and that most widely spread & its results cannot but be felt, in the reputation thus honestly won, & in the confidence which the Public will gladly bestow upon a meritorious Public Officer."⁵³

Not least among the rewards which came to Kirkwood was the gratitude of Margaretta Barker, the young widow whose husband had been slain by the hand of her own brother. From the home of her husband's parents at Plymouth, where she had gone in her sorrow, she wrote many letters of appreciation for what the young attorney had done, not only in the securing of justice but also in acting as administrator of her husband's estate. And at one time she sent him the cane which Franklin Barker had carried, "not", as she said, "as a token of remembrance, (that you will not need) but as a token of my gratitude".⁵⁴

V

THE OHIO CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION AT COLUMBUS

THE years which followed the Bowland trial witnessed the fulfillment of Judge Lane's prophecy. Until the year 1849 Samuel J. Kirkwood continued to hold the office of Prosecuting Attorney of Richland County, performing his duties to the best of his ability and giving general satisfaction. In many of his cases he was opposed by John Sherman and others with whom he had contested in the moot court in former days.⁵⁵ At the same time he did his share and more of the work which came to the firm of Bartley and Kirkwood, and gained the respect of the older lawyers of the Mansfield bar. Thus he came to be well known throughout the county; and the high regard in which he was held is indicated by the fact that at a nonpartisan election held on the first Monday in April, 1850, he was chosen to sit with a group of men upon whom devolved the important duty of revising the Constitution of the Commonwealth.

For nearly half a century the people of Ohio

had been governed under the provisions of the Constitution drawn up in 1802 — an instrument which expressed the best political ideas of the time at which it was made. It was comparatively brief, and very broad powers were conferred upon the legislature.³⁶ But with the passing of the years new and unforeseen problems arose, and there was nothing to guard the people from the evil results of unwise yielding to popular and legislative fancies. There was no limitation, for instance, on the amount to which the State might become indebted; and on this account the Commonwealth by 1850 was saddled with a debt of nearly nineteen million dollars incurred for the purpose of building and aiding public improvements. The people of Ohio, like those of the neighboring States, had gone wild over the building, first of roads, canals, and harbors, and later of railroads. When private capital flowed into these enterprises too slowly to satisfy the demand for transportation facilities, the citizens were only too willing that the State should take a hand. All this was very well for those who were able to profit by the increased values and the prosperity attendant upon the rapid extension of means of transportation. But those who could see no direct personal benefit and those who came into the State in later years found the taxes levied to pay the interest on this enormous

debt increasingly burdensome. In time there arose an insistent demand for relief or at least for some assurance that the State would not be placed under additional obligations.⁵⁷

In like manner the Constitution of 1802 was silent on the subject of corporations — a subject which at that time was scarcely considered of any importance. The legislature was left free to deal with these growing capitalistic organizations as it chose. Under a system of special legislation grave abuses arose. Free franchises were sometimes granted; corporations were largely exempted from taxation; and, in the belief that every encouragement should be given to these enterprises, powers were conferred which soon assumed monopolistic proportions, and became oppressive to the people. The need of some limit on the power of the legislature in this respect had therefore become apparent.

Public sentiment had also changed in regard to banks and banking, taxation, legal procedure, and the framework of the State government.⁵⁸ In fact, a Constitution embodying chiefly the ideas of the Revolutionary period had in the course of fifty years become inadequate to meet the needs of a far more highly developed community. New evils demanded new safeguards, while altered conditions required new grants of power to the government. And so, in accordance with an act passed by the General

Assembly on February 23, 1850, delegates were elected on the first Monday of April, and a constitutional convention convened in Columbus on Monday, the sixth day of May.⁵⁹

The old statehouse, which two years later was consumed by fire, was a two-story brick structure standing at the corner of State and High streets. The square roof culminated in "a balcony in the center, whence rose a spire one hundred and six feet from the ground. Above the balcony hung a well-toned bell, whose clear ringing sounds were heard in the winter season, calling the people's representatives to their duties in the legislative halls."⁶⁰ It was in the hall of the House of Representatives on the lower floor of this building that the delegates to the Convention, one hundred and eight in number, gathered to perform the high function of revising the Constitution.

Many able and prominent men were members of this Convention. Best known, perhaps, was the venerable Peter Hitchcock from Geauga County, who had served in both houses of the Ohio State legislature and in the lower house of Congress, and who for more than a quarter of a century had sat on the supreme bench of the State. Then there was Joseph Vance of Champaign County whose legislative experience in Ohio and in the Federal House of Representatives was even more extensive. He had also

been Governor of Ohio. Henry Stanberry of Franklin County had served since 1846 as Attorney General of the Commonwealth. Altogether, about fifty, or nearly half of the members, had served in one or both of the houses of the General Assembly; at least eight had represented the people of their districts as Congressmen; while several others had occupied administrative and judicial positions in the State government. Furthermore, in subsequent years still others were destined to serve the people of the State and the Nation in various important offices.⁶¹

The average age of the members was forty-five years and the average period of residence in the State was thirty years. Thus the Convention was made up of men of mature minds who were qualified by long acquaintance with the needs of the Commonwealth to pass intelligent judgments upon the problems of government. About forty were lawyers and almost an equal number were farmers, but there were also a number of physicians, merchants, editors, and men of other trades and occupations which made the assemblage fairly representative of all the interests of society.⁶² In fact, the people of Ohio could scarcely have selected a group of men who were better prepared by ability, experience, and training to perform the duties set before them.

“At 11 o'clock, A. M., [on May 6th] Mr. Sawyer advanced to the Clerk's desk, and said: Gentlemen of the Convention, for the purpose of a temporary organization, I would call Mr. Larwill to the chair.”⁶³ With the adoption of this suggestion the Ohio Constitutional Convention of 1850-1851 began its lengthy deliberations. All but four of the members answered to their names at the roll call and presented their certificates of election, among them being Samuel J. Kirkwood representing Crawford and Richland counties. His two associates from the same district were Richard W. Cahill of Liberty Corners in Crawford County and James P. Henderson of Newville in Richland County.

After electing William Medill as president and effecting a permanent organization the Convention spent the greater part of the first two weeks in discussing questions of procedure and other matters, such as the publication of the debates of the Convention. In all this useless controversy and waste of time Kirkwood took little part. On May 14th when certain features of the rules of procedure were under discussion he made the pertinent suggestion that the Convention could not well act in this matter until the report of the committee on rules, then being printed, was laid before them. Later he raised his voice against permitting partisanship to

further protract the debate concerning the printing of the proceedings of the Convention. His remarks were brief, being in sharp contrast to the long-drawn-out speeches of other members. He was made chairman of the committee on privileges and elections and was given a place on the committee on the judicial department.⁶⁴

Even after the Convention settled down to the real business for which it was called, the member from Mansfield joined only once or twice in the discussions until the question of legislative sessions was being debated on May 28th. Under the old Constitution the General Assembly had held sessions annually and there was strong support in the Convention for the retention of this requirement. The chief arguments in favor of the plan were that only by meeting annually could the legislature successfully and intelligently adjust taxation to the needs of the State and guard the public treasury; that laws were often defective and therefore there should be frequent opportunities for revision; and that public sentiment was wedded to the holding of annual sessions. In a speech of considerable length Mr. Kirkwood challenged these arguments.

In the first place, he showed very clearly that it would be as easy for the legislature to estimate and levy the taxes necessary for a two-

year as for a one-year period. Moreover, it was not necessary that the legislature should act as a guard over the public treasury by examining the accounts of all the State officers. "Would not a small board, organized for the purpose, (and charged with no other duties) discharge this duty more satisfactorily and more fully than a committee appointed by the Legislature?" he asked. "If this matter of supervision were an insurmountable difficulty in the minds of gentlemen here, such a board as he had referred to would obviate it: it would be much less expensive and much more competent, and much more laborious and efficient in the discharge of its duties than any legislative committee."

As far as the need for frequent revision of the statutes was concerned, he felt that "it would be better to let the people have an opportunity to understand the laws, before they elected men to revise and amend them." At the same time he was of the opinion that with sessions held only once in two years "the people would be more careful to select mature minds, to select careful and prudent men", and thus better legislation would result. And finally, he could say that nineteen-twentieths of his constituents, without regard to party, were in favor of biennial legislative sessions.⁶⁵

A few days later when the same subject was

being debated, with frequent quotations from Coke and Macaulay and Jefferson, Mr. Kirkwood again took the floor. In the course of his speech he summed up his attitude toward the whole question in the following words:

The gentleman from Hamilton has argued this question as if it were a question of government or no government, of order or anarchy. Now, sir, this is not the question at issue. It is merely a question as to how often it is necessary and proper that the people should gather together by their Representatives to enact new or amend or repeal old laws — whether it is better and safer that this should be done annually or biennially. I apprehend that while our General Assembly is not in session, we have a government — the law making power is in the hands of the people, where it is safe, or rather perhaps is dormant, and cannot be used to their prejudice; but the Executive and Judicial departments are in full operation, extending, by means of existing laws, protection to the rights and interests of the people. It strikes me that there is a misconception on the part of some gentlemen who have argued this question and who seem to be impressed with the idea that it is only during the sessions of our General Assembly that the people possess any power. I think this is incorrect; the sovereignty — the law making power is in the people at all times, except during those sessions; at these times it is in the hands of agents and returns again to the people as soon as the agents cease to act. . . . It is no less true, sir, in popular than in monarchical

governments, that the Legislature is the channel through which power is drawn from the sovereign, it is with us the channel through which power is drawn from the people, and I wish to make it as narrow, and open it as seldom as is consistent with safety. We are here to narrow that channel, and I hope, sir, to provide that it shall not be opened more frequently than once in two years.⁶⁶

Nearly two weeks passed before the Richland County delegate again expressed his views at any length. That he was keenly interested in the proceedings from day to day, however, is shown by the fact that he offered amendments to committee reports on such subjects as the terms of State officers, the disqualifications of electors, the granting of corporate powers, the taking of private property for public use, and the qualifications and veto power of the Governor.⁶⁷ In each case his aim was either to avoid ambiguous provisions or to avert the possibility of abuses such as had arisen under the old Constitution.

On the twelfth day of June the liability of individuals in corporations was the topic of debate, and on this subject Mr. Kirkwood made one of his longest speeches. Before turning his attention to the point at issue he announced that he "would take occasion to travel, contrary to his usual custom, somewhat out of the record, and make some remarks on matters and things

in general", a privilege which other members claimed almost at will. The particular thing to which he wished to call attention was the tendency of some members of the Convention to apologize for and deery all exhibitions of party feeling. He failed to see the propriety of such a course, and "he had but little faith in the no-party professions of men who, but for their known party predilections, would not have been members of this body." He believed that "the names made use of to designate parties, were not mere sounds, meaning nothing", but they stood for great fundamental principles. Neither of the political parties was merely "a number of men combined together for the purpose of getting office." Therefore, he would not refrain from characterizing issues before the Convention as either Democratic or Whig in spirit. "It was an opinion which he had a right to entertain and express, and upon all proper occasions he would express it—and if his action should run counter to those principles, any gentleman on this side, or the other side of the hall could tell him that he was traveling from the democratic doctrine." In all this "he used the term partizanship in the better sense of the word; in this sense: that it was an advocacy of principle and not of a party organization for the sake of office."

The speech which followed this digressive

introduction was an able defense of the necessity of holding shareholders of corporations to a rigid liability for the debts of the corporations. He was in favor, however, of making some distinction between corporations formed for religious, charitable, or literary purposes, or for the purpose of erecting and operating works of internal improvement, and corporations organized for the sole object of bringing financial profits to the shareholders.⁶⁸

During the succeeding week Kirkwood spoke briefly on a number of subjects. He argued that persons through whose land a right of way was sought should have the right to the assessment of damages by a jury in the regular courts. Provision for an efficient militia, capable of being called into service in case of emergency, received his approval; and at the same time he could see no more reason for excusing persons from military duty because of conscientious scruples than for granting other individuals exemption from taxation for the same cause. In common with a large majority of the people of the State, he heartily favored a limitation of the State debt, and he would have this limitation placed in the Constitution in such unmistakable terms that there could be no misunderstanding or evasion.⁶⁹

In the midst of the discussion of issues of vital importance a furor was occasionally

raised over very trivial incidents or remarks. On Monday morning, June 17th, Mr. Mitchell "presented the petition of Robert B. Mitchell and 61 other citizens of Knox county, praying that the Convention insert a clause in the constitution which will forever prevent the issue or circulation of bills of credit, bank bills, or other paper as money." This memorial was promptly referred to the proper committee and would have attracted no further interest had not Mr. Manon called attention to the language used in a portion of the petition. "There are certain members elected to this body who have proved recreant to their trust," read the objectionable clause, "and your petitioners would remind them of the fate of Judas and the doom of Arnold." Immediately there was a great clamor. Members declaimed against the use of such disrespectful language: they regarded the petition as an insult to the Convention. Charges and countercharges were hurled back and forth, and it was three or four days before the excitement entirely died away.

Samuel J. Kirkwood was not one who was overwhelmed with his dignity as a member of the Convention. "I have, perhaps, peculiar opinions upon the subject of petitions," he said, "and wish this matter placed in such a shape as to test the opinions of others. I would 'suggest' to gentlemen who think this petition

disrespectful, the propriety of the appointment of a committee to examine all petitions before presented, and 'purge' them of every thing that may be deemed derogatory to this exceedingly grave and dignified body, and who might perhaps, fix a very respectful form in which our constituents may be very graciously permitted to address us." Later, when the debate had been prolonged to an absurd length and certain members had descended to petty personalities, the member from Mansfield remarked: "I have always thought that the best mode to protect our own dignity, was to be dignified ourselves, and to be so *upon all occasions.*"⁷⁰

While the question of whether this petition should be received or rejected was occupying much time the Convention was also deliberating upon the problem of providing a sinking fund for the extinguishment of the enormous State debt. Although he did not as a rule believe in embodying legislation in the Constitution, Mr. Kirkwood argued that in the light of experience this was a matter which could not safely be entrusted to the General Assembly. "I think the proposition that we shall pay our debt within some definite time, and by some well defined rule, is of sufficient importance to find admission into our Constitution." He thought that the people would cheerfully pay "the

necessary taxes to rid themselves eventually of the whole burthen', but he believed that unless some such plan were adopted they would in desperation repudiate the State debt entirely.⁷¹

Being a member of the committee on the judiciary and a lawyer by profession, Kirkwood was naturally much interested in all subjects having to do with the judicial department of the government, and especially in the provisions relative to district courts. He was in favor of having these courts held in each county, instead of merely at two or three points in the district. At the same time he was willing that the times and places of holding district courts should be fixed by the legislature. Throughout a long and intermittent argument, extending over several days, it was his contention that the question should be left open for determination according to the desires of the people of each particular district, and that the legislature should be left to make its decision unhampered by any constitutional limitation.

The debate at times became somewhat heated, and on one occasion it was declared that the opposition to a certain measure came from "half-lawyers and pettifoggers"—the intimation being that this characterization applied as much to those members opposing the measure in the Convention as to outside opponents. Mr. Kirkwood, who was in the opposition, did

not believe such an insinuation had been intended. But, said he, "I wish to say, further, that I do not think these gentlemen have the power to assign me my place. That has been done by the people amongst whom I live — in my own neighborhood; and I am willing any gentlemen should enquire of them, if he would know my standing."⁷²

The Convention had now been in session for nearly two months, meeting twice a day — at nine o'clock in the morning and at three in the afternoon. Progress had been made, but thus far the end was not in sight. While the debates as a whole were of a high order, members had frequently occupied an undue amount of time with speeches bristling with classical allusions, poetic quotations, and figures of speech — speeches which sounded well enough but contributed almost nothing to the determination of the questions under discussion.

Meanwhile, it was not all work and study for the delegates, for the social side was not neglected. The wives of many of the members, Mrs. Kirkwood among them, availed themselves of the opportunity to spend at least a portion of the time with their husbands at Columbus. The capital city, with its public buildings and its good shops and hotels, with its musical and dramatic entertainments and its cultured society, held out many attractions to those whose

lives were spent in the smaller, out-of-the-way places. And so there was a succession of pleasant evening parties while the Convention was in session.⁷³

But early in July there came a sudden break in the deliberations of the assembly. The Asiatic cholera, which had so terrified the city by its ravages during the previous year, again made its appearance and spread with great rapidity. Residents by the hundreds fled from the city. It was estimated that of a population of nearly eighteen thousand about one-fourth departed in haste at the reappearance of the dreaded pestilence.⁷⁴ It was not to be expected that the members of the Convention would remain unmoved in the midst of such a panic when no man could feel sure that he was safe from the touch of the fatal disease. Gathering up their baggage they hurriedly departed to their homes, and soon it was evident that a quorum would be difficult to obtain.

It was no longer a question of adjournment or no adjournment, as Mr. Kirkwood pointed out, for the proceedings of the Convention must come to an end when there ceased to be a quorum.⁷⁵ It merely remained to decide upon the place and the time for reconvening. And so after some debate it was decided to meet again on the first Monday in December in Cincinnati. To meet at Columbus at the time selected was

practically out of the question, since the legislature would convene at that place on the same day and there was no other hall in the city suited to the needs of the Convention. Cincinnati was chosen because it was the most accessible point and offered the best accommodations for a meeting during the winter season.

VI

CONSTITUTION-MAKING IN CINCINNATI

AFTER a five-months interval Samuel Kirkwood set out for Cincinnati late in November. Traveling in a stagecoach by way of Newark, he passed through a prosperous settlement of New Englanders surrounding the town of Granville, where for a time Mrs. Kirkwood had attended a seminary. Later, in the vicinity of Columbus, the road ran through land which was "under a very poor state of cultivation", chiefly, as the traveler thought, because it was "owned in large tracts by rich men who do not labor and who rent out their land to poor tenants."⁷⁶

Considerable time was spent by the Mansfield delegate in sightseeing during the first few days after his arrival in the Queen City. The boat landing was to him a place of much interest. "There are", he wrote to Mrs. Kirkwood, "usually from 12 to 20 steam boats lying there some arriving and others departing and whole acres of flat boats and the landing is all the time covered with a promiscuous throng of men women and children black white and

mixed, cattle hogs carts, drays wagons dogs and a little of everything under the sun in the way of merchandise and there is usually enough of swearing done in any one hour to satisfy a moderate man like myself for a week." He also visited the slaughter houses and "of all the horrible and disgusting sights" he ever beheld those there witnessed were pronounced the worst. On another afternoon, by way of contrast, he spent several hours at the Art Union, where he found real pleasure. Especially did he admire Powers' much discussed statue of the "Greek Slave" girl, a large painting entitled "The Last Victim of the Deluge", and the portrait of a young girl "that looked so sweet and tempting that had there not been so many persons present I believe I should have kissed it."

A lecture by Cassius M. Clay of Kentucky on the "Theory of Morals", to which Kirkwood listened one evening, led him to confide to his wife the statement that "the more I observe of those who are called great men the more am I convinced that there is really less difference among men than is generally supposed." With men as with mountains it was often a case of distance lending enchantment to the view.

Cincinnati on the whole was not a very agreeable city to Kirkwood. Soft coal was burned almost exclusively, and the smoke and soot

made everything black and dirty. "I suppose", he said, "the dirt arising from the coal smoke is the reason that the ladies here dress so plainly on the streets. I am disposed to think from what I have seen that the ladies of Mansfield wear richer street dresses than the ladies here do." Moreover the city water was of a very poor quality. "At this time", he wrote, "the river is on the rise and the water we drink shows it. It has a pretty liberal mixture of mud in it and I am strongly of the opinion that the Cincinnatians are compelled to use if they live long more than the peck of dirt which is said to be assigned to each of us." Nevertheless, the wives of several members of the Convention had accompanied their husbands, and he urged Mrs. Kirkwood to join him as soon as he could find suitable quarters — a desire which she later gratified.⁷⁷

The Cincinnati session of the Constitutional Convention was held in "College Hall" in a building owned by Cincinnati College, located on the east side of Walnut Street between Fourth and Fifth Streets. The hall was fitted up for convention purposes chiefly at State expense. In the same building were the rooms of the Young Men's Mercantile Library Association, the free use of which was extended to the delegates, who were also invited to attend lectures held under the auspices of the association.⁷⁸

On December 2, 1850, the Convention resumed its interrupted deliberations. During the succeeding weeks and months Mr. Kirkwood adhered to his custom of speaking seldom, and only when he had something definite to say. The first subject to claim his attention was that of taxation, upon the various aspects of which his views were expressed in the following words:

My idea of the true principle of levying taxes is, that the means of the citizens should all be taken to form a basis of taxation. I lay it down, in the first place, as a general principle, that everything should be taxed, without exception.

I do not understand whether the proviso now proposed to be inserted, expressly requires, that any property shall be exempted. The difficulty heretofore has been, that the Legislature have been authorized to make bargains with corporations, and to determine whether their stock should be taxed or not, or to what extent it should be taxed. Now, I do not believe that the Legislature should have the right to tax the property of corporations in one way, and the property belonging to the citizens of the State generally in another way.

Heretofore, credits have escaped taxation entirely. I do not think credits ought to escape taxation. I do not see, if I hold the notes of individuals to the amount of \$10,000, why I should not be taxed for them. We have taxes upon property, and upon money at interest, and why should we not tax credits?

I desire to see the Constitution provide expressly what description of property shall be exempted, so that nothing but what is specified in the Constitution can be exempted.

I believe that the principle of exempting all the property of churches is wrong; but I believe that the Legislature should have power to exempt a specific amount of church property, as such, and a specific amount of the property of all literary and scientific institutions, as such. But I would not be willing that any literary institution should possess a college endowment of half a million, and hold the whole exempt from taxation. I am willing that school houses and grave yards should be exempted, but I want all these to be clearly defined in the Constitution.

Furthermore, he was opposed to the existing system whereby real estate was often subjected to double taxation. For instance, he believed that if a man bought a farm valued at ten thousand dollars and gave a mortgage for half that sum, he should not be required to pay taxes on the total value of the farm, but only in proportion to the interest which he held in the property. The remaining tax would be assessed against the holder of the mortgage, and thus the land would not be taxed both upon its total value and upon the amount of the mortgage.⁷⁹

A break in the routine of constitution-making occurred on Friday, December 13th, when the

Convention took time to pay its respects to a distinguished visitor from the land of Turkey, Amin Bey, who was traveling in this country for the purpose of observing the workings of American political institutions. He was welcomed in a speech by the president, to which he responded through an interpreter; whereupon he and his retinue were invited to take seats on the floor of the hall.⁸⁰

On the subject of corporations Mr. Kirkwood argued on many occasions in favor of a definite provision in the Constitution giving the General Assembly the right to repeal or revoke charters and franchises under such terms as to compensation for any resulting loss as would be equitable.⁸¹

He was inclined to be suspicious of the movement for law reform embodied in the provision for a board of commissioners to revise, reform, and simplify the practice, pleadings, forms, and procedure of the Ohio courts of record. "That some of the known forms of action may be suppressed, is perhaps true," he said, "but that a sweeping destruction of them all would be attended with benefit or even with safety, I do not believe."⁸² At the same time, he "objected to the grand jury system on account of its expense. He would be glad to see all cases of assault and battery, selling liquor without license, and all petit larceny, disposed of before

a justice of the peace". Or, for all minor offenses "there might be created a court of three justices of the peace, to say whether the accused should be bound over, and then let the prosecuting attorney make out his indictment, without the intervention of a grand jury."⁸³

As a general principle, Mr. Kirkwood declared that he favored the election of all officers by the people, but he would draw the line at the proposition to choose the directors of the penitentiary in this manner. He "was afraid that too much might be thrown upon the people by a multiplicity of elections."⁸⁴

Finally, the last subject upon which the Mansfield member made any extended remarks was the question of banks and banking. In this respect he was decidedly conservative. For while he did not oppose the granting of banking privileges, he favored rigid restrictions; and especially did he desire that a limit should be set to the power of the legislature in this respect. "I say", he declared, "that the people are interested not in the protection of banks, but in preventing their plunderings and robberies. Our pockets are the crop; the banks the breachy cattle, and our present constitution, the bad fence. I admit, that the best fence could be constructed, by removing the old one entirely. But seeing that we cannot now do that, I am in favor of putting on the additional rail now, and

making the new fence as soon as I can. . . . I am willing, and would be glad, to test the sense of the Convention in any way that a test can be had upon this subject; and then, at last, I shall be willing to take the best thing that can be obtained. But I shall record my vote and raise my voice against the adjournment of this Convention, without some attempt to protect the people of Ohio from the system of bank plunder, under which they have suffered so long and so grievously.”

Like the majority of Democrats he was opposed to paper money and in favor of an exclusively metallic currency. But it had become apparent that a hard money proposition could not be forced through the Convention. Members had argued that in a short time the output of the recently discovered California gold fields would be sufficient to meet all needs, and consequently there would be no further danger in permitting the issuance of paper money. Kirkwood was not so sure of this result, but even if it should transpire he thought that it would be many years before any appreciable difference would be felt. In the meantime the people should be protected, and to this end he proposed a section forbidding the legislature to pass any law “authorizing the emission or circulation of paper credit of any description whatever, intended, or calculated to

circulate as money, of a denomination as low as the highest denomination of coin (the twenty-dollar gold piece) emitted by the Government of the United States.”⁸⁵

The Constitutional Convention of Ohio adjourned on March 10, 1851, after having been in session one hundred and thirty-five days, covering a total period of more than five months. The Constitution thus drawn up was very different from the instrument under which the State had been admitted into the Union. It contained definite provisions relative to State debts, finance and taxation, banks and banking, corporations, education, county and township organization, and jurisprudence; and it made many important changes in the three departments of Commonwealth government. In other words, the Constitution corresponded very closely to the needs and the political doctrines of the time at which it was made.⁸⁶

It would be an exaggeration to speak of Samuel J. Kirkwood as a leader in the Convention. Nevertheless he was one whose influence was felt. Measured by the time occupied in debate he was one of the least conspicuous members of the assembly: in quality his speeches compared favorably with any that were made. He was direct, concise, and practical; and his chief efforts were in the interest

of the elimination of ambiguity from the provisions of the Constitution and the protection of the people against the abuses under which they had suffered in the past. His opinions were respected in the Convention even if they were not always followed.

For Kirkwood himself the experience at Columbus and Cincinnati was of great value. It compelled him, as nothing else could have done, to formulate his own ideas concerning the functions and problems of government.

VII

REMOVAL TO IOWA

A NEW partnership was formed by Kirkwood shortly after his return from the Constitutional Convention at Cincinnati. Thomas W. Bartley had acquired a taste for politics and the holding of public office. The election of Judges of the Supreme Court in the fall of 1851, occasioned by the provisions of the new Constitution, offered the opportunity for which he and his friends had been waiting. Kirkwood and others actively espoused his cause, with the result that Bartley received the Democratic nomination for Judge and was duly elected. Thereupon Kirkwood took into partnership his good friend, Barnabas Burns. To tell the truth, this change was very agreeable to Kirkwood, for it gave him a congenial associate more nearly of his own age and one who would assume more of the hard work of the office than Bartley, with his established reputation, had seen fit to perform.⁸⁷

Clients were not wanting, and the firm of Kirkwood and Burns carried on a lucrative practice as the years went by. Kirkwood's

ability and integrity came to be appreciated, both by the members of the Mansfield bar and by the people of the community. It was said that "his statement of a case was equal to an ordinary man's argument. With the Jury he had unbounded influence — they believed in what he said. In fact he was generally known throughout the county by the appellation of '*Honest Sam.*'"⁸⁸

In politics he remained "a Jeffersonian Democrat, and until 1854 acted with the party bearing the Democratic name. At that time, when the party gave itself up to the worship of 'strange gods,' Mr. Kirkwood remained true to his Faith." He had always been opposed to slavery as an institution and especially to its further extension. And so when Stephen A. Douglas, in his Kansas-Nebraska Bill, proposed to repeal the time-honored compromises and reopen the whole slavery question, Kirkwood, like thousands of others, was no longer able to ally himself with a party which supported such a measure.⁸⁹ Here was just the issue to arouse a mind ordinarily rather indifferent to political struggles in which no fundamental principles were involved.

With a revival of all his youthful liking for debate and public discussion he took every occasion to declare his opposition to Douglas's proposal. While the bill was pending in Con-

gress he wrote and published in a local newspaper a series of articles, over the signature "O. K.", in which he scathingly attacked the provisions of the bill.⁹⁰ And on February 17, 1854, as chairman of the committee on resolutions of an "anti-Nebraska meeting" held in Mansfield, he introduced a strong resolution denouncing the repeal of the Missouri Compromise and the renewed agitation of the slavery question.⁹¹ No doubt such outspoken opposition on the part of one who had long been known as a staunch Democrat carried much weight in the community.⁹²

What the result of this activity on Kirkwood's part might have had on his political career if he had remained in Ohio must be left to conjecture. For several years the Kirkwoods had been receiving letters postmarked "Iowa City, Iowa". These messages from what was then considered the far West came from Ezekiel Clark, Mrs. Kirkwood's oldest brother, who had gone West in 1848 and engaged in the milling business near Iowa City.

Thus it happened that in 1853 Mrs. Kirkwood and her other brother, John Clark, set out for a visit in the new Commonwealth across the Mississippi; and Mr. Kirkwood followed a few weeks later. The journey was made by rail to Chicago, with a number of changes of cars on the way, and from Chicago a railroad conveyed

the travelers to a point not far from Rock Island. Crossing the river, they stopped over night at Davenport and thence proceeded by boat to Muscatine, from which place a regular stage line was operated to Iowa City. But it was in a prosaic, open hack, drawn by two horses, rather than in a picturesque vehicle with a four-horse team such as was used in the old coaching days, that they traveled over the last miles of their journey.⁹³

A few weeks later the Kirkwoods returned to Mansfield. But within a little more than a year they were preparing to leave Ohio and make a new home in the State of Iowa to which many inducements attracted them. Ezekiel Clark was eager that his brother-in-law should come and join him in his business enterprises which had proved very profitable. Besides, Mrs. Kirkwood's mother, her brother John, and one sister now lived in Iowa City, and another sister resided in Des Moines. Family ties therefore drew Mrs. Kirkwood to the West; while business prospects and the many opportunities offered by a new and growing community appealed strongly to her husband.

Some time was consumed in closing up affairs in the firm of Kirkwood and Burns, and in selling the house in which the Kirkwoods had lived since their marriage.⁹⁴ It was in the spring of the year 1855 that they started on the

journey to their new home. Transportation was difficult and charges high in those days, and consequently they sold most of their household furniture, shipping only such things as could well be packed into boxes and crates. Just before their departure the members of the Mansfield bar tendered to Mr. Kirkwood a banquet which, "in addition to the feast spread upon the table", it is said, "was a 'feast of reason and a flow of soul' where Mirth and Good Cheer reigned supreme, and at the close of which many a farewell hand shake was given, and a 'God speed you on your way' was pronounced by all."⁹⁵

There was no lack of company on the journey westward, for this was the period of the great tide of emigration to Iowa from the States north of the Ohio River and the Commonwealths further east. Kansas and Missouri were also calling thousands of emigrants. In May, 1855, a Chicago newspaper could not see "the least symptom of subsidence in the immense tide of travel setting westward. The trains grow longer and fuller and more of them, and the hotels are constantly swarming."⁹⁶ At times the hotels of the growing metropolis on the lake were unable to care for the throngs that desired accommodation. The railroads leading from Chicago to the Mississippi carried thousands of settlers seeking homes in

Iowa, and from early spring to late fall the ferries across the river were kept busy transporting the wagons, flocks, and herds of the emigrants who had come thither over the principal wagon roads. It was an emigration which was destined to change the political complexion of the State; and curiously enough it brought in those very elements which within five years were to elevate Samuel J. Kirkwood to the highest office in the Commonwealth.⁹⁷

The journey from Mansfield to Iowa City was made without mishap or notable incident, except for the annoyances due to crowded and delayed trains. It was fortunate, however, for a young Mansfield couple, likewise bound for Iowa, that they had a friend on board the train. For by the time they reached Chicago their slender store of money had been consumed, and it was only through Mr. Kirkwood's generosity that they were furnished with funds with which to complete their journey to southern Iowa — a generosity which was never repaid.

In due time the stage-coach once more brought Mr. and Mrs. Kirkwood to Iowa City, where they were welcomed to the home of John Clark, which stood at the corner of College and Johnson streets. Shortly afterward a wagon was sent to Davenport to fetch the boxes and crates of household belongings.⁹⁸

VIII

MILLER AND FARMER

IOWA CITY in the spring of 1855 was a place of about four thousand inhabitants, spread out over a square mile of rolling land clothed with a native growth of oaks, elms, and hard maples. In the Old Stone Capitol, overlooking the Iowa River, the General Assembly of Iowa still convened in biennial sessions, and here were held most of the State conventions of the two political parties. Iowa City was also the seat of the State University, which in March of that year opened for its first session. Business was good and there was some prospect that the place would become a manufacturing center. The citizens were awaiting impatiently the coming of the railroad, which even then was being built westward from Davenport.⁹⁹ Moreover, it is said that when the Kirkwoods arrived the town was "red-hot and sizzling with political excitement over the first consequences of the adoption by congress of Douglas's 'squatter sovereignty' theory".¹⁰⁰

It was not within the corporate limits of Iowa City, however, that Mr. and Mrs. Kirkwood

took up their abode, but at a point on the Iowa River about two miles and a half northwest of town, where stood the mill owned by Ezekiel Clark. To this establishment there belonged an interesting history. In 1843 an association known as the Iowa City Manufacturing Company was formed, and a sufficient amount of stock was subscribed to make possible the purchase of land and the erection of a dam. Early in the following year the mill was put into operation, much to the joy of the people of Iowa City and the surrounding country, for hitherto it had often been difficult to secure flour and ground meal. But for various reasons the company failed to make the expected profits and became insolvent, whereupon the property was sold at sheriff's sale and after passing through several hands came into the possession of Ezekiel Clark.¹⁰¹

Samuel J. Kirkwood purchased a part interest in this flour and grist mill, as well as in a saw-mill just across the river and in a farm of about twelve hundred acres adjoining the mill site. Thus was formed the firm of Clark and Kirkwood, which later added to its already extensive business enterprises a general merchandise store in Iowa City.¹⁰² Mr. Kirkwood and his wife moved into the Clark home at Clarksville, or Coralville as the suburb came later to be called, and Mrs. Kirkwood assumed

the functions of a mother toward her brother's three children — two boys and a girl.¹⁰³

The erstwhile Mansfield attorney now “became a full fledged Iowa miller and farmer, wearing the dusty coat of one and the soil-stained boots of the other”. He kept aloof from public affairs, and most of his neighbors saw in him only a “careless, burly-looking, but good-natured, miller”, whom they liked and trusted and soon came to address familiarly as “Sam”.¹⁰⁴

Prosperity continued to reward the labors of the millers,¹⁰⁵ for they depended not merely on the trade of nearby farmers who came thither with their grists to be ground. Settlers from all northwestern Iowa — from the vicinity of Marshalltown, Fort Dodge, and even from far-away Woodbury County, it is said — could for a time find no nearer point at which they might purchase flour. “It was no unusual sight to see fifty or sixty wagons arranged at this mill at one time”. During such periods the machinery was operated day and night, and “the vicinity of the mill often looked like a camping ground, so thronged was it” with the teams of settlers awaiting their turns to have their grists ground.¹⁰⁶ The twelve hundred acre farm was likewise a source of profit to its owners. Corn was the principal crop; while the raising of cattle and hogs proved especially successful,

since the waste products from the mill could be utilized to good advantage in feeding.¹⁰⁷

The management of all these enterprises meant hard work for Kirkwood.¹⁰⁸ Nor were the duties which fell to Mrs. Kirkwood any lighter. With three growing children to look after there were ordinary household cares sufficient to keep her busy. But much of the time it was necessary that several farm and mill hands should be lodged and boarded in the home of their employers. The quiet home-life to which they had been accustomed in their Ohio home was impossible under such conditions; and this Jane Kirkwood missed more than anything else during the first years in Iowa.¹⁰⁹

That Kirkwood had become a good judge of men is illustrated by an incident which occurred in 1856. One day there came to the mill a young man by the name of John F. Duncombe. He had driven all the way from Fort Dodge, for the purpose of making a shipment on the railroad which had recently been opened to Iowa City. Rather than return with an empty wagon, and as a speculation, he decided to buy some flour, and reap the benefit of the high prices which that commodity would bring in his home town. When he was about to leave the mill Mr. Kirkwood called his attention to the fact that he could easily haul much more flour than he had purchased. Mr. Duncombe replied

that he had taken all he could pay for. Thereupon the miller studied his customer's appearance for a moment, and then told him to load up his wagon and send back the money when he had sold the flour. The confidence thus expressed was not betrayed, and at the same time Kirkwood thereby gained a good friend.¹¹⁰

In their new home the Kirkwoods were not entirely among strangers. Mrs. Kirkwood's mother, two brothers, and a sister (Mrs. Edward Lucas), as has been seen, were here; and within a short time Mr. Kirkwood's brother John came and took up a farm in Johnson County. Moreover, in Iowa City and the surrounding country were a number of former Mansfield and Richland County people, among whom was Dr. E. W. Lake who had befriended Kirkwood when he appeared in Mansfield to study law in the office of Thomas W. Bartley. Among their neighbors they were received with western hospitality; and strong friendships soon sprang up with the Crum, Folsom, Dennis, and other families in Coralville and Iowa City.¹¹¹

While Kirkwood gave little outward indication of his interest in politics during the months when his new work was engrossing his attention, it is evident that time had not softened the resentment aroused within him by the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill. "I was really

glad to learn that you and the other persons you have named have determined to support the Republican ticket this fall", he wrote in September, 1855, to a friend in Ohio. "If I were in Ohio, I would not only vote for that ticket, but I would stump it whenever I could find a stump to stand on, and a dozen voters to listen to me. In my opinion the only way to save Kansas from the evils of slavery, and save our country from the crime and disgrace of converting free soil into slave soil, is for the men of the North without distinction of party — all men who are Democrats in fact, and not in name merely . . . to unite and say by their votes, *this foul deed shall not be done.*"¹¹²

A man with such strong convictions and with Kirkwood's ability as a speaker could not expect long to "hide his light under a bushel". In fact the time soon came when he was unexpectedly and against his will thrust prominently into public notice.

This was a period of political readjustment precipitated by Douglas's measure and fostered by subsequent events in unhappy Kansas. In Iowa, as elsewhere throughout the country, old party alignments were entirely broken down; and the indefinite body of voters which in the summer of 1854 had elected James W. Grimes as Governor, had by January, 1856, become welded into a definite, homogeneous party

which only lacked formal organization. Thus it was that, in the belief that a majority of the people of Iowa were opposed to the extension of slavery into free territory, a call was issued, bidding "all such free citizens to meet in Convention, at Iowa City on the 22d day of February, for the purpose of organizing a Republican party, to make common cause with a similar party already formed in several of the other States of the Union."¹¹³

The convention which met at Iowa City on February 22, 1856, in response to this call was said to have been the largest political gathering ever held in Iowa up to that time. The hall of the House of Representatives in the Old Stone Capitol was filled to overflowing with delegates many of whom had traveled by wagon or stage or on horseback as far as one hundred and fifty miles in the midst of winter to be present.¹¹⁴

Kirkwood's name appeared in the list of the fully accredited delegates from Johnson County, but it is apparent that he had not planned to attend the convention. In fact, he was not present at the morning session. Being a comparative stranger in Iowa he felt that he would know scarcely anyone in the convention; and besides, there was much work to do at the mill. In the afternoon, however, his partner urged him to go in to the meeting, saying that there were some of Kirkwood's old Ohio friends

in attendance who would be glad to see him. Thus appealed to, and without much preparation in the way of toilet, Kirkwood laid aside the work at hand and betook himself to Iowa City. In the convention hall he found a seat where he hoped to remain an inconspicuous observer of the proceedings.¹¹⁵

In many respects this was a remarkable convention, for the delegates felt that "they had indeed assembled for a great and noble purpose". The afternoon and evening sessions were characterized by earnest speeches, when "one man after another took the floor in favor of the limitation of slave territory, sundered the ties that bound him" to his old party, "and gave in his allegiance to the Republican party. It was an experience meeting, and men in the candor of their hearts briefly, tersely told of their bitter experience" in the old parties.¹¹⁶

In the midst of this series of speeches, in accordance with a preconcerted plan on the part of his friends, there came calls for "Kirkwood". Surprised at the calls, the miller at first paid no attention to them. But his admirers were not to be thwarted and they continued to call his name. Whereupon, because he was a stranger except to the Johnson County delegates, loud whispers of "Who is Kirkwood" were heard in the hall; while one delegate, in a louder voice than the others, called out "Who in h—l is Kirkwood?"¹¹⁷

At length when he could no longer refuse to accede to the calls, Kirkwood stepped forward and stood before the convention. "He was dressed in his working clothes, and was bepowdered from head to foot with flour", says one who witnessed the scene. "He was a stranger to all except the Iowa Cityans present, and as I was fresh from the east with some memories of 'dude' orators, I wondered with lots of others who that uncouth laborer was. A 'change came over the spirit of our dreams' pretty soon, let me tell you. He hadn't spoken many minutes before the sound sense, convincing logic, and forceful oratory, not spread eagle eloquence, captivated every auditor and held our fixed attention until his great speech closed."¹¹⁸

No chronicler has preserved in detail the speech made by Kirkwood that day, when he received his introduction to political life in Iowa. In substance he recounted how after many years of loyalty he had left the Democratic party because that party had deserted its former principles. Without definitely committing himself to work with the new party, he showed himself to be so thoroughly "in harmony with the leading thought that inspired the convention", that he was placed on a committee, composed of some of the leading members of the party, to draw up an address to the people of Iowa.¹¹⁹

IX

THE SIXTH GENERAL ASSEMBLY

HAVING thus made his appearance upon the stage of Iowa politics Samuel J. Kirkwood was not again allowed to remain in quiet obscurity at his mill beside the Iowa River. The new Republican party was in need of speakers and of men capable of leadership; and so Kirkwood soon found himself pressed into a service which he could not escape even had he so desired. His name appears in the list of delegates from Iowa City Township to the Johnson County Republican Convention on June 28, 1856; while he was scheduled as one of the principal speakers at a mass meeting held on the evening of the same day for the purpose of ratifying the nominations made by the National Republican Convention. But of greater importance was his nomination for State Senator by the Republican convention of the district composed of Johnson and Iowa counties which likewise convened at Iowa City on June 28th.¹²⁰

Of the campaign which ensued between Kirkwood and his Democratic opponent, J. D. Templin, there is little record. It has been

said, however, that it "was a 'lost hope' he led in that election. No other republican dared to be a candidate", for the district had long been a Democratic stronghold. It is related, also, that his opponent endeavored to stir up sentiment against Kirkwood by calling attention to the fact that the mill dam at Coralville prevented large fish from ascending the river, to the detriment of settlers living above the dam. But in spite of all handicaps and opposition the citizens of the district rallied to the support of "Sam" Kirkwood in such numbers that he was elected State Senator.¹²¹

The Sixth General Assembly of Iowa which convened on the first day of December, 1856, was the last session of the legislature to be held in the Old Stone Capitol at Iowa City. While this Assembly was not particularly notable because of the prominence or ability of its members, it included, especially in the Senate, a number of men well known in Iowa history. Kirkwood here found himself associated with such men as Alvin Saunders, William F. Coolbaugh, William Loughridge, J. E. Neal, Nicholas J. Rusch, J. W. Cattell, Josiah B. Grinnell, W. W. Hamilton, H. H. Trimble, and M. L. McPherson. But what this body of men may have lacked in experience and renown they made up in earnestness and industry. Not only was this the period of the transfer of power

from one political party to another, but within a few months there was to be a total revision of the fundamental law of the Commonwealth.

During the two months of the legislative session Senator Kirkwood took comparatively little part in the public deliberations.¹²² It was later said of him, by one who knew him intimately, that he "was inclined to be indolent, and it required something more than ordinary routine legislation to bring out his great intellectual powers."¹²³ He was chairman of the Committee on Federal Relations and a member of the regular committees on public buildings and railroads, besides being appointed from time to time as a member of special committees to consider particular subjects.¹²⁴ Most of the time he was content to perform his duties on committees, offering only an occasional motion or amendment on the floor of the Senate.

But there were a few occasions on which he was thoroughly aroused. On the afternoon of December 17th there came up for discussion House File No. 2, which was a joint resolution instructing and requesting the Iowa Senators and Representatives in Congress "to exert their influence and vote for the admission of Kansas into the Union as a Free State, and to oppose its admission with a constitution establishing or tolerating Slavery." In the preamble it was asserted that "Freedom is

National, and Slavery, Sectional", and that "the peace, welfare and honor of the country imperatively require that our National domain shall be preserved Free, for Free Homes, for Free Men".

This was too strong a doctrine for the Democratic members of the Senate, and one of their number, Mr. David T. Brigham of Van Buren County, was ready with a substitute series of resolutions which he immediately introduced. It was here declared to be the "imperative duty of the General Government to protect all actual residents in the respective territories of the United States, and all persons seeking homes there, in the free and full enjoyment of all legal and constitutional rights of person and property"; and the members of the Iowa delegation in Congress were called upon to act and vote in accordance with this attitude. In conclusion, it was asserted that "while we entertain and express the confident hope that the people of Kansas will at a proper time organize, and adopt for her government a constitution prohibiting the institution of domestic slavery, we still recognize their right to determine and manage their own domestic institutions in their own way, and be admitted as one of the States of this Union."

Quick to seize the opportunity offered by the last clause in this substitute resolution the

Johnson County Senator proposed the following pointed amendment to Mr. Brigham's resolutions :

To insert after the words, their own way, and before the words, and be admitted, in the latter part of the substitute, the following :

Provided, That the power of the people who may settle in our territories to establish therein the systems of human slavery or polygamy is not essential to the free enjoyment by them of all the rights of self government.¹²⁵

“Never have we seen more consternation in a friendly circle than this created among the dozen Democrats in the Senate”, wrote a correspondent for a Chicago newspaper who was sitting in the Senate when this episode occurred. “Had a bomb shell burst among them, they could not have been more disconcerted. Here was a dilemma, they must either vote for polygamy and slavery, or vote against them, they could not ride the non-intervention hobby and say to slavery, ‘we neither love nor hate you, go where you please, and to polygamy you may do the same.’ ”

“In introducing his amendment”, continued this same correspondent, “Mr. Kirkwood made decidedly the best speech that has been delivered this session. He is the Ajax of the Senate, at least a head and shoulders above all his competitors. . . . He was in favor of the prin-

ciple of self-government, but the right of self-government does not imply the right, authority or power to take away any of the natural rights of others. If the Democratic doctrines of to-day are right, we present to the countries of Europe the sad spectacle that our General Government looks with equal approbation on freedom and slavery, and has not the power, or at best the independence to choose between the two. If our country has the power and right to acquire free territory, it has the power and right to keep it free. We got Utah and New Mexico free; not a slave breathed on the soil of either, and yet we are told by the Democratic party, that we have no power to keep them free. I have been a long time a Democrat, I voted for Franklin Pierce, but I do not now believe this to be sound Democratic doctrine and never did while acting with that party.”¹²⁶

A desperate effort was made to strike out the word “polygamy” in Kirkwood’s amendment or at least to secure a division in the vote upon the two questions, but all to no avail. In disgust Senator H. H. Trimble proposed to amend the Kirkwood amendment by adding “after the word ‘Polygamy,’ the words ‘Land Piracy, Murder, Arson, Counterfeiting, Horse Stealing, Whiskey Drinking, and Ignorance.’”¹²⁷ The Democratic substitute was finally laid on the

table and the original joint resolution was adopted by a large majority.

Senator Kirkwood was likewise wide awake when any measure relating to public education or school lands was under deliberation. Early in the session he introduced a resolution to the effect that "the committee on the Judiciary be instructed to report to this body whether, in their opinion, the State of Iowa is entitled, under the act of Congress of March 3d, 1845, to five per cent of the government price of all lands sold in the State by the United States for military land warrants", and he was thereupon made a temporary member of the committee for the special consideration of the resolution. Later, because criticism had arisen concerning the action of the Superintendent of Public Instruction and certain members of the Board of Trustees of the State University in purchasing University lands, he introduced resolutions calling for information relative to the alleged frauds. The defalcation of Superintendent James D. Eads also induced him to present a resolution which was adopted calling upon the Committee on Schools "to inquire and report, by bill or otherwise, whether any, and if any, what further legislation is required for the security of school funds in the hands of the county school fund commissioners of the State."

Again, when Senator Neal proposed that

“the committee on Schools be instructed to enquire into the expediency of locating the state university upon the five sections of land in Jasper county,” Kirkwood was on his feet with amendments which may be viewed either as a disinterested suggestion in favor of centralization or as a shrewd method of blocking the move proposed by Senator Neal. Instead of opposing the resolution he not only seemed to give it his approval but he also moved that the State capital, the asylum for the blind, and the asylum for the deaf and dumb should be included in the same plan. It is needless to say that there could be no hope of securing the adoption of such a scheme when politics and sectional jealousies were such decisive factors in the location of State institutions.¹²⁸

The consumption of valuable time by the useless injection of partisanship into the discussion of legislative matters was not to the liking of the Senator from Johnson County. On December 15th a “bill for an act relating to evidence” was read a third time and adopted. This bill, which removed the restrictions formerly placed upon the right of negroes and Indians to give testimony in cases involving a white person, was distasteful to the pro-slavery Democrats. Consequently, when it was voted to reconsider the title of the bill, Senator J. E. Neal proposed to amend the title to read “A bill for an act to

equalize the white, the black, and the mongrel races.” Senator M. L. McPherson, from the Republican side, thereupon offered the following substitute for this amendment: “An act to repeal a tyrannical prohibition of the Code, placed there by the Democratic Party of this State.” Not content to let the farce end here Senator James D. Test, a Democrat, presented another substitute entitling the bill “An act carrying out the policy of the Black Republicans.” At this point Kirkwood hastened to call for the “yeas and nays” on Senator Neal’s amendment, and this closed the discussion.¹²⁹

Finally, much credit should be given to Samuel J. Kirkwood for shaping and securing the adoption of the bill establishing The State Historical Society of Iowa — a bill which carried with it a modest appropriation of two hundred and fifty dollars. In reporting for the Committee on Federal Relations, to which the bill had been referred, he secured the adoption of an amendment which located the Society in “connection with, and under the auspices of the state university”, rather than “at the capital”.¹³⁰

The Sixth General Assembly adjourned early on the morning of January 29, 1857, after an all night session, leaving the Old Stone Capitol to the State officers and the Constitutional Convention which, for more than a week, had been

meeting daily in the Supreme Court room. One of the last statutes enacted in the historic building which soon was to be given over to the State University of Iowa was a joint resolution by which Samuel J. Kirkwood was made a member of the Board of Trustees of that institution.¹³¹

X

IN THE SENATE AT THE NEW SEAT OF GOVERNMENT

IF Kirkwood had planned to give his entire attention once more to mill and farm and store upon the adjournment of the legislature, he was doomed to disappointment. On January 22nd, a week before the close of the legislative session, a Republican State Convention was held at Iowa City and Kirkwood was chosen as chairman of the State Central Committee, the other members of which were William Penn Clarke, George D. Woodin, Hiram Price, and Henry O'Connor.¹³² Upon him, therefore, fell the principal burden of planning and directing the campaigns of the buoyant young party during that year.¹³³ This was a task which involved not only many personal conferences with party leaders, but also a great deal of correspondence and much public speaking. In this way he began the wide acquaintance with people in all parts of the State which in part explains his popularity in Iowa during the next quarter of a century.

Especially did this new position bring Kirk-

wood into intimate relations with Governor James W. Grimes, the "Father of Republicanism in Iowa". Early in March Senator Kirkwood received a long letter from the Governor, the first part of which dealt with matters of concern to the former as a Trustee of the State University. Turning to the political situation, Grimes warned the chairman of the State Central Committee that "Our main efforts must be directed to carrying the legislature in October. . . . As far as it regards any aspirations that I may have, I wish my friends to entirely disregard them and labor alone for the advancement of our party and its principles. I desire to prevent our party from being dissevered. . . . It will be very important to us that we secure the right kind of a man for Governor in October. If we get a weak man, either intellectually or politically, we shall be swamped."

And then he expressed his high estimation of Kirkwood's abilities by adding: "I would suggest your name if I did not think it better for you to be a candidate for Congress next year, with a prospect for a senatorship two years hence. If, however, you prefer to be a candidate for governor in October, or if you prefer to be a candidate for the Senate in place of Jones you may rely upon my co-operation and aid. I am disposed to assist in selecting those men who can do us the most good. I want

somebody in Congress from this State who has some common sense.”¹³⁴ The desire that Kirkwood should be a candidate for Congress was reiterated in other letters during the same month.¹³⁵

The friendship between the two men was strengthened by personal association during the summer when they stumped a portion of the State together in the interests of Ralph P. Lowe, the Republican candidate for Governor who had a hard struggle against his able Democratic opponent, Ben M. Samuels. Kirkwood had hoped to avoid journeying away from home during the season when the work of the farm most needed his attention. But Governor Grimes came to Iowa City about the middle of August and insisted that Kirkwood accompany him on a speech-making tour in northeastern Iowa, in place of John W. Rankin of Keokuk who had been forced to abandon the trip in order to attend to his own interests in a campaign for the State Senate. Yielding to the urgency of the situation as presented by the Governor, the busy miller-farmer consented to go. The two men traveled, as was necessary in ante-railroad times, in a two-horse buggy.

During the succeeding three weeks Grimes and Kirkwood traveled through sixteen counties, fording swollen streams, picking their way around swamps, and often riding for hours in a

heavy rain — for this was an unusually wet season in Iowa. For instance, it is related that they arrived at West Union after an all day's ride through "a good orthodox downpour, in which water was at a big discount", and there found it necessary to borrow dry clothes in which to appear before the audience gathered to hear them. But in spite of the difficulties of travel all the appointments were met, and the people of northeastern Iowa were preached sound Republican doctrine.¹³⁶

After his return from this wearisome trip Kirkwood made several other speeches at points nearer home during the three weeks immediately preceding the election. On most of these occasions he participated in joint debates with Ben M. Samuels, the Democratic candidate for Governor.¹³⁷ Finally, however, the campaign came to a close, and the workers in the Republican cause were rewarded for their labors by the victory of their candidates. Ralph P. Lowe was elected Governor by a majority of slightly more than two thousand votes, while the legislature was kept from the control of the Democrats, thus insuring the election of a Republican United States Senator to succeed George W. Jones.

By this time it had become generally known that James W. Grimes would be a candidate for the senatorship when the legislature should

convene in January, 1858; but he was not a man who put his own personal aspirations above the interests of his friends or his party. It seems that while the two men were canvassing north-eastern Iowa together Kirkwood had urged Grimes to announce himself for the senatorship and had promised his support in the legislature. But when the former returned to Iowa City he found that William Penn Clarke, his neighbor and colleague on the State Central Committee, was a candidate for the same position. Here was an embarrassing situation.

Like a ray of light amid the gloom of political striving and intrigue was Grimes's letter to his friend. He had no kindly feeling toward Clarke, against whom he warned Kirkwood to be on his guard. But, he said, "if voting for me will injure you, you must not do it at all. If I go down, I do not intend to take any of my friends with me if I can help it."¹³⁸

At about this same time Grimes gave further proof of his regard for Kirkwood by informing him of the rumor that James Harlan would not be a candidate for reelection to the Senate in 1860. "You must strike for his place", urged Grimes. "You know you can rely upon my help & you can get it just as well as not."¹³⁹ What ambitions these repeated suggestions may have aroused in Kirkwood's breast can never be known. Events were shaping themselves along

other lines: a place of greater service awaited him. Grimes and Harlan were to be the spokesmen for Iowa in the United States Senate during the period of storm and stress.

The campaign was followed by three months during which Samuel J. Kirkwood was free to devote himself to his private business enterprises. Then public affairs again claimed his attention, for the time had come for the convening of the Seventh General Assembly of Iowa. Instead of being able to remain in comfort at his Coralville home, as had been his good fortune during the preceding legislative session, the Johnson County Senator must now prepare for a two months sojourn at the new seat of government one hundred and twenty miles to the westward. No railroad then carried passengers over the distance in less than four hours. Members of the legislature, State officers, and all other citizens of southeastern Iowa who had business at the capital must needs patronize the Western Stage Company, and make the journey in "the old Concord stage" that "day and night wallowed through the great snow drifts that filled the sloughs and ravines of the bleak unsettled prairies, from Iowa City." Travelers sometimes complained that at the eating-houses along the way stage-coach passengers were charged fifty cents for poor meals which were given to local patrons for twenty-five cents.¹⁴⁰

Des Moines, but recently emerged from the conditions of a frontier military and trading post, was, like its Federal prototype, a city of "magnificent distances", and that was the most that could be said for it in 1858. It was "a little shabby frontier town of less than 3,000 inhabitants. . . . The new state house had been located on the east side of the river a mile or more from the hotels, and the streets leading to it were, for a long distance, simply wagon tracks made through a long stretch of low, swampy river bottom," where vehicles frequently became fast in the mud. "One long straggling walk of native lumber boards, warped and slippery, could be seen strung out lonesome and wabbling in the direction of the new brick capitol. The speculators in real estate, who had built the state house on the then desolate hill in the distance, far from every accommodation a rude frontier town possessed, had hastened to plat into lots, streets and alleys, a vast region of swamp, woodland, and cultivated farms. Prospectively they were gazing anxiously for a mighty 'boom' which should lift them from poverty into millionaires. But the crash of 1857 was lowering over the entire country, and the practical problem of bread and butter was, for the time, absorbing their chief attention and entire available resources."

"All was rude, with stumps of trees, perilous

ravines and walks made of coal slack", wrote one who was a colleague of Kirkwood in the Senate. "There were boarding-houses on streets indicated by a surveyor's stake, or by a path through mud of various consistency, according to the weather, in which were planted and lost sundry odd overshoes without a suggestion of a search therefor. It is no legend that by lanterns and blazed trees we made our way at night near Capitol Square".

The redeeming feature of the whole situation was to be found in the friendliness of the citizens of the town who were "liberal, broad-gauged, hospitable and hopeful people." None of the houses were large "but the doors were wide, the hinges swung towards the interior, and the Legislators who had time, and were given to the social amenities, were everywhere generously entertained." Parlors and sleeping-rooms in many homes were surrendered to importunate legislators who found lodgings at the distant hotels too inconvenient or too expensive. In a word, because this was the first General Assembly to meet at the new capital, the members received a welcome which for genuine warmth was not exceeded in subsequent years.¹⁴¹

Such was the town which Kirkwood, together with a majority of the legislators, saw for the first time early in January, 1858. The Seventh

General Assembly convened on the eleventh day of the month in the "Old Brick Capitol"—a building, erected by private enterprise, which stood on the site now occupied by the Soldiers' Monument.

A large number of the names which appear most frequently in the political annals of Iowa are to be found in the list of the members of that Assembly. In the Senate, in addition to many able, hold-over members from the preceding session, there were John W. Rankin, Gideon S. Bailey, W. H. M. Pusey, David S. Wilson, and others of scarcely less prominence. The House of Representatives likewise contained a whole galaxy of men who for many years were to hold places of leadership in the Commonwealth—such men as R. A. Richardson, Lincoln Clark, D. A. Mahoney, Thomas Drummond, Cyrus C. Carpenter, Stephen B. Shelledy, William H. SeEVERS, Edward N. Bates, P. B. Bradley, B. F. Gue, James F. Wilson, Laurin Dewey, W. W. Belknap, and George W. McCrary. William P. Hepburn was chief clerk. It was an able body of men and it had important work to do, for many readjustments in the statute laws were made necessary by the provisions of the new Constitution.

Senator Kirkwood was in his seat when the roll was called on January 11th, and during the succeeding ten weeks he took an active part in

the shaping of new legislation. As in the previous session, he was chairman of the Committee on Federal Relations; and he was also a member of the standing committees on Schools and State University, Public Buildings, and Banks, besides being appointed from time to time to serve on special committees to which were assigned important measures for careful consideration.¹⁴²

Of the ten bills introduced by Kirkwood three found their way into the statute books. One, relating to the salaries of certain State officers, fixed the salary of the Governor at two thousand dollars. Another made an improvement in the law concerning mechanics' lien. The third was a bill making an appropriation for the State University. During the process of the enactment of the last bill the sum of money involved was cut down from twenty-seven thousand to thirteen thousand dollars; and unsuccessful attempts were made, first to establish an "Agricultural Professorship" at the University, and later to stipulate that none of the money appropriated for building purposes should be paid out of the Treasury until an equal sum had been raised from private sources.¹⁴³

Among the seven bills introduced by Kirkwood which fell by the wayside was one providing a salary of one thousand dollars for the

corresponding secretary of The State Historical Society. The sum was reduced to three hundred dollars and in this crippled condition the bill for a time gave signs of vitality, but its life was snuffed out in the rush of matters at the close of the session.¹⁴⁴

In the amendment of bills introduced by others Kirkwood was somewhat more successful than in securing the enactment of his own measures.¹⁴⁵ Especially in the law establishing a State Bank with five or more branches are to be found several sections or important clauses which stand word for word as he presented them in the Senate as amendments to the original bill.¹⁴⁶ The epoch-making law of 1858 relative to public education also bears the impress of his ideas in the portions dealing with high schools and school funds.¹⁴⁷

Kirkwood's reports and his actions on the Committee on Federal Relations apparently attracted the greatest public attention at the time, for the relations between the Republican Iowa legislature and the Democratic Federal authorities were anything but friendly at this period. On March 12th, in behalf of the committee, he reported a memorial and joint resolution which was adopted without amendment, declaring that "should the Congress of the United States at its present session neglect or refuse to comply with the prayer of a certain

memorial passed during the present session of the General Assembly, in regard to the five per cent fund, claimed to be due the State, the Governor is hereby authorized and required to institute a suit in the Court of Claims in the name and for the benefit of the State against the United States, for the recovery of any amount that may be found due the State".¹⁴⁸

A note even more defiant was sounded in another joint resolution which Kirkwood introduced as chairman of the committee and which, it is safe to say, he had a large share in writing. It was a joint resolution "touching the opinions of some of the Judges of the Supreme Court of the United States, on political questions incorporated in the opinion of that Court in the case of *Scott vs. Sanford*." The decision was branded as entirely "extra-judicial" and as one which was "conclusive proof of the settled determination of the slavery propagandists to subvert all those high and holy principles of freedom upon which the American Union was formed, and to degrade it from its intended lofty position of the exemplar and bulwark of freedom, into a mere engine for the extension and perpetuation of the barbarous and detestable system of chattel slavery."

Therefore it was resolved "as the sense of the people of Iowa" that the "opinion of the Supreme Court in the case of *Dred Scott* is not

binding in law or conscience upon the government or people of the United States", and that "we should be ungrateful to those whose care and foresight provided for us free homes, and derelict in our duty to those who will come after us, did we not promptly and sternly denounce this new doctrine, which if established, degrades the Free States, and either confines free labor within its present limits or sends it into our new Territories in degrading competition with slave labor." While it was admitted that "any person held to service or labor in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another State may be reclaimed, not as property but as a *person*, who by the laws of the State whence he escaped, owes, and by the Constitution of the United States, is capable of owing, a debt of service or labor which he must discharge", it was emphatically declared that "the State of Iowa will not allow slavery within her borders, in any form or under any pretext, for any time, however short, be the consequences what they may."

The resolution, without a change, was adopted by a strict party vote in both houses of the legislature, and stood on the statute books as the official expression of the attitude of a majority of the people of Iowa on slavery extension in general and the Dred Scott decision in particular.¹⁴⁹

During the winter the citizens of Des Moines, in order to express their welcome in a collective manner, tendered a reception to the members of the General Assembly and the State officers. "The festivities occurred in the Sherman Hall. . . . It was a whole-souled western 'blow-out'. The lamps (literally) shone over fair women and entranced Legislators until after the midnight hour, and the dance and promenade still went on."¹⁵⁰

Not wishing to appear unappreciative of the generous hospitality extended to them, the legislature early in March considered a concurrent resolution granting the use of the hall of the House of Representatives, the Senate chamber, the Supreme Court room, and the Library to a committee on arrangements, of which Kirkwood was a member and subsequently chairman, "for the purpose of giving a festival to the citizens of Des Moines." "A little discussion sprang up upon the passage of this resolution. One moved to strike out 'Library,' and another 'Supreme Court Room,' expressing a doubt as to the constitutionality of using rooms which had been set apart for these purposes for such an affair as a festival. But the imagination of the entire Assembly snuffed the aroma of the forthcoming spread, and before their eyes flitted the beauty and intelligence of the city, so all constitutional scruples were silenced and the resolution passed unanimously."

Senator Kirkwood, as chairman of the committee, circulated a subscription paper and each member contributed ten dollars to the festival fund. And so, on the evening of March 18th a gay crowd thronged the Old Brick Capitol. The desks and carpet had been removed from the hall of the house and here until early morning were heard the strains of lively music and the sound of dancing feet. The Senate chamber was given over to the promenaders, while "an elaborate feast" was spread in the Supreme Court room.¹⁵¹

Five days later the Seventh General Assembly adjourned *sine die*, after having enacted many laws of fundamental importance in the history of the State.

By the close of the session Samuel J. Kirkwood came to be recognized as one of the most influential members of the Senate. "He was not a frequent speaker, but when he had occasion to express his views, it was always in a familiar, conversational manner that won the confidence of his hearers. . . . He made no pretense to oratory, and delivered no long, carefully prepared speeches; but his common sense and judgment led him to correct conclusions. He was never brilliant, but always solid and reliable."¹⁵²

That he was respected by Democrats as well as by his co-partisans is illustrated by an inci-

dent described many years later by H. H. Trimble. Early in the session, it appears, Senator Kirkwood introduced a series of resolutions relative to banking. "Mr. Pusey's seat was right opposite mine," says Mr. Trimble, "and he was a new man in this State; very young in age and politics, too. Kirkwood got up, kind of got his hands under his clothing, looked around in a queer, careless sort of manner; a man with a big head; long hair hanging down like an Indian's, and of swarthy complexion; very slowly and deliberately read his resolutions and after he got through made a few desultory remarks. Mr. Pusey leaned over and in a whisper asked me who that was. I told him, 'Some old farmer from up in the country here. Get up and go for him.' He got up and went for him, and he found out who Kirkwood was."¹⁵³

XI

DIRECTOR OF THE STATE BANK OF IOWA

FOR the first time since December, 1856, Mr. Kirkwood was now free to give his thoughts and energies, without much serious interruption, to his private business affairs. It is true that he was still chairman of the Republican State Central Committee, and that he made at least one political speech — at Cedar Rapids on August 6th.¹⁵⁴ But the rivalry was not so intense in the campaign of this year, when there was no Governor to be chosen, and thus partisan needs made fewer demands upon his time.

The prosperity which had attended the enterprises of Clark and Kirkwood during the three years since the arrival of the junior partner enabled both men to take advantage of a new opportunity which was offered to persons of means during the summer of 1858. One of the most important acts of the Seventh General Assembly was the law establishing the State Bank of Iowa — a law which contained many provisions introduced by Senator Kirkwood for the purpose of placing the institution upon a firm basis.

This new measure was hailed with great satisfaction, especially by the business men of the State, for the financial situation in Iowa was desperate. During the years of the Territorial period the people had passed through a bitter experience with the numerous "wild-cat" banks which flooded the West with worthless notes. As a result, the Constitution of 1846, under which Iowa was admitted into the Union, contained a provision absolutely prohibiting banks of issue; and the legislature hastened to impose penalties for violations. But as the years went by sentiment gradually changed. Thousands of people came into the State from Ohio, Indiana, and other Commonwealths where wisely guarded banking institutions enjoyed a deserved public confidence. Besides, it was not long until many of those who had been most emphatically opposed to banks of issue came to realize that the constitutional prohibition was working hardship to the business interests of the State. Circulating medium became very scarce, and much of it, consisting of notes of local banks in other States, was almost "on a par with the forest leaves of autumn" during the panic of 1857. "In those days in Iowa the two most important books that every business man needed were a Bible and a counterfeit detector. And of these two, the detector seemed to be the most important for at least six days out of the seven".¹⁵⁵

Thus it was that, "acting on the belief entertained by business men generally, that one effect of the creation of banks of issue in our own State, would be to drive out of its borders all this miscellaneous hodge-podge called money", the restriction upon banking institutions was removed when the new Constitution of 1857 was drafted and adopted. The legislature was given power to pass a general banking law and also to create a State Bank, but such laws were not to go into effect until ratified by a vote of the people.¹⁵⁶

Popular approval was readily accorded the law of the Seventh General Assembly creating the State Bank of Iowa, which was to consist of as many branches, not exceeding thirty, as were organized and qualified in compliance with the requirements of the law. The State Bank itself was merely the central governing body, with an office at Iowa City, which passed regulations for the conduct of the branches and supplied the branches with the circulating medium in the form of bank notes which the institution was authorized to issue. Commissioners were appointed for the purpose of inaugurating the plan, after which full authority was vested in a Board of Directors consisting of one representative from each branch bank and three persons elected by the General Assembly.¹⁵⁷

At Iowa City, as in the other principal towns

of the State, persons with money to invest only awaited the adoption of the law by the people to launch out on the new enterprise. On August 11th there appeared in a newspaper a public notice, signed by Samuel J. Kirkwood and ten other men, announcing that they had associated together for the purpose of establishing in Iowa City a branch of the State Bank, and that the book for subscriptions to the capital stock would be opened on September first at the law office of Edmonds and Ransom.¹⁵⁸ Subscribers needed no urging and in a short time a sufficient amount of stock was taken. Kirkwood was the largest stockholder, having seventy-six shares, purchased at one hundred dollars a share. On September 16th the stockholders met and selected Samuel J. Kirkwood, John Powell, Edward Connelly, E. Shepherd, C. T. Ransom, Kimball Porter, and Theodore Sanxay as Directors of the Iowa City Branch of the State Bank of Iowa.¹⁵⁹

Soon afterward Kirkwood was chosen to represent the Iowa City branch as a member of the general Board of Directors of the State Bank. At the first meeting of the board, on October 27, 1858, he was made president *pro tempore* and served in that capacity until Mr. Chester Weed was elected permanent president. Subsequently he became a member of the executive committee, as well as of various special committees of the

board. The records indicate that he performed his full share of the duties of a director until his resignation in the summer of 1859.¹⁶⁰ To him, therefore, is due some credit for helping to establish an institution which for about seven years "served its day to good purpose and performed in good faith all its promises."¹⁶¹

In the meantime Clark and Kirkwood sold their store in Iowa City to Thomas J. Cox who, it was announced, would "continue doing business at the old stand but in his own name and on his own account."¹⁶² By this time, however, Kirkwood had become thoroughly identified with the business interests of the town. Late in October his name appeared at the head of a list of the members of a "general committee" of citizens whose function was the promotion of manufacturing in Iowa City.¹⁶³

He was also a delegate to a State Railroad Convention held at Iowa City on December first. As a member of a committee of this convention he signed a minority report which declared that the credit of the State could not be loaned to railroad companies without a change in the Constitution. Failing in this manner to impress the delegates with the desirability of caution, he later proposed an amendment to the majority report to the effect that if the policy of State aid to railroads should be adopted then the State should assume

the debts already contracted by cities and counties. But the convention, almost wild in its enthusiasm to secure railroads at any cost, paid little heed to the advice of one who had seen the after effects of just such a public improvement fever in Ohio.¹⁶⁴

At the same time Kirkwood was fully aware of the great development of the State which would follow the extension of railroads over the prairies. In June, 1859, he journeyed to Cedar Rapids to attend the celebration of the completion of the "Chicago, Iowa and Nebraska Railroad" to that point — a celebration which was participated in not only by the people of Cedar Rapids and vicinity but by delegations from Chicago and the towns along the Mississippi.¹⁶⁵

Amid all these business activities Kirkwood still found some time for the social amenities and for participation in the organized life of the community. He was a member of the Iowa City Lecture Association formed during the winter of 1858–1859; and in March, 1859, he was elected as a rural school director for Iowa City Township.¹⁶⁶ Most of all he enjoyed the quiet, informal visits with neighbors and friends and the pleasures of his own home; for throughout his life he was a great home-lover. He was always glad of the rare opportunities for reading, and although the political news of the day

was the all-absorbing topic, his tastes ranged far and wide in the field of literature.¹⁶⁷

It was well that Samuel J. Kirkwood thus found a year of comparative peace; for he was soon to pass through the fire of one of the bitterest political campaigns in the history of Iowa, after which his common sense and good judgment were to be subjected to the severest tests ever required of a Governor of the Commonwealth.

XII

KIRKWOOD AGAINST DODGE

THE time for another State election was now approaching; and the two leading political parties were so evenly matched in Iowa and the feeling of partisanship so strong that the contest was bound to be sharp and exciting. When or by whom Samuel J. Kirkwood was persuaded to enter the race for the governorship are matters upon which there is no record. It may safely be assumed that James W. Grimes used his influence to that end, though not for the selfish reason later attributed to him.¹⁶⁸

At any rate it is evident that the nomination of Kirkwood by the Republican party in June, 1859, was not unsought, in spite of his reluctance at first to become a candidate. Early in the year he began to receive letters which indicate that he had made the decision and had embarked on the campaign in no half-hearted manner. On March 10th W. W. Hamilton wrote saying that as far as he could learn the choice of the Republicans of northern Iowa was first for Kirkwood, second for George G. Wright, and third for Ralph P. Lowe.¹⁶⁹ "The

idea of your nomination for Governor takes well with every Republican to whom I have mentioned it, and I have talked with a good many from different parts of the State", wrote James F. Wilson from Fairfield a few weeks later.¹⁷⁰

Nicholas J. Rusch of Davenport, who was to be Kirkwood's running-mate, wrote on April 20th expressing his gratification because Kirkwood was willing to be a candidate. He urged the choice of W. W. Hamilton for Lieutenant Governor, since he was an "adopted citizen" and would satisfy the Germans. As for himself, he felt that his "broken English and little experience are not proper qualifications for an office of that nature."¹⁷¹ "By the mail that takes you this," wrote Thomas Drummond, editor of the *Vinton Eagle*, "I send a copy of my paper in which I have hoisted your name as a Candidate for Governor. . . . I have as yet no knowledge whether you will be a candidate of your own motion, but trust that you will". The following day the same writer urged Kirkwood to make the acquaintance of "Charley Aldrich" of Webster City, editor of the *Hamilton Freeman*, who wielded great influence in his portion of the State.¹⁷² By May 25th a number of Iowa newspapers had come out in favor of Kirkwood as the Republican candidate for Governor.¹⁷³

Thus when the Republican State Convention met at Des Moines on June 22, 1859, the only restraint upon the enthusiastic sentiment in favor of Samuel J. Kirkwood was the knowledge that Ralph P. Lowe was still desirous of a renomination. Governor Lowe had given satisfaction to the members of the party during his administration, and he was a man held in high esteem throughout the State. But he lacked the qualities required of a great leader of the people. The lowering clouds in the political sky made the Republicans feel that they must have at the helm a man who would represent their principles on the slavery question more vigorously — a man more capable of inspiring the loyalty and devotion of all classes of citizens.

At the same time the managers hesitated to offer a direct rebuff to a faithful leader of the party, whose wish to be retained in the Governor's chair for another term was not only natural but fully justified by his record. In the effort to relieve the embarrassing situation Lowe was urged to accept a nomination as Justice of the Supreme Court.¹⁷⁴ But no decision had been reached when the convention met.

A permanent organization was effected after the usual preliminaries and Timothy Davis of Dubuque County was chosen president. Finally

a motion was made to proceed to an informal ballot for Governor, but before this ballot could be taken the presiding officer announced that he had a communication which he would read to the convention. "Understanding that great diversity of sentiment exists in your body, as it relates to the subject of your next candidate for the office of Governor," was the message which came from Ralph P. Lowe, "and believing myself that there is danger of compromising the harmony of the party I beg to withdraw my name as a candidate for renomination for the Chief Executive of the State."

A deep sigh of relief must have been uttered by many delegates as they listened to this message of withdrawal. Immediately, on motion of Lewis Todhunter of Warren County, Kirkwood "was nominated for Governor, by acclamation, amid the prolonged cheers of the delegates." Nicholas J. Rusch was nominated for Lieutenant Governor; and candidates for positions on the Supreme Court, including Ralph P. Lowe, were chosen. Kirkwood addressed the convention "amid great applause". A platform was adopted in which opposition to the further encroachments of the slave power, support of a liberal naturalization law, and the demand for homestead legislation were the cardinal principles. Thereupon the convention adjourned and resolved itself into a monster ratification

mass meeting at which the enthusiasm of the large crowd was aroused by speeches by James Harlan, Samuel R. Curtis, C. C. Nourse, and other orators of the party.¹⁷⁵

“I hope it is not necessary for me to say to you how much I am gratified at your nomination”,¹⁷⁶ wrote James W. Grimes on the day after the holding of the convention. Kirkwood was the recipient of scores of other letters of congratulation. “He has few superiors as a political canvasser; uniformly impressing those who hear him with a conviction of his sincerity and his devotion to right”, was Editor John Teesdale’s comment on the nomination.¹⁷⁷

The die had been cast and the battle must be fought. Having once taken into his hands the banner of his party, Samuel J. Kirkwood was not the man to allow it to go down in defeat. Consequently he laid aside all private affairs and prepared for an endurance-testing campaign which was not to end until the day of the election. Nor was there wanting a host of loyal supporters ready to labor early and late in his behalf—among them being a young man named William B. Allison who performed his first political service in Iowa during this campaign.¹⁷⁸ Never before and seldom since was the Republican party so thoroughly organized or so intensely in earnest.

There was good cause for all this activity,

for on June 23rd the Democrats met in State convention and by acclamation nominated Augustus Caesar Dodge as their candidate for Governor. Here was an opponent not easily to be defeated. Wise in the experience of long years in the public service, honest and upright in his private life, Dodge was assuredly the favorite and most able son of the Democracy of Iowa. As Register of the Land Office at Burlington, as Delegate to Congress, and as United States Senator he had been zealous in his devotion to the interests of his constituents; and at the time of his nomination he had not yet returned to Iowa from Spain, where for four years he had represented the United States as Minister at the court of Queen Isabella.¹⁷⁹

Republican editors were quick to see political capital in the differences in the character and records of the two candidates. "One is fresh from the ranks of the people, is in sympathy with them, understanding and appreciating their wants and feelings", asserted an Oskaloosa editor. "The other, after a long absence from home, basking in the sunshine of royal favor, and mingling with the lords and ladies who cluster around and constitute the aristocratic Court of Spain comes back to the plain people of Iowa, wearing with him tender tokens of the Queen's sympathetic regard; his manners, his ideas of government, all differing from

those of the people whom he proposes to govern.”¹⁸⁰

The Republican candidate also received early hints of the abuse and misrepresentation to which both candidates were to be subjected as the campaign progressed. On June 26th Grimes sounded a note of warning to the effect that Fitz Henry Warren, supposedly a supporter of Kirkwood, was spreading the report that while Grimes and Kirkwood were canvassing north-eastern Iowa together two years before a bargain had been made whereby the former was to be elected to the United States Senate in 1858, while the latter was to secure the nomination for Governor, canvass the State, and then come out for Harlan's place in the Senate in 1860. This story was concocted in the effort to prejudice the friends of James Harlan and of other aspirants for the senatorship against Kirkwood.¹⁸¹ Happily Senator Harlan was apparently not alarmed by this rumor which soon reached his ears. “Let us pull together—elect the State ticket and the Legislature,” he wrote Kirkwood, “and consequences will take care of themselves.”¹⁸²

Opposing newspapers soon took a hand in the opening skirmishes. From Davenport came the accusation that Kirkwood was a banker who loaned money at three per cent a month. The reply from Iowa City was that he owned some

stock in the branch bank and was a director of the State Bank. Otherwise he was "a farmer, and a *practical* farmer."¹⁸³ Charges and countercharges were hurled back and forth regarding the efforts to arrange for a series of joint debates, for with the Lincoln-Douglas debates of the previous year still fresh in the minds of everyone this method of campaigning was still the most popular and effective. Each side taunted the opposing candidate with being afraid to enter a personal contest. In this the Republicans had the advantage of appearances. Augustus C. Dodge did not reach Iowa until July 9th and so the managers of his campaign were forced to delay their plans, giving their opponents the advantage of issuing the challenge.

"It is time the appointments were arranged and announced; and it is time that Mr. Dodge found a response to a call so promptly given", declared Editor Teesdale of Des Moines on July 13th. "Our veteran candidate desires to commence his labors as soon as he gets through with his wheat harvest. When he has threshed out his grain he would like to do the same service for the distinguished gentleman from the Court of Spain". A week later he notified his readers that Dodge had not yet accepted the invitation to meet Kirkwood in debate.¹⁸⁴

Meanwhile Kirkwood was not idle. On July

8th he made his appearance at Davenport. A mass meeting was hurriedly arranged for the evening; and there, in the courthouse yard, "under the mellow light of the moon", he spoke to "an immense gathering" for over an hour "in his own peculiarly felicitous and unanswerable manner. . . . A fine band added to the interest of the meeting" and "the utmost enthusiasm prevailed."¹⁸⁵

Far different in tone was the comment on this meeting made by a Davenport editor of the Democratic persuasion. With a scurrility all too common in newspaperdom at that day he observed that "We don't care a copper whether Sam Kirkwood smells rank and strong of sweat and dirt, so long as he remains at home among his hogs — or in Iowa City among his associates, money shavers; but in the name of all that is decent we protest against electing a man Governor of the great State of Iowa, who don't know enough to keep himself clean"; and there was more of the same character.¹⁸⁶

Indignant at this unwarranted attack upon their candidate, Republican editors over the State could scarcely find words in which to express their resentment. "Savages in their rude wigwam villages would not so treat a guest of theirs", wrote Editor Jerome of Iowa City.¹⁸⁷ "Mr. K. is at all times, and in all places, plain in his garb, and careless in his

toilet", was the statement of John Teesdale. "But we never met with him anywhere, when he could be charged with a want of cleanliness in person or garb."¹⁸⁸ And this, it is believed, may be accepted as the verdict of all those, both friends and foes, who knew Kirkwood in his daily life.

On the day following his speech at Davenport Mr. Kirkwood journeyed by boat down the Mississippi River to Burlington and was in that city on the day Augustus C. Dodge arrived at home after his long absence. "Both were unheralded", was the report in a Republican newspaper. "This was a matter of course, with the plain Republican, who had sent no notice of his coming; but after the protracted absence of the last and least of the Caesars, an entree thus unmarked must have been rather mortifying". Kirkwood remained over Sunday in the river city, and on Monday met Dodge for the first time. A few days later at Muscatine he spoke "in complimentary terms of his competitor's appearance and manners."¹⁸⁹

While waiting for the reply of the Dodge forces in regard to the holding of joint debates a long list of speaking appointments in the southern portion of the State was arranged for Kirkwood, beginning on July 25th at Muscatine, where it was "regretted that prudential reasons relating to the health of Mr. K. must for the

present prevent him from speaking in the most popular way—that is, in the open air.”¹⁹⁰ Having been instrumental in planning Kirkwood’s campaign in certain counties in the southern tier, John A. Kasson informed him by letter that the people in those counties came chiefly from southern Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, and were “scared at the idea of abolitionism”. “It will be well for you to run your Maryland birth a little down there”, was his advice, “and to pitch into Democracy, the real agitators of the slavery question”.¹⁹¹

About this time the *Bloomfield Clarion*, a Democratic sheet, unwittingly furnished the opposition with ammunition by referring to the Republican ticket as the “Plough-handle Ticket”. This term, used in opprobrium, was eagerly seized upon by Republican editors, many of whom placed it at the head of their editorial columns, sometimes accompanied by a cut of a plow.¹⁹² Although the Democrats realized the mistake, and one editor sought to counteract its effect by charging that Kirkwood and Rusch “made their farms by land sharking and loaning money at 3 per cent per month”,¹⁹³ they were unable to wage successful combat against an idea which was no doubt worked for all it was worth by the Republicans. There is no evidence, however, that Kirkwood himself made any insincere efforts, as regards dress or

manners, to appeal to the supposed prejudices of farmers and laboring men.

Late in July the challenge to joint debate was accepted by Dodge and the first public contest between the two men occurred at Oskaloosa on the twenty-ninth day of the month. The speeches furnished sufficient excitement, with a liberal amount of amusement, to hold the large crowd all through the afternoon and to bring them back in the evening to listen for two or three additional hours.

“Did you not sustain the Compromise Measures of 1850?” asked Dodge in the course of the debate. “I did sustain those measures,” replied Kirkwood, “in the spirit in which their adoption was urged; not because I liked them all, but as a *Compromise*, in which both parties were expected to surrender something for the sake of peace, and a final settlement of the vexed question.”

“Mr. Kirkwood, would you obey the Fugitive Slave Law?” was the Democratic candidate’s next question. To this Kirkwood replied: “I would not resist the enforcement of that Law, but before I would aid in capturing a fugitive slave I would suffer the penalty of the law, but I would not aid into carrying it into execution.” Kirkwood now “returned the compliment” and asked his opponent if he would assist in capturing a runaway slave. “I would”, said

Dodge. "I would do whatever the law requires me to do."¹⁹⁴

The newspaper reports of this debate, as of those which followed, varied greatly according to the party affiliations of the writers. "As he [Kirkwood] warmed up with his subject," wrote a not over-scrupulous correspondent to the Democratic organ at Des Moines, "he descended to the lowest depths of vulgarity and blackguardism. . . . No species of low circus-acting clownishness that he would not use for effect. Even his political friends admit that he is a blackguard, and yet *some* of them honor him for it."¹⁹⁵ On the other hand, Republicans in describing the event, declared that "Dodge became furious threatened violence, pistols, blunderbusses &c."; that as "a specimen of pomposity, self-importance, and self-laudation," his speech "was hard to beat". Toward the close of the debate Dodge was described as springing to his feet and declaring "that if Mr. K. said that he (Gen. D.) was in favor of the slave trade he was a *liar*, and that, if he repeated it, he would '*cram the lie down his throat.*' Mr. K. without any excitement whatever, remarked that, if the Gen. was speaking figuratively, it was all right, but if he attempted the matter practically he would find it a very difficult matter."¹⁹⁶

Two days later, in the evening, the candidates

clashed again at Bloomfield and in the audience there was a young man twenty-six years of age by the name of James Baird Weaver. "Kirkwood drew a picture of a slave mother with a babe in her arms fleeing from bondage with her eye on the North Star. In close pursuit was her cruel master with his bloodhounds hard after her, just as she crossed the Iowa line from Missouri. Clenching his fists and advancing toward Dodge he demanded to know if he under such circumstances would turn that fleeing mother and her infant back to her pursuing master. Before the breathless multitude Kirkwood shouted at the top of his voice 'Answer my question!' Dodge replied, 'I would obey the law.' Kirkwood retorted, 'So help me, God, I would suffer my right arm to be torn from its socket before I would do such a monstrous thing'. The crowd broke into a frenzy that resembled the sweep of a cyclone through a forest. Men grew pale and clenched each other in frenzy. The whole audience . . . were carried irresistibly off their feet. The moral sense of the multitude had been reached and it was vain to attempt to reverse the deep impression which had been made."¹⁹⁷

Albia was the scene of conflict on August 3rd and Chariton on the following day. Again Democratic journals charged Kirkwood with vulgarity and with misrepresenting the facts

concerning the expenses of State government under Republican administration. About this time he was also assailed in the press with the assertion that the land and mills at Coralville had been secured by dishonest means, and that he had brought about the unauthorized purchase of the Park House in Iowa City to be used as the Deaf and Dumb Asylum — charges which were easily refuted because entirely false.¹⁹⁸

At Chariton the speakers stood on a platform which was very unsteady, consisting as it did simply of planks elevated by means of wooden blocks. When Dodge ceased speaking he requested someone in the audience to hold the platform and keep it from falling as he stepped down. “I have been trying to convince the General”, observed Kirkwood, “that his platform is rather shaky,— that he cannot stand on it very well.” The effect was described as “irresistibly ludicrous”, since Dodge gave evidence of not appreciating the joke of his opponent.¹⁹⁹

Thus the candidates proceeded westward through the southern part of the State,²⁰⁰ traveling part of the time, no doubt, over the road marked across the prairies more than a decade before by the Mormons in their great hejira. The debate at Glenwood was characterized as “the most exciting discussion of the campaign”

thus far. A Republican editor was informed that Dodge “allowed his temper to get complete control of him. He doffed his coat, offered to fight with his fists, pistol, knives or in any other way.— While he was making these demonstrations a large number of men arose in the crowd and called for the city marshall.”²⁰¹

Joint debates were not held at every point along the way, but each candidate apparently had his own appointments which he met without his opponent. At various places in western Iowa the Republican candidate was accompanied by Grenville M. Dodge, a young civil engineer whose advice even at that time was sought by everyone interested in the proposed trans-continental railroad. In this region Kirkwood and Abraham Lincoln crossed paths, although the two men did not meet. In August Mr. Lincoln spoke at Council Bluffs and “he took occasion to commend the advanced stand taken by Kirkwood in his campaign for governor”—an approval which no doubt benefited the latter who “was regarded by many as pretty strong on the slavery question.”²⁰²

Sioux City was the extreme northwestern point reached in the itinerary. “Abe” White and John H. Charles “went down below Sergeant’s Bluff and met Kirkwood, who drove in, and brought him back to Sioux City. Dodge came in a little later on the stage from Council

Bluffs.” “Kirkwood was a farmer, and looked it”, wrote one of the men who thus escorted the candidate to the frontier town on the Missouri. “He wore coarse shoes . . . and flannel shirt. But though he was simple and plain he was also honest and straightforward, and so impressed people. He took well here.”²⁰³

The campaign now shifted once more to eastern Iowa; and thus it happened that a joint debate was scheduled to occur at the little city of Washington on September 2nd. The two candidates were expected to arrive in separate conveyances over the road from Sigourney, where they had spoken on the previous evening. Now among the leading Democrats in that vicinity was one John H. Bacon, a breeder of fine horses, who, with his friends conceived the idea of meeting their hero in a manner befitting his importance. Four of Mr. Bacon’s white horses were selected, “scoured” clean, and hitched to the finest carriage the town afforded. The Republicans were at first somewhat disconcerted when the news of these elegant preparations reached their ears. But a farmer by the name of Jonathan Wilson was equal to the occasion. He owned a yoke of oxen, well trained and trustworthy, which he now hitched to a lumber wagon bearing a hayrack. The Democratic equipage had already been driven out some distance on the Sigourney road and

stationed by the wayside to await its distinguished occupant. Wilson, with two or three other men, soon set out in the same direction, pretending to be going for a load of hay.

Kirkwood was the first to approach and as the carriage was spied, one of his companions remarked, "Well, I guess they have come out to meet you in fine style." But the attendants of the four-horse team gave no sign and so the Kirkwood party drove on down the road. Soon they were hailed by an occupant of the hay-rack which was likewise drawn up by the roadside. "Be you Sam Kirkwood?" inquired the spokesman. Upon giving an affirmative answer Kirkwood was asked to take a seat in the hay-rack. Thereupon the driver put "the butt without mercy to the oxen, and at a break-neck speed up hill and down they rode into town."

The result was all that could be desired. A band met the party on the outskirts of the town, and boys and men of all political parties joined in the procession as it proceeded through the streets, while cheer after cheer went up for the farmer candidate who looked and felt perfectly in place on his rustic vehicle. Shortly afterward Dodge, in the shining carriage drawn by the dashing white horses, came riding into town and made a turn or two about the public square. The effect was indeed striking, but the crowd had yelled itself hoarse on Kirkwood's arrival

and had little breath left with which to cheer his opponent.

Before the speaking began two men in the crowd engaged in "the interesting occupation of bruising each other's faces"; and later during the discussion one of the participants, in his drunkenness "propounded sundry oblivious questions" to Kirkwood. Tiring of these interruptions the speaker finally cut him short by remarking that "he was moved by the spirit of democracy."²⁰⁴

The editor of a local paper, in describing the debate at Washington, had sufficient independence to state that "both men bore themselves with gentlemanly courtesy" and to designate as "mere fulminations of party editors, and the buncomb of political wire pullers" all the stories about "immense swaggering, towering passions and grandiloquent bombast on the one hand, and dirty blackguardism, stupendous lying and consummate demagoguism on the other."²⁰⁵

For at least two weeks the contest was continued, during which time the people of Iowa City, Newton, Tipton, Anamosa, Maquoketa, Dubuque, Davenport, Muscatine, Wapello, Fairfield, and other towns heard Kirkwood and Dodge debate the political issues of the day.²⁰⁶ At every opportunity Kirkwood was glad to converse with the citizens of the communities

which he visited. It is said that he "would sit about in his shirt-sleeves, smoking a cob-pipe and discussing the raising of steers with the grangers, which is possible, and perhaps true; but at the same time it is stated by those who listened to the debates that he proved himself superior in logic, force, and effectiveness to his courtly opponent."²⁰⁷

During the last three weeks before the election Kirkwood made a final, flying trip on his own account. Beginning at Fort Madison on September 20th, he proceeded by boat up the river. He was scheduled to speak at Burlington, McGregor, and other points in eastern Iowa until he reached Lansing. From thence he was to turn west and swing around the circle, visiting Waukon, Decorah, Independence, Waterloo, Vinton, Cedar Rapids, Marengo, Toledo, Marshalltown, and intermediate towns, closing his campaign at Eldora on October 8th. Whenever possible he spoke twice a day, at different places — first at one o'clock and again at seven — and the political speeches of that day seldom, if ever, occupied less than two hours. A vigorous constitution was a prime requisite in a campaign such as this, especially when most of the traveling must be done in a stage-coach or open buggy in all sorts of weather.²⁰⁸

There was one interruption in this strenuous program. Mrs. Kirkwood, who was always

keenly interested in whatever her husband was doing and whose company he greatly desired at all possible times, started out with him on this tour. But before going far she was taken ill and they both returned to Iowa City, where after a few days Mr. Kirkwood was forced to leave her, convalescent, and return to his appointments.²⁰⁹

The long campaign at last came to a close, and on October 11, 1859, the people of Iowa were called upon to choose the man who should be their next Governor. No voting-machines automatically counted the votes in those days, and no telegraph flashed the election returns from every little hamlet and voting precinct; and so it was many days and even weeks before the exact result was known. Then it was found that Samuel J. Kirkwood was elected Governor of Iowa by a majority of 3170 votes over Augustus Caesar Dodge.²¹⁰

XIII

FIRST INAUGURAL

“You have got a difficult task before you for two years to navigate the ship of State without a cent of money”, were the discouraging words written to Kirkwood by James W. Grimes shortly after the election results became known. “There is now due to the State from the several Counties between three and four hundred thousand dollars, and no taxes will be paid this year, for there is no money in the country to pay with. The government has got to be carried on principally upon credit. You must put on your thinking cap and begin to devise the ways and means of doing it. We must abolish our present County system & give the *people* a chance to govern themselves a little more than they do under the county judge system. . . . Send the county judges to purgatory.”²¹¹

No doubt Samuel J. Kirkwood followed the advice of his friend and wore his “thinking cap” much of the time between his election and his inauguration as Governor of Iowa, for he regarded public office as a trust to be taken seriously. There is also evidence that during

these months his thoughts turned frequently from the tasks set before him as Chief Executive to the great national problem of slavery. He was among those who believed in the plan of colonizing the free negroes in some part of South or Central America; and he wrote to Frank P. Blair expressing his views on that subject. Blair was enthusiastic in his response. "If Iowa shall take the first step in this great scheme," he said, "she will be justly entitled to [the] title of the leader of the hosts of freedom — and of carrying into practice the long cherished plans of Mr. Jefferson."²¹² A week later James R. Doolittle wrote from Racine, Wisconsin, urging Kirkwood to take a decisive stand in favor of the "great Jeffersonian plan" in his inaugural address to the legislature.²¹³

Less patriotic and unselfish, but typical of the political spoilsman, was a letter received by Kirkwood late in November from William H. Bigelow who wanted assistance to launch a Republican newspaper at Sioux City. "Please allow us to draw on you for \$25 & give you no further trouble", was his modest request.²¹⁴

The first week in January, 1860, found Kirkwood in Des Moines, ready to perform the duties incumbent upon him during the session of the Eighth General Assembly which convened on the ninth day of the month. Two days later the two houses of the legislature met in

joint convention and, after canvassing the votes for Governor and Lieutenant Governor and disposing of the necessary preliminaries, declared themselves in readiness for the inauguration. Thereupon "Senator Anderson was called to the Chair, after which His Excellency the Governor and Lieut. Governor, together with the Governor and Lieut. Governor elect, accompanied by the Chief and Associate Judges of the Supreme Court and their successors in office, and the other officers of State, entered the Hall and were seated." The oath of office was then administered by Chief Justice George G. Wright and Governor Kirkwood delivered his inaugural address.²¹⁵

Without wasting time either in paying compliments or making promises, he first suggested that the General Assembly, under the Constitution of the State, should interfere as little as possible with the State Board of Education in its administration of the public school system. Turning to the subject of elections, he declared that "in a government like ours, without privileged classes, and where the laws affect all alike, we need not fear that a majority of our people will deliberately pursue a policy intended to operate injuriously upon the public welfare, because by so doing they would be acting contrary to their own best interests. . . . But if through fraud or violence, the ballot box

shall cease to report to us correctly and honestly the will of the majority; if corrupt and interested men are enabled to substitute their will for that of the people, then the assurance of safety derived to us from the honesty, the intelligence, and the interest of the people, no longer exists. . . . We can not, therefore, guard with too much care, the sanctity and purity of the ballot box. In my opinion, there is no measure so well calculated to effect this object, as a carefully prepared and well guarded registry law; and I respectfully recommend that measure to your consideration.”

The institutions for the care of the insane and the mute and the blind, the penitentiary, the State University, and the newly created Agricultural College were all commended to the favorable consideration of the legislature. The Governor advised changes in the method of managing the permanent school fund of the State, and suggested a revision of the revenue laws. At the same time he warned the legislators to practice “as close and rigid an economy in the matter of appropriations as is consistent with a proper administration of the affairs of the State. The scarcity of money, consequent upon the financial revulsion of 1857, and the failure of our crops, to a great extent since that time, has caused the payment of the taxes necessary to the support of our govern-

ment, to be felt as a sensible burden by our people”.

Having briefly summarized the most pressing demands for action on the part of the General Assembly, the new Governor of Iowa could not refrain from discussing the event which had stirred the Nation to its depths — “the late unlawful invasion” of Virginia by John Brown and his associates. He found in “that mad attempt” the logical fruitage of the policy pursued by the pro-slavery propagandists. In 1820 and again in 1850 a settlement had been made, and “our people fondly hoped that for a long period of time, this vexed and irritating question would be kept out of our national councils, and that the angry and embittered feelings always arising from its discussion, would then die out for want of food.” But this hope had been rudely dashed to the ground by the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill. There had ensued a reign of bloodshed in Kansas, accompanied by filibustering expeditions in Cuba and Nicaragua — the latter with the consent and even the encouragement of a large number of our people.

“Is it strange”, asked Governor Kirkwood, “that the bare promulgation of these doctrines, acting upon the minds of men maddened by the recollection of wrongs inflicted upon them in Kansas because of their love of freedom, should

lead them to the conclusion that they should do and dare as much at home for liberty, as those who have oppressed them are doing abroad for slavery? It seems to me most natural, and while I deeply deplore and most unqualifiedly condemn, I cannot wonder at the recent unfortunate and bloody occurrence at Harper's Ferry. But while we may not wonder at, we must condemn it. It was an act of war — of war against brethren, and in that a greater crime than the invaders of Cuba and Nicaragua were guilty of; relieved to some extent of its guilt, in the minds of many, by the fact that the blow was struck for freedom, and not for slavery.”

At the same time the people of the South made a great mistake when they asserted that the people of the North approved the assault on Harper's Ferry. “While the great mass of our northern people utterly condemn the act of John Brown, they feel and they express admiration and sympathy for the disinterestedness of purpose by which they believe he was governed, and for the unflinching courage and calm cheerfulness with which he met the consequences of his failure. Many, very many, of our northern people, felt deep sympathy for the gallant Crittenden, who died so bravely in Cuba, for an act they strongly condemned; and the tears of many of the best and bravest of our

revolutionary sires bedewed the grave of Andre, who, by their own judgment, died the death of a spy, his sentence approved by Washington.”

Then, as if to justify his wandering beyond the field of State policies, Governor Kirkwood remarked: “I cannot concur in the opinion expressed by some persons, that the constituted authorities of the States of this Union have discharged their entire duty, when they have looked to and cared for their own internal affairs, and that they travel out of their legitimate sphere when they in any manner concern themselves with the affairs of our General Government. The several States, as such, are the constituents of one branch of the National Congress, and if it be true that the constituent may and should concern himself with what is done by his representative, it must be true that each State may and should concern herself with the actions of that General Government of which her representatives are a part”. In line with this view the Governor proceeded to recommend that the legislature memorialize Congress in favor of the Homestead Bill, the Pacific Railroad Bill, and the plan for colonizing the free negroes in South or Central America.

In spite of all the dangers which threatened the Nation, however, Governor Kirkwood still

retained his optimism and his hope for a peaceful settlement. "In conclusion," he declared, "permit me to say that, although our political horizon is not unclouded, although anger and jealousy have to some extent taken the place of brotherly kindness and good will among our people, . . . still, in my opinion, those who love our Constitution and our Union, have not very great cause for alarm. Passion will subside, reason will resume its sway, and then our southern brethren will discover that they have been deceived and misled, as to our feelings and purposes; . . . and that the good old ways wherein we walked, when to talk of disunion openly, or to approve it silently, was to incur the scorn due a traitor, are ways of pleasantness, and that the good old paths our fathers taught us to tread, are paths of peace. And they . . . will again pledge themselves as we to-day pledge ourselves in the full depth and force of its meaning to the sentiment of the true and stern old patriot of the Hermitage — 'The Union—it must and shall be preserved.'"²¹⁶

Governor Kirkwood's inaugural address was received with approval, though without great enthusiasm, by the Republicans of the State. The editor of *The Iowa Citizen* considered it "a fair exposition of the sentiments he has proclaimed in every portion of the State, and a

truthful exhibit of the views of the party to which he belongs; so far as it has a party character." "His remarks on the John Brown matter are satisfactory", wrote a correspondent to the *New York Tribune*, "and are all that could be expected from a Marylander by birth; a Democrat by association up to 1854, and a successful canvasser before the people. . . . His sentiments, I think, are reflective of the tone of feeling in the northwest in the Republican party."²¹⁷

The Democrats were not so calm in expressing their disapproval of the address. It was denounced in long editorials in the newspapers; vigorous speeches were made in the General Assembly against the resolution to print the address; and twenty Senators and thirty-four Representatives signed their names to solemn protests which were spread upon the journals of the two houses of the legislature. These protests, which were identical in content, opposed the printing of the Governor's address on six grounds — the central theme of which was that the chief executive had gone out of his way to discuss partisan doctrines which had no relation to the duties of the legislature. Besides, it was the belief of those who signed the remonstrances that "the dissemination of the sentiments contained in said message, tends to kindle anew that blind fanaticism, North and

South, which has already shaken the foundations of the Union, and threatens to blast the brightest hopes of every true friend of American Liberty.”²¹⁸

It was characteristic of Kirkwood that in the midst of official duties and partisan controversies he did not lose his keen interest in the welfare of his friends and the members of his own family. On January 29th he took the time to write a long, fatherly letter to his nephew, Samuel Kirkwood Clark, who had lived with Mr. and Mrs. Kirkwood most of the time since his infancy and was regarded by them with all the affection they would have bestowed upon a son. “When your father was here”, wrote the Governor, “he related to me a conversation he had had with your teacher which gave me great pleasure.” The teacher had praised young Clark for his gentlemanly deportment and his diligence as a student, and had described him as being a leader among his fellows. After expressing his gratification at such a good report, Governor Kirkwood sounded a note of warning. “You must not allow yourself to become proud and overbearing. You must not use your position to put down any one who is weaker than yourself, either mentally or physically, but rather to support and defend such — in short, you must use your influence to see that ‘the right’ is done at all times and under all

circumstances, and you must not allow anything to make you flinch from seeing it done. You must not be quarrelsome. Avoid all personal difficulties, if possible, but if compelled to engage in such, then so bear yourself that your adversary will not wish to come in contact with you again."

On the subject of smoking he was not disposed to scold his nephew, but he advised him to make a thorough investigation of the effects of the habit and then determine his course accordingly. "I send you a copy of my inaugural address", he said in conclusion. "It is praised by some of my party friends and denounced by some of my party enemies. You are neither one or the other. Write me just what you think about it. Write me what you think about all these things. Take your time to do so, half a dozen evenings if necessary, and a half a dozen sheets of paper, if necessary. I will read it all. You are at entire liberty to show this to your father, if you want to talk about it with him, and I think it would be well for you to do so. He may help you to read it; perhaps his help may be necessary."²¹⁹

XIV

GOVERNOR DURING A YEAR OF PEACE

THE inaugural address and the sentiments therein set forth were soon forgotten,²²⁰ for within two weeks there was furnished a more tangible opportunity for partisan controversy. On the morning of January 23rd there appeared at the Governor's office in Des Moines a man by the name of C. Camp, "bearing requisition papers directed to the Governor of Iowa for one Barclay Coppoc, reputed to be a fugitive from the justice of Virginia."²²¹

The events which led up to this request make a long story. When on his journeys to and from Kansas, John Brown had several times passed through Iowa and had made many friends and acquaintances, especially in the quiet Quaker village of Springdale in Cedar County. In this peaceful community the little band of oddly assorted characters who made up Brown's band spent the winter of 1857-1858, and here their leader matured his plans for a last attack upon the hated institution of slavery. To none of the inhabitants of the village did the warlike demeanor and aims of the men appeal

more strongly than to two boys by the names of Edwin and Barclay Coppoc. They apparently offered their services to Brown, for when the summons came in July, 1859, they were quick to respond, in spite of the protests of their mother and their friends. Edwin Coppoc was captured in the ill-fated raid on Harper's Ferry and was later hung by Virginia authorities. His brother, Barclay, who had remained across the river in Maryland to help guard the base of supplies, escaped and, after a desperate flight through the mountains of Pennsylvania and across the Mississippi Valley, came at last to his home in Springdale. It was the demand of the Governor of Virginia for the return of Barclay Coppoc that now confronted Governor Kirkwood.

He received the Virginia emissary courteously, but requested that the papers be left with him until after dinner in order that he might have time to examine them carefully and make an intelligent reply. When Mr. Camp returned at the appointed time in the afternoon he "was met with a refusal to honor the requisition. . . . The agent, considerably surprised and no doubt much nettled, undertook by dint of argument to convince the Governor that he was wrong, unjust, and incidentally guilty of perverting the letter of the Federal Constitution and the statutes of Congress." So excited and

indiscreet did the Virginian become that certain members of the legislature, who chanced to enter the Governor's office during the course of the discussion, readily discovered his mission. Within two hours a man on horseback was making all speed eastward toward Springdale, one hundred and thirty-five miles away, to warn Barclay Coppoc of his danger.

The reasons for Governor Kirkwood's refusal to honor the requisition were no doubt fully explained to Mr. Camp, as they were also set forth in two letters written immediately to Governor Letcher of Virginia. A few days later these reasons were summarized as follows in a communication to the House of Representatives of Iowa:

1st — The affidavit presented, was not made before "a magistrate," but before a Notary Public.

2d — Even had the law recognized an affidavit made before a Notary Public, the affidavit in this case was not authenticated by the Notary's seal.

3d — The affidavit does not show, unless it be inferentially, that Coppoc was in the State of Virginia at the time he "aided and abetted John Brown and others," as stated therein.

4th — It did not legally "charge him" with commission of "treason, felony or other crime."

A careful review of the constitutional and legal aspects of the case, in the light of numerous court decisions, reveals the fact that

Samuel J. Kirkwood was justified in his refusal to honor the demand for the return of Barclay Coppoe for all the reasons which he cited, except the first. "With only one ground for refusal ill-founded — while the remaining three are sustained as points well taken — we may note a clarity of legal perception united with a strength of conviction which did not permit the inflamed sectionalism of the South nor the rabid partisanship of the North to dictate his course of action."

It could not be expected, however, that the people of Iowa or of Virginia in 1860 would be able to pass a calm, impartial judgment upon an action which touched so closely the great issue of partisan and sectional strife. Iowa newspapers found in the incident the materials necessary for a first-rate editorial controversy. The Virginia point of view was fully enunciated by Governor John Letcher in a communication to the Senate and House of Delegates of that Commonwealth. He characterized the reasons assigned by Governor Kirkwood for his refusal to honor the requisition as "exceedingly frivolous". "The course of the governor in this matter," he said, "considered in connection with the views presented in his inaugural message in relation to the occurrences and actors in the Harpers Ferry outrage, force upon my mind the conclusion that his action was taken, if not

with the intention of permitting Coppoc to escape, and thus shield[ing] him from just punishment, for crimes of the most serious and aggravated character, . . . yet with a certainty that it must have that effect." He also took occasion to declare that the "denial of this requisition, and numerous other evidences of unfriendly feeling which are being exhibited daily by a large portion of the northern people, and their representative men, towards the south and the institution of domestic slavery, ought to impress upon us the necessity of adopting prompt, energetic and decided measures to protect our rights, secure direct trade, establish manufactures, and thus achieve southern independence."

Nevertheless, corrected requisition papers were in due time forwarded to Governor Kirkwood. But again the "justice of Virginia" was cheated of its victim, this time by the flight of Barelay Coppoc from his home at Springdale.

Ordinarily this would have closed the affair as far as the Governor of Iowa was concerned, but the members of the opposition party had not exhausted the opportunities for the manufacture of political capital which the episode seemed to present. And so the controversy was transferred from the press to the General Assembly. On February 27, 1860, Senator James F. Wilson introduced a resolution, altogether

friendly in purpose, calling upon Governor Kirkwood for information relative to the Coppoc case. Little interest was manifested in this resolution until it was discovered that several Republican members of the Senate were absent from their seats. Senator Neal then suddenly introduced an amendment which specifically requested the Governor "to inform the Senate by what means Coppoc obtained the information that there was a requisition from the Governor of Virginia upon the Governor of Iowa, for his surrender; and if the fact of said requisition being made, was communicated to any person, or made public, before the answer was given by the Governor of Iowa, to the Governor of Virginia." The Democrats had control of the Senate for the time being and they were able to rush this accusatory amendment to its final passage in spite of the angry protests of the Republican Senators.

Governor Kirkwood was equal to the occasion. On the following day he sent a carefully worded reply to the Senate. "I readily admit the propriety of giving to the public full information on this subject," he said, "and shall promptly communicate all facts within my knowledge, in any way connected therewith, whenever I can do so consistently with my self-respect, and with the respect and consideration which, in my judgment, are due to the depart-

ment of our government which, for the time being, I have the honor to represent. I cannot, however, do so in response to a resolution which assumes that, in this matter, I have done acts which the common judgment of your body would pronounce to be improper in any person holding my official position.”

Such an assumption the Governor declared to be “utterly unfounded” and one which he could neither “respond to or deny, without admitting, by implication, that the suggestion thereof was authorized by the facts of the case.” Therefore, since he was convinced that the resolution of inquiry “took its present objectionable form through oversight and inadvertence”, he returned “said resolution” to the Senate in order that that body might “have the opportunity of giving it further consideration.”

This communication threw the burden of proof back upon the Democratic members of the Senate, who were not slow to realize their mistake. They would have been glad to pass a resolution of apology, but their Republican colleagues took delight in thwarting their efforts along this line. While all this was going on in the Senate, the members of the House of Representatives likewise became interested, and after some debate a very respectful resolution was adopted asking the Governor to submit full information relative to the Coppoc case. To

this request the Governor responded with a lengthy communication giving a detailed account of the whole transaction, accompanied by copies of all the correspondence bearing on the case. Discussion now ceased and the episode was soon forgotten.

Meanwhile, Governor Kirkwood did not neglect the social duties of his position;²²² nor did he lose interest in the affairs of the mill and farm near Iowa City. Mrs. Kirkwood and two of her nieces were with him in Des Moines. "I see that you atine [attend] many partys, one most every night", wrote Valentine Miller, the faithful manager of the Coralville mill. "Mr. Kirkwood you Mrs. Kirkwood and the girls must try to learne to dance, so that we can have a good one when you come home. I will see for to have a good musiche." He then proceeded to give the Governor an account of conditions at the mill and to advise that the wall along the flume be rebuilt.²²³

A few weeks later Ezekiel Clark wrote to his brother-in-law saying that the mill was running and "earning some money", and declaring his "dislike to arange to have any person come on the farm for fear they will not be just such as you would approve." "I start tomorrow to Chicago with Cattle", he continued, "and am fearful we will meet a hard market but I am satisfied we will make money on our Cattle we are feeding."²²⁴

During March and April, 1860, Samuel J. Kirkwood transmitted to the proper branches of the legislature four out of the six veto messages of his career as Governor of Iowa. In each instance he stated the reasons for his disapproval clearly and at length, with the result that none of the bills were passed over his veto.²²⁵ Among the special messages of this period were three relating to Indian depredations in Woodbury and Cherokee Counties, in consequence of which a law was passed authorizing the Governor to organize a company of "minute men" for the protection of the north-western frontier of the State.²²⁶

The Eighth General Assembly of Iowa adjourned *sine die* on the third day of April. Soon afterward Governor Kirkwood and the members of his household returned to Iowa City. "A call from his Excellency . . . on Monday last," commented the editor of the *Iowa Weekly Republican*, "did not so forcibly remind us that a Governor was again in our midst, as it reminded us that a plain, every day citizen, beloved by his neighbors and respected by every body, was again returned to his home, mingling as of yore, among all classes of his fellow-citizens, extending to each a friendly grasp, and exchanging congratulations of friendship and good cheer . . . he evinces none of the 'wear and tear' incident to political

station. He informed us that he was weighing a few more avoirdupois pounds than at any other period of his life.”²²⁷

By this time the thoughts of the people of Iowa, as of the Nation at large, were turning more and more to the forthcoming National Republican Convention which was to convene at Chicago on May 16th. All thinking persons realized that weighty issues hung upon the choice of a candidate for the Presidency made by that convention, and they were deeply interested in the outcome.

Samuel J. Kirkwood did not follow the advice offered by Senator Grimes in a letter written late in December, 1859. “You ought to be one of the delegates & I hope you will see to it that you are appointed”, urged the Senator.²²⁸ Neither did the Governor take seriously the suggestion made through the press by Josiah B. Grinnell that Kirkwood’s name should be brought forward by the Iowa delegation as a candidate for Vice President.²²⁹ Nevertheless, he did take a keen interest in the convention; and while he was not one of the delegates from Iowa, he was among the large number of “volunteers” who journeyed to Chicago to attend the convention and use their influence in support of the candidate of their choice.²³⁰

“I take it for granted you will be in Chicago during the session of the Republican Conven-

tion next month, and I write to say that Mrs. Farnam & myself will be most happy to see yourself & Mrs. Kirkwood at our house during that time." This was the invitation received by Governor Kirkwood late in April from Henry Farnam, president of the Chicago and Rock Island Railroad Company. "Enclosed is a Pass for yourself & Lady which please use at your pleasure — my House is 163 Michigan Av.", was the information contained in a post-script.²³¹

From a personal standpoint Kirkwood found himself somewhat divided in his sympathies for several candidates for the nomination. He had warm recollections of the old days in Ohio when he and Salmon P. Chase had both been members of the Democratic party. William H. Seward, he felt, had a strong claim to the nomination, for the reason that he had long been the "best abused man" in the Republican party. But especially was he attracted by the personality and doctrines of Abraham Lincoln, whom he regarded as the most logical and promising candidate, and to whom in the end he gave his whole-hearted support.²³²

Optimism was at a low ebb at the Lincoln headquarters in Chicago as the large New York and other eastern delegations poured into the city and the great strength of Seward, backed by the confident expectations of a majority of

the Republicans throughout the country, became more and more apparent. "Anxiety and depression" among the followers of the Lincoln banner were "general and obvious. They slept scarcely at all, they were so fearful and active." The gloom which hung over the camp is well illustrated by the words of one of the Iowa delegates to the convention. "Early in the evening of the night before the nomination was to be made," said he, "I had gone up to my room to get some rest. I was fagged by the long strain of the day. The outlook for Lincoln was gloomy, indeed. I recall [Alvin] Saunders coming in. He was depressed and dubious about our chances of overcoming the New Yorkers. Kirkwood came in later. He was nervous and very uneasy and glum."²³³

Great was the joy of these men on the morrow when all opposition was overcome and their candidate was finally nominated. Samuel J. Kirkwood was only one of many Iowans who, in and out of the convention, labored in behalf of the "rail-splitter"; and it has been said that his influence was not without weight in winning members of the Ohio delegation over to Lincoln.²³⁴

Hopes of victory, because of the division in the ranks of the Democratic party, now inspired Republican leaders to an enthusiastic campaign. Throughout the months from May to November

Governor Kirkwood gave as generously of his time as official duties would permit, speaking many times in Iowa City and vicinity and frequently at more distant points.²³⁵ Especially was he urged to be at the great rally in Des Moines on August 4th. "I hope you may be able to go", wrote Senator Harlan. "I can not on account of a previous engagement — Grimes can not on account of bad health. Unless you go there is danger of failure."²³⁶ At the little town of Williamsburg on August 11th over three thousand people marched in a parade headed by the "Wide Awakes" from Iowa City, while the Marengo delegation was led by a "Sax horn band". "A bountiful dinner was spread for the whole crowd [of five thousand people], by the munificence of the farmers. . . . Governor Kirkwood spoke two hours, making, as he always does, a masterly argument."²³⁷

Late in August Mr. Le Grand Byington, a prominent Democratic citizen of Iowa City, through the press challenged Governor Kirkwood to a series of joint debates in the counties lying south of the present Rock Island Railroad. It seems that Mr. Byington had some business to transact in this particular region, and so he suggested that there should be an interval of forty-eight hours between each of the meetings outside of Keokuk. At the same time he took

occasion to outline his views in regard to the policies of the Whig, Republican, and Democratic parties.

On September 3rd Governor Kirkwood wrote a reply which he made public through the press. "Of the Whig party I have only this to say", he declared. "It is not a living organization. The time has not come to write its history, nor is either of us its proper historian. Its name and the names of the statesmen and soldiers it has given our country will be cherished in our State, when your name and mine will be forgotten. The Republican party is a living organization. You either misunderstand or misrepresent its purposes and history."

"I may not properly understand what you mean by the assertion that Mr. Lincoln 'acknowledges his obligation' to the higher law," continued the Governor, "but if you mean that if he shall find himself commanded by the law of man to do or not to do an act under penalty, the doing or not doing of which is expressly prohibited to or enjoined upon him by the law of God, he will, in such case, 'obey God rather than man,' and suffer patiently what penalty man's law may inflict, I hope you define his position truly." He told Mr. Byington he was somewhat in error in declaring himself a Democrat. "You are a Douglasite and not a Democrat", he said. Then stating his own position,

he declared that he could not "accept the teachings of the new men of the Democratic party who deny to Congress" the power to prohibit slavery in the Territories. On the other hand, he said, "I can and do cordially sympathize and act with the Republican party; which while earnestly deprecating and opposing the extension of Slavery into free territory, seeks to use no means to that end, not sanctioned by the fathers of the Constitution and the Union."

Finally, referring to the challenge to debate, Governor Kirkwood said: "I very much regret that I cannot accept it. My entire time for the next two weeks is already engaged." He also had many appointments after that time in widely scattered portions of the State. Besides he did not wish to confine himself to the region indicated in the challenge, nor was he willing "to waste so much time" as the proposed intervals between meetings would involve.²³⁸

Nevertheless, Governor Kirkwood and Le Grand Byington did meet in joint debate in the courthouse in Iowa City on October 26th. Mr. Byington opened the discussion with a speech one hour in length, after which the Governor was allowed one hour and a half in which to reply; and then Mr. Byington closed the debate in a short speech. "The large Court Room was crowded to its utmost capacity", commented a Republican editor. "Good order was preserved

and the Republican cause suffered not the loss of a single drop of blood by the spear of the *tilted* knight of the Democracy, Ye valient Le Grand — Byington.”²³⁹

At the end of the long campaign Mr. Kirkwood had the satisfaction of knowing that his labors had not been in vain. His party was victorious — Abraham Lincoln would be the next President of the United States. “Permit me to congratulate you,” he hastened to write to the man whose hands he was to uphold so faithfully through three years of trial, “and I most heartily do, upon the result of the recent Presidential election, and to express the earnest hope, that your administration may prove as useful to our country and as honorable to yourself, as you yourself can desire.”²⁴⁰

Meanwhile the Governor of Iowa had many official functions to perform, though he was not as yet required by law to keep his office at the capital of the State during the time when the legislature was not in session. In May he visited Mt. Pleasant and Fort Madison for the purpose of conferring with the authorities and investigating the condition of the Insane Asylum and the Penitentiary.²⁴¹ A month later he appointed George G. Wright to fill the vacancy in the Supreme Court occasioned by the death of Justice L. D. Stockton.²⁴² His continued interest in agriculture and in the wel-

fare of the farmers was evidenced when, in July, he "issued a circular to County Judges and others, advising them to see that foreign cattle are not introduced into the County Fairs; and to take such steps as they may deem advisable to prevent the introduction of eastern cattle into this State until the disease that has proved so fatal in Massachusetts disappears." Especially did he advise the careful watching of all the ferries and railroads by which cattle might be transported into Iowa.²⁴³ Late in August he saw fit to pardon one William Latta, who was imprisoned in the penitentiary for counterfeiting, and thereby he called forth a vituperative newspaper attack from the pen of the eccentric Henry Clay Dean.²⁴⁴

On October 17th Governor Kirkwood issued his first Thanksgiving Day proclamation, urging the people of Iowa on that day to "abstain from all secular business, and devote the day to the service of Him, whose favor is the only support and bulwark of States and Nations."²⁴⁵ Five days later he wrote a long letter to the Secretary of the Interior, which he hoped was not intrusive, interceding in behalf of the settlers on the "Des Moines River Lands."²⁴⁶ A few weeks later he received notice from William Duane Wilson that the regular annual meeting of the Board of Trustees of the Agricultural College would be held on January 5, 1861.

“Those of the members who come by this city [Des Moines],” wrote Mr. Wilson, “who desire, will be taken by Mr. Bolton’s Nevada Stage on Friday to the College Farm direct, and he will reconvey them from there to this city on the following Tuesday. Fare for round trip \$3.”²⁴⁷

Along with the requirements of politics and the duties of office, the distinction attached to his position brought to Governor Kirkwood many other demands upon his time and attention. “I am a young man just trying to decide on an occupation for life and I would like your edict on choices of occupation”, wrote an earnest youth from Denmark in Lee County. Some time later Mr. Kirkwood was notified of his election as a member of the Visiting Committee of Cornell College at Mt. Vernon. Throughout the summer he received invitations to attend county fairs, agricultural exhibits, and horse shows; while on September 4th there came a letter calling his attention “as the enlightened friend of mechanical agricultural progress, to a new patent plow”. In his correspondence for this year there is a certificate of honorary membership in the “Cosmopolitan Art Association of New York”, as well as a receipt for the sum of three dollars in payment for an engraving of “Falstaff Mustering his Recruits”. In December he was reelected president of the State Historical Society of Iowa.²⁴⁸

XV

THE CRISIS

THERE was little tranquillity in the minds of thoughtful men at the opening of the year 1861. Events were tending rapidly in the direction of civil conflict. The prospect was dark and gloomy. On December 20, 1860, South Carolina seceded from the Union, thus setting an example which was soon followed by six other southern States.

The year which had elapsed since Samuel J. Kirkwood delivered his inaugural address to the Iowa legislature had witnessed a gradual undermining of his confidence in a peaceful settlement between North and South. "It really appears to me", he wrote to Grimes on January 12, 1861, "as if our Southern friends are determined on the destruction of our Government unless they can change its whole basis, and make it a government for the growth and spread of slavery. The real point of controversy is in regard to slavery in the Territories. On that point I would be willing to go thus far: Restore the question of slavery in our present territories to the position to which it was placed

by the compromise measures of 1850. . . . The whole country agreed to do this once, and therefore could do so again." He then proposed a plan which would not require any abandonment of principle on either side.

"But", he continued, "at all hazards the Union must be honored—the laws must be enforced. What can I do in the premises? Shall I tender the aid of the State to Mr. Buchanan? Some of our people desire an extra session. I do not. My present intention is not to call an extra session until after the 4th of March. If after that time an extra session be necessary to support the Government I will so far as in me lies see to it that the last fighting man in the State and the last dollar in the treasury are devoted to that object, and our people will sustain me." In a postscript he urged that an arsenal be established in some northwestern State.²⁴⁹

Two weeks later he expressed similar views in a letter to the members of the Iowa delegation in Congress, asking them to represent the State at the peace conference called by the legislature of Virginia to meet in Washington, D. C., on February 4th. He had too great a distrust of the motives back of the call by Virginia to hope for any good results from the convention. But in case the commissioners attending the meeting should show themselves "disposed

to act in earnest for the preservation of the union", then he had some suggestions concerning the course to be followed by the Iowa delegates.

"The true policy for every good citizen to pursue", said the Governor, "is to set his face like flint against secession, to call it by its true name, treason. . . . But if 'compromise' must be the order of the day, then that compromise should not be a concession by one side of all the other side demands, and of all for which the conceding side has been contending. In other words, the north must not be expected to yield all the south asks, all the north has contended for and won, and then call that compromise. That is not compromise, and would not bring peace." Again he urged the restoration of the slavery question to the status in which it was placed by the compromise measures of 1850 as the only solution of the situation which the North could honorably accept.²⁵⁰

These declarations by Governor Kirkwood may be taken as a fair reflection of the spirit of the people of Iowa. About the middle of January he was urged by J. C. Bennett of Polk City to organize the militia and secure necessary arms and supplies. In selecting officers, wrote Mr. Bennett, "let me entreat of you to appoint *prompt and able* men who, tho' they fear God, have *no fear of the devil*, and NO FEAR OF

TRAITORS, and who dare to be MEN, despite of party.''²⁵¹

Although the militia of the State was unorganized and without arms, a number of independent military companies tendered their services to the Governor during these days of anxious foreboding. The Governor's Greys at Dubuque, the Washington Light Guards, the Burlington Rifles, and the Mount Pleasant Guards, were among the companies which by their attitude at this time forecast the readiness of the people of Iowa to make any sacrifice to preserve the Union. To each offer the Governor responded with a note of no uncertain tone.²⁵² "In these days," he wrote to one of the captains, "when cabinet officers abet treason and use their official position to bankrupt and disarm the government they were sworn to support . . . when, in one portion of our country, many men, delirious with passion, regard the firing upon our national flag, the forcible seizure of our national forts, and the plunder of our national arsenals and treasuries, as manly, honorable and patriotic service . . . when in short, men are found in high places, so lost to patriotism as to emulate the treason of Benedict Arnold, and so lost to shame as to glory in their infamy, and can find followers and apologists — it is gratifying to know that the gallant yeomanry of Iowa are still deter-

mined 'to march under the flag and keep step to the music of the union.' ''²⁵³

To Joseph Holt, Secretary of War, he wrote on January 24th, enclosing "a letter tendering to the President the services of the Governor's Greys" of Dubuque. "Whilst I deeply regret that the perils to which the Union of the States is exposed arise from domestic and not from foreign foes," he continued, "I feel a great and I think an honest pride in the knowledge that the people of Iowa are possessed of an unyielding devotion to the Union and of a fixed determination that so far as depends on them it shall be preserved."''²⁵⁴

Thus far Governor Kirkwood had never met Abraham Lincoln, and it was natural that he should wish a personal acquaintance with the man who had been chosen to guide the nation through the perils of the next four years. Early in January, 1861, therefore, he journeyed to Springfield, Illinois, to call upon the President-elect before his departure for Washington, D. C. At the hotel in Springfield the plainly dressed, unobtrusive man from across the Mississippi at first attracted little attention from the politicians who thronged the lobby. But he was not without friends. He was introduced to Governor Yates and shortly afterwards, for the first time, shook hands with Abraham Lincoln. An interview was arranged and the future

President came to Kirkwood's room in the hotel, because there they would be free from disturbance.

The actual words of that interview are nowhere on record, but they established the basis of the understanding between the two executives which lasted through the dark years of the war. Mr. Lincoln "spoke calmly, earnestly and with great feeling", while Mr. Kirkwood "listened with anxious interest and heard with profound satisfaction"; and in the end each man fully understood the position of the other with respect to the great issues of the day. "When he left", wrote Kirkwood later in life, "I went with him to the door of the hotel, and when I returned to the office I found myself an object of considerable attention. It was known that Mr. Lincoln was up stairs with somebody, and when it appeared that I was that body, a good many people about the hotel seemed anxious to learn who I was, and where I had come from."²⁵⁵

The prospect of another political campaign within a few months seems at this time to have given Governor Kirkwood little anxiety. "I have a letter from Senator Harlan inclosing one from you to him, written on the subject of the next canvass for the post you now fill", wrote Alvin Saunders from Mt. Pleasant on January 15th. "I feel greatly obliged

particularly to you, my dear Sir, who so kindly offer me the field in case I & my friends might desire a chance — Allow me, however, after returning my thanks, to say to you that *I do not expect to be, under any circumstances, a candidate.* So you may consider the field as widely opened as *you* have been pleased to make it for me.’²⁵⁶

In spite of the Governor’s lack of concern over the approaching campaign, he received many assurances from such men as William B. Allison, Charles Aldrich, and others that the Republican sentiment of the State was in favor of his renomination.²⁵⁷ That he was not to be free from opposition, however, was indicated by a letter from A. T. Shaw of Fort Madison, who declared that “Dan Miller is turning Heaven and Earth but principally the other place to create disaffection in the Republican ranks & to organize a ‘Union’ party. His prime object is to secure the nomination for Governor.”²⁵⁸

The early months of the year 1861 passed in the routine of executive duties, broken only by a trip to the national capital to witness the inauguration of President Lincoln.²⁵⁹ Then came the fatal twelfth of April, when the whole country was electrified by the news that Fort Sumter had been fired upon. Three days later there went out the President’s first call for troops: seventy-five thousand men were called to the colors.

The requisition for one regiment, which was Iowa's quota in this first call, was flashed over the wires to Davenport, then the only point in Iowa reached by the telegraph.²⁶⁰ Although the message stated that a letter would follow, citizens of Davenport felt that no time should be lost in getting word to Governor Kirkwood. Accordingly William Vandever, then member of Congress from the second district of Iowa, took the first train to Iowa City. Upon his arrival he found the Governor in boots and overalls caring for his stock on the Coralville farm.²⁶¹

Just as the Nation was now forced to meet the great test of its strength, so Samuel J. Kirkwood was face to face with the crisis of his life. Had the succeeding three years been years of peace his name would have gone down, probably, with honorable mention in the list of the Governors of Iowa. The war with its many demands upon his good judgment and resourcefulness, as well as upon his time and strength, afforded just the stimulus required to bring forth the qualities which enshrined him in the hearts of the people.

XVI

MEN AND ARMS

MOMENTARILY overcome by the significance of the message in his hands, Kirkwood is said to have exclaimed: "Why the President wants a *whole regiment of men!* Do you suppose, Mr. Vandever, I can raise that many?"²⁶² If the Governor really had any serious doubts on that score his mind was soon set at rest. Besides he was not a man who would shrink from meeting an emergency or spend much time in fearful inactivity. But he was keenly aware of his own lack of knowledge of military affairs, and he knew that not only were the people of Iowa devoid of military training but also that the State was without arms and the other necessary equipment for troops.

Realizing the necessity of being in direct telegraphic communication with Washington, the Governor immediately betook himself to Davenport, where he spent much of the time for several weeks. He arrived in that city just in time to participate in a great mass meeting at which party lines were ignored and the spirit of loyalty to the Union blazed forth in no un-

certain manner. Perhaps underestimating the difficulties to be met, Governor Kirkwood in his address indicated that he would not call an extra session of the General Assembly because of the cost. "The expense of enlistment and starting away of the regiment would cost about \$10,000; and this matter could be attended to without the present intervention of the Legislature. The Governor said that he would see that these expenses were paid until the regiment was handed over to the Government. He said that \$10,000 would be raised for this purpose, if he had to pledge every dollar of his own property. He made an eloquent appeal to the patriotism of his listeners; and though sick, he gave one of the most stirring addresses of the evening."²⁶³

Perhaps it was the patriotic fervor reflected in this enthusiastic mass meeting which inspired a letter written by Governor Kirkwood a few days later to Simon Cameron, then Secretary of War. "Ten days ago", he said, "we had two parties in this State; to-day we have but one, and that one is for the Constitution and Union unconditionally."²⁶⁴

The Governor's proclamation was issued on April 17th, officially informing the people of Iowa that they had been asked to raise one regiment of men, to be in rendezvous at Keokuk by May 20th. "The Nation is in peril", he

warned the people. "A fearful attempt is being made to overthrow the Constitution and dissever the Union. The aid of every loyal citizen is invoked to sustain the General Government. For the honor of our State let the requirement of the President be cheerfully and promptly met."²⁶⁵ On the same day he wrote to individuals in the various counties of the State, urging them to put forth efforts to raise at least one company of men in each county.²⁶⁶

Even before these appeals had been sent forth the Governor's temporary misgiving concerning his ability to raise a regiment had been dispelled. Within less than twenty-four hours after the news of the President's call reached Iowa the services of fifteen or twenty companies had been offered to Kirkwood.²⁶⁷ He very soon found that his embarrassments arose not from a dearth of men ready and anxious to serve their country, but from his inability to secure arms, accoutrements, and clothing for the soldiers.

So eager were men to enlist that the number who offered themselves soon exceeded the power of the Governor to accept. "I am very sorry I have not received your personal offer of your company", he wrote to the captain of a company at Columbus City on April 24th. "I have now offers of companies for two regiments and can't get your company in either unless I

can get leave to put more than ten companies in a regiment. Men are here with offers of their companies & almost quarrel with me because I can't receive them."²⁶⁸

The last sentence was in reality a mild statement of a situation which in some instances gave Samuel J. Kirkwood no end of unpleasantness. "It is entirely out of my power to accept the Keokuk Company for the first regiment without turning out of the regiment a company organized & recd before the Keokuk Company was organized", he wrote on April 25th, in reply to the complaint of an old friend. "I do not think I ought to be asked to do this and certainly cannot do it. I am sorry the people of Keokuk show 'the greatest feeling and the most intense disappointment,' and I hope you will endeavor to give their feelings some other direction than that of complaint against what is unavoidable."²⁶⁹

Again, on the following day, he wrote that "I am very sorry to find that instead of aiding me in my present difficult & embarrassing position you are disposed not only to take a contrary course yourself but to induce your people by misrepresentation or misunderstanding to do the same. I cannot imagine why this is so but must accept the existing fact and try and get along as best I may."²⁷⁰ Still later, in writing to another citizen of Keokuk concern-

ing the same matter, Kirkwood declared: "It is somewhat humiliating to me to be under the necessity of thus explaining the reasons of my 'outgoings and incomings' and I would not recognize a necessity for so doing but for some recollections of a pleasant nature connected with my visit to your home in the fall of 1859. My personal regard induces me to do what otherwise I would not do."²⁷¹

The worries of the Iowa executive, then, did not arise from the reluctance of the citizens to enlist: his anxiety was rather to appease the resentment of many who could not at that time be accepted. Nor was he long at a loss for funds with which to equip the Iowa troops. To be sure there was no money in the State treasury, and, besides, not a cent of public funds could be used without authorization by the General Assembly. But the patriotism which on the one hand exhibited itself in the eagerness of men to place their lives at the service of their country also found expression in the prompt offer of banking institutions and men of wealth to stand back of the State in this emergency. The expenses of raising, drilling, and maintaining the troops must be borne by the State until the men were mustered into the service of the United States government. The names of Hiram Price of Davenport, Ezekiel Clark of Iowa City, J. K. and R. E. Graves of

Dubuque, W. T. Smith of Oskaloosa, Governor Kirkwood himself, and many other citizens of Iowa, without regard to political affiliations, must always be held in grateful remembrance. Unhesitatingly they pledged all of their personal property in order that Iowa might be able to do its full duty in this hour of National peril.²⁷²

Men were to be had in abundance. Money sufficient for immediate needs was cheerfully offered. But men without arms and equipment were of little use in warfare; and when guns could not be secured at any price money was of no avail. The Federal authorities were at their wits ends amid all the clamors which arose, while manufacturers of arms and munitions could not at once supply a Nation unprepared for war. Governor Kirkwood, therefore, soon became very impatient because of his inability to procure the necessary equipment for the men who early in May gathered at the appointed rendezvous at Keokuk. Cloth for uniforms was purchased, to be sure, and the women of Iowa needed no urging to employ willing fingers in the making of clothing for the soldier boys. The Governor expressed his appreciation of this service in a letter to Mrs. A. Gillespie of Dubuque thanking the ladies of that city for fitting out two companies of volunteers. "You have set a noble example", he wrote, "in thus

coming forward in the time of our need, and have shown us by this patriotic offering to the welfare of our gallant soldiers that it needs but the occasion to reproduce the heroines of '76.'"²⁷³

But guns and ammunition could not be made in Iowa, even by the most willing. And so Governor Kirkwood sought in every possible manner to secure these most essential supplies. On April 29th he wrote to the Secretary of War, saying that one regiment was ready to be mustered in, and another had been raised; while a third regiment was anxiously waiting to be received. He could raise ten thousand men in twenty days, but the State had no arms except a few old-fashioned muskets. "If no arrangement has been made for arms for this State," he implored, "do, for God's sake, send us some."²⁷⁴ Two days later he enumerated his attempts to secure guns in the following letter to Senator James Harlan:

Friend Harlan: My efforts to get arms thus far have been:

1. A pressing letter to the Secretary of War, April 18, on the subject — yet unanswered.
2. Sending Senator Grimes, April 23d, especially on that errand to Washington — not yet heard from.
3. Writing to Governor of Connecticut if arms can be bought of private manufacturers in that State — not yet answered — letter April 24.

4. An arrangement with military committee of Chicago for a loan of 1,000 guns.— This, I think, is perfected, and the guns will be shipped tomorrow to Burlington.

5. I have sent a special messenger to Springfield, Illinois, to procure if possible, part of the arms recently brought there from St. Louis. If he fails there, to go to St. Louis and try the officer there — not yet heard from.

6. Have called an extra session.

Can you suggest anything more — if so, I will follow it.²⁷⁵

Rifles of an inferior grade were eventually secured for the first Iowa regiments, but for a year or more Governor Kirkwood was embarrassed by the delay in providing equipment for his soldiers. His many difficulties, however, had only served to fix his determination that the war must be fought to a definite conclusion. He had hoped against hope that an effective compromise might be made, but now that hope was gone and he had no more faith in pacific measures. “I want this thing *settled*”, he wrote to Enoch W. Eastman of Eldora. “It will be cheaply done at a cost of men & treasure greater than our revolution cost.”²⁷⁶

The gravity of the situation soon convinced the Governor, contrary to his earlier attitude, that immediate legislative action was necessary. On April 25th, therefore, he issued a

proclamation calling the General Assembly to convene in special session on Wednesday, May 15th.²⁷⁷

Two o'clock on the afternoon of the appointed day found the legislators at Des Moines in readiness to pass the laws necessary to put the State on a war basis. Their number was not complete, for several members had enlisted in the Iowa regiments and were then in camp. But as the extra session opened loyalty to the Union was on every member's lips if not in all their hearts. In the House of Representatives "honest" John Edwards as Speaker displayed a fine spirit when in a brief address he declared that at such a time "the partizan should become merged in the patriot." And "having been elected to the position I now hold as your presiding officer by the dominant party on this floor," he said, "in justice to the minority, I am now willing to resign my position into the hands of any other member of this body". But his offer was unanimously declined, and immediately afterward when a resolution was offered calling for the appointment of a committee of three Democrats and three Republicans it was voted to strike out the words "Republicans" and "Democrats".²⁷⁸

On the morning of May 16th each branch of the legislature listened to a message from Governor Kirkwood, in which he stated his reasons

for calling the special session and outlined the measures which he believed should be enacted into law. The opening words briefly emphasized the seriousness of the situation which had placed the maintenance of the Union in jeopardy. "In this contingency," said the Governor, "Iowa must not and does not occupy a doubtful position." To support the government "the people of Iowa are ready to pledge every fighting man in the State, and every dollar of her money and credit; and I have called you together in Extraordinary Session for the purpose of enabling them to make that pledge formal and effective." The South had struck a blow at the life of a government that had long shown unexampled patience, and the reply was "such as to show the world the strength of a Government founded on the love of a free people."

The first concern of the legislature, suggested the Governor, should be to legalize the actions taken by the chief executive and others without authority of law to meet immediate exigencies. He had borrowed money on the credit of the State. Two regiments of troops had been raised, furnished with uniforms, transported to the rendezvous at Keokuk nearly two weeks before the day set by the Secretary of War, and there drilled and maintained in camp. Prompt provision should be made for the payment of

the expenses thus incurred; while at the same time funds should be made available to meet future needs along the same line. He also referred to the legislators the question of whether or not the State should compensate the volunteers for their time until they were mustered into Federal service.

Two great objects to be kept always in view were "the protection of our State against invasion and the prompt supply to the General Government of any further aid it may require." While Governor Kirkwood did not anticipate an invasion by regular troops from Missouri he did fear that guerrilla bands would take advantage of the unsettled conditions to institute plunder and border warfare. Moreover, the northwestern border of Iowa was exposed to Indian attack, and the memory of the unpunished Spirit Lake massacre was too fresh to allow any assurance of safety for the settlements in that section without adequate military protection. He submitted two plans by which the duty of the State might be performed.

"One is mustering into the service of the State, arming, equipping and placing in camp to acquire discipline and drill a number of regiments of Volunteers." This method had the advantage of providing a disciplined force ready for any emergency of the State or nation,

but it would be expensive and would not adequately protect the borders of Iowa. "The other plan", said the Governor, "is to organize along the Southern and Western frontier, arm and equip but not muster into active service a sufficient force of minute men, who may be called upon at any moment to meet any emergency that may arise at any point. This will be the more effective plan for home protection, but will not place the State in position to render such effective aid to the General Government."

The enactment of a militia law, providing among other things for a military staff for the Governor, was another necessity. While private citizens or boards of supervisors in most of the counties from which companies had been accepted had raised funds for the support of the needy families of volunteers, he believed that this expense should be borne by the State in order that the burden might be more equally distributed. The securing of an adequate supply of arms for the defense of the State was still another matter demanding attention. "The last few weeks", said the Governor out of the fullness of his recent experience, "have taught us a lesson which I trust we may never forget, that peace is the proper time in which to prepare for war." He also suggested a revision and strengthening of the revenue laws of the State.

“Permit me in conclusion to express the hope that what you may do may be done promptly, calmly and thoroughly”, was Kirkwood’s closing admonition in this historic message. “Let us take no counsel from passion, give no way to excitement. Let us look our situation boldly and squarely in the face, and address ourselves to, and do our duty like men who believe that while we hold to our Fathers’ faith and tread in our Fathers’ steps, the God of our Fathers will stand by us in the time of our trial, as He stood by them in the time of theirs.”²⁷⁹

The words of the Governor did not pass unheeded. Both branches of the General Assembly soon adopted a concurrent resolution declaring that “the faith, credit and resources of the State of Iowa, both in men and money are hereby irrevocably pledged to any amount and to every extent which the Federal Government may demand, to suppress treason, subdue rebellion, enforce the laws, protect the lives and property of all loyal citizens and maintain inviolate the Constitution and sovereignty of the Nation.”²⁸⁰ And while it must not be imagined that the spirit of harmony and good-will so much in evidence on the opening days prevailed throughout the two-week session, the legislators did not rest content with the expression of fine-sounding sentiments of loyalty.

With commendable zeal the General Assem-

bly addressed itself to the business in hand. Practically all of Governor Kirkwood's recommendations were followed and enacted into law. A "War and Defense Fund" was created and provision was made for the sale of State bonds to the amount of eight hundred thousand dollars. The militia law was revised, a military staff of four special aids with the rank of Lieutenant Colonel of cavalry was provided for the Governor, and he was authorized to raise regiments and battalions of infantry, cavalry, and artillery for the defense of the borders of the State. Soldiers were to receive pay for their services until the time when they were mustered into the United States army, and county officials were authorized to use public funds in caring for the families of volunteers. A contingent fund of ten thousand dollars for the remainder of the year 1861 was placed at the Governor's disposal and he was empowered to employ a private secretary.²⁸¹ In fact, with frequent reference to Governor Kirkwood for advice and information,²⁸² the General Assembly of Iowa promptly did all in its power to facilitate the activities of the chief executive and enable the State to perform its full duty in the Nation's crisis.

XVII

A WAR-TIME POLITICAL CAMPAIGN

PARTISANSHIP, although partially consumed by the flame of patriotism which blazed up in every town and hamlet of Iowa at the firing on Fort Sumter, was not totally destroyed. All too soon it revived under the favorable conditions produced by the war and its many problems. Thenceforth the already overburdened authorities, both in State and Nation, were harassed by attacks from the rear which were more difficult to combat than the hostility of open enemies. Samuel J. Kirkwood, as Governor of Iowa, received his full share of bitter, partisan abuse.

The first shock occasioned by the definite rupture between North and South had scarcely lost its effect before political party machinery in Iowa was put into full operation in preparation for the coming State election. From the beginning there could have been little doubt of the outcome, but it soon appeared that it was not to be a colorless campaign. "Your enemies think the present a glorious opportunity to get sweet revenge & destroy your influence", wrote

Ezekiel Clark late in May, "but you will probably be saved from annihilation by an arm stronger & a power higher than your puny adversaries. . . . You will probably find adversaries & false friends where you will not expect them."²⁸³ From a friend at Council Bluffs a week later came the warning that "a strong effort will be made to defeat you in the next convention and the disappointment of rejected military Companies will be turned to account against you. This is unfair and unmanly, but the aspirants for your place are not going to be over scrupulous about that."²⁸⁴

The prediction in this letter was not unfounded. So persistent and widespread did the charge of favoritism in the acceptance of volunteer companies become that the leading Republican newspaper of the State came to the Governor's defense. "When the requisition was made by the General Government for one regiment from this State," declared the editor, "Gov. Kirkwood could not know — no man could have foretold — that ten companies would eagerly press forward for every one that could be accepted. His anxiety was to have the men in camp at the time designated by the War Department, and companies were then accepted who were able to be first upon the ground."²⁸⁵

Several weeks later another correspondent informed Kirkwood of another basis upon which

opposition to him was being manufactured, namely, his refusal to allow men to squander the State's money under the excitement of war. For, said the writer, "a man just now can urge economy but at the risk of being a secessionist & a rebel & this the scamps know and will take advantage of it to open the doors of the treasury to their own craving stomachs."²⁸⁶

All this time the Governor was too busy with public duties to devote much thought to his own political prospects. Thus the Republican State Convention was held at Des Moines on July 31st, without any apparent previous activity on his part to make sure of a renomination. Although there was not absolute unity among the delegates who composed this convention, the platform adopted was such as to satisfy the most loyal patriot. Ignoring all minor issues, each of its eight planks expressed an unalterable determination that the Union must be preserved, no matter what the cost.²⁸⁷

The informal ballot for the party's nominee showed Samuel J. Kirkwood far in the lead, his competitors being Samuel F. Miller, Elijah Sells, Fitz Henry Warren, and S. A. Rice. On the first formal ballot Kirkwood's support was even larger and thereupon his nomination was made unanimous.²⁸⁸

There is good reason to believe, however, that the whole story of the nomination is not re-

vealed in the record of votes. "You have doubtless heard that the rubicon is passed, the Batteries taken, & you the victor in our state Convention", wrote William B. Allison. "It is useless to disguise or deny the fact [that] there was a most bitter and determined opposition in the Convention to your re-nomination. They were unable to concentrate their forces on any one man so that they really made but little headway when the hour for balloting arrived. The principal opposition seemed to be from the southern portion of the state, & Linn County in the North." Many of Kirkwood's friends, said Allison, had nearly become convinced that some other man would be better able to harmonize the factions in the party. He also urged the Governor to send men (including H. M. Hoxie) to the southern counties of Iowa to investigate the measures necessary to defend that region against possible attack from Missouri. Such action, he said, would tend to allay the dissatisfaction in that section.²⁸⁹

The northern part of the State also showed some signs of discontent. Eliphalet Price wrote from Guttenberg on August 8th, congratulating Kirkwood on his renomination. "We are putting on and adjusting our Lincoln harness for the stump this fall", he said. "It will be a warm contest and a bitter one."²⁹⁰ The following week he informed the Governor

of the efforts which were being made by Reuben Noble and others in Clayton County to organize a "Union Party", and alluded to the charges of favoritism in the acceptance of companies. "I think that they will be glad to drop this when they are informed that all will be received who come", he added. "The Enlisting feeling has very much subsided [in the] north, now when it is known that they are wanted."²⁹¹ Many letters received by Kirkwood during the fall, however, indicate that the dissatisfaction in the northern counties was not so much personal opposition to him, as the feeling that the Republican leaders, especially Grimes and Harlan, had neglected that portion of the State in the matter of appointments.

The allusion to the proposed "Union Party" was not without foundation, and as a matter of fact this movement was one which gave the Republicans considerable anxiety. At a convention held in Des Moines on August 28th, this party nominated Nathaniel B. Baker for Governor, Laurin Dewey for Lieutenant Governor, and Reuben Noble for Supreme Court Judge. Both Baker and Noble, however, declined to accept the nomination. Mr. Baker, as will be seen, soon became Adjutant General and served with great distinction in that important position throughout the war; while Reuben Noble and Laurin Dewey continued to be among

Governor Kirkwood's most loyal supporters.²⁹² So that in reality the Union party movement had little effect on the campaign.

The Democrats particularly were in a quandary during this period, for the party was split into two factions — the “War Democrats” and the “Peace Democrats”. Two State conventions were held, one on July 24th, at which time Charles Mason was nominated for Governor, and Maturin L. Fisher for Lieutenant Governor. At another convention held on August 29th William H. Merritt was chosen in the place of Mr. Fisher, who had declined the nomination. Still later Judge Mason, apparently under pressure, withdrew from the head of the ticket, and an effort was made to unify the factions of the party under the leadership of Col. Merritt, whose loyalty was unquestioned; while Maturin L. Fisher was restored to his former position as the candidate for Lieutenant Governor.²⁹³

It does not appear that the campaign of 1861 was in any sense spectacular. There was very little speech-making and an equal dearth of newspaper controversy. The war overshadowed all else. To be sure, Governor Kirkwood was frequently urged to visit certain localities and present his views on the issues of the day, but on only two occasions did he take time from his executive duties to accede to these demands. On September 4th in Sherman Hall in Des

Moines he made an address which deserves to be called an Iowa classic. In tone and content it was far removed from the plea of a mere seeker after office. The second speech was delivered at Davenport about one month later, and while perhaps less notable it was similar to the Des Moines address in character.

The Sherman Hall address was made with less than six hours preparation, and therefore it came unmodified by considerations of expediency directly from the heart of the Governor.²⁹⁴ After a brief introduction he said:

I again find myself what I once thought I never again would be, a candidate for the office of Governor; and I confess I find myself in peculiar and unpleasant circumstances. . . . First, the country is in a condition such as it was never in before.—We have had war before, but never a civil war. We have had strife before, but never internecine strife. And many of the good people who are in favor of pressing this war thoroughly, vigorously, and triumphantly to an end, believe that an error was committed in making a party nomination at this time.—They think that the gentlemen who have placed me in nomination have erred. That is one thing. Another is, and I am very sorry to say it, that some of my own political household think that I am not the man, that we should have had some other person.

Logically and clearly he showed how impossible it would have been to make a thoroughly

non-partisan nomination. There was no way by which such an action could have been accomplished. Besides in this crisis the Republicans were willing to ignore all issues save that of preserving the Union and on that ground they were glad to welcome to their ranks all citizens whatever their beliefs on other questions.

“Now, my friends,” continued the Governor, “a few words on a subject to me more delicate. As the Chief Executive of the State since the war commenced, much fault has been found with me. I am a plain man; and although it may not be prudent in me as a candidate to speak in regard to these matters, yet I propose to say some things to you in a very plain way. A great many gentlemen think I have not been energetic enough; that I have not been efficient enough; that I have not pushed forward the work as vigorously as I should have done. That may be true. That I may have committed errors I think is not only very possible, but very probable.” Vividly he outlined the difficulties confronting the administration at Washington as well as that of Iowa. “And I do insist upon it”, he said, “that instead of hunting something to find fault with, you should strengthen and uphold your public agents.”

“It has been said that the Iowa volunteers have not been clothed as well and as rapidly as they should have been clothed”, the speaker

next declared. "That is your fault, not mine. I had not the money to do it. You have it, and I have not been furnished with it. The clothes worn by your First, Second and Third Regiments to-day have not been paid for! . . . Much fault was found with me because your soldiers at Keokuk did not receive their poor pittance of pay, which they were to receive from the State. . . . You know as well as I that the Executive of this State had not a dollar to advance to the soldiers. After they were mustered in at Keokuk, Ezekiel Clark, Hiram Price, of Davenport, and your Speaker, borrowed on their private credit the money, some \$30,000, which was required to pay them, and paid it, and the debt is unsatisfied to-day. . . . The bank of this city holds my protested notes for \$6,000. . . . I was absent from home last week, and found upon my return notices of protested paper of mine to the amount of \$6,000 more; and not less than seven of those little tickets which bankers send out to give notice of notes falling due. Now it is not agreeable to a man who has hitherto kept his commercial credit unimpaired thus to find it dishonored; and it is still more displeasing when he is cursed all over the State for not doing what he was powerless to accomplish, and it is right you should know it."²⁹⁵

In language equally plain he then proceeded

to place the responsibility for lack of funds where it belonged. "I grew pathetic in a newspaper appeal a few days since," he said, "asking you to subscribe for State Bonds. Now there is scarcely a man of you, who if life, limb or property were at stake, could not take \$100 at least of Iowa State Bonds, and thus furnish the means to carry on this work, and have it done right.²⁹⁶ And let me say plainly — though as a candidate I ought not to talk so to you — that, in so doing, you would be performing your duty, as well as in carping and fault-finding. . . . I ought perhaps to make handsome vows, speak soft and honied words, things I cannot do; but I will tell you the truth as I understand and believe it, and if you don't like it, you have the remedy in your own hands, you know."

Turning from personal matters to the conduct of the war, Governor Kirkwood eulogized the Republican party, and appealed to the patriotism of his hearers by referring to the exploits of Iowa men on the field of battle. Especially did he elicit rounds of applause at every mention of the First Iowa Regiment, which had won glory in the battle of Wilson's Creek. He had been in Washington when the news of that battle was received. Before that time he had been shown but little respect at the War Department. But when the news came, he said, "every man who saw me had to shake hands

with me, and placing my hat at an angle of 45 degrees, I stalked through the building as though I owned it — and they let me.”

This memorable speech came to a close with an admonition to the audience that above all the welfare of the Nation should be their first consideration. With characteristic directness Samuel J. Kirkwood delivered his message, and then with good-natured humor and simple eloquence partly removed the sting of his blunt remarks and stirred the hearts of his listeners.

The election was held on the second Tuesday in October. When the votes were counted it was found that Mr. Kirkwood had been re-elected to the office of Governor of Iowa by a majority of about seventeen thousand.²⁹⁷

XVIII

THE FIRST YEAR OF THE WAR

WHILE the political campaign of 1861 was being fought out with but little attention from Governor Kirkwood he was coping with difficulties such as have never confronted another executive of Iowa. The inability of the Federal government to provide arms and equipment for the troops as rapidly as needed continued to be a cause of vexation, and the Governor was forced to endure much unjust criticism because of the delay.

Even when guns were received they proved in some instances to be of a very inferior quality and almost useless in actual warfare. As late as January 12, 1862, Governor Kirkwood received a letter from his nephew, W. W. Kirkwood, who was then in Benton Barracks at St. Louis, complaining of the character of the arms furnished to the Iowa troops. To show the worthless nature of these guns he said "there was one to my certain knowledge Broken by striking it lightly across a pine Box the barrel broke entirely off in two places." Other guns burst at the first discharge, and in fact these

old-fashioned muskets were more dangerous to the men who carried them than to the enemy.²⁹⁸

Similar reports came from other camps, and it added much to Kirkwood's worries to think of Iowa men going into battle with such ineffective weapons. He wrote letter after letter to government officials and did not rest content until he was assured that better equipment had been provided.

Lack of money was, likewise, a serious problem. While the State banks throughout Iowa and men of wealth in this State and elsewhere²⁹⁹ generously offered to advance large sums, the Governor knew that he had no authority to accept these offers and pledge the credit of the State for their later repayment. The General Assembly, at the extra session in May, 1861, as has been noticed, made provision for the sale of \$800,000 worth of State bonds for the purpose of creating a "War and Defense Fund". But unfortunately no appropriation was made out of the ordinary revenue of the State to meet immediate needs. Thus the financial situation remained desperate. Contrary to all expectations and to the great chagrin of Governor Kirkwood who considered it a reflection on the State, the bonds did not find a ready market. Consequently, relief from this source came very slowly.

"I very much regret my inability to furnish

you at this time with funds to pay the note given by yourself & others for the powder purchased by you & them some time since and taken off your hands by the State”, wrote Kirkwood to Samuel F. Miller on June 26th. “The present condition of our finances is so painfully familiar to me that it seems almost strange that it should not be familiar to every one. . . . The proper Board has authorized the sale of Bonds to the amount of \$400,000 which will be for sale in this State until July 13 at private sale *at par* and the unsold portion will on the 15th July be awarded to the highest & best bidders at the Metropolitan Bank, New York. I am wholly unable to say what portion will sell in this State at par or how readily and at what rate the bonds will sell in New York, but until sold there or here I must remain as I have been heretofore without money except as I can borrow it.”³⁰⁰

Thus it was that appeals to the Governor’s office for money with which to buy arms and other necessities for several weeks met with the same reluctant reply. “You ask for arms”, wrote Kirkwood’s military secretary on September 3, 1861. “The State has none and can get none for want of means. Our bonds do not sell at home or abroad & until they do no arms can be purchased.”³⁰¹ A few days later in reply to a letter of Samuel Merrill, who appar-

ently was hoping for the reimbursement of money which he had advanced to clothe Iowa troops, the military secretary told of the personal sacrifices which the Governor had made. "He has no money at command", he wrote, "and is himself under protest for a large amt. Relying on the proceeds of sale of Bonds he became personally responsible for more than he is worth and as his reliance failed him his notes have gone to protest. He has been to Washington to get some of the State expenses refunded and expects a partial paymt within 30 days & will try to secure you a share of it."³⁰²

The first money to be paid into the State treasury from the sale of bonds was received on July 31st and then the amount was only sixteen thousand five hundred dollars. On August 2nd about twenty thousand dollars came in, and practically the same amount three weeks later. Thereafter the sums received at irregular intervals were smaller, and by the first of November scarcely more than eighty thousand dollars had been received.³⁰³ This was the best that could be done in spite of the Governor's stirring appeals to the people of Iowa,³⁰⁴ and in spite of the fact that the bonds bore seven percent interest, were backed by the resources of a wealthy State, and were widely advertised by the Governor in such newspapers as the *New York Tribune*, the *Chicago Tribune*, the *Boston*

Post, and the *Journal of Commerce*.³⁰⁵ It is little wonder that Kirkwood felt constrained to tell his audience some very plain facts in his Sherman Hall speech in September and to place before his hearers their duty in the matter of buying State bonds.³⁰⁶

It has been said that the hesitancy of individuals and banking institutions to take these bonds was not due wholly to the unsettled condition of the times. Enemies of the government, both in Iowa and in the East, according to assertions frequently made, circulated insinuations against the security of the bonds and caused them to be regarded with suspicion in many quarters.³⁰⁷ But whatever the cause, the slowness in securing funds from this source seriously handicapped the Governor of Iowa and those in authority with him. The situation was somewhat relieved about the middle of October when the United States government paid eighty thousand dollars into the State treasury.³⁰⁸

Fortunately, in the midst of new and untried duties Samuel J. Kirkwood was not without the advice and assistance of capable and loyal men. As military secretary he chose Nathan Hoit Brainerd of Iowa City, a man possessing the qualities of common sense, calm judgment, and the ability to express his strong convictions in clear and vigorous language. Although he

never received a large compensation he unfalteringly bore his full share of the burden of correspondence and the responsibilities which the war entailed upon the executive office. His ability and faithfulness made it possible for the Governor to make frequent and necessary journeys away from home with the full knowledge that the affairs of his office were in capable hands.³⁰⁹

Equal reliance could be placed by Governor Kirkwood upon his private secretary, although it so happened that several men occupied this position during the years of the war and the duties of the private secretary were not of such importance during this period when military affairs were the first consideration. During the summer of 1861 the private secretary was John Pattee, who later became Lieutenant-Colonel of the Seventh Iowa Cavalry, and Brevet Brigadier General.

Acting upon the authority granted to him by the legislature, late in June the Governor appointed as his four regular aids John Edwards, Cyrus Bussey, Rush Clark, and Addison H. Saunders. Three of these men later received high recognition for their bravery on the field of battle. At the same time Kirkwood chose three special aids to assist him in enlisting and equipping troops. One of these special aids was William B. Allison, who then as always

was one of Kirkwood's staunchest friends. Another was W. H. Thompson of Linn County; while the third was Nathaniel B. Baker, who was soon to be placed in a position of much greater authority and responsibility.³¹⁰

In July Adjutant General Jesse Bowen resigned, "with the thanks of the Executive for his patriotism, zeal and ability",³¹¹ and on the twenty-fifth his place was given by Governor Kirkwood to Nathaniel B. Baker. It is doubtful if any better choice could possibly have been made. Mr. Baker had been a life-long Democrat. He had been a member of the New Hampshire legislature and Governor of that State from 1854 to 1856. In the General Assembly of Iowa during the special session he was a leader in securing the enactment of laws putting the State on a war footing. To the office of Adjutant General he brought unbounded energy, fine executive ability, and a sensitiveness to suffering which made him always zealous in his efforts to guard the welfare of the Iowa troops.³¹²

Governor Kirkwood was, indeed, very fortunate in his choice of men to render him personal assistance. But it was also his duty to make many appointments to positions in the army; and while the men he selected, with few exceptions, proved worthy of the trust, this duty led to much unpleasantness. Ungratified

ambition, jealousy, and personal animosity gave rise to complaints and bitter criticism.

The extent of the Governor's power to make military appointments was clearly stated by N. H. Brainerd in a letter written early in September. "The only officers appointed by the Gov. are the field & medical officers", he said. "All Company officers are elected by the Company and the regimental Staff are appointed by the regimental officers."³¹³ On the same day he answered a letter urging the appointment of a certain man by the brief but pertinent statement that the Governor "would be glad to appoint any worthy applicant but is limited to the number of places to be filled."³¹⁴

"I have not said or done any thing to injure you", said Kirkwood himself in a four-page letter to one who was disappointed at not receiving a field office. "I have only decided that in my judgment I found better men for the positions I had to fill. I must be permitted however to say that the already onerous duties of my position will be largely increased if I am compelled to make explanations as lengthy as this to all whom I cannot gratify with positions."³¹⁵ The mere question of selecting the best men among the large number of applicants was illustrated in the reply of the Governor in April, 1862, to a physician of Keokuk County who desired an appointment as surgeon.

“There are at this time five places to fill”, he said, “four of which are under a law just passed by the general assembly. For these places I have just fifty-four applications by persons who have passed the Medical Board besides numerous applications from others who are willing to go and be examined *if they can have a promise before they go that I will appoint them in case the report shall be favorable.* Now dont you ‘consider’ that under such circumstances it requires a good deal of ‘consideration’ on my part to know what to do?”³¹⁶

Even strong personal friendships were not always proof against severe strain when expectations of appointment or promotion were not fulfilled. Such was the case of John Edwards of Chariton, who, as has been seen, was one of Kirkwood’s regular aids. It seems that the Governor had promised Edwards the colonelcy of a regiment, but through some misunderstanding with the War Department the commission was issued to Alexander Chambers, a regular army officer. Keenly disappointed at this unexpected turn in affairs, the Governor was only too happy shortly afterwards to offer Edwards the position of Lieutenant Colonel in the Seventeenth Infantry Regiment, of which John W. Rankin was Colonel. “Now Colonel”, he wrote, “for God’s sake and my sake accept. I feel more mortified and embarrassed about

your position than I have ever done about any thing in my life. You had been so considerate, so modest, so little disposed to be urgent that it was a pleasure to be to be able to give you a commission and my mortification at the result so mortifying to you is great. Do accept.”³¹⁷ In spite of many long letters from the Governor, Edwards refused to accept the position. Later, however, he was appointed Colonel of the Eighteenth Infantry Regiment, and gave such evidence of his valor and ability that he was promoted to the rank and position of Brigadier General.

The raising and equipping of troops was the duty which throughout the summer and autumn of 1861 claimed the Governor's closest attention. On June 11th he issued a proclamation informing the people of what had been done, and appealing to them especially to be prompt in the payment of taxes in order that the State might not be embarrassed by a lack of ordinary revenue. “I have been induced to make the foregoing suggestions in this manner”, he said, “because of my belief that the People of the State would cordially co-operate with me in any honest, prudent endeavor to advance the public interest. While only a few may be permitted to endure the hardships and face the hazards of the camp, and to meet the foe in the shock of battle, each citizen, in this hour of our National

necessities has a public obligation to discharge, and it may be as effectively canceled while in the prosecution of the peaceful pursuits of industry, as at the most hazardous posts of duty.”³¹⁸

Another proclamation on July 30th announced that the Secretary of War had accepted four additional regiments of infantry and one of cavalry from Iowa. Some of the companies were not yet filled to the strength required for United States service; and besides the term of enlistment of the three-months men in the First Iowa Infantry had expired and a new regiment must be raised to take its place. “The recent misfortune at Manassas”, he warned the people, “demonstrates that the contest in which we are engaged is one requiring neither passion, excitement, nor unreasoning and blind haste, but rather patience, calmness, organization, deliberation and fixed determination.”³¹⁹

The case of the First Iowa received characteristic treatment at the hands of the Governor. This regiment had made a proud name for itself at the battle of Wilson’s Creek, and although the term of enlistment of its members had expired he refused to allow the regiment to be reorganized. “My reasons were”, he wrote, “that the good name & fame of that regiment was the *property* of its members & had become a part of the history & property of this State —

that a new regiment under the same name *might* tarnish that good name & that I had not morally the right to commit its keeping to new hands.”³²⁰

The method adopted by the War Department at first in calling for troops was not to the liking of Governor Kirkwood, and he frankly stated his attitude to Secretary Cameron. “I would much prefer”, he said, “that in the future all troops needed from this State for the service of the United States be called for by regular requisition upon the Executive of the State, unless such troops shall be uniformed and equipped by the United States or by themselves. I will endeavor to furnish promptly all troops that may be regularly required from this State, and I am satisfied it will save much complication and unpleasant feeling here to have all further troops furnished upon formal requisition.” Not long afterward he received a reply assuring him that in the future his wishes would be observed.³²¹

Again on September 10th by proclamation Kirkwood made an appeal for additional volunteers. “More soldiers are required for the War”, was his challenge to the patriotism of his people. “Six regiments of infantry and two of cavalry, composed of your friends and your neighbors, are now in the field. Three more regiments of infantry, and one of cav-

alry, composed of the same precious materials, are now in camp, nearly organized, and eager to join their brothers in arms, who have preceded them, and still four more regiments are required. . . . Remember they will not fight for themselves alone. It is your cause, as well as theirs, in which they are engaged. It is the cause of government, of home, of country, of freedom, of humanity, of God himself. It is in this righteous cause that I now call upon the manhood and patriotism of the State for a cordial and hearty response. The gallant achievements of our noble Iowa first, have bestowed upon our State an unperishable renown. Wherever fortitude is appreciated, and valor recognized, as the attributes of a brave and great hearted people, the Iowa volunteer is now greeted with pride and applause.”³²²

The writing of appeals for volunteers, however, was the smallest item in Kirkwood's activities in connection with the raising of troops. He made trips to various parts of Iowa and to eastern cities, held numerous conferences, and conducted a very heavy correspondence. Burdens of a similar nature rested upon the Governors of all the northern States. It was in December, 1861, that an interesting proposal was made by Governor Alexander W. Randall of Wisconsin. “It seems to me”, he wrote, “that the large amount of labor

and responsibility thrown upon the Executives of the several states during the past season, entitles them to some consideration at the hands of Congress. In all cases where forces enough have been sent from any State to entitle the State to an appointment of Major General, the Governor ought to be paid the compensation of a Major General. In all other cases to be paid the compensation of a Brigadier General. . . . I propose that we make common cause with our members of Congress to favor such an act.’’³²³

Whatever may have been Governor Kirkwood’s reply to the author of this proposal, his attitude was expressed in a letter to Senator Grimes on December 29th. He admitted that the loyal Governors might with propriety hope for more adequate recognition of their arduous services in behalf of the General Government. “But the Govt needs all its money & more,” he said, “and there are other better uses to which to put the money. I am painfully impressed with the conviction that our regiments have not enough medical aid, and I would much rather Congress would give an additional assistant surgeon to each regiment from Iowa than **any** pay to its Governor.’’³²⁴

XIX

MESSAGE AND INAUGURAL OF 1862

THE Ninth General Assembly of Iowa convened in regular session at Des Moines on Monday, January 13, 1862; and once more it was necessary for Governor Kirkwood to spend most of his days in the executive office in the capitol at Des Moines. Again it was his duty to communicate to the legislature his views concerning needed legislation and to deliver another inaugural address, for this was the beginning of his second term as Governor.

On the second day of the session the biennial message was read in both houses of the legislature. Attention was first called to the vital subject of revenue and taxation. The expenditures for all State purposes during the preceding two years, he said, amounted to about \$300,000 annually. But in spite of the fact that the government had been economically administered, the finances of the State were not in "a healthy condition". The Auditor's report revealed the startling fact that taxes for 1860 and the years immediately preceding, to the amount of \$400,000, still remained delinquent and un-

paid; while warrants to the extent of over \$100,000 were outstanding. "From these facts", he continued, "the following conclusions are inevitable: 1st, That during the last four years there has been levied a State tax larger by about \$300,000 than the necessities of the State required. 2d, That this was rendered necessary by the fact that only a portion of our people paid the tax due the State. 3d, That the State has been compelled yearly to pay large sums by way of interest on warrants, which need not have been paid had the taxes been collected promptly, and the Treasury kept supplied with funds to meet all demands upon it. 4th, That the State being compelled to purchase its supplies with warrants has had to pay higher prices than if it had had the cash to pay. 5th, That the tax-paying portion of our people have thus been compelled to pay not only their proper share of the public burthens, but also the share of those who did not pay their taxes, increased by interest and high prices."

A revision of the revenue laws was therefore recommended. Two features were especially suggested, namely, the "imposition of such penalty for the non-payment of taxes when due, as will make it unmistakably the interest of every tax-payer to pay promptly"; and the "assurance to the purchaser of property at a tax sale, of a valid title at the expiration of a fixed time."

The problem of revenue and taxation, moreover, was complicated by the probability that the State would be asked that year to contribute a tax of between \$600,000 and \$700,000 to aid the Federal government in paying the interest on its enormous and rapidly-growing debt. It would be necessary for the legislature to provide some plan to meet this situation. County officials should also be given additional duties and responsibilities in the matter of taxation, since out of every \$5.66 of taxes paid by the people only one dollar reached the State treasury, while the remainder was used for local purposes. Economy and accountability in local expenditures were urgently required. The payment of taxes, the Governor believed, would be facilitated if United States treasury notes and notes of the State banks of Iowa were to be made receivable at par, instead of confining payment entirely to specie.³²⁵

Military affairs were next discussed. Sixteen regiments of infantry, four of cavalry, three batteries of artillery, and one independent company of cavalry for frontier service had already been raised in Iowa, and two more regiments of infantry were at that time being recruited. After recounting the difficulties met in the sale of State bonds, Kirkwood recommended that the legislature give careful consideration to some plan for providing more

adequate funds for the equipment of Iowa troops. Additional medical attendants were badly needed, and he urged that provision be made for nurses and assistant surgeons. Some changes were also needed in the militia law.³²⁶

Turning to the subject of school and university funds, the Governor urged that these funds be adequately protected from future loss and mismanagement. "I am decidedly of opinion", was his interesting suggestion with regard to the State University, "that not only the interest of the institution, but also the interest of the State requires that you should provide a Military Department of the University, and should establish a Military Professorship therein. The sad experience of the last few months, has shown us the necessity of military knowledge among our people."³²⁷

The needs of the penitentiary and the charitable institutions, measures for the promotion of agriculture, and the situation with regard to the Federal land grants in Iowa all received due consideration. "The year which has just closed," said the Governor in conclusion, "has brought to our people a new experience, new trials, new responsibilities, and new duties. Let us continue to meet them as we have thus far met them, with neither an overweening confidence in, and reliance upon, our own strength, nor an unmanly and craven fear for ourselves.

or of the hardships we may endure before we win by deserving success, but with patience, calmness, unflinching courage, and an abiding faith in God.”³²⁸

Shortly after noon on the following day a joint committee of the legislature waited upon Mr. Kirkwood and informed him that the votes had been canvassed, that he had been declared elected Governor of Iowa, and that the joint convention was in readiness for the inauguration. Thereupon, accompanied by the Lieutenant Governor, the Justices of the Supreme Court, and the other State officers, he made his way to the hall of the House of Representatives. The oath of office was administered by Chief Justice Caleb Baldwin, and “His Excellency addressed the Joint Convention”.³²⁹

Eloquently Kirkwood portrayed the events leading up to the war, the causes of the great struggle, and the situation in which the government then found itself. Especially did he lament the apparent tendency in the North to feel that in some way the South must still be assured the continuance of the institution of slavery. There was a lack of unity of purpose and action. “It may be said that if we proclaim freedom to slaves of rebel masters, Slavery must suffer and may be extinguished”, he declared, “I reply: So be it. The friends of Slavery have in its supposed interest thrust

this war with all its evils upon the country, and upon them and upon it be the consequences. It may be said the slaves of loyal masters will escape, and thus loyal men will suffer loss." While the latter result would be regretted it should not be a deterrent influence, since the interest of many individuals must necessarily suffer in the midst of such a conflict.

"I will not be misunderstood", the speaker continued. "This war is waged by our Government for the preservation of the Union, and not for the extinction of Slavery, unless the preservation of the one shall require the extinction of the other. If the war were so prosecuted that on to-morrow the preservation of the Union were effected and secured, I would not now wage the war another day. I would not now spend further treasure or further life to effect the extinction of Slavery, although I might regret that the war of its own producing had left in it enough of life to leave it to be our bane and pest in the future as it has been in the past. But while this is true, it is also true that if I had the power on to-morrow to end this terrible strife and preserve our Union by the extinction of Slavery, while to preserve both would require a month's, or a week's, or a day's, or an hour's further war; the spending of a single additional dollar or the loss of a single additional life; so surely as the Lord lives, this War would close to-morrow."

There was every indication now, he said, that the war would be a long, hard struggle. This would mean that the people of Iowa must bear many burdens. "Life is valuable, but it is intended to be useful; and how can any one make his life more useful than by giving it for his country?" There would also be heavy taxes to pay. "We must give up the idea of money making to a great extent until this war is over. We must be content to devote to the preservation of the country a portion of all the surplus we have been accustomed to lay up in years gone by. We may be required to return to customs and expedients for many years abandoned." All these facts must be squarely faced with the firm determination that at any cost the Union must be preserved. Although all its policies might not meet with approval the administration at Washington must be loyally supported.³³⁰

This address, so outspoken and uncompromising, did not fail to attract attention. From Washington, D. C., came a letter of enthusiastic thanks. "It has received the most flattering commendation from prominent men here", said the writer. "Would to God the administration was thoroughly imbued with your views, and *would act on them.*"³³¹ A few weeks later there was received from far-away Denmark a twelve-page communication from

one who was apparently a rabid socialist, disapproving of the address at every point.³³²

These were days of gloom and foreboding throughout the North. Only a few comparatively unimportant victories had thus far favored the Union arms. Indecision, inefficiency, and delay seemed everywhere to prevail, and the prospect was very dark. Even Governor Kirkwood, with all his optimism, was at times very downhearted, although he never confided his fears except to his most intimate friends.³³³

Such was the situation on the morning of February 17, 1862. In the House of Representatives at Des Moines a filibuster was in progress over some very inconsequential matter. The chief clerk, Charles Aldrich, had called the roll until his head ached, and was just in the midst of the last roll call when Frank W. Palmer, the State Printer, entered the hall "in a manner betokening intense excitement." He made his way quickly around the side of the room and up to the Speaker's desk. "In an instant, the Speaker, Hon. Rush Clark, of Johnson County, sprang to his feet, in the very midst of the roll-call, shouting at the top of his voice, 'Gen. Grant has captured Fort Donelson!'" A rousing scene ensued. "The members sprang to their feet with the wildest cheers and hurrahs that ever woke the echoes of the

Old Capitol building. The contemptible little political squabble was as completely forgotten as though it had happened in some ante-diluvian time, and the members went fairly wild, hugging each other, shaking hands, cheering, and in every possible manner giving way to expressions of extravagant delight.”

Leaving the capitol building, by common consent the legislators gathered around the board at the old Des Moines House, where the hilarity continued unabated, aided it must be confessed in many cases by the drinking of much liquor. Among the speakers was Governor Kirkwood, whose joy over the victory was as great as that of anyone, and he made a speech which was long remembered — a speech in which he gave free vent to his feeling of resentment against England because of the Trent affair.³³⁴

The elation over the victory was tempered on the morrow, however, when it was learned at what fearful cost in men the fort had been won. There was mourning in many Iowa homes when the death-list came in. To Governor Kirkwood it was a source of solemn pride that the Second Iowa Regiment had played so conspicuous a part in the assault. Shortly before in St. Louis that regiment had been publicly disgraced. Because of alleged acts of vandalism on the part of a few of its members, the whole regiment had been ordered, by General Schuyler

Hamilton, to march through the streets of St. Louis with flags furled and without music when it was embarking to take its place in the lines around Fort Donelson. Governor Kirkwood had indignantly returned the copy of the order which had been sent to him by General Hamilton, and had vigorously protested against the injustice of the order to General Halleck and others.³³⁵

But now the stigma on the good name of the Second Iowa was forever removed. "The flag that our 2d Regt could not carry open through the streets of St. Louis", he wrote to General Hamilton on March 20th, "they did carry proudly through the storm of battle at Fort Donelson and planted first of all others on the entrenchments of that stronghold of treason. It now hangs over the chair of the Speaker of the House of Representatives and will soon be deposited among the most sacred treasures of our State in our State Historical Society. I am content that what I have done in connection with it, shall be so written, that all who see it may read the record. The 'miscreants' of whom your order speaks either died in upholding it on that bloody day or helped carry it over the entrenchments."³³⁶

XX

THE GOVERNOR AND HIS SOLDIERS

THE adjournment of the General Assembly again left Governor Kirkwood free to devote his time and energies almost exclusively to military affairs. His signal success in this connection during the succeeding two years gave him a prominent place among the loyal executives of the northern Commonwealths, and made him one of the best loved men in Iowa.

The first concern of the Governor and his military staff was to see that Iowa furnished its full quota of men, and to see that they were properly trained, equipped and cared for, and dispatched in due time to the scene of conflict.³³⁷ On July 2, 1862, there went out from Washington the call for three hundred thousand more troops to be enlisted for a period of three years, Iowa's quota being over ten thousand.³³⁸ "The Eighteenth Iowa Infantry is rapidly organizing", was Kirkwood's message to President Lincoln three days later. "Shall have it ready in about thirty days. Our harvesting prevents rapid recruiting just now. Iowa will do her duty. She has furnished

already seventeen regiments of infantry, five regiments of cavalry, and three batteries of artillery.”³³⁹ Shortly afterward he wrote that “we have scarcely men enough to save our crops, but if need be our women can help.”³⁴⁰

Another call for three hundred thousand men was issued on August 4th, but in this case the enlistment was to be for a period of only nine months. Governor Kirkwood refused to enlist men for so short a service. He believed that it would be a shortsighted policy to permit terms of enlistment to expire just at the time when the men so enlisted had gained the training and experience required to make them effective as soldiers. Happily, the people of Iowa were of the same mind with the Governor. In fact the response to the previous call was so enthusiastic that there was no need to ask for enlistments under the call of August 4th; although men were still needed to fill the many vacancies in the old regiments.

“So many troops have offered that we have not blankets to enable us to put them in quarters”, was the message sent by Governor Kirkwood to the War Department on August 16th. “Tell me what I shall do with over 100 companies of volunteers above the 50 under the 300,000 call for volunteers”, demanded Adjutant General Baker four days later.³⁴¹ On the same day the Governor made the following appeal to Secretary Stanton:

First. There are companies now full and that will be filled by the 23d to fill eighteen to twenty regiments. Our whole State appears to be volunteering. Second. The companies are now coming into rendezvous as rapidly as I can furnish blankets for them. Could have them all in next week if I had blankets and could build quarters fast enough. Have blankets for only five regiments. Third. I don't want any further time than the 23d. All I want is to put into regiments all the companies full on that day. If I don't get this permission I will have to volunteer myself and leave the State.³⁴²

Thus the quotas assigned to Iowa under the two calls of the summer of 1862 were filled by volunteers within a surprisingly short time. But the raising of men to fill the gaps in the ranks of the old regiments was a more difficult matter. About eight thousand men were needed for this purpose. In July the Governor wrote to General Halleck, suggesting that recruiting officers should be sent to the localities where the companies of the old regiments were originally raised, since men would enlist more readily if assured that they would be among friends and acquaintances.³⁴³ "I am satisfied the old regiments cannot be filled by voluntary enlistments either in this State or in the North West", he wrote to Secretary Stanton a month later. "The stimulus of nearly forty commissions in each regiment is wanting. In my judgment a

draft to fill the old regiments will be necessary. Had it not better be *ordered* by you at once and thus save much valuable time — *Such is my decided opinion.*” In case a draft should be ordered he asked permission to discriminate between counties, in order that no additional burden might fall on those counties which had already furnished more than their share of men.³⁴⁴

An appeal to the people of Iowa for troops to fill up the old regiments was issued by Kirkwood on August 20th. He explained that while Iowa had furnished more volunteers than had been requested by the Federal government, the War Department declined to credit the State with this excess until the old regiments were filled. “I appeal then to every man for aid”, he said. “Let everything else be laid aside, until this needed work is done. Let the young men whose brothers and friends are in our old regiments take their places by their sides.” If the deficiency were not soon supplied by volunteering, it would be necessary to resort to a draft.³⁴⁵ In fact drafting commissioners were appointed and all the machinery was provided for putting conscription into operation.

About the middle of September the Governor issued a circular to these commissioners, informing them that there were enough volunteers to fill Iowa’s quotas for new regiments.

Thus, to avoid a draft it was only necessary to fill the old regiments. "Still the danger of a draft is imminent. The order may reach me on any day to commence the draft to fill the regiments. You will therefore perfect all your arrangements for the draft. Have everything done that is required of you by the instructions heretofore sent you, so that you will be able to commence the draft in one day's notice, and await such further instructions as may be sent you."³⁴⁶

The possibility of a draft hung over the people of Iowa through the remaining months of the year 1862 and throughout the succeeding year. Firm in his determination that compulsory measures should be adopted whenever volunteering should fail to produce the required men, Samuel J. Kirkwood was made the target for much bitter criticism. But it so happened that the resort to conscription was not necessary in Iowa until after he had ceased to be Governor of the Commonwealth.³⁴⁷ His own outspoken loyalty and untiring activity was a potent influence in accomplishing this result.

Kirkwood did not rest content, however, when the men had been enlisted and mustered into service. No parent or relative could have been more solicitous for the welfare of the Iowa soldiers, individually or collectively. "Say to the boys one and all I am delighted with them",

he wrote to an Iowa officer in May, 1862, "and expect to hear further from them in the next battle. I am fearful in regard to their health. I hope you will insist upon the line officers giving personal attention to every thing that may prevent sickness."³⁴⁸

Late in August he sent out an appeal through the press for supplies for the Iowa troops. "Your relatives, your friends," he said, "those who by blood and home associations are dear to many of you, those whose generous sacrifices for the good of our common country should endear them to all, are suffering in camp on a distant soil, from the want of some of the necessities of healthy life. . . . The season is at hand when vegetable matter is indispensable for health. Scurvy, the dread of the soldier; and the diseases incident to approaching autumn, demand that a full supply should be soon on hand ready for distribution." Potatoes, onions, tomatoes, beets, poultry, butter, eggs, and fruit were especially desired, as well as articles of clothing.³⁴⁹

Believing that the needs of the soldiers demanded immediate and more adequate attention, the Governor called the General Assembly to meet in special session on September 3, 1862. On the opening day his message was read before both houses. He urged legislation for the better care of sick and wounded soldiers and for

their return to their homes on furlough. More help was greatly needed in the Adjutant General's office and the compensation of that busy officer should be increased. In order that vacancies in the old regiments should be filled as they occurred he urged, first, that a camp of instruction should be established within the State, and second, that provision should be made for the payment of bounties to persons enlisting in these regiments.

Especially did Governor Kirkwood recommend the passage of a law enabling the soldiers to vote. "The very life of the Nation is at stake," he declared, "and may be as fatally lost at the ballot box as on the battle field. Under such circumstances it is not only the right but the duty of all good citizens to exercise the right of suffrage, and to see to it that the principles for the preservation of which our people are so freely offering treasure and life, are not jeopardized or lost in the Halls of Legislation, State or National. A very large number of the electors of the State are in the army. . . . Under existing laws these citizens can not vote, and unless these laws can be changed it may be that the cause they are periling life in the field to maintain, may be lost at home through supineness or treachery. I therefore recommend that the laws be so modified that all members of Iowa regiments who would

be entitled to vote if at home on the day of election, be allowed to vote wherever they may be stationed in the United States, and that provision be made for receiving and canvassing their votes.”³⁵⁰

Practically all of these recommendations were followed by the legislature. Laws were enacted which strengthened the hands of the Governor and made it possible for Iowa to meet the needs of the great conflict more efficiently.

During the months which followed Governor Kirkwood wrote hundreds of letters in the interests of the Iowa troops. Sometimes it was an appeal on behalf of some individual soldier. “Nicholas Russell a private in Capt. Robinson’s Co in your regiment is said by his father to be unfit for service”, he wrote to an Iowa officer early in December. “He is at Rolla. His mother is much distressed about him — says he can do nothing there but die — she wants him home. . . . Please give this matter special attention and by so doing much oblige me.”³⁵¹

His great solicitude was to be sure that everything possible was done to prevent sickness among the troops and to provide adequate care for the sick and wounded. “I at times feel almost disheartened in regard to sanitary affairs”, he confessed in November. “There seems to be so much jealousy and ill will among

those engaged in the matter that it discourages me and will I fear discourage those who have been contributing so liberally for this purpose.”³⁵² To the surgeon of the First Iowa Cavalry he wrote: “I need not impress on you the necessity of doing all that can be done for our brave boys. Let me say one thing — Don’t let them lack for any thing. Red tape or no red tape see they have all they need.”³⁵³

In March, 1863, Kirkwood wrote to General Halleck urging that provision be made for the discharge of permanently disabled soldiers, and for the return to Iowa of many others who needed rest and medical treatment. It was his belief that many men died in hospitals in the South who could be saved at home.³⁵⁴ “Please send me by express fifteen hundred dollars of extra contingent fund”, he wrote to the Auditor of State at about this time. “The sickness of our soldiers is making heavy drafts on me. If I have got down to the appropriation at the extra session get this approved by the Census Board — I want it immediately.”³⁵⁵ In June he wrote a long letter to Secretary Stanton relative to the care of sick and wounded soldiers. He insisted that the Iowa men should be brought to Keokuk, where there were between 1000 and 1500 vacant beds. Later he made an urgent appeal to General Grant.³⁵⁶

Kirkwood’s activities in behalf of the welfare

of the troops did not stop with the writing of letters, nor did he base his knowledge solely on the evidence of others. He made many personal visits to the camps and hospitals where Iowa men were to be found, in order to judge for himself concerning their treatment and needs. Cairo, St. Louis, Helena, the battle lines around Fort Donelson and Vicksburg, and many other distant places, to say nothing of the various points of rendezvous in Iowa, were visited by the Governor and members of his staff. Everywhere his coming was hailed with delight and he came into personal and friendly contact with soldiers of all ranks from private to general. The feeling of the Iowa troops was reflected in the correspondence from a soldier in a regiment stationed in the rear of Vicksburg. "Gov. Kirkwood and Adj. Gen. Baker were here on the 10th", he wrote. "The Governor is the same in 'Dixie' that he is in Iowa." It was doubtless on this occasion that the Confederates, attracted by the cheering when the Governor was addressing the troops, proceeded to shell the locality where he was speaking.³⁵⁷

The exchange of prisoners was another matter which required of Governor Kirkwood no small amount of correspondence and caused him no little vexation. Especially was this true in the case of the Iowa men captured by the Confederates at the battle of Shiloh. After

being held for a time they were released on parole. Being quartered at Benton Barracks, they were ordered to relieve a Missouri regiment in the performance of guard duty. This order they considered a violation of their parole oaths and they refused to obey. Thereupon, some of the officers were placed in the guard-house and the men were made to feel the displeasure of the authorities in charge at St. Louis.

Kirkwood considered this treatment to be very unjust. As early as June, 1862, he began his efforts for the relief of these men. "I object to Iowa soldiers who are on parole doing anything which by implication or indirection may make them violate that parole", declared Adjutant General Baker to the Secretary of War on July 21st. "Most of these men are at Benton Barracks and should be furloughed to their homes until exchanged. They are as brave and willing men as ever lived. . . . Do not allow punishment to brave and gallant men who have done their duty."³⁵⁸ On the following day the Governor wrote a letter, less peremptory in tone, to Secretary Stanton; and soon he received assurance that an exchange would be made and that the men would be released from any necessity of violating their parole.³⁵⁹

But as late as the middle of October the men

were still at Benton Barracks. "Governor Kirkwood directs me again to call your attention to the Iowa soldiers taken prisoners by the rebels at the battle of Shiloh," was the message of N. H. Brainerd to Stanton. "All the rebel prisoners taken at Donelson, Shiloh and Island No. 10, in large part by Iowa troops, have been returned to the rebels, but no Iowa man received in exchange. Our people know this and are greatly dissatisfied and feel that the Government is not treating our troops fairly. . . . Will you inform me why it is that no Iowa man is exchanged?"³⁶⁰ It was not until November 17th that the Governor received word that all the Iowa troops captured at Shiloh had been exchanged.³⁶¹

Again, the securing of recognition for the services of Iowa men through promotions was an object close to the Governor's heart. He was always quick to resent any slights to Iowa men, and was constantly alert to obtain all possible appointments for them. In a letter to Lincoln, for instance, early in December, 1861, he called attention to the fact that Iowa had not received its due proportion of Brigadier Generals. Such appointments, he said, would foster State pride and improve the service; and he proposed the names of Nicholas Perczel, Marcellus M. Crocker, M. L. Elliott, and Grenville M. Dodge.³⁶² Later he urged Senator Grimes to

use his influence to secure the promotion of Iowa men. Grenville M. Dodge he considered to be one of the best military men in the State. "Tuttle's charge at Donelson", he added, "is one of the most brilliant things of this or any other war. I have been over the ground he charged over & I believe that none but Iowa troops could have done it."³⁶³

But the wheels of the government at Washington turned slowly. "I am perfectly disgusted with the action of the authorities in regard to Brigadierships from Iowa", Kirkwood wrote to Crocker on February 28, 1863. "There were six recommendations. . . . That slate was broken and a new one made up. How it was made I don't know except that your name was on it & I hope will be kept on. I am told that Halleck makes these slates. I have argued, remonstrated & sworn about this matter."³⁶⁴

To be sure there were many men who were sorely disappointed when expected promotions did not come to them, and too frequently they placed the blame on the Governor. In most cases he replied with patience and absence of resentment. When one officer complained that "while you repeatedly acknowledged my just claims to promotion, you gave preference to such as can command political influence, which I do not",³⁶⁵ the Governor calmly denied the charge and explained the course he had fol-

lowed. "Write me often & frankly," he added. "If you think you have cause for complaint, complain boldly. I can bear criticism, blame, even reproach from one whom I esteem as sincere & honest as I do you."³⁶⁶

"There are thousands of men Captain in the ranks as good as either of us", he admonished a captain laboring under a feeling of unjust treatment, "and when I am disposed to complain of the extent of my labors and the injustice I at times receive I think of those poor fellows & try to bear all cheerfully." In conclusion he wished the captain "a speedy restoration to health and a future as useful & honorable as your past has been"³⁶⁷

Only occasionally did he permit anger to show itself in his letters to soldiers, no matter what the provocation. But he stated exactly what was in his mind to a certain colonel who refused to deliver a commission which had been awarded to a member of his regiment. "In regard to the matter of Lieut. Peacock", Governor Kirkwood wrote, "I have only this to say. I have already forwarded to him a duplicate commission. Should this not have reached him I direct you to deliver the commission sent you by me for him. Should you continue to refuse to deliver it . . . or should you for the future refuse to deliver any other commission sent you for an officer of your regiment I will report you to the

Secretary of War as guilty of conduct unbecoming an officer and ask that you be punished. . . . Your letter, although perhaps such as is worthy you is not worthy your place. Until you withdraw it and apologize for it I cannot recognize any further recommendations from you for promotions in your regiment.”³⁶⁸

In the midst of the multifarious details which required attention it is truly remarkable that the Governor found time to write by his own hand literally hundreds of friendly letters to soldiers. Letters of praise and encouragement, words of fatherly advice, and messages of gentle reproof were dispatched at every possible opportunity. “I congratulate you very sincerely on your promotion. I wish all similar ones were as well earned and would be as worthily worn”, he wrote to Grenville M. Dodge, when he had been promoted to the position of Brigadier General.³⁶⁹ “The State of Iowa will cherish in unwavering memory and in the hearts of her people the glorious career of her Sons in the field who thus in the fray of deadly battle attest the devotion of the State to the Union, liberty and the law.”³⁷⁰ This was a portion of a letter to Col. D. B. Hillis in praise of the valiant conduct of his regiment in the battle of Corinth. “Hoping you may soon get your pay and leave to return home a short time and that you will be a good soldier while in ser-

vice and a good man after your return", were his closing words to a private who was sick in a hospital at Keokuk.³⁷¹

"If there be no truth in the reports no harm is done to any one", wrote Kirkwood to a colonel who had been accused of drunkenness, "and if unfortunately you have perhaps unconsciously fallen into this error may I not hope the fact that it is known & is a source of deep regret to your best friends will induce you to retrieve yourself? The good name & fame of your regiment is dear to every citizen of Iowa, and may I not confidently hope that you will not do any thing that will tend to the injury of either? Believe me this letter is written in all kindness & if you will allow me to say so with the most friendly spirit."³⁷² When another Iowa colonel was in trouble because of his refusal to obey an order which he believed unjustified, the Governor wrote a letter of sympathy and friendly counsel. "It *looks* to me as it does to you as if it were an intentional slight", he wrote. "But Colonel I regret you did not obey the order even if it was an improper one technically. My experience in life shows me it is better to treat these small annoyances with the contempt they deserve and not magnify them into matters of importance by opposition to them. Your regiment is suffering and must continue to suffer by reason of your arrest."³⁷³

These are only illustrations of the many letters which strengthened the affection which the Iowa soldiers felt for the Governor who took such a friendly, personal interest in their welfare. In return a great many of them wrote letters to him, telling of army life, of their needs, their hopes and ambitions, and oftentimes sending relics for the collections of the State Historical Society.

XXI

THE ALTOONA MEETING OF LOYAL GOVERNORS

THE many duties of his office did not drive from Governor Kirkwood's mind a feeling of dissatisfaction with the manner in which the war was being prosecuted — a feeling which grew apace during the summer of 1862. The western armies, to be sure, had given good accounts of themselves; but in the East there was delay and inaction. General McClellan, with a magnificent army which idolized him and with the best equipment that could be afforded, still displayed his characteristic reluctance to engage the enemy. Then early in September the Confederate army under Robert E. Lee swept into Maryland, thus threatening Baltimore and Washington. To many people in the North the Union seemed to be tottering to its fall.

It was during this disheartening period that Kirkwood received a telegram from Governor Andrew G. Curtin of Pennsylvania, and later a circular letter signed by two or three additional State executives, urging him to attend a meeting of loyal Governors to be held at the little mountain town of Altoona, Pennsylvania, on

September 24th. The critical situation of the country, it was felt, demanded united action. It was furthermore believed that a loyal address on the part of the State executives would infuse new hope into the North and give the President the support he needed. At the same time, it was evidently the plan that the conference should result in the giving of some very plain advice to the administration concerning the conduct of military affairs and the desirability of emancipation. As it turned out a portion of this contemplated advice was rendered unnecessary. On September 17th the Confederate advance was halted and rolled back at the bloody battle of Antietam; and while on the train traveling to the conference Samuel J. Kirkwood read in a newspaper President Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation of September 22nd.

Nevertheless, there were still many matters which the conference could profitably discuss. At least twelve Governors were present, and others were represented by proxies.³⁷⁴ "The Proclamation was freely discussed by us", said Governor Kirkwood many years later. "Its issuance by the President was heartily approved by most if not all present, and it was resolved that an address to the President should be prepared for presentation to him expressing that approval. Governor Andrew was appointed to

prepare the address and he did so. We then discussed the condition of military affairs and especially the fitness of Gen. McClellan for military command. On this point there was some difference of opinion, but my recollection is that a decided majority were of opinion that the public welfare would be promoted by his retirement from the command of the Army of the Potomac."

A New York newspaper declared it had Kirkwood's permission to state that his was the strongest statement in the conference against McClellan. He was quoted as saying that McClellan "had done wrong in allowing bad men and bad newspapers who were doing all in their power to help the rebellion to success, to be his peculiar champions, although he knew that ten words from his lips would send them to hell, where they belonged."³⁷⁵

It was decided, however, that the address to the President should not contain a reference to General McClellan, but that the Governors would go to Washington and have a personal interview with Lincoln. The plan was carried out, and a private interview was arranged at the request of the Governors, since they believed it best that such differences of opinion as they might have should not be made public. The address which had been prepared was read by Governor John A. Andrew of Massachusetts.

In it the executives expressed their "heartfelt gratitude" for the proclamation, and their unalterable determination to stand by the President in all his efforts to push the war to a speedy and decisive conclusion.

After the reply of the President, some of the Governors expressed their opinions concerning General McClellan. Among those whose opinion was unfavorable none was more outspoken than Governor Kirkwood. This was perhaps natural. As the executive of a western State, he keenly felt that although most of the victories of the war had been won by western armies due attention had not been given to the armies of the west.

"What had the army of the Potomac done?", he asked later in life when explaining his attitude toward McClellan. "It had done as much and as hard fighting as the western armies but with what result? If the results were not glorious and profitable the fault was not with the soldiers; where was it? I then thought and still think it was with the commander. He was often in a quarrel with the President, the Cabinet and the Radicals, as he called a large portion of the republican members of congress. He seemed to think the salvation of the country depended on him alone and was continually complaining. . . . The army of the Potomac had the first and best of every thing and

our western armies had what was left. The army of the Potomac was better and sooner armed, better clothed, better equipped in every way than our western armies. The public position I then held compelled me to know it, and I was sometimes angry, and I fear at times a little profane about it, and yet our western troops were always doing something and McClellan was only getting ready.”

Thus it was that in speaking for himself and the people of Iowa, Governor Kirkwood told the President that he believed that General McClellan was unfit to command an army. Although his men were well equipped, well disciplined, and fought as bravely as men ever fought, they were constantly being defeated.

“You Iowa people then judge generals as you do lawyers,” said Lincoln, with one of his genial smiles, “by their success in trying cases.”

“Yes,” replied Kirkwood, “something like that; the lawyer who is always losing his cases, especially when he was right and had justice on his side don’t get much practice in Iowa.”

After the talk continued thus good-naturedly for some time, Kirkwood spoke even more directly what was on his mind. “Mr. President,” he said, “our Iowa people fear and I fear that the Administration is afraid to remove Gen. McClellan.”

The color mounted to Lincoln's cheek and the Iowa executive saw that he had been too abrupt. "Understand me," he hastened to explain, "we fear that the strong efforts made by Gen. McClellan and his toadies in the army to attach his soldiers to him personally and their efforts and the efforts of a certain class of politicians outside the army to cause his soldiers to believe that the severe criticisms to which the General has been subjected are intended to apply to them (the soldiers) as well as to him (their commander) have so prejudiced his soldiers' minds as to make it unsafe to remove him for fear his removal might cause insubordination, perhaps mutiny; that is what I meant when I spoke of your being afraid to remove him."

"Gov. Kirkwood," replied Lincoln slowly and with emphasis, after a brief silence, "if I believed our cause would be benefited by removing Gen. McClellan to-morrow, I would remove him to-morrow. I do not so believe to-day, but if the time shall come when I shall so believe I will remove him promptly, and not till then."

In spite of the frankness of this reply, or perhaps because of it, Samuel J. Kirkwood went away well satisfied. He realized that the problem was one for the proper solution of which the President must take the responsibility, and he knew that Lincoln meant and would do just what he said.

XXII

BORDER DEFENSE

ALTHOUGH far removed from the scenes of decisive combat between North and South, the soil of Iowa was not wholly without danger of invasion. Governor Kirkwood's chief and most arduous task was to make sure that this State did its full share in the struggle to preserve the Union. But almost equally pressing was the necessity of protecting the people of Iowa against threatened inroads by border ruffians from Missouri and redskins from the north and west.

Scarcely had the war begun when there came disquieting reports from the Missouri border. There was great uncertainty concerning the course which Missouri might pursue. "I have strong hope Missouri will have too much sense to attack us", Kirkwood wrote on April 30th. "Exposed as she is on three sides, to Illinois, Iowa & Kansas a border war on her part will be madness but it is well to be prepared. Impress on your people the necessity of good order on their part towards Missourians unless attacked. Act only on the defensive until an attack is

made. Should any outbreak occur notify me at once." At the same time he urged that "minute men" should be organized in all the southern counties, with such arms as were to be found, and that these companies should hold themselves in readiness to respond to a call on short notice. "This is not what I would like to do", he said, "or what perhaps is the best thing could be done if we had arms but is the best thing can be done now."³⁷⁶

In a letter to a citizen of Missouri a few days later the Governor declared that if there were hostilities between the people of Missouri and the people of Iowa they must be begun by the former. But, he added, "if we are attacked we will take what we deem the best means of defense even if that should be to carry the war across our border into Missouri."³⁷⁷

About the middle of May, 1861, he appointed John Edwards of Chariton and Cyrus Bussey of Bloomfield as special aids, with large discretionary powers, to organize means of preserving tranquillity in the border counties. "I was well satisfied the peace of our State would be more easily preserved by preventing invasion than by repelling it," said the Governor later in describing his activities to the legislature, "and therefore while I could not order our State troops beyond our State line, I instructed Colonels Edwards and Bussey, and

through them the troops under their command, that if at any time the loyal men of Northern Missouri were in peril and called upon them for assistance, they had as full authority as I could give them to lead their men into Missouri to the aid of the loyal men there, and my promise upon their return that my power should be used to the utmost extent to protect them, if called in question for so doing.”³⁷⁸

As a matter of fact Iowa men did cross over into Missouri on several occasions during the summer of 1861. Late in July, for instance, John Edwards reported that “at least 1,500 citizens of Iowa left their harvest fields and families and rushed into Missouri to the relief of the Union men. These citizens were armed in every conceivable manner, without officers, system, or drill.”³⁷⁹ Nevertheless, the assistance thus rendered was effective and the Governor received assurances of appreciation from loyal officers and citizens of Missouri.

All through the summer and fall of 1861 there was uneasiness in southern Iowa. Inspired by Confederate successes, strong bands of rebels continued to harass northern Missouri, and to threaten vengeance against the people of Iowa who on several occasions had helped to thwart their designs. “A battle lost at this time by General Frémont”, wrote Kirkwood to Lincoln early in October, “would lay all our southern

border open to devastation and plunder by the victors, and while we have strong trust that success and not defeat awaits us, the probability of a different result naturally excites alarm.”³⁸⁰

In order to be ready for any emergency Governor Kirkwood appointed men in all the counties along the southern border to organize all the able-bodied men into companies and regiments for home protection. “As you are aware,” he wrote in a circular letter to the officers thus appointed, “the State is not properly armed, nor can arms be had at present by the State. Under these circumstances you will require every man in your county having private arms to report the number and kind of arms he has. Double-barreled shotguns and hunting rifles, although not the best, are good arms in the hands of brave men.”³⁸¹

Thus with characteristic vigor and common sense did Governor Kirkwood direct measures for home defense. Fortunately, the time soon came when all danger from invasion by organized Confederate forces from Missouri was removed. But bands of guerrillas infested the region throughout the war,³⁸² and no section of the border was safe from the raids of these outlaws bent on horse-stealing, plunder, and destruction. “I wrote you over a year ago in regard to bushwhackers from your State who were doing much mischief among us”, wrote

Kirkwood to the Governor of Missouri in March, 1863. "This thing has now reached a point when self protection requires the authorities of this State to take some steps for the removal of these men." He insisted that cooperation on the part of the Missouri executive was demanded, if for no other reason, on the ground of "a proper comity to this State, which is not willing to have its peace endangered by vagabonds, robbers and murderers from Missouri."³⁸³ Until the very end of his administration no small part of Governor Kirkwood's correspondence had to do with troubles on the Missouri border.

Meanwhile the situation on the western and northern borders of the State was equally alarming. All northwestern Iowa, from Council Bluffs to Kossuth County, was still an Indian frontier, and the memory of the Spirit Lake massacre of 1857 was fresh in the minds of the settlers. When the garrisons at the military posts on the upper Missouri and in the northwest were weakened or wholly withdrawn at the outbreak of the war, the redskins soon showed signs of increasing restlessness. Apprehension grew apace in the small villages and scattered settlements in northwestern Iowa, and the problem of defense was one of the many subjects claiming the Governor's attention.

Even before Fort Sumter had been fired upon

Kirkwood wrote to the Secretary of War asking for arms for the protection of the frontier. This plea was reiterated immediately after the beginning of hostilities, when he requested that five hundred long-range rifles be sent to Council Bluffs and an equal number to Sioux City.³⁸⁴ In reply to these and other urgent appeals, the War Department informed the Governor that the troops called into service by the government would not be taken out of the State immediately and that they would be furnished with arms which would be sent to Keokuk. The Secretary of War felt that these troops could be used in case of emergency and until other arrangements could be made.³⁸⁵

“In regard to furnishing arms for the militia,” was Kirkwood’s somewhat impatient answer to this suggestion, “you propose to place 1,000 stand of arms ‘at Keokuk, in charge of Colonel Curtis, or some other responsible person, to be used in case of emergency.’ In reply I can only say that if by this it is intended that the arms shall remain in Keokuk until an attack is actually made by Indians, and then be used to repel such attack, such arrangement will not be of practical benefit. Keokuk is at least 300 miles from Council Bluffs, and nearly or quite 400 miles from Sioux City, in which region the Indians will be troublesome, if at all. Between Keokuk and either of these points

there are only about 80 miles of railroad, and the balance of the way arms, &c., must be carried by wagon. The Indians might invade our State, do incalculable injury, and be gone beyond our reach long before an express could reach Keokuk and the arms taken to the point of attack.”³⁸⁶

Caleb Baldwin of Council Bluffs and A. W. Hubbard of Sioux City were appointed as aids, to act for the Governor and keep him informed. Companies of mounted men were organized and called into service for short periods at different times. Up to January, 1862, Kirkwood was able to report, no Indian raids had occurred.³⁸⁷

But during the summer of 1862 feverish excitement prevailed in northern Iowa. The Sioux Indians went on the war-path in southern Minnesota. Plundering and burning dwellings as they went, the savages massacred hundreds of settlers, especially in the vicinity of New Ulm just north of the Iowa line. The news of this uprising spread terror among the scattered settlements in north-central Iowa, and many squatters deserted their homes and fled for safety to the more thickly settled portion of the State.³⁸⁸ It was a situation which demanded prompt action.

“I am informed there is probable danger of an attack by hostile Indians, on the inhabitants of the Northwestern portion of our State”,

wrote Governor Kirkwood to S. R. Ingham on August 29th. "You will please proceed at once to Fort Dodge and to such other points there as you may deem proper. Use the arms, ammunition and money placed at your disposal in such manner as your judgment may dictate as best to promote the object in view, to-wit: the protection of the inhabitants of the frontier. . . . Use your discretion in all things, and exercise any power I could exercise if I were present, according to your best discretion."³⁸⁹

Two weeks later the Governor issued general orders for the organization of five companies of State troops to defend the frontier, which had been authorized by the General Assembly at the special session of 1862. Realizing that it would be impossible to maintain troops on the border permanently, he suggested that block-houses, surrounded by stockades, should be erected at frequent intervals in the threatened area. "These houses and grounds", he said, "are intended as rallying points in the future for the settlers in cases like the present, at which they can maintain themselves until help can reach them. This, in my judgment, is the only way in which security can ever be given to the border."³⁹⁰ About the same time he sent an urgent telegram to the War Department asking for arms and ammunition.³⁹¹

The Governor's orders were faithfully car-

ried out. Five companies were raised and organized into what was known as the Northern Iowa Border Brigade. "About two hundred and fifty men, rank and file, were distributed among several towns situated between Chain Lakes in Emmet County and Sioux City, and soon block-houses and stockades were erected, chiefly at local expense, at Correctionville, Cherokee, Peterson, Estherville, and on the Minnesota border at Iowa Lake in the north-eastern corner of Emmet County."³⁹² The State troops were later disbanded and their places taken by United States troops. But the prompt organization of a military force and the erection of forts and places of refuge for the settlers restored a feeling of security in north-western Iowa, and prevented the Indians from invading this State. After the summer of 1862 there ceased to be any serious danger in that quarter, although as late as January, 1864, Governor Kirkwood urged that means of protection on the frontier be maintained.³⁹³

XXIII

FIRE IN THE REAR

A BRAVE enemy in the open field may be met with a full knowledge of the conditions and magnitude of the struggle. Thus, it soon became clear to Governor Kirkwood and those in authority with him that Iowa's duty in the great war was to devote all its resources of men and money to the one common object of bringing defeat to the armies of the South. The problem of border protection was also plain: it was largely a matter of securing the means of defense. But there were dangers more insidious than those arising from bushwhackers from Missouri or red men on the northwestern frontier. There were enemies at home—enemies whose activities were carried on in secret and oftentimes under the cover of darkness.

During the early days of the war personal protests and factional strife were swallowed up in the enthusiasm of patriotism which revealed the true feelings of the vast majority of the people of Iowa. If there were those who harbored ill-will toward the North they were care-

ful at first not to betray their feelings. But as the difficulties of the government, both in State and Nation, increased and as Confederate successes gave encouragement to southern sympathizers it became apparent that in almost every community in Iowa and especially in certain sections there were men whose loyalty could not be trusted. The term "Copperhead" came to be applied to these men, whose courage or sympathy for the South was not strong enough to induce them to cast their lot with the Confederate army, but who sought secretly to sow the seeds of discord and hamper the government in every possible manner.

It was during the summer of 1862, when it seemed likely that a draft would be put into effect, that Governor Kirkwood first received warnings of the real seriousness of the anti-Union agitation in Iowa. A letter from Fairfield in August threw light on the character of an applicant for a position in the medical corps. "Only last Friday," declared the writer, this person "said speaking of the draft, 'What if a draft is made? It will be resisted. *I know of six rifles laid away ready for use to fight against it whenever the thing is attempted*'—and he said it in a bullying way — as if he would himself resist."³⁹⁴

By the latter part of November the Governor was in possession of enough information to

convince him that disloyal sentiment in Iowa could not be ignored. He wrote to Senator Grimes that troops must be stationed in Iowa to quell resistance in case the draft should be ordered. "I wish the authorities would pursue a different course", he continued, "in regard to persons arrested for disloyalty — either not make any arrests or else provide military commissions for the trial of those arrested. Mahoney's arrest was a good thing — his discharge without trial in my judgment a bad thing. There are still in confinement in this State several persons arrested in Madison County, members of Lodges of Knights of the Golden Circle. They ought to be tried and disposed of."³⁹⁵

It was openly charged in an Iowa City newspaper that Kirkwood favored the draft, because it would necessitate the making of many appointments, which in turn would further his aspirations for the senatorship. Even a strong Republican newspaper at Keokuk voiced its opposition to the draft.³⁹⁶ It is no wonder, therefore, that as the months went by the situation in some localities became more and more alarming. "I am, very reluctantly, compelled to believe there is danger of an outbreak in our own State in favor of the rebellion, unless measures be taken to prevent it", wrote the Governor in February, 1863. "I am now taking

the necessary steps to have a volunteer Company of *undoubtedly* loyal men organized and armed in each one of the second tier of counties from our south line.”³⁹⁷

“By all means keep the State arms & ammunition in your hands and don’t give them up to any one without a written order from Adj. Gen. Baker, Mr. Barner one of my aids in Fremont Co. or myself”, he wrote to a captain in Decatur County two weeks later. “If any attempt is made to get these arms from you, resist by force.”³⁹⁸ “Things look badly in places in our State”, he warned Caleb Baldwin. “Are the arms safe?”³⁹⁹ In an urgent letter to Secretary Stanton on March 10th Kirkwood requested that the State be furnished with arms. “It is a fact that unscrupulous men are organizing and arming for the purpose of resisting a draft under the conscription law”, he said, “and those under their control will be pushed into acts of hostility to the Government unless there is such a state of preparation as to make it hopeless.”⁴⁰⁰ “I am quietly taking steps to counteract the efforts of the ‘Copperheads’ and to be prepared for them”, he informed a citizen of northern Iowa on the following day. “It would be a terrible thing to have civil war with all its horrors in our State, and if it comes I intend it shall be terribly atoned for by those who bring it upon us.”⁴⁰¹

There was evidence that disaffection in Iowa was being fomented by influences and agents from outside the State. On March 13, 1863, Governor Kirkwood expressed to Secretary Stanton his belief that "paid agents of the rebels" were operating in Iowa.⁴⁰² Ten days later he issued a proclamation to the people of Iowa, declaring that refugees from Missouri, many of whom had been Confederate soldiers or guerrillas, had fled to Iowa to escape punishment for their crimes. "These men," he said, "by bold and fierce denunciations of certain acts of the President and the Congress of the United States as unconstitutional, and by industriously teaching that the citizen may lawfully resist with force what he deems an unconstitutional act or law, and in other ways, are seeking to array such as may be duped and deceived by their artful and wicked machinations into armed resistance to the General Government, and to inaugurate civil war within our limits, thus exposing their dupes to the punishment due to traitors, and our State to the storm of war which has swept as with fire the State of Missouri. These men are endeavoring to induce our soldiers in the field to desert their colors, thus exposing them to the penalty of desertion, which is death; and are endeavoring to induce our citizens to violate the law by resisting the arrest of deserters, and a conscrip-

tion in this State if ordered, thereby exposing themselves to the punishment due such criminal acts."

The Governor, therefore, warned these unwelcome intruders that a continuation of their activities would surely lead to their punishment and that he had requested the proper officials to keep a close watch on their conduct. "I also warn all the good people of the State," he continued, "as they value peace and good order, and would avoid the horrors of civil war, not to be misled by these wicked and designing men, who have nothing to lose, hope for plunder and profit in the license of civil war. The laws of the General Government *will be enforced* among us at any cost and at all hazards, and the men who array themselves in armed resistance to the laws will certainly be overpowered and punished."⁴⁰³

The most impressive and conspicuous manifestation of disloyalty in Iowa was presented by the organization known as the Knights of the Golden Circle. This was a secret society or lodge, which in February, 1863, was said to be organized in every township in the State and to have as many as forty-two thousand members. It was reported that each member took an oath to support the Constitution of the United States as it then stood, to resist the draft and all orders issued by the existing administration, and to do

all in their power "to unite the States of the Northwest with the Southern Confederacy". They held secret meetings, frequently commencing at midnight; and it was asserted that they were collecting and storing arms and ammunition.⁴⁰⁴

"If you fight the Devil you must use fire. Deception is permissible in detecting traitors who are trying to betray the country", Kirkwood wrote to a citizen of southern Iowa who had secured some first-hand information concerning the Knights of the Golden Circle. "I wish your friend would go on with these scoundrels and learn all their secrets & plans and then we will be ready to meet them."⁴⁰⁵ "General statements that men are disloyal will do no good", he told another friend. "Specific acts and sayings must be given in the form of affidavits in all cases. Cannot you ascertain what is said and done at some of these secret meetings — what resolutions are passed and what course of action resolved on?"⁴⁰⁶ "There are secret societies all through the southern & central portions of the State", he informed Nathan Udell, "and even in the north part, in which treason is openly taught and preparations made for an outbreak. . . . I assure you doctor this is not 'a scare' on my part. We have been in great danger and are yet in some danger of having rebellion with all its accom-

paniments in Iowa. I have been preparing for it and the men who find their plans thwarted by my preparations are 'howling' against me. Let them howl. I will not have rebellion and civil war here if I can help it and if they come I will try to be prepared to crush them."⁴⁰⁷

Agents whose loyalty was beyond suspicion were appointed in every doubtful county. Companies of home guards were raised and held in readiness to act in case of disturbance. Arms and ammunition were distributed so far as possible, and the Governor made appeals to Secretary Stanton for more adequate means of defense. "There is undoubtedly a feverish and excited state of the public mind," he wrote on March 13, 1863, "and matters must be managed here prudently and firmly, or a collision may ensue. . . . I scarcely know what to advise in regard to these men who are talking treason, huzzaing for Jeff. Davis, organizing the Knights of the Golden Circle, &c. It would be worse than useless to arrest them unless they can be tried, and if found guilty, punished. If arrests could be made, trials and convictions had, and punishment sharply administered, the effect would be excellent."⁴⁰⁸

Fortunately it was not necessary to enforce the draft in Iowa during Governor Kirkwood's administration, and hence the threat of resistance was not put to a test. But there were

many cases of violence in communities where southern sympathizers were numerous.⁴⁰⁹ Feeling ran high in such communities and it required only a small incident to arouse the mob spirit and produce serious disorder. It was just such circumstances which gave rise to the dramatic episode known as "The Tally War" in Keokuk County.⁴¹⁰

The quiet little town of South English was the scene of a tragedy on Saturday, August 1, 1863, which threatened to precipitate a vendetta, if not a miniature civil war, in southeastern Iowa. Keokuk County was one of the centers of disloyal sentiment, and the "Copperheads", under the leadership of a young minister by the name of George C. Tally, had been very outspoken in their criticism of the government. They had even declared their intention, it is claimed, of "cleaning out" South English, where their conduct had become particularly distasteful.

On the first day of August a Republican meeting was held in South English and, because of the threats which had been made, many of the citizens of the town and surrounding country attended the meeting armed with such weapons as they possessed. In the afternoon Tally and a number of his followers were seen approaching the town in wagons. Great excitement immediately prevailed. He was warned not to

enter the village, but he insisted that he only wished to pass through the town and that no harm was intended. As the wagons reached the center of the town there were cries of "coward" and "copperhead" and then accidentally a gun was discharged. Weapons were immediately brought from their hiding-places under straw in the bottom of the wagons and a general fusillade of shots was discharged on both sides. Standing erect in his conveyance, with a pistol in one hand and a long bowie-knife in the other, Tally was among the first to fire; and he was likewise the principal target for his opponents. Twice he fired and then fell dead with a bullet through his brain and two through his body. Two or three other men were wounded, and the only wonder was that the list of casualties was not much larger.

The followers of Tally withdrew from the town, swearing vengeance for the death of their leader. The news spread rapidly. Soon southern sympathizers from Keokuk, Wapello, Mahaska, and Poweshiek counties began to gather at a rendezvous near the western border of the county. The whole countryside was filled with apprehension, and feverish preparations were made for defense. Three citizens of South English wrote urgent letters to Governor Kirkwood begging for aid in protecting their town, and disclaiming any aggression on the part of the loyal people of the place.⁴¹¹

“I, of course, cannot determine where the fault is or who are the parties responsible, but it is very clear this is a matter to be determined by the court, and not by a mob”, wrote Kirkwood in response to these appeals. He informed them that he had sent the sheriff of Washington County forty stands of arms and ammunition to be used in quelling the disturbance. “They must not be used for any other purpose, or in any other manner”, he continued, well knowing the consequences which might follow rash action. “You must keep your people strictly on the defensive, and clearly within the law. You must not resist the execution of legal process, but must aid in enforcing and executing it. If you are attacked by a mob of riotous and lawless men, you will of course defend yourselves.”⁴¹²

But the seriousness of the situation became more and more apparent as additional information was received. “A large body of men, armed with rifles and shot-guns,” wrote J. H. Sanders, “have formed, and are camped in the western part of the county, threatening to take the law into their own hands, and murder, plunder, burn and destroy, unless their unreasonable demands are complied with. According to their own statements, this force, thus assembled in violation of law, amounts to over three thousand men, and from my own knowl-

edge of the matter I think there must be at least one thousand men in the county unlawfully under arms. Our citizens are in very great fear for the safety of person and property, and the county funds, valuable public records, and the greater portion of the funds of private individuals, have been removed from the county for safe keeping.”⁴¹³

On Tuesday two citizens of Sigourney made a hurried trip to Iowa City to consult with the Governor and impress upon him the necessity of furnishing aid. By this time, however, Kirkwood had become fully convinced of the need for prompt and vigorous action. With characteristic directness he proceeded to adopt measures to crush the incipient rebellion and restore order. He went immediately to Davenport to confer with Adjutant-General Baker and other authorities. From there he issued orders to eleven home guard companies to proceed to the scene of disturbance. At the same time he telegraphed to Secretary Stanton for permission to detain six companies of the Seventh Cavalry in southeastern Iowa until the danger was past, declaring that the prompt suppression of this uprising would discourage future outbreaks of the same kind.

Governor Kirkwood then went in person to Sigourney and shortly after his arrival made a speech from the court house steps. No detailed

report of that speech has been preserved, but it is safe to assume that it was marked by forcefulness and strong expressions of determination, rather than by elegance of form or soothing words. "I will make an example of those engaged in these disturbances, which will forever deter others from engaging in like proceedings", he said in closing. "*I say what I mean and I mean what I say.*"⁴¹⁴ During the night the home guard companies from Muscatine, Fairfield, Washington, Mt. Pleasant, and other towns began to pour into the troubled region, and by morning the "Copperhead" camp was almost deserted. Thus ended "The Skunk River War", and the Governor returned to Iowa City.

"I have often thought of the speck of rebellion on 'the Skunk' and the part we all took in it", was the letter Kirkwood received nearly two years later from N. P. Chipman, who at the time of the disturbance was a member of the staff of General Curtis. "There are many incidents & events in the history of Iowa to be told hereafter by the Biographer & historian of less importance than that little campaign. For your promptness & vigor in quenching that spark the people of Iowa should be thankful. There was a good deal more danger in that rebel camp of a thousand men than was generally thought."⁴¹⁵

Not only did disloyalty express itself in violence and threatened resistance to the draft, but it also took the form of abuse of the Governor. This was not mere partisan criticism or honest disagreement on questions of policy. It was a deliberate attempt to discredit and weaken the influence of the executive, such as harassed Lincoln throughout the war.

“Sam. Kirkwood is perambulating the State denouncing Democrats as being disloyal and non-law-abiding”, wrote one of the most rabid anti-administration editors. “And this same corrupt, political mountebank, in a public speech made by him in Iowa City in 1860, called his God to witness that, ‘sooner than have the Fugitive Slave Law enforced in Iowa, he would suffer his right arm to fall from its socket.’ . . . Great God, to what lengths can brazen faced impertinence and impudence go! Sam. Kirkwood with this utterance vivid in his memory, charging Democrats with being disloyal! Satan rebuking sin!—There is no spot in the lowest hell deep enough and hot enough to furnish just retribution to just such men as Sam. Kirkwood and his coadjutors North and South in the devilish work of disrupting the Union.”⁴¹⁶

On the same day the same editor charged Kirkwood with selling hay to the quartermaster of the Sixth Iowa Cavalry at twelve dollars a

ton, when a person whose name was not divulged had offered to furnish it at five dollars a ton. "At the time this characteristic specimen of thimble-rigging took place," declared the editor, "the market value of hay in Iowa City was \$6.00 per ton. Of course, Kirkwood didn't know the price of hay. No, no! He supposed it was worth \$12.00 a ton — of course he did. Nobody who knows Kirkwood would suppose for a moment that he intended to swindle the government. Like Caesar's wife should have been, he is above suspicion — especially where he is not known. Honest Samivel!"⁴¹⁷

But hatred of the man who was so firm in his determination to hold Iowa true to the Union found expression in plans for measures of a more desperate nature than mere criticism and abuse. "I am in possession of a fact that you should know", wrote J. M. Hiatt to the Governor early in April, 1863. "In the Secret dens of Treason in this State your assassination is canvassed as something to be approved. Although it is talked of cautiously and ambiguously, there is an evident desire to stimulate some reckless desperado to the attempt."⁴¹⁸

"I trust your information on this point is either erroneous or exaggerated", was Kirkwood's reply to this warning, which he had also received from other sources. "At any rate I must take my chances and certainly shall not

neglect any of my duties for fear of any danger.”⁴¹⁹

Three months later Kirkwood received another warning that a plan to take his life within six weeks had been perfected.⁴²⁰ That he was in serious danger in August at the time of the disturbances in Keokuk County can scarcely be doubted. As he was speaking to the crowd at Sigourney a gray-haired man was heard to mutter in a cool, deliberate manner, “I’ll shoot the d——d old scoundrel.” After the speech Kirkwood went to the hotel and as was his wont, seemed to have cast aside the worries and responsibilities of his official position, and engaged in a lively conversation about farm life and problems with the men who gathered about him. During the course of this conversation a friend, from his seat just outside the door, saw the gray-haired man approach the hotel, carefully examine the situation, and then go away. Later he returned, accompanied by four other men. They marched directly to the door of the hotel, where they halted and gazed intently into the room without speaking a word. But as soon as they approached, Kirkwood’s friend sprang from his seat and stood in the door-way with his body between the suspicious looking squad and the Governor. After standing motionless for a few moments, the men turned and passed down the street.

“There was no explanation given by the party at the time, and no especial comment made by anyone”, said the man who thus shielded Kirkwood from possible danger. “The circumstances had nearly passed from my mind, when, several months afterwards, I was informed that those men had come prepared, and it was their intention to have shot the Governor, and if it had not been for my interference they would have carried their intentions into effect.”⁴²¹

XXIV

POLITICS AND PROSPECTS

THE spring of 1863 brought State politics again to the fore in Iowa. At the general election of that year it would be necessary to choose a successor to Samuel J. Kirkwood as Governor, and it was a matter of great importance that a strong and loyal man should be selected. For Kirkwood it was a time when important decisions affecting his own future were forced upon him.

During the second week in March the newspapers contained news of the appointment and confirmation of Governor Kirkwood as Minister to Denmark. "It takes me by surprise", wrote the Governor to a friend. "Our delegation in Congress wrote me in December they thought they could secure the appointment for Iowa and asked me if I would accept it. After considering the question I declined on the ground I did not think it right for me to leave Iowa at present. I heard nothing more of it until on yesterday the news of nomination & confirmation came in the papers. It may not be correct. If it be correct what should I do?"⁴²²

“The President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, having appointed you to be Minister Resident of the United States to Denmark,” was the letter Kirkwood received more than a week later from Secretary Seward, “I have the honor to announce the same to you and to request that you will inform this Department how soon, in the event of your accepting the appointment, you will be prepared to proceed to Copenhagen.”⁴²³

Thus was Governor Kirkwood compelled to consider a question which he had supposed was settled. Letters began to come in from all sides. “I congratulate you upon your Confirmation as resident minister to Denmark”, wrote William B. Allison, then serving his first term in the lower house of Congress. “I regret very much that you are called to leave the State at so critical period in its history. Your State Administration has been successful, and impartial. You have won the esteem & affection of the people. I fear very much that we shall find difficulty in choosing a successor.”⁴²⁴

“I don’t quite understand it, this certainly would be a bad time for you to give over the affairs of the State to any successor”, wrote Marcellus M. Crocker from camp in the far South. “All there is of the military you have made and understand better than anybody else. And I know I speak the sentiment of almost all

Iowa soldiers when I say that they would regard your acceptance of any position that would take you away from the state as a great misfortune. . . . I have heard it said by officers here that it was a scheme of Iowa politicians to get you out of the way. I do not believe that. If it is you of course know it, and are rather too old to be disposed of in any manner not agreeable to yourself.”⁴²⁵

“You can scarcely imagine how much gratified I am at your statement that you & many of our soldiers would prefer my remaining at home”, was Kirkwood’s reply to Crocker. “If I supposed that feeling to be general it would decide the matter with me.” At the same time he said “I am well satisfied my appointment was *not* made to get me ‘out of the way’.”⁴²⁶

The offer was one which had many attractions for Kirkwood, as is revealed by his correspondence with the Secretary of State.⁴²⁷ But the letters which he received from friends only tended to strengthen his sense of duty to the people of Iowa. And so about the middle of April he finally wrote to Secretary Seward that he would accept if he could first serve out his term as Governor. Otherwise he must decline, and he gave his reasons.⁴²⁸ “You intimate, however, that it is possible these reasons may have less weight with you some few months hence,” was Seward’s reply, “and that you

may then perhaps feel at liberty to accept the appointment and proceed to Copenhagen before the close of your gubernatorial term. Under the circumstances, I see no objection to your holding the appointment under consideration for a few months at least."⁴²⁹ Thus the question remained open until January, 1864, when Kirkwood definitely declined the appointment.⁴³⁰

The suspicion, suggested in Crocker's letter, that the appointment to the Denmark mission was a scheme to eliminate Kirkwood from the political arena in Iowa, was without foundation. Nevertheless, it soon made it necessary for the Governor to decide another question concerning his own activities after laying down the duties of chief executive. The General Assembly which would meet in January, 1864, would be called upon to choose a successor to James W. Grimes as United States Senator, and it was necessary that the candidates for that position should be known before members of the legislature were elected in the fall of 1863.

"We are told that His Excellency has finally determined not to go to Denmark", satirized a radical Democratic editor at Iowa City in April, 1863. "We doubt not his Royal Highness of Denmark will feel relieved when the tidings reach him. Once upon the time *rotteness* in Denmark bred trouble. For fear it would do so

again, Samuel, you do well in staying at home.” In the same paper it was asserted that the “fight between Kirkwood and Grimes, for the Senatorship, waxes hot and hotter. Grimes tried to shelve the Governor, by shipping him to Denmark. But it won’t work—Samuel smells a mice and declines the proffered honor. Cruel Samuel—cunning Grimes.”⁴³¹

There is ample evidence in the correspondence between Kirkwood and Grimes that this insinuation was absolutely false.⁴³² Under the circumstances the Governor made no move that could in any way be interpreted as seeking the position in opposition to Grimes. “As to the Senatorship I am not taking a great amount of trouble”, he wrote to a friend in April. “My own candid judgment is that if the Gen. Assembly will look only to the public interest they will reelect Grimes. His experience, and the position & influence he has in the Senate are worth a great deal to the country & our state & it would be some time before either Mr. Kasson or myself could fill his place. These considerations *ought* to control but whether they will or not is by no means certain.”⁴³³

At the same time the holding of a seat in the Senate was in itself a prospect by no means distasteful to Samuel J. Kirkwood. “I would like a seat in the U. S. Senate and under ordinary circumstances would use all honorable

means to secure it", he wrote to William Duane Wilson in July. He believed the reelection of Grimes, however, to be the best thing for the State and Nation, and therefore asked that no efforts be made in his behalf. "I am also frank to say", he continued, "that it has cost me some regrets to reach this conclusion, for I am pretty sure my own strength for the position will never again be as great as it now is."⁴³⁴ In the same tone he wrote to William G. Thompson a month later. "I certainly would like a seat in the U. S. Senate but not well enough to thrust myself in at a time like this before one who I think can do better service than I can. I expect Warren will fight Grimes to the bitter end, but for God's sake don't let your former hostility to Grimes lead you now to support Warren."⁴³⁵

The sincerity of these statements is attested by the unbroken friendship between the Senator and the Governor. "I accept your kind congratulations at my re-election", wrote Grimes in January, 1864. "For your aid, so efficient & so disinterested in my behalf, receive my thanks."⁴³⁶

As far as the governorship was concerned there was never any serious thought that Kirkwood would again be a candidate. The anti-third-term bogey stood in the way, even if he had desired a renomination. "I cannot agree

to run again for Governor", he wrote to Crocker early in April. "My running might jeopardize the loyal ticket and really the labor of the office is too onerous."⁴³⁷

Soldiers were the most popular men for party candidates at this time and for several years afterward. Thus the Republicans in State convention at Des Moines on June 17th chose William M. Stone as their candidate for Governor. At the same time they tendered "to Hon. Samuel J. Kirkwood the cordial thanks of the loyal people of Iowa for the able, fearless and patriotic discharge of his duties, during the two terms he has held the office of Governor of the State."⁴³⁸ The Democrats selected as their standard bearer James M. Tuttle, also a soldier who had made a splendid record for himself.

Because he was not a candidate for any office and because of his peculiar ability as a speaker Governor Kirkwood was in a position to render very effective service in the campaign during the summer and early fall of 1863. The demands were many and he responded as often as he could spare time from his official duties. "I propose to spend some two weeks at one trip in the campaign this fall, besides some flying visits, to particular points", he wrote to Thomas F. Withrow in July. "It would suit me very well to put in my two weeks in the North Eastern part of the State. I was never there but once

as a kind of tender to Grimes in 1857 when Lowe was running. In 1859 my wife's sickness prevented me from filling my appointments in that region".⁴³⁹ The desire expressed in this letter was gratified. Late in August he set out for northeastern Iowa and he did not return to Iowa City until September 21st. At Dubuque, where disloyal sentiments had been many times expressed, he had an opportunity to make an unmistakable statement of his intentions in case any resistance or violence should appear in that region. "You remember", he is reported to have said, "that the draft commenced in New York the other day and a mob was raised to stop it, and threats have been made that the same thing would be done here in Iowa — would be done here in Dubuque. And I wanted to talk here in Dubuque just long enough to tell you that it will be a very bad thing to start a mob here in opposition to the draft. It is for your own interest that no mob is started here. I tell you I will see to it that any mob that is started shall be put down for you! You see that I am not only a plain-looking man, but a plain-speaking man; and I intend to speak plainly."

"What did the soldiers from Keokuk County think", he asked after speaking of the proud name the Iowa troops had given to the State, "when they learned that their homes had been in jeopardy, and that their mothers, and wives,

and daughters, and sisters were made to tremble for their lives, unprotected because they had given up those who once cared for them to the service of their country? Such a burning shame shall not disgrace our State and grieve the hearts of our noble soldiers again without punishment, dire, swift and sure, reaching the traitor that engages in it. The homes and families and property of those who have gone to fight their country's battles must be protected; and may my God forget me in my hour of sorest need if I do not see to it that they *are protected.*" In conclusion he told them how the uprising in Keokuk County had been quelled. "It commenced on Saturday. I received word of the position of affairs on Tuesday, and by Wednesday night I had five companies and one piece of artillery on the ground, and by Thursday night five more companies and another piece of artillery; and there was not a blank cartridge there. And I tell you if it becomes necessary for me to come here to Dubuque on the same errand, I shall *not bring a blank cartridge* here."

"I cannot permit a day to elapse", wrote William Duane Wilson, "without telling you the intense satisfaction I had in reading your 100 pounder speech at Dubuque. Its telling effect upon the Copperheads in the State will be equal to a standing army of 5000 men, well armed."⁴⁴⁰

At other places where disloyal sentiment was not so pronounced, the Governor spoke in the manner which had made him so popular in previous campaigns. Driving home his points by the use of homely illustrations from the daily life of the people, with an occasional humorous anecdote, he stirred the patriotism of his hearers and appealed to them to forget all differences in the one common object of putting down the Confederacy.⁴⁴¹ The response in most cases was warm and whole-hearted, and Kirkwood returned to Iowa City well satisfied with the progress of the campaign.⁴⁴² "Tuttle will I think be badly beaten", he wrote to a friend. "I am very sorry he has taken the course he has. He is too good a man to be sacrificed by such a damned hard lot of scurvy politicians".⁴⁴³

The Governor's prediction was amply fulfilled. At the election in October the Democratic candidate was defeated by about thirty thousand votes and William M. Stone was elected Governor of Iowa. "Please accept my thanks for your able and efficient efforts in behalf of our ticket during the recent canvass", the successful candidate wrote to Kirkwood a few days later. "I am convinced that your presence in the field, and your labors contributed very much toward our splendid success in the State, and I trust I shall not prove insen-

sible to the obligations of gratitude under which your uniform kindness has placed me.”⁴⁴⁴

Early in December the Governor went to Des Moines in order to show his successor “the hang of the house”⁴⁴⁵ and to prepare his last biennial message to the legislature. During the preceding two years he had of necessity left the administration of civil affairs largely to subordinates and other State officers. But he had kept in touch with the work, and on January 12, 1864, he was able to present to the General Assembly an excellent survey of the conditions and needs of the State. In a lengthy message he detailed the situation in the various State departments and institutions, recommended measures to make their work more effective, discussed military affairs during the preceding two years, and presented his views on national policy. In closing he gave high praise to the Iowa troops for their loyalty and bravery on the field of battle. “It may perhaps be permitted me to say”, were his last words, “that I trust that when the history of the gallantry and devotion of these men shall be written, the position I have held will of necessity connect my name humbly, and not discredibly, with theirs, and that this trust affords compensation for somewhat of toil and care which have attended that position, and should be sufficient to satisfy an ambition greater than mine.”⁴⁴⁶

On January 14th William M. Stone was inaugurated as Governor of Iowa, and not long afterward Mr. and Mrs. Kirkwood returned to Iowa City. "No former Governor of Iowa has had a tithe of the labor and responsibility of office of Gov. Kirkwood," was the comment of a friendly editor, "and no one has left the office so much entitled to the plaudit of 'well done good and faithful servant.' . . . He now rests from his labors, and will enjoy the sweets of home for a season. It is not to be supposed, the State will consent to let him remain permanently in private life. We notice some papers speak of him as a candidate for the U. S. Senate, before the present Legislature. We feel authorized to say, such is not the fact. He will claim the quiet of private life for a longer term, but, when sufficiently recovered from the toils of his long and arduous labors, we doubt not the State will call, in a voice he will not feel at liberty to disregard. Until then, may he enjoy that rest he so richly earned."⁴⁷

Even more prophetic was a letter written by Eliphalet Price. "No Governor of Iowa," he wrote, "while acting as such, extended the area of his personal acquaintance so widely over the State as yourself. Men and women everywhere, will, as time rolls on, enlarge the story of their acquaintance with you, with many manifestations of pride, and the child of to-day will be

pointed out by the next generation, as the Gray-haired man who in childhood had talked with Gov. Kirkwood. The History of the Rebellion cannot pass you by, upon its pages you will live through those future centuries that shall preserve the existence of man.”⁴⁴⁸

XXV

THE LIFE OF A WAR GOVERNOR

WHEN Samuel J. Kirkwood was inaugurated as Governor of Iowa in January, 1860, he did not assume a position of aloofness from his fellow-beings. To be sure, his activities during the succeeding four years were largely prescribed by law and by the extraordinary demands made by the war. But the elevation to the office of chief executive did not place him in a charmed circle where he was free from the hopes and disappointments, the pleasures and sorrows, and the physical weariness to which other men were subject. One of the secrets of his success was his gladness on every possible occasion to cast aside the worries and responsibilities of his official station, and talk on familiar terms with soldiers, farmers, or business men about the common affairs of every day life which concerned them most. He was keenly interested in *people*.

Between 1861 and 1864 his thoughts and duties centered about the war, and his loyalty to the Union cause and the administration never wavered. At the same time he was not immune

to discouragement and despair when his position gave him exceptional opportunities to observe the blunders and inefficiency in the conduct of the war. "I feel like you 'invigorated' & like 'thanking God with all my heart,' but I have felt at times a little like 'swearing' too while absent", he wrote to a friend after returning from Fort Donelson in March, 1862. "In God's name what infernal fascination is there about this demon of slavery that causes men high in authority to sacrifice the lives of our noble & brave boys for its preservation? That is just what they are doing."⁴⁴⁹

His feeling toward General McClellan and his resentment because of the lack of credit and attention given to the western armies were unhesitatingly expressed to President Lincoln at the time of the Altoona Conference in September, 1862. A few weeks later, to Kirkwood's delight, McClellan was removed and his position given to General Burnside. "After the elections in the northern states I felt discouraged", Kirkwood wrote to a friend on November 14th, "but since the President has put a man in Gen. McClellan's place who will seek to fight I am again encouraged. All we need is to have fighting Generals — men who will allow our people to strike and we are safe." "Things did look gloomy, but all things work for the best", he wrote to William B. Allison. "If the elections

had gone differently McClellan would still command — all would be quiet on the Potomac until another year & then our doom as a nation was sealed.”⁴⁵⁰

The use of negro troops was another subject on which Kirkwood felt deeply. The government was very reluctant to adopt such a policy, partly for fear of its effect in the border States. But Governor Kirkwood took a different view. “I have but one remark to add”, he said in closing a letter to General Halleek in August, 1862, “and that in regard to negroes fighting — it is this — When this war is over & we have summed up the entire loss of life it has imposed on the country I shall not have any regrets if it is found that a part of the dead are *niggers* and that *all* are not white men.”⁴⁵¹ Later he declared that if the negroes were “willing to pay for their freedom by fighting for those who make them free I am entirely willing they should do so. . . . I really cannot understand or appreciate the policy that insists that all the lives lost and all the constitutions broken down to preserve the country shall be those of white men when black men are to be found willing to do the work and take the risks.”⁴⁵²

Difference of opinion with regard to policies, however, did not weaken Kirkwood’s firm support of Lincoln and his administration. Nor was his view of the main issue of the war

obscured by the assertions often made, especially after the issuance of the emancipation proclamations, that the war was a struggle to free the slaves. "I supported the administration in conducting the war, before it struck at slavery," he wrote in March, 1863, "I support it now when it strikes at slavery and I shall continue to support it if it ceases to strike at slavery."⁴⁵³

Kirkwood's views were nowhere more clearly expressed than in a long letter to a brother, whose attitude toward the war was, to say the least, one of discouragement. "It might just as truly be said", he wrote, "that this war is waged by our Government to capture Richmond, or Charleston, or Savannah or Mobile or Vicksburg, or to open the Mississippi river or to enforce the blockade of the rebel coast as to say it is waged to free the negroes. The government is trying to do all these things and yet it is not true that either of them is the *object* of the war. They are each and all of them used as *means* to the great end, the suppression of the rebellion and the restoration of the Union. . . . You say we have fought two years and have not yet succeeded — true but our fathers fought *seven* years to give us what we are seeking to preserve, and although there were faint hearts in those days who when the clouds looked dark & gloomy cried out as faint hearts do now

‘no use’ ‘no use’, *they* persevered and triumphed. Are we their legitimate sons or are we bastards?”

“You say Gen. McClellan was removed”, he continued. “True and he should have been removed before he was. With *his* mode of warfare even *seven* years would not bring us to the end of the war. The rebellion is *not* stronger today than it was twelve months ago . . . and if our people will be true to themselves, and their posterity, to their Government and their God we will finally put down this accursed rebellion and restore peace and prosperity to our land. If this is not done, then ruin awaits us — a large standing army to guard our frontier south, continued wars, and a further breaking up among the States, until we reach the condition of Mexico.”⁴⁵⁴

While Governor and Mrs. Kirkwood had no children of their own, they did not escape the personal sorrow and bereavement which the war brought to thousands of homes in Iowa and throughout the land. Two nephews were in the army, and between the Governor and these two boys there passed many letters. In the spring of 1862 one of these nephews, William W. Kirkwood, was taken sick in camp at Fort Donelson, and was given a furlough. Upon reaching his uncle’s home in Iowa City he became worse and for weeks hovered between life

and death. "Four days ago I did not expect him to live twenty-four hours", wrote Kirkwood to Grimes in May. "But he still lives & is slightly better. He may possibly recover. I can't leave him at present or I would go to Washington."⁴⁵⁵ The young man finally recovered and returned to his regiment.

The other nephew, Samuel Kirkwood Clark, was the adopted son of Mr. and Mrs. Kirkwood. He was taken by them at the death of his mother when he was five years old, and he grew up in their home beloved by them as though he had been their own child. Though only a lad of eighteen years he enlisted in the cavalry early in the war. On the following New Year's Day his uncle sent him a commission as second lieutenant. "Be a 'good boy' and do your duty manfully," he wrote, "and you will always be sure of the affection of your uncle". Later young Clark was promoted to the position of adjutant in the Twenty-fifth Iowa Infantry, under Colonel George A. Stone. In the battle of Arkansas Post in January, 1863, he was severely wounded and about a month later he died in a hospital at St. Louis, where his uncle and aunt spent much time at his bedside during his illness.⁴⁵⁶

The grief of the Governor was not unmingled with a solemn pride in the record made by his nephew. "You speak of the many brave men

who have lost their lives in this war", he wrote to his brother who was inclined to question the justification of the sacrifice. "No man regrets this loss more than I do. I have myself lost my adopted son who died of a wound received at Arkansas Post. He was as noble, as true hearted, as brave a boy as has lost his life in this struggle. I loved him dearly and his loss has been a sore trial to me for it leaves me in my old age without any one to lean upon, but while I mourn his loss as one that cannot be repaired, if I had another or a dozen such I would not withhold one of them from the struggle. Men's lives are given them to be useful to their fellow men and in my judgment in no way can lives be more profitably used than in preserving what cost our fathers so dearly to transmit to us."⁴⁵⁷

Very little time for the quiet enjoyment of homelife was given to Kirkwood during the years of the war. Long hours were spent in the office when he was in Iowa City, and much of the time he was away from home. Long trips to Washington and the East, visits to the soldiers in the field, and journeys to various points in the State consumed much time and were a severe tax on his strength. Several months each year were spent in Des Moines while the legislature was in session; and on most of these occasions Mrs. Kirkwood accompanied the Gov-

ernor.⁴⁵⁸ Des Moines by this time was a much better town than when Kirkwood first saw it; but the journey thence from Iowa City was still not only long and tiresome but beset with dangers. By January, 1863, travelers might go by rail as far as Grinnell, but for the remainder of the trip they were at the mercies of the stage-coach. On his way to the capital that winter the Governor was twice thrown out on the ground when the stage upset. Fortunately he escaped with no more serious injury than some flesh bruises.⁴⁵⁹

The mere clerical work which Governor Kirkwood was obliged to perform was by no means light. He had a military secretary and a private secretary to whom he dictated letters, with instructions "to make sense where there was none", and who attended to a large mass of correspondence without his personal direction. Nevertheless, he wrote thousands of letters with his own hand, many of them letters of four, six, or even eight large and closely written pages.⁴⁶⁰ "You think you have cause to complain that your former letters were answered by my secretary & not by me", he told a friend. "Let me explain. All letters marked 'private' or 'confidential' are *opened* only by me but it is not in my power to answer all of them in person. I could not do half the writing necessary if I took all my time to it. I endorse on the backs of the

letters a short memorandum of what the answer is to be & have one of my clerks write it out.”⁴⁶¹

The severe strain was too much for even his sturdy constitution, and in the summer of 1863, after returning from the camps around Vicksburg he was taken sick and confined to his bed for two weeks.⁴⁶² Worry, lack of sleep, the exacting and wearying nature of his duties, and exposure while on many hard journeys — all had their effect. And so when his successor had been chosen he wrote to his good friend, Jed Lake: “I will soon be out of office thank God. I am the tiredst man in Iowa.”⁴⁶³

XXVI

A SHORT TERM AS SENATOR

EARLY in February, 1864, Mr. and Mrs. Kirkwood returned to Iowa City to resume once more the less strenuous ways of private citizens. Before many months had passed they moved from Coralville to a new and comfortable home, built on a small tract of land adjoining Iowa City on the southeast. It was a home much more to their liking than was the house in Coralville, and here for the first time since moving to Iowa they were able to enjoy the quiet home life which they had known in Ohio.⁴⁶⁴

The building of the house and attention to long-neglected business affairs occupied most of Kirkwood's time during the year 1864. The active direction of the mill or farm no longer appealed to him, and so after an interruption of about ten years he returned to the practice of law. Early in 1865, he entered into partnership with his brother-in-law, J. E. Jewett. The new firm announced its readiness to practice in the courts of the State or of the United States; while special attention would be given to collections.⁴⁶⁵

Meanwhile, freedom from the burdens of office did not mean entire withdrawal from public service. Mrs. Kirkwood was chosen a member of the executive committee of the Freedmen's Aid Society formed in Iowa City in March, 1863; and later she was appointed to solicit contributions for the purpose of carrying on the work of the organization.⁴⁶⁶ It was also natural that the ex-Governor should be much in demand as a speaker. In February, as president of the State Historical Society, he made a speech in acceptance of the flag of the Twenty-second Iowa Infantry. On May 18th an Iowa City newspaper announced that "Govs. Stone and Kirkwood will address the people of Johnson County, from the steps of the University, this evening at the tap of the Drum, with reference to the hundred days call." On a Sunday early in September he was scheduled to speak at the Bethel church in North Bend in behalf of the Soldiers' Orphans' Home.⁴⁶⁷

During the political campaign of 1864 Kirkwood also responded to many calls for help on the stump. The most urgent of these calls came from William B. Allison, who was a candidate for reelection to Congress. On the back of Allison's letter asking for assistance Kirkwood wrote a brief note and sent it on to Hiram Price of Davenport. "I must go up & help Allison so you must get on without me", he said.⁴⁶⁸ Later

he made several campaign speeches in and around Iowa City. On April 19, 1865, at Iowa City he delivered an eloquent "funeral oration" in memory of Abraham Lincoln.⁴⁶⁹ During this time there was some quiet talk about the senatorial contest which would occur when the legislature convened in January, 1866, and Kirkwood received assurance of support if he should decide to be a candidate.⁴⁷⁰ But the election was a long way off, and so during the fall and winter he apparently gave little thought to the question.

There was, however, a sudden awakening of interest in the senatorship, early in the spring of 1865. On March 9th James Harlan was appointed Secretary of the Interior by President Lincoln. Thus a successor to Harlan must be chosen, not only for the full term beginning in March, 1867, but also for the unexpired portion of the term ending at that time.⁴⁷¹ Hardly had the news of Harlan's appointment reached Iowa when Jacob Rich wrote to Kirkwood telling of the efforts he had been making to create sentiment in favor of his appointment by Governor Stone to fill the vacancy.⁴⁷²

The prospect of the senatorship was just as attractive to Samuel J. Kirkwood at this time as it had been in 1863, when he had refused to be a candidate against Grimes. Now there was no reason why he should not seek the position.

“My name is being used by some of my friends in connection with the vacant U. S. Senatorship, with my consent,” he wrote to Azro B. F. Hildreth on March 27th, “and I am naturally anxious that their efforts should be successful. . . . My object in writing you is to learn the position you will occupy, if you have as yet determined what it shall be. You know me pretty thoroughly; you know my past political action; and it would be, I think, useless even if it were proper for me to enter upon an argument upon the subject. . . . It is but frank and fair to say that I should feel deeply gratified to receive your support, because I know your influence is powerful, but more because of the gratification I should feel at knowing you thought me worthy of the high position named. But I say with equal frankness that if your sense of public duty compels you, or induces you, to prefer another to myself, that fact shall make no change in my regard for you.”⁴⁷³

Interest now centered in the question of whether or not Governor Stone would make an appointment. “I will say here to *you*”, he wrote to Kirkwood late in March, “what I have not said to any one else, & which you will consider as *strictly confidential*, and that is, should the vacancy occur and I should conclude to fill it in advance of the Legislature, I have never doubted in my own mind that *you* would be the

man. . . . There is no necessity for your friends stirring up a fight with me, and if they are satisfied to leave 'well enough alone', there will be no trouble."⁴⁷⁴

As the weeks went by it became evident that Governor Stone did not intend to make an appointment until after the Republican State Convention, at which time he would be a candidate for renomination. He admitted as much in a letter to Kirkwood early in June. He had decided to make an appointment, but not until he was "out of the woods" himself. "I do not think it advisable for you to be at the State convention," he wrote, "as it would help to give color to the assumption that there is a bargain and sale between us, and sway the friends of *other* gentlemen against me. Yet this matter may be quietly and well understood by your friends without your presence. . . . There will be no necessity for your friends to say anything about the appointment at the convention, and their reticence on the subject will tend to keep others quiet and avoid undue agitation of the question." "You will be Senator and I Governor again", he added, "if our friends understand each other, and are *prudent* and *discreet* in their management. There must be no conflict between them, and there is no occasion for any. . . . Mark all your letters to me 'private'."⁴⁷⁵

About this same time Governor Stone gave Marcellus M. Crocker to understand that he would appoint Kirkwood after the State convention was over. But within two weeks Crocker became doubtful, for Stone had later intimated to him that he might not make the appointment until after the election. "I do not know but that if he waits until after the election", he wrote, "he may conclude to be a candidate himself and go back to his old policy of not appointing at all."⁴⁷⁶ This prediction proved true, at least so far as the failure to make any appointment was concerned. Whatever Stone's attitude toward Kirkwood may have been during the summer of 1865, it was anything but friendly when the legislature met in the following January. "Knowing that you feel some interest in the coming contest for U. S. S. before the Legislature", he wrote to William Penn Clarke of Iowa City, "I can but ask if you will be at Fort Des Moines during the early part of the Session. There will be several outside numbers from this place; all interested to defeat S. J. and I would be glad to know that you would heartily cooperate."⁴⁷⁷

Meanwhile Kirkwood and his friends were not basing all their hopes on securing an appointment by the Governor. The contest before the legislature would, after all, be the main problem. Mr. Kirkwood received many

promises of hearty support from old friends. There was a movement in the northern part of the State in favor of William B. Allison, on the ground that that portion of the State had been neglected, but Allison refused to be considered.⁴⁷⁸ Kirkwood had proposed that the short term be conceded to Allison. "We did not urge your claims because you were a cleverer, more social, more companionable fellow than Allison, for we don't think you are", wrote Jacob Rich in reply to this proposition. "Nor because we liked you personally any better than the Colonel, for we don't. . . . But the ground we took, the only ground that we could take, the ground that it was our pride and our strength to take, was that your selection was best for the public interests, for the State and the Nation."⁴⁷⁹

"You need not write to me on the Senatorship unless you want to," wrote Adjutant General Baker, "for I am for you 'to the death'. I should go for you at any rate against any man." From Washington, D. C., came a letter from L. D. Ingersoll saying that "I suspect I shall have to go to work to help send you here. But you must promise not to wear that old gray wammus." Another admirer, who was a member of the legislature, wrote that "I have been so much in the *habit* of voting for you that I don't see how I could break the habit so early as the year of grace 1866."⁴⁸⁰

Many were the letters of advice and warning which Kirkwood received from Senator Grimes. "Do not fail to have a *large outside delegation* of your friends at Des Moines at the commencement of the session to remain until the election," he wrote early in October, "and *let as many of them be military men as possible*. Don't fail in this."⁴⁸¹ Later, when it became evident that James Harlan, finding the Cabinet position unpleasant, was anxious to be returned to the position from which he had so lately resigned, Grimes was among the most outspoken in his disapproval. "I have no hostility to Harlan—I advised him not to leave the Senate," he told Kirkwood, "but when he did leave it & voluntarily pledged himself to you & thus induced you to become a candidate for his succession I think fair play entitles you to the place."⁴⁸²

As the time for the convening of the General Assembly approached the optimism of Kirkwood's friends gradually turned to uncertainty. Besides Kirkwood and Harlan, there were many other aspirants for the position: John A. Kasson, S. R. Curtis, William M. Stone, Fitz Henry Warren, Asahel W. Hubbard, and others each had a small group of earnest, active supporters. C. C. Nourse wrote late in October that Mrs. Kirkwood "must come over [to Des Moines] next winter & bring all the 'Parisian

style' she can put on for it isn't fair to have *you fight crinoline.*"⁴⁸³ This was a reference to the activities of Mrs. Kasson in support of her husband's candidacy.

But anxiety in the Kirkwood camp was occasioned chiefly by the efforts which were being made to secure the reelection of James Harlan. "About one half of Mount Pleasant is in the Interior Department & all at work rallying the methodists to the support of Harlan", wrote Grimes early in December. "You can't labor too hard between this & the election." A week later Jacob Rich wrote from Washington. "I cannot be so cheerful and confident of your success as I was when I came here", he said, "I have heard so much about what Harlan is doing, the ropes he is pulling, the patronage he is wielding, and the power he is using, to accomplish his election, that I feel a good deal down in the mouth." "You must '*get up and dust*', or you will be laid out", was the warning which came from J. N. Dewey about the same time. "Harlan is certainly playing a very strong hand."⁴⁸⁴

This was the situation when the legislature met in January, 1866. The lobby of the Savery Hotel was crowded, not only with legislators, but also with numerous outsiders "forming that indispensable part of any well regulated legislative body, 'The Third House'."⁴⁸⁵ The

senatorial contest was the chief topic of interest during the opening days of the session. The contest had narrowed down until it was recognized that no one but Kirkwood and Harlan had any chance of winning. Charges were flung back and forth, secret conferences were held, and each side anxiously awaited the outcome.

The Republican caucus was held some time during the first week of the session. On the first ballot for a nominee for the long term James Harlan received fifty votes, Samuel J. Kirkwood forty-four, and several other candidates received small votes. The contest was close and the result was still uncertain. The second ballot gave Harlan fifty-seven and Kirkwood forty-six, but even then no candidate had a majority of the votes in the caucus. On the third ballot, however, Harlan received sixty-three votes and became the party nominee. Next came the choice of a candidate for the short term. On the first ballot Kirkwood received eighty votes, while the highest number received by any of his competitors was sixteen.⁴⁸⁶

The Republicans were overwhelmingly in control of the General Assembly, and consequently the caucus nomination meant certain election. On January 13th the two houses met in joint convention and by large majorities elected Samuel J. Kirkwood and James Harlan

to represent the State in the United States Senate, the former until March 4, 1867, and the latter for six years after that date.⁴⁸⁷

Senator Kirkwood very soon set out for Washington, and upon his arrival there took lodgings at the Kirkwood House which stood at the corner of Twelfth Street and Pennsylvania Avenue.⁴⁸⁸ On January 20th his credentials were received and filed in the Senate. Four days later he was presented by his colleague, James W. Grimes, administered the oath of office, and assigned a seat. Later he was given a place on the committees on pensions and public lands.⁴⁸⁹

Coming into the Senate as a new man when the session was well under way, it was natural that the junior Senator from Iowa should take a relatively small part in the proceedings. While he was by no means a silent member, he seldom participated in debate, and when he did speak it was usually very briefly. On one occasion he objected to counting negroes in determining the basis of representation in Congress unless they were allowed to vote. A Maryland Senator called attention to the fact that women were included in the enumeration and yet they were not allowed to vote. "We should feel some objection," was Kirkwood's reply, "if we felt in regard to negroes as the Senator does, to having our women balanced off

all the time by negroes in Maryland.”⁴⁹⁰ He also opposed a bill to restrict homesteads on the public lands in the South to eighty acres, on the ground that it would discourage immigration and would retard development in that section. “Although I may not agree with some Senators in regard to some matters concerning these seceded States,” he said, “I certainly do not desire to do them any injustice; I do not desire to take any action that will injure their material interests”.⁴⁹¹

A bill amending the Pacific Railroad law and a proposal to subsidize the building of a Niagara ship canal were other matters which received considerable attention from Senator Kirkwood.⁴⁹² Especially was he opposed to placing an internal revenue tax on reapers, mowers, threshing-machines, and other farm machinery. “The Senator from Maine, I am satisfied, cannot understand the condition of our people with regard to these matters”, he declared. “It is substantially the same as taxing men in our State. There is not one acre out of a hundred of our wheat that is cut in any other way than with a reaper. There is not one acre out of a hundred [of our hay] that is cut in any other way than with a mower. We have not the men in our State to collect our crops without these machines. If you would give us your superabundant population to do the work,

we should be content; but these machines are used by us instead of men.”⁴⁹³

It would not be possible from any of Kirkwood's remarks in the Senate during this session to determine his attitude toward reconstruction. He may not have been sure in his own mind, and certainly the many letters which he received from citizens of Iowa did not offer him any assistance in determining the wishes of his constituents. On the one hand there were many letters like that written by Henry Dunlavy from near Bloomfield. “You know that radicalism has failed in every Government on earth”, he wrote. “The south is in the Union as states, and the party that attempts to make the southern states dependent Territories will all go under as certain as the old Federal, Whig, K. N. and the late Democratic party have. . . . Prepare yourself and astonish the natives in favor of the President's restoration policy, lay aside party for the sake of your country. Walk right into Sumner & Co. You can beat any of them in debate.” On the other hand, there were many who took the opposite view. “I fear that Mr. Johnson is clearly against us as Republicans, and yielding to the old slave power”, wrote an Iowa City minister. “This I deeply regret. I therefore hope by all fair means the Senate and House will both stand firm.”⁴⁹⁴

Congress did not adjourn until the last week

in July. Scarcely had Senator Kirkwood reached his home in Iowa City when he received from the chairman of the Republican State Central Committee a list of speaking appointments, beginning at Newton on September 10th and ending at Iowa City on October 6th. The Senator was informed that he could go by rail to Newton, and from there by stage to Des Moines, where a team would be waiting to take him into the southwestern part of the State. After filling engagements in that region he would be brought by way of Indianola to Des Moines on September 26th. From there he would go by railway to Oskaloosa, where a team would take him to Sigourney and Washington, after which he could return to Iowa City by train.⁴⁹⁵

This strenuous trip was almost too much for Mr. Kirkwood, and he had barely recovered his strength when it was necessary to return to Washington for the short session of the Thirty-ninth Congress. Mrs. Kirkwood now accompanied her husband and they took quarters on Sixth Street.⁴⁹⁶

The subjects during this three-month session of Congress which elicited the greatest amount of discussion from Senator Kirkwood were the admission of Nebraska into the Union, the improvement of the navigation of the Mississippi River, and the tariff. While he was sorry

that the people of Nebraska had drawn up a Constitution containing the word "white" he was not willing that their desire for statehood should be thwarted on that account.⁴⁹⁷ The removal of obstructions to the navigation in the Mississippi, and especially the building of a canal around the Des Moines rapids, was a project of great importance to the people of Iowa, and he labored diligently to secure the necessary appropriation.⁴⁹⁸ He favored a low tariff on such commodities as lumber, the supply of which in the United States was rapidly becoming exhausted; and a high tariff on coal, wheat, and such other commodities as could be raised or produced for an indefinite period in this country in sufficient quantities to meet the needs of home consumption.⁴⁹⁹

The debate on the admission of Nebraska brought Kirkwood into conflict with Charles Sumner, who had referred to the Nebraska Constitution as being odious because it contained the word "white". Now it happened that the same objectionable word still remained in the Constitution of Iowa, and Senator Kirkwood felt that the Massachusetts Senator was also casting reflections on that instrument. Therefore he told Sumner that he "should remember that there are other States in this Union besides Massachusetts; and when he speaks of particulars wherein those States do

not agree with Massachusetts he should be careful of the terms he applies to them."

"May I ask the Senator if he considers that provision in the constitution of Iowa right or wrong?", inquired Sumner.

"I conceive it to be the business of the people of Iowa and not the business of the Senator from Massachusetts", was the reply. "The people of Iowa will deal with it in their own way when they see fit; and as a loyal people they have the right to do so; and so I apprehend have the people of Nebraska."⁵⁰⁰

This passage of words created no little stir in Iowa. "I wrote you substantially that I thought you would fail in the Senate because I did not think you could make yourself *damned fool* enough to please the long haired fools both male and female who control the Republican party", was the comment of Reuben Noble. "One year has proved the truth of my predictions. You ventured to say '*None of your business*' to the Representative man of the long haired gentry, and the Miss Nancys of the feminine gender, and forthwith the pack are let loose upon you. You are dead politically for the present."

"I ask the privilege of congratulating you upon & of thanking you for, your decisive & successful course on the Nebraska question — as also for your plucky tilt with His Serene

Theorist Sumner", wrote George C. Tichenor. "Notwithstanding the promptitude, indeed indecent haste with which certain Journals have so severely criticised your action in the premises, you will find when the time comes, that the *men of power* in the state will be ready in a *practical manner* to evince their endorsement of you."⁵⁰¹

The Thirty-ninth Congress adjourned on March 3, 1867, and soon afterward Samuel J. Kirkwood returned to Iowa City, where he was to remain in private life for a period of eight years.

XXVII

LAWYER AND RAILROAD PRESIDENT

THE record of Samuel J. Kirkwood's activities during the next three years is very meager. Apparently he did not return at once to the practice of the law, nor did he engage in any enterprise which brought him into public attention. During the political campaigns of 1867 and 1868 he made a number of speeches in and around Iowa City.⁵⁰² In March, 1868, he took a prominent part in the organization of a "Grant Club" at Iowa City, thereby indicating his hearty support of the hero of Vicksburg as a candidate for the presidency.⁵⁰³ About this same time "the voters of Iowa City township, 'just for the fun of the thing,' or as a sort of practical joke on the ex-governor, elected him to the office of road supervisor. But he took it in good part, went promptly and qualified, and served his term out faithfully and well."⁵⁰⁴

Meanwhile the "War Governor" was not forgotten by his friends. "When are you coming to Des M.?", wrote Governor Samuel Merrill in December, 1868. "Our old lath string 'hangs out' & you & wife are invited — We live in great

style & you will please put on your Sunday clothes.”⁵⁰⁵ One year later Merrill appointed Kirkwood as one of the Iowa delegates to a convention to be held at St. Louis on October 20, 1869, for the purpose of considering the expediency of removing the national capital to some point in the Mississippi Valley.⁵⁰⁶

But there was one painful episode during this period which threatened to disturb a close and long-standing friendship. In May, 1868, James W. Grimes was one of the seven Republicans who in the United States Senate showed their statesmanship by voting against the impeachment of Andrew Johnson. Immediately there was an exhibition of the fickleness of public favor. Senator Grimes was assailed as a traitor to his party and to the country. Many of those who had been among his greatest admirers now turned against him and disowned him in language expressive of the deepest contempt. Everywhere among Republicans there was intense indignation; and the members of the party in Iowa City were no less outspoken than those in other sections of the State.

“Mr. Grimes has received the resolutions of your Grant Club, condemning his course, and demanding that he should resign his position as Senator”, wrote Jacob Rich to Kirkwood from Washington on May 24th. “He has also noticed that you were present and made a speech at that

meeting, and also the statement that the resolutions were unanimously adopted. I don't think that anything that has been said and done has hurt him much more than the idea that you, who ought to know how conscientious and honest he is in his public duties, should join in the popular howl which you know it is so easy to raise, and from which you yourself have suffered to some extent. I tell him I will not believe that you have done so. . . . He never was clearer in his duty in any vote he has ever given, and reflection has but fortified him in the belief that the country will yet thank him for the vote."⁵⁰⁷

Unfortunately there is no record of the speech made by Mr. Kirkwood before the Grant Club in Iowa City, nor is there any way of determining the exact nature of his personal feelings toward Senator Grimes. It is evident, however, that the report which so wounded Grimes was greatly exaggerated if not entirely erroneous. "I was much pleased to hear from you," wrote Jacob Rich on June 3rd, "and pleased, also, to find that I was not mistaken as to the course which I supposed you had taken in the matter in question. I felt sure that you would not, for an instant, fortify unreasonable passion and prejudice, and would be no party to the aspersions upon the character and integrity of men whom you know so well as Fessenden,

Trumbull and Mr. Grimes, however much you might differ with them in the conclusions to which they have come.”⁵⁰⁸

As late as May, 1869, according to the mutual admirer of the two men, the apparent desertion on the part of Kirkwood remained “one of the sorest things connected with the matter” to Senator Grimes. Three months later Mr. Rich had an opportunity for a personal conversation with the Senator in Paris, France, where he was spending some time in the hope of regaining his lost health. “I spoke to him of your feeling of regret that anything should have come up to estrange you”, wrote Rich. “I told him the circumstances of that meeting as you told them to me, and I hope they made him better satisfied than formerly as to your entire friendliness to him at that time. I am satisfied, indeed, that the statement had that effect.”⁵⁰⁹ In February, 1872, Senator Grimes died at his home in Burlington. There is no record of a definite reconciliation between the two men.

Under these circumstances Mr. Kirkwood must have found much satisfaction in a letter which he received several years later from Mrs. Grimes, in reply to his acknowledgment of a copy of a memorial volume containing tributes to Senator Grimes. “I did not know of the loss of friendship on the part of Mr. Grimes, of which you speak”, she wrote. “I do not re-

member ever to have heard him speak of you in any way to give me the impression of any loss of regard for you, while I do remember the respect and friendship which had made your name a familiar & honored one to me. It is as the friend of Mr. Grimes that I would remember you & that I wished you to accept the book that I have sent you,— and your letter convinces me that it was proper.”⁵¹⁰

In January, 1870, Mr. N. H. Brainerd, now the editor of an Iowa City newspaper, announced that Samuel J. Kirkwood had opened a law office on Washington Street in the room in the rear of the Iowa City National Bank. “We can heartily recommend him to those who dare to trust one of his youth and inexperience”, was the facetious comment of the erstwhile military secretary. “His lack of years is becoming less every day and, for one of his age, we consider him very promising. We hope he will be given business enough to encourage him in his efforts to gain a position in life.”⁵¹¹

At about this same time Mr. Kirkwood embarked in another enterprise which occupied a considerable portion of his attention during the next four or five years. Early in December, 1869, he was appointed as a delegate from Johnson County to a railroad convention to be held at Muscatine on the fifteenth day of that month.⁵¹² Three months later, in April, 1870,

it was announced that a company had been formed to construct a railroad from some point in Clinton or Cedar County through Iowa City and Sigourney to some point on the Missouri River. At the head of the list of the five directors organizing this company was Samuel J. Kirkwood. A meeting of all persons interested in the proposed road was to be held at Iowa City on May 3rd, at which time additional directors would be chosen and the plan more fully explained.⁵¹³

The meeting was held according to appointment and was attended by enthusiastic delegates from various communities. Mr. Kirkwood presided and later at a meeting of the directors he was elected president of the company, which was known as the Iowa & Southwestern Railroad Company.⁵¹⁴ The summer was spent in making plans and stimulating public interest. The project met with great favor. When Kirkwood went over the route of the proposed road in December, 1870, he was given a hearty reception. "He was passed from place to place, and feasted on the fat of the land. As he came to a town horsemen were sent in every direction to call out the people, and with a few hours notice a large assembly would listen to his remarks in the evening, the papers were drawn up, and they went right to work obtaining names to their petition for submitting the ques-

tion of a tax to a vote of the people.”⁵¹⁵ In many townships taxes were voted for the purpose of aiding a project from which so many benefits were expected.

Early in 1871 an arrangement was made with the Iowa Southwestern Construction Company for the construction of the road. The incorporators of this company were F. E. Hinckley of Chicago, president, Charles H. Toll, James B. Edmonds, J. B. Grinnell, and M. T. Close, and the issuance of \$500,000 worth of capital stock was authorized.⁵¹⁶ In May it was announced that the cars were to be running from Chicago, through Clinton, to Iowa City at the latest by July 1, 1872, and possibly by January 1st; while they would reach Oskaloosa by December 31st. “We will soon see the dirt flying”, was the confident prediction. In October the statement was made that work was in progress all along the line and that ground was being broken in Scott County. Later Kirkwood received assurances that the road would be ready for operation at the time agreed upon.⁵¹⁷

But there were many delays. The coming of winter halted the work. Mr. Hinckley was interested in other railroad projects which claimed much of his attention. In fact the history of the project during the next three years was one of alternating hope and despair. The name of the road was changed several times,

and there were periods when the prospects seemed good for the completion of the road. Mr. Kirkwood and other men also became interested in a coal mine in Monroe County. Then new difficulties arose. Funds could not be easily secured. Other railroads entered a portion of the territory through which this line was projected. Finally the road was leased to the Burlington, Cedar Rapids, and Northern Railroad Company. Ten years later, after many vicissitudes, trains were put into operation between Clinton and Elmira, where connection was made with a short line to Iowa City.⁵¹⁸

While this ill-fated venture was engrossing much of his attention and causing him no end of worry, Samuel J. Kirkwood did not remain entirely aloof from political affairs. In the spring of 1871, laying aside the resentment which he no doubt still felt toward James Harlan, he wrote the Senator a letter in praise of his stand in support of President Grant against the attacks of Schurz and Sumner. "Your generous letter of the 5th inst. has been received, for which allow me to express my heartfelt thanks", was Senator Harlan's reply. "The attack on the President was so completely inexcusable, as to make it difficult to listen to it with patience. I tried to do what seemed to be a plain duty in the premises,—and I will not disguise the fact that your commendation gives me great personal pleasure."⁵¹⁹

In June of the same year Kirkwood's name was suggested as a possible candidate for the Republican nomination for Governor; but the movement apparently did not pass beyond the stage of suggestion. He was a candidate for State Senator that fall, however, and was defeated by his Democratic opponent, Samuel H. Fairall.⁵²⁰

Then came the bitter Harlan-Allison contest for the senatorship, beginning in earnest in the fall of 1871 and culminating in the election of William B. Allison by the legislature in 1872. Mr. Kirkwood was strongly urged by such men as Grenville M. Dodge and Jacob Rich to use his influence in favor of Allison; while he was asked by Allison himself to take charge of that candidate's forces in the contest. On the other hand, George G. Wright advised Kirkwood to keep out of the fight entirely, since he was the only man in the State who could defeat Harlan in case it appeared that Allison would not be successful.⁵²¹ What part Kirkwood played in this spectacular campaign can not be gauged, but it is certain that his warm friendship for William B. Allison enlisted his sympathies, if not his active labors, in support of the Dubuque candidate.

Three years now passed during which Kirkwood's name seldom appeared in connection with public affairs, except that in 1874 he be-

came a member and chairman of the Board of Trustees of the Iowa State Agricultural College at Ames. But he was not forgotten by influential friends. About the first of January, 1875, he received several telegrams asking him if he would accept an appointment as Minister to Turkey, which position the members of the Iowa delegation in Congress were confident they could secure for him. "Salary \$7,500", wrote William B. Allison a few days later. "The duties must be very light from the fact that we have very little business with Turkey. . . . If we should be beaten in 76 the term would not be long & you would have a most interesting and delightful voyage. . . . I hope you will see your way clear to accept it."⁵²² Mr. Kirkwood's reply to this offer has not been preserved, but it is very evident that he declined with less hesitation than when he rejected the mission to Denmark ten years before. Other prospects no doubt had much weight in determining his choice.

XXVIII

GOVERNOR AGAINST HIS WILL

THE prospects which made Samuel J. Kirkwood so little inclined to accept the mission to Turkey in January, 1875, were political in character. It would be the duty of the General Assembly of Iowa in 1876 to elect a United States Senator to take the place then occupied by George G. Wright, who had let it be known that he would not be a candidate for a second term. Now if there was any public office which, during his entire career, Mr. Kirkwood really desired to hold it was the senatorship. The brief taste of service in the Senate in 1866 and 1867 had not satisfied that desire. In 1870 he was not a candidate and in 1872 his friendship for Allison prevented him from entering the race, even had he wished to do so. But now, after eight years of private life, there was no reason why his aspirations should not rest on the senatorship.

During the early months of the year 1875, however, there came intimations of a movement which was quite contrary to his wishes. From various quarters there came suggestions that the old War Governor should head the Repub-

lican State ticket in the campaign that fall. "Are you willing to be a candidate for Governor?", asked A. J. Felt of Waterloo late in March. "I am confident that more Republicans in Iowa are for 'old Sam Kirkwood,' than for any other man. . . . I know that your name for Governor, and your presence on the stump, would call out all the Old Guard; it would rally to the front again every Boy in Blue; would revive the old spirit of enthusiasm; call home the wanderers, heal the disaffections and place the Republican column once more in solid phalanx and place Iowa where she belongs at the head of the vanguard of States that march with the flag and keep step to the music of the Union."⁵²³ Newspapers also began to give support to the movement.

Here was a quandary, but Kirkwood was not without advisers. Jacob Rich, for instance, urged him to be a candidate for Governor and not announce his senatorial aspirations until later. A strong candidate for Governor was necessary in order to carry the legislative ticket for the Republican party. "Even if it means retirement," asked Rich, "would it not mean such a going out as would make you the most honored man in the State? . . . The party needs you for Governor, and I believe your consent to take it, must bring you honor and satisfaction." At the same time he did not believe

that an election as Governor would mean the end of Kirkwood's chance for the senatorship.⁵²⁴

On the other hand, such men as John H. Gear and J. N. Dewey advised him not to be a gubernatorial candidate if he wished to be Senator. "Select the position you propose to go for and go for it", said the latter. "*Possibly* between two stools you might catch a fall — which we don't want."⁵²⁵

Whether or not this possibility worried Kirkwood, he did not wish the nomination for Governor; and in May he authorized the editor of the *Iowa City Republican* to announce that he would positively refuse to accept it, even if tendered to him.⁵²⁶ He was a man of sixty-two years, whose hair was growing gray and whose physical strength was beyond its zenith. He did not feel equal to the strain of a vigorous campaign such as would be required of a candidate for the governorship.

As a matter of fact, as the time for the State convention approached it seemed less and less likely that Kirkwood would be obliged either to accept or reject a nomination for Governor. It had become almost a foregone conclusion that James B. Weaver of Bloomfield would be the party nominee. He had a record for distinguished service during the Civil War, and he was a man of great and recognized ability. His nomination was confidently expected on the

basis of the claim that a majority of the delegates to the convention were instructed to vote for him. His extreme views in favor of prohibition afforded the chief ground of opposition to his nomination. Weaver's principal competitor was John Russell, formerly State Auditor, who received support from those opposed to making prohibition a party issue. Three other men, namely, John H. Gear, Robert Smythe, and W. B. Fairfield, each had a small following.⁵²⁷

Then came the Republican State convention at Des Moines on June 30th.⁵²⁸ "The gathering was pronounced the largest and most enthusiastic ever assembled in Iowa since the organization of the Republican party. Every available seat in Moore's Opera House was filled, and hundreds were unable to gain admittance." During the morning a temporary organization was effected and committees were appointed. The election of permanent officers and a speech by the chairman were the first events in the afternoon. Then nominations for Governor were declared to be in order. One by one, James B. Weaver, John Russell, John H. Gear, Robert Smythe, and W. B. Fairfield were placed in nomination.

Balloting was about to begin when in the midst of the Audubon County delegation there arose Dr. S. M. Ballard, a large man with flow-

ing white hair. In tones that penetrated to every corner of the hall he nominated Samuel J. Kirkwood. Immediately there were enthusiastic cheers and a great flutter of excitement. Delegations fell to discussing the unexpected nomination. "The Dubuque delegation was seated on the stage, and was plainly the most excited and apparently the most surprised of all the delegations. It had a hurried consultation, and then one of its members, General Trumbull, . . . left the delegation and walked clear down to the front of the stage, and leaning over the foot-lights and pointing his hand at the Audubon delegation, which sat in the parquette not far from the stage," demanded to know by what authority the name of Mr. Kirkwood was presented. Again Dr. Ballard arose and "in a voice of peculiar power and magnetism" answered back: "By the authority of the great Republican party of the State of Iowa." Vociferous applause, lasting for several minutes, greeted this reply.

When quiet had been partially restored "Honest John Russell" arose and "with the Scotch accent peculiar to the man", declared that he would not be a candidate against the old War Governor. He was followed by John H. Gear who, in a speech "delivered with fire and dash, having an electrifying effect on the Convention," likewise withdrew his name. "I

would regard now and at all times the interests of my party first", he said. "I most cordially second the motion to nominate the old War Governor, who sent seventy-five thousand of our Iowa boys in blue cheering to the front to help so potentially in subduing the rebellion". This speech was followed by "such tumultuous cheers as were never heard before in any political gathering in the State."

After the applause had ceased some delegate had the temerity to inquire whether it was not true that Kirkwood's friends in the convention had received a telegram from him earlier in the day positively declining to accept a nomination. In response there came cries of "Don't care if they have" and "Don't make any difference". Dr. Ballard then proposed that Kirkwood be nominated by acclamation, but there was much opposition to this suggestion, and so an informal ballot was taken. The result was that Kirkwood received two hundred and sixty-eight votes, Weaver two hundred, Smythe one hundred and eleven, and Fairfield thirty-three. Three hundred and seven were necessary to a choice. A formal ballot was therefore taken. But before it could be counted, various counties began to change their vote to the support of Kirkwood, "whereupon Capt. Hull, of Davis — Gen. Weaver's county — very gracefully moved to make the nomination of Gov. Kirkwood unanimous."

The motion was enthusiastically adopted; and Rev. I. P. Teter, a member of the convention, moved that the secretary telegraph to Kirkwood asking if he would accept. This motion was met with a storm of protests. "Hon. John Y. Stone arose amid the tumult to say, 'Gov. Kirkwood *must* accept.' This was the signal for such wild applause that Mr. Teter withdrew his motion, saying he would substitute therefor a second to the positive declaration of Senator Stone."

While the convention was still in an uproar because of the unexpected "stampede" many messages were passing over the wires from Des Moines to Iowa City. "Kirkwood nominated for governor first ballot amid most tumultuous applause I ever witnessed", telegraphed James S. Clarkson to George G. Wright, who was then living in Iowa City. "Under no circumstances must he decline." To Kirkwood himself came a telegram signed by John H. Gear, William Larrabee, Ed. Wright, R. S. Finkbine, J. G. Foote, and J. Q. Tufts: "All candidates withdrawn in your favor you are nominated by acclamation you must accept it will come out all right." "It could not be helped", was the message written by Nathaniel B. Baker. "It was the only road out. And now, I think it does not hurt you on U. S. Senator." R. S. Finkbine was even more certain on this point, for he

assured Kirkwood that the election as Governor would give him "a hold on the party for the Senatorship, which neither *Hell* — nor *Harlan* could defeat."⁵²⁹

The candidate was slow in replying to the urgent messages of his friends. "Why in thunder don't you accept answer?" was the impatient telegram from Ed. Wright which reached Iowa City at 4:40 in the afternoon. Finally, Mr. Kirkwood sent a reluctant reply: "If I must, say yes for me."⁵³⁰

Thus was Samuel J. Kirkwood forced into a campaign against his will. It was one of those instances in which the best laid plans go amiss. The nomination of James B. Weaver had been practically certain. But he was opposed by the friends of other candidates, as well as by the anti-prohibition forces and the corporations. When Kirkwood's name was presented all these elements found common ground in his support. Added to this situation were the great popularity of the old War Governor and the psychological effect of the dramatic manner in which his name was placed before the convention.⁵³¹

Having once accepted the nomination the Republican candidate for Governor entered into the race in earnest against his Democratic competitor, Shepherd Leffler. The campaign on the part of the Republicans opened formally on September 1st. But on August 19th Mr. Kirk-

wood made a speech in the opera house at Des Moines which sounded the key-note of his campaign. After being introduced by Governor Carpenter, he was "warmly, loudly, and repeatedly cheered." First he denied the charges made in the Democratic press that he had speculated in tax titles, that he was a large owner of railroad stock, that he owned stock in a distillery, that he had spoken in slighting terms of the German citizens of the State, and that he had speculated in army clothing during the Civil War.

Then he took up three inquiries which he had received, concerning his attitude toward woman suffrage, secret societies, and the temperance question. "As to woman suffrage he said he honestly hoped to see the day when in going to the polls we shall take our wives, daughters, and sisters with us, and he believed that many of us would live to see such a day." In response to the second inquiry he stated that he was a Mason and an Odd Fellow. "Many of the members of each of these Orders will fight me as bitterly as any others in Iowa," he continued, "and I do not suppose there are many who will think of making this question an issue in the canvass or at the polls. I will not argue the question here. Any man who wishes to vote against me on that score, or who honestly thinks he ought to, can do so without any objections on my part."

The temperance question, then a prominent issue in Iowa, was discussed more in detail. The speaker declared that he was as much opposed to the intemperate use of intoxicating liquors as anyone could be. But he felt that there was ground for honest difference of opinion as to the best method of regulating the liquor traffic. In part of the counties of the State the prohibitory law was well enforced, while in others it was openly violated. "I know it is much more difficult to do a thing than to say it can be done," he declared, "but I think if I had the power to do so I could make a law that would fully protect the counties where the present law is enforced and at the same time better the condition of the counties where the present law is not enforced." This statement was not to be taken in any way as a pledge. "You may say on one side or on the other or on both sides of this question that you are unwilling to trust one without a pledge", he said. "Very well — that is your privilege, and you, not I, must be answerable for its exercise."

"Some of my friends who are editing Democratic papers," he continued, "are afraid that if I get to be Governor I may want to be a Senator. They and some others are very anxious that we should have a good looking man to send as our Governor to the Centennial Exposition at Philadelphia next year. . . . Now I

couldn't go to the Senate or leave the Governorship, if I wanted to, before March, of 1877 — the year after the Centennial, so that the people of Iowa would still have the benefit of all the beauty that I have at the Centennial. [Repeated laughter.] But about my wanting or not wanting to go to the Senate I shall make no promises. If I did it might be as it was with the Governorship. I said I did not want and would not take that; but I am the Republican party's candidate for it — and I do not intend any more to say what office I will take and what I will not."

With this lengthy introduction, the candidate proceeded with the formal part of his speech, in which he discussed the attitude of the Republican party on the great issues of the day. Just at the close he returned once more to the temperance question, and advised the prohibitionists to remain in the Republican party. "You are no doubt as honest as you are earnest, and I for one believe that you are", he declared. "It is right, too, to be progressive, radical, and advanced. But have a care that you do not get so far ahead of public opinion that you will get out of sight of the great body of the people altogether, and be lost. (Applause.) So far, indeed, that you cannot even be heard. (Applause.)"⁵³²

During the next six weeks Kirkwood toured

the State on a vigorous campaign of speech-making. To be sure there was lacking much of the picturesqueness which characterized the joint debates between Kirkwood and Dodge in 1859. The railroads also made it possible to get from place to place with greater comfort and expedition than in the days when candidates must depend almost entirely on stage lines and private conveyances. But the candidate addressed the people with much of his old magnetism and earnestness in a great many towns from one end of the State to the other. The result was that at the election held on October 12th he received over thirty-one thousand more votes than did his opponent, Shepherd Leffler.⁵³³

The third inauguration of Samuel J. Kirkwood as Governor of Iowa occurred in the opera house in Des Moines on January 13, 1876. After the officers-elect had entered the hall and taken the seats assigned to them the Capital City Band played "Hail to the Chief". Rev. J. W. Murphy then offered prayer and the band played "The Mocking Bird". Thereupon the oath of office was administered to the newly elected officers and Governor Kirkwood delivered his inaugural address.⁵³⁴

Because this was the centennial year, the Governor dwelt at length on the progress of the Nation during the preceding century and of

Iowa since the coming of the first settlers. He had very little advice to offer the General Assembly in the way of a program for legislation, except to suggest the need of reform in criminal procedure and to recommend railroad rate regulation, including the creation of a railroad commission. The needs of the State and its various institutions had already been set forth by his predecessor.⁵³⁵

Governor Kirkwood's third period of service as chief executive of Iowa was brief and comparatively uneventful. Perhaps the mere routine of the office had increased in volume during the twelve years since he last sat in the Governor's chair. But with his memories of the strenuous days during the war he must have felt that his duties were very light.⁵³⁶ A year passed, with almost nothing of importance to be recorded in the executive journal. Then on the first day of February, 1877, there was inscribed this record: "Upon this day, Samuel J. Kirkwood, having been elected a senator of the United States for six years from the fourth day of March, vacated the office of Governor of the State of Iowa, whereupon, in accordance with the constitution, Joshua G. Newbold, the lieutenant governor, assumes the discharge of the duties of the office of Governor."⁵³⁷

XXIX

SENATOR IN HIS OWN RIGHT

THE nomination of Kirkwood for Governor in June, 1875, did not banish his aspirations for the senatorship: it merely postponed his active efforts in that direction. There was newspaper discussion of the senatorial question throughout the period of the State campaign; but the candidate centered his energies on the race for the governorship.

October 12th, the day of the State election, however, marked the beginning of a new campaign. "When the smoke of the contest has cleared away," wrote Jacob Rich on the fifteenth, "we must canvass the condition of the new battle field."⁵³⁸ That the canvass was thorough is shown by the fact that the candidate received fully three hundred letters during the last three months of the year 1875 bearing on the senatorial contest. Chief among the Governor's supporters were Jacob Rich, J. N. Dewey, E. R. Kirk, Caleb Baldwin, and George G. Wright. These men and others labored earnestly in Kirkwood's behalf. Members of the legislature were interviewed or letters were

written to them in efforts to secure a promise of their votes. The Governor was kept informed of the prospects and supplied with more advice than he could well use.

Senator Allison's attitude was one subject on which there was difference of opinion. E. R. Kirk and George D. Perkins wrote from Sioux City expressing the belief that Kirkwood had been nominated for Governor in order to defeat him for Senator, and that Allison had a part in the plan. They warned the Governor that Allison and Harlan were now working hand in hand to secure the latter's return to the Senate. Caleb Baldwin likewise seems to have been doubtful of the Dubuque Senator's support. "I have had a talk with Allison," he wrote about the middle of December, "he says he is all right for you, but is *tied*. I told him you were not *tied* when you were asked to aid him. This he admitted freely." Jacob Rich, however, denied that Allison was opposed to Kirkwood: he was "simply letting the thing alone personally."⁵³⁹

Any fears which Kirkwood himself may have had on this point must have disappeared after reading a letter from Allison written on December 19th. "I felt quite sure that the apprehension of some of your friends possibly somewhat shared in by yourself, that I would or was forming alliances in another direction

would be dispelled before the canvass had progressed very far. None such were ever thought of by me, for a moment, as our friendly relations beginning with my boyhood, or youth, and until now uninterrupted, to say nothing of my deep obligation to you for various services, which aided materially in securing what little of success I have achieved, would all preclude the idea of any such combination."⁵⁴⁰

While Kirkwood's closest friends assured him that the election as Governor ought not and would not prove a stumbling-block in his pathway to the Senate, other people were not so certain. Especially discouraging were the replies received from many members of the legislature. Typical was the letter from M. C. Jordan, a Representative-elect from Linn County. "I voted for you in State Convention for Governor," he wrote, "and our choice was backed up by the unanimous vote of the republicans of Iowa at the polls. I do not suppose there was ten men in convention, or one hundred in the State that would have voted for Mr. Newbold for Governor, now would it be right for 150 men to deprive the people of Iowa of their choice for Gov. and put in a man that they did not want."⁵⁴¹

As the campaign began to "warm up" it required repeated urgings on the part of his friends to induce Kirkwood to take aggressive

action in his own behalf. He always enjoyed a contest like that for Governor, where the issues could be squarely met in public speech. But he had no taste for the wire-pulling and scheming which an election by the legislature involved. "I know how natural it is in you", wrote J. N. Dewey, "to shrink from any such contest—how loth to say, or to do anything *of yourself for yourself* you must shake off all that kind of sentiment."⁵⁴²

"You must have a thorough organization of your friends throughout the State", advised Jacob Rich. "You must get at the influences and the men that control each member, and capture them if you honorably can. . . . There are many *honorable* ways to reach men, and these ways you and the immediate advisers about you must study. . . . There is honest expenditure—a legitimate use of means—in this."⁵⁴³

Apparently the chief purpose for which money was used during this campaign was to pay the expenses of people who went to Des Moines to exert whatever influence they might have over the members of the legislature. Late in December Jacob Rich sent a list of the names of twenty-seven men from northeastern Iowa whom he had invited to go to Des Moines. Some of them would pay their own expenses, others must be guaranteed that their way would be

paid, while in a few cases it would be necessary to furnish railway tickets. Rich promised to be as "circumspect as possible in the matter of expense." E. R. Kirk of Sioux City also informed the Governor that several influential men from that section would go to Des Moines. One man had declared that he would spend one hundred dollars out of his own pocket rather than see Kirkwood defeated. "I do not think it improper", said Kirk, "to pay some of these poor devils of Country editors their expenses."⁵⁴⁴

By the time the General Assembly convened in January, 1876, the candidates in the senatorial contest were definitely known. Chief among Kirkwood's competitors for the Republican nomination was his old opponent of the campaign ten years before — James Harlan. There were also Hiram Price, William W. Belknap, and George W. McCrary — all men of ability who had enough supporters to give them some hope of success.

On January 11th it was announced, without much previous discussion, that the Republican caucus would be held on the following evening. "The announcement created a decided sensation, and made a stir through the great crowd, and was followed by a tumult at all of the different headquarters. It precipitated things with a rush, and made a busy night of it."

There was also "much telegraphing to and fro, and plenty of bracing-up messages from home ordered up by all sides."

The Republican caucus on the evening of January 12th was an orderly and good-natured meeting. Senator Fred A. Teale called attention to the rickety condition of the building in which the caucus was held, and warned the members "against indulgence in tumultuous applause." Then, to the surprise of nearly everyone, John S. Woolson arose and read a letter from James Harlan requesting that his name be withdrawn from the list of candidates. The chief cause of this withdrawal was learned on the following day when it became known that Harlan had been called to the bedside of his son, who had been seized with a fatal illness while on his way to California.

The withdrawal of Harlan's name upset all calculations. No one could predict for which candidate his friends would now cast their votes, though it seems to have been expected that they would favor Hiram Price. Thus the informal ballot was watched with breathless interest. The counting of the ballots showed Kirkwood far in the lead with fifty-three votes, while his nearest competitor, Hiram Price, had only twenty-four. But no one had a majority. The first formal ballot, however, gave Kirkwood fifty-six votes, which was one more than

was necessary to a choice, and he was forthwith declared to be nominated unanimously.⁵⁴⁵

One week later, in joint convention of the two houses of the General Assembly, he was declared duly elected United States Senator from Iowa for the full term of six years beginning on March 4, 1877.⁵⁴⁶ "I find nothing but gratification at your success", wrote Jacob Rich. "I never felt so good in all my life."⁵⁴⁷

On the Saturday after his nomination in the caucus Governor Kirkwood returned for a brief visit to his home in Iowa City, where he was given an enthusiastic reception. As the train neared the station a salute was fired, and Lyon's Band of twenty pieces played "Hail to the Chief". Amid the cheers of the crowd the Governor was conducted to a carriage and driven to the St. James Hotel; and during his progress from the station to the hotel a "Senatorial salute of fifteen guns was fired". After supper the distinguished citizen was taken to Ham's Hall, "where an immense crowd awaited him, hundreds being unable to gain admittance. His entrance to the hall was the signal for the wildest demonstration of applause".

Chancellor William G. Hammond of the Law Department of the State University delivered a brief address of welcome, expressive of the affection and admiration which the people of Iowa City felt toward the man they had assem-

bled to honor. Governor Kirkwood, much affected by the demonstration, responded very briefly. "I guessed by a despatch received yesterday", he said, "and I learned by a newspaper that I read on the train the fact of my reception here to-night — I should be dull and insensate if I did not appreciate the honor done me by the people of the State of Iowa. . . . I have lived in Iowa City 21 years and I love, as you all do, the city in which we live. We all feel as we ought to the friendship which gives greeting to one who has drawn a prize in the Lottery of Life. I will promise, and this is all I have ever promised, that in the discharge of my duties I will do the best I can and if what I shall do will meet your approval, when done, I shall feel fully rewarded."⁵⁴⁸

For a year after his election to the senatorship Samuel J. Kirkwood remained in the Governor's chair. On February 1, 1877, he resigned, and shortly afterward set out for the national capital to attend a short special session of the Senate. The greater part of his time during the next five years was to be spent in the city where as a youth he had acquired a taste for politics and public debate. When the work of the Forty-fifth Congress opened in earnest in October, 1877, Mrs. Kirkwood accompanied her husband to Washington, and during the entire

period of his senatorship they made their home at No. 1314 Tenth Street, North West.⁵⁴⁹

Mr. Kirkwood served in the Senate for a period of four years. During this time there were six sessions of Congress. Among his associates, in addition to William B. Allison, his colleague from Iowa, were James G. Blaine, Roscoe Conkling, Henry L. Dawes, Wade Hampton, Hannibal Hamlin, George F. Hoar, L. Q. C. Lamar, Justin S. Morrill, Oliver P. Morton, Henry M. Teller, and Allen G. Thurman. Throughout the period he was a member of the committees on foreign relations, pensions, and post offices and post roads.

There is nothing spectacular about Kirkwood's career in the United States Senate during these four years. His last legislative service was very similar in character to his activity in the Iowa State Senate at the beginning of his public career. He was very seldom absent from his seat; he worked diligently in committees; he introduced a considerable number of bills and endeavored to secure their passage; and he gave close attention to the discussions on the floor of the Senate. But he did not often participate at any length in the debates, and he never made a long, formal speech. This does not mean, however, that he failed to contribute his full share to the deliberations and to the forming of conclusions on important

measures. His remarks, though usually very brief, were clear and to the point. He wasted no time in quoting poetry or in long-winded arguments as did some members of the Senate.

About the longest and certainly the most notable speech made by Senator Kirkwood occurred on June 20, 1879, during the debate on the army appropriation bill. The particular point at issue was a section of the bill declaring that no part of the money appropriated should be so used as to enable any portion of the United States army to be used to keep the peace at the polls at any election in any of the States. Senator Kirkwood readily admitted that the army could not be used as a police force in purely local affairs in the States. In all such cases the army could only be sent into a State in response to a request from the State authorities, when they found themselves unable to cope with the situation, whatever it might be.

But the Iowa Senator was firm in the belief that it was the right and duty of the President, without request or even permission, to send the United States army anywhere within the country when the Federal Constitution or laws were violated, and there was a failure on the part of local authorities to bring violators to punishment. Representatives in Congress were Federal officers; their offices were established by the Constitution; and they were in no sense

State officials. If the bill meant that the army could not be used to suppress violence at the polls in the election of Representatives, then he was unalterably opposed to that particular section. To hold that Congress had the power to pass an election law, and yet did not have the power to enforce it, would be ridiculous. "A government that cannot do that is incomplete", he declared. "A government that has to rely upon something else than itself, upon some other power than its own to enforce its own law, is not a government".

"Let me make myself understood now", he continued. "There is a great deal of talk about the Government of the United States interfering in the States to keep the peace. Nobody claims that it has the right to do that ordinarily; but it is claimed that whenever a constitutional law is passed by Congress it goes of its own power, not by favor, not by permission from anybody, but of its own constitutional vigor it goes through the whole length and breadth of our land and attaches to and becomes part, so to speak, of every inch of our soil."

This view was elaborated by means of illustrations and by answers to the questions of other members. Senator Kirkwood then insisted that the Democratic Senators should state their exact meaning in connection with the particular section of the bill under dispute.

“Now I say, in all kindness and all frankness,” he declared, “it is not for the Senate of the United States to pass a law the meaning of which is shown to be doubtful. Am I right? Is it a becoming thing in this body, said to be the most dignified deliberative body in the world — ah, well we will continue to say so — is it becoming in this body, when the fact is brought to its attention, that upon the face of a bill pending before it for action uncertainty, doubt, dispute exists as to what is the true meaning of that bill, that it shall not be made clear?”

Although partisanship and sectionalism had run high in some of the debates, because the principal instances of violence at elections had occurred in the South, he assured the Southern Senators that the Republicans did not wish ill to the people of their section. “They wish the prosperity of the people of the South”, he said, “as well as they do of any other section of our country. They wish that prosperity because the people of the South are part of our great family, and if you will not believe that we wish you prosperity for that reason, then believe it for a worse, lower, more selfish reason. We have common sense enough to know that your prosperity is the prosperity of the country of which we are a part. Give us credit for selfishness at least, if for nothing else but that. We

do desire your prosperity, and we know, we think we know, that that is to be obtained on the sole condition of peace, quiet, and good order among you.”

There was still another reason why he opposed the section. “The complaint I have to make,” he said, “and the complaint that is working its way all through the northern country, is that there is a steady and persistent effort in every direction and in every way to weaken this Government, to tear off a power here, a power there, and a power elsewhere, one by one, session after session, year after year, until you leave it incapable of its own preservation. . . . The people of our Northern States are afraid that that process is going on to-day. . . . And now when our democratic friends — I hate to use the term in this Chamber — when our friends on the other side of the Chamber shall have explained by their votes, if they will not explain otherwise, whether this section 6 that was, and section 5 that is now, is a mere excrescence, a mere wart, so to speak, on this bill, a senseless impertinence, meaning no offense to any one — when they shall have explained to us by their votes whether that is the case, or whether it means that much larger and greater thing, that in no case shall the Government of the United States have power to enforce election laws anywhere and everywhere in the

limits of our country, I shall be prepared to cast my vote.”⁵⁵⁰

This speech was received with hearty approval. Especially significant were the remarks of Senator Benjamin H. Hill of Georgia, who had been a member of the Confederate Congress. “First of all,” he declared, “I want to express to the Senator from Iowa . . . the great gratification I have felt in listening to his speech. He has made an able, a dignified, and an excellent speech, worthy of a Senator anywhere and in any age. If all the speeches made on this floor were made in the same spirit and with the same clearness and patriotic temper which the Senator has exhibited, I think that what he intimated as doubtful would never be doubtful again, and that is, whether this is a dignified body. . . . I want my friend to know and I want his people to know that the patriotic, the manly, the catholic, the national, the unsectional sentiments which fell from his lips, and which I know animate his bosom, meet with a warm and hearty response in mine and in the bosoms of my people. He and such as he, whether republicans or democrats, we can take to our arms and hearts and call our fellow-citizens forever.”⁵⁵¹

The speech received favorable comment in newspapers in Iowa and throughout the country. Senator Kirkwood likewise received many

letters of congratulation. "The Honorable Senator from N. York (Conkling) spoke brilliantly to the Senate", wrote J. C. Stone of Burlington. "The Honorable Senator from Vermont (Edmunds) made a great law argument for the guidance of the President and the Cabinet; you have spoken to the understanding of the people who will highly appreciate your effort."⁵⁵²

Because of his membership on the committee on pensions, Senator Kirkwood spoke frequently on that subject, which was then growing rapidly in importance because each year it involved a larger and larger sum of money. His wide acquaintance among the soldiers and his deep interest in them might easily have inclined him to great liberality in respect to pensions. But he was among those who, while insisting on full justice, warned the Senate against establishing policies, the end of which could not be foreseen.⁵⁵³

His views on the currency were expressed in remarks favoring the resumption of specie payments and opposing the complete remonetization of silver.⁵⁵⁴ When the funding bill was under discussion he argued in favor of offering a certain portion of the bonds to popular subscription throughout the country.⁵⁵⁵ His support was given to a bill to establish a tariff commission.⁵⁵⁶ Bills relative to the transpor-

tation of live stock and establishing a bureau of animal husbandry likewise received much attention from him.⁵⁵⁷ With regard to Indian affairs his policy was neither one of mawkish sentimentality nor one which disregarded the rights of the Red Men.⁵⁵⁸

During these four years Senator and Mrs. Kirkwood lived very simply, deviating but little from the mode of life to which they were accustomed in their Iowa home. There were numerous invitations to social functions, but neither of them cared much for the formalities of official society. On the other hand, they found great pleasure in the rich opportunities for acquaintance and friendship with interesting men and women from all sections of the country. The intervals between sessions of Congress were spent in Iowa City. It was always a relief to be back in the home of which they had grown so fond, where there was light and air and plenty of room.⁵⁵⁹

Political campaigns, both in Iowa and elsewhere, claimed some of Senator Kirkwood's time during recesses. During the presidential campaign of 1880 he spent three weeks on the stump in Indiana, and made two rousing Republican speeches in Indianapolis.

“Of course Republican legislation did not bring the country bad crops or good crops”, he said on one of these occasions, “but yet it had

much to do with the present prosperity. No mechanic or farmer can work with bad tools. So the business of this great country cannot be done without a sound dollar, and a sound dollar has come because you have got honest money, and it is because we have given the people of this country that kind of money that the workshops have been re-opened, and the fires have been re-lighted, and everything has gone on well. . . . We have done another thing during the time we have had possession of the government. . . . We have converted four millions of chattels into four millions of people, and that flag that waves so proudly to-day does not wave over a slave. . . . If we shall have to hand this government over to-day, we shall hand it over when liberty-loving people throughout the whole length and breadth of this land, and all the liberty-loving people of the world are looking up to it again as a beacon light and exemplar, when it is teaching every nation of the world that free governments among men are a reality, and when all liberty-loving people in all liberty-loving lands are learning from us the lesson that government 'of the people, by the people and for the people' still exists, and may exist in all the nations of the earth."⁵⁶⁰

By this time the question of whether he would be a candidate to succeed himself as Senator was being called to Kirkwood's attention by his

friends.⁵⁶¹ But all plans along that line were laid aside, temporarily at least, when on March 1, 1881, he resigned from the Senate to accept a seat in the President's Cabinet.

XXX

SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR

THE appointment of Samuel J. Kirkwood as Secretary of the Interior under President Garfield was not entirely unexpected, either to himself or to his friends. As early as February 20, 1881, Jacob Rich mentioned the rumor of the possibility of a call to the Cabinet. A Washington newspaper announced on March 2nd that Kirkwood had "been suggested to the President-elect as a fit person to be made Secretary of the Interior." The Senator, it was stated, denied that he had been consulted, but it was known that Senator Logan had made application for his seat in the front row in the Senate.⁵⁶²

As a matter of fact, however, Garfield had already made up his mind concerning Cabinet appointments. Before his departure for Washington he gave Professor B. A. Hinsdale of Hiram College a list of the men whom he intended to appoint, and among them was Senator Kirkwood as Secretary of the Interior.⁵⁶³

The appointment was made on March 5th, and on the same day Kirkwood resigned from the

Senate. Congratulations now poured in from all parts of the country in such numbers that during the next three weeks his clerk was kept busy writing notes of acknowledgment. One of the earliest letters to arrive was one from Kirkwood's old friend and law partner, Barnabas Burns, of Mansfield, Ohio, who had previously written to Garfield in support of Kirkwood. "It is a good many years ago, Sam," wrote I. J. Allen, another old Mansfield friend, "since you and I used to buck around over the Richland County hills, try cases before Dan. Riblet, and John Stewart, and Dave Miller; and make stump speeches. . . . and all such tom nonsense. . . . The scenes in our old shabby court house, when Parker was stammering out good law from the Bench, & Stewart and Newman, and May, and Bartley & Brinkerhoff, and all the rest of us were grinding out logic, such as it was, to convince the court of its ignorance and blunders, are all before me still."⁵⁶⁴

Equally warm were the congratulations of Kirkwood's good friend, Jacob Rich. But he was well enough acquainted with administrative affairs at Washington to know something of the tasks ahead of the new Secretary. "I have no doubt of your ability to promptly jabber Choctaw and Creek, Sioux and Piute, and to be the 'great father' of all the Gros Ventres and Nez

Perces throughout the realm," he said, "but won't all the Mephistophelian clans, red, white and yellow, that make continuous raids upon the chief of the Interior, in disguises calculated to deceive the most shrewd and the most watchful, worry and harrass you? There are legions of them, and they are worse than any devils in monkish legends, for neither holy act or pious speech can exorcise them. The more you beat down, the more there spring up. . . . I fancy that the most onerous place under the government, or in the nation, is the Secretaryship of the Interior — and the most fatal to men's reputations — for the more honest the man the more persistent the assaults upon him by the scoundrels who cannot use him."⁵⁶⁵

Secretary Kirkwood did not take formal possession of his office until March 8th, although on the previous day he was closeted for several hours with his predecessor, Carl Schurz. The first formal meeting of the Cabinet under President Garfield was also held on March 8th, and the Secretary of the Interior was in his place. According to his subordinates "when he sat down at his desk the first day he came into the Department as its chief he lighted his cigar, placed his old-fashioned spectacles on his nose, and proceeded to dispatch business as quietly, methodically and industriously as if he had been there for years." During the day he had

many callers, some to offer congratulations and others seeking office.⁵⁶⁶

Office-seekers were the bane of Kirkwood's life during the first weeks in his new position. "I am getting along as well as I could expect, under the circumstances," he wrote to Jacob Rich on March 14th, "doing very little but hearing people ask for offices and telling them that I am not yet ready to make any appointments."⁵⁶⁷ And not only did position hunters call upon him in person, but they wrote letters by the score. Some in their haste even used the telegraph. "Cant you appoint me Commissioner for the indians or Chief Clerk my knowledge California titles would be valuable", was the message received from a citizen of Dubuque.⁵⁶⁸

The pressure from Iowa was especially strong. People in this State seemed to feel that this was their great opportunity to secure lucrative government positions. In fact, the number of applications was so large that Kirkwood declared that if he should fill all the available positions with Iowans there would still be many worthy applicants to be disappointed, while the rest of the country would be entirely ignored. He could not in fairness give Iowa more than its fair proportion of appointments.⁵⁶⁹ That he did for his own State all that could reasonably be expected is evidenced by

the number of appointments. Besides the choice of Hiram Price as Commissioner of Indian Affairs, twenty-six Iowa men and women were given positions in the various bureaus of the Department, in addition to those already there.⁵⁷⁰

The one year during which Samuel J. Kirkwood held the portfolio of the Interior was not marked by any notable constructive activity. By the time he had become partially acquainted with the details of the work of the various and wholly unrelated bureaus of the Department there occurred the fatal event which robbed the Nation of its President. Afterwards the tenure of his position was so uncertain as not to justify the inauguration of any distinctive policies. And it must be admitted that Secretary Kirkwood lacked the genius for administration of the type required in the Department of the Interior. He was so good-natured that he could not rid himself of the swarms of office-seekers and visitors who infested his office. At the same time he insisted on seeing personally practically all the correspondence which went through the office. The result was that the correspondence was often neglected. "Letters and documents are piled up several feet high over Kirkwood's desk," it was said at one time, no doubt with some exaggeration, "while bales of them are in adjoining rooms awaiting his attention."⁵⁷¹

Indian affairs, however, constituted one phase of the work of his office with which Secretary Kirkwood was particularly familiar because of his experience in the Senate; and on this subject he had a definite policy. Within two days after assuming the duties of his new office he had a two-days "talk" with a delegation of Ute Indians. In spite of criticism emanating from Massachusetts to the effect that Kirkwood's motto was that the "only good Indian is a dead one", a Washington editor praised the Secretary's attitude. "Mr. Kirkwood is a man of kindly feelings and of great practical experience", declared the editor. "His Indian policy will be as far removed from the 'brutalities of the frontier' as from the 'sloppy' sentimentality of these perturbed reformers."⁵⁷²

About the middle of April there came a copy of one of Joaquin Miller's books on the Indians, accompanied by a letter. "I trust Sir", said the author, "the Indian will have rest and peace under your care. I know the Indian well. Perhaps better than any man that ever wrote a book about him. And I affirm he is *not* a bad man." He was glad to offer his services, if the Secretary could find any use for them. "And then I am not entirely unselfish in this desire to serve the Indians", he continued, "for I am *so* weary of books and want once more to get out in my roomy West."⁵⁷³

“I have received your note of the 16th inst., as well as the volume to which it refers, and thank you very much”, was Kirkwood’s reply. “I think the Indian is a man, and that in all our relations with him strict justice should be done, with a decided leaning to that mercy which the strong should always show toward the weak.”⁵⁷⁴

This desire to deal justly with the Indians is also expressed in the Secretary’s letters to inspectors of Indian agencies. “You will hereafter exercise due caution, and make no promises to the Indians which have not first been authorized by the Department”, he instructed one inspector.⁵⁷⁵ “In the performance of your duties as inspector”, he wrote to another, “you will, on visiting the various agencies, carefully observe everything connected therewith affecting the interest and well-being of the Indians and the public interest, and forward to this Office a full and particular report in writing of your observations with such recommendations as may seem to you proper; your reports should give verbal photographic views of each agency. . . . In short, you are the eyes through which this Office must see and judge of what is being done at each agency, and upon your intelligence, accuracy, and impartiality largely depends its power to properly direct its operations.”⁵⁷⁶

The Indian policy of Secretary Kirkwood, as might be expected, was most clearly set forth in his report, which was made on November 1, 1881. He urged larger expenditures for the education of the Indians and especially for the teaching of agriculture. He believed that the Indians' title to land should be made as valid and placed as fully under the protection of the courts as the titles of the white settlers. "In the case of the Indian," he said, "he may have the privilege of keeping his home if he will sever the ties of kinship and remain behind his tribe; but few do this. I wish to emphasize the point that we are asking too much of the Indian when we ask him to build up a farm in the timber or on the prairie, with the belief that at some future time he will be compelled to choose between abandoning the fruits of his labor, or his kindred and tribe. White men would not do so, and we should not ask Indians to do so." Along with this recommendation he advocated the reduction of both the size and number of the reservations.⁵⁷⁷

On July 2nd, as President Garfield was about to take the train to visit his *alma mater*, Williams College, he was shot by the assassin, Charles J. Guiteau. For more than three months he lingered between life and death; and for his official family it was a period of alternate hope and despair.

Mrs. Kirkwood was in Iowa City during the summer of 1881, but her husband, who spent much time at the White House, frequently sent her official bulletins telling of the President's condition, often writing a brief note on the back. "The Doctors are quite encouraged", he wrote as late as August 28th, "and speak so much more hopefully that even Mac Veagh is cheerful & hopeful this morning. Of course all this may be lost and the worst may yet happen, but the prospect of a favorable result is much brighter."⁵⁷⁸

It was during this period when there was some hope that the President might recover, that Secretary Kirkwood leased a house, at seventy-five dollars a month, where he and Mrs. Kirkwood might live more comfortably and in a manner more fitting to their station. "I sleep 'on the hill' to-night", he wrote on the last day of August, "Charley sleeps in the House with me. I think we will like it there but there will be some fixing up to do when you get here. They cleaned up some, but think you will be inclined to do some more. Mrs. Price says she thinks she can get us a good girl here that she knows. The girl tells Mrs. Price she will wait 3 or four weeks if she can be sure of the place. She is a white girl, some thirty years old — says she can cook, wash, iron & do any thing. What shall I do about it? I took dinner at Prices to-day."⁵⁷⁹

The hope inspired by the President's rally late in August was of short duration. Gradually he grew weaker, and on September 19th he died, mourned by the entire Nation.

On September 22nd, as a matter of course, Secretary Kirkwood tendered his resignation to President Arthur. Although he fully expected that it would be accepted, there were several months of uncertainty. He remained in the Cabinet, looking after the regular work of his Department. In the midst of the brilliancy of Washington society during the winter the Kirkwoods were noted for their simplicity. "He has a strong, shrewd, kindly face, with high cheek-bones, deep wrinkles and heavy eyebrows", was a reporter's description of the Secretary of the Interior. "A remnant of whisker is allowed to escape the barber high up on each cheek. The gray does not yet dominate over the brown in his hair. His clothes look as if a village tailor had constructed them under strict orders to pay no attention to fashion-plates and to make them ample, strong and comfortable. The big slouch hat which he wears on the street must be a veteran of many contests with wind and rain on the Iowa prairies. Its owner never minds the shape it gets into when he swings it upon his head, takes his stout stick and strides out of his office. . . . This farmer-looking man carries a vigorous, prac-

tical brain under his felt hat, and a warm heart under his loose sack coat.”

Mrs. Kirkwood likewise received her full share of notice. “Her face makes one feel happy and kindly everytime it is looked upon”, declared one writer. “Her sweet, motherly ways, low-toned pleasant voice, mild, brown-colored eyes and dark hair, combed smoothly over her serene brow and countenance is full of matronly grace and goodness. We are sure her husband was never crossed in his blessed life. Even his pet cigar is respected by his wife. It rests one to meet these women who are strong in the highest essentials of patience, prudence, and the rich experience of a happy and complete home life.”⁵⁸⁰

Finally, in the spring of 1882, President Arthur appointed Henry M. Teller of Colorado as Secretary of the Interior. On April 15th, therefore, Samuel J. Kirkwood bade farewell to all the employees in the Department, and early in the following week departed for his home in Iowa. “The retirement of Mr. Kirkwood from the Interior Department”, was the comment of a Washington editor, “is in more than one respect to be regretted. . . . he brought to his new position, a reputation for usefulness and capacity in public affairs extending over nearly a quarter of a century, such as any man might envy. . . . He had also practical

ideas of his own relative to the Civil Service, which, in the face of considerable opposition he proceeded at once to enforce. . . . He has proved himself an able, sagacious Secretary, above all suspicion of corruption or favoritism. . . . He goes back to Iowa with the record of a man who served his party with zeal, but, in the heat of partisanship, kept steadily in view the obligation which he owed his country.’’⁵⁸¹

XXXI

LAST PARTICIPATION IN POLITICS

WHEN Kirkwood retired from the Cabinet in April, 1882, he was nearly seventy years of age, although remarkably robust in body and alert in mind. His retirement from office, therefore, did not mean immediate withdrawal from public affairs. His appointment as a member of the Tariff Commission had been practically agreed upon, but there was some slip and the plan fell through. "Personally I felt much vexed, for I had hoped to have the pleasure of seeing you and Mrs. Kirkwood here very soon", wrote the new Secretary of the Interior. "Mrs. Teller was also much disappointed. I do not know what you want, but I do know that the President is disposed to do whatever you ask him to do. He appeared to be much worried over the failure to put you on the commission."⁵⁸²

Shortly after his return to his home Mr. Kirkwood became president of the Iowa City National Bank. During the latter part of June he served with Governor Buren R. Sherman and Augustus C. Dodge on a committee to collect funds for the relief of the sufferers from

the disastrous tornado at Grinnell. In the fall he delivered an address at the Iowa State Fair.⁵⁸³

The political campaign of 1883 was one of great interest. It was at this time that the Republican party definitely espoused the cause of prohibition. This was an issue on which Mr. Kirkwood found himself at variance with a majority of the members of the party. Especially did he object to the action of the State convention in rejecting James G. Day as its candidate for Justice of the Supreme Court, because of his decision against the validity of the prohibitory constitutional amendment. Kirkwood considered this action as unjust and as an attempt to exert undue influence on the decisions of the Court. He frankly and publicly declared his intention to vote against Joseph R. Reed, who received the nomination instead of Day. For this attitude he received both praise and censure.⁵⁸⁴ "I have been inexpressibly pained by the course of the State press toward you", wrote a citizen of Waterloo. "Honesty of purpose and strength of conviction count for naught with the demagogues who framed a plank in our platform which is as glaringly fraudulent and dishonest as their action in the convention was communistic and damnable."⁵⁸⁵

Prohibition and all the other issues of the campaign were soon forgotten, however, in the

pleasure of a journey to the Far West. "I telegraphed you yesterday to know if you would accept a position as commissioner to examine the Oregon and California line of road", wrote Secretary Teller about the middle of June, 1883. "The President said he would like to give it to you, and we thought you might not have much on hand, and would like to take Mrs. Kirkwood and make a trip to California, and then to Portland, and by the time you got through the N. P. R. R. would be completed or nearly so, and you could come back that way."⁵⁸⁶

This journey, with the opportunity it offered to visit the great Northwest, then just at the beginning of its development, was greatly enjoyed by both Mr. and Mrs. Kirkwood. At Tacoma they attended a banquet in honor of a member of the party whose investments of capital were among the factors in promoting the growth of the town. In the course of a brief address on this occasion Mr. Kirkwood referred to the West as "the grand college, the university where the great subject taught is common sense." "You must know", he said, "that the true Bostonian sun rises behind Plymouth Rock, stops for a time over Faneuil Hall in Boston, and sets near the mouth of Hoosic Tunnel." The Virginian likewise believed that "the sun rises at the head of Chesapeake Bay, pauses and takes off its hat as it

passes Mt. Vernon where Washington died, and sets somewhere on the Kanawha river." But both Bostonians and Virginians soon laid aside these inherited ideas when they took up homes in the West, where the "typical American" was being reared.⁵⁸⁷

The next three years passed uneventfully. Mr. Kirkwood lived quietly in his home on the outskirts of town, devoting his time chiefly to the duties of his position as bank president. Occasionally he made speeches, chiefly on patriotic occasions or at soldiers' reunions.⁵⁸⁸

Then in the summer of 1886 Samuel J. Kirkwood became again and for the last time a candidate for public office. On August 19th he was nominated as Representative in Congress from the Second Congressional District, under circumstances which made his defeat practically certain. The district convention of the Republican party, which met at Davenport on that day, was described as "most disorderly and inharmonious". Two irreconcilable factions were present. One, consisting of the delegates from Clinton, Jackson, and Muscatine counties, were in favor of fusion with the Knights of Labor and the nomination of T. J. O'Meara. The other faction, composed of the delegates from Scott, Johnson, and Iowa counties, opposed fusion and insisted on the nomination of Mr. Kirkwood. Neither side would give way;

bitter and denunciatory speeches were made; and finally each faction nominated its own candidate.⁵⁸⁹ Afterward each side claimed to be the Republican party of the district.

After due deliberation Kirkwood decided to accept the nomination. Immediately, as might be expected, he was the recipient of many letters of praise and blame. Republican leaders outside of the district as a rule commended him; while within the district he had many warm supporters. "This I want to say," wrote Edward Russell of Davenport, "in the language of Sumner to Grant—'STICK'."⁵⁹⁰

On the other hand, his acceptance of the nomination was greeted with great disfavor by those who believed that in fusion lay the only hope of defeating the Democratic candidate, Walter I. Hayes. "I speak *frank* to you Governor," wrote J. C. Root of Lyons, "and I am honest in my convictions, and would be sorry to see you, after a life of victories, to now begin to *taste defeat*, and snow us under beyond resurrection." "Some call it heroic for Kirkwood to run", was the comment of a Wapello editor. "So was it heroic for Don Quixote to charge the wind mill, but it was very absurd, for all that. . . . It is an ill-advised piece of work that the old war governor would not have engaged in, in his palmier days." Another writer reminded him of the fate of Horace

Greeley, James B. Weaver, and other men who had bolted from their party.⁵⁹¹

Kirkwood's age was another ground for objection to him. "Did you *know* the war was over"? asked a citizen of Muscatine. "I thought I'd tell you. You have heard the old saying 'once a man & twice a child.' It is the opinion of people generally that you have entered into the 3rd period contemplated in this old adage." Other letters from the same writer were addressed to "My Dear Grandfather", and one closed with the expression of "due sorrow for your condition". He was constantly sending Kirkwood newspaper clippings adverse to him. "Do not think me undutifull in failing to reply to your two late letters", he wrote shortly before the election, "but you must remember children & old people have more time than those in middle life."⁵⁹²

In spite of all discouragements, however, Kirkwood fought the campaign to the end. Believing firmly in the preservation of party integrity, he felt that the action of the fusionist faction was wholly irregular and dangerous, because it had chosen a candidate who did not hold to Republican principles. "I squarely deny the right and the power of a political delegate convention to compel its constituents either to lose their votes or to cast them for one not of their political faith", he said in a public letter

written the last of August. "I regret only that the necessity of the situation seemed finally to require my nomination. But some Republican was required to take up the burden, and as the choice fell upon me, I accept it cheerfully with whatever of responsibility may attach to the act, and shall do the best I can to justify the choice."⁵⁹³

It was a forlorn hope, and the candidate was well aware of the fact. Nevertheless, he made a thorough canvass of the district, beginning with a vigorous speech at Davenport on September 24th. Senator Allison and Hiram Price were also scheduled to speak in his support.⁵⁹⁴ The latter, however, did not take part in the campaign. Early in October he wrote from Washington that he feared, because of his strong prohibition views, he would do more harm than good, but he would pay one hundred dollars to secure another speaker. "If you say send the check I'll send it, if you say come I'll do it if it kills me." Later a mutual friend in Washington wrote to Kirkwood that Price "reminds me of an imprisoned hound (no unkind reflections meant) who hears the blowing of the hunter's horn and the yelp of the pursuing dogs, but cannot break away to join in the chase."

The same writer sent Kirkwood a box of Potomac herring, which he knew the candidate would enjoy whether he won or lost. "In the

one event", he said, "they will aid your reflections on the 'journey up Salt River;' in the other they will give a foretaste of coming pleasures beside the quiet Potomac."⁵⁹⁵

It was not Kirkwood's destiny, however, to return to Washington in an official capacity. Walter I. Hayes was elected Congressman, although between his two opponents were divided a sufficient number of votes to have defeated him if they had all been cast for one candidate.⁵⁹⁶ Thus in his last campaign for office Samuel J. Kirkwood met defeat.

XXXII

THE CLOSING YEARS

THE last eight years of Mr. Kirkwood's life were years of peace and quietness. Retrospection now came largely to take the place of anticipation. Bodily strength began gradually to fail, so that the task of a walk to the office, fully a mile from his home, became too great to be attempted on stormy days. Occasionally still he responded to requests to address soldiers' reunions, and nearly always he urged his hearers to commit to paper their recollections of their every-day life in the army.⁵⁹⁷ He contemplated the carrying of this preaching into effect in his own case by the writing of an autobiography.⁵⁹⁸ But this plan never came to fruition, partly no doubt because he was given the opportunity to assist Mr. Henry W. Lathrop in the writing of *The Life and Times of Samuel J. Kirkwood*, published in 1893.

Year by year Mr. Kirkwood spent more and more of his time at his home. Always fond of reading, he now found ample opportunity to indulge his tastes in this direction. Residents of Iowa City remember him as he sat on the

veranda of his home on summer evenings, smoking a cigar, while Mrs. Kirkwood sat near by with her knitting. Nearly always, as in all the years of their life in Iowa, there were children or young people about the home — the sons and daughters of relatives or friends.

Especially enjoyable during these declining years were the letters and visits of old friends. On December 20, 1886, Hiram Price wrote from Washington congratulating Kirkwood upon reaching his seventy-fourth birthday. "I wrote you on your birthday," ran another letter from Price in January, 1887, "to which you kindly and promptly replied, and now I write you on *my* birthday. Seventy three eventful years are *behind* both of us. . . . There is much food for thought in a retrospect of 73 years of active, earnest life. What changes, what surprises, what disappointments . . . what a kaleidoscopic panorama it enrolls before us. . . . I think I may fairly infer from your letter that you attribute, (to some extent at least) your physical, financial and political success to three things. To wit. *First*. Mush and milk, *Second*. Burns' poems, and third, the shorter catechism."⁵⁹⁹

"I can remember," wrote Grenville M. Dodge several years later, "when you were first running for governor, of traveling over West Iowa with you, when you were stumping that portion

of the State, and of our long acquaintance from that day until you left public life. . . . I shall never forget how loyally and sensibly you sustained us during the war, so different from many governors, in promoting the men in our regiments whom we in the field recommended. That was one reason of the great efficiency in line of battle of the Iowa troops.”⁶⁰⁰

Late in September, 1892, Mr. Kirkwood, then nearly eighty years of age, received an ovation such as comes to few men during their lifetime. It was ex-Governor Buren R. Sherman who conceived the plan of having a gathering of old friends at Iowa City in honor of the old war-time executive. The idea met with favor and fifty or more invitations were sent out.⁶⁰¹

The twenty-eighth of September was a beautiful autumn day. The Kirkwood home “never showed to better advantage than on that afternoon; lawn and tree, flower and vines, forming an almost pastoral setting to the scene, and bringing to some who came from busy city life a scene of peace and rest that told of the days of quiet enjoyment and care-free repose they would gladly secure.”

By noon there had gathered at the old St. James Hotel about thirty men who had known Samuel J. Kirkwood intimately for many years, and most of whom had been connected with him in some official capacity. Among those in the

group, many of whom had journeyed across the State to pay their respects to their friend, were Buren R. Sherman, George G. Wright, W. H. M. Pusey, Charles Aldrich, John Russell, S. S. Farwell, James H. Rothrock, Gifford S. Robinson, B. F. Gue, William T. Smith, William G. Thompson, R. S. Finkbine, James A. Williamson, Peter A. Dey, Samuel H. Fairall, Charles A. Schaeffer, John Springer, N. H. Brainerd, and Henry W. Lathrop.

At one-thirty the members of the party were conducted to the finest carriages which Iowa City afforded, "and it was a most interesting ride for the visitors through the city to the Governor's home." Upon their arrival they were ushered into the house by Mr. Lathrop, and there they found the ex-Governor sitting in his favorite easy chair at one end of the room. When all had been seated, George G. Wright, formerly Justice of the Iowa Supreme Court and United States Senator and one of Kirkwood's warmest friends, spoke briefly of the reason for which they were assembled. "Governor Kirkwood," he said, "we are here as your friends, to take you by the hand and tell you how much we like you. . . . Some of your friends suggested that we come without giving you notice and take you by surprise, but I objected for several reasons. I knew you had been quite unaccustomed to making public

speeches [laughter] and if we should come and take you by surprise you might not be equal to the occasion. [Laughter] Then again, we all know how anxious you are about your attire, and if we should come without notice you would not have time to put on your dress suit and diamond pin, and especially that steel watch chain which was your inspiration and the admiration in days gone by of those large crowds to whom you spoke."

"We are here as friends," he continued, "and without regard to political distinction. We are here Democrats and Republicans . . . We come to greet you, to give you proof of our esteem and kindly feeling, to congratulate you in your happy home, as also your devoted, helpful wife; because we know how much you have done for Iowa, and for the nation. Amid the din and clangor of arms, and with this nation hanging, trembling in the balance, you, as the chief executive of the State, were true to your high principles, and to your sense of duty, to pure ideas and thoughts and principles. Because you were faithful, for this we love you, we come to see you this day."

"And now, Governor Kirkwood," he said in conclusion, "I take you by the hand, and in behalf of the people of Iowa, for the friends here (for I know the kindness that prompts their coming), and they join with me in saying,

‘May God bless you, and your wife, and your home. May a kind Providence that has been so kind to you, still longer bless you, and preserve you many years to Iowa and the nation.’ ”

Visibly affected by these expressions of affection, Mr. Kirkwood made a few remarks indicative of his appreciation of the honor conferred upon him by his guests. Afterward he shook each man’s hand. Cigars were passed and a pleasant half-hour was spent on the lawn in friendly recollections of days long gone by. The guests were then asked to gather in a group and a photograph was taken — a photograph which reveals the faces of more than thirty gray-haired men.

Several other members of the party now made brief addresses, none of them more eloquent than that of William G. Thompson of Marion. “I have known you Governor, for thirty-six years; in law-making and law-expounding, you were my Mentor. Legislation under your guidance, was directed to the future, not less than for the present, and laws were made that stood the test of time and stand to-day. . . . Whatever the future may have in store, your reputation and your fame are secure to the people and the coming generations.”

Letters from friends who could not come were also read. “It is but just”, wrote Samuel

Murdock, "and in keeping with the history of that noble old man, Samuel J. Kirkwood, that those of his contemporaries who have known him best and have passed with him through all of his great and heroic struggles, that have rendered his name immortal for all coming time, should in his decline meet once more at his domestic fireside, and while all still live, there congratulate him on the achievements of a long and useful life, crowded full with the events of his country's history, in which his name and his fame will be forever mingled."

Jacob Rich wrote of his deep regret that he could not be present to express in person his admiration and affection. "I regret that I am so pressed for time before going to Washington, or I would come to call upon you as a loving son would visit his Father", was the letter which came from David B. Henderson. "But I send you affectionate greetings and trust that the coming winter will deal kindly with you and that you may long be spared to us as a tender warming influence to your devoted people."⁶⁰²

Thus the afternoon passed rapidly in the expression of friendship and admiration, and the time came when some of the guests must go to the train which would take them to their homes. Before they went, however, Mrs. Kirkwood insisted that they must partake of her hospitality, and so coffee and sandwiches "were

served on the lawn under her direction and with the assistance of Mrs. Rachel Pritchard, Mrs. L. C. Jewett, Mrs. A. M. Greer, Misses Etta and Annie Jewett, and Mrs. Pritchard's pretty little daughter." Then with "hearty hand clasps, fervent prayers of blessings" yet to come to the Old War Governor, and "good-byes", the guests departed.

The following summer, on June 20, 1893, in the Governor's reception room in the State House at Des Moines, there was another ceremony, more formal but equally expressive of the affection which the people of Iowa bore to Samuel J. Kirkwood, who was at his home in Iowa City too feeble to attend. At that time there was unveiled a large oil portrait of the old Governor, paid for by the people of Iowa through an appropriation by the legislature, and painted by a distinguished Iowa artist — George H. Yewell. Again there were speeches eulogistic of the man whose days were drawing so near to a close. And thus there came to him while he yet lived the praise and evidences of affection which too often the public bestows on its servants only after they are gone.⁶⁰³

The sands in Samuel J. Kirkwood's hour glass were now running low. After a brief illness he passed away, calmly as one falling to sleep, on September 1, 1894 — Mrs. Kirkwood's birthday. Iowa City and all Iowa mourned him. Newspapers far and near paid tribute to

his memory. And once again many old friends journeyed to Iowa City to attend the funeral and pay their last respects to his memory. With fitting ceremonies he was buried in beautiful Oakland Cemetery; and Mrs. Kirkwood went back to the old home, where she is still living as these lines are written.

There is no need for an interpretation of the character and services of Governor Kirkwood. His words and actions speak so clearly that he who reads may learn from them what sort of man he was. The estimate of his contemporaries leaves no doubt of his place among the men of his generation. The years as they passed brought ample fulfillment to the prophetic words, already quoted, which were written by the venerable Eliphalet Price in 1863: "No Governor of Iowa, while acting as such, extended the area of his personal acquaintance so widely over the State as yourself. Men and women everywhere, will, as time rolls on, enlarge the story of their acquaintance with you, with many manifestations of pride, and the child of to-day will be pointed out by the next generation, as the gray-haired man who in childhood had talked with Gov. Kirkwood. The History of the Rebellion cannot pass you by, upon its pages you will live through those future centuries that shall preserve the existence of man."⁶⁰⁴

NOTES AND REFERENCES

NOTES AND REFERENCES

CHAPTER I

¹ "The Kirkwood family in America date back to 1731, when Robert Kirkwood and his widowed sister-in-law with her two children, a son named Robert, three years old, and a sister older emigrated from Londonderry in the north of Ireland".—Lathrop's *The Life and Times of Samuel J. Kirkwood*, p. 7.

² There is to-day a small town in New Castle County, Delaware, which bears the name Kirkwood.

³ This was a son of the Robert Kirkwood first mentioned in Note 1, above.

⁴ Henry Lee's *Memoirs of the War in the Southern Department of the United States*, p. 96, footnote.

⁵ This was the fatherless, three-year-old boy mentioned in Note 1, above.

⁶ Though there was a great difference in their ages Samuel Kirkwood was very fond of his oldest half-brother, Robert, whom he often called "the best man God ever made".

Concerning Coulson Kirkwood, whose full name was William Coulson, scarcely any information has been found.

Samuel's mother was born in Scotland, her maiden name being Mary Alexander.

John Kirkwood was one of those who migrated to Ohio in 1835; and he later followed his younger brother to Iowa. His home in Iowa City stood at the northeast corner of Summit Street and Kirkwood Avenue.

Wallace Kirkwood became a druggist in Washington, D. C. He never came west to live.

These facts concerning the Kirkwood family were secured from Mrs. Samuel J. Kirkwood.

⁷ For a description of the house in which Samuel J. Kirkwood was born the writer is indebted to Mrs. Kirkwood. A cut is printed in Lathrop's *The Life and Times of Samuel J. Kirkwood*, opposite p. 10.

⁸ Lathrop's *The Life and Times of Samuel J. Kirkwood*, p. 11.

⁹ Lathrop's *The Life and Times of Samuel J. Kirkwood*, p. 12.

¹⁰ Lathrop's *The Life and Times of Samuel J. Kirkwood*, pp. 12, 13; and statements made to the writer by Mrs. Kirkwood.

¹¹ Data for the above account of Kirkwood's life in Washington, D. C., was secured in part from Mrs. Kirkwood, and in part from Lathrop's *The Life and Times of Samuel J. Kirkwood*, pp. 13-16.

¹² One of Kirkwood's poetic efforts, dated Washington City, December 29, 1834, and bearing the heading "Written by request for the album of a friend", begins with the following lines:

"Lines for an album? let me see —
 What the deuce shall the subject be?
 Love? 'tis hackneyed; Friendship too;
 Moonlight anything but new;
 Pangs that despairing lovers feel
 Though they would rend a heart of steel
 Are common; common as the darts
 With which sly Cupid strikes the hearts
 Of blushing maidens; as the strain
 In which fond lovers still complain
 When they by fate or rival's art
 From those they love are forced to part.
 Now I hate all things common; so
 I'll choose a subject bran span new,
 But what shall it be? What will suit?
 I'll tell you what, my own old boot."

Thereupon he proceeded to praise the old boot which "sits so

easy, like a good old friend''; and to compare a new boot with the so-called ''friends'' who continually are pointing out one's faults —

''Such friends as these if I my mind may tell
I wish were with new boots all safe in —.'''

At other times he wrote of the beauties and charms of various real or imaginary damsels; though it would be difficult to determine from the evidence of these glowing lines whether the young man had become enamoured of any particular young lady.— *Autograph Album of Samuel J. Kirkwood*.

CHAPTER II

¹³ Statement of Mrs. Kirkwood. See also Lathrop's *The Life and Times of Samuel J. Kirkwood*, p. 16.

¹⁴ Lathrop's *The Life and Times of Samuel J. Kirkwood*, p. 10.

¹⁵ Mansfield, Ohio, the county seat of Richland County, where the Kirkwoods settled, was estimated to be three hundred and eighty miles from Washington, D. C.— Jenkins's *The Ohio Gazetteer, and Traveler's Guide* (Columbus, 1837), p. 505.

¹⁶ For a description of this type of wagon see Hulbert's *Historic Highways of America*, Vol. X, pp. 129, 130.

¹⁷ See map in H. S. Tanner's *The American Traveller* (Philadelphia, 1836). Braddock's Road is described in Hulbert's *Historic Highways of America*, Vol. IV.

¹⁸ Quoted in Hulbert's *Historic Highways of America*, Vol. X, p. 186.

¹⁹ Hulbert's *Historic Highways of America*, Vol. X, p. 174. From this volume the writer secured most of the facts used in the brief description of the Cumberland Road, and the busy traffic which it carried.

²⁰ See Hulbert's *Historic Highways of America*, Vol. X, pp. 182, 183.

²¹ See maps in Hulbert's *Historic Highways of America*, Vol.

X, pp. 55, 79; and in Tanner's *The American Traveller* (Philadelphia, 1836). A brief account of a journey over the Cumberland Road from Cumberland to Brownsville may be found in Peyton's *Over the Alleghanics and Across the Prairies* (London, 1869), Ch. II.

²² The story of this episode was related to the writer by Mrs. Kirkwood. It is also mentioned in Lathrop's *The Life and Times of Samuel J. Kirkwood*, p. 17.

²³ See map in Jenkins's *The Ohio Gazetteer, and Traveler's Guide* (Columbus, 1837).

CHAPTER III

²⁴ The population of Richland County in 1830 was 24,007, and in 1840 it was 44,823.—Howe's *Historical Collections of Ohio*, Vol. II, p. 474.

²⁵ Howe's *Historical Collections of Ohio*, Vol. II, p. 474.

²⁶ Jenkins's *The Ohio Gazetteer, and Traveler's Guide* (Columbus, 1837), pp. 379, 380.

²⁷ Jenkins's *The Ohio Gazetteer, and Traveler's Guide* (Columbus, 1837), p. 379; and *John Sherman's Recollections of Forty Years*, Vol. I, p. 51.

²⁸ The writer is indebted to Mrs. Kirkwood for a description of the Kirkwood home in Richland County.

²⁹ Mrs. Kirkwood, who was herself a teacher in Richland County for several years, gave the writer a very interesting account of the schools of that day and particularly of Mr. Kirkwood's life as a country school teacher.

³⁰ *Autograph Album of Samuel J. Kirkwood*. The poem on the Chartist movement, dated Newville, December 25, 1839, may also be found in the *Iowa Historical Record*, Vol. VIII, pp. 318, 319.

³¹ Lathrop's *The Life and Times of Samuel J. Kirkwood*, pp. 18, 19.

³² Howe's *Historical Collections of Ohio*, Vol. II, p. 477. John Sherman, however, was not so favorably impressed with the town on his first visit, for he said that "Mansfield was then a very unattractive village, badly located on parallel ridges and valleys".—*John Sherman's Recollections of Forty Years*, Vol. I, p. 47.

³³ See map in Jenkins's *The Ohio Gazetteer, and Traveler's Guide* (Columbus, 1837).

³⁴ Jenkins's *The Ohio Gazetteer, and Traveler's Guide* (Columbus, 1837), p. 280. For a description of the town about ten years later and for cuts showing views of the public square, see Howe's *Historical Collections of Ohio*, Vol. II, pp. 477, 479.

³⁵ Thomas W. Bartley was the son of Mordecai Bartley, one of the pioneers of Richland County, who was a member of the lower house of Congress from 1823 to 1830, and who in 1844 was elected Governor of Ohio on the Whig ticket.—See Howe's *Historical Collections of Ohio*, Vol. II, p. 489.

Kirkwood's preceptor, as will be seen (see above pp. 39, 75) was later Governor of Ohio and Justice of the Supreme Court of that State. He also served for a time as United States District Attorney during the administration of President Polk. His appearance, abilities, and characteristics were described to the writer by Mrs. Kirkwood.

³⁶ A sketch of the life of Dr. E. W. Lake may be found in the *Portrait and Biographical Album of Linn County, Iowa* (Chicago: Chapman Brothers, 1887), pp. 591, 592.

³⁷ Barnabas Burns was a State Senator in Ohio from 1847 to 1850. As will be seen, it was shortly after his retirement from this office that he and Kirkwood formed a partnership. The two men remained firm friends throughout their lives. According to Mrs. Kirkwood a daughter of Barnabas Burns was still living in Mansfield in 1914.

³⁸ *John Sherman's Recollections of Forty Years*, Vol. I, p. 53.

³⁹ *John Sherman's Recollections of Forty Years*, Vol. I, p. 52.

⁴⁰ The facts concerning this journey were related to the writer by Mrs. Kirkwood.

CHAPTER IV

⁴¹ Lathrop's *The Life and Times of Samuel J. Kirkwood*, p. 21. Mrs. Kirkwood also gave the writer an account of the forming of this partnership.

⁴² Mrs. Kirkwood furnished data concerning the early life of her parents in Ohio. A brief article on the Clark family may be found in the *Iowa Historical Record*, Vol. VII, pp. 129, 130.

⁴³ An account of the first meeting, courtship, and marriage of Samuel J. Kirkwood and Jane Clark was given to the writer by Mrs. Kirkwood.

⁴⁴ Lathrop's *The Life and Times of Samuel J. Kirkwood*, pp. 21, 22.

⁴⁵ Data furnished by Mrs. Kirkwood.

⁴⁶ Mrs. Kirkwood furnished the writer with the above facts concerning the beginning of housekeeping and the reception of the newly married couple into the social life of Mansfield.

⁴⁷ The Ohio Constitution of 1802, which was in operation until 1851, made no provision for a Lieutenant Governor, and in case of death, impeachment, resignation or other disability, the duties of the office of Governor were to be performed by the Speaker of the Senate.

Thomas W. Bartley, who was a Democrat, served as Governor during the year 1844, and then was succeeded by his father, Mordecai Bartley, who was elected to the office on the Whig ticket.

⁴⁸ This episode is described by Peter A. Dey in the *Annals of Iowa* (Third Series), Vol. VII, p. 85; and it is corroborated by a similar account in *John Sherman's Recollections of Forty Years*, Vol. I, p. 91.

⁴⁹ From Mrs. Kirkwood the writer gained a very clear idea of this unfortunate episode and of the character of the persons involved, besides a number of valuable letters, affidavits, and other papers relating to the case.

⁵⁰ Ebenezer Lane was a Justice of the Supreme Court of

Ohio from 1830 to 1845. Brief sketches of his life may be found in Howe's *Historical Collections of Ohio*, Vol. I, p. 577; and the *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly*, Vol. I, pp. 251, 252.

⁵¹ It is interesting to note that each of the three men—Thomas Ewing, Columbus Delano, and Samuel J. Kirkwood—later served as Secretary of the Interior, the first being appointed by President Taylor, the second by Grant, and the third by Garfield.

⁵² A brief account of the trial is to be found in Lathrop's *The Life and Times of Samuel J. Kirkwood*, p. 23. The facts were also related to the writer by Mrs. Kirkwood.

A number of letters written to Kirkwood after the trial by Frank Barker's father, as well as by his young wife, furnish ample evidence of the desire of the Barker family that Bowland's sentence might be changed to life imprisonment. Mrs. Kirkwood stated that Bowland was later pardoned by the Governor.

⁵³ Letter from Ebenezer Lane to Kirkwood, dated December 7, 1846, in the possession of The State Historical Society of Iowa.

⁵⁴ Letter from Margaretta A. Barker to Kirkwood, dated December 15, 1846, in the possession of The State Historical Society of Iowa.

CHAPTER V

⁵⁵ "My old friend, Mr. Kirkwood, was the prosecuting attorney of the county, and I renewed with him my 'moot court' experience in frequent contests between real parties."—*John Sherman's Recollections of Forty Years*, Vol. I, p. 83.

⁵⁶ The Ohio Constitution of 1802 may be found in Poore's *Charters and Constitutions*, Part II, pp. 1455-1464.

⁵⁷ See Morris's *Internal Improvements in Ohio, 1825-1850*, in the *Papers of the American Historical Association*, Vol. III, No. 2, pp. 107-136.

⁵⁸ It has not been possible to arrive at a clear idea of all the reasons which brought about the revision of the Constitution of Ohio in 1850. Apparently the Convention of that year has not yet appealed strongly to any historical writer. The reasons stated by the present writer are clearly reflected in the debates in the Convention, reported by J. V. Smith and published in two volumes. See also Lathrop's *The Life and Times of Samuel J. Kirkwood*, p. 25.

⁵⁹ The text of this act is to be found in Smith's *Debates of the Ohio Convention*, Vol. I, pp. 17, 18.

⁶⁰ For a description of this building see Studer's *Columbus, Ohio: Its History, Resources, and Progress* (1873), pp. 321-323.

⁶¹ The above data relative to the public services of the members of the Convention was compiled from the "blue book" known as *The Biographical Annals of Ohio*, 1906-1908.

⁶² The data relative to the ages and occupations of the members of the Convention was compiled from a table in Smith's *Debates of the Ohio Convention*, Vol. I, pp. 3-6.

⁶³ Smith's *Debates of the Ohio Convention*, Vol. I, p. 18.

⁶⁴ Smith's *Debates of the Ohio Convention*, Vol. I, pp. 64, 66, 67, 95, 96, 128.

⁶⁵ Smith's *Debates of the Ohio Convention*, Vol. I, pp. 207-209.

⁶⁶ Smith's *Debates of the Ohio Convention*, Vol. I, p. 254. Biennial legislative sessions were provided for in the Constitution as finally adopted.

⁶⁷ Smith's *Debates of the Ohio Convention*, Vol. I, pp. 234, 235, 236, 263, 282, 293, 302, 305, 306, 310. It would be difficult to determine whether these suggestions and amendments had any influence in the Convention. None of them were adopted at the time, but some of the same ideas, expressed perhaps in a somewhat different form, were embodied in the Constitution.

⁶⁸ Smith's *Debates of the Ohio Convention*, Vol. I, pp. 399-404.

⁶⁹ Smith's *Debates of the Ohio Convention*, Vol. I, pp. 444, 445, 447, 461-463, 467-469. Jury trial in a "court of record" for the assessment of damages in case of the granting of a right of way to a corporation was guaranteed in the Constitution as adopted.— Article XIII, Section 5.

On the question of exemptions from military duty, Mr. Kirkwood asked "why not make a general provision applicable to all laws, that they shall be obligatory only on those who conscientiously believe them to be right, and that those who conscientiously believe *any* law to be wrong, may disregard it." As a matter of fact, no provision for exemptions was embodied in the article dealing with the militia as finally adopted.

⁷⁰ Smith's *Debates of the Ohio Convention*, Vol. I, pp. 459, 461, 475, 495.

⁷¹ Mr. Kirkwood favored a plan which had been proposed by which the State debt would be extinguished in forty years. "The amount to be raised each year", he said, "is one hundred thousand dollars, which divided among 400,000 tax-payers, makes the sum of twenty-five cents to each man—equal perhaps to two sherry cobblers each year for forty years. And this will release us from the burthen of our State debt."

"I do not want the public debt of the State to remain", said Mr. Kirkwood a little later, "as a basis for banking operations, of any kind, whether of the State, free, or independent varieties; nor that it shall furnish the instruments for men to gamble with, at home or abroad. And I hold the duty of States as of individuals, to be out of debt, and to remember and abide by the injunction, 'owe no one any thing.'"— Smith's *Debates of the Ohio Convention*, Vol. I, pp. 482, 490, 491.

The plan for a sinking fund which Kirkwood favored was embodied in the Constitution.— Article VIII, Section 7.

⁷² Smith's *Debates of the Ohio Convention*, Vol. I, pp. 592, 593, 598, 602, 615, 622, 624, 629, 649-651, 673, 675.

⁷³ Mrs. Kirkwood told the writer of her visit to Columbus while her husband was there in attendance at the Convention and of the social life of the members.

⁷⁴ See Studer's *Columbus, Ohio: Its History, Resources, and Progress* (1873), pp. 48, 49.

⁷⁵ Smith's *Debates of the Ohio Convention*, Vol. I, pp. 729, 730.

Certain members opposed adjournment, some for partisan reasons, others because they feared it would prejudice the people against the Convention and the Constitution, and still others because it had been hoped that the Constitution could be submitted to the people at the elections in October. Kirkwood could see no reason for making adjournment a party question. Furthermore, said he, "I have been told of enough of members who intend leaving, adjournment or no adjournment, to leave us without a quorum, and should that be the result, we will then be left here without the power to do business, and without the power even of adjourning. Other gentlemen know these things as well as I do; and although I regret that these things are so, I cannot help it, and cannot see any use of remaining longer. We cannot submit the new constitution to a vote of the people this fall, and that being considered, there is not a necessity, or any good reason, why gentlemen should remain here, certainly at the risk of health, perhaps at the risk of life, to finish the work now, when by adjourning until fall, we can meet again in a healthy season and lay our work before the people at the spring elections."

CHAPTER VI

⁷⁶ Letter from Samuel J. Kirkwood to Mrs. Kirkwood, dated December 4, 1850, in the possession of The State Historical Society of Iowa.

By taking a round-about route to Sandusky and thence south again, Kirkwood could, in 1850, have made the journey to Cincinnati entirely by rail. Possibly he did travel in this manner from Columbus to his destination.— See Paxson's *The Railroads of the "Old Northwest Before the Civil War,"* in the *Transactions of the Wisconsin Academy of Sciences, Arts, and Letters*, Vol. XVII, Part I, p. 253.

⁷⁷ Kirkwood's experiences during the first days in Cincinnati are described in a lengthy letter written to Mrs. Kirkwood on December 4, 1850, in the possession of The State Historical Society of Iowa.

⁷⁸ See Smith's *Debates of the Ohio Convention*, Vol. II, p. 3; and King's *Pocket-book of Cincinnati* (1879), p. 23.

⁷⁹ Smith's *Debates of the Ohio Convention*, Vol. II, pp. 36, 37, 51, 52, 53, 55, 125.

⁸⁰ Smith's *Debates of the Ohio Convention*, Vol. II, pp. 82, 83.

⁸¹ For Kirkwood's remarks on the subject of corporations see Smith's *Debates of the Ohio Convention*, Vol. II, pp. 167, 186, 187, 190, 191, 548, 549, 615-617, 624, 627, 630. The Constitution as adopted provided that corporations might be formed under general laws, but that all such laws might at any time be altered or repealed. Special acts conferring corporate powers were forbidden.— Article XIII, Sections 1, 2.

⁸² Smith's *Debates of the Ohio Convention*, Vol. II, pp. 320, 681. Mr. Kirkwood said that the only complaints concerning the system of legal procedure which he had heard came from "those men who are constantly prowling about our justices' courts; fomenting quarrels and disputes amongst their neighbors, and encouraging litigation."

The provision for commissioners to which Kirkwood objected was nevertheless placed in the Constitution.— Article XIV.

⁸³ Smith's *Debates of the Ohio Convention*, Vol. II, pp. 328, 329.

⁸⁴ Smith's *Debates of the Ohio Convention*, Vol. II, p. 341.

⁸⁵ Smith's *Debates of the Ohio Convention*, Vol. II, pp. 419-422. See also pp. 789, 792, 801, 830, 831.

⁸⁶ The Constitution of 1802 covers ten pages in Poore's *Charters and Constitutions*, while the Constitution of 1851 covers nearly seventeen pages.

CHAPTER VII

⁸⁷ Mrs. Kirkwood related to the writer the facts concerning this change of partners, which was not only agreeable to her husband, but was very much desired by him. In fact, it appears that Kirkwood had a large part in securing Bartley's nomination as Justice. See also Lathrop's *The Life and Times of Samuel J. Kirkwood*, p. 24.

⁸⁸ Quotation from the *Mansfield Herald* in the *Iowa Weekly Republican* (Iowa City), August 24, 1859.

⁸⁹ Quotation from the *Mansfield Herald* in the *Iowa Weekly Republican* (Iowa City), August 24, 1859.

Although Kirkwood had thus far been a staunch Democrat, like his father he had always been opposed to slavery, and this opposition was no doubt increased by his residence among the freedom-loving people of northern Ohio. Hence it was no sudden conversion which caused him to leave the old party.

⁹⁰ Quotation from the *Mansfield Herald* in the *Iowa Weekly Republican* (Iowa City), August 24, 1859. The writer has not been able to find the articles here mentioned, which were printed in a newspaper known as the *Shield and Banner*.

⁹¹ *Iowa Weekly Republican* (Iowa City), July 27, 1859.

⁹² The sentiment in this congressional district was evidently strongly opposed to Douglas's measure, for William D. Lindsley, the Representative from that district, was one of the Democrats who voted against the bill in the lower house of Congress.

In the *Annals of Iowa* (Third Series), Vol. IX, p. 208, it is stated that in 1855 Mr. Kirkwood "was a prominent candidate for Congress". The present writer, however, has not been able to find anything to support this statement. In fact, there was apparently no Congressman elected in that district in 1855. In the preceding autumn John Sherman was successful in his campaign for the position of Representative against William D. Lindsley; and in that campaign Kirkwood took the stump in support of Lindsley because he had voted against the Kansas-

Nebraska bill.— See *John Sherman's Recollections*, Vol. I, pp. 103–105; and a quotation from the *Mansfield Herald* in the *Iowa Weekly Republican* (Iowa City), August 24, 1859.

⁹³ For an account of this visit to Iowa City the writer is indebted to Mrs. Kirkwood.

⁹⁴ Mrs. Kirkwood informed the writer that the house was exchanged for a stock of merchandise which, she believed, was later used in the store in Iowa City.

⁹⁵ Lathrop's *The Life and Times of Samuel J. Kirkwood*, p. 25.

⁹⁶ Quotation from the *Chicago Journal* in *The Gate City* (Keokuk), May 11, 1855. A glance at any of the newspapers published in the Iowa towns along the Mississippi will reveal the unprecedented rush of settlers to this State throughout the year 1855. See also Parker's *Iowa as it is in 1856*, pp. 63–65.

⁹⁷ The great emigration of the years 1854–1856 (during which time the population was increased nearly 200,000 or fifty-nine per cent) came almost entirely from the northern States. A large part of the voters who came in during that period and the four years that followed became members of the new Republican party, and thus helped to overthrow the Democratic party which had been in power in Iowa from the beginning of Territorial days.

⁹⁸ For an account of the journey to Iowa the writer is indebted to Mrs. Kirkwood.

CHAPTER VIII

⁹⁹ The population of Iowa City in 1854 was 2570; in 1860 it was 5214; but it was estimated at about 4000 in 1855.— See Hull's *Historical and Comparative Census of Iowa*, p. 515; and Parker's *Iowa as it is in 1855*, p. 146.

The first train on the Mississippi and Missouri River Railroad (now the Rock Island line) arrived at Iowa City on January 3, 1856.— Shambaugh's *Iowa City: A Contribution to the Early History of Iowa*, p. 106.

¹⁰⁰ *Annals of Iowa* (First Series), Vol. XI, p. 609.

¹⁰¹ For the history of this mill see Aurner's *Leading Events in Johnson County History* (Cedar Rapids, 1912), Vol. I, pp. 412-419; and *History of Johnson County, Iowa* (Iowa City, 1883), pp. 729, 730.

¹⁰² It has not been possible to determine just when this store was opened, but it is evident that it was being conducted as early as February, 1856. The store building was on Washington Street near where the Burkley Imperial Hotel now stands.

¹⁰³ The house in Coralville in which the Kirkwoods took up their abode and in which they lived for ten years, was later burned to the ground, presumably through the carelessness of some tramps.

Ezekiel Clark's first wife, it appears, had embraced the Mormon faith not long before this time and had departed for Utah, leaving to Mr. Clark the care of three small children.

¹⁰⁴ Lathrop's *The Life and Times of Samuel J. Kirkwood*, p. 39; and the *Annals of Iowa* (First Series), Vol. XI, p. 609.

¹⁰⁵ The statement (no doubt exaggerated) was made in 1855 that the mills cleared their owners "at least \$10,000 per annum."—Parker's *Iowa as it is in 1855*, p. 145.

¹⁰⁶ *History of Johnson County, Iowa* (Iowa City, 1883), p. 730; and Lathrop's *The Life and Times of Samuel J. Kirkwood*, pp. 38, 39.

¹⁰⁷ This information concerning the farm was furnished to the writer by Mrs. Kirkwood.

¹⁰⁸ For a time at least Mr. Kirkwood took charge of the mill and farm; while Ezekiel Clark managed the store and warehouse in town.

¹⁰⁹ Statements by Mrs. Kirkwood to the writer.

¹¹⁰ *Iowa Historical Record*, Vol. XVIII, p. 593; and Lathrop's *The Life and Times of Samuel J. Kirkwood*, pp. 39, 40. These two versions of the anecdote vary slightly in detail, but they are essentially the same. John F. Duncombe of Fort Dodge later became a prominent figure in Iowa history.

¹¹¹ From Mrs. Kirkwood the writer gained the foregoing information concerning the earliest acquaintances and friends of the Kirkwoods in Iowa.

¹¹² Printed in *The Iowa Citizen* (Des Moines), September 14, 1859, during Kirkwood's campaign for Governor.

¹¹³ Quoted in Pelzer's *The Origin and Organization of the Republican Party in Iowa*, in *The Iowa Journal of History and Politics*, Vol. IV, p. 500. In this article will be found an excellent account of the movement leading up to the convention of February 22, 1856, and of the convention itself.

¹¹⁴ See *The Daily Gate City* (Keokuk), February 29, 1856.

¹¹⁵ Lathrop's *The Life and Times of Samuel J. Kirkwood*, p. 46. Mrs. Kirkwood also corroborated the statements made above concerning Mr. Kirkwood's part in the convention.

¹¹⁶ Unfortunately there are no very satisfactory accounts of this convention, beyond the mere minutes of the proceedings, to be found. One of the best contemporary descriptions was one written by the editor of the *Davenport Gazette*, who was a delegate to the convention. The quotation used above is taken from this description as reprinted in *The Daily Gate City* (Keokuk), February 29, 1856.

¹¹⁷ Lathrop's *The Life and Times of Samuel J. Kirkwood*, p. 46. This story has been told so many times that it might almost be called an Iowa folk-tale.

¹¹⁸ Reminiscence of Mr. A. B. Cree printed in Aurner's *Leading Events in Johnson County History*, Vol. I, pp. 623, 624.

¹¹⁹ Lathrop's *The Life and Times of Samuel J. Kirkwood*, p. 46.

The address prepared by this committee is a detailed statement of the principles of the new party, covering four or five columns in a newspaper. It is printed in full in *The Daily Gate City* (Keokuk), March 24-26, 1856.

CHAPTER IX

¹²⁰ *Iowa City Republican* (Daily), June 25, 26, 28, 30, July 1, 1856.

On July 1st the editor commented as follows on Kirkwood's nomination:

"This is a fortunate nomination. Mr. K's experience in public life, his fine business habits and gentlemanly deportment, will give him an influence in the Senate enjoyed by few others in that body. He consents, reluctantly—as we have good reason to know—to the use of his name as a candidate. The office is not one of his seeking. He is obliged to make great sacrifices, by neglecting private business, in order to comply with the wish so strongly expressed by the Convention."

¹²¹ Byers's *Iowa in War Times*, p. 29; Lathrop's *The Life and Times of Samuel J. Kirkwood*, p. 47.

Kirkwood's fame in his new home apparently reached the ears of his old friends in Ohio, for late in August he received a letter from M. Day of Mansfield asking him to come and make a speech at that place on September 2nd, in behalf of the Republican party.—*Kirkwood Correspondence*, No. 27, Historical Department, Des Moines. This is a large collection of letters written to Kirkwood, covering in general the period from 1850 to 1890.

¹²² In fact the *Journal of the Senate*, 1856–1857, records only about fifty instances during the entire session in which Kirkwood took any part in the proceedings, aside from casting his vote on the various propositions before the Senate. For instance, he introduced only five bills (pp. 25, 258, 277, 354, 415) and six resolutions (pp. 27, 110, 121, 125, 139, 207); while on only ten occasions (pp. 131, 160, 316, 334, 396, 408, 413, 434, 450, 490) did he offer amendments to bills proposed by others. It should be borne in mind, however, that neither the legislative journals nor the newspapers of that day give any good idea as to the debates in the legislature, and hence it is difficult to obtain a true evaluation of the part taken by any particular member.

¹²³ Proceedings of the *Pioneer Lawmakers' Association of Iowa*, 1902, p. 25.

¹²⁴ *Journal of the Senate*, 1856-1857, pp. 20, 21, 34, 169, 177, 206, 277, 354.

¹²⁵ *Journal of the Senate*, 1856-1857, pp. 127-132.

¹²⁶ Quoted in Lathrop's *The Life and Times of Samuel J. Kirkwood*, pp. 49, 50. Mr. Lathrop was, at the time of this episode, a correspondent for a Chicago newspaper.

¹²⁷ *Journal of the Senate*, 1856-1857, p. 160. See also Lathrop's *The Life and Times of Samuel J. Kirkwood*, pp. 50, 51.

¹²⁸ *Journal of the Senate*, 1856-1857, pp. 27, 121, 207, 408.

¹²⁹ *Journal of the Senate*, 1856-1857, pp. 107, 108.

¹³⁰ *Journal of the Senate*, 1856-1857, p. 438. Mr. Lathrop gives Kirkwood credit for securing the initial appropriation also.—*The Life and Times of Samuel J. Kirkwood*, p. 54.

¹³¹ *Laws of Iowa*, 1856-1857, p. 466.

Mr. Kirkwood served only a little more than a year as a member of the Board of Trustees, for by the Constitution of 1857 and the legislation of 1858 there was created and organized a State Board of Education which had control of all the educational interests of the State, and a new Board of Trustees was created by that authority. See Aurner's *History of Education in Iowa*, Vol. I, Chs. III, IV.

CHAPTER X

¹³² *Muscatine Daily Journal*, January 27, 1857.

¹³³ At least three elections, in April, August, and October, were held that year. See *The Iowa Weekly Citizen* (Des Moines), August 5, September 2, 16, 1857.

¹³⁴ This letter is printed in the *Annals of Iowa* (Third Series), Vol. VIII, pp. 508, 509.

¹³⁵ Letter from Grimes, March 24, 1857, and another of about the same time but without date, in *Kirkwood Correspondence*, No. 30.

¹³⁶ The incidents of this tour are described in Lathrop's *The Life and Times of Samuel J. Kirkwood*, pp. 57-61; and the proceedings of the *Pioneer Lawmakers' Association of Iowa*, 1892, p. 42.

¹³⁷ In the itinerary as announced in the newspapers Kirkwood, Henry O'Connor, and "other distinguished Republicans" were scheduled to meet Samuels at Newton, Montezuma, Oska-loosa, Sigourney, Washington, Mt. Pleasant, Wapello, Iowa City, Marengo, Toledo, Vinton, Marion, Anamosa, Tipton, and Davenport, between September 17th and October 6th.—*Muscatine Daily Journal*, September 11, 1857. It is probable that Kirkwood filled only his share of these appointments.

¹³⁸ Letter of James W. Grimes to Kirkwood, December 4, 1857.—*Kirkwood Correspondence*, No. 38, Historical Department, Des Moines. A similar statement is to be found in a letter written a month earlier, on November 5th.

Kirkwood apparently did not oppose the candidacy of his neighbor, William Penn Clarke, but when it became apparent, in the Republican legislative caucus in January, 1858, that Clarke had absolutely no chance, Kirkwood was left free to throw his whole-hearted support to James W. Grimes.—See Lathrop's *The Life and Times of Samuel J. Kirkwood*, p. 61.

For a discussion of this senatorial campaign see Clark's *History of Senatorial Elections in Iowa*, Ch. V.

¹³⁹ Letter from James W. Grimes to Kirkwood, November 5, 1857.—*Kirkwood Correspondence*, No. 36.

¹⁴⁰ Proceedings of the *Pioneer Lawmakers' Association of Iowa*, 1898, p. 88; *The Iowa Weekly Citizen* (Des Moines), April 7, 1858.

¹⁴¹ This description of Des Moines at the time of the convening of the Seventh General Assembly is taken largely from the following reminiscences of men who were members of that Assembly: Gue's *The Seventh General Assembly* in the proceedings of the *Pioneer Lawmakers' Association of Iowa*, 1898, pp. 86-98; Carpenter's *Reminiscences of the Winter of 1858 in Des Moines* in the proceedings of the *Pioneer Lawmakers'*

Association of Iowa, 1892, pp. 53-63; Grinnell's *Men and Events of Forty Years*, pp. 122, 123.

The isolation of Des Moines at this time is emphasized by the fact that it was not until late in 1857 that its citizens were furnished with a daily mail service.—*The Iowa Weekly Citizen* (Des Moines), December 30, 1857.

¹⁴² *Journal of the Senate*, 1858, pp. 36, 61, 68, 94, 149, 196, 222, 259, 266, 278, 455, 554. Senator Kirkwood took part in the proceedings of this session much more frequently than during the preceding session.

¹⁴³ These bills were Senate Files Nos. 49, 95, and 111. Their course through the Senate may be traced by consulting the index to the *Journal of the Senate*, 1858. See also *Laws of Iowa*, 1858, pp. 46, 48, 214.

¹⁴⁴ *Journal of the Senate*, 1858, pp. 111, 320, 604, 605.

¹⁴⁵ For amendments proposed by Kirkwood, see *Journal of the Senate*, 1858, pp. 177, 186, 263, 264, 270, 296, 300, 302, 303, 304, 318, 334, 356, 362, 364-367, 370, 371, 377, 378, 411, 447, 475, 531, 586, 594, 605.

¹⁴⁶ *Journal of the Senate*, 1858, pp. 334, 356, 362, 364-367, 371, 377, 378; and *Laws of Iowa*, 1858, pp. 125-152.

¹⁴⁷ *Journal of the Senate*, 1858, pp. 296, 318; and *Laws of Iowa*, 1858, pp. 57-88.

¹⁴⁸ *Journal of the Senate*, 1858, p. 454; and *Laws of Iowa*, 1858, p. 431. It does not appear that any other memorial, as referred to, was passed at that session of the General Assembly, but a memorial of the previous session may have been the one in mind.

¹⁴⁹ *Journal of the Senate*, 1858, pp. 308-310; and *Laws of Iowa*, 1858, pp. 432-434.

¹⁵⁰ Proceedings of the *Pioneer Lawmakers' Association of Iowa*, 1892, pp. 54, 55.

¹⁵¹ Proceedings of the *Pioneer Lawmakers' Association of Iowa*, 1892, p. 55, 1898, p. 96; *Journal of the Senate*, 1858, pp.

463, 503, 504; *The Tri-weekly Citizen* (Des Moines), March 18, 1858; Lathrop's *The Life and Times of Samuel J. Kirkwood*, pp. 66, 67.

¹⁵² Proceedings of the *Pioneer Lawmakers' Association of Iowa*, 1898, p. 91.

¹⁵³ Proceedings of the *Pioneer Lawmakers' Association of Iowa*, 1907, pp. 13, 14.

CHAPTER XI

¹⁵⁴ *Iowa Weekly Republican* (Iowa City), April 7, August 11, 1858.

¹⁵⁵ *Annals of Iowa* (Third Series), Vol. I, p. 267; and Lathrop's *The Life and Times of Samuel J. Kirkwood*, p. 62.

¹⁵⁶ *Annals of Iowa* (Third Series), Vol. V, p. 99; and *Constitution of Iowa*, 1857, Article VIII.

¹⁵⁷ The lengthy act establishing the State Bank of Iowa, which embodied many of the features of similar laws in Ohio and Indiana, may be found in the *Laws of Iowa*, 1858, pp. 125-152. The best accounts of the history of the State Bank are those by Hiram Price and Hoyt Sherman printed, respectively, in the *Annals of Iowa* (Third Series), Vol. I, pp. 266-293, and in Vol. V, of the same publication, pp. 93-116. Both Mr. Price and Mr. Sherman were members of the Board of Directors of the State Bank of Iowa, and they were prominently connected with the branch banks at Davenport and Des Moines, respectively. In the article by Mr. Sherman are excellent facsimiles of the notes issued by the State Bank.

The Commissioners selected to put the banking plan into operation were C. H. Booth, E. H. Harrison, Ezekiel Clark, John W. Dutton, William J. Gatling, Christian W. Slagle, Elihu Baker, William S. Dart, L. W. Babbitt, and Edward T. Edginton. At the first meeting, held on July 28, 1858, Ezekiel Clark was chosen president of the Board of Commissioners. On October 9th the board held its last meeting and control was transferred to the Board of Directors. The original record

book containing the minutes of the meetings of the Commissioners and of the Directors of the State Bank of Iowa is in the possession of The State Historical Society of Iowa. The minutes of the Commissioners cover the first twenty-one pages.

¹⁵⁸ *Iowa Weekly Republican* (Iowa City), August 11, 1858. In the same paper appeared a similar notice signed by a different group of persons, but apparently their efforts did not meet with success.

¹⁵⁹ *Iowa Weekly Republican* (Iowa City), September 22, 1858. The list of the original stockholders of the Iowa City Branch is given in this same paper, together with the amount of stock purchased by each person.

¹⁶⁰ See original record book containing the minutes of the meetings of the Board of Directors, in the possession of The State Historical Society of Iowa, pp. 22-85; and *Iowa Weekly Republican* (Iowa City), November 3, 1858. Mr. Kirkwood resigned on August 10, 1859. He again became a member of the board on August 10, 1864 (minutes, p. 275), and hence had a part not only in organizing the State Bank of Iowa, but also in closing up its affairs.

¹⁶¹ *Annals of Iowa* (Third Series), Vol. I, p. 292. The last regular meeting of the Board of Directors was held on August 16, 1865, and the State Bank of Iowa gave way to the National Banks established according to the Federal law of 1863.

¹⁶² *Iowa Weekly Republican* (Iowa City), August 18, 1858.

¹⁶³ *Iowa Weekly Republican* (Iowa City), October 20, 1858.

¹⁶⁴ *Iowa Weekly Republican* (Iowa City), December 1, 8, 1858.

¹⁶⁵ *Iowa Weekly Republican* (Iowa City), June 15, 22, 1859; and *The Iowa Citizen* (Des Moines), June 22, 1859.

¹⁶⁶ *Iowa Weekly Republican* (Iowa City), December 15, 1858, March 16, 1859.

¹⁶⁷ From statements made by Mrs. Kirkwood to the writer.

CHAPTER XII

¹⁶⁸ Throughout the campaign, both before and after the nomination, Kirkwood received frequent letters from Grimes offering advice and encouragement.

¹⁶⁹ *Kirkwood Correspondence*, No. 51.

¹⁷⁰ *Kirkwood Correspondence*, No. 53.

¹⁷¹ *Kirkwood Correspondence*, No. 57.

¹⁷² *Kirkwood Correspondence*, Nos. 65, 67.

¹⁷³ *Iowa Weekly Republican* (Iowa City), May 25, 1859.

¹⁷⁴ *Annals of Iowa* (Third Series), Vol. IV, pp. 547, 548; and letter from John A. Kasson to Kirkwood, May 17, 1859, in *Kirkwood Correspondence*, No. 81.

¹⁷⁵ *The Iowa Citizen* (Des Moines), June 29, 1859; and *Iowa Weekly Republican* (Iowa City), June 29, 1859.

¹⁷⁶ Letter from James W. Grimes, June 23, 1859.—*Kirkwood Correspondence*, No. 114.

¹⁷⁷ *The Iowa Citizen* (Des Moines), June 29, 1859.

¹⁷⁸ See the *Annals of Iowa* (Third Series), Vol. IX, p. 208.

¹⁷⁹ For the career of Kirkwood's opponent see Pelzer's *Augustus Caesar Dodge*.

¹⁸⁰ Quoted from the *Oskaloosa Herald* in the *Iowa State Journal* (Des Moines), July 9, 1859.

¹⁸¹ *Kirkwood Correspondence*, No. 116.

¹⁸² Letter from James Harlan, July 4, 1859.—*Kirkwood Correspondence*, No. 130.

¹⁸³ *Iowa Weekly Republican* (Iowa City), July 6, 1859.

¹⁸⁴ *The Iowa Citizen* (Des Moines), July 13, 20, 1859.

¹⁸⁵ *The Iowa Citizen* (Des Moines), July 13, 1859.

¹⁸⁶ Quoted from the *Davenport Democrat* in the *Iowa Weekly Republican* (Iowa City), July 20, 1859. The writer continued by stating that Kirkwood "deceives himself greatly, if he sup-

poses that he will make any votes in the civilized part of Iowa, by dressing like a scare-crow, or smelling like a cod-fish.”

¹⁸⁷ *Iowa Weekly Republican* (Iowa City), July 13, 1859.

¹⁸⁸ *The Iowa Citizen* (Des Moines), August 10, 1859.

¹⁸⁹ *The Iowa Citizen* (Des Moines), July 20, 1859; *Muscatine Daily Journal*, July 13, 1859.

¹⁹⁰ *Muscatine Daily Journal*, July 26, 1859. For lists of Kirkwood's speaking appointments see *The Iowa Citizen* (Des Moines), July 27, August 3, 1859.

¹⁹¹ *Annals of Iowa* (Third Series), Vol. VIII, p. 201.

¹⁹² For instance, see the *Muscatine Daily Journal*, July 26, 1859, and succeeding numbers.

“Wise in council and blest with fine executive capacities, as well as skill at the plow, the Cincinnatus of Iowa is soon to leave his farm to preside at the helm of State.”—Quoted from the *Dubuque Times* in *The Iowa Citizen* (Des Moines), July 27, 1859.

¹⁹³ *Iowa State Journal* (Des Moines), August 20, 1859.

¹⁹⁴ *The Iowa Citizen* (Des Moines), August 10, 1859; *Iowa Weekly Republican* (Iowa City), August 10, 1859. A good account of this debate and of the entire campaign is to be found in Pelzer's *Augustus Caesar Dodge*, Ch. XVIII.

¹⁹⁵ *Iowa State Journal* (Des Moines), August 6, 1859.

¹⁹⁶ *The Iowa Citizen* (Des Moines), August 3, 10, 1859; *Iowa Weekly Republican* (Iowa City), August 10, 1859.

¹⁹⁷ *Autobiography of James B. Weaver*, manuscript copy in possession of The State Historical Society of Iowa.

¹⁹⁸ *Iowa State Journal* (Des Moines), August 13, 1859; *Iowa Weekly Republican* (Iowa City), August 17, 24, 1859.

¹⁹⁹ *The Iowa Citizen* (Des Moines), August 10, 1859.

²⁰⁰ Many of the appointments previously made for Kirkwood, were evidently accepted by Dodge in arranging for the joint

debates. For these appointments see *The Iowa Citizen* (Des Moines), July 27, August 3, 1859.

²⁰¹ Quoted from the *Winterset Madisonian* in the *Iowa State Journal* (Des Moines), August 27, 1859.

²⁰² *Annals of Iowa* (Third Series), Vol. IX, p. 225.

²⁰³ Garver's *Reminiscences of John H. Charles* in the *Annals of Iowa* (Third Series), Vol. VIII, p. 427.

²⁰⁴ *The Washington Press*, September 7, 1859; and clippings in *Kirkwood Scrap-books* in the possession of The State Historical Society of Iowa, large scrap-book, pp. 25, 45; small scrap-book, p. 21.

²⁰⁵ *The Washington Press*, September 7, 1859.

²⁰⁶ For a list of the speaking appointments in eastern Iowa see *The Iowa Citizen* (Des Moines), August 31, 1859. The newspapers of the period are full of accounts of these debates.

²⁰⁷ Clipping in large *Kirkwood Scrap-book*, p. 120.

²⁰⁸ For a list of Kirkwood's final appointments see *The Iowa Citizen* (Des Moines), August 31, 1859.

Opposition newspapers continued to assail Kirkwood in the most scurrilous manner. "Talk of Sam Kirkwood's 'brilliant oratory!'" exclaimed the *Davenport Democrat*. "One might as well talk of the graceful antics of an overgrown jackass." "No words are too vulgar and loathsome to glide smoothly and easily through his dirty lips", declared the *Oskaloosa Times*. "Inuendoes and double *entendres* are too inexpressive to perform the task allotted them by this prince of dirty blackguards."—Quoted in the *Iowa Weekly Republican* (Iowa City), September 21, 1859.

²⁰⁹ *The Iowa Citizen* (Des Moines), September 28, October 10, 1859.

²¹⁰ *The Iowa Official Register*, 1915-1916, p. 542.

CHAPTER XIII

²¹¹ Letter from James W. Grimes to Kirkwood, October 25, 1859.—*Annals of Iowa* (Third Series), Vol. VIII, p. 514. Some reasons for Senator Grimes's objection to the county judge system may be discovered by reading Crawford's *The County Judge System in Iowa with Special Reference to its Workings in Pottawattamie County in The Iowa Journal of History and Politics*, Vol. VIII, pp. 478-521.

²¹² Letter from Frank P. Blair, November 3, 1859.—*Kirkwood Correspondence*, No. 191.

²¹³ Letter from James R. Doolittle, November 9, 1859.—*Kirkwood Correspondence*, No. 192. As will be seen, Kirkwood did espouse the cause of colonization in his inaugural address.

²¹⁴ *Kirkwood Correspondence*, No. 193.

²¹⁵ *Journal of the House of Representatives*, 1860, p. 51.

²¹⁶ Shambaugh's *Messages and Proclamations of the Governors of Iowa*, Vol. II, pp. 229-247. It would be difficult to trace the effects of this address in the legislation of the Eighth General Assembly of Iowa. At any rate the Governor's suggestion relative to the colonization plan was not followed.

²¹⁷ *The Iowa Citizen* (Des Moines), January 25, 1860; *Annals of Iowa* (Third Series), Vol. VIII, p. 202.

²¹⁸ *Daily Iowa State Journal* (Des Moines), January 13, 24, February 16, 20, 21, 1860; Shambaugh's *Messages and Proclamations of the Governors of Iowa*, Vol. II, pp. 247-251.

It is interesting to note that the member of the Senate whose name headed the protest afterwards characterized the inaugural address as follows: "Great questions were before the State and country, and they were all discussed with the skill of a trained publicist and the intuitions of a far-seeing statesman."—*Proceedings of the Pioneer Law-Makers' Association of Iowa*, 1886, p. 24.

²¹⁹ *Annals of Iowa* (3rd Series), Vol. V, p. 311.

R. E. Graves of Dubuque wrote on January 21, 1860, asking Kirkwood for a portrait of himself to be used in making a cut

for printing on the certificates of deposit of the Branch of the State Bank at Dubuque.—*Kirkwood Correspondence*, No. 202.

CHAPTER XIV

²²⁰ Partisanship was so strong that Governor Kirkwood was seldom allowed for long at a time to forget that he had political enemies. For instance in January, 1860, a Des Moines editor raked up the old campaign attack concerning the appropriations needed for the Insane Asylum at Mt. Pleasant.—*Daily Iowa State Journal* (Des Moines), January 30, 1860.

²²¹ The following account of the Barclay Coppoe case is based on a scholarly monograph on *The Rendition of Barclay Coppoe*, written by Mr. Thomas Teakle, and published in *The Iowa Journal of History and Politics*, Vol. X, pp. 503–566, which presents a thorough and detailed discussion of the whole affair.

The documents in the case may be found in Shambaugh's *Messages and Proclamations of the Governors of Iowa*, Vol. II, pp. 378, 379, 380–402. See also *Journal of the Senate*, 1860; *Journal of the House of Representatives*, 1860; and the *Daily Iowa State Journal* (Des Moines), February 29, March 1, 2, 6, 1860.

²²² Governor Kirkwood's name was among those signed to a request that the Hart family should repeat a concert previously given in Des Moines.—*Daily Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), February 25, 1860.

²²³ Letter from Valentine Miller, February 5, 1860.—*Kirkwood Correspondence*, No. 205.

²²⁴ Letter from Ezekiel Clark, March 6, 1860.—*Kirkwood Correspondence*, No. 211.

²²⁵ Shambaugh's *Messages and Proclamations of the Governors of Iowa*, Vol. II, pp. 359–366.

²²⁶ Shambaugh's *Messages and Proclamations of the Governors of Iowa*, Vol. II, pp. 371, 376, 377, 380; *Laws of Iowa*, 1860, pp. 142, 143.

227 *Iowa Weekly Republican* (Iowa City), April 11, 1860.

228 Letter from James W. Grimes, December 26, 1859.—*Kirkwood Correspondence*, No. 196.

229 *Daily Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), March 29, 1860.

230 The relation of Iowa men to the first nomination of Abraham Lincoln is well set forth by Professor F. I. Herriott in a series of articles in the *Annals of Iowa* (Third Series), Vols. VIII, IX. See also Pelzer's *The History of Political Parties in Iowa from 1857 to 1860* in *The Iowa Journal of History and Politics*, Vol. VII, pp. 179-229.

231 Letter from Henry Farnam, April 24, 1860.—*Kirkwood Correspondence*, No. 223.

232 See statement in Herriott's *Iowa and the First Nomination of Abraham Lincoln* in the *Annals of Iowa* (Third Series), Vol. VIII, p. 114.

233 Quoted in Herriott's *Iowa and the First Nomination of Abraham Lincoln* in the *Annals of Iowa* (Third Series), Vol. VIII, p. 96.

234 See Lathrop's *The Life and Times of Samuel J. Kirkwood*, p. 87. Professor Herriott says that "Saunders and Kirkwood were perhaps Iowa's leaders in promoting Lincoln's candidacy: One or the other probably taking part in the 'Committee of Twelve' whose decision doubtless exercised a potent if not decisive influence upon the final result."—*Annals of Iowa* (Third Series), Vol. VIII, p. 114.

235 For evidences of Kirkwood's active participation in this campaign in Lincoln's behalf see the *Iowa Weekly Republican* (Iowa City), May 23, June 27, July 4, August 1, 8, 15, 29, October 24, 31, 1860. His correspondence for this period reveals the fact that he received more urgent invitations to speak in different parts of the State than he could possibly accept.

236 Letter from James Harlan, July 30, 1860.—*Kirkwood Correspondence*, No. 256.

237 *The Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), August 22, 1860.

²³⁸ *Iowa Weekly Republican* (Iowa City), September 5, 1860.

²³⁹ *Iowa Weekly Republican* (Iowa City), October 24, 31, 1860.

²⁴⁰ *Iowa Historical Record*, Vol. VII, p. 39.

²⁴¹ *The Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), May 16, 1860. A communication from William Penn Clarke of Iowa City, objecting to Kirkwood's action in instructing the State Treasurer not to pay interest on the warrants of the Deaf and Dumb Asylum, appeared in the *Iowa Weekly Republican* (Iowa City), April 18, 1860.

²⁴² George G. Wright had already served one term on the Supreme Court of Iowa, but in 1859 he declined a renomination. He was reelected in the fall of 1860 and served until 1870, when he was chosen United States Senator from Iowa.

²⁴³ *The Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), July 11, 1860.

²⁴⁴ See the *Iowa Weekly Republican* (Iowa City), August 29, September 5, 1860.

²⁴⁵ Shambaugh's *Messages and Proclamations of the Governors of Iowa*, Vol. II, p. 467.

²⁴⁶ *Iowa Historical Record*, Vol. III, pp. 429-431.

²⁴⁷ *Kirkwood Correspondence*, No. 311.

²⁴⁸ *Kirkwood Correspondence*, Nos. 231, 238, 275, 299; *Iowa Weekly Republican* (Iowa City), December 19, 1860.

CHAPTER XV

²⁴⁹ *Iowa Historical Record*, Vol. VII, pp. 39, 40.

²⁵⁰ *Iowa Historical Record*, Vol. II, pp. 375-378.

²⁵¹ *Kirkwood Correspondence*, No. 329. Much material relative to military affairs in Iowa before the outbreak of the war may be found in the Archives at Des Moines, especially in the *Executive Journal, 1858-1862*, and correspondence in a box labelled *Militia, 1839-1874*.

²⁵² *Iowa Historical Record*, Vol. II, pp. 372-375.

²⁵³ *Iowa Historical Record*, Vol. II, pp. 372, 373.

²⁵⁴ *The War of the Rebellion: Official Records*, Series III, Vol. I, p. 55.

²⁵⁵ *Iowa Historical Record*, Vol. VII, pp. 34-38. This is an account of his first interview with President Lincoln written by Kirkwood himself in 1891. "I was not then (nor am I now) much acquainted with the etiquette of calls upon or by Presidents or Presidents-elect, and I have since thought that he did not know much more on that somewhat intricate subject than I did or care any more about it."

²⁵⁶ *Kirkwood Correspondence*, No. 330. Alvin Saunders became Governor of the Territory of Nebraska later in 1861.

²⁵⁷ *Kirkwood Correspondence*, No. 351.

²⁵⁸ *Kirkwood Correspondence*, No. 354.

²⁵⁹ *Iowa Weekly Republican* (Iowa City), March 6, 1861.

Early in March the Governor received a letter from the Chicago agent of the Wheeler & Wilson Manufacturing Company, saying that he was sending Kirkwood a sewing-machine, with the compliments of the company and himself. A machine, he said, had also been sent to Abraham Lincoln.—*Kirkwood Correspondence*, No. 345.

²⁶⁰ Byers's *Iowa in War Times*, p. 28; *The War of the Rebellion: Official Records*, Series III, Vol. I, pp. 68, 69.

²⁶¹ Lathrop's *The Life and Times of Samuel J. Kirkwood*, pp. 114, 115; Byers's *Iowa in War Times*, p. 28.

CHAPTER XVI

²⁶² Lathrop's *The Life and Times of Samuel J. Kirkwood*, p. 115.

²⁶³ *The Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), April 24, 1861.

²⁶⁴ *The War of the Rebellion: Official Records*, Series III, Vol. I, p. 87. Unfortunately Governor Kirkwood was soon to

find that, although his statement continued to characterize the vast majority of the people of Iowa, there was a troublesome minority which did not propose to live up to his description.

²⁶⁵ Shambaugh's *Messages and Proclamations of the Governors of Iowa*, Vol. II, pp. 468, 469.

²⁶⁶ Shambaugh's *Messages and Proclamations of the Governors of Iowa*, Vol. II, pp. 469, 470.

²⁶⁷ Letter to Secretary Cameron, April 16, 1861.—*The War of the Rebellion: Official Records*, Series III, Vol. I, pp. 74, 75.

The requisition from the Secretary of War stated that the Iowa regiment should be in rendezvous at Keokuk by May 20th. A large number of telegrams and letters from the War Department to Governor Kirkwood, containing instructions concerning the raising, mobilizing, and mustering of the Iowa troops at the beginning of the War may be found in *The War of the Rebellion: Official Records*, Series III, Vol. I.

For discussions of Governor Kirkwood's activities in connection with the raising of the first regiments see Lathrop's *The Life and Times of Samuel J. Kirkwood*, pp. 116-120; and Byers's *Iowa in War Times*, Ch. III. Much material may be found in the *Executive Journal, 1858-1862*, p. 350 ff, Archives, Des Moines.

²⁶⁸ Letter to Captain W. S. Robertson of Columbus City, Iowa, April 24, 1861.—*Kirkwood Military Letter Book*, No. 1, p. 7, in the possession of The State Historical Society of Iowa at Iowa City.

²⁶⁹ Letter to John W. Rankin of Keokuk, April 25, 1861.—*Kirkwood Military Letter Book*, No. 1, pp. 25-27.

²⁷⁰ Letter to J. W. Rankin of Keokuk, April 26, 1861.—*Kirkwood Military Letter Book*, No. 1, pp. 33, 34.

²⁷¹ Letter to James B. Howell of Keokuk, April 30, 1861.—*Kirkwood Military Letter Book*, No. 1, pp. 47-55. This long and earnest letter, like many others of a similar character, in the Governor's own handwriting, offers proof of his desire to be just and fair in all his actions.

²⁷² For brief discussions of the services of various men in offering financial aid to the State at the outbreak of the war see the *Annals of Iowa* (Third Series), Vol. I, pp. 594, 595; Lathrop's *The Life and Times of Samuel J. Kirkwood*, pp. 118, 119, 127; Byers's *Iowa in War Times*, pp. 42, 43. Letters dealing with the financial problems at the outbreak of the war may be found in the *Executive Journal, 1858-1862*, Archives, Des Moines.

²⁷³ *Kirkwood Military Letter Book*, No. 1, p. 194.

²⁷⁴ *The War of the Rebellion: Official Records*, Series III, Vol. I, pp. 127, 128.

²⁷⁵ This letter was printed in *The Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), May 15, 1861, no doubt for the purpose of answering the criticisms of Governor Kirkwood because of his failure to secure arms for the Iowa troops. The Governor's *Military Letter Book* for this period contains scores of patient letters written by him in response both to honest inquiries and malicious complaints.

²⁷⁶ *Kirkwood Military Letter Book*, No. 1, p. 142.

²⁷⁷ Shambaugh's *Messages and Proclamations of the Governors of Iowa*, Vol. II, pp. 470, 471.

²⁷⁸ *Journal of the House of Representatives* (Extra Session), 1861, pp. 3, 4.

²⁷⁹ Shambaugh's *Messages and Proclamations of the Governors of Iowa*, Vol. II, pp. 252-263.

²⁸⁰ *Journal of the House of Representatives* (Extra Session), 1861, p. 15.

²⁸¹ For the laws enacted at this session see *Laws of Iowa* (Extra Session), 1861.

²⁸² For special messages of the Governor in reply to requests for information concerning the raising and equipping of troops, the dangers of the invasion of Iowa, and other subjects see Shambaugh's *Messages and Proclamations of the Governors of Iowa*, Vol. II, pp. 404-425.

CHAPTER XVII

²⁸³ *Kirkwood Correspondence*, No. 367, Historical Department, Des Moines.

²⁸⁴ Letter from W. H. Kinsman, May 29, 1861.— *Kirkwood Correspondence*, No. 369.

²⁸⁵ *The Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), June 5, 1861.

²⁸⁶ Letter from Le Roy G. Palmer of Mt. Pleasant, July 15, 1861.— *Kirkwood Correspondence*, No. 377.

²⁸⁷ Fairall's *Manual of Iowa Politics*, Vol. I, Part I, pp. 57, 58. For a brief account of this convention see Olynthus B. Clark's monograph on *The Politics of Iowa During the Civil War and Reconstruction*, pp. 116-119.

²⁸⁸ *The Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), August 7, 1861. The ballots were as follows:

Informal ballot: Kirkwood, 272½; Elijah Sells, 29; F. H. Warren, 29; S. A. Rice, 12½; S. F. Miller, 31.

Formal ballot: Kirkwood, 310½; Sells, 12; Warren, 32½; Miller, 19.

John R. Needham was nominated for Lieutenant Governor.

For a brief discussion of an estrangement which arose between Kirkwood and Elijah Sells, see the *Annals of Iowa* (Third Series), Vol. II, pp. 525-527.

²⁸⁹ *Kirkwood Correspondence*, No. 385. H. M. Hoxie offered his services to the Governor in a letter received about the same time.

²⁹⁰ *Kirkwood Correspondence*, No. 387.

²⁹¹ *Kirkwood Correspondence*, No. 392.

²⁹² For an account of the Union party movement in Iowa see Clark's *The Politics of Iowa During the Civil War and Reconstruction*, pp. 111-114, 119-121, 123-133. Evidence of Reuben Noble's loyalty to Governor Kirkwood is to be found in a footnote on p. 129.

²⁹³ The activities of the Democrats during this campaign are

well discussed in Clark's *The Politics of Iowa During the Civil War and Reconstruction*, Ch. V.

²⁹⁴ The Sherman Hall speech is printed in full in *The Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), September 11, 1861.

²⁹⁵ In a long letter to Samuel F. Miller of Keokuk on June 26, 1861, Kirkwood made a very clear statement of his financial difficulties.—*Kirkwood Military Letter Book*, No. 1, pp. 271, 272.

²⁹⁶ For a further discussion of the difficulties encountered in the sale of the State bonds see below, pp. 207–210.

²⁹⁷ The returns of this election have been variously reported. The *Iowa Official Register*, 1915–1916, p. 542, gives Kirkwood 60,303, and Merritt 43,245. Fairall's *Manual of Iowa Politics*, Vol. I, Part I, p. 60, gives Kirkwood 59,853, and Merritt 43,245. The official canvass by the legislature as recorded in the *Journal of the House of Representatives*, 1862, p. 38, credits Kirkwood with 60,252, and Merritt with only 40,187. Lathrop in *The Life and Times of Samuel J. Kirkwood*, p. 142, places Kirkwood's plurality at 16,600. Fairall's figures, however, agree with the statistics as found in the archives in Des Moines by Professor Olynthus B. Clark and recorded in *The Politics of Iowa During the Civil War and Reconstruction*, p. 133.

CHAPTER XVIII

²⁹⁸ *Kirkwood Correspondence*, No. 433. See also No. 438, for a similar complaint.

²⁹⁹ Among the offers of aid from outside the State was that of Solomon Sturges of Chicago, who expressed his willingness to advance \$100,000. See the *Iowa City Republican*, November 2, 1864.

Although Kirkwood had no authority to accept the offer made by Mr. Sturges, he wrote on June 20, 1861, as follows: "Accept my very hearty thanks for your kind offer of aid to me in preparing the troops of this State for service in anticipation of the sale of our State Bonds. When wealth & the will

to use wealth wisely & well unite, the wealthy become as in your case public benefactors.'—*Kirkwood Military Letter Book*, No. 1, p. 264.

³⁰⁰ *Kirkwood Military Letter Book*, No. 1, pp. 271, 272.

For a public report of the agents appointed to take charge of the sale of bonds see Shambaugh's *Messages and Proclamations of the Governors of Iowa*, Vol. II, pp. 474-476.

³⁰¹ Letter from N. H. Brainerd to Captain M. V. McKinney of Des Moines, September 3, 1861.—*Kirkwood Military Letter Book*, No. 1, p. 299. Later letters (pp. 413-415) indicate that an attempt had been made to purchase arms by the use of State bonds.

³⁰² Letter from N. H. Brainerd to Samuel Merrill, September 12, 1861.—*Kirkwood Military Letter Book*, No. 1, p. 341. The extent of the Governor's personal debt, amounting to thousands of dollars, is indicated in another letter on p. 369.

³⁰³ *Report of the Auditor of State*, 1861, p. 14.

³⁰⁴ Shambaugh's *Messages and Proclamations of the Governors of Iowa*, Vol. II, pp. 476-482. "There is not a man or woman in Iowa," he said at the close of one of these appeals, "who would not blush if we had to seek men outside of our State to fill the ranks of our regiments. Shall it be said we had to go outside of our State for means to equip and pay them?"

³⁰⁵ See Shambaugh's *Messages and Proclamations of the Governors of Iowa*, Vol. II, p. 450.

³⁰⁶ See above pp. 202-204.

³⁰⁷ For instance see Byers's *Iowa in War Times*, pp. 52, 53.

³⁰⁸ *Report of the Auditor of State*, 1861, p. 14.

³⁰⁹ For a biographical sketch of Nathan Hoit Brainerd see the *Iowa Historical Record*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 401-406.

³¹⁰ The list of aids here given is the list published in *The Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), July 3, 1861.

³¹¹ Byers's *Iowa in War Times*, p. 56. In a letter of July 24, 1861, Kirkwood thanked Bowen for his services, and said he had intended to appoint Thomas McKean of Marion as his successor. But McKean had become Paymaster in the United States Army.—*Executive Journal, 1858-1862*, p. 476, Archives, Des Moines.

³¹² A brief biography of Nathaniel B. Baker, written by B. F. Gue, is to be found in the *Annals of Iowa* (Third Series), Vol. I, pp. 81-99.

³¹³ Letter from N. H. Brainerd to John G. Weeks of Des Moines, September 10, 1861.—*Kirkwood Military Letter Book*, No. 1, p. 327.

³¹⁴ Letter from N. H. Brainerd to Levi Fuller of West Union, September 10, 1861.—*Kirkwood Military Letter Book*, No. 1, p. 335.

³¹⁵ Letter to C. Nash of Mt. Pleasant, December 14, 1861.—*Kirkwood Military Letter Book*, No. 3, pp. 20-23.

³¹⁶ Letter to Dr. James D. Gray of Talleyrand, April 2, 1862.—*Kirkwood Military Letter Book*, No. 3, pp. 267, 268.

³¹⁷ Letter to John Edwards of Chariton, December 18, 1861.—*Kirkwood Military Letter Book*, No. 3, p. 25. For later letters dealing with the same point see pp. 28, 86-90, 143-146.

³¹⁸ Shambaugh's *Messages and Proclamations of the Governors of Iowa*, Vol. II, pp. 471-473.

³¹⁹ Shambaugh's *Messages and Proclamations of the Governors of Iowa*, Vol. II, pp. 482, 483.

³²⁰ Letter to Col. John W. Rankin, December 23, 1861.—*Kirkwood Military Letter Book*, No. 3, p. 47.

³²¹ *The War of the Rebellion: Official Records*, Series III, Vol. I, pp. 311, 325.

³²² Shambaugh's *Messages and Proclamations of the Governors of Iowa*, Vol. II, p. 485.

On September 16, 1861, James W. Grimes wrote a letter to

the Secretary of War saying that Iowa then had twelve regiments in the field, "a larger number than any other State in proportion to her population." Four thousand more men could be raised at once if provision could be made for their families.—*The War of the Rebellion: Official Records*, Series III, Vol. I, p. 521.

³²³ This letter, copies of which were doubtless sent to all the loyal Governors, is to be found in the *Kirkwood Correspondence*, No. 424.

³²⁴ *Kirkwood Military Letter Book*, No. 3, p. 85.

CHAPTER XIX

³²⁵ Shambaugh's *Messages and Proclamations of the Governors of Iowa*, Vol. II, pp. 264–295.

It was no doubt the insistence in this message on the prompt payment of taxes which elicited the following sarcastic letter from the treasurer of Johnson County, who either did not realize Kirkwood's personal financial embarrassment or was disposed to heckle him:

"Permit me to say a word about your delinquent taxes in this County. Mr. Sperry sold a portion of it [Kirkwood's property] last fall for the Taxes, and now there are plenty of purchasers for the balance. They consider a *good Joke* on you to urge in your inaugural the prompt payment of taxes, and at the same time leave your own unpaid, no doubt but in the vast amount of your duties you have forgotten it, or supposed they were paid."—*Kirkwood Correspondence*, No. 459.

³²⁶ Shambaugh's *Messages and Proclamations of the Governors of Iowa*, Vol. II, pp. 275–281.

³²⁷ Shambaugh's *Messages and Proclamations of the Governors of Iowa*, Vol. II, p. 282.

³²⁸ Shambaugh's *Messages and Proclamations of the Governors of Iowa*, Vol. II, pp. 294, 295.

³²⁹ *Journal of the House of Representatives*, 1862, pp. 39, 40.

³³⁰ Shambaugh's *Messages and Proclamations of the Governors of Iowa*, Vol. II, pp. 296-310.

³³¹ Letter from George B. Corkhill, January 29, 1862.—*Kirkwood Correspondence*, No. 447.

³³² Letter from Chas. Geo. Allhusen, Kiel, Denmark, March 6, 1862.—*Kirkwood Correspondence*, No. 469.

³³³ For a discussion of Kirkwood's personal attitude toward the administration and the prosecution of the war, see below, pp. 292-296.

³³⁴ This brief account of the celebration at the news of the capture of Fort Donelson is taken from an article by Charles Aldrich in the *Iowa Historical Record*, Vol. VIII, pp. 215-221.

³³⁵ *Kirkwood Military Letter Book*, No. 3, pp. 159, 165, 223, 224. See also the *Iowa Historical Record*, Vol. VIII, pp. 222-228.

³³⁶ *Kirkwood Military Letter Book*, No. 3, pp. 220-222.

Governor Kirkwood's zeal to protect the good name of the Iowa troops is further illustrated by a letter written on April 3, 1862, to Governor Washburne of Maine. In this letter he protested against the implied reflection on the valor of the Iowa soldiers in the assault on Fort Donelson, contained in a resolution of the legislature of Maine praising the western troops for their bravery in that battle.—Pp. 269-271.

CHAPTER XX

³³⁷ A monograph on the enlistment of soldiers in Iowa during the Civil War prepared by Dr. John E. Briggs appears in *The Iowa Journal of History and Politics*, Vol. XV, pp. 323-392. No attempt has been made in this volume to present an adequate treatment of the subject.

³³⁸ For data relative to the various calls for troops and the quotas of the different States, see Phisterer's *Statistical Record of the Armies of the United States*, pp. 3-11.

³³⁹ *The War of the Rebellion: Official Records*, Series III, Vol. II, p. 206.

³⁴⁰ *Kirkwood Military Letter Book*, No. 2, p. 325.

³⁴¹ *The War of the Rebellion: Official Records*, Series III, Vol. II, pp. 399, 416.

³⁴² *The War of the Rebellion: Official Records*, Series III, Vol. II, p. 417.

³⁴³ *Kirkwood Military Letter Book*, No. 2, pp. 328, 329.

³⁴⁴ *Kirkwood's Military Letter Book*, No. 2, pp. 473, 474.

³⁴⁵ Shambaugh's *Messages and Proclamations of the Governors of Iowa*, Vol. II, pp. 499-501.

³⁴⁶ Shambaugh's *Messages and Proclamations of the Governors of Iowa*, Vol. II, pp. 504, 505.

As late as November 20, 1862, there was still difficulty in filling up the old regiments. "Officers here re recruiting for the Regular Army are enlisting men recruited by me for the old regiments", was Kirkwood's protest on that day to Secretary Stanton. "If this is not stopped I will cease all efforts. I protest, too, most earnestly against enlisting men from our regiments into the regular service. I will not endeavor to fill up vacancies thus created."—*The War of the Rebellion: Official Records*, Series III, Vol. II, p. 845.

³⁴⁷ For correspondence on the subject of the draft in Iowa see *The War of the Rebellion: Official Records*, Series III, Vol. II, pp. 254, 291, 317, 339, 383, 440, 442, 464, 471, 485, 486, 491, 513, 843, 844, Vol. III, pp. 62, 63, 193, 520, 521, 576, 637, 638, 865, 904. See also Brainerd's *Iowa and the Draft in the Iowa Historical Record*, Vol. IV, pp. 65-67.

³⁴⁸ Letter to Lieutenant-Colonel Addison H. Saunders, May 21, 1862.—*Kirkwood Military Letter Book*, No. 2, p. 171.

³⁴⁹ Shambaugh's *Messages and Proclamations of the Governors of Iowa*, Vol. II, pp. 502-504.

³⁵⁰ Shambaugh's *Messages and Proclamations of the Governors of Iowa*, Vol. II, pp. 311-318.

³⁵¹ Letter to Lieutenant-Colonel Harvey Graham, December 6, 1862.—*Kirkwood Military Letter Book*, No. 4, p. 340.

- 352 Letter to Mr. Truesdell, November 13, 1862.— *Kirkwood Military Letter Book*, No. 4, p. 175.
- 353 Letter to M. B. Cochran, January 5, 1863.— *Kirkwood Military Letter Book*, No. 4, p. 417.
- 354 *Kirkwood Military Letter Book*, No. 6, pp. 55–57.
- 355 *Kirkwood Military Letter Book*, No. 6, p. 70. See also pp. 72, 73, 241.
- 356 *Kirkwood Military Letter Book*, No. 6, pp. 491–495, No. 7, pp. 134–139.
- 357 *Iowa City Republican*, June 24, 1863. See also Byers's *Iowa in War Times*, p. 231.
- 358 *The War of the Rebellion: Official Records*, Series II, Vol. IV, pp. 250, 251.
- 359 *The War of the Rebellion: Official Records*, Series II, Vol. IV, pp. 257, 285.
- 360 *The War of the Rebellion: Official Records*, Series II, Vol. IV, p. 631.
- 361 *The War of the Rebellion: Official Records*, Series II, Vol. IV, p. 718. For further correspondence relative to the exchange of prisoners see pp. 131–133, 295–299, 474, 598, 638, 639, 649, 650, 672, 689, 713.
- 362 *Kirkwood Military Letter Book*, No. 3, pp. 1–3.
- 363 *Kirkwood Military Letter Book*, No. 3, p. 240.
- 364 *Kirkwood Military Letter Book*, No. 6, p. 37.
- 365 Letter from Colonel Nicholas Perczel, August 1, 1862.— *Kirkwood Correspondence*, No. 535.
- 366 Letter to Colonel Nicholas Perczel, August 11, 1862.— *Kirkwood Military Letter Book*, No. 2, p. 527.
- 367 Letter to Captain S. M. Archer, November 6, 1862.— *Kirkwood Military Letter Book*, No. 4, pp. 154, 155.
- 368 Letter to Colonel William Vandever, October 31, 1862.— *Kirkwood Military Letter Book*, No. 4, pp. 96–98.

- ³⁶⁹ *Kirkwood Military Letter Book*, No. 2, p. 173.
³⁷⁰ *Kirkwood Military Letter Book*, No. 4, pp. 124, 125.
³⁷¹ *Kirkwood Military Letter Book*, No. 4, p. 212.
³⁷² *Kirkwood Military Letter Book*, No. 2, pp. 573, 574.
³⁷³ *Kirkwood Military Letter Book*, No. 6, p. 46.

CHAPTER XXI

³⁷⁴ The account of the Altoona conference of loyal Governors here presented is based on a narrative by Kirkwood himself, printed in the *Iowa Historical Record*, Vol. VIII, pp. 210-214. The quotations, except where otherwise indicated, are taken from this source.

For further material on the conference see the *New York Weekly Tribune*, September 27, October 4, 11, 1862; Pearson's *The Life of John A. Andrew*, Vol. II, pp. 48-53, 56-58; Nicolay and Hay's *Abraham Lincoln: A History*, Vol. VI, pp. 164-167; McClure's *Abraham Lincoln and Men of War Times*, pp. 249-251.

³⁷⁵ Quoted from the *New York Tribune* in the *Iowa City Republican*, October 29, 1862.

CHAPTER XXII

³⁷⁶ Letter to Jesse Evans of Bedford, April 30, 1861.—*Kirkwood Military Letter Book*, No. 1, pp. 44, 45.

The Governor's suggestion at this time and his orders later were followed, and "home guard" companies were organized in most of the counties of southern Iowa. For instance see Bryant's *A War Time Militia Company* in *The Iowa Journal of History and Politics*, Vol. X, pp. 403-414.

³⁷⁷ Letter to Richard Chamberlain of Clarence, Missouri, May 10, 1861.—*Kirkwood Military Letter Book*, No. 1, p. 150.

³⁷⁸ Shambaugh's *Messages and Proclamations of the Governors of Iowa*, Vol. II, pp. 277, 278.

- 379 *The War of the Rebellion: Official Records*, Series I, Vol. III, p. 413. See also Bussey's *The Battle of Athens, Missouri* in the *Annals of Iowa* (Third Series), Vol. V, pp. 81-92; and Shambaugh's *Messages and Proclamations of the Governors of Iowa*, Vol. II, p. 278.
- 380 *The War of the Rebellion: Official Records*, Series III, Vol. I, p. 560.
- 381 *The War of the Rebellion: Official Records*, Series III, Vol. I, pp. 561, 562.
- 382 For an account of one of these raids see *The Iowa Journal of History and Politics*, Vol. X, pp. 411-414.
- 383 *Kirkwood Military Letter Book*, No. 6, pp. 217, 218.
- 384 *The War of the Rebellion: Official Records*, Series III, Vol. I, pp. 57, 86.
- 385 *The War of the Rebellion: Official Records*, Series III, Vol. I, pp. 127, 162.
- 386 *The War of the Rebellion: Official Records*, Series III, Vol. I, pp. 185, 186.
- 387 Shambaugh's *Messages and Proclamations of the Governors of Iowa*, Vol. II, pp. 278, 279.
- 388 For an account of the situation see Ingham's *The Iowa Northern Border Brigade of 1862-3* in the *Annals of Iowa* (Third Series), Vol. V, pp. 481-523.
- 389 *Annals of Iowa* (Third Series), Vol. V, p. 490.
- 390 *Annals of Iowa* (Third Series), Vol. V, pp. 494, 495.
- 391 *The War of the Rebellion: Official Records*, Series I, Vol. XIII, p. 620.
- 392 Van der Zee's *Forts in the Iowa Country* in *The Iowa Journal of History and Politics*, Vol. XII, pp. 199-202.
- 393 Shambaugh's *Messages and Proclamations of the Governors of Iowa*, Vol. II, pp. 346, 347.

CHAPTER XXIII

³⁹⁴ Letter from J. M. Shaffer of Fairfield, August 11, 1862.—*Kirkwood Correspondence*, No. 545.

³⁹⁵ Letter to James W. Grimes, November 25, 1862.—*Kirkwood Military Letter Book*, No. 4, pp. 299, 300. For letters from D. A. Mahoney to Kirkwood concerning the former's arrest see *Kirkwood Correspondence*, Nos. 547, 548; and the *State Press* (Iowa City), December 13, 1862.

A large number of letters relative to disloyalty in Iowa during the Civil War are to be found in the Archives at Des Moines, especially in the *Correspondence* of the Governor and in the box labeled *War Matters, 1858-1888*.

³⁹⁶ See charge against Kirkwood and editorial from the *Keokuk Gate City* in the *State Press* (Iowa City), December 13, 1862.

³⁹⁷ Letter to G. W. Devin of Ottumwa, February 16, 1863.—*Kirkwood Military Letter Book*, No. 5, p. 110.

³⁹⁸ Letter to Captain J. H. Summers of Deatur City, March 2, 1863.—*Kirkwood Military Letter Book*, No. 6, pp. 38, 39.

³⁹⁹ *Kirkwood Military Letter Book*, No. 6, p. 77.

⁴⁰⁰ Letter to Secretary Stanton, March 10, 1863.—*Kirkwood Military Letter Book*, No. 6, p. 111.

⁴⁰¹ Letter to R. A. Richardson of Fayette County, March 11, 1863.—*Kirkwood Military Letter Book*, No. 6, p. 114.

⁴⁰² *The War of the Rebellion: Official Records*, Series III, Vol. III, pp. 66-68.

⁴⁰³ Shambaugh's *Messages and Proclamations of the Governors of Iowa*, Vol. II, pp. 511-514.

⁴⁰⁴ *The War of the Rebellion: Official Records*, Series III, Vol. III, pp. 66-72.

⁴⁰⁵ Letter to L. B. Fleak of Brighton, March 9, 1863.—*Kirkwood Military Letter Book*, No. 6, p. 96.

⁴⁰⁶ Letter to Captain J. H. Summers of Deatur City, March 2, 1863.—*Kirkwood Military Letter Book*, No. 6, pp. 38, 39.

⁴⁰⁷ Letter to Nathan Udell, April 22, 1863.—*Kirkwood Military Letter Book*, No. 6, pp. 366, 367.

⁴⁰⁸ *The War of the Rebellion: Official Records*, Series III, Vol. III, p. 67.

⁴⁰⁹ See *The Iowa Journal of History and Politics*, Vol. X, pp. 209–216.

⁴¹⁰ There are many accounts of “The Tally War”, but the facts here presented, except when otherwise indicated, are taken chiefly from the *Iowa City Republican*, August 5 and 12, 1863; and Lathrop’s *The Life and Times of Samuel J. Kirkwood*, pp. 244–252. See also *The Annals of Iowa* (Third Series), Vol. IX, pp. 142–145.

⁴¹¹ *Report of the Adjutant General (Iowa)*, 1863–1864, p. 687.

⁴¹² *Report of the Adjutant General (Iowa)*, 1863–1864, pp. 689, 690.

⁴¹³ *Report of the Adjutant General (Iowa)*, 1863–1864, p. 688.

⁴¹⁴ Lathrop’s *The Life and Times of Samuel J. Kirkwood*, p. 250.

⁴¹⁵ Letter from N. P. Chipman, May 18, 1865.—*Kirkwood Correspondence*, No. 975.

⁴¹⁶ *State Press (Iowa City)*, April 25, 1863.

⁴¹⁷ *State Press (Iowa City)*, April 25, 1863. This charge was indignantly branded as a “hell-born lie” by the editor of the *Iowa City Republican* on May 6th.

⁴¹⁸ Letter from J. M. Hiatt, April 5, 1863.—*Kirkwood Correspondence*, No. 702.

⁴¹⁹ Letter to J. M. Hiatt, April 11, 1863.—*Kirkwood Military Letter Book*, No. 6, p. 310.

⁴²⁰ Letter from J. G. Detwiler, July 6, 1863.—*Kirkwood Correspondence*, No. 766.

⁴²¹ The facts of this episode and the quotations are taken from the account written by Charles Negus which is to be found

in Lathrop's *The Life and Times of Samuel J. Kirkwood*, pp. 249-251.

CHAPTER XXIV

⁴²² Letter to Eliphalet Price of Guttenberg, March 13, 1863. — *Kirkwood Military Letter Book*, No. 6, pp. 141, 142. For the correspondence between Kirkwood and the Iowa delegation at Washington in December, 1862, and January, 1863, see *Kirkwood Correspondence*, No. 580; and *Kirkwood Military Letter Book*, No. 4, p. 437.

⁴²³ *Kirkwood Correspondence*, No. 684.

⁴²⁴ *Kirkwood Correspondence*, No. 682.

⁴²⁵ *Kirkwood Correspondence*, No. 686.

⁴²⁶ *Kirkwood Military Letter Book*, No. 6, pp. 288, 289.

⁴²⁷ *Kirkwood Military Letter Book*, No. 6, pp. 248, 249; *Kirkwood Correspondence*, No. 701.

⁴²⁸ *Kirkwood Military Letter Book*, No. 6, pp. 326-328.

⁴²⁹ *Kirkwood Correspondence*, No. 722. Bradford R. Wood, then Minister to Denmark, wrote that he would be willing to remain at Copenhagen until March, 1864, if necessary to meet Kirkwood's wishes.— *Kirkwood Correspondence*, Nos. 709, 743.

⁴³⁰ See letter from Grimes, January 30, 1864.— *Kirkwood Correspondence*, No. 931.

⁴³¹ *State Press* (Iowa City), April 18, 1863.

⁴³² For instance see letter to Grimes, April 22, 1863.— *Kirkwood Military Letter Book*, No. 6, pp. 373, 374.

⁴³³ Letter to S. Guthrie of Washington, D. C., April 11, 1863. — *Kirkwood Military Letter Book*, No. 6, p. 312. See also No. 7, pp. 26, 27.

⁴³⁴ *Kirkwood Military Letter Book*, No. 7, pp. 100, 101.

⁴³⁵ *Kirkwood Military Letter Book*, No. 7, p. 219.

⁴³⁶ *Kirkwood Correspondence*, No. 931.

- ⁴³⁷ *Kirkwood Military Letter Book*, No. 6, p. 289.
- ⁴³⁸ *Iowa City Republican*, July 1, 1863.
- ⁴³⁹ *Kirkwood Military Letter Book*, No. 7, p. 65.
- ⁴⁴⁰ Quoted in Lathrop's *The Life and Times of Samuel J. Kirkwood*, pp. 265, 266; *Kirkwood Correspondence*, No. 810.
- ⁴⁴¹ See, for instance, a speech made at West Union in Fayette County, which is quoted in Lathrop's *The Life and Times of Samuel J. Kirkwood*, pp. 252-264.
- ⁴⁴² See the *Iowa City Republican*, September 23, 1863.
- ⁴⁴³ Letter to Dr. Fred Lloyd, September 22, 1863.—*Kirkwood Military Letter Book*, No. 7, p. 262.
- ⁴⁴⁴ *Kirkwood Correspondence*, No. 830.
- ⁴⁴⁵ See letter to William M. Stone, October 20, 1863.—*Kirkwood Military Letter Book*, No. 7, p. 348. See also the *Iowa City Republican*, December 30, 1863.
- ⁴⁴⁶ Shambaugh's *Messages and Proclamations of the Governors of Iowa*, Vol. II, pp. 319-358.
- ⁴⁴⁷ *Iowa City Republican*, January 20, 1864.
- ⁴⁴⁸ *Kirkwood Correspondence*, No. 839.

CHAPTER XXV

- ⁴⁴⁹ Letter to Dr. C. S. Clarke of Fairfield, March 9, 1862.—*Kirkwood Military Letter Book*, No. 3, p. 179.
- ⁴⁵⁰ *Kirkwood Military Letter Book*, No. 4, pp. 190, 192.
- ⁴⁵¹ *Kirkwood Military Letter Book*, No. 2, p. 486.
- ⁴⁵² Letter to Mrs. Harriett N. Kellogg of Garden Grove, March 28, 1863.—*Kirkwood Military Letter Book*, No. 6, pp. 239, 240.
- ⁴⁵³ *Kirkwood Military Letter Book*, No. 6, pp. 86-89.
- ⁴⁵⁴ *Kirkwood Military Letter Book*, No. 6, pp. 207-210. See also pp. 229-234.

⁴⁵⁵ *Kirkwood Military Letter Book*, No. 2, p. 151. See also pp. 214, 215.

⁴⁵⁶ Lathrop's *The Life and Times of Samuel J. Kirkwood*, pp. 283-286; *Iowa City Republican*, February 4, 1863, and succeeding issues.

⁴⁵⁷ Letter to W. C. Kirkwood, March 23, 1863.—*Kirkwood Military Letter Book*, No. 6, p. 209.

⁴⁵⁸ Mrs. Kirkwood gave the author the facts upon which this brief characterization of the Governor's personal life during the war is based.

⁴⁵⁹ *Iowa City Republican*, January 21, 1863. See also the same paper for December 9, 1863. Mrs. Kirkwood confirmed these accounts of the difficulties of travel from Iowa City to Des Moines.

⁴⁶⁰ A glance through the seven large military letter books, to say nothing of the mass of papers in the Archives at Des Moines, will give some idea of the amount of writing which the Governor performed during these strenuous years.

⁴⁶¹ *Kirkwood Military Letter Book*, No. 6, p. 98.

⁴⁶² Letter to Laurin Dewey, July 7, 1863.—*Kirkwood Military Letter Book*, No. 7, p. 31.

⁴⁶³ *Kirkwood Military Letter Book*, No. 7, p. 383.

CHAPTER XXVI

⁴⁶⁴ The facts concerning the building of the house were related to the writer by Mrs. Kirkwood, who stated that she was never quite contented until they moved into this home of their own. There she still lives to-day. The street which runs in front of the house is known as Kirkwood Avenue.

⁴⁶⁵ The card of this law firm first appeared in the *Iowa City Republican*, May 17, 1865.

⁴⁶⁶ *Iowa City Republican*, March 23, 30, 1864.

⁴⁶⁷ *Iowa City Republican*, February 17, May 18, August 31, 1864.

⁴⁶⁸ *Kirkwood Correspondence*, No. 949.

⁴⁶⁹ *Iowa City Republican*, September 14, October 12, 19, 26, 1864. A copy of this oration, in pamphlet form, is in the library of The State Historical Society of Iowa.

⁴⁷⁰ See letter from Jacob Rich, June 27, 1864.—*Kirkwood Correspondence*, No. 945.

⁴⁷¹ For a more extended account of the senatorial contest of 1865–1866 than is given in these pages see Clark's *History of Senatorial Elections in Iowa*, Ch. VIII. See also Brigham's *James Harlan*, Ch. XX.

⁴⁷² Letter from Jacob Rich, March 12, 1865.—*Kirkwood Correspondence*, No. 958.

⁴⁷³ Aldrich's *The Life and Times of Azro B. F. Hildreth*, pp. 393–395.

⁴⁷⁴ *Kirkwood Correspondence*, No. 960.

⁴⁷⁵ *Kirkwood Correspondence*, No. 979.

⁴⁷⁶ Letters from Marcellus M. Crocker, June 9 and 23, 1865.—*Kirkwood Correspondence*, Nos. 981, 986.

⁴⁷⁷ *Correspondence of William Penn Clarke*, Vol. III, No. 127, Historical Department, Des Moines.

⁴⁷⁸ Letter from Azro B. F. Hildreth, April 1, 1865.—*Kirkwood Correspondence*, No. 961.

⁴⁷⁹ *Kirkwood Correspondence*, No. 963.

⁴⁸⁰ *Kirkwood Correspondence*, Nos. 987, 990, 1059.

⁴⁸¹ *Kirkwood Correspondence*, No. 1019.

⁴⁸² *Kirkwood Correspondence*, No. 1024. Grimes was even more emphatic in other letters. The relations between Grimes and Kirkwood on the one hand, and Harlan on the other, were never quite friendly after this time.

For a letter from Harlan to Kirkwood in July, 1865, practically promising his support to Kirkwood, see *Kirkwood Correspondence*, No. 995.

- 483 *Kirkwood Correspondence*, No. 1031.
- 484 *Kirkwood Correspondence*, Nos. 1106, 1109, 1114.
- 485 *The Weekly Gate City* (Keokuk), January 9, 1866.
- 486 *Iowa City Republican*, January 17, 1866.
- 487 *Journal of the House of Representatives*, 1866, pp. 64-66.
- 488 *Congressional Directory*, 1st Session, 39th Congress, pp. 49, 68.
- 489 *Congressional Globe*, 1st Session, 39th Congress, pp. 332, 390.
- 490 *Congressional Globe*, 1st Session, 39th Congress, p. 767.
- 491 *Congressional Globe*, 1st Session, 39th Congress, p. 2735.
- 492 See *Congressional Globe*, 1st Session, 39th Congress, pp. 3256, 3264, 3265, 3479, 3480.
- 493 *Congressional Globe*, 1st Session, 39th Congress, p. 3312.
- 494 *Kirkwood Correspondence*, Nos. 1177, 1199.
- 495 *Kirkwood Correspondence*, No. 1293.
- 496 *Congressional Directory*, 2nd Session, 39th Congress, p. 77.
The truth of these statements was confirmed by Mrs. Kirkwood.
- 497 See *Congressional Globe*, 2nd Session, 39th Congress, pp. 198, 220, 334.
- 498 See *Congressional Globe*, 2nd Session, 39th Congress, pp. 1820-1823, 1828.
- 499 See *Congressional Globe*, 2nd Session, 39th Congress, pp. 703, 873, 1927.
- 500 *Congressional Globe*, 2nd Session, 39th Congress, p. 198.
- 501 *Kirkwood Correspondence*, Nos. 1339, 1345.

CHAPTER XXVII

- 502 *Iowa City Republican*, September 25, 1867, September 30, October 28, November 4, 1868.

503 *Iowa City Republican*, March 11, 18, 1868.

504 *History of Johnson County, Iowa* (1883), p. 422.

505 *Kirkwood Correspondence*, No. 1437.

506 *Kirkwood Correspondence*, No. 1446. Mr. Kirkwood was also a delegate to a similar convention at Cincinnati one year later. See Clark's *The Bid of the West for the National Capital* in the *Proceedings of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association*, Vol. III, pp. 235, 270.

507 *Kirkwood Correspondence*, No. 1430.

508 *Kirkwood Correspondence*, No. 1432.

509 *Kirkwood Correspondence*, Nos. 1441, 1445.

510 *Kirkwood Correspondence*, No. 2035. This letter was written on July 7, 1876.

511 *Iowa City Republican*, January 26, 1870. In the spring of 1871 Kirkwood took S. M. Finch into partnership.—*Iowa City Republican*, April 19, 1871.

512 *Iowa City Republican*, December 8, 1869.

513 *Iowa City Republican*, April 27, 1870.

514 *Iowa City Republican*, May 4, 11, 1870. The other officers were: C. T. Ransom, vice president; and S. Sharpless, secretary-treasurer.

515 *Iowa City Republican*, December 14, 1870.

516 *Kirkwood Correspondence*, No. 1523.

517 *Iowa City Republican*, May 10, October 11, 1871; and *Kirkwood Correspondence*, No. 1540.

518 It would be useless to go into the details of the history of this railroad project. Besides, the materials are so fragmentary that a complete account could scarcely be written without a comprehensive study of railroad building in Iowa during the period in question.

Materials may be found in the *Kirkwood Correspondence*; in a private letter book containing copies of letters written by

Mr. Kirkwood, now in the possession of The State Historical Society of Iowa; and in the newspapers of Iowa City and other towns along the route of the proposed road. See also Aurner's *Leading Events in Johnson County History*, Vol. I, pp. 229, 232. In the absence of data, it is not possible to state the effect of this venture on Mr. Kirkwood's financial condition. It is safe to assume that he was not made any richer except in experience.

The coal mine apparently was more successful than the railroad. It was located at Coalfield in Monroe County.—See *Kirkwood Correspondence*, Nos. 1557, 1599–1608.

⁵¹⁹ *Kirkwood Correspondence*, No. 1520.

⁵²⁰ *Iowa City Republican*, June 28, October 4, 18, 1871.

⁵²¹ *Kirkwood Correspondence*, Nos. 1539, 1542, 1547, 1553.

⁵²² *Kirkwood Correspondence*, Nos. 1620–1623, 1625.

CHAPTER XXVIII

⁵²³ *Kirkwood Correspondence*, No. 1632.

⁵²⁴ *Kirkwood Correspondence*, No. 1637.

⁵²⁵ *Kirkwood Correspondence*, Nos. 1628, 1629, 1641.

⁵²⁶ *Iowa City Republican*, May 12, 19, 1875.

⁵²⁷ For a good discussion of the situation see Clarkson's *The Stampede from General Weaver in the Republican Convention of 1875* in the *Annals of Iowa* (Third Series), Vol. X, pp. 561–569.

⁵²⁸ This account of the convention is based on, and the quotations are taken from, the descriptions in the *Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), July 2, 1875; *Iowa City Republican*, July 7, 1875; and Clarkson's *The Stampede from General Weaver in the Republican Convention of 1875* in the *Annals of Iowa* (Third Series), Vol. X, pp. 565, 566.

⁵²⁹ *Kirkwood Correspondence*, Nos. 1651, 1656, 1658, 1664.

⁵³⁰ *Kirkwood Correspondence*, No. 1663; and *Iowa City Republican*, July 7, 1875.

⁵³¹ See Clarkson's *The Stampede from General Weaver in the Republican Convention of 1875* in the *Annals of Iowa* (Third Series), Vol. X, p. 566.

⁵³² *Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), August 27, 1875.

⁵³³ According to the official canvass Kirkwood received 124,801 votes and Leffler, 93,270.—*Journal of the House of Representatives*, 1876, p. 16.

⁵³⁴ *Journal of the House of Representatives*, 1876, pp. 24, 25.

⁵³⁵ Shambaugh's *Messages and Proclamations of the Governors of Iowa*, Vol. IV, pp. 285-304.

⁵³⁶ Governor Kirkwood took a great interest in seeing to it that Iowa was well represented by exhibits at the Centennial Exposition at Philadelphia. For instance, see Shambaugh's *Messages and Proclamations of the Governors of Iowa*, Vol. IV, pp. 306, 307, 310-313.

The conditional pardon of a convict by the name of R. D. Arthur led to a lawsuit in which the Governor was finally upheld by the Supreme Court.—*Arthur v. Craig*, 48 Iowa 264.

⁵³⁷ *Executive Journal*, 1872-1873, p. 443, Public Archives, Des Moines.

CHAPTER XXIX

⁵³⁸ *Kirkwood Correspondence*, No. 1699.

⁵³⁹ *Kirkwood Correspondence*, Nos. 1811, 1817, 1879, 1911.

⁵⁴⁰ *Kirkwood Correspondence*, No. 1926.

⁵⁴¹ *Kirkwood Correspondence*, No. 1805.

⁵⁴² *Kirkwood Correspondence*, No. 1694.

⁵⁴³ *Kirkwood Correspondence*, No. 1750.

⁵⁴⁴ *Kirkwood Correspondence*, Nos. 1949, 1958.

⁵⁴⁵ *The Iowa Daily State Register* (Des Moines), January 12, 13, 1876.

⁵⁴⁶ *Journal of the House of Representatives*, 1876, pp. 47, 48. For a more complete account of this senatorial contest see Clark's *History of Senatorial Elections in Iowa*, Ch. XI.

⁵⁴⁷ *Kirkwood Correspondence*, No. 2025.

⁵⁴⁸ *Iowa City Republican*, January 19, 1876.

⁵⁴⁹ *Congressional Directory*, 1877-1881.

⁵⁵⁰ *Congressional Record*, 1st Session, 46th Congress, pp. 2213-2217.

⁵⁵¹ *Congressional Record*, 1st Session, 46th Congress, pp. 2217, 2219.

⁵⁵² *Kirkwood Correspondence*, No. 2091.

⁵⁵³ *Congressional Record*, 2nd Session, 45th Congress, pp. 1642, 3570, 4588; 3rd Session, 45th Congress, p. 2035; 1st Session, 46th Congress, pp. 1945, 1946, 1947; 3rd Session, 46th Congress, pp. 1291-1297.

⁵⁵⁴ *Congressional Record*, 2nd Session, 45th Congress, pp. 4547, 4548; 1st Session, 46th Congress, pp. 2403, 2404.

⁵⁵⁵ *Congressional Record*, 3rd Session, 46th Congress, pp. 1595, 1698, 1705, 1750-1752.

⁵⁵⁶ *Congressional Record*, 2nd Session, 46th Congress, pp. 3916, 4111-4113.

⁵⁵⁷ *Congressional Record*, 1st Session, 46th Congress, pp. 1629, 1630; 3rd Session, 46th Congress, pp. 1835-1838.

⁵⁵⁸ *Congressional Record*, 2nd Session, 46th Congress, pp. 2186, 2189-2191, 2197, 2198; 3rd Session, 46th Congress, pp. 1030, 1031, 1093-1095. These are only a few of the subjects on which Senator Kirkwood spoke during the debates in the Senate, but they are the subjects in which he showed the greatest interest.

⁵⁵⁹ This paragraph is based on statements made to the writer by Mrs. Kirkwood. Many invitations to public functions, social and otherwise, are to be found in the *Kirkwood Correspondence*.

⁵⁶⁰ Lathrop's *The Life and Times of Samuel J. Kirkwood*, pp. 376, 377.

⁵⁶¹ *Kirkwood Correspondence*, pp. 2120-2155, etc.

CHAPTER XXX

⁵⁶² *Kirkwood Correspondence*, No. 2180; *The Washington Post* (Washington, D. C.), March 2, 1881.

⁵⁶³ Newspaper clipping in small scrapbook, kept by Mrs. Kirkwood, now in the possession of The State Historical Society of Iowa, p. 3.

⁵⁶⁴ *Kirkwood Correspondence*, Nos. 2189, 2190, 2203.

⁵⁶⁵ *Kirkwood Correspondence*, No. 2201.

⁵⁶⁶ *The Washington Post*, March 8, 9, 1881; clippings in small scrapbook, p. 17.

⁵⁶⁷ *Private Letter Book of Secretary Kirkwood*, No. 1, p. 44, in the possession of The State Historical Society of Iowa.

⁵⁶⁸ *Kirkwood Correspondence*, No. 2202.

⁵⁶⁹ See *Private Letter Book of Secretary Kirkwood*, No. 1, p. 467.

⁵⁷⁰ This list was compiled by the writer from the *Register of the Department of the Interior Corrected to October 10, 1881*, in the office of the Secretary of the Interior in Washington.

⁵⁷¹ Newspaper clipping in small scrapbook, p. 20.

⁵⁷² *The Washington Post*, March 10, 11, 14, 1881.

⁵⁷³ *Kirkwood Correspondence*, No. 2218.

⁵⁷⁴ *Private Letter Book of Secretary Kirkwood*, No. 1, p. 289.

⁵⁷⁵ *Orders, Circulars, etc.*, in the office of the Secretary of the Interior, p. 351.

⁵⁷⁶ *Orders, Circulars, etc.*, in the office of the Secretary of the Interior, p. 363.

⁵⁷⁷ *Report of the Secretary of the Interior*, 1881, Vol. I, pp. iv-vii.

578 *Kirkwood Correspondence*, No. 2237. See also letter to Edward W. Bok.—*Private Letter Book of Secretary Kirkwood*, No. 2, p. 10.

579 *Kirkwood Correspondence*, No. 2240. For letters concerning the leasing of this house, which was No. 223 East Capitol St., see *Private Letter Book of Secretary Kirkwood*, No. 2, pp. 13, 18, 36, 38.

580 *Private Letter Book of Secretary Kirkwood*, No. 2, p. 29; clipping in small scrapbook, p. 18; clipping in large scrapbook, p. 27.

581 *The Washington Post*, April 16, 17, 1882.

CHAPTER XXXI

582 *Kirkwood Correspondence*, No. 2260.

583 Lathrop's *The Life and Times of Samuel J. Kirkwood*, pp. 382, 416; *Kirkwood Correspondence*, Nos. 2265–2298.

584 See *Kirkwood Correspondence*, Nos. 2341–2350.

585 *Kirkwood Correspondence*, No. 2345.

586 *Kirkwood Correspondence*, No. 2333. By the time Mr. and Mrs. Kirkwood started on their trip the Northern Pacific Railroad had been completed, and so they went over that line from St. Paul to Tacoma, and returned over the Union Pacific from San Francisco.

587 Lathrop's *The Life and Times of Samuel J. Kirkwood*, pp. 417–419.

588 A number of these speeches are printed in Lathrop's *The Life and Times of Samuel J. Kirkwood*, Ch. XIX.

589 *Iowa City Daily Republican*, August 20, 1886.

590 *Kirkwood Correspondence*, No. 2407.

591 *Kirkwood Correspondence*, Nos. 2399, 2413, 2423.

592 *Kirkwood Correspondence*, No. 2413 (there are several letters under this number).

⁵⁹³ Lathrop's *The Life and Times of Samuel J. Kirkwood*, p. 429. The letter of acceptance is here printed in full.

⁵⁹⁴ See *Kirkwood Correspondence*, No. 2421. Mr. Joe R. Lane of Davenport was the manager of Kirkwood's campaign.

⁵⁹⁵ *Kirkwood Correspondence*, Nos. 2424, 2435.

⁵⁹⁶ Hayes received 15,279 votes; O'Meara, 8,602; and Kirkwood, 8,009.—Lathrop's *The Life and Times of Samuel J. Kirkwood*, p. 440.

CHAPTER XXXII

⁵⁹⁷ *Iowa Historical Record*, Vol. IV, pp. 87, 88.

⁵⁹⁸ See letter in the *Annals of Iowa* (Third Series), Vol. IV, pp. 475, 476.

⁵⁹⁹ *Kirkwood Correspondence*, No. 2440.

⁶⁰⁰ *Kirkwood Correspondence*, No. 2469.

⁶⁰¹ The following description of the gathering in honor of Mr. Kirkwood, together with the extracts from speeches and letters, is taken from the account written by Mr. John Springer, then editor of the *Iowa City Press*, who was a member of the party. The account is reprinted in full in Lathrop's *The Life and Times of Samuel J. Kirkwood*, pp. 447-460. A cut of the photograph taken at this time is printed in Aurner's *Leading Events in Johnson County History*, p. 622.

⁶⁰² This letter from David B. Henderson was received later.—*Kirkwood Correspondence*, Miscellaneous, No. 77.

⁶⁰³ Lathrop's *The Life and Times of Samuel J. Kirkwood*, Ch. XXIII; and accounts in the Des Moines newspapers.

It should also be noted that there is a bronze statue of Samuel J. Kirkwood in the Hall of Fame in the capitol building at Washington, D. C. It is the work of an Iowa sculptress—Vinnie Ream Hoxie.

⁶⁰⁴ *Kirkwood Correspondence*, No. 839.

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