

THE UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA
GRADUATE SCHOOL

Report
of
Committee on Examination

This is to certify that we the
undersigned, as a committee of the Graduate
School, have given Florence Martha Schilling
final oral examination for the degree of

Master of Arts.

We recommend that the degree of
Master of Arts
be conferred upon the candidate.

Wesley W. Dyer.

Chairman

Guy Stanton Ford.

C. D. Allie

H. B. Shippee

Alvin H. Hansen

A. A. White

Date _____

THE UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

GRADUATE SCHOOL

Report
of
Committee on Thesis

The undersigned, acting as a Committee of the Graduate School, have read the accompanying thesis submitted by Florence Martha Schilling for the degree of Master of Arts. They approve it as a thesis meeting the requirements of the Graduate School of the University of Minnesota, and recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

Marion W. Dyer.
Chairman

Solon J. Bach

Leighton G. Wright

Date _____

PUBLIC OPINION IN MINNESOTA
ON
FRANCO-PRUSSIAN AFFAIRS
IN 1871 AND 1872.

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of
the Graduate School of the University of Minnesota

by

Florence Martha Schilling

UNIVERSITY OF
MINNESOTA
LIBRARY

In partial fulfillment of the require-
ments for the degree of Master of Arts

December
1922

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BIBLIOGRAPHY.

A. General Works.

Bourne, H. R. Fox: English Newspapers.

London, 1887.

Valuable for the policy of English newspapers.

Hazen, Charles Downer: Europe Since 1815.

New York, Henry Holt & Co., 1910.

Good general account of the political history of Europe from the Congress of Vienna.

Hudson, Frederic: Journalism in the United States, 1690-1872.

Harper Bros. N.Y. 1873.

Valuable information concerning the development of the American press and the great American dailies.

Lee, James M: History of American Journalism.

Houghton Mifflin Co. Boston, 1917.

Very brief account of Minnesota journalism in the territorial period.

Turner, F. J: The Frontier in American History.

Henry Holt & Co. N.Y. 1920.

Scholarly interpretation of the influence of the West in American History.

United States Census Reports for 1870 and 1880.

B. Works on Minnesota.

Folwell, William Watts: Minnesota, the North Star State.

Houghton Mifflin Co. Boston, 1908.

The best single volume work on Minnesota History.

Hall, Harlan P. : Observations.

St. Paul, Minn. 1904.

Almost wholly an account of the political history of Minnesota.

Hyde, C. W. G. and Stoddard, Wm. : History of the Great Northwest and Its Men of Progress.

Minneapolis, Minn. 1901.

Good for additional biographical facts concerning leaders in the state.

Johnston, D. S. B. : Minnesota Journalism in Territorial Period. In Minnesota Historical Collections, Volume 10.

St. Paul, Minn.

Furnishes an excellent background for the later history of journalism in the state.

McClung, J. W. : Minnesota as it is in 1870.

St. Paul, Minn. 1870.

Designed as an immigration pamphlet.

Minnesota Editors and Publishers Association Proceedings.

St. Paul, Minn. 1867-1894 Press Printing Co.

Contains addresses and problems of the press discussed at the annual meeting of the Minnesota Editors and Publishers Association since 1867. Valuable for contemporary opinion as to the press.

O'Brien, F. G. : Minnesota Pioneer Sketches.

H. H. S. Rowell, Mpls, Minn. 1904.

Sketches of pioneers from the personal reminiscences of the author.

Press Club of Minneapolis Souvenir 1904.

Minneapolis, Minn. 1904.

A small pamphlet published by Minneapolis Journal on the occasion of a press celebration in Minneapolis 1904. Good information concerning W. H. Croffutt's connection with the Minneapolis Tribune, 1871 and 1872.

Robinson, Edward Van Dyke : Early Economic Conditions and the Development of Agriculture in Minnesota. In University of Minnesota Studies in the Social Sciences.

Minneapolis, Minn. March 1915.

Very excellent account of the economic development of Minnesota with maps.

Shippee, Lester B: Social and Economic Effects of the Civil War With Special Reference to Minnesota. In the Minnesota History Bulletin, Vol. 2.

St. Paul, Minn. 1917 - 1918.

Suggestive discussion based on census returns, etc.

Upham, Warren and Dunlap, Rose B: Minnesota Biographies 1655 - 1912 In Collections of Minnesota Historical Society, Vol. 14.

St. Paul, Minn. June 1912.

Indispensable brief information concerning Minnesota editors and others.

C. Manuscripts.

No positive information on the attitude of Minnesotians toward the French and German situation was found in the papers for 1871 and 1872 in Manuscript Room of the Minnesota Historical Society. The following collections were examined:

Castle Papers.

Personal papers for 1871-72.

Henry A. Castle 1841-1916. Journalist, Captain 137th Illinois Regiment in Civil War, Came to St. Paul in 1866, Representative in Minnesota legislature 1873, Editor of St. Paul Dispatch 1876-1885.

Chaney Papers.

Newspaper clippings, diaries, correspondence.
Chaney, Josiah B. 1828-1908. Librarian, Served in First Minnesota Regiment 1861-2, Assistant librarian of Minnesota Historical Society after May 1887.

Donnelly Papers.

Correspondence, letter press - 2 boxes 1871-72.
Donnelly, Ignatius 1831-1901. Politician, farmer, poet, author, lieutenant-governor 1860-3; representative in Congress 1863-9; National leader in Farmer's Alliance Movement and in Populist party.

Flandrau Papers.

Miscellaneous papers and addresses.
Flandrau, Charles Eugene. Jurist, Associate justice of Minnesota, 1857-64; Author of "History of Minnesota" and "Tales of the Frontier."

Holcombe Papers.

Historical manuscripts, miscellaneous and undated papers, 3 boxes.
Holcombe, Return Ira. Author. Co-author of the "History of St. Paul" 1890, and in part of the diffuse work in 3 volumes of "Minnesota in Three Centuries" 1908.

M

Marshall Papers.

Military papers. 2 boxes 1871-72.
Marshall, William Rainey. 1825-96. Governor, Founded St. Paul Press 1861; Governor of Minnesota 1860-70; president Minnesota Historical Society, 1868, and its secretary 1893-1895.

Ramsey Papers.

Political papers - 4 boxes.
Ramsey, Alexander, 1815-1903. Statesman. Territorial governor of Minnesota 1849-53; made important treaties with the Sioux in 1851; governor of the state 1860-3; U. S. Senator 1863-75; Secretary of War, 1879-81.

Sibley Papers.

University and political matters.
Sibley, Henry H. 1811-91. Governor and General. Partner in American Fur Co; 1st governor of the state 1858-60; regent of state university 1851-60 and 69-91; President of Minnesota Historical Society 1879-91.

Steele Papers

Business matters.
Steele, Franklin. 1813-80. Pioneer. Took a prominent part in development of water power at Falls of St. Anthony and of logging and manufacture there.

Stevens Papers.

Only 2 letters, 1871-72.

Stevens, John Harrington 1820-1900. Pioneer. Representative in legislature 1857-8 and 1876; state senator 1859-60; author of Personal Recollections of Minnesota and History of Hennepin County 1895.

Whipple Papers.

Correspondence.

Whipple, Henry Benjamin 1822-1901. Bishop. Was consecrated first bishop of Minnesota 1859. Developed Episcopal schools at Faribault and missions among Ojibways and Sioux. Author of "Lights and Shadows of a Long Episcopate."

D. Newspapers.

I. Daily

St. Paul Dispatch 1871-72

Ramaley and Hall, Publishers.

David Ramaley, printer, opened first job printing office in St. Paul, 1862. Was founder, with H. P. Hall, of the Dispatch, Feb. 29, 1868. H. P. Hall became sole editor in April, 1871.

St. Paul Pioneer Daily 1871-72

Editor - Oscar Stephenson

Came to St. Paul, 1854. Virginian and lawyer. Paper was leading Democratic organ in the state.

St. Paul Daily Press 1871-72

Editor - Joseph A. Wheelock

Came to St. Paul, 1850. The Press was founded in 1861, and after 1862 Wheelock was editor of that newspaper and, later, of its successor, the Pioneer Press.

Minneapolis Daily News.

Editor - George Kittredge Shaw

The files of this newspaper were incomplete. No biographical information concerning this editor appears in the biographies.

Minneapolis Daily Tribune

Publisher - L. W. Powell

No information concerning the publisher in the Minnesota Historical Collections, Vol. 14.

Duluth Morning Call

Editor - Seth Wilbur Payne.

An ephemeral daily established Jan. 1871- May 28, 1871.

II. Weekly

Albert Lea Standard, Freeborn Co. 1871-2.

Editor - Daniel G. Parker.

Born at Mount Desert, Maine, April 2, 1831, died in Texas 1907. Came to Minnesota in 1857, settling in Red Wing; was admitted to bar in 1858; published Standard 1865-78; later engaged in real estate business.

Alexandria Post, Douglas Co. 1871-72

Editor - Joseph Gilpin.

Journalist born in New York, 1842; settled on a homestead in Minnesota in 1867 at Alexandria. The Post became the Post News in 1878.

Anoka County Press, 1871-72

Editor - J. M. Thomson.

An independent Republican sheet. No information concerning this editor.

Austin, Mower Co. 1871 - 72
Mower County Transcript 1871-72

Editor - George H. Otis.

Not mentioned in Minnesota Historical Collection, Vol. 14.

Blue Earth, Faribault Co. 1871-
Minnesota Southwest (Jan. 4, 1868-Sept. 2, 1871)

Editor - Carr Huntington.

Born in Vermont, 1815, died in Blue Earth, Minnesota Jan. 6, 1889. Came to Minnesota in 1863 and established the first

newspaper published at Winnebago City.

Brainerd, Crow Wing Co.
Tribune (Feb. 10, 1872 to May 6, 1882)

Editor - Morris Crow Russell.

Born in Pa. 1840; came to Minnesota in 1855; engaged in lumbering and printing; published the Sentinel in Lake City; author of "Uncle Dudley's Odd Hours".

Chaska, Carver Co.
Valley Herald 1871-72

Editor - Frederick Eugene DuToit.

Born N.Y. 1845; came to Chaska with his parents; purchased Herald, 1866; member of state legislature 1872-3; and state senator 1899-1902.

Chatfield Democrat, Fillmore Co., 1871-72

Editor - John Harrison McKenny and Son.

Born in Pennsylvania, 1813, came to Minnesota 1848; purchased Democrat in 1861.

Delano, Big Woods Citizen, Wright Co.

Editor - Daniel Fish.

Big Woods Citizen, March 29 - September 20, 1872 when it became Wright County Eagle Sept. 27, 1872 - May 16, 1873. No editorials, and little foreign news. Daniel Fish lawyer, born in Ill, 1848; came to Delano, Minnesota in 1871. He revised and codified the general election laws of Minnesota, this code being adopted by state legislature in 1905.

Delavan Bee, Faribault Co.

Editor - Carr Huntington.

This paper begins June, 1872 - December 1874.

Detroit Record 1871-72. Becker Co.

Editor - W. F. Ball.

Paper begins May 1872 to June 17, 1876.

Duluth Weekly Democrat

Editor - Dr. D Unger.

Another ephemeral sheet, April 2, 1871 to Oct. 1, 1871.

Duluth Minnesotian, St. Louis Co.

Editor - Dr. Thomas Foster.

Reflected such metropolitan journals as the New York Sun and Herald.

Eyota Advertiser, Olmsted County.

Editor - T. G. Bolton.

Little foreign news. Not superior to the more frontier journals.

Faribault Republican, Rice Co.

Editor - Archibald Winthrop McKinsory.

Born in Mass. 1828; came to Minnesota in 1865, settling at Faribault, where he published the Republican.

Farmington Press, Dakota Co.

Editor - J. W. Emery.

Very little foreign news.

Glencoe Register, McLeod Co.

Editor - James C. Edson.

Lawyer, born in N. Y. 1825, came to Minnesota in 1860 and settled at Glencoe, judge of the 8th judicial district 1886 - 1891.

Glenwood Eagle, Pope Co. (Nov. 4, 1871)

Editor - H. G. Rising.

Mediocre sheet.

Glyndon, Red River Gazette, Clay Co.

Editor - Rev. A. Deming and E. B. Chambers.

This sheet is published from June 27, 1872 to July 17, 1873.

Hastings Union, Dakota Co.

Editors - Wm. R. Todd and E. Eichhorn.

Eichhorn, Edmund was born in Boehlen, Ger., 1825; came to Minnesota in 1857, was a grocer at Hastings 16 years. In 1873 he removed to Minneapolis and engaged in the real estate business.

Henderson Times, Sibley Co. (From Jan. 8, 1872)

Editors - Michael R. Prendergast and Colton.

Prendergast, M. R., was born in Ireland in 1842 and died in St. Paul, 1912. Came to St. Paul in 1855, published Courier in LeSueur and later the Henderson Democrat; after 1873 he engaged in plumbing in St. Paul.

Jackson Republican, Jackson Co.

Editors - George Campbell Chamberlain and Avery.

Chamberlain, G. C., born in Vermont, 1837, died 1896. Settled in Jackson, Minnesota in 1866 where he published the Jackson Republican 1870-81. Representative in legislature, 1871-2; removed to Vermont 1893.

Kasson Republican, Dodge Co.

Editor - Ulysses Bishop Shaver.

Born in Ohio, 1827, died in Kasson, 1898. Founded the Dodge County Republican, 1867.

Lake City Leader, Wabasha Co.

Editors - W. J. McMasters and E. C. Spaulding.

McMasters, W. J., was born in Ireland, 1838 and died 1880. Came to U. S. in 1848; joined T. H. Perkins in founding the Lake City Leader, and was its editor until 1876.

Lanesboro Clarion, Fillmore Co.

Editors - S. B. Goudy and L. C. Bixby.

This sheet is published November 28, 1871 to April 22, 1872.

Lanesboro Herald, Fillmore Co.

Editor - J. Lute Christie.

Merges with Clarion in 1871.

LeSueur Courier, Le Sueur Co.

Editors - M. B. Prendergast and Felton
Vollmer.

Vollmer, Felton, born in Germany, 1846; came to
Minnesota in 1857, settling in LeSueur in 1866. Was
representative in legislature 1877.

Litchfield Republican, Meeker Co.

Editor - H. G. Rising.

Ephemeral sheet - begins Jan. 24, 1871 to Sept. 6, 1871.

Litchfield County News

Editor - M. J. Getchell.

/This sheet is published from Jan 7, 1871 to May 26, 1874.

Mankato Weekly Review, Blue Earth Co.

Editor - John Clagett Wise.

Born in Maryland, 1834 and died in Mankato 1900. He came
to Minnesota in 1850; established the Weekly Review in
1869; in 1892 he began publishing the Mankato Daily Review

Mankato Weekly Union, Blue Earth Co.

Editors - William B. Griswold and Cleveland.

Griswold, W. B., was born in Michigan in 1834; admitted to
the bar in 1860, and in the same year came to Minnesota.
Was a dealer in lumber and brick in Chaska after 1875.

Minneapolis - St. Anthony Falls Democrat.

Editor - James J. Green.

Born Pennsylvania, 1830, came to Minnesota in 1856. In
1873 he established the LeSueur Sentinel. After 1895 he was
publisher of the New Ulm News.

Monticello Times, Wright Co.

Editor - T. A. Perrine.

Followed the St. Paul dailies. Little Foreign gossip.

Moorhead, Red River Star, Clay Co.

Editor - W. B. Nickles

A typical frontier sheet. Is published from July 6, 1872.

New Ulm Plaindealer, Brown Co.

Editors - George H. Walsh and E. St. Julien Cox.

Walsh, G. H. lawyer, born in Canada, 1845. Came to Minnesota with his aprents when he was 10 years old. Served in Tenth Minnesota Regiment 1862-5. Published New Ulm Plaindealer 1870-3.

Cox, E. St. Julien, born in Geneva Switzerland, 1835; admitted to bar 1854; came to Minnesota in 1857; was judge of 9th judicial district 1877-1882. Impeached.

Northfield Standard, Rice Co.

Editor - Benjamin Cressey Sanborn & Co.

Born in Lowell, Mass in 1841, and died in Madelia, Minn. July 2, 1903. Came to Minnesota when 12 years of age.

Otter Tail City Record, Otter Tail Co.

Editor - W. F. Ball.

This frontier sheet was published from Sept. 30, 1871 to May 11, 1872.

Owatonna Journal, Steele Co.

Editors - J. A. Spelman, Charles Schoetz Crandall, and N. H. Bickham.

Crandall, C. S. born in Ohio, 1840; came to Minnesota in 1857, and settled in Owatonna about 1860; for 8 years he was editor of the Owatonna Journal, and for 18 years in hardward business.

Preston Republican, Fillmore Co.

Editor - William A. Hotchkiss.

Born in Whitehall, N. Y. Served in Mexican war; came to

Minnesota in 1854; published in Minneapolis the North Western Democrat, the first newspaper printed west of the Mississippi in the territory.

Red Wing, Goodhue County Republican

Editors - Samuel P. Jennison and Hubbard
S. Perkins.

Jennison, S. P., born in Mass. 1830 and died in California 1909. Admitted to the bar in 1857. Resided in Red Wing after 1870. Was private secretary to 3 governors of the state.

Red Wing, North Star.

Editor - J. Newton Nind.

Born in Illinois in 1854; came to Minnesota in 1866; was city editor of Minneapolis Tribune after 1877. The North Star was published from December 1, 1871 - December 3, 1872.

Redwood Falls Mail, Redwood County.

Editor - Victor Carleton Seward.

Born in Indiana in 1845 and died 1892. Owned and published the Stillwater Messenger after 1873.

Rochester Post, Olmsted Co. 1871-2.

Editor - J. A. Leonard.

An excellent weekly elsewhere characterized.

Rochester Central Record, Olmsted Co.

Editor - C. R. Conway.

Born in Indiana in 1822; served in Mexican war; settled in St. Paul 1849. This sheet was a radical, semi-weekly, published from Feb. 1871- January 27, 1899.

Rushford Labor Reform, Fillmore Co.

Editor - A. E. Ball.

Ball, Artemus Ebenezer, born in 1833 and died in West Concord 1906. He published newspapers at White Bear, Fairmont and after 1892 in West Concord. The Rushford Labor Reform was published from April 22, 1872 to July 7, 1873,

and contained little foreign news.

St. Charles Herald, Winona Co.

Editor - Charles H. Slocum.

Born in New York, 1836, Came to Minnesota in 1857, owned and edited the Glencoe Register after 1867.

St. Cloud Journal, Stearns Co.

Editor - William Bell Mitchell.

Born in Penn. in 1843; settled in St. Cloud in 1857; assisted his aunt, Mrs. J. S. Swisshelm, in newspaper work, afterwards owned and published the Journal-Press.

St. Cloud Times, Stearns Co., 1871-72.

Editor - Louis A. Evans.

Lawyer, born in Phil. Pa., 1822 and deid at St. Cloud 1897 Was representative in legislature 1865 and state senator in 1867. St. Cloud Times reflected the New York Sun.

St. Peter Tribune, Nicollet Co., 1871-72

Editor - Joseph Knight Moore.

Born in Mass. 1828, and died in California in 1906; came to St. Peter, Minnesota in 1859 where he was postmaster for many years.

St. Paul, Der Wanderer 1871-72

Editor - Fr. Faszbind.

Editor is not mentioned in the biographies.

St. Paul, Northwestern Chronicle

Editor - John C. Devereux.

Born in Ireland, 1831; came to U. S. in 1839, and later settled in St. Paul.

St. Paul, Minnesota Staats-Zeitung

Editor - Theodore Sander.

Born in Prussia 1841. Settled in St. Paul and published the Staats-Zeitung 1866-79. Later he started the Daily

Volkszeitung.

Sauk Center Herald, Stearns Co.

Editors- J. S. and S. Simonton.

Simonton, J. S., born Penn. 1840. Came to Minnesota in 1857.

Simonton, S., born Penn. 1839, and also came to Minnesota in 1857. Resided in Sauk Center after 1867.

Sauk Rapids Sentinel, Benton Co.

Editor - George Washington Benedict.

Born in Rochester, N. Y., 1842 and died in Sauk Rapids 1910. Came to Minnesota in 1854 and engaged in newspaper work. In 1875 he was a member of the Minnesota Senate.

Shakopee Argus, Scott Co., 1871-72.

Editor - Henry Hinds.

Lawyer, born in New York 1826 and died in Shakopee 1903; Was a county attorney for 3 terms; representative in legislature 1878 and a state senator 1879.

Spring Valley, Western Progress, Fillmore Co.

Editors - Bella French and A. M. Hutchinson

Hutchinson, A. M., born in New York, 1847; came to Minnesota 1867; published the Western Progress 1870-8; practised medicine in Waseca after 1887.

Stillwater Gazette, Washington Co.

Editor - Augustus B. Easton.

Born in Ohio, 1828. Came to Stillwater in 1857. Author and editor of the History of the St. Croix Valley.

Taylor's Falls Reporter, Chisago Co., 1871-72

Editor - Charles W. Folsom.

Not much foreign news.

Wabasha County Herald, Wabasha Co., 1871-72

Editors - Sharpe and Palmer.

Niether of these journalists was mentioned in Minnesota Historical Collection, Vol. 14.

Waseca Weekly News, Waseca Co., 1871-72.

Editor - W. J. Graham.

Not mentioned in the biographies.

Wells Atlas, Faribault Co., 1871-72.

Editor - Clement A Lounsberry

Born in Indiana, 1843; attained rank of colonel in civil war. He afterward engaged in newspaper work in Wells, Minneapolis and Fargo, North Dakota.

Willmar Republican , Kandiyohi Co.

Editors - John Harrison and H. W. Brown.

Brown, John Harrison, born in Vermont in 1824 and died in Willmar, 1890; Came to Minnesota in 1855; removed to Willmar 1871 and established the Willmar Republican; was judge of the 12th Judicial District 1875 - 90.

Windom Reporter, Cottonwood Co.

Editor - Ebenezer Cutler Huntington

Born Vermont 1850; settled at Windom in 1871 and with his father established the Windom Reporter. The Reporter was published from September 7, 1871.

Winnebago Press, Faribault Co., 1871.

Editor - W. H. Knibs

(This sheet was published from July 7, 1870 to December 14, 1871)

Winona Republican, Winona Co., 1871-2.

Editor - D. Sinclair and Co.

Sinclair, Daniel, born in Scotland 1833 and died in Winona November 20, 1907. Came to Minnesota in 1856, settling in Winona where he published the Republican continuously for 50 years.

INTRODUCTION.

One may well be perplexed at the threshold of this problem. How far did affairs in Europe penetrate to the state of Minnesota in 1871 and 72 - an adolescent commonwealth in its 13th year having all the marks of a typical frontier state? Did the idea of splendid isolation receive its vogue on the Minnesota frontier of '71 and '2? Were the people of Minnesota as intent then, as they are today, upon the nirvanic bliss of self-complacent moral isolation giving little or indifferent interest to their contemporaries in Europe?

These are questions indeed to bewilder the novice. Humbly we approach a study which in its larger aspects is still a vital problem today.

Lodged in the Minnesota wilderness were European men, ideas and institutions. Professor Turner, the delightful scholar in Western history, has pointed out that the democratic ideals developed at each stage of the advance of the frontier have left behind them deep and enduring effects on the thinking of the whole country. The inherited ways of looking at things have all been shaped by the experience of democracy on its westward march. This experience has been wrought into the warp and woof of American thought. One wonders, therefore, to what extent the Minnesota pioneers of 1871 and 1872 contributed toward perpetuating that fatuous doctrine of isolation which apparently is inextricably rooted in

American thought.

Certainly the question of splendid national isolation is still an open one. Mr. Hearst and other propagandists of his repute paint proudly to the policy of George Washington, James Monroe, Andrew Jackson, Abe Lincoln and Grover Cleveland. Is it not a policy that has been rewarded by 140 years of unexampled growth in wealth, and power, and prestige, and world-leadership? This is sufficient indorsement of the policy of the founders of this nation. Since Woodrow Wilson, it is said we have had to pay for our departure from that policy enunciated by our fathers. Since the evidence of history be taken, may we amend that Morse invented the telegraph; Fulton invented the steamship; Marconi invented the wireless. These men and others were most busily engaged in destroying that isolation and there is no isolation anywhere on the face of the globe for any nation whatever.

It is, therefore, an opportune task that has befallen me to gauge the attitude of the fathers of Minnesota on this question. They were of the idealistic pioneers of the West seeking vacant lands as an opportunity for a new order of things, says Professor Turner, and were inspired by the vision expressed in Kipling's "Song of the English":

" On the sand-drift - on the veldt side - in the fern-scent
we lay,
That our sons might follow after by the bones on the way.
Follow after - follow after! We have watered the root
And the bud has come to blossom that ripens the fruit.

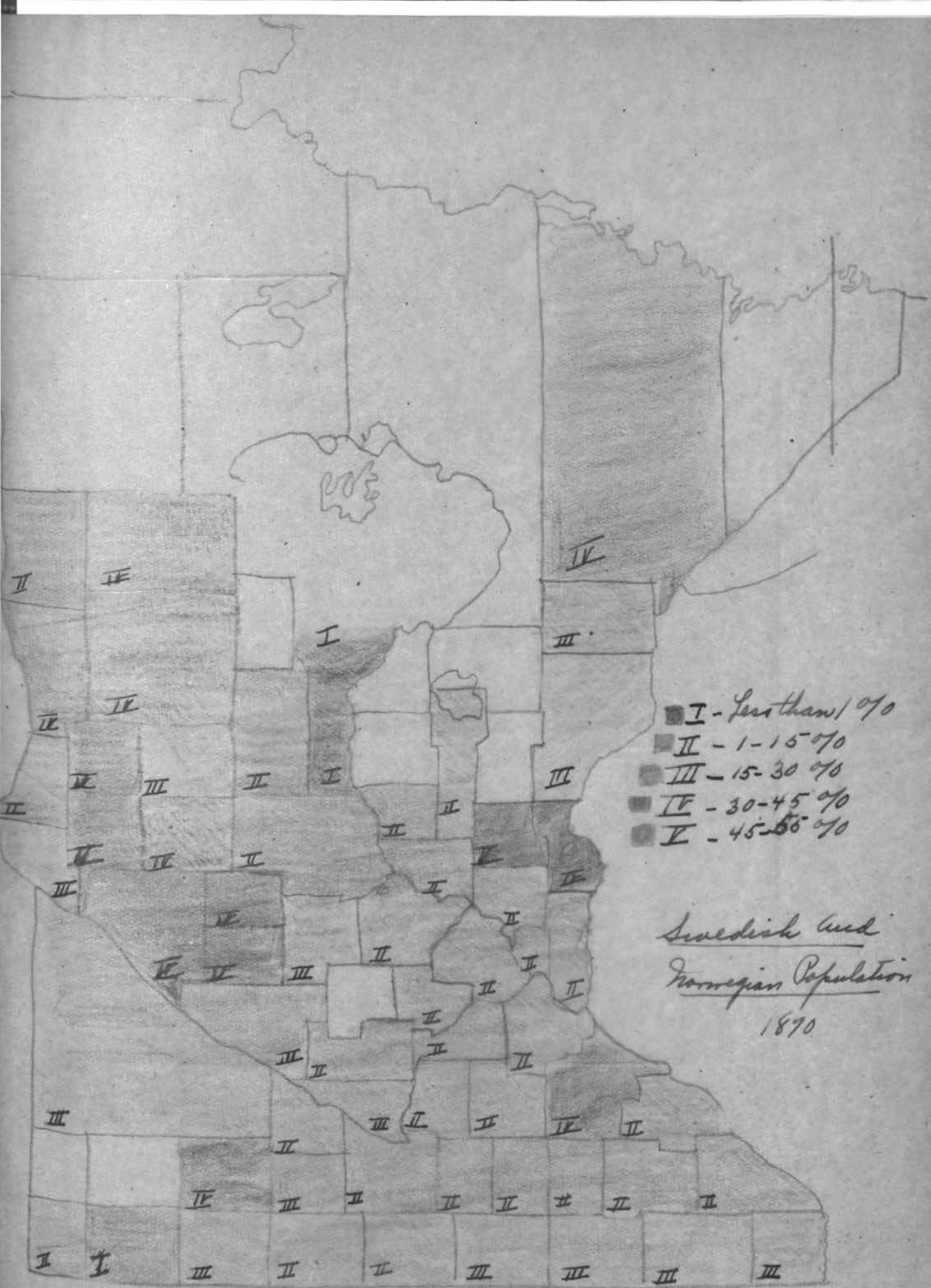
Follow after - we are waiting by the trails that we lost
For the sound of many foot-steps, for the tread of a host.

Follow after - follow after - for the harvest is sown
By the bones about the wayside ye shall come to your own! "

To such men as they dwelt among the stumps of the clearing, did recurring thoughts of home across the sea engender such yearnings as the poet predicts:

"Wie wird das Bild der alten Tage
Durch eure Träume glänzend wehn!
Gleich einer stillen, frommen Sage
Wird es euch vor der Seele stehn."

Or had they distinctly made their exit into the quiet of Minnesota, freed at last from their woes in Europe, ready to practise and perpetuate the principle of splendid isolation?





- I Less than 10%
- II - 1-5%
- III - 5-10%
- IV - 10-15%

*Irish Populations
1870*



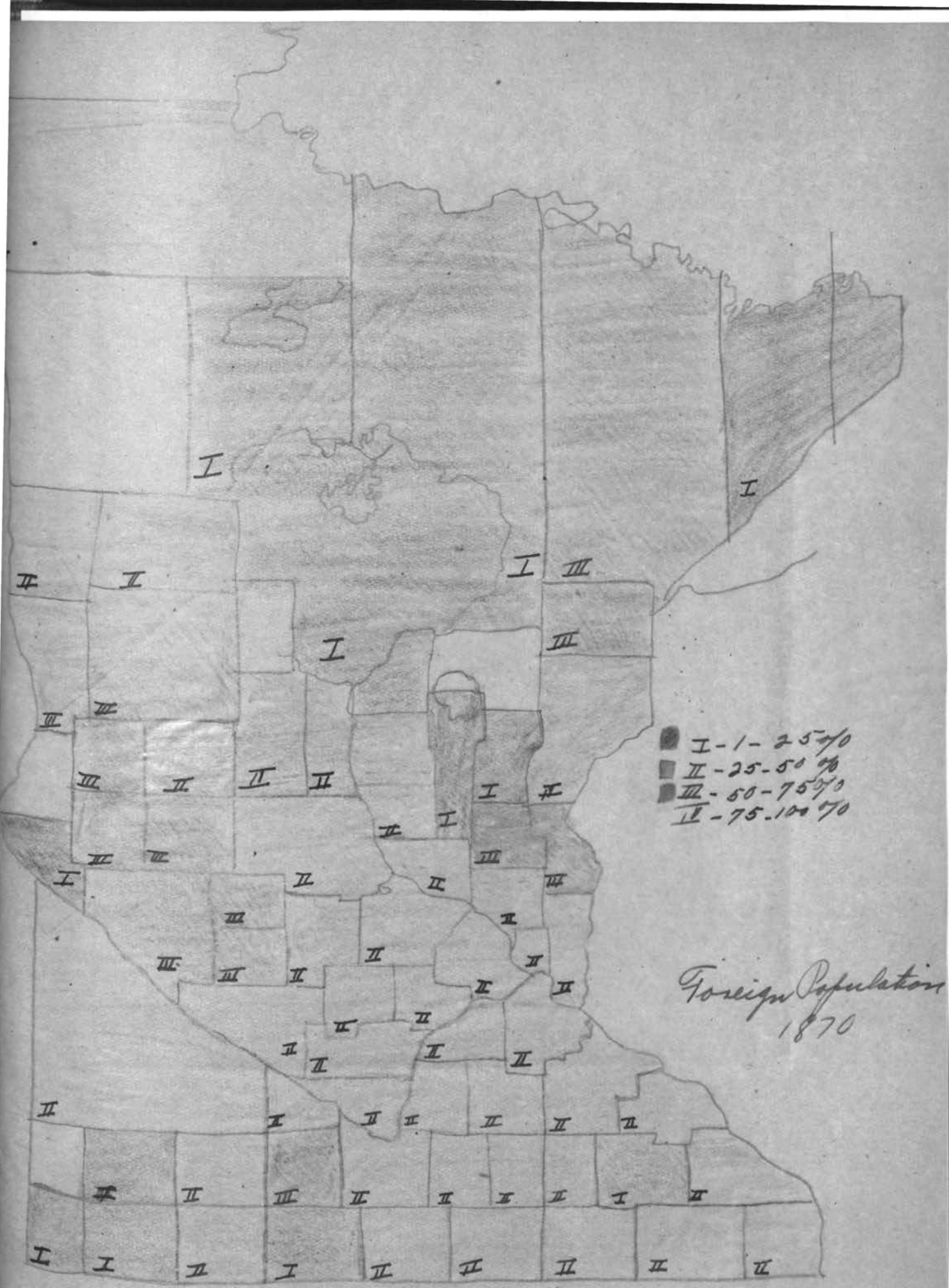
- I - 1-25%
- II - 25-50%
- III - 50-75%
- IV - 75-100%

Native Population
1870



- I - 1 - 25%
- II - 25 - 50%
- III - 50 - 75%
- IV - 75 - 100%

Native Population
1880



- I - 1 - 25%
- II - 25 - 50%
- III - 50 - 75%
- IV - 75 - 100%

Foreign Population
1870



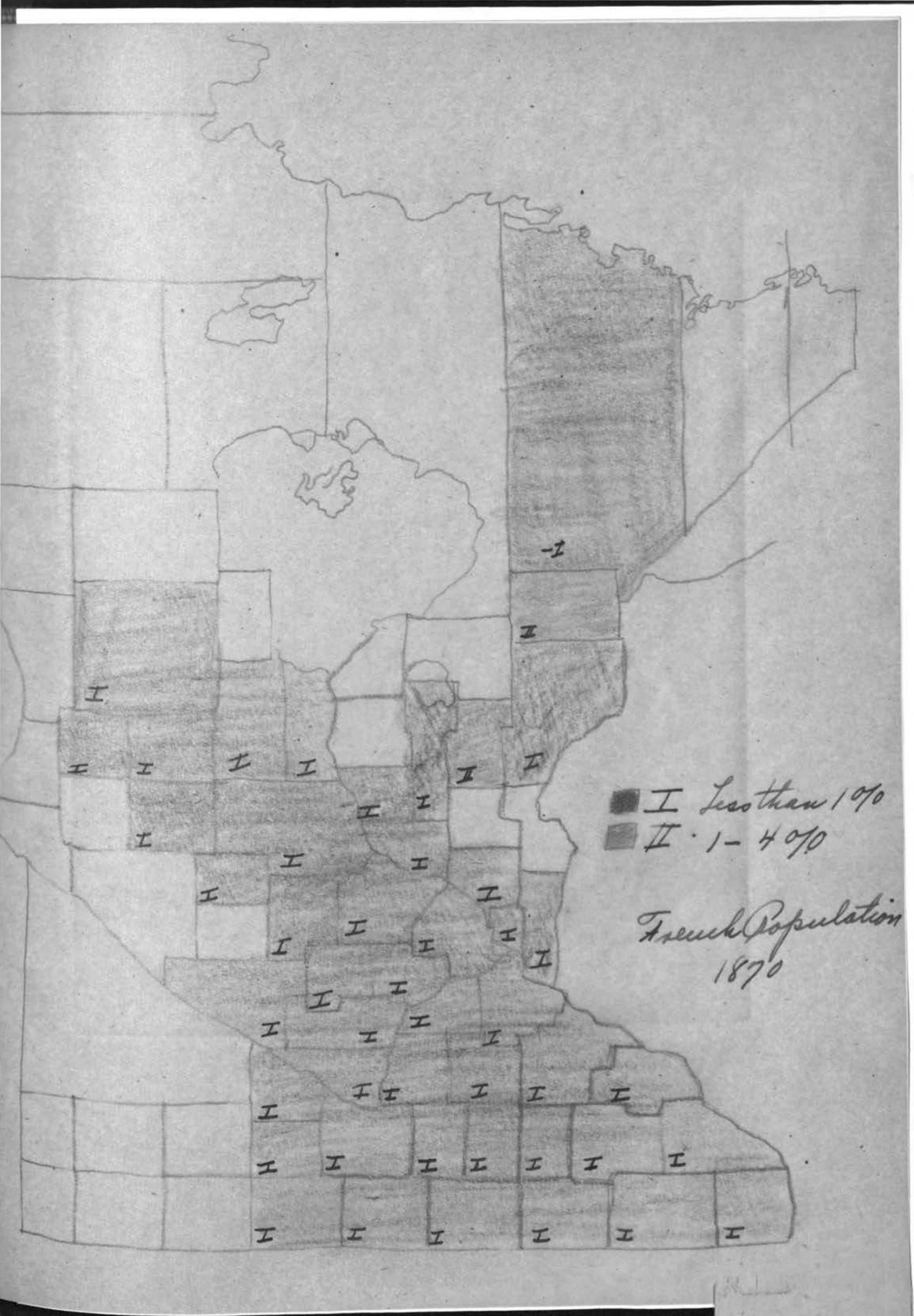
- I - 1-25%
- II - 25-50%
- III - 50-75%
- IV - 75-100%

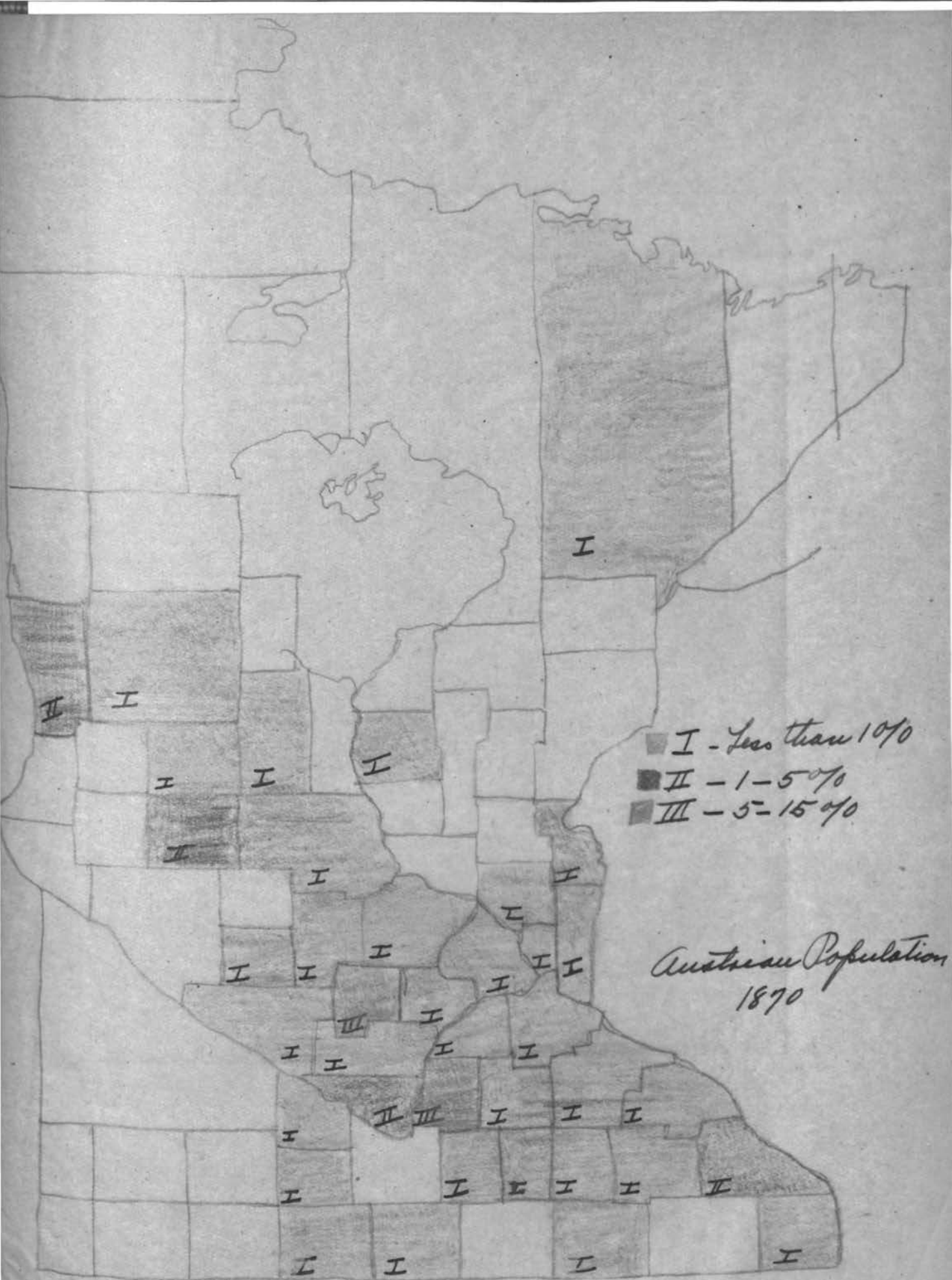
Foreign Population
1880



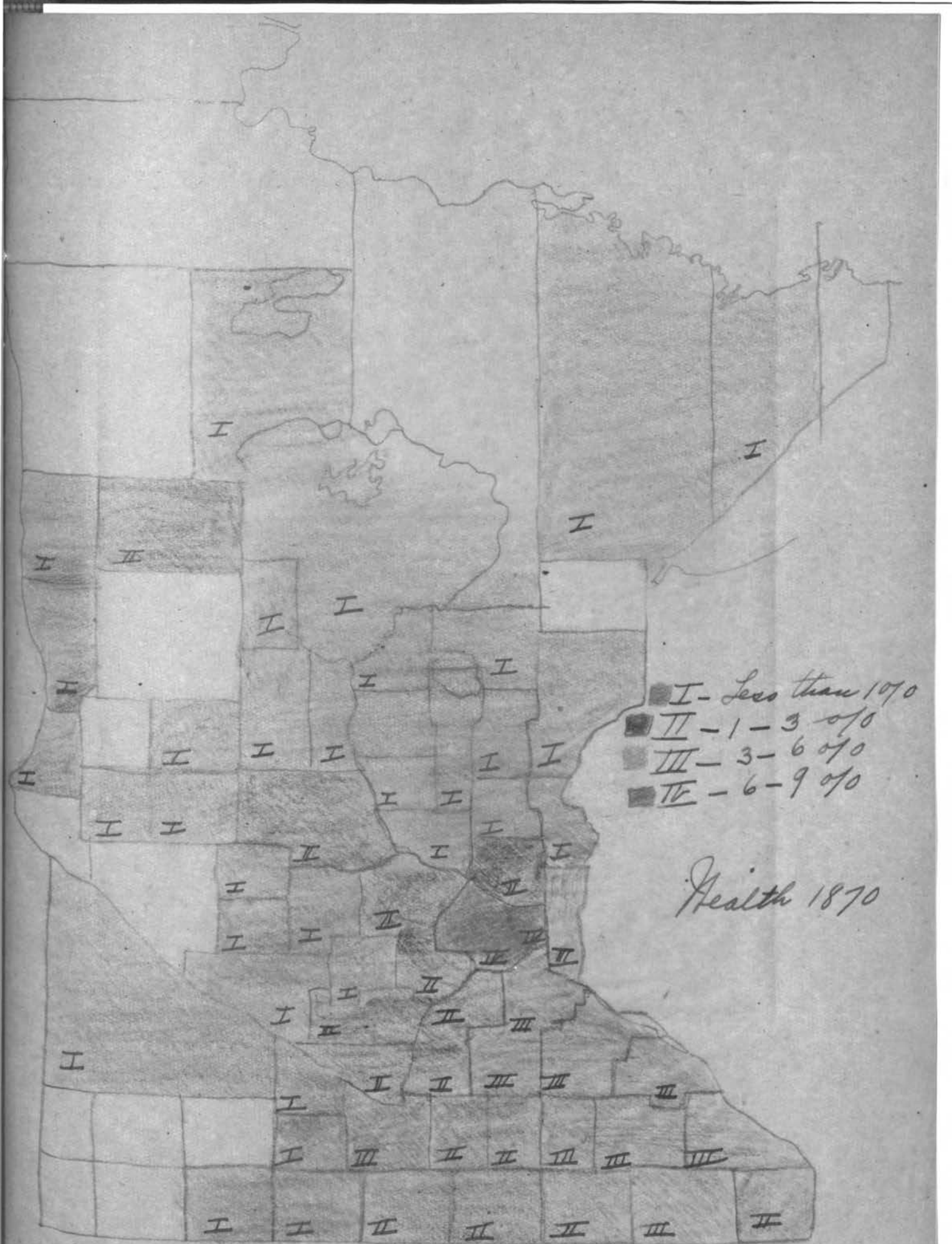
- I - Less than 10%
- II - 1-5%
- III - 5-10%
- IV - 10-20%
- V - 20-28%

Seaman Population
1870





*Austrian Population
1870*



- I - Less than 10%
- II - 1-3%
- III - 3-6%
- IV - 6-9%

Health 1870

Based on total assessed real and personal estate

CHAPTER I.

Minnesota in 1871 - 72.

Minnesota had become one of the "United States of America" May 11, 1858, and then contained a population of 150,037.¹ A succession of able governors, an energetic and growing populace, and great economic resources wrought in 13 years an unprecedented internal development. We look in on Minnesota in '71 and '72 and find her happy enough under Governor Austin and a Republican administration,² and hectically engaged in the midst of her pioneer efforts. Still the extreme frontier state, by 1870 the more unedifying aspects of pioneer life were over, and Minnesota shared generously in an extraordinary economic boom of that day.³

It was a Minnesota quite different from the community we know. Much of the state was isolated and wilderness. Police did not guard street corners at a time when revolvers were common, and when there were fierce personal, urban, and political rivalries. The newspaper reading public even of that day was treated to spectacular revelations, sinister plots, and scandals in high life. What was an innocent editorial was to create great consternation and bear extensive fruit in the famous Seeger investigation arising out of the great state treasury defalcation in 1872-3.⁴

1. Folwell: "History of Minnesota - North Star State", p. 149
2. Folwell: "History of Minnesota - North Star State", p. 267
3. Shippee: "Social and Economic Effects of the Civil War with Special Reference to Minnesota" - Minn. History Bulletin, Vol. 2, p389-412
4. H. P. Hall: "Observations", p. 252-3.

A view of the decade 60-70 reveals an interesting growth - The best labor power of the state had gone forth to war. Indeed, Governor Ramsey had addressed to Lincoln the first tender of troops for service in that epic struggle.⁵ The Indian massacre had resulted in an exhausting ordeal with the red man. Immigration naturally languished, but for a brief time only for Minnesota was buoyant and in the first flush of youth.⁶ By 1865 Minnesota had rallied her recuperative powers, and soon again on the high road to fame and fortune. People came in ever-increasing numbers from many parts of Europe and America - Germans, Irish, Scandinavians, French, Austrians, progressive Americans from neighboring states and states on the Atlantic seaboard. All of these came with gladness in their hearts drawn to the land of promise in search for more of the good things of life. Inducements there were many. Hans Mattson, as secretary of the Board of Immigration created in 1867, was instrumental in attracting to the state its great Scandinavian population.⁷ Moreover, far-sighted federal legislation greatly accelerated the settling of the state. The happy policy of the United States to utilize the public domain to promote early settlement found an especial vindication in the rapid growth of Minnesota. It was fitting that a typical pioneer Minnesotian, Aldrich, had introduced the Homestead Bill as actually passed.⁸ In three years nearly 10000 had taken up homesteads in the state - 36% of the total.⁹ Land was the great induce-

5. Hyde & Stoddard: "History of the Great Northwest", p. 43.

6. Except as otherwise indicated, the information for this chapter is based on United States Census Reports for 1870 and 1880.

7. Shippee, L. B: "Social and Economic Effects of the Civil War with Special Reference to Minnesota", Minn. History Bulletin, Vol.2,

8. Folwell; "Minnesota - North Star State", p. 252-3. p.389-412.

9. Buck: Lecture in Minnesota History, July 19, 1922.

ment and the heavy immigration made for the rapid pushing of the frontier westward and northward in Minnesota - a frontier then located approximately 40 miles north of Ottertail.¹⁰

Possibly in a single year forty to fifty thousand immigrants came to Minnesota.¹¹ The population in 1860 was estimated at 172,023 and had increased in the following decade to 439,706. In this period only Nebraska and Kansas had higher rates of increase. By the end of the decade 1870-80 the population had reached 780,773, an increase of 77.6% over 1870, and was distributing itself farther west and northwest to the boundaries of the state.¹² Both native and foreign population, as it poured into the state in 1865-80, centered in the south-eastern part of the state, near the settled areas. There were 11 municipalities having each at least 25,000 inhabitants. "It is significant that all of these cities lay south of Stillwater and east of Mankato except Duluth, and all were located on navigable rivers except Rochester and Faribault." Four fifths of the population was contained in this region accessible to the St. Croix, Minnesota and Mississippi below the Sauk Rapids. Of the urban centers, 8 boasted two or more rail roads - St. Paul, Minneapolis, Austin, Winona, Mankato, Hastings, Owatonna, and Duluth.

The country population had increased from 122,530 to 327,698 and was similarly localized. Douglas and Stearns contained the principal settlements. This was in the hardwood belt along the route of the Red River Valley.¹³ Inadequate transportation and fuel delayed the

10. McClung: "Minnesota as it is in 1870", p. 169.

11. Robinson: "History of Agriculture in Minnesota", p. 62.

12. Shippee: "Minnesota History Bulletin", 2: p. 389-412 - "Social and Economic Effects of the Civil War with Special Reference to Minnesota"

13. Robinson: "History of Agriculture in Minnesota" Number 3, p. 62.

settling up of the prairie of Minnesota.¹³

A closer analysis must now be made of the elements of the Minnesota population of 1870. The native population numbered 279,009 or 63% of the total of whom 126,000 had been born in the state.¹⁴ A glance at the map reveals that the native population was indeed centered in the southeastern area, but that a portion of its more adventurous pioneers sprinkled itself farther north and west. Distant Pembina boasted of 64 souls of whom over 50% were native, while Itasca, Cass, Aitkin, Mille Lac, Traverse, Big Stone, and Kanabec had over 75% of its diminutive population native-born. A similar situation seemed to obtain in 1880, perhaps warranting the assertion that the native population was equally venturesome and as much concerned with the pushing out of the frontier as the foreign-born.

The 36% of the population which was foreign born was divided into several elements. Scandinavians, Germans, Irish were numerically ahead of all other groups. The foreign population was densest and from 50 to 75% of the total in the counties of Clay, Wilkin, Aitkin, Grant, Stevens, Chippewa, Pope, Douglas, Wantanwan, Isanti, and Chisago. We will, therefore, look to these counties for a greater manifestation of interest in affairs European, and will hope to show that this interest perhaps varied in each county in proportion to its foreign population. As in 1870, in no county by 1880 does the foreign-born constitute from 75 to 100% of the total inhabitants. An increase of foreign population in the counties which had only

13. Robinson: "History of Agriculture in Minnesota", Number 3, p. 62.

14. Folwell: "History of Minnesota - North Star State", p. 270.

1 to 25% in 1870 to 25 to 50% in 1880 can be noted in the counties of Beltrami, Big Stone, Rock, Olmsted, Martin, and Kanabec.

Before approaching our scrutiny of the German and French as population elements, we will briefly examine those foreign elements of the population whose views might be a bit less germane to our problem, but whose attitude towards contemporary problems would be significant. There were in 1870 21,746 Irish or 5% of the total and 14% of the foreign people. This element constituted less than 1% of the total population in 6 counties bordering on the frontier, indicating a characteristic tendency to adhere to the more settled areas. The larger number constituted from 1 to 5% of the total, and only in Pine and Dakota does this group reach 10 to 15% of the total. Then there were also study Scandinavians who in 1870 numbered 56,927 or about 15% of the foreign people. Of those counties in which Scandinavians made their homes we find but two in which the Scandinavian is less than 1% of the total - Nobles and Morrison. The largest per cent from 1 to 15 was distributed primarily in the counties bordering on Hennepin and Ramsey extending to Mille Lac, Todd, and Stearns, and in the second tier of counties in the south-eastern section. In the counties of Grant, Stevens, Chippewa, Isanti, Kandiyohi the Scandinavian population was estimated to be 45 to 55% of the total. A relatively large Norwegian and Swedish group would seem to be also indicated in the eight counties in which we find this element constituting 30 to 45% of the total.

We are now arrived to the point at which we may conveniently examine the German and French elements with which we are primarily concerned. In 1870 there were in Minnesota 41,364 Germans or 10%

of the total and 25% of the foreign people. They had been outnumbered by the Scandinavians. More than half the German population was Prussian, while 2,647 were Austrians. The largest aggregation of Austrians was found in LeSueur, McLeod, Nicollet, Winona - all in the southeastern area - except Wilkin and Pope farther west, both of which contained Austrians. The Prussian population was more widely distributed, but a good third was located in Hennepin, Ramsey, Washington, Carver, Sibley, Nicollet, Brown, Winona, Scott, LeSueur, and Morrison. The Germans had indeed come from all parts of the empire. There were over 2,000 from the state of Bohemia in some of whom tragic memories must have lingered of the titanic conflict at Sadowa. Over 400 Bohemians were located in Brown and Scott, 316 in Ramsey and 54 in Hennepin, while Stearns and Steele boasted 298 each. And finally, we come to the French population which was so thinly sprinkled - frequently one lone Frenchman to one county. In only two counties do we find the French making one to four per cent of the total - Carlton, boasting eight and Kanabec with one Frenchman out of a total population of 85. However, there were in each of the counties of Blue Earth, Carver, Dakota, Hennepin, Ramsey, Rice, and Winona over 50 Frenchmen, but of course less than 1% of the total. Counties such as Brown, Dodge, Faribault, Fillmore, Goodhue, Houston, LeSueur, Scott, McLeod, Nicollet, Wabasha, St. Louis, could boast of several dozen dapper Frenchmen. Yet if this element did not glory in quantity we may still hope that, while they and their German neighbors ploughed the soil by day, they were not too weary and indifferent to read the weekly paper by the dim candle light and that they did not skip the foreign news in brief.

Yet another question must receive our attention - that of wealth and its concentration. Nobody need remain poor in a commonwealth which was a garden-spot. It was the richness of the earth that encouraged men to labor so vastly in regions of eternal loneliness, to build up an easier time for those who were to follow after. So we do not find a heavy personal or state debt obtaining in 1870. The total funded debt of the state was but \$300,000. Pauperism was infrequent, only 684 persons receiving support in 1870.¹⁵ Money was plentiful, for the government was paying up war claims, war bounties, amounts due discharged soldiers. That portion of the state where the population was densest was also leading in wealth. Naturally we find banks mostly located in this region.¹⁶ There were 17 national banks with a capital of \$1,780,000 and more than this number of private banks with capitals ranging from \$25,000 to \$100,000. These banks were all located in the largest urban centers of the state.

As we would surmise, a greater number of persons were engaged in agriculture in 1870 than in any other occupation. We find the tilled area of the state increasing from 556,250 acres to 1,863,316 acres in 1870 and in 1875 to 3,000,000 acres, while the number of farms rose from 17,999 to 46,500.¹⁷ The farms were large averaging about 146 acres. A large section of the cultivated area was given over to banana farming carried on by capitalists owning thousands of acres and employing many men.¹⁸ Wheat was the major crop, and a high yield per acre placed Minnesota with Illinois, Iowa,

15. U. S. Census Reports 1870.

16. McClung: "Minnesota as it is in 1870", p.183-184

17. Robinson, "History of Agriculture" Number 3, p.73.

18. Folwell: "History of Minnesota - North Star State" p. 273.

and Wisconsin as the greatest wheat producing states in the union in 1870.¹⁹ Wheat-growing was densest where population was dense, oats and barley having the same center of production. A marked concentration of agricultural production obtained along the Minnesota and Mississippi River.¹⁹ It is very interesting to observe also that the acreage of small grains sown was considerably extended after the introduction of harvesting machinery begun in the fifties. However, this agricultural revolution did not exert its greatest effects until the civil war when the state was depleted of much of its best manpower. Between 1860 and 1864 not less than 250,000 American reapers were sold. It was in this period, too, that the manufacturing of flour was revolutionized (1871) through the introduction of the middlings purifier by General C. E. Washburn and Mr. Christian.²⁰ It is obvious that these revolutions in the primary productive activities of the state were of great importance to its growth.

Several minor crops were receiving attention by 1870. Truly necessity is the mother of invention, for when the supply of sugar was cut off during the civil war farmers of Minnesota began to grow sorghum for the manufacture of syrup.²¹ Wool-growing, the cultivation of tobacco, potatoes, dairy products received attention. Lumbering was given a great impetus from the war.

19. Robinson: "History of Agriculture", p. 73.

20. Folwell: "Minnesota - North Star State", p. 274.

21. Robinson: "History of Agriculture", p. 73.

A brief word as to manufacturing may throw still further light on the economic situation in 1870. It is impressive to note that there were 2270 manufacturing establishments with 11,290 hands employed. This is not a bad showing for a pioneer state.²² Yet the total capitalization of these concerns was only \$11,993,729. The number of establishments had increased from 1860 to 1870 66.01% and the value of their products 590.98%.²³ Quite naturally, commodities manufactured were objects of immediate utility. Thus there were 27 manufacturing establishments of agricultural implements, 172 boot and shoe industries, 87 furniture and house fixture concerns. The fabrication of sashes, doors, blinds, etc., was in its initial development. More than half the capital invested and nearly half the number of establishments was devoted to the milling of flour and primary processes of lumber manufacture. About one third of all persons engaged in manufacturing were employed in these industries.

We are too reluctant to leave our brief examination of the state without a glance at the situation as to transportation because it is obvious that an important factor in breaking up frontier isolation was the development of railroad communication with the outside world. We note that election returns came in very slowly in '71 and '72 because very much of the territory was dependent on the clatter of semi-weekly, tri-weekly, and even weekly stage-coaches,²⁴ and only a small portion of the state could be reached by telegraph. The wat-

22. Shippee: "Social and Economic Effects of the Civil War with Special Reference to Minnesota", Minn. History Bulletin, p. 389-412.

23. St. Cloud Times, May 20, 1871, taken from Pussey, Minnesota Report for 1870.

24. H. P. Hall: "Observations", p 96.

terways, Red River carts, and stage lines had served as primary means of communication with the outside world, but happily the vision of Asa Whitney was not to be longer ingnored. Within 5 years the railroads began to supplant all other means of communication. As mile upon mile of tracks was constructed, it brought about a frontier"on wheels of its own". Prairie towns were built in a day and then left again to the coyotes when the first fever of railroad construction had attacked the state.²⁵ One is conscious always that the multiplication of tracks was inseparably bound up with the settling up of the state. For instance, the main tide of immigration to the Red River Valley came only after the rail-road had provided means of sending the staple product of the country, wheat, to the markets of St.Paul, Minneapolis and Duluth.²⁶ In those days of swelling fortunes and earnest men, railroad building went forward with monumental success after the first period of miscarriage.

Minnesota became a part of the world of affairs when in 1867 the Milwaukee and St.Paul entered Minnesota from the east.²⁷ The construction of tracks went joyously forward from 1865 to 1873, and by 1870 there had been constructed 1092.50 miles of railroad.i In 1871 the main line of the St.Paul and Pacific reached Breckenridge and towns grew up along its line out of the profound emptiness of the plains.²⁸ The Northern Pacific had reached Moorhead, and settlement along its line was going eagerly forward. Direct rail communication between St.Paul and Chicago by way of Tomah, Wisconsin, was established the same year.²⁹ In 1872 the Minnesota Valley Railroad

25. Folwell: "Minnesota - North Star State" p.161-7

26. Upham: "Settlement and Development of Red River Valley"p.19. Vol. 8, Minnesota Historical Collection.

27. Folwell: "Minnesota - North Star State", p. 255

28. Robinson: "History of Agriculture", p. 38.

29. Ibid. p.38.

reached the Missouri River at Sioux City, while the Winona line reached the western boundary of the state. It was estimated that in 1872 there was one mile of completed railroad for every 360 inhabitants.³⁰

The state was not only advancing in material things, but was interesting itself in things intellectual. One is conscious of a great interest in the betterment of educational facilities, for that and the temperance movement was a favorite theme of the editorials of that day. Yet we do not expect that in the tumult and confusion of civilization in its frontier aspects there should be found many who devoted their lives to books. We are glad to know that there were 1413 libraries and curiously enough one lone librarian, 5 book-binding establishments, 7 paper establishments, and 20 printing and publishing concerns. School attendance was good for almost 100,000 children were in school or one-fourth the population. This fact coupled with the fact that about one-third of the disbursements from the state treasury were for educational purposes is significant. The people of the state point with pride to Alexander Ramsey who prevented the dissipation of the school lands as was the case of Wisconsin. A low illiteracy in the state also prevailed - only 5% of the total population being illiterate. School standards improved after 1867 when Mark H. Dunnell became state superintendent of schools. At this time Dr. Folwell also reorganized the University of Minnesota.

30. St. Peter Tribune, Jan. 3, 1872.

31. Folwell: "History of Minnesota - North Star State", p.256.

A college of Science, Literature, and the Arts opened its doors to boys and girls in 1869 with a faculty of one president, eight professors, and one instructor.³² Such was the universal erudition of the college professor of that day that he was able to teach an entire college curriculum himself! Carleton college was established in 1866, the Shattuck School in 1865, Macalester College was in its incipient stage, while St. Mary's of Faribault was fostered by that eminent divine - Bishop Whipple.³³ Then there were three normal schools established - at Winona, Mankato, and St. Cloud. This is a splendid record for an adolescent state.³⁴

It is not to be wondered at that the state of Minnesota in '71 and '72 progressed with such phenomenal success, for a long imposing list of distinguished men were helping mould the state. There was first and foremost Dr. W. Folwell who, perhaps more than any of his contemporaries, will have left the greatest impress on the state. Then there was Cushman K. Davis who stands out luminously as lawyer and author. His published works include "Lectures on International Law", "Madame Roland", and "The Law of Shakespeare".³⁵ There was the Rt. Rev. H. B. Whipple, bishop of the Episcopal Church of Minnesota since 1859 - a D.D. and LL.D. from Oxford and Cambridge - the friend of the Indian and of humanity.³⁶ Prominent on the list is James Jerome Hill, the man with a passion for achievement who in 1871 was already dreaming in terms of a great railroad system which was to make his name known throughout the world.³⁷ There was John S. Pillsbury³⁸

32. Folwell: "Minnesota - North Star State", p.260.

33. Hyde and Stoddard: "History of the Great Northwest", p.80-81; p.281.

34. Folwell: "Minnesota - North Star State", p.257.

35. Minnesota Historical Collections, Vo. 14, p.165.

36. Ibid, p.846.

37. Ibid, p.328.

38. Ibid, p.603.

a friend of learning and of the university and for six years governor of the state. While we select at random from a distinguished group, we must not neglect Ignatius Donnelly,³⁹ the erudite Hibernian, who is said to have been the best example in American History of what Theodore Roosevelt called the "lunacy fringe of reformers". Yet this farmer, poet, politician, and author was to convince W. Ewart Gladstone of the truth of his theories in the New Atlantis! Since there was but one author in 1870, we wonder whether Mr. Donnelly as early as 1869 told the census taker that his profession was in the realm of authorship. We regretfully must omit other great men whose biographies are full of achievement.

It goes without saying that the great men of the state were interested in the finer things of life. What was there for the ordinary people who had left behind them familiar associations to come to the end of nowhere and to many hardships? Perhaps they read the newspapers. At least, they were available for in the decade 1860-70 Minnesota had increased her newspapers from 49 to 95 with a circulation of 110,778. Of these papers, 79 were weekly and 5 monthly. There were two monthly magazines devoted to agriculture and horticulture with a circulation of 4,000. There was no urgent need for commercial and financial papers, and so there were none. The largest number of papers, of course, were political of which there were 83 with a circulation of 91,878. Of these there were 6 dailies with a circulation of 14,800, 5 tri-weekly with a circulation of 4,200, and 72 weekly with a circulation of 72,878. The general character of these papers was good, for we find great men also engaged in journal-

39. Minnesota Historical Collections, Vol. 14, p.182.

ism in that day. For those who cared, then, there was no paucity of reading matter.

This was, then, a prosperous era for Minnesota. Every department of the state showed a healthy, steady growth. When we stand in the stately silence of the historical rooms of the Minnesota Historical Society, organized with the territory in 1849,⁴⁰ with its cupboards of the relics of the years and of the men that so captivate the imagination, when we see the faded mementoes and uniforms, the dim photographs of steamboats, the bright scarlet costume of the Indians, we can see again the frontier and the conditions that welded the men and women of the Minnesota we know. The memories here guarded carry us back to 1871 and the days of fierce urban rivalries, the intensity of which was well, though unconsciously expressed by a muddled compositor, who with the change of a single letter grouped Minneapolis and St. Paul as the "duel city". The papers of that day suggest a restless activity and enterprise - a formative period. The frontier element was inclined to exuberance of conduct, yet only 129 persons were in prison. We are conscious that Minneapolis and St. Paul and Duluth were still somewhat frontier towns tempered by a leaven of Boston asceticism, a curious combination. Life was all bustle and men were busy grappling with the insistent problems of daily bread. If the words of a contemporary zealot be accepted Minnesota in 1870 had gobbled⁴¹ the brains, muscle, and capital of the world. Truly, the world was coming to Minnesota where a farm could be had for nothing!

40. Folwell: "History of Minnesota - North Star State", p. 91

41. McClung, "Minnesota as it is in 1870" p. 285 - 288.

CHAPTER II.

The Press of Minnesota.

Since the solution of our problem was sought primarily in the newspapers current in Minnesota in 1871 and 1872, the character of the press of the state in that period ought to receive discussion. In the course of my study, I was able to examine the files of 73 newspapers, over 75% of the total number then published in the state. Of this number, the files were incomplete for approximately one-fourth. This situation was not due to the carelessness of the archivist, but more to the fact that there were newspapers constantly appearing in the newer counties having but an ephemeral existence some perishing from destitution, others being merged with more successful newspapers. There appears to have been in the early seventies a ballooning of journalism⁴² similar to that which obtained during the boom of the fifties. The examination of the papers showed that the largest number were political in character - 49 Republican journals, 18 Democratic newspapers, while 5 were Liberal. In this latter category we find the St. Paul Dispatch, the Mower County Register, Wells Atlas, Rushford Journal, and Mankato Union.

To come to the dailies first, we are agreeably surprised to find no less than 7. Since the first press established in Minnesota was in Ramsey County,⁴³ we will give precedence to the dailies of St. Paul. There were four published here. The St. Paul Dispatch

42. Minnesota Historical Collection, Vol. 10, "Territorial Press of Minnesota", D. S. Johnston, p. 276.

43. Minnesota Historical Collection, Vol. 10, "Minnesota Journalism in Territorial Period", D. S. Johnston, p. 247.

was first issued February 29, 1868 by David Ramaley and Hall as an evening Republican paper. April, 1871 Harlan P. Hall became sole manager and publisher.⁴⁴ This daily was not available in the files except as a Weekly Dispatch edition beginning August 30, 1872. Another interesting effort in daily journalism was noted in the case of the St. Paul Evening Journal beginning November 23, 1872. Neither of these two dailies have much positive value for our purpose. By far the most important St. Paul dailies were the St. Paul Daily Press and the St. Paul Daily Pioneer, of opposite political persuasion. That the era of personal journalism was not yet over in Minnesota is clear from one circumstance which was given a monopoly of space in these dailies in 1872. In that year the Pioneer went into a great lottery scheme to increase its circulation. It devoted much valuable space to a description of the prizes. The scheme was successful so far as circulation was concerned, but it broke the concern.⁴⁵ The Daily Press rose up in wrath, expounded on the wickedness of the lottery system, and finally on the iniquities of its competitor. To work off their immense edition, the Pioneer found it necessary to purchase a two-cylinder Potter Press. This was capable of 3,000 impressions an hour, and became the property of the Pioneer Press on the consolidation of the two papers in 1875 when the Pioneer united with the Press under the title of the Pioneer Press and the paper became Republican.⁴⁶ The St. Paul Daily Press had been established by William R. Marshall⁴⁷ associated with J. A. Wheelock and who

44. "Minnesota Editors & Publishers Association Proceedings" Since 1860. p. 32-57- Address on the "Press of Minnesota" by J. F. Williams

45. History of Goodhue County, p. 161-166.

46. "Minnesota Editors & Publishers Association Proceedings" Since 1860. p. 32-57, Address on the "Press of Minnesota" by J. F. Williams

47. Minn. Hist. Collection, Vol. 10 "Journalism of the Territorial Period" p 247-351.

had merged the St. Paul Times and Minnesotian into the Press.⁴⁷ This paper was Marshall's official organ and consequently Republican. J. A. Wheelock proved to be particularly able as an editor and had had some experience in journalism in the fifties when he was editor of the Real Estate and Financial Advertiser⁴⁸ established October 5, 1854 during the boom period of the fifties, but it also went down with the crash. Finally, there was the St. Paul Pioneer Daily under the editorship of Oscar Stephenson, a southerner by birth and a graduate of the law school of the University of Virginia.⁴⁸ This paper was naturally solidly Democratic.

This brings us to a consideration of the Minneapolis dailies of which there were two.⁴⁹ It was interesting to find files of the Minneapolis Daily News of which volume 1, number 1 was published May, 1872 by George Kittredge Shaw as a Republican newspaper. The official birth of this paper has been perhaps erroneously given as August 5, 1903 by one of the first two newspaper carriers of Minnesota.⁵⁰ The political twin sister of the St. Paul Daily Press was the Minneapolis Tribune founded in 1867. The establishment of this ^{daily} paper launched journalism of the permanent kind in Minneapolis. The establishment of the Minneapolis Tribune was the result of an amalgamation of the Daily Chronicle published by J. H. Stevens, F. L. Smith, Col. L. P. Plummer inter alia, and the State Atlas, a weekly published by Col. W. S. King. Senator W. D. Washburn was

47. Minn. Historical Collection, Vol. 10 - "Journalism of the Territorial Period" p.247-351.

48. Minnesota Historical Collection, Vol. 14.

49. Lee, J. M., "History of American Journalism" p.240-242.

50. O'Brien, F. G., "Minnesota Pioneer Sketches", p.75; p.100.

president of the amalgamated concern.⁵¹ Minneapolis had had an earlier daily in 1856 when the Falls Evening News was established by William Croffut and Edwin Clark,⁵² but it had perished like many other papers in the late fifties. It appears that the Tribune in 1871 and 1872 was published by a certain L. W. Powell although it seems to have undergone rapid changes in editors.⁵³ The editorials were remarkably good. No less an author and journalist than William Croffut who later attained to a national reputation as correspondent and writer of magazines held a position at this time on the Minneapolis Tribune.⁵⁴ His progressive spirit and connection with the Tribune is clear from his own words: "Col. W. S. King enticed me from Chicago to help manage the Tribune in the limestone triangle near the bridge. . . . When Uncle Loren and his squad captured Lord Gordon in Canada, I got Ed Stevens to illustrate the victory in the Tribune. Col. King thought the pictorial feature a great outrage, but it sold the paper immensely and I suppose it was the first illustrated sheet ever printed in Minnesota."⁵⁵ Such progressive men in the profession of journalism augured well for the future of the press of Minnesota.

The only other daily published in the state was published at Duluth - the Duluth Morning Call destined to enjoy but a brief existence. It was established January 4, 1871 as a Republican daily

51. O'Brien, F.G. "Minnesota Pioneer Sketches", p. 100.

52. Ibid, p. 75.

53. Ibid, p. 100

54. Minn. Historical Collection, Vol. 14, also statement of Dr. W. W. Folwell.

55. Press Club of Minneapolis Souvenir 1904, p. 31, article by W. A. Croffut on the "St. Anthony Press".

by Seth Wilbur Payne⁵⁶ and died without pain May 28, 1871. It had all the earmarks of amateurish journalism.

To come now to the weeklies, we will consider first those more metropolitan in character. In addition to the St. Paul Weekly Dispatch to which reference has been already made, there were four other important weekly papers published in St. Paul. The North Western Chronicle was established November 1866 by J. C. Devereux, an Irish Catholic journalist who had attained to a captaincy during the civil war, and subsequently had established the Chronicle.⁵⁷ As we would, therefore, expect this particular weekly was devoted to the defense of Catholicism and was Democratic in politics. The editorials were especially worth-while, although too much space was devoted to much protesting against the outrages inflicted by the Piedmontese Government against the Pope, and was particularly anti-English. Of the foreign-language press, there was the "Wanderer", another Catholic weekly established November 16, 1867 as a Catholic "Familien Zeitung". Fr. Fassbind⁵⁸ was an able editor and, happily, devoted some space to foreign comment. The other German weekly was the "Minnesota Staats-Zeitung" established in 1856⁵⁹ as a Republican weekly edited by Theodore Sander and Petzold. The latter was a native American.⁶⁰ Of the Scandinavian press, the most important was Der Svenska Monitoren, a Swedish paper published by N. Gumallius and J. A. Vanstrum.⁶¹

56. No mention in biographies, Vol. 14, Minn. Historical Collection.

57. Minn. Historical Collection, Vol. 14.

58. Minn. Historical Collection, Vol. 14 - no reference to Fassbind.

59. Minnesota Editors & Publishers Association Proceedings Since 1860
p. 32-57

60. Minn. Historical Collection, Vol. 14.

61. I did not examine the files of this paper.

As for the Minneapolis Weeklies, but one was available for examination - the St. Anthony Falls Democrat, edited by J.J. Green who subsequently became editor of the Le Sueur Sentinel.⁶² We may group with these metropolitan weeklies of St. Paul and Minneapolis also those of Duluth, two in number. There was the Duluth Weekly edited by Dr. D'Unger,⁶² and established April 2, 1871 as a Democratic paper. It breathed its last October 1, 1871 when it was lashed out of existence by savage attacks from the Duluth Minnesotian. This paper was the organ of Dr. Thomas Foster, and naturally violent in its Republican opinions for Dr. Foster was for some time leader of the Republican party in Minnesota. The paper was established in 1868. Its editorials were fairly good, but Dr. Foster is an example par excellence of the editorial tyrant. He had received his degree in medicine, but he preferred to use his talents in journalism.⁶³

We come next to a discussion of those urban papers published in counties having at least two weeklies and a large per cent of foreign born. First and foremost because of a high type of original and independent editorials, we find the Winona Weekly Republican published by Daniel Sinclair and Co. This Scottish journalist had come to Winona in 1856 and published the Republican continuously for the next half century.⁶⁴ Then there was the St. Charles Herald published by C. H. Slocum,⁶⁵ professional journalist and later editor of the Glencoe Register after 1887. The paper was exceptionally poor for an urban weekly. Stearns County gloried in no less than three weeklies: the St. Cloud Times edited by L. A. Evans,⁶⁶ an attorney,

62. Minnesota Historical Collection, Vol. 14.

63. Ibid.

64. Ibid.

65. Ibid.

66. Ibid.

democratic in politics yet an almost radical journal reflecting as it did the New York Sun; the St. Cloud Journal, Republican, edited by W. B. Mitchell who had received training in newspaper work as assistant to his aunt Mrs. Jane G. Swisshelm.⁶⁷ The latter was an ardent champion of women's rights and may perhaps be called the Susan B. Anthony of Minnesota. We can not resist mentioning at this time also the only other woman journalist in Minnesota in 1871-72 - Bella French, who published with A. M. Hutchinson the "Western Progress" at Spring Valley, Fillmore County. This was a journal devoted to "literature, science, agriculture, reform, general and local intelligence". Both of these emancipated women are noteworthy also because of their tendency to burst into poetry through the columns of their papers. The third weekly was the St. Cloud Press established February 22, 1872 as a Republican paper by W. B. Mitchell. For all practical purposes the Journal-Press might have been one paper. Next, we look in on Austin also glorying in two weeklies. - There was the Mower County Transcript edited by George H. Otis and A. A. Harwood as a Republican paper. The latter was an attorney who later became a regent of the state university.⁶⁸ The Mower County Register was also a Republican paper published by C. H. Davidson and H. A. Bashford. Coming to Mankato, we find two fairly good weeklies: the Mankato Weekly Review, democratic, and published by J. C. Wise who had come to the state in 1859; the Mankato Union, democratic, and edited by Wm. B. Griswold and Howard Cleveland. Both

67. Minnesota Historical Collection, Vol. 14.

68. Ibid.

men were lawyers as well as journalists.⁶⁹ Perhaps the ablest paper in the state was represented in the Rochester Post edited by J. A. Leonard and W. S. Booth - both attorneys.⁶⁹ The former was exceedingly well-read - a graduate of the Philadelphia Medical College who had settled in Rochester in 1858 being subsequently admitted to the bar. From 1865 to 1899, Mr. Leonard edited the Rochester Post giving to the fortunate citizens a thoroughly good sheet. Mr. Leonard had also enjoyed the benefits of travel holding consular offices at Edinburgh, Calcutta and Shanghai. Not the least of his contributions was the History of Olmsted County published in 1910. The Rochester Central Record was a much less able paper - was semi-weekly published by C. R. Conway as a Republican paper. There was only one county other than Ramsey and Hennepin boasting of four weeklies. This distinction belongs to Faribault County where an interesting newspaper situation prevailed. There was the Winnebago City Press edited by W. H. Kribs⁷⁰ as a Republican paper. Then there was the Wells Atlas edited by C. A. Lamnsberry who had been a colonel in the Civil War, but was a journalist by profession.⁷¹ The Delevan Bee saw the light June 8, 1872 established by Carr. Huntington who had been in newspaper work at Winnebago City prior to establishing the Bee. This journal was avowedly Democratic. Lastly, we find the "Minnesota Southwest" also published by Carr Huntington from September 2, 1871 as a Republican weekly. It is curious to note that these

69. Minnesota Historical Collection, Vol. 14.

70. Ibid. not mentioned

71. Ibid.

two weeklies were edited by the same person in the same county yet of different political persuasion. No doubt Mr. Huntington was determined to have as wide a circulation as possible.

Among other representative weeklies published in counties having a large number of foreign-born and having but one weekly, we find papers such as the New Ulm Plaindealer. This professed to be an independent sheet, and was edited by George H. Walsh and E. St. Julien Cox, both lawyers.⁷² The Hon. E. St. Julien Cox later became judge of the 9th judicial district, and as early as 1871 was frequently unable to think clearly for his associate editor often rescued him from drunken brawls ending in fisticuffs. For this particular weakness, Cox was later impeached for misdemeanor in office. There have been but two impeachments in the judiciary of the state - that of Cox and of Sherman Page who was not convicted.⁷³ Other representative weeklies include the Owatonna Journal edited by J. A. Spelman,⁷⁴ C. S. Crandall and Bickham; the North Star published at Red Wing by J. Newton Nind who later became city editor of the Minneapolis Tribune (1877); the Preston Republican published by W.A. Hotchkiss⁷⁵ who had come to Minnesota in 1854; the St. Peter Tribune edited by Joseph K. Moore, a native of Massachusetts who had come to Minnesota in 1859; the Freeborn County Standard Republican and edited by Daniel G. Parker,⁷⁵ an attorney and journalist.

72. Minnesota Historical Collection, Vol. 14.

73. Dr. Folwell - M.S. for Volume 3.

74. Not mentioned in the biographies.

75. Minnesota Historical Collection, Vol. 14.

One thing is very clear from our brief survey - the editors were able men , laywers, teachers, physicians who had had earlier journalistic experience. Yet many of the weeklies published in the southeastern area of the state were not crowded with news other than locals and had but few solid editorials. On the whole, the papers published on the northern and western periphery of the frontier of the state do not suffer much by comparison. In this case, extenuating circumstances soften our judgment. Five representative frontier papers may be mentioned: Two in Clay county - Red River Star established July 6, 1872 by W. W. Nickles, and the Glyndon established June 27, 1872 by Rev. A. Deming and E. B. Chambers; the Brainerd Tribune established in Crow Wing County, February 20, 1872 by M. E. Russell as a Republican paper; the Detroit Record published in Becker County by W. F. Ball from May 18, 1872, and Otter City Record also edited by W. F. Ball from September 30, 1871 to May 11, 1872 when the paper ceased publication. Among weeklies which certainly were not superior to these frontier papers, we mention eleven particularly local in content: the Glenwood Eagle published by H. G. Rising; the Willmar Republican in Kandiyohi County, published by J. Hand and H. M. Brown; Shakopee Argus, Scott County, Republican published by Henry Hinds; the Jackson Republican, Jackson County, published by Chamberlain and Avery; Chaska Valley Herald, Carver County, edited by F. E. DuToit; Delano, Wright County Eagle, and Big Woods Citizen to September 27, 1872; Lanesboro, Fillmore County Clarion and Herald edited by S. B. Condy and L. C. Bixby; Monticello, Wright County Times published by T. A. Perrine; Rushford Labor Reform published by A. E. Ball, beginning April 23, 1872; Chisago, Taylors' Falls Reporter edited by

Charles W. Folsom, and Eyota Advertiser, Olsted County, published by F. G. Bolton as a monthly magazine. That these editors belong to a more mediocre class is perhaps clear when we consider that the large majority were sufficiently insignificant to escape the searchlight of the biographer.

In practically all cases, the tendency, then, was to amplify the local and condense the editorial page. As for the newer towns, the new life seems to have crowded out much even of national importance although the cost of Nellie Grant's trip to Europe did worry an occasional editor here and there. The "Eyota Advertiser" bears witness "that the tendency is to read less of politics and more of such as gives information to business and work."⁷⁶ Perhaps the agencies for getting the news were defective and explain this tendency to some degree. In 1849 the only agency through which the Pioneer could receive news was through a weekly mail by steamboat and in winter by stage from Dubuque.⁷⁷ There was no telegraph and no railroad nearer than Elgin, Illinois.⁷⁷ The improvement in the apparatus for the collection and transmission of news reflects the development of the state. The first telegraph line to St. Paul was established in the fall of 1860. Goodrich as editor of the Pioneer and Democrat had exclusive first use of the dispatches until Marshall started the St. Paul Press.⁷⁸ With the dawn of the telegraphic era for Minnesota, the press of the state could avail itself of the

76. Feb. 1, 1872 - Eyota Advertiser, Olmsted County.

77. History of Goodhue County, p. 165

78. Minnesota Historical Collection, Vol. 12, p. 221.

services of the associated press. This tremendous organization was first formed in 1848 as the New York Associated Press.⁷⁹ Newspapers in other parts of the country availed themselves of the benefits of this association and out of it grew the New England Association, and the Western Association. In 1870 the American Press Association was established, and furnished news to 84 editors in the United States Association Press news dispatches reached Minnesota by telegraph over the Northwestern Company's⁸⁰ line, and news by cable came to St. Paul. The Pioneer complains that the broken cables of the English-American Cable Company have not been repaired and that the Pioneer has been dependent for months past on a single cable for news "of the wonderful doings in Europe" and that it took at present ten hours to get the news.⁸¹

On the whole, these were not such poor facilities for getting the news. Moreover, there was a marked dependence on the New York papers for information in 1871-72. Much of the foreign news was still derived from such papers as the New York Sun, Herald, Times, and Tribune. The Minneapolis Tribune, St. Paul Press, Minnesota Staats-Zeitung, and Duluth Minnesotian reflected the New York Tribune, Times and Herald. The Pioneer reflected the New York World which was Democratic. The St. Cloud Times faithfully mirrored the New York Sun - the anti-Grant paper and the sensational, personal journal of that period. These New York papers contained lengthy accurate information in regard to the Franco-Prussian War. Correspondents of all these great journals were at the seat of the war and cabled the

79. Hudson, F, "Journalism in the U. S. from 1690-1872, p. 608-617.

80. Ibid, p. 608-617.

81. St. Paul Pioneer, June 2, 1871.

news directly.⁸² The New York Herald had 24 correspondents in the field. Yet most of these New York papers took much of their foreign news from London and continental European newspapers so that the information had been well-digested and condensed before it reached the editors of Minnesota to undergo a final sifting. London papers were most often quoted. There was the London Times,⁸³ a zealous supporter of Palmerston and the parliamentary reporter; the Daily Telegraph approved by the younger school of Palmerstonians, zealous in the advocacy of its own sort of Liberalism and formidable opponent of the Times; the Daily News which was Liberal without being radical; the Pall Mall Gazette, Liberal in Palmerstonian sense; the Globe, a vigorous exponent of cautious conservatism; the Manchester Guardian, liberal; the Morning Post, thorough-going and consistent in its Toryism; the Spectator genuinely Liberal but not radical and supporter of Gladstone. From Ireland, we find quoted the Dublin Telegraph, Irish Times, Flag of Ireland, Dublin Nation, Cork Herald. Exerpts were also made from a host of continental newspapers: from Austria, the Vienna Gazette, the Wiener-- Abend Post, the Vienna Debate, the Wiener Presse, the Freundenblatt; from Belgium, the Echo du Nord and Independence Belge; from Italy, the Vespa of Florence, and Opinion Nationale; from Russia, Invalide Russ published at St. Petersburg and the Moscow Gazette; from France, the Moniteur, Journal Officiel, both official papers, Figaro, clerical and conservative, The Temps, Paris Liberte, LaPatrie, LaSiecle, Ralute, Rappel, Journals des Debats, Paris Cloche, Salute, Opinion National, Cri du Peuple,

82. Hudson, "Journalism in U. S." p.608-617.

83. All the information regarding English newspapers is taken from Fox Bourne, "English Newspapers", p.261-293.

Tricolor et Politique, Revue des Deux Mondes Avenir, Venquer et Nouvelle Republique, and Gaulois; from Germany, the Prussian papers- Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung and the North German Gazette-Staats-anzeiger, the Dresden Journal, Frankfort Kritik, and Industriel Alsacien. This is an imposing list, yet but a fragment of foreign news finally was given space in many of the country papers of Minnesota in 1871 and 1872.

To summarize our findings, we are aware that it was still an era of picric journalism,⁸⁴ but there are evidences that the leading newspaper men of the state were beginning to emancipate themselves from this narrowing type of journalism. The advent of the telegraph had touched the dailies with a potent wand. City papers were crowded with news, while the more local and country papers were beginning to be the special advertisers of their place of publication. The newspapers of Minnesota here and there, however, were becoming co-extensive with civilization. We find at the top of an ambitious county paper the Kasson Republican (Dodge County) edited by U. B. Shaver,⁸⁵ the legend from Cowper's terse description of the newspaper:

"A map of busy life -
Its fluctuations and vast concerns."

The great dailies gleaned the news of the world and doled it out to their readers. The weeklies picked up such events as their editors saw fit to appropriate. This situation was well described by J. A. Leonard of the Rochester Post. "It is interesting to watch the crys-

84. Lee, J. M. "History of American Journalism", p. 321.

85. Minnesota Historical Collection, Vol. 14.

tallization of the news as it penetrates through the different grades of papers; how a full-page account in the New York Dailies of the occupation of Paris by the conquering German armies becomes a two-column leader in a Chicago paper, a quarter-column telegraphic dispatch with a column of comments in those farther west and in the next issue of a frontier weekly is precipitated into brief announcement that on such a day 'The Germans Entered Paris'.⁸⁶ But it was pleasant to find that some local papers were no longer a rehash of the city dailies. Here and there a busy editor ran out of material and was unable to resist a heavy editorial - that prosy, painful, solemn literary production expressive of the editor's opinion on some subject of national or state importance. The matter would be given in original form "though every idea in it might have rolled over the faces of the primer type of half a continent."⁸⁷ Certainly the greater charm of the village weekly lay in its local importance. In the shanty of the frontier settler that rocked in the blasts of our hyperborean winters, the local paper was particularly welcome and as sure to be found about the house as the inevitable mortgage on the farm. Yet if the local sheet was the encyclopedia of the learning of the settlers, then it was not dangerous. But if frontier editors did permit the local to elbow out other news, yet they led the vanguard of civilization and the way to empire. As we look over these four-page sheets often blurred from the bad printing, one is

86. Minn. Editors and Publishers Assoc. Proceedings, June, 1871. Address on the "Local Press" by J.A. Leonard, p.9-15.

87. J. A. Leonard, p.9-15, "Local Press", Minnesota Editors and Publishers Assoc. Proceedings, June, 1871.

reminded that the

"Rudiments of empire here
Are plastic yet and warm"

Above all, one is aware that things in the newspaper offices were not systematized. We find curious examples of all-around reporting. Perhaps five or six youths and middle-aged men were doing all the writing for the two Minneapolis newspapers and two other writers were supplying a similar number of St. Paul dailies. The case of Charles E. Russell may be cited who, at the time, was with the Minneapolis Tribune as market reporter and dramatic critic. Undoubtedly, this versatile reporter supplied to the interested reader the salient facts regarding pork and poetry. But an independent, inclusive press was in the making. The proceedings of the Minnesota editors and publishers who held their first annual meeting at St. Paul, February 20, 1867 also point to the dawn of this new era. Henceforth new ideals were to influence the press such as were expressed in a poem on the "Minnesota Press" by Henry A. Castle:

"Store its brain with the learning of all the years -
In the glint of its eye fix a world-searching mirror"⁸⁸

88. Proceedings of the Minnesota Editors and Publishers Association,
1870, p. 28.

CHAPTER III.

Attitude Toward Franco-Prussian Affairs in 1871 and 1872.

This analysis of public opinion in Minnesota on French and German events of 1871 and 1872 falls into two divisions - that which was expressed in the newspapers from January to July, 1871, and that which appeared during the remainder of the period under our purview. For there is a wide difference in the interest reflected in the two periods owing to the diplomatic situation between France and Germany. Early in 1871 the second period of the Franco-Prussian War was terminating in the bombardment of Paris.⁸⁹

This was an event in which the dailies and weeklies of Minnesota reflected a keen interest, for at least one column of the papers was devoted to foreign news. When the bombardment of Paris began early in January, the papers were packed with news of the siege, although one could have expected more from certain papers such as the Rochester Central Record or Goodhue County Republican. Editorials were numerous in that exciting month, but confusion of thought appears owing perhaps to the inaccurate telegraphic dispatches. For instance "the tide of success is turning against Prussia in France, they having evidently been caught too far from home and out in the cold The hopes of the French are increasing, and it is a rising tide which, with such a people, may eventuate in inflicting on their invaders a terrible punishment."⁹⁰ In view of the

89. Hazen, "Europe Since 1815", p. 297.

90. Minneapolis Tribune, January 5, 1871.

slight losses of the Germans, the uncertainty of the fall of Paris created an abundance of comment. "In Prussia the demands for a speedy bombardment have become clamorous The bombardment has been postponed owing rather to the difficulty of reaching the city effectively, the Prussian batteries being incomplete."⁹¹ Neither was the ultimate result clear, and we find interesting conjectures. "If the Germans are once in possession of Paris, they will take a firm footing and govern it by law until the French elect a responsible government - that is, a government which will consent to whatever terms of peace the conquerors may choose to dictate. . . . It is impossible the Prussians will recognize, as a preliminary measure, the constitutional government under Napoleon as the best way of getting ^{of} out the labyrinth and then order a general election for the ratification of whatever treaties may be agreed upon between France and Germany. However, no political arrangements can be entered into until the fall of Paris, an event which can not be postponed more than a month longer, whether an engagement takes place or not. Concerted resistance now steadily appears in all parts of France, and tends to confirm our view that the French government and people by no means contemplate that the probable capitulation of Paris should end the war. . . . The struggle is one for national existence and it is difficult to see from what quarter any hope of its early end is to be expected."⁹²

These opinions are not remarkable for their penetration, but they reflect attention given to the situation as it developed in

91. Winona Weekly Republican, January 4, 1871.

92. Winona Weekly Republican, January 4, 1871.

January. People in the state were astonished at the frightful war-appliances, more particularly those of France. "Trochu in one of his recent sorties used what may be called the modern type of an ancient scythe-bearing war-chariot. This machine is nothing less than an armor-plated locomotive equipped with two powerful mitrailleurs and originally built for the Railroad bridge at Point du Jour. It is said to have been invented in France during the war. One of these fires 250 balls a minute, another 280, and a third no less than 4500 in the same time, and the fourth which is alleged to work without noise, to have a range of 500 yards and to cost only 35 francs. There are also several new shells including the Gaudin, the Menestral, and others, which suffocate as well as mangle, and to crown all a frightful kind of rocket, which, with a range of 4 miles, is said to produce results so shocking that the committee appointed to investigate with it hesitate to recommend such a weapon, for fear of placing France outside the ban of civilized nations."⁹³

While the progress of the bombardment was being carefully recorded in the newspapers of the state, an event occurred which caused a distinct thrill in Minnesota. This was the proclamation of the German Empire, January 18, 1871. "It was the last step in the unification of Germany. A great party in Berlin regards the king's elevation as a personal triumph; others welcome the event as securing to Prussia the long-desired German rule. The sovereigns of the German states are anxious that King William assume the imperial title, not as a homage to him, but as an excuse for paying him homage. As King of Prussia, he is their equal to whom it is humiliating for

93. Sauk Center Herald, January 7, 1871.

them to submit. As Emperor, he receives a constitutional majority, and by the offer from his fellow-princes, even the old form of quasi-election is preserved. . . . The nation rejoices not so much in the elevation of King William to the higher rank, as in the revival of an office that seems at least to establish a common and general country, the groundwork for internal development. It is not the victory of the Prussians, but the regeneration of Prussia that elicits such marks of joy as are exhibited. But to say the truth, these are very few. Weariness of the horrors of war dampens the ardor considerably. The empire looks more a thing of show than of matter, and perhaps disappointment at the blessings of unification falling short of what they promised to be now that union is established. Only one event would produce real or general joy - that is peace."⁹⁴ This thoughtful opinion appeared in the newspaper of an interior Minnesota town within three days of the event, and we find ten others of the same tenor emphasizing the importance of the unification of Germany, and the difficulty of developing real unity among the petty states of Germany.

To return again to the comments on the siege of Paris, Minnesota people were assured on January tenth that the fall of Paris would be announced any hour, and that the Empire would be restored. Editors denounced the long bombardment as unnecessary, and suspicion of the French Republican leaders was loudly voiced. "We have an uncomfortable feeling that the French people are being betrayed by their leaders. The progress of events indicates no real purpose to relieve Paris and we expect to announce its surrender long before the pangs of hunger become acute. A people resolved to win, under

94. Sauk Center Herald, Jan. 21, 1871.

leadership similarly inspired, would break the thin German line about the city, even though it should cost them dearly. But we suspect the effort will not be made. We believe Trochu to be an imperialist and that he will ~~protract~~ the defense until the meditated surrender may have a decent apology, and then give us another army of 200,000 men. Then Napoleon will be brought back again and the Empire re-established. His armies,⁹⁵ now held as prisoners, will be released soon after, and Trochu, Bazaine, and even officers who are now fighting a sham fight in the name of the Republic will rally around their old master. Then will come anarchy, for the people ought not, and will not quietly accept the old dynasty."⁹⁶ Neither was the bombardment applauded in Minnesota. "We had hoped the bombardment would not take place, but the infernal spirit of war that makes devils of men, and reckes not of the taking of life, does not spare the fruits of centuries of man's handiwork." The bombardment recalled to five editors previous sieges of Paris, "but none when such a mighty army was encircling her as now." Paris was certainly doomed, "for the range of Prussian missiles was astonishing."⁹⁷ The Palace of Luxemburg is reached by Prussian missiles, and everything in that vicinity is melting away before the Prussian fire. Clamart, where the Prussian fire comes from, is ten miles outside the city walls, and if this battery can throw shells to the Place de la Concorde across the Seine, the catastrophe is imminent. . . It is to be hoped that the French commanders will not permit matters to reach that

95. Hastings Union, Jan. 17, 1871.

96. Pioneer, Jan. 15, 1871.

97. Winona Weekly Republican, Jan. 18, 1871.

point, which by a vain defense will involve Paris in utter ruin."⁹⁸
When the siege of Paris kept dragging along, an impatient voice naively remarked "that the news of the European war is not very interesting as nothing is being done looking to the settlement of the difficulties as was hoped. The French army is badly discouraged."⁹⁹

Although this slight impatience and decrease of interest appears, yet it is at this stage of the war between France and Germany that we find a letter from William H. Gates of Paynesville to the St. Cloud Journal.¹⁰⁰ "Having watched with deep interest the progress of the Franco-Prussian war, and having observed that the Journal has treated this subject with firmness and impartiality, I purpose to make a few remarks on the historic events in Europe. Prussia's triumph over France is due to her cultivation of the art of war. The foundation of Prussia's greatness was laid by the father of Frederick the Great more than 150 years ago. Under him the Prussian infantry acquired that mechanical precision of movement which in the course of five generations it has never lost. The quality of ardent patriotism appeared in the reign of Frederick the Great. In the Seven Year's war, Frederick resisted the most powerful confederation which modern Europe had seen and raised the military glory of Prussia to the highest point. But the long peace which preceded the French Revolution was detrimental to the Prussian service. At length, in 1806, the day of trial came. The continued triumphs of Napoleon brought Prussia and France into collision on the banks of the Elbe.

98. Minneapolis Tribune, January 15, 1871.

99. Owatonna Journal, January 26, 1871.

100. St. Cloud Journal, January 26, 1871.

The overthrow of the Prussian was decisive. In less than three weeks, Prussia was overthrown by invaders. Six years of suffering were the result of this brief campaign. But Scharnhorst and Stein resolved that Prussia should profit by the lesson she had received. In that period of national humiliation those measures were adopted which developed by time and aided by circumstance have raised Prussia to the highest summit of glory and renown.

After 1815, France rested on the glory of the past. Seduced by the witchery of a name, she submitted to the rule of Louis Napoleon. Absolutely without courage or capacity, Louis Napoleon has brought reverses to France unheard of since the beginning of the world. Louis Napoleon and Marshall Bazaine will never convince the world that the shameful surrenders of Sedan and Metz were not caused by cowardice. We all know how the first Napoleon cut his way through the frozen banks of the Beresina. . . Truly there is a contrast between Napoleon I and III, and Marshall Ney and Bazaine. It is hard to say which of these two - Napoleon II or Bazaine is entitled to the highest niche in the Pantheon of Infamy. . . .

Since the defeat and surrender of the regular armies of France, and the inauguration of a Republican government to resist the invasion and save the country from subjugation, the contest has changed both as to objects and character. . . The new government has evinced an energy which challenges our admiration, and the people have shown that, degraded as they have been by the second Empire, Frenchmen have not forgotten how to fight. Since the period of Greek glory, there has not been a European contest which appealed so strongly to the generous feelings of our nature as the present struggle of

France against their cruel invaders. We can^{not} fail to honor the courage and constancy of that noble band of French patriots which, unshaken by the greatest disasters in history, still refuse to despair of the fortunes of their country and are now struggling for the right of self-government and their native land. I have often asked myself, are there not in this great American Republic, 10,000 Yankees and Irish-American volunteers, men, who have seen service, and who in the cause of Republicanism against despotism are willing and anxious to test the Spencer rifle against the needle-gun? Praiseworthy as have been the efforts and conduct of the Republican government of France, it is evident that one mistake has been made. The inhabitants of Paris not employed in the defense of the city ought to have been compelled to leave before the siege began. Famine may compel the French to surrender, but if France continue true to herself she can never be conquered." Since this letter was splendid in its isolation and revealed historical acumen, it has been fully quoted. We find that during the period of this investigation there were only two other Minnesotians whose opinions were forwarded to the newspaper and printed.

It appears that during these days of anxiety over the outcome of events in Europe, a mass-meeting of Germans was held at Turner Hall, St. Paul, protesting against the United States Government sending arms to France.¹⁰¹ The sale of arms protest, taking place January 25, was unproductive of immediate results for the Twin city dailies are entirely silent following the event.¹⁰² The Minne-

101. Pioneer, January 22, 1871; Press, January 22, 1871.

102. Pioneer, January 25, 26, 1871; Minneapolis Tribune, Jan. 25, 26, 1871.

sota Staats-Zeitung merely states that the protest was seemingly successful. When the Senate investigation took place the next year, editorials appeared in Minnesota papers giving an identical opinion, "that the leading motive of the investigating committee was to discredit Grant. Senators Sumner and Schurz, as leaders of the prosecution, failed to substantiate their charges. A private investigation would have satisfied justice without exposing our government to the scandal of foreign nations."¹⁰³

While the sale of arms protest is a very real manifestation of interest in the war, another protest of a different nature took place in St. Paul at the same time. This was a great demonstration of Catholics in the St. Paul cathedral protesting against the treatment of Pius IX by Victor Emmanuel. The Catholic concourse numbered from four to five thousand people and evinced an extraordinary interest in the political fortunes of a foreign potentate.¹⁰⁴ The Wanderer and North Western Chronicle temporarily forgot about France and Prussia and protested vigorously against Italy, and the irreverent suggestion of the St. Paul Press that the Pope came to the United States. The Catholic demonstration appears, on the whole, to have aroused more editorial comment than the sale of arms protest.

There was also considerable discussion in the late days of January as to the probabilities of a Napoleonic restoration, "for Bonaparte intriguers were busy burking in Brussels,"¹⁰⁵ and the "Empress Eugenie was still keeping alive the idea of a Napoleonic

104. Pioneer, January 22, 1871.

105. Pioneer, January 28, 1871.

regency.¹⁰⁶ Apparently futile in itself, the project receives a quasi-endorsement at Berlin. Bismarck treats it as a constituent element of force in his negotiations. He measures it skillfully as a constituent fibre in the web of his diplomacy - a thread which may be handled or left loose on the loom just as it may suit the easy motion of the ministerial shuttle. . . . After Paris falls, Bismarck will treat with France. If the government which then exists de facto accepts the Prussian plan of peace and convenes an assembly, it is well. If the French Republican officials refuse, Prussia will then treat with the Bonaparte dynasty which has not yet been constitutionally set aside."

This clear-cut statement of the Bonapartist intrigues, and the relation of Bismarck with the Bonapartists affords an opportunity to test the validity of this information in the Minnesota paper against the account in the Fleury Memoirs.¹⁰⁷ We find the account of the intrigues quoted in the Minneapolis Tribune fully corroborated in the Memoirs. Bonapartist intrigues had begun following the surrender of Metz by Bazaine in October, 1870. Believing that Prussian commanders would enter into negotiations with the chief of the army of Metz, Bazaine hastily received Regnier who represented himself as a negotiator armed with the authority of the Regency, offering the Marshall the opportunity to escape the responsibility of treating. Regnier easily persuaded Bazaine that the treaty of peace must be signed by the Regency and that it would,

106. Minneapolis Tribune, January 25, 1871.

107. Fleury, Comte: "Memoirs of the Empress Eugenie", p. 533-60. Vol. 2.

therefore, be necessary to send either Marshall Canrobert or General Bourbaki to England.

Thereupon, in accordance with a previous arrangement with Prince Frederick Charles it was decided that a French general should receive authority to leave Metz for England, where he would be received by the Regent, the Empress Eugenie. Bourbaki undertook the mission. When he arrived at Chislehurst he presented a photograph of the Prince Imperial which had been signed by the Prince and Marshall Bazaine. But the Empress Eugenie refused to treat with Bourbaki. The Regency was determined not to hamper the Government of National Defense by treating with anyone behind its back. As a last resort, the Empress later did select Theophile Gautier to treat with Bismarck as her envoy, but the negotiations came to nothing since the Empress would not make the necessary sacrifices.

As soon as the results of General Bourbaki's mission were known at Prussian headquarters, Regnier was ordered to leave. But Bismarck had not abandoned the idea of treating with the Empire; only, seeing that nothing could be done with the Regency, he turned toward Wilhelmshöhe, where the Emperor, Napoleon III was imprisoned. The Chancellor, during the entire negotiations for terms of peace, used the threat of coming to terms with the Emperor as a means to win the most favorable terms from the Government of National Defense.

News of the capitulation of Paris reached Minnesota, January 28, 1871. It seemed to come as a distinct surprise. Indeed, the Press, which flatly refused to "believe the news at first",¹⁰⁸ nevertheless gave the report sufficient credence to say "that Paris, cut

108. St. Paul Press, January 28, 1871.

off by the crushing defeat of her armies, is helpless at the feet of the German king. The cable brings us the terms of Bismark which are pretty hard."

Since the news of the fall of Paris reached practically every paper in the state, and since it was the only news sufficiently exciting to precipitate an avalanche of opinions, we quote rather fully. "The news was the most important since the downfall of the first empire. It was an event which established the supremacy of Germany as the military power of Europe, and reduced France to the rank of a secondary nation."¹⁰⁹ The same opinion was expressed in the St. Paul Press.¹¹⁰ "The last obstacle to German supremacy is removed. She will henceforth mould the opinions and the destinies of Europe." "Paris the haughty, beautiful, corrupt has fallen. The idol of the French imperialist lies at the feet of her conquerors. The head of brass which raised itself in proud effrontery to challenge the nations of the earth to combat, now battered and covered with the dust of humiliation, lies groveling between the feet of clay that crumbled under its weight and made patent to the world its unfitness for its pedestal. Yet bravely has the young Republic battled ere she succumbed to the enemy; nor was it a lack of prowess or a failure in enthusiasm or courage that caused her overthrow. Nay, Want, Famine, Pestilence have been more formidable to the besieged city than the battalions of William. Now she finds herself between the two horns of the dilemma, and it would puzzle the wisest statesman to decide which is the lesser of two evils - to vote again for

109. Duluth Minnesotian, February 4, 1871.

110. St. Paul Press, January 29, 1871.

the weak-kneed and premature Republic which can only maintain a nominal prestige under a feudal-loving aristocratic Bismarck, or reinstate the hero of Sedan again on the throne. . . . The capitulation is an augury of hope to the Imperialist. . . . If France objects to the terms she must remember they are not nearly as humiliating as those exacted from Germany by the first Napoleon. . . . Prussia has gained all that she asked for and more. And now since there is a brotherhood of kings which always arrays itself fiercely and boldly against all free institutions, the conjectures of the wise ones, who prophesied this war to be but a pretext to settle Napoleon more firmly on his throne, may yet be shown to be not altogether without plausibility."¹¹¹

That France was being punished for her iniquities was a favorite opinion. "This great city of folly and pleasure has capitulated to the Germans. We are told that the suffering has been intense through pleasure still reigned in many parts. The dancers' feet kept time to the wailings of the starving women and children. Prayers and oaths were mingled and deep groans seemed but the echoes of gay laughter. Perhaps Sodom and Gomorrah did not far outweigh this city in iniquity. The gay, idle, dissolute French are falling victims to the sturdy Germans, and they have nothing to blame for the catastrophe except imbecility. We hope by these reverses a different feeling may be infused into the bosom of every Frenchman. . . that the nation will abandon sloth and vice."¹¹²

111. Redwood Falls Mail, February 10, 1871.

112. Spring Valley Western Progress, Feb. 1, 1871.

Not only was a great interest in the fall of Paris shown by an abundance of editorials, but also in one relief drive for France, and several peace celebrations. During the protracted siege of Paris, graphic reports had reached the state of the famine in France. Appeals for aid were published in practically all Minnesota papers under the auspices of the New York Chamber of Commerce which had organized a committee to supervise the collection for France.¹¹³ A mass meeting of citizens took place at the opera house in St. Paul, February 17,¹¹⁴ and "leading citizens were present", such as Gov. Austin, Gen. Sibley, Gen. W. A. Gorman, C. K. Davis, N. W. Kittson, and the Rev. John Ireland. The substance of Governor Austin's appeal made at this meeting was quoted in ten other papers: "A large part of the French Empire has been overrun and the people are suffering untold miseries. In the old days when we were calling for aid we found it in France. Not only did she give us recognition and sympathy but she gave us substantial aid in money and men. It is not for us to ask what is the religion or government of France, but are they suffering and do they need our help." The contributions amounted to \$1200,¹¹⁵ but the Minnesota Staats-Zeitung ungraciously summed up the attempt to aid France as a weak effort. "There are in Minnesota people who sympathize with the French, but they do not have courage enough to express their convictions."¹¹⁶ Then another evidence of interest may be noted in the peace celebrations. St. Paul Germans celebrated the fall of Paris, February 1, but, unfortunately, the details of this jollification were not recorded.¹¹⁷ A letter

113. Christian Weekly, New York, April 22, 1871.

114. Pioneer, February 17, 1871.

115. Ibid, February 19, 1871.

116. Staats-Zeitung, Jan. 31 and Feb. 18, 1871.

117. Pioneer, February 1 and 2, 1871.

from New Ulm (Feb. 6, 1871) to the Press¹¹⁸ stated "that the news of the surrender of Paris created great unthusiasme among our citizens. A salvo of thirty guns was fired from the hill near Turner Hall. It is a most singular turn of events. One year ago France was considered by many as the most powerful military nation in Europe. Her emperor was considered by many as the most accomplished statesman living. A six months war has shown that Napoleon III was but a bubble in the hands of that master of diplomacy - Bismarck, while Germany united has become the ruling power of Europe. We shall watch the future of both nations with more than ordinary interest!"

Although there is a marked decline in interest after the fall of Paris, there are occasional opinions expressed as to the progress of events. The character of the French elections, February 8, 1871, was carefully analyzed since the results of these elections would perhaps determine the future form of government of France. It was recalled that the object of the armistice of Versailles was to permit the Government of National Defence to convoke a freely elected assembly, which was to decide on the question, whether the war ought to be continued, or on what conditions peace ought to be made. The Republicans favored war to the bitter end, but the mass of the country wanted peace and inclined, therefore, to the monarchical principle.¹¹⁹ The poll of February 8 sent 630 representatives to Bordeaux of which 200 were Republicans, 400 Conservative Monarchists, and some 30 Bonapartists. When these returns reached Minnesota, the fear of a Bonapartist restoration was increased. "The elections for the Constituent Assembly have gone by an immense majority against the Republican cause. It cannot be doubted that the prevailing

118. Press, February 10, 1871.

119. Hanotaux, "Contemporary France", p. 41, Vol. 1.

temper of the French is imperialistic or monarchical rather than Republican. The mass of the French people, peasantry and bourgeoisie are as devout monarchists as their ancestors in the days of Louis XIV. If France repudiates the Republic she has no chance between Louis Napoleon or an Orleanist."¹²⁰ "The failure of France to sustain herself as a Republic has been attributed to a thousand and one causes. The fact that is now patent to even her best friends is that she prefers a monarchical government."¹²¹ "Now that monarchical government seems to be the free choice of the people, the question is who shall reign? The wily old diplomat at Wilhelmshöhe no doubt flatters himself that he can answer that question to the satisfaction of the next generation. It is rumored that Prince Napoleon had some hope in this direction, but there remain the two branches of the Bourbons. . . . The great struggle in the assembly will be over the form of the future government of France. The Reds will fight for a Republic, while conservatives, liberals, and monarchists will unite in favor of constitutional monarchy."

When the Government of National Defense gave way to the newly elected National Assembly which convened at Bordeaux, February 13, the choice of Thiers, as chief of the executive power, gave rise to brief biographies in five Minnesota papers. "Thiers still retains his mental and physical powers in a remarkable degree. He is as brilliant as he is profound. . . . He has heralded the dissolution of two dynasties by phrases which have become historic. When the government of Charles X entered on the arbitrary course which ended in ruin, Thiers uttered a phrase which embodied the whole theory of

120. Press, February 15, 1871.

121. Winona Weekly Republican, Feb. 15, 1871.

constitutional monarchy: Le roi regne et ne gouverne pas. Forty years later he balanced the ledger of the Empire with that stinging verdict which was echoed by Europe: Il ne reste plus de fautes a'commetre. Thiers has been a liberal conservative and constitutional monarchist, but never a Red Republican. It is to be presumed that he will use his great influence to place on the throne of France one of the Orleans princes as a liberal constitutional monarch, and so give once more to that unhappy land a citizen-king. We hope he will succeed in the herculean task of dragging unlucky France out of the mire into which she has fallen."¹²² A somewhat less favorable picture of Thiers was naturally given in the Catholic press. "Thiers says he is now a Republican. What was he? For years, the chief strength of the tyranny of Louis Philippe. He has always been the opponent of christian education. His infidel policy has bred this godless race of Parisians. We fear his old habit of ruling the church by the world, of preferring earth to heaven, and the body to the soul."¹²³ The German press does not have much to say concerning Monsieur Thiers except that "France is now guided by an experienced and level-headed statesman."¹²⁴

Obviously the greatest immediate problem of the National Assembly was to agree on terms of peace which were laid down in the preliminary peace of Versailles, February 26, 1871, and embodied in the final treaty of Frankfort.¹²⁵ There was considerable speculation as to what Bismarck would or would not demand. When the terms were published in the larger papers of the state, the concensus of opinion was that the terms were humiliating but moderate. "Peace

122. Winona Weekly Republican, Jan. 28, 1871.

123. Northwestern Chronicle, May 13, 1871.

124. ~~Staats-Zeitung, Feb. 25, 1871.~~

125. Hazen, "Europe Since 1815", p.300-301.

terms between France and Prussia are very humiliating to la belle France. With Bismarck might was right, and he has exercised it despotically. . . . We are glad the war is over. France will rise again Phoenix-like from her ashes. She has needed these lessons to cure her of her vanity."¹²⁶ The Minneapolis Tribune also believed "that the terms of the treaty were a great humiliation to France. The grasp on France was to be relaxed little by little, and only when the last franc is paid over will the German army leave the soil of France."¹²⁷ The St. Paul Press was of the opinion "that the terms were hard, but not unjust. The financial burden is less odious to the French than the sessions of territory exacted by the treaty. France is compelled to cede back to Germany what was her ancient boundary. By the session of the fortresses France is at a disadvantage in the future contests with Germany, as to constitute a pretty effective barrier against any attempt of France to repeat its aggressive tendencies against the new German Empire."¹²⁸ The German press is pleased with the essential provisions of the peace, and hopes that peace may really be preserved and that "es in Wahrheit heissen mag: Das deutsche Kaiserreich ist der Friede."¹²⁹

When it had been satisfactorily established that the Germans and French were at peace again, it appeared that Minnesota editors in general breathed a sigh of relief and ceased pondering Franco-German affairs. For the interest in foreign affairs shows a distinct falling off. Not only are editorials less numerous, but the space devoted to foreign news is cut down. Seemingly, "it

126. St. Cloud Times, March 11, 1871.

127. Minneapolis Tribune, March 7, 1871.

128. Press, March 4, 1871.

129. Staats-Zeitung, Feb. 21, 1871.

was of no special importance."¹³⁰ Even the mighty Bismarck failed to stir the imagination. Yet, here and there, some delightful bits of characterization appear. His elevation to the title of prince "was the highest honor that could be given to a Prussian subject. For centuries there has been no such diplomat in Europe. Neither must we forget that in all these triumphs of Bismarck, it was his genius which averted a general European war."¹³¹ "The chief drawback in Bismarck's character is his want of sympathy for liberal ideas. He is a true Prussian Junker, full of the prejudices of his class. His loyalty to his king reminds us of the feudal ages. . . . Nowhere in all history can we find an epoch in which the moral power of one man seemed so fully to control and shape events."¹³²

If little is said of Bismarck in the Minnesota papers, we need not expect much good discussion of German internal affairs. The condition of Germany after the peace and the Reichstag elections occasioned one editorial. "Thousands of bereaved homes, crippled soldiers, ruined homes, and other painful realities will impress on those who have been unfortunate enough to return home, the horrors of the battlefield. . . . As a consequence, the opportunities to the Hohenzollern dynasty, as the special embodiment of the military spirit, will be much increased. The fact that Prussia sends out over one half of these 618 members of the lower house will not help the conservatives, for those in the immediate vicinity of danger are liable to guard most carefully against it. Three radicals are found in 1871 to one in 1869.

130. St. Cloud Journal, February 23, 1871.

131. Minnesota Staats-Zeitung, April 6, 1871.

132. Chatfield County News, February 25, 1871.

In the Upper House, the Prussian delegates are outnumbered three to one by those of the smaller states and princely houses. These, while hating liberalism intensely, can have little love for the power which has given Germany unity by depriving them of many of their old prerogatives. . . .The number of parties in the Reichstag will be very large, but it is difficult to compute their exact strength because those holding the same opinions are known by different names in different states. In North Germany, there are free Conservatives, National Liberals, the Progressionists, and Social Democrats. The last mentioned are followers of Schweitzer, who favor a centralized form of government, and those of Bebel, who are Federalists. The Particularists, now called Federal Constitutionalists, and the Poles, also form parties by themselves. New divisions are to be expected, while the followers of Dr. Jacobi, whose organ is the Berlin Zukunft, will probably harmonize with the Democrats of the south. The Roman Catholics are trying to act by themselves - the patriotic party of Bavaria is divided into two parties known as the Center and Old Patriots, the former accepting and the latter opposing the new federal constitution. In Bavaria and Würtemberg opinion is still unsettled. . . .

It is apparent from our resumé that the chief source of weakness to liberal minded Germans is want of unity. It is true that the fierce flames of war have temporarily fused prejudices and welded discordant elements into an apparently homogeneous mass, but the exigencies of a common danger passed away, rival interests will assert themselves and nothing but a policy of permanent peace and liberal concessions to popular demands can preserve entire harmony

between Parliament and the Empire."¹³³ The German press comments on the elections are much the same as the comments quoted. "The losses of the Liberals in North Germany are neutralized through the gains of the National Liberals in South Germany and so the Reichstag is really national..... It proves what we have always maintained. Cure the South German of his particularism, and he will not only be the best German, but also the best German leader."¹³⁴ Then the fact that Moltke, Werder, and Manteuffel were rejected for seats in the German Parliament moved the Pioneer to say that "this shows that the German Liberals can not be captivated by mere military chieftains. They distrust the absolutist political principles which these men represent. Principles are more important than men."¹³⁵

While it has been insisted that the paucity of editorials following the fall of Paris suggests a waning interest, yet there was developing in Paris a cleavage in the Republican camp that led to the Commune, and a revival of interest in matters Parisian in Minnesota. The ghastly deeds that were reported daily as the Republican army of Thiers besieged Paris gave rise to an abundance of opinion. Editors seemed to concur in the opinion that the Commune was but another proof that France was unfit for a Republic. "Rumors are that the Red Republicans of Paris propose the formation of a Red Republic with Victor Hugo, president, Garibaldi, Blanc, Rockford, and Flourens as ministers. Such a Republic by the rabble of Paris, who are the bone and sinew of that organization, would be considered license to avenge themselves of the wrongs, real or imaginary, done them by their enemies."¹³⁶

133. Winona Weekly Republican, Mar. 15, 1871.

134. Minnesota Staats-Zeitung, Apr. 4, 1871.

135. Pioneer, Apr. 11, 1871. 136. Waseca News, Mar. 15, 1871.

with the keenness of the analysis of the new situation in Paris, but, as the stages in this internecine strife were reported, many opinions as to the causes for the insurrection were assigned and merit consideration.

1. "We fear the insurrection has its origin in an anti-Catholic movement initiated by Italians which accounts for Garibaldi's being at the head of the insurgents. The report that Thiers is strongly in favor of the temporal power of the pope is probably a canard. The insurrection is simply an outbreak of Red Republican fanatics who are determined at all hazards to prevent the National Assembly from inaugurating a Monarchy. If it be true that the insurrection is confined to the districts of Montmartre and Belleville, the insurrection can not be very formidable after all, and the 6,000 troops stationed at Versailles ought to be able to crush it without difficulty. All of France outside of Paris stands by the Thiers government. It is a case where the peaceable majority is temporarily controlled and terrorized by a factious minority determined to rule or to win. The movement has no chance of success and is unworthy of being dignified with the name of Revolution. The Germans are opposed to it because it delays to some extent the payment of the indemnities and the carrying out of the preliminaries of peace. It seems to us that a very slight display of energy on the part of the Thiers government would cause the riotous vermin who swarm about Paris to seek their holes."¹³⁷

2. "France has gone out ^{of} the war with a foreign power to a war with itself. That strange impatience of anything but despotism in

137. Winona Weekly Republican, Mar. 29, 1871.

the form of government, that raging madness that takes possession of a French mob when it is released from the threat that well-seated power holds over it, and that poisonous doctrine of socialism that the starving rabble imbibe from crazed or designing demagogues, are all operating now to make Paris pandemonium."¹³⁸

3. "History is repeating itself in the way of another reign of terror in France. Affairs in that unhappy country give a new argument in favor of Public education. It not only evinces a want of education, but also that ignorance and vice go hand in hand. That people, not content with the slaughter of the war with Prussia, now presents the terrible spectacle to the civilized world of directing their energy to the butchery of inhabitants and self-destruction. God help us if this world can boast nothing better and may He hasten the day when pure christianity shall be the criterion by which we measure civilization."¹³⁹

4. "It is the misfortune of France to be divided into five political parties, neither of which has a majority. It is to this fact, much more than to the character of the people, that is to be attributed the unhappy revolution which now convulses the nation. The Reds must either rule or die. They will very likely meet with the latter fate. . . . In order to suppress the horrible state of affairs in Paris, the Republicans of all shades must unite and form a strong government. Napoleon III is a dead man so far as France is concerned now."¹⁴⁰

5. "To properly understand the situation in Paris, it is necessary to take into consideration the condition of the people, as

¹³⁸. Minnesota Southwest, Mar. 25, 1871

¹³⁹. Owatonna Journal, Apr. 6, 1871.

¹⁴⁰. Wabasha County Herald, Apr. 26, 1871.

well as their views on political matters. In Paris, a considerable portion of the laboring population has been taught to consider it a part of the duties of government to give employment to persons when in straightened circumstances. At the present time, the usual routine of business is broken up. Men who were able, prior to the war, to earn support for themselves and family have nothing to do and no means of subsistence. Perhaps half the inhabitants of Paris at the present time are entirely destitute. These men and their families must be fed. And here is where the trouble in Paris begins. Then there is mistrust of the Thiers government. Many Republicans feel they will be betrayed unless they strive to obtain control of the government."¹⁴¹

6. "If anyone wants to know what is the provocation to all these fierce attacks, it can be explained in a few words - the interference of peace with the laziness and license so long enjoyed by the worse classes in Paris. The insurgents will get no sympathy should the Germans re-enter on the scene, and next time purge the disaffected elements with artillery ~~with artillery~~ and musketry."¹⁴²

7. "As the wise ones predicted, France has given itself over to mob rule. Why the French people would die of ennui if they had not these pleasant little episodes of barricades in their midst occasionally as safety-valves for the pent-up fires that always smoulder under thrones of despots."¹⁴³

Since we are not impressed by the depth of thought expressed

141. Duluth Morning Call, Apr. 5, 1871.

142. Minneapolis Tribune, Mar. 28, 1871.

143. Redwood Falls Mail, Mar. 31, 1871.

in these brief analyses of the origin of the Commune, we can not resist quoting from two discussions of the Commune, didactic in purpose, which appeared in this second editorial avalanche. "The average American Newspaper reader has probably but an indistinct notion of the real cause of the quarrel between the Versailles government and the insurgents, which has resulted in placing Paris once more in a state of siege. A brief explanation may render the complication more intelligible to us. In the first place, the insurgents who now control Paris are called Communists, not on account of any opinions which they may hold in regard to a division of property, but the term merely signifies those who advocated the government of Paris by a commune. What we call wards or districts are in the French called communes, and the representatives of these districts in a municipal government are designated collectively the Council of the Commune. The common council in American cities is the same thing except that we have carried our division of the legislative work to such an extent that every city council has two branches. In France, there is but one, and in cities, where the commune is elected, its power is the same as that of alderman and common council with us. The Bourbons are chary of giving political privileges to the cities and therefore before the Revolution of 1792 and after the Bourbon insurrection of 1814, the Communal Council had but little power, even where it existed. But during the first Revolution, the Commune of Paris attained great influence. Since the time of Danton and Robespierre, the very name of Commune has been enough to give moderate citizens of Paris a shudder, but at every successful revolution the popular demand has been for its re-estab-

lishment. On the other hand, the first move of Louis Napoleon in 1848 when he became president of the Republic was to obtain power of nominating the mayors of the Communes, who collectively form the Communal Council. As soon as he was dethroned last September, the demand was made in Paris for Communal elections in order to place the government of Paris and the other cities in the hands of the people themselves. The Provisional Government first promised to hold these elections, but they continually postponed them during the first siege of Paris, and the government of Thiers, on assuming power in February, still neglected to establish the Council of the Communes. This was a fatal mistake, as has since been admitted by Thiers and the Assembly, who on March 24th authorized Admiral Soisset to offer the Parisians complete recognition of the municipal franchise and the right to elect all officers of the national guard. But this concession came too late, for the dreaded Commune was already in power, and its soldiers occupied nearly half the forts around Paris.

Theoretically, the Communists are right but the practical consequences of allowing Paris to be governed by the Commune would virtually be, as in Danton's and Robespierre's time, to put the whole central government of France at the mercy of the most brutal, ignorant, cruel and blood-thirsty mob in the world. Municipal government by a Commune in Paris means simply the government of the mob, anarchy, terrorism, misrule, the government of the rich, the pillaging of the churches, the abrogation of the marriage tie, and general social demoralization.

In regard to the sham government now in power in Paris, so far from representing a majority of the citizens, it represents no-

body but the lowest dregs of the population, who know about as much of the principles of government as they do of higher mathematics. The so-called elections from which Cluseret and his fellow-demagogues derive their authority were a farce. Had the respectable citizens of Paris been properly sustained by the government at the outset the insurrection would have been crushed with very little bloodshed, but the dilatory, hesitating and temporizing policy of Thiers has encouraged the rabble in their insolent demands until nothing but a series of desperate fights in the heart of Paris can re-establish order."¹⁴⁴ The other discussion of the Commune appeared in the Rochester¹⁴⁵ Post and reveals also careful thought. The editor states that "the main purpose of the rebellion is to secure such a new form of national organization as shall allow Paris and nine other cities to be special centers of power, and, as it were, small republics, each with its own legislature and military force, but united federally under some arrangement with the provinces. The people of the cities object to a general republic, in which, under universal suffrage, the ignorant priest-led peasantry can overwhelm by their votes the more intelligent citizens as they did in the support given to Louis Napoleon. They are also influenced by the Swiss Confederation and the American example of a federal union rather than local democracy as more favorable to local liberty and development, and to the trial of socialistic experiments. Hence Paris is for a representative of city and county interests, and the virtual autocracy of Paris, Lyons, Marseilles, and the other large cities, and the rebels hope to gain their end by a desperate struggle at this formative

144. Winona Weekly Republican, Apr. 26, 1871.

145. Rochester Post, May 13, 1871.

crisis, where the empire has been overthrown and a new regime not yet established."....."

While the interest continues during April and May in the insurrection, the opinion in Minnesota papers is mere passing comment. "The present condition of France monopolizes the telegraphic departments of the newspapers day by day and, as a consequence, whether we will or no, compels attention and conversation on the horrors being enacted in Paris. . . . France has got drunk on blood to vomit crime. We fear monarchy will be restored unless the Thiers government has more pep."¹⁴⁶ "If Prussia steps in and crushes the rebellion, Bismarck will dictate who shall be her ruler. We should not be surprised to see Napoleon III on the throne again in three months. A Republic is out of the question."¹⁴⁷

An isolated opinion was further ventured as to the effect of this insurrection on Germany. "As Germany can expect nothing from a set of wretches like the Commune in the way of attention to those pledged payments of thousands of francs, Bismarck, however quiet at present, will see that the men with whom he has made the treaty will be sustained. . . . That McMahon forces will be backed by German troops sufficiently to put down the insurrection is as plain as that Bismarck does not intend to let slip out of his grasp any portion of his hardly won victories."¹⁴⁸ When in May it became clear that the Germans at St. Denis had stopped all supplies for Paris, it settled this important question as to how far the Germans were aiding the investing forces.¹⁴⁹

146. Minneapolis Tribune, Apr. 21, 1871.

147. Winnebago City Press, Apr. 6, 1871.

148. Winona Weekly Republican, Apr. 19, 1871

149. Ibid, May 3, 1871.

It seemed to me a great deal of what was published concerning the insurrection was sensational. Telegraphic reports were confusing, while the daily papers were gulled by sensational dispatches from the Atlantic Telegraph Cable.¹⁵⁰ While Catholic papers worried over the fate of the Archbishop of Paris "who was stripped and scourged amid jibes and jeers of the rabble",¹⁵¹ all the daily papers talked excitedly about affairs in Paris."¹⁵² No thoughtful opinions were expressed, but there was much sympathetic comment. "Poor, unstable and ruined France! Desolated Paris, once the pride of the world."¹⁵³ "Poor France! Brief, but pregnant words, touching a responsive chord in every heart throughout the civilized world. The inherent kinship of man to man, the feelings and emotions of a common humanity, cause the heart of every lover of his race to go out in sympathy for this unhappy country swept by a hurricane."¹⁵³ However we may wish to forget French affairs, yet the incessant flow of blood, the destruction going on in and around Paris will not permit this. If we look the whole world over no affairs approach French affairs in thrilling interest. We can do no better than to keep our readers well-posted on French affairs. The reign of the Red fiends is drawing to a close. Liberty run into shameless license is what the world is called to look upon now, and, no people, no matter to what government they owe allegiance, but will consider themselves fortunate in their government in preference to being subject to madmen and fools."¹⁵⁴

150. Northwestern Chronicle, Apr. 23, 1871

151. Ibid, April 22, 1871.

152. Northfield Standard, Apr. 27, 1871

153. Minneapolis Tribune, May 21, 1871

154. Mankato Weekly Union, May 26, 1871.

When the news of the destruction of the Column Vendome reached Minnesota it was the last straw. This wanton act provoked fifteen editorials, none original, but which recalled the historic significance of the column. Under these circumstances, the defeat of the Commune was hailed with approval. "The bloody force of the Red riot is at an end. It is high time. It now remains to be seen whether the government headed by Thiers has the nerve and wisdom to organize a Republican rule. Never was so difficult a task imposed on one man."¹⁵⁵ "Paris has fallen again. Whether Paris is any the worse for the fall remains to be seen. . . . The Versaillists have sailed into Paris, while the Communists have been induced to light out. If anybody can tell us what the fight was really about, or which faction is in the right - the Communists or Versaillists - we will give him a copy of our paper one year for \$2.00."¹⁵⁵ Obviously the editor of this journal had not exercised his mind pondering the significance of the downfall of the Paris Commune. Mrs. Bella French re-printed the comment just quoted in the Western Progress adding: "We breath more freely now. We have been trying to understand the matter for some time; but it was decidedly mixed. We were just coming to the conclusion that because we were a woman our brain was not sufficiently developed to see into such weighty matters. When low! here comes the Gazette, edited by a man, with the above silly article in it!"¹⁵⁶.....

Finally, the fall of the Commune of Paris brought forth a letter from the Rev. D. B. Jackson to the Litchfield Republican.¹⁵⁷

155. Stillwater Gazette, May 13, 1871.

156. Western Progress, June 7, 1871.

157. Litchfield Republican, June 7, 1871.

It distinctly merits quotation. "The Commune of Paris has fallen, and thus an end, we trust, is put to the late bloody struggle in and around Paris. The cause of law and order has triumphed. To the mass of us Americans, unacquainted as we are with French institutions and politics, there is much that is inexplicable in the series of events since the war with Prussia. As a law-abiding, peace-loving people, we naturally look to see the French accepting the situation and set themselves to build up what had been destroyed. Least of all did we expect to see another and a more sanguinary contest spring up right at home.

That the French people as a whole were extremely desirous for tranquillity at the close of the war, there can be no doubt. But in the large cities of Paris, Marseilles, and others, there is a class of men whom nothing can satisfy. While claiming to be in the interests of the working-men against aristocrats, of labor against capital, they are selfish to an unlimited degree, stopping at nothing to gain their end. Claiming to be Republicans in theory, their Republicanism differs as much from ours as the wild ravings of a mad man differs from that of one in his right mind. It is Republicanism without brakes or balance-wheel going to ruin as fast as it can. Many of the adherents of this Commune doubtless were honest in their convictions, but they were but the dupes of a secret conclave of reckless, desperate characters determined to rule or win.

Suspicion of the National Government under Thiers was their avowed reason for raising the standard of revolt, and without ever waiting for the Government to announce its policy, they arrayed themselves against it compelling the National Assembly to hold its ses-

sions outside of Paris. Then, true to their ferocious instincts, they inaugurated a reign of terror in Paris that will not suffer by comparison with the scenes in the time of Marat. Witness their execution of the two generals, Thomas and LeCompte, who had fought nobly in the Prussian war while they remained cowardly at home, imprisoning or shooting without trial many of the best citizens of Paris, pillaging and destroying the houses of the loyal people especially that of theirs, wilfully destroying costly edifices and works of art, and massacring in cold blood the Archbishop of Paris with fifty priests in the Mazas prison. While equalizing their course with such desperate and high-handed acts, it required no prophet to predict their early downfall, and it is an event over which we rejoice. Let us hope this is the last act in the bloody drama which France has lately enacted on the stage of history."

We come now to what we have been pleased to call the second division of our study of public opinion following July 1871 to 1872. Foreign news was frequently cut down to one-third column in the Twin City dailies, while foreign gossip in papers like the Duluth Minnesotian, St. Cloud Times, Mankato Weekly Review, was considerably abbreviated. Even in counties where there was a large per cent of French and German population, we find no evidence that more European news was published there than in any other county. The St. Peter Tribune, the St. Cloud Times, New Ulm Plaindealer, Chatfield County News, and Lanesboro Clarion were compared with more frontier

journals - the Monticello Times, the Glyndon, (Clay County), Willmar Republican - and there is little difference in the amount of foreign news published. Some papers ceased entirely to give space to foreign news, as, for example, the Redwood Falls Mail, Eyota Advertiser, (Olmsted County),

Under these circumstances, we cannot expect full editorial comment on foreign news. Such opinion as was expressed was really only passing comment and concerned the future government of France at one time, or the fate of the Communists at another. "The government of France was assuming the shape of an armed Republic. The iron hand is the only one that can now be laid in Paris to make it civilized. . . . The only thing the French can endure is one-man power that thinks, legislates, and executes. When this strong man comes, we shall have order in France."¹⁵⁸ "The present government of France appears to have fairer prospects to continue, after all. Notwithstanding the civil war that was to have paved the way for despotism, the humbug Napoleon, and his active agents, at the late election the Republican delegates were almost everywhere elected and Thiers was continued head of the government for two years."¹⁵⁹

As for the punishment of the Communists the fact that the government was punishing them right and left caused no disapproval in Minnesota, but, as for the women who took part in the insurrection the "Thiers government had mercifully decided not to shoot that vast crowd of women arrested during the collapse of the Commune. It was

158. The Pioneer, July 29, 1871.

159. Goodhue County Republican, July 20, 1871.

the women whose fury was most devilish during the Commune. There is no sadder part in history than the part taken by the women of France in the late tragedy. The nation must be deep in barbarism when its women are more savage than its men. Its regeneration will at best be slow."¹⁶⁰

A letter from Dr. T. Mann of St. Paul who was so-journing in Paris to the St. Paul Dispatch¹⁶¹ informed Minnesota readers that a few Communists are shot every few days. "I had been in Paris but a few days when I was invited to go and see a few knocked over. The fate of these miscreants has been terrible, yet it is impossible to feel any sympathy for them."¹⁶²

Public opinion in the state seemed to favor the restoration of Louis Napoleon when dissention still continued to be reported from France. "The day will come when France will refer to the period of Louis Napoleon as a period of progress and prosperity. Louis Napoleon certainly did his best to make France a great nation, and yet political demagogues acquired sufficient strength to destroy him. When he went to war, like General Scott, he dreaded a shot in the rear more than any enemy in the world. He hoped to conquer his political enemies in Paris by a victory over Prussia. He was unwise, failed and fell. France has lost a most excellent friend."¹⁶³ The government of Louis Napoleon was at least orderly. The misgivings of those who have, while sympathizing with the Republican movement in France, felt an instinctive sense of apprehension that the incapacity of the French people would sooner or later develop itself, seems about to be realized. Thiers, the temporary head of the government, is in a dead-

160. Kassen Republican, July 14, 1871.

161. St. Paul Dispatch, Aug. 30, 1872.

162. Ibid, Sept. 20, 1872.

163. Ibid, Aug. 30, 1872.

lock with all the subordinate branches of the government. . . There is no steady unity of action with the well-being of France for its incentive at all apparent. Not even Thiers, from whom so much has been expected, escapes suspicion of a greed for personal power. His course, at a time when supreme moderation and conservatism are indispensable in high places, has been factious, violent, and overbearing..... And the worst outlook for France is that no one has come to the surface of her affairs about whom can be rallied the nucleus of order. The machinations of the Imperialists and Bourbons find a wide and as welcome a field as in the days of comparative quiet and prosperity. A crisis is again approaching. When, indeed, is France not on the verge of a crisis? When, unless governed by the strong hand of power, has she not been rife to revel in chaotic Revolution? Napoleon III was a blessing in disguise. . . No people on earth had a better chance for instituting self government than the French people had when the war with Germany was ended. But they don't want it. They don't know how to use it. . . If there is a chance that Louis Napoleon will be reinstated in authority, it would bring France once more under the sway of law and order and relieve her from the attitude of a prostrate victim at the mercy of the wrangling horde."¹⁶⁴

There is very little good comment on the events in France and Prussia in the last months of 1871. The question of the Orleans princes taking their seats in the assembly, and of the future form of government for France, since Thiers was about to resign the presidency of the Republic to the Duke d'Aumale, gave rise merely to a

164. Minneapolis Tribune, August 18, 1871.

curt opinion "that this was a triumph of the imperialists, but just how Thiers can transfer the presidency to another is not clear. At this distance, another revolution seems imminent."¹⁶⁵

When we come to examine the comments in 1872, we find an opinion on Franco-German relations more and more infrequently. "France and Germany are peaceful, but not friendly. The German Empire can not anymore expect friendship from France than France could be expected to offer it. Germany fears the blind hate of France which will not be mitigated by time."¹⁶⁶ "As for France herself, she is undergoing a sharp trial for some years. She will be forced to serve Germany on her knees with his knife at her throat. . . and they are praying for the hour of retribution against Germany. Thiers is increasing the armies and artillery. We believe in school-masters and education. It seems to us unless France does more to educate her people all her struggles against Germany will be in vain."¹⁶⁷ No favorable opinion of the French Republic was anywhere expressed because France "was proving herself incapable of self-government, and not until the French people have become masters of themselves and of their passions so that they can suffer for liberty without committing any acts against the principles of christianity will France become a Republic and stay so. But we fear this will never be until they have learned to discipline themselves. Affairs in France are always threatening, and we may hear stirring news any time."¹⁶⁸ The suppression of newspapers by the Thiers government was yet another evidence of a lack of understanding of the term Republicanism, and step

165. Duluth Minnesotian, Dec. 7 and 13, 1871

166. Der Wanderer, Jan. 13, 1872. 167. Brainerd Tribune, Feb. 10, 1872

168. Duluth Minnesotian, Feb. 27, 1872.

by step the Republic is approaching its inevitable destruction. The power of the government over the press is a return to despotism." ¹⁶⁹

The rapidity with which France began paying the war indemnity did not, however, escape notice in Minnesota. "The French people certainly display remarkable patriotism and zeal in their efforts to get rid of the German surveillance. Every payment has thus far been made before it was due." ¹⁷⁰ . . . "The French have been successful in procuring the evacuation of German troops from their territory. In spite of the weight of the burden, France is buoyant under it, and if such a thing as a good and stable government were possible for her, she would soon shake off a debt but little over half the size of our own." ¹⁷¹

Turning to the German side of the picture, we find the troubles of Bismarck in 1872 discussed with considerable intelligence by Dr. Foster. ¹⁷² "Bismarck has of late been fighting a sea of troubles. After Sadowa and Sedan, it was natural for Bismarck to conclude that he could now rest. But things are chaotic in Berlin. The ultramontanes regret the union with the German states. . . . The separatists are strong in Hanover and Saxony. The educational problem is still worse. Bismarck found that in Catholic provinces everything was being done by ultramontanes to make the schools a medium through which to encourage disunion. The bill for placing the inspection of schools in Prussia in the hands of state officials was fiercely resisted. . . . Bismarck's speech in the lower house in defense of his policy was all right when he said 'Be as

169. Duluth Minnesotian, Feb. 27, 1872.

170. Ibid, Apr. 4, 1872.

171. Brainerd Tribune, July 13, 1872.

172. Duluth Minnesotian, Apr. 4, 1872.

Romanist as you please as long as you are true to the German Empire." An opposite opinion on this phase of Bismarck's policy is found in the Northwestern Chronicle.¹⁷³ "Bismarck, uncrowned autocrat, hopes to propitiate the Internationals by secularizing the schools. Then those terrible Jesuits are a nightmare to him. Prussia expels these priests, but witness the exodus of German Catholics from her shores rich with the spoils of unhappy France. . . . Thank God America has not yet a Bismarck. During the late unhappy war between France and Prussia some of our German friends, dazzled by the success of William I and deluded by that ignus factus, the unification of Germany, blamed us for the position we then assumed. In the fruitless effort of the French people, we believed we saw the last struggle of a christian and constitutional government. Events have proved us right. Unification is complete and German Catholics witness the degradation before the law of the noblest order of priests that ever adorned the church. The St. Paul Press applauds this act and says it is popular with the protestants in Germany. We believe nothing of the sort. . . . Bismarck fears the old man at Rome and dreads his power. Bismarck has all the arrogance of a despot. Dissatisfaction exists not only among the people of Germany, but all powers of Europe. Austria is as restless as France and she is at one with her. Russia is jealous of her power, and she watches with a jealous eye every movement. We may soon hear of a mighty alliance against Prussia."¹⁷⁴ This was underestimating the diplomatic prestige of Prussia, for the same year "an imperial conference was held in Berlin at which the

173. Northwestern Chronicle, June 8, 1872.

174. Ibid, Sept. 18, 1872.

Emperors of Austria, Russia, and Germany met. We do not pretend to understand the significance of this meeting, but the Emperor of Germany had the courtesy to assure France that it meant no menace to France.¹⁷⁵.....It is probable that the purpose of the Emperor William in calling the conference was to obtain pledges from Austria and Russia which would prevent these governments from interfering in behalf of France should she ever undertake to reconquer that portion of her former territory held by Germany."

Neither does the latter period of 1872 show a keen interest in French or German affairs. As for France, we find a few passing comments, an indictment of Thiers, and a rather thoughtful discussion as to whether the ex-emperor will be re-instated. "So little unity exists among the French people. They don't know whether they want a Republic, and its fate looks unpropitious."¹⁷⁶ "The one Republic in the world which next to our own the citizens of this country view with great interest and solicitude is that for which the French people are struggling at the present time. They are so irascible, so impetuous, so mercurial, that their government is always in a political turmoil. Adolph Thiers is a great statesman, but a passive partisan of the Orleanists. He proves himself the most practical of theorists and the most conservative of radicals by insisting on as much liberty as is compatible with the restless Latin race. He temporizes, and wise temporizing is true statesmanship. He puts the iron ring of law into the nose of the Gallic bull, and then he lets it frisk about the arena in the consciousness

175. Winona Weekly Republican, Sept. 18, 1872.

176. Freeborn County Standard, Dec. 12, 1872.

of unrestrained liberty. He keeps a muzzle on the press; punishes sedition, for he knows the Parisian populace- bourgeois as well as the canaille - have not the intelligent self-poise and self-denial which alone render a pure democracy possible. France has shown a marvelous wealth and fertility of resources since the war. The enormous Prussian indemnity of \$500,000,000 has already been three-fifths paid and another \$100,000,000 will be ready in February. A nation with such extraordinary vitality and recuperative powers must be the heir of a great future.

Thiers needs only to learn one thing more and he ought to learn it as thoroughly as Richelieu - to oust the priests from all authority in state or school. Only in complete secularization can a nation thrive and feel secure. Let Thiers lay his hands in blessed repression on priestcraft, and France will show herself worthy of ordination into the permanent family of Republics."¹⁷⁷ "The existing order of things in France will not long continue..... Will the ex-emperor be reinstated? If so, then farewell to the Republic. And why not? Her Republics have never done France any good. Napoleon's coup d'etat by which he took the reins in 1850 was not the worst accident that could have befallen France. In America it is fashionable to wish for the continuance of the French Republic. It is not unnatural that we who prospered so greatly under a Republican form of government should wish to see Republican principles become universal. Such a wish is more natural than reasonable. What would do for Anglo-Saxons might be very ill-adapted to Frenchmen.

177. Minneapolis Tribune, Dec. 1, 1872.

The French prospered under the reign of Napoleon III. Before he came into authority they were in political difficulty, and, although they squirmed under his sceptre, the nation flourished much better than it has done since it got rid of him. The Emperor was not in favor of the war with Prussia, but was forced into it by the people who overruled his judgment to their own hurt. Since he went out of authority, Thiers is the only man who has been able to influence them for any length of time, and to direct the Republic. But Thiers is old and the man is yet to appear who could fill his place. It is impossible, even should he hold the helm firmly until his death, that the event would not be attended by a political convulsion. If, therefore, a crisis must come, let it come now when the Emperor is alive. For we believe that the combined strength and sagacity, aided by the support of the great Emperor of Germany, could do more for France than any president of the Republic could ever do who might be found to succeed Thiers. And if the youth, Napoleon's son, develops a character worthy of his sire, there should be no reason why that distracted country might not have a good government for another generation at least. There would be greater safety in Napoleon's successor and an Empire, than in a successor to Thiers and a Republic.¹⁷⁸ "There never was a greater mockery of truth and fact than to style France a Republic."¹⁷⁹

In addition to deriving some of our information from the newspapers, there were several other methods by which we have attempted to reach some conclusion on our problem. There were files of private correspondence of Minnesota's great men of 1871 and 1872,

178. St. Paul Evening Journal, Dec. 9, 1872.

179. Ibid, D c. 30, 1872.

and there were the files of the magazines then circulating in the state. Moreover we have letters from pioneers in Minnesota in 1871 who are still living and whose opinions would be helpful. We quote from three such letters. From Rochester, the correspondent writes as follows:¹⁸⁰ "The years 1871 and 1872 were so close to the civil war that they still held a large place in the conversation of the time. We all felt very familiar with the leading generals on both sides. We took and read such magazines as the Atlantic Monthly, Scribners, the Aldine, a pictorial and literary magazine of rare worth and great expense. We took for lighter reading the New York Ledger, the Toledo Blade, the St. Paul Pioneer and Press. . . . Of course we talked about all things. Agriculture, being the leading industry, held a place in the conversation.

We were by no means a benighted people, and society was polite and up to the times. Edward Eggleston was our favorite speaker. Very often eloquent and spiritual ministers of different denominations were sent to Minnesota for several years recruiting in health so we became accustomed to the best from our pulpits and critical of poorer talent. Interest in Franco-Prussian affairs was certainly more than medium as many of our settlers in Minnesota were Prussians or Germans. They followed the course of the war, and bought histories of it later." A conflicting opinion is found in the letter of another correspondent from the same community.¹⁸¹ "As I remember the period of 1871 and 1872, the interest of settlers of Minnesota in politics was most indifferent. Our rural teacher was

180. Marion D. Sloan, Rochester, Aug. 28, 1922

181. Clara A. Bell, Rochester, Aug. 28, 1922.

the only person I can recall even mentioning the Franco-Prussian war. In fact there were settlers in Minnesota and in our community who I believe did not know its existence. Not that they were especially ignorant, but they were blissfully content and of course, the agencies of communication were meager in those days. There were no telephones and no daily papers outside the Twin Cities. The settlers certainly talked more about crops than anything else, and they seemed to have no worries.....Those were happy carefree days. I remember three magazines that were popular at that time, Peterson's Magazine, Gody's Ladies Book, and Ballou's Monthly Magazine. Considerable space was given to fashions and many short stories. There were two small weekly newspapers published in Rochester at that time which most of the people of the community read. Occasionally, some family took a Chicago weekly though they were the exception."

Finally we quote from a third correspondent:¹⁸² "Sentiment as to the responsibility for the Franco-Prussian war formed at once in Minnesota and soon crystallized largely in favor of the German contention that the war was provoked by Napoleon III for the purpose of gaining more German territory and for the glorification of his dynasty. Our paper sustained Germany. The big English dailies of the state were inclined to be pro-French at first, but left up after a while when they noticed the tone of the weeklies and foreign language press. I would say that the interest of the public in the Franco-Prussian war was intense. The people talked war rather than crops. They read the Twin City dailies mainly besides the local weeklies. War was most always the main topic under discussion, particularly

182. H. C. Miller, St. Peter, Aug. 23, 1922.

was this the case when the terms of peace were under discussion. The amount of indemnity fixed at 5,000,000,000 franc was locked upon as beyond the capacity of France and always furnished material for lengthy discussions, as did dozens of other equally interesting French and German items."

Finally we had two other sources of information - the private correspondence and the magazines. I examined the papers of such important men as Whipple, Stevens, Sibley, Ramsey, Neil, Flandrau, Murray, Castle, Donnelly and others, but in this correspondence I found no mention of foreign affairs. As for the magazines among those most popular were Scribners, the Eclectic, Littell's Living Age, the Atlantic Monthly, the Galaxy, and the Catholic World. I examined files of these magazines to see how much space was devoted ^{to} foreign affairs. In Scribners, we find leading articles: "The Teuton and the Gaul" (Feb. 1871), "The Great European Change" (May 1871), "The Decay of the Latin Races", by Dr. F. G. Holland. This latter article gave rise to editorial comment in the Duluth Minnesotian and several other Minnesota papers agreeing with the thesis of the article. The Eclectic gave space to international articles taken bodily from the Spectator and Fortnightly Review. Littell's Living Age did much the same thing, while the Galaxy, a magazine of entertaining reading, gave inconspicuous space to international affairs and suggested running the guillotine by steam to get rid of the hated Communes. The Catholic World and Atlantic Monthly devoted considerable space to various articles dealing with France and Prussia, but in 1872 none of these magazines stress foreign matters.

183. Duluth Minnesotian, May 20, 1871.

CONCLUSION

When we come to form a final conclusion, we can in general say that there was a mild interest in Franco-Prussian affairs in 1871 and 1872. But this is unsatisfactory, so we restate that there existed a mild interest under certain conditions. Provided that affairs at home were not too pressing or that people were not isolated in the silent loneliness of their frontier homes, and not too poor to subscribe for their local or daily paper, an interest in foreign news was not exceptional provided the sheet gave space to such news.

As for the weekly journals, we can scarcely say that the majority show a sustained interest in foreign affairs. If events were sufficiently thrilling and spectacular, a few weekly papers not only continued to publish foreign news, but their editors show a desire to understand and interpret the dispatches. No matter if they groped in the dark owing to incomplete information, the effort is an evidence of interest. During the period January to July 1871, the greater number of weekly journals contained a third column foreign news, and we find also an abundance of editorial comment, not always profound but at least suggestive. There was not published anywhere in the state a better newspaper than the Winona Weekly Republican or Rochester Post, both of which not only continue to publish their full quota of foreign news after July 1, 1871, but they also give leading space to an occasional editorial opinion of originality and thought. But these are the exception. Weeklies, published in communities con-

taining a considerable portion of foreign born, such as the St. Peter, New Ulm, Mankato, and Red Wing journals, are found among those newspapers whose foreign news column is abbreviated to mere foreign gossip of two or three lines. Such unimportant matter was injected into an inconspicuous section of the paper, and we even suspect as a space-filler. It sometimes explained that the Empress Eugenie was feeling better, or that the Prince of Wales was ill and Victoria was wild with grief. Yet what shall we say of those weeklies which contained no foreign gossip whatsoever? Shall we say it was because there was no interest? I think not. Let another Commune be reported, and there would appear more comment. So, potentially, interest does exist to be called forth when events are of sufficient magnitude to provoke and warrant comment. In the meantime, the business of living was too absorbing and French and German problems were far away.

The great dailies of the state present but a slightly different condition. Even after the excitement of the Communist insurrection, these newspapers published fairly complete foreign news. This was particularly true of the Minneapolis Tribune which contained the best comments in the daily press on foreign affairs even after the thrilling events of the earlier months had passed into oblivion. But the daily papers also show a characteristic tendency to curtail foreign news and thrust into the limelight of the front page state and local events of nearer interest. As is to be expected, the comments on French and German problems in the dailies show considerable more understanding of foreign events, but only a few are really thoughtful. The events seem to be uncertainly analysed through the mists of great distance.

There is in the beginning sympathy for France, but this gives way to impatience with Thiers whose conciliatory policy was somewhat underestimated. Louis Napoleon's restoration would be the best thing for France, for its people were too temperamental and unversed in self-government to appreciate the benefits of a Republic. Any form of government was better than anarchy, but the strong hand of the despot was needed to handle affairs in France whose people seemed to be falling from one crisis into another. As for Germany, she had become the first power in Europe. Bismarck ruled with an iron-hand which created an impression of the harshness of his character. Germany was ruthless, but she was successful. Unity was not achieved with the proclamation of the Empire, for political divisions were numerous and spiritual harmony lacking. The secularization of the schools would make for greater unity, inasmuch as the Jesuits were unfavorable to the Bismarckian policies and therefore taught dissension in their schools. Minnesotians in general did not take a holiday to celebrate German unification, but accepted it as a fait accompli.

The German press of the state does not give us any more information than we derive from other newspapers. The German element was delighted to know that Germany was at last united. There was one peace celebration at St. Paul and one at New Ulm. There would now be peace and quiet, and Germany could enjoy her eminent position on the continent. Bismarck was now entitled to rest on his glory as the first diplomat of Europe. The territory Germany acquired was simply the recovery of what had been stolen from her. But the world would dislike any more territory to be added to Germany. Peace in

Europe should be the German policy. As for the French Republic, the German press explained that it rested on the personality of Thiers. Should the eyes of this old statesman close forever, his government would crash to pieces. The danger to France lies in the transitorial period from monarchic Republicanism to pure Republicanism or pure monarchy. The duty of the present was to prepare for the transition and to maintain the Republic, for the German press favored Republicanism for France. On the whole, there is nothing novel or profound in these opinions.

Nor do we find new light on our problem when we examine correspondence. Letters were not written to the newspapers on the thrilling events in Europe, and the three which were sent to the papers - the one from New Ulm, the reflections of the Rev. D. B. Jackson, and the Minnesotian abroad - indicate merely a great interest in isolated cases. The opinion reflected in the letters quoted from pioneers still living indicate that interest shown in foreign affairs was an extremely variable equation for there was no agreement as to the interest shown. The average Minnesotian had a potential interest in affairs in France and Germany, but in peace times a sustained interest in such problems was obviously exceptional.