

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 George Hendricks 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.

L. B. Shipper
Chairman

Gordon J. Busch

Wm Anderson

Date July 24, 1922

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 George Hendricks
final oral examination for the degree of
Master of Arts

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

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Date July 24, 1922

The Rise of the Republican Party in Minnesota.

A Thesis

Submitted to the Faculty of the
Graduate School of
the University of Minnesota

by

George Hendricks

In partial fulfilment of the
requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts

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Introduction

The Republican party in the state of Minnesota has had such a long and powerful hold upon the political activities of the state that it might seem that it has always been in such a position. There are, however, a few that can remember that in the early days the Republicans were few in number and considered dangerous to the welfare of the nation. Throughout the history of politics it has always been the lot of the third party to be placed in a position of doubt and ill repute by that party which has most to lose should the new movement be successful. In the early territorial days, the Democrats were powerful not only nationally but also in the territory. This party proudly boasted that it was not sectional and in its attempt to make good such a boast it lost the confidence of the citizens of many a northern state. The Democratic party failed to keep its hold in the northern states because it attempted to adjust itself too much along the ideas of the South. The Whigs on the other hand failed to grasp the issues of either section. Consequently, the South ceased to have Whig organizations and the North turned Republican. In the chapters of the following thesis, an attempt has been made to trace the rise of the Republican party in the territory of Minnesota. The growth and local organization is presented. At the same time the opposition of the effective Democratic organization is quoted through its press so as to indicate the difficulties of the new movement. The first successes of the new party are listed, and the increasing force and strength of the Republican party are shown in detail up to the close of the year 1856, for in a little more than two years the party had risen into a vigorous existence.

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The First Indication of an Anti-Slavery Party.

While the Kansas-Nebraska Bill was pending a meeting of citizens of all parties was held at Ripon, Wisconsin for the purpose of organizing a new party on the slavery issue, and the name suggested for it was "Republican".¹⁾ Five weeks after the repeal of the Missouri Compromise had been enacted action was taken by leading citizens of Michigan. A state mass-meeting of all opposed to slavery was held at Jackson, Michigan, on the 6th day of July. This convention formed an organization and gave its political creation the name Republican. Similar action was taken by Wisconsin, Ohio, and Indiana. On July 13th Illinois and Iowa gained anti-slavery results by a fusion of the Whigs and Free-Soil elements upon state issues.²⁾

The great influx of settlers into Minnesota territory caused the people to be too occupied with local affairs to be seriously concerned with political matters. Furthermore, the unsettled conditions in the territory aided the Democratic party in its control of the political affairs of Minnesota. However, the community of St. Anthony Falls was composed of some people who, in spite of the hardships of their frontier life, found time to think of the political affairs of the day.³⁾ On July 4th, 1854, a small group of men in and

1) Rise and Fall of the Slave Power, Henry Wilson, vol. II, p.410. See also The Republican Party, Francis Curtis, vol. I, p.1-2, and "The Genesis of the Republican Party in Minnesota", Minn. Hist. Bull. vol. II, p.24.

2) "The Genesis of the Republican Party in Minnesota", Minn. Hist. Bull. vol. II, p.24.

3) Files of The Daily Minnesota Pioneer; Minn. Hist. Society Lib., St. Paul. For Eastman's view of Goodrich, see Eastman's letter to Sibley, April 7th, 1854, Sibley Papers, Manuscript Room, Minn. Hist. Society Lib., St. Paul, Minn.

around St. Anthony Falls gathered to protest against the action of Congress in regard to the slave question and the morals of the day.

The first notice of this meeting was given in an editorial of The Daily Minnesota Pioneer, July 17, 1854.⁴⁾ This newspaper was edited by Earl Goodrich. He was of the Democratic faction that supported Sibley's candidate, David Olmsted, against Henry Rice.

The heading of this article, "The Friends of Freedom?", indicated doubt, and the article rebuked in no uncertain terms the members who attended the meeting. "We have received a note from Rev. C.G. Ames of St. Anthony", says the editor, "requesting the publication in the Pioneer of the proceedings of a convention of 'The Nationals' held at the Falls July 4th. We do not feel at liberty to crowd the columns of our sheet with sectional and inflammatory strictures upon abolitionism. Neither do we court discussion with any individual of that ilk -- to say nothing of giving publicity to narrow ideas that we utterly abhor. The great natal day of Columbia was celebrated at St. Anthony by a 'wooly head' convention ycleped 'The Nationals' who in the superabundant philanthropy of their ideas commemorated the day of independence by the adoption of the usual traitorous resolutions fathered elsewhere by Garrison, Phillips, Sumner, and others of that beautiful stripe, who so lately caused poor Batchelder to be assassinated

4) The Northwestern Democrat, August 12, 1854.

within the portals of the halls of justice while officiating and acting under his oath of obedience to the laws of the country as an officer thereof. All these conditions are wrong, they endeavor to sap and undermine the national laws and are consequently traitorous, and should be severely rebuked

"we regret exceedingly that our friend of the Daily Times, has meddled approvingly with this miserable affair, arguing the right of negro suffrage, can he not find something to debate upon more to his credit than this? But we will not discuss this question. It is so offensive to us that with due respect to Parson Ames we conclude by promptly declining his request for these sectional bigoted attacks upon our federal government

"The Northwestern Democrat of St. Anthony Falls in its issue of July 12th,⁵⁾ overhauls the proceedings of this convention in a masterly and commendable manner, to which we invite perusal".⁶⁾

5) The Northwestern Democrat, August 12, 1854.

6) Johnston, Daniel S.B., Journalism In The Territorial Days, Minn. Hist. Col., vol. X, part 1. This article by Mr. Johnston lists the various newspapers of the territory and the state; as to the founding of the newspapers, their political tendencies and editors. The following papers have been used for this period: Democratic papers in St. Paul; The Minnesota Pioneer, and The Minnesota Democrat. These two papers were edited by Mr. Goodrich and Mr. Brown, two able Democratic writers, the latter was one of the Democratic leaders. In St. Anthony The Northwest Democrat represented the party. The most important of the Whig papers was The Minnesotian of St. Paul, which was looked upon as a Ramsey organ. The St. Anthony Express was a Whig paper at this time but turned Democratic. The St. Paul Daily Times was Free-Soil but later turned Republican, having from the very beginning a great sympathy for the new party. The Minnesota Republican was the first Republican paper in the territory. It was founded upon true Republican principles as proclaimed in the July 4th meeting of 1854, held at St. Anthony Falls.

All this indicates the position of the members of the St. Anthony meeting of July 4th. That this affair was considered only local in character may be surmized from the fact that no publicity was given the meeting prior to July 4th, and that all the news-accounts which followed, aside from one exception, indicated a hostile feeling. The Minnesota Democrat in an editorial of July 1st, 1854, berates the Minnesotian for its stand upon the rights of adopted citizens. It accuses the Whig party of an attempt to begin a Know Nothing party in Minnesota. It asserts further " that the so-called People's Party to the satisfaction of every reflecting mind, and the Whig party as a party, hopes to attain power by an alliance with the Know Nothings."

The only newspaper account of the meeting given by the St. Anthony and St. Paul papers appeared in The St. Paul Daily Times of July 18th, 1854. The article was printed under the heading, " Convention of the Nationals", and stated that a convention of those opposed to the domination of the sectional slave-holding interests in the federal government, was held on the 4th of July 1854, in the Congregational Church at St. Anthony. The call for the convention was read by B.E. Messer of Minneapolis, upon whose motion the Hon. Drummond Farnsworth was chosen chairman.⁷⁾ Prayer was offered by Rev. C. Seecombe. Chas. G. Ames and T. Elwell of St. Anthony were appointed secretaries. J.W. North and Ira Kingsly of St. Anthony, R.W. Nickolas of St. Paul, J.S. Manning of Lake Harriet, and Wm. Woodbury of Anoka were chosen vice-presidents. C.G. Ames, B.E. Messer,

7) The Genesis of the Republican Party, Minn. Hist. Bull. II, p.24.

and E.A. Hodson were chosen as a committee to report resolutions. In the meantime the convention was addressed by Rev. C. Seecombe and Mr. Mc Cabe. The convention reported six resolutions which were accepted. The Declaration of Independence was then read by Prof. Merrill; upon which on the motion of A. Ball the convention adjourned from 11 o'clock A.M. until 2 o'clock P.M. The afternoon session was begun with prayer by Rev. C.G. Ames. The resolutions were then taken up for discussion, each one separately discussed and unanimously adopted.

The first resolution stated that the repeal of the Missouri Compromise indicated that no reliance could be placed upon the good faith of the South, also that this compromise afforded a precedent for the repeal of all compromises with slavery which the North should not be slow to follow.

The second resolution demanded that the northern members of Congress who sanctioned the Nebraska Iniquity should be loathed, that conversely those who fought it were worthy of the applause of the human race.

The third resolution declared that sectional supremacy should not exist, but that freedom and free institutions must be supreme over the entire nation.

The fourth resolution stated that the nation should be highly prized, but above it should be placed liberty and the eternal principles of truth. These two were so sacred that the union might be sacrificed before these two virtues.

The fifth resolution pointed out that the Nebraska Bill-principles apply as well to the Minnesota territory, and thus

Minnesota might be in danger of incursion of slavery, consequently that scheme of iniquity must be condemned.

The sixth resolution declared that the time had come when the people of the free states should unite with the friends of liberty throughout the land to form a holy league, for the purpose of recovering the ground that had been lost, to preserve inviolate the Constitution, to maintain the integrity of the union, to deliver the national government from the supporters of slavery, to annihilate all compromises to the detriment of freedom, to erase from the statute books that outrage, the Fugitive Slave Bill, and as long as it remains in force to make it inoperative by refusing obedience and by rendering to the fugitive those acts of kindness which Christ requires to be shown even to the least of his brethren; sacrificing party predilections whenever the cause of humanity requires it. Furthermore, the nation should be purged as quickly as possible from being a slave holding people.⁸⁾

Pending these resolutions, the convention was addressed by Rev. E.A. Hodson, S. Bigelow, and B.E. Messer of Minneapolis, J.W. North, T. Nutting, C.G. Ames, J. Mc Cabe, and T. Elwell of St. Anthony, Mr. Robinson of New York, A. Kieth, recently from Vermont, and T. Babbett of Illinois. A contribution of nearly ten dollars was taken up to defray the expenses, the balance to be devoted to the purchase of antislavery tracts for distribution.

On the motion of C.G. Ames, the following resolution was adopted by a hearty vote."Resolved, that we are now ready to act in concert with all the citizens of this territory who wish to see Minnesota come into the union with garments unpolluted with the

8) These resolutions have not been given verbatim.

stain of slavery." The following "Freedom Provincial Committee" was appointed with instructions to mature a plan for the organization of the "Friends of Freedom" throughout the territory and for the call of conventions at its discretion. The committee consisted of, Luke Marvin, St. Paul, S.J.K. Mc Millan, Stillwater, J. W. North, St. Anthony, J.S. Mann, Hennepin County, and J.H. Woodbury, Anoka. On motion the convention was adjourned to await the call of the provincial committee.

" The convention was harmonious and very enthusiastic. Its sessions were enlivened by appropriate and soul-stirring songs; and the addresses in keeping with the resolutions of the day, were independent, manly and often eloquent. It is believed that this assembly, the first of its kind ever held in the territory, will not be the last; and that the partizans of slavery will find that there is a spirit announced here which will not sacrifice principles to expediency, nor be ridiculed or browbeaten into either submission or silence."

The St. Paul Daily Times commenting upon the meeting asserted that, "because they believed in freedom of speech, they also believed in freedom of press." They expressed some disapprobation with some of the sentiments expressed in the resolutions. The first, second, and the third were satisfactory, aside from the last clause of the first resolution which was a little too defiant in asserting that a majority could change a compromise providing it had good cause to do so. The fourth resolution was exceptional in this respect, that it thought it far too threatening and expressed too much fear of the South. The sixth was too severe, it was foolish to advise action against the law. It asserted the North

had truth, right and justice on its side, thus it could forbear from giving blows, if it must come to that let the South be guilty of the first blow.

In the columns the St. Anthony Express of July 22, 1854, a letter dated July 20, 1854, addressed to Mr. Bowman, the editor, and signed by the letter, "F"⁹⁾ indicates conditions of the period in these words :

" In your last number I notice a very brief, but very significant article referring in no flattering manner to the proceedings of a convention held in this place on the 4th inst. Had your papers contained an official report of these proceedings, I should not have deemed it necessary to say one word by way of defending the resolutions which were adopted, and which were directly assailed in last week's Democrat, and indirectly but not the less emphatically, by the Express. As you have not published those proceedings and as from a perusal of the leader in the last Democrat to which you have referred your readers, to whom a very erroneous impression will be conveyed as to the character of the resolutions adopted by that convention, you will not, I trust, deem it improper that as one of those assailed, I should have the privilege of responding briefly through your columns." The writer defends the resolutions of the convention. The attitude of the North from Maine to Wisconsin was cited by the writer to clinch the argument that Minnesota territory did not differ from the other northern communities. He also asserted that the Kansas-Nebraska situation demanded action or else Minnesota might come into the same condition. The Express made a reply printing the same directly underneath the letter. It asserted, "we made no public allusion to

that meeting because we were aware that a large number of our most respectable citizens participated in its proceedings, whose deliberate judgment we believed would repudiate the spirit of the resolutions, and because it is every man's privilege to express his patriotism in accordance with his beliefs as long as he remains within the constitution. The meeting alluded to was calculated, and doubtless intended to foster an excitement very naturally existing in the North, consequent upon the repeal of the Missouri Compromise; hence it had not our sympathy. Let union and harmony, freedom and the Constitution be the watch word, and success will crown all the efforts of enlightened patriotism."

Thus it may be noted that of the three Democratic papers, the local Democratic paper, the Northwest Democrat, published at St. Anthony Falls, gave an account of which nothing can be known aside from the recommendation of the St. Paul Pioneer and the contents of the letter of "F" in the Express. The Minnesota Democrat of St. Paul refused to give any information whatsoever. The St. Paul Pioneer, the other Democratic paper, published a sarcastic comment which attempted to give the meeting an evil reputation. The St. Anthony Express, a local Whig paper, haltingly gave some information but only after the letter of "F" had appeared. The account of T.M. Newson's St. Paul Daily Times, which being Free-Soil in its tendencies, braved the sharp remarks of Mr. Goodrich. It is, in fact, the only account of the day. The Minnesotian was silent, although ten months later, it will be noted that it supported the new movement. It must be evident that the meeting at St. Anthony Falls, July 4th, 1854, was not as local as one might be led to believe. There were representatives from St. Paul, Minneapolis,

Anoka, and St. Anthony Falls. In those days when communication was difficult and people far and few between, it seemed strange that so many communities could be represented among the active participants of the meeting unless this gathering, though small in number was the nucleus of the coming party.

From the period of July until the month of October nothing occurred which had any definite bearing upon the political field. However, the establishment of The Minnesota Republican at St. Anthony Falls, October 5th, 1854, must be observed with interest. The publication bore a title which indicated the character of its contents and its political backing. It was edited by C.G. Ames who had taken an active part in the 4th of July convention, and it was established by a group of citizens which indicated, that convictions were worth the sacrifice of money. The salutation of the first paper explained its tendencies and sympathies in the following words : "The Minnesota Republican makes its first appearance to-day. It owes its existence to the fact that a large number of citizens of Minnesota cherish and regard as sacred and important opinions which have no adequate channels of expression in any press heretofore established in the territory. Between fifty and sixty of those citizens associated as a joint stock company are the proprietors of the Republican press and establishment: but the editor whom they have chosen --- and whose connection with the paper is not the result of any desire or request of his own --- is under no other pledge so far as the editorial management of its column is concerned than to serve the interests of liberty and temperance according to his own discretion and to the best of his ability....

" It will labor to spread the principles of temperance and to prepare the way for Minnesota to come into the union as a free state. It will maintain, that liberty is the right of all, laws its defence; that slavery is sectional, freedom national, that the national government should be relieved from all connection with slavery. It will oppose alike the efforts of Pope or Priest to gain possession of government, and the efforts of any class of citizens to disfranchise men simply for their foreign nationality or their religious opinions."

The Republican became the mouthpiece of the new movement, and as a weekly paper devoted its energies to the furthering of Anti-Slavery opinions as well as the fostering of temperance. On November 2, 1854, it commented upon the July 4th meeting and dwelt upon the fact that, although there were local celebrations at Stillwater and St. Paul, yet a fair attendance was present from Ramsey, Hennepin, and Benton counties. This statement would corroborate the earlier statements that the St. Anthony Falls meeting was not as local as some tried to make it appear.

The paper had been in circulation scarcely two months when a report was published on December 14, 1854, stating that the paper had a circulation of 600, while 500 were responsible names. Of these, St. Anthony had 171 subscribers, Minneapolis had a greater number in proportion to its population with a number of 80. Anoka had 30 subscribers, Manomin had 8, Minnetonka was largely interested. Stillwater, Cottage Grove, and Point Douglas had numerous subscribers. There was also a large "single list" composed of subscribers throughout the union.

The Republican began the new year's activities by publishing

in its January 11, 1855 number regarding Republican organizations in Minnesota. It asserted that the principles of freedom and temperance should be organized broadcast over the state by means of the friends of such sentiment. The cause for such activity lay in the fact that Minnesota must come in as a free state and not as a slave territory. The Whig party was ruined, nothing in the way of reform might be hoped from its leadership, inasmuch, as it would suppress sentiment upon the slave question. Five general topics were then presented to the people of the territory upon which unified action might be achieved, such as, the defeat of positive Democracy, temperance, a free constitution, and closely allied subjects. In the February 22, 1855 issue, a number of agencies was listed as to where the Republican might be had, and also the people who would care for such subscriptions. At Minnetonka, Excelsior, and South Side the paper could be had from Rev. C. Galpin of North Side, from O.E. Garrison of St. Paul, from Luke Marvin of Stillwater, from Rev. H.M. Nicholas of Point Douglas, from A.A. Twitchell of Prescott, from P. Felt of Cottage Grove, from J.W. Furber of Anoka, from J.B. Holt of Traverse De Sioux, from John Pettijohn of Belle Plaine, from S. Finch of Shakopee, from Rev. E.A. Greenleaf of Bonteinean Prairie, from Rev. F. Ager of Belle Prairie, and from A.B. Chaffee of Benton County. The above list shows the extent and influence of the Republican within the territory, and it is reasonable to suppose that each of the above mentioned locations contained a group who favored the policies of the C.G. Ames' publication.

The first indication of any organization in the territory, aside from St. Anthony, appeared in the March 1, 1855 issue of the Republican.

It is stated that on February 1st a Republican convention was held in Winona, and that this was the first county movement of a genuine Republican sort. It was further asserted that 17 resolutions were passed and adopted. This meeting is of interest, for later in the month of May, the Republican laments the tardiness of county organizations asserting that, aside from St. Anthony, St. Paul, and Winona, nothing definite had been done. The issue of March 1st contained the first notification of the Republican convention which was to meet at St. Anthony, March 30, 1855. The announcement of July 4, 185^A5, stated the aims of the party, as well as the reason for its origin. It also stated that a mass-convention was to be held at St. Anthony on Friday, March 30, 1855, at 10 o'clock A.M. Citizens of the place were requested to cordially extend their hospitalities to those who should come from a distance. The committee who sent forth the call consisted of T. Marvin, St. Paul, J. W. Worth, St. Anthony, and J. S. Mann, Minneapolis. The Express and Northwest Democrat were asked to "please copy". The time for the convention was changed in the March 15th number placing the day for opening upon Thursday instead of Friday, because it was thought that two days would be needed instead of one. The first St. Paul notice of the convention appeared, March 10, 1855, in the St. Paul Daily Times. Thus, the preparations were made for the second convention, a meeting which was provided for by the July 4, 1854 gathering. In a period of less than eight months, the men who assembled in a protest against the Kansas-Nebraska Bill had organized three main centers of propoganda; and they had established a weekly newspaper which compared favorably with those of its time. Aside from these achievements, several smaller centers and points of vantage had been located which would later result in larger organizations.

Previous to this time the other newspapers of the territory had ceased to trouble themselves about the Republicans, as each was too busy with local schisms in the Democratic party to pay any attention to the Fanatic group. The attitude taken by E. Goodrich in the editorial presented earlier in the Pioneer had been faithfully followed by the other papers who undoubtedly believed that this Republican action was only "a flash in the pan". The only digression from this attitude is the voice of the Republican.

The Northwest Democrat of October 7, 1854, wrote, "The inferences that the Republican has a title to perfection, therefore no errors are to mark its course. Undertaking as it has the work of abolishing all evil from the world, it stands upon ground that poor publicans can not approach".

The St. Paul Pioneer wrote in the following spirit: "The Minnesota Republican. This is the title of a new paper recently established at St. Anthony. Rev. C.G. Ames editor. It is well printed, and were it not for its abolition proclivities, would be a valuable aid to the development of the resources of that portion of the territory".

The St. Anthony Express commented upon the neatness of the paper and upon its business-like appearance. It stated further, "Public morality has been rather scarce in this vicinity of late and what with the prospective annexation of Cuba, the passage of the Fugitive Slave Law, and the Nebraska Bill, civil liberty seems to be on the decline". The honesty of the paper was appreciated, it was also prophesied that the Douglas' followers would suffer.

The St. Paul Times declared that the Minnesota Republican was a new paper which they had failed at first to notice.

anti-slavery ideas, published extensive accounts of the meeting. The Democratic papers commented also upon the convention but in a different manner. The account presented by the Republican must be considered the most authentic, as this paper was published at the place of the convention, and its editor was one of the most prominent of the early Republican leaders. The details of the acts may thus be acquired, these may in turn be compared with other facts presented by the other papers, thus causing a fairly authentic impression.

The best account of the convention appeared in the April 5, 1855 number of the Republican. As stated by the editor, "The resolutions, proceedings, and circular address took up so much space in the columns, that the debates must be postponed until the publication of the following week".

The following is quoted from the editorial of C.G. Ames. "As we understand it, the Republicans of Minnesota intend to be a party of progress; and without assuming to have found out all truth, they hold their platform open to any amendment, which the ordeal of discussion and a clear view of what is right may demand". The convention was one of remarkable interest. Some difficulty was experienced by those who were from outlying parts, because of bad roads, unsettled weather and the danger of swollen streams. These facts caused some hinderance toward a large attendance, but it seems that, all things considered, the result was satisfactory. The philosophical conclusion reached was that larger conventions belonged to the future.

The personal of the convention inspired the Republican with confidence, causing it to write as follows: "The character of the persons active in the convention is in itself as good a certificate of the integrity of the new movement as could be asked. It is easy for

partisan editors to sneer at the small beginning of Republicanism in Minnesota, but they have not seen it all; and, however, much they may attempt to cast odium upon those who have made themselves conspicuous in these matters. There is not a man among them of whom either Whigs or administration men would not be proud, and upon whom they would not lavish a superabundance of complimentary adjectives, if they thereby could be detained in those parties with whom they have forever ceased to act".

The convention was called to order by J.W. North, Mr. Asa Kieth was appointed temporary chairman and J.W. Bradley secretary. A motion was made and sustained that a committee of five be appointed to nominate permanent officers for the period of the convention. The committee reported later having agreed upon the men who were elected. W.A. Marshall was elected for president, Mc Lean, Asa Kieth, A.P. Lane, Porter Nutting, Eli Pettijohn, and R.P. Upton for vice-presidents, H.P. Pratt and J.F. Bradley for secretaries. The afternoon session gathered at the Methodist church. Prayer was offered by the Rev. Mr. Seecombe. The results of the convention are already indicated by the contents of the fourteen resolutions which were agreed upon by the assembly. The first three resolutions were adopted and considered as a unit separate from the remaining resolutions. The first and the second were adopted unanimously after some discussion. Both the first and the second dealt with the constitution, emphasising the instrument as one which should be impartial and also opposed to slavery. The third resolution requested the repeal of the Fugitive Slave Law. This resolution was adopted after some alteration of the original form. Before the remainder of the resolutions were considered, a committee of seven were to be appointed by the president as a group

to prepare and issue a call for some future assembling, this meeting to be held at St. Paul. It was also specifically stated that the purpose of this future gathering should be for the "consumating of the organization and nomination of a congressional delegate as well as other candidates". The following gentlemen were placed upon this committee: N. Mc Lean, J. S. Mann, A. Chute, W. Bristol, Dr. Childs, M. Nicholas, A. P. Lane. On a motion the president was made the chairman of the committee. Another group of five were appointed to draft an address to the people of the territory. This committee consisted of C. G. Ames, J. W. Bass, B. F. Hoyt, O. F. Perkins, and S. Bigelow. These arrangements having been made, the assembly continued to prepare a platform. The fourth resolution caused more discussion than any other. The question was whether or not Congress should have power to prohibit slavery from new states upon seeking admission into the union. The debate was carried over into the Friday morning session, and it was then decided that Congress should be given such power providing the Republicans had their national government in their control. The fifth was unanimously adopted, this resolution declared that the ordinance of 1787, commonly known as the Northwest ordinance, indicated the power of Congress to prohibit slavery from the territories. Consequently, why not in 1855? The sixth resolution asserted the repeal of the Missouri Compromise was a move by the South, in an attempt to fasten slavery upon the Northwest. It was adopted without a dissenting vote. The seventh resolution was also unanimously adopted. It expressed equality before law of all persons, pledged a jury trial and made a strict ruling against attempts to do otherwise. The eighth regarding a prohibitory liquor law was also accepted without a negative vote. The ninth resolution was amended slightly, it demanded

the supremacy of freedom throughout the land, although it denied sectional supremacy. The tenth resolution was prepared by Rev. C.G. Ames as a program for other future Republican followers to pattern in days to come. This resolution was given considerable attention, but was accepted in the afternoon session of Friday as a Republican creed or article of faith. The resolution contained an explanatory heading which asserted, "We propose the following principles and measures among those which belong to the Republican platform".

- 1) election of all civil officers by the people, except where inconsistent with the interests of the public service.
- 2) The abolition of all needless officers, and no salaried to legislators or others, except for actual services.
- 3) No more revenue than is required to pay the necessary expenses of the government and to extinguish the public debt.
- 4) Free land to actual settlers in limited quantities.
- 5) River and harbor improvements only where they are matters of national concern.
- 6) Cordial welcome to emigrants and exiles of the old world; but no welcome to banished paupers and criminals, or to those who plot the overthrow of the Republic.
- 7) Reduction of land and ocean postage to the lowest possible rates.
- 8) No imprisonment or involuntary servitude except for crime.
- 9) No civil disabilities on account of color or religious opinion.
- 10) No legislation for the advantage of the few to the injury of the many.
- 11) No encroachments of the federal government on the reserved rights of the states of their constitutional obligations.
- 12) Additional guarantees for the purity of legislation.

13) In administering the government, man and motals first, the interests of the property afterwards.

The twelfth resolution urged friendly papers to print the proceedings of the convention, it also respectfully requested all the territorial papers to publish the platform. The thirteenth resolution asserted the plan for organizing the friends of freedom, temperance, and progress in the counties of the territory. The fourteenth resolution was a public statement as to thankfulness caused by the prevailing harmony of the convention. An expression as to the confidence of the future as well as a parting farwell greeting was contained in the resolutions.

In the same number of the Republican, a circular address was published. This address proceeded from the territorial convention to the people of Minnesota and contained a thorough and detailed exposition of the Republican doctrine. It occupied two full length columns, but contained, in fact, the same thoughts as the resolutions. It stated that the Whig party had broken faith with its members by its support of the Fugitive Slave Act. That the lack of principles among party leaders, augmented by corruption had caused the rise of the Republican party, which consisted of men that were prompted by conviction and sure of their cause. Those who believed in such ideals were asked to cast their lot with the new party.

Previous to this time the paper most friendly to the Abolition cause was the St. Paul Daily Times. It will be remembered that no other publication gave the convention of July 4, 1854, a fair hearing. However, at this period the Minnesotian, ex-governor Ramsey's organ, begins to show concern regarding the new party, and it also looks as though the Republican draws closer to the Minnesotian than any other paper.

In the April 5, 1855 number of the St. Paul Daily Times its opinions of the Republican resolutions is expressed. It asserts, "We find little in the resolutions to condemn, but much to approve. Those relating to slavery are mild, yet sufficiently strong to cover the ground sought by the friends of freedom, while the tenth meets our hearty approbation. That resolution, if carried out, will remove the old political system, or rather build up a party which must ultimately triumph".

The Daily Minnesotian of March 31, 1855, announced the Republican convention in a favorable manner. At the time of the publication of the article, which asserts the view of the Minnesotian, the convention was already in session. It stated: "The convention is largely attended by prominent citizens of Ramsey, Hennepin, Dakota, and Washington counties. The business of the meeting appears to be managed by citizens who have heretofore occupied a high position in the Democratic party of Minnesota. W.R. Marshall, Esq. of St. Paul is president of the convention and Messers. Nourse, North, Bristol, and other old Democrats are leading members. The resolutions reported are temperate, but decided; and if adopted in the shape the committee desires, will no doubt give general satisfaction to the Republicans of Minnesota. A more respectable and intelligent body of men has never assembled in any part of these United States to deliberate upon grave questions affecting the public weal". The resolutions of the convention were published on April 5th. In this number the Minnesotian published the statement that the Northwest Democrat had already admitted that the Democratic party needed a speedy process of purification, yet it would not favor a third party movement. The circular address was printed in the April 11th issue, whereas the

first notice of the July convention at St. Paul appeared, May 22, 1855.

The St. Anthony Express which had been ranked as a Whig organ, turned during the summer of 1855, into a Democratic paper.³⁾ It has been noted previously how the Minnesotian, a Whig paper, and the St. Paul Daily Times, a Free Soil publication, had given friendly comments with respect to the Republican convention. The St. Anthony Express assumed a decidedly hostile tone, and failed to publish any notice of the convention. It may be that the rivalry of the Minnesota Republican was too severe for the Express, and that the paper was endeavoring to check a movement which it considered dangerous to the welfare of the nation. Personal prejudices may also have entered as deciding factors. Nevertheless, the ridicule of the Express exceeded the Democratic papers in hostility of tone. The bitterness of the entire editorial can not be mistaken for mere partisan rivalry. The account of the convention as observed by the Express appeared under the title, "The Abolition Convention". And we read under this heading, "This convention, notwithstanding the numerous other exciting incidents, has been the great event of the week. Great it was! Great in its littleness - great as an illustration of the absurdity into which men of over-ardent temperament, of super-refined sentiments of philosophy may fall in the advocacy of principles abstractly just. In accordance with the published call, a meeting of some thirty persons convened at Central Hall about 11 o'clock on the morning of the 29th. The object, as was announced, was to form a new party under the captivating title of Republicans. A committee was appointed to draft

3) The Northwest Democrat, August 18, 1855. In this issue the Democrat calls attention to the change of political creed taken by the Express, which it calls the leading Whig paper.

resolutions, another to report a list of officers for a permanent organization of the convention. Two or three speeches were made by gentlemen who had as much knowledge of the objects of the convention as a Mongrel Tartar might be supposed to know of the mechanical use of electricity or steam. The meeting then adjourned to the Methodist Episcopal Church at halfpast one with the understanding that each one should secure a respectable attendance at the afternoon session.

"The interval was made good use of. Many good citizens who had allowed themselves to forget the great event were reminded of it, and out of curiosity appeared for the afternoon session, about 100 being present, of which one half were members of the convention.

"Those who had come from a distance and might have hoped for great things would look in vain. Throughout the resolutions prevailed the implacable spirit of hatred to every one and every thing in the slightest degree connected with slavery, which characterized the old Abolition party.

"The session of Thursday evening, thanks to music and the ladies whom this party has the knack of converting to a very good use; the house was two thirds full. Nothing worth noting occurred this session.

"The Friday session presented a sickly appearance. Fifty people all told composed the session of the day. Some of the resolutions were debated with considerable spirit, but not ⁱⁿ a single instance, that could be observed did the cute Abolitionists yield an inch of their ground. Compromises is a word foreign to their vocabulary. On the whole, they conducted with great shrewdness and succeeded tolerably in cramming their fire eating dogmas down the throats of the more conciliatory.

"After the great flourish of trumpet about carrying every future territorial election, setting every negro free, and subduing the cohorts of king alcohol the convention gave up the ghost 5 o'clock on Friday afternoon".

The ideas of the Express were continued in a second article published on the same day under the same heading. It proceeded, "For a party which claims all the virtues, it was one of the most curious gatherings of piebald and mongrel politicians we have seen in the territory. The call was to such as were disgusted with the degeneration and corruption of political parties at present. We think they were all there, at least, we saw men there, active in the convention who ought to be disgusted with the corruption of the old parties from the length of time which they have been steeped in it. And if the convention has the effect of purifying them, it will accomplish a work which nothing short of omnipotence could have effected. We notice among the prominent Abolitionists present: W.R.Marshall, T.M.Newson, editor of the Times, B.F.Hoyt, J.N.Murdock, Esq., St. Paul, John Wesley North, Esq. of St. Anthony, J.F.Bradley, Kieth, Harmon, and W.A. Hotchkiss, Esq., editor of the Northwest Democrat, Minneapolis.

"We trust the efforts of these self-denying and benevolent men, in endeavoring to rescue our fair territory from the clutches of slavery into which it seems ready to fall, unless we awake and fly to the rescue, may be crowned with success".⁴⁾

The three papers which were Democratic in their political ideas were, The Minnesota Democrat, The Minnesota Pioneer, and The Northwest Democrat. The last mentioned was located at St. Anthony Falls during

4) The St. Anthony Express, March 31, 1855.

this period. The sentiments expressed by the Northwest Democrat are of great value, because this paper was situated in the stronghold of the Republican party having first-hand information of all the events which took place. In the March 24, 1855 issue, the Northwest Democrat, instead of publishing any notice of the convention, ran an excerpt from the columns of the St. Anthony Express. The Northwest Democrat refused to give any publicity to the convention whatsoever, as also did the other two Democratic papers of St. Paul. By means of the excerpt taken from the Express, the Northwest Democrat would insinuate that the object of the call was contrary to its opinion, and that the acts which resulted should be deplored. The Democratic organ also felt called upon to admonish people from being decoyed by the title Republican.

At the time the convention met, March 29th and 30th, the Northwest Democrat departed from its usual custom and published in its March 31st issue a short account of the convention. The headline asserted that John W. North was in the field. Among the Chief points of newsinterest in the article were, the organization of the Abolitionist convention, that the discordant elements can not agree, that the constitution had been expounded, and that the Whigs and Democrats could not unite. From these assertions it may be understood, that the Democrats of the St. Anthony region were not going to believe that the Republican movement had been successful. Nothing further was published in the Northwest Democrat regarding the new party until the so called "Fusion Circular" appeared. Although the Democratic press had up to this time appeared to ignore the Republican move, yet it becomes evident that silence was no longer considered the best policy. This change of attitude began with the

March 29th and 30th convention at St. Anthony. The Minnesota Democrat wrote regarding the St. Anthony convention, April 4, 1855, with the following headline, "Republican Convention - Good Democratic Ground". It continued to assert that it was ignorant as to the political results of the convention, and it quoted the St. Paul Daily Times, commenting upon a speech made by Mr. Bristol of St. Paul, and concluded its article with the assumption that if the sentiment uttered by Mr. Bristol was a fair indication of the views of the members of the convention, it would be glad to welcome them into the ranks of the Democratic party, in so far, as the slavery question was concerned. It stated, "The views of Mr. Bristol tally exactly with our own. If the St. Anthony Republican platform takes the same ground as Mr. Bristol is reported to have assumed by the Times, we will say God speed the movement, for it is calculated to bring about a sound, national and Democratic view of the slave question."

Further comment was made in the April 11, 1855 issue under the heading, "The St. Anthony Convention". It was asserted that, aside from adopting a cord of resolutions, the convention did little of importance, excepting the appointment of a committee to call a territorial convention. It was thought that the whole movement was nothing more than a delegate move, intended to have an influence upon the next election for a congressional delegate. The platform was considered to be "as awkward a piece of patchwork as could be put together. Plenty of hobbies are presented, and a general invitation is extended to every one to jump into the wagon, and he or she will find something to suit on the platform".

The gradual change of the Minnesotian was noticed by the Minnesota Democrat. Although the Minnesotian had always been considered

a Whig paper, its Republican leanings became more and more evident. Political controversies had occupied little space in the St. Paul Democratic papers during the winter of 1854 to 1855. This situation changed in the spring of 1855, causing the political field to become more and more complex as the summer progressed. This complexity was caused by the Democrats' support of two candidates for Congress. The Democratic press, as a whole, was united against the Republican party, but in an effort to gain control of the whole Democratic vote, both factions accused the other of ideas, plans, and aspirations which would seem to indicate, at times, that the followers of Olmstead would rather see Marshall successful than Mr. Rice. In these inner party difficulties, the term Know Nothing was often used as a name of reproach. Of the two St. Paul Democratic papers, the Minnesota Pioneer showed the greatest hatred toward the Know Nothing movement. Whether or not this great array of editorials which filled its columns during the spring and summer of 1855, was a sincere belief or merely a campaign method is uncertain. During the campaign the Pioneer declared from time to time that Mr. Rice, the Minnesota Democrat and the whole clique represented in the Rice machine, were Know Nothing. It was also asserted from time to time that the Fusionists were tainted with the same malady. The Minnesota Democrat was also convinced that the Whigs, the Republicans, and all who were connected with them were affected by the "dark lantern" theory. Nevertheless, the Pioneer did not declare the remainder of the Democratic party, namely the German-Sibley faction, to be under Know Nothing influence.

The hidden issue of race prejudice and religious suspicion is brought out in an editorial in the Pioneer of April 4, 1855. This article appeared under the heading, "The City Election". The article

asserted, "The Minnesotian dodges the issue we raised that the citizens' movement which the editor favors is nothing more or less than a Jesuitical attempt to establish in Minnesota a fusion party composed of the remains of the Whig party and the Abolition and native American factions. Not one word does the Minnesotian say in regard to the charges we made, but judging from its silence, admits their truth".

The admonitions of the Minnesota Democrat were continued in an editorial intitled, "The City Election", and stated that, "Our friend of the Minnesotian this morning ignore the title of Whig and Democrat and urge all citizens who love their city better than worn out and obsolete party names to meet in the convention on Saturday evening for the purpose of nominating city officers. The cloven foot of the Republican, Know Nothing-Fusion movement sticks out plainly in this announcement. Without noticing the coincidence that the Minnesotian's call for a 'citizens' meeting' appears on the same day as the gathering at St. Anthony, we contend that it is a duty devolving upon every Democrat to oppose both movements; the old Whig party has succumbed to the influence of Abolitionism and Know Nothingism, and the Democratic party stands alone in pledged opposition to such pernicious doctrines".

The Pioneer mentions the trend of city affairs in an editorial of April 2, 1855, wherein mention is made of the nomination of Alexander Ramsey for mayor by the Fusion and Know Nothing convention, and the Minnesotian ^{is} dubbed the organ of the Know Nothings. On the following day an editorial appeared under the heading, "Ramsey and Know Nothingism". ⁵⁾ In this editorial several assertions were made with

5) The Daily Minnesota Pioneer, April 3, 1855

respect to the political field. Surprise was expressed as to the announcement of Ramsey as a mayoral~~ity~~ candidate by the Whig and Know Nothing amalgamated convention held at the office of the Minnesotian, and it was further stated that the meeting was sponsored by Mr. Owens, the Know Nothing leader. It was also claimed that appeals were made in this way for the German vote, because it was asserted that Mr Ramsey was of German extraction. Furthermore, the Pioneer believed that the way in which Ramsey had supported Mr. Hollinshed the preceding fall was convincing evidence of the truth of its statement.⁶⁾ The Pioneer concluded the editorial by calling upon the citizens of the territory "to crush the movement early by refusing any support to men of such illiberal and anti-Republican principles".

The press of the Minnesota territory commented freely upon the St. Anthony convention, but aside from this topic, little was written upon the political affairs throughout the month of April; although the Democratic press contained several notices of Democratic meetings and conventions, inasmuch as party action seems to have had a genuine organization even at that time. It was not until the last part of May that cause for new action appeared within the party circles of the territory. Renewed action was caused by the appearance of the notice for a Republican delegate convention to be held at St. Paul the following July. This announcement gave the editors of the party organs a fresh topic for discussion.

Future activity was first apparent in an editorial of the Minnesota Republican dated May 17, 1855. The editor declared that

6) The Daily Minnesota Pioneer, January 21, 1855. See also American Party History by John Hancock, page 69.

party activity must be had before the middle of October. The objects of Republican endeavor were, first; the election of a legislature which should favor prohibition as well as good laws in general; second, to elect local officers who would favor such action; third, to elect a congressional delegate who would act in harmony with the party in the territory.

On May 22, 1855, the Daily Minnesotian gave notice of the Territorial Convention. In the same publication an editorial appeared under the title of, "Republicans Moving!" It explained the necessity of a delegate convention, because the population which favored Republican ideas was too scattered for a mass-convention. The paper believed that mass-meetings were satisfactory for county gatherings, but that the Republican party was too large for such proceedings in territorial matters. This assertion is worthy of notice, because less than a year preceding this the first Republican meeting had taken place at St. Anthony Falls unnoticed by the Minnesotian. The editor further stated that the Republicans of Minnesota numbered thousands and tens of thousands. He felt certain that the territory should come in free.

The Minnesota Republican, a weekly paper, did not publish the territorial notice until May 24, 1855. In this publication the editor recommends that local organizations be established, inasmuch as St. Anthony Falls, Winona, and Hennepin were the only local organizations. He continued by saying, "Republicans of Minnesota, are you equal to the struggle? Have you backbone enough to stand erect and abide by your principles, or will you cower in the presence of a powerful enemy? We may be outnumbered at the ballot-box; and then again we may not. Let us at least make a beginning and organize for

a pitched battle. If your principles are right, defeat can never dishonor them, while our success will bless our adversaries".

The Northwest Democrat calls attention to the convention notice, May 26, 1855. It commented under the heading, "The Fusion Circular", by informing the public that the St. Paul Times, the Minnesotian, and the Republican had published the call. The Democrat had refused to publish the notice, not out of any disrespect of the people, but because the Democrat believed in sanity and the incapacity of government legislation regarding slavery. It further asserted that there was no danger of slavery in Minnesota.

However, the Minnesota Republican published the territorial call May 24, 1855. A short notice was printed in the paper of that date requesting the St. Paul Times "to please explain" why it had failed to publish any comment upon the call.

The notice was preceded by a short explanation regarding the committee which had been given power to call the convention as a result of the St. Anthony convention of March 29th and 30th. The call requested that all Republicans, regardless of former party affiliations, meet Wednesday, July 26th at 10 o'clock A.M. in the hall of the House in the territorial capitol. The object of the convention was the selection of a territorial congressional delegate plus the furthering of party organization. The ratio of the representation was one delegate at large for each of the 35 counties whether organized or unorganized. There should be one delegate for each 300 population according to the census of July next, as well as one for every fraction of 150 or more. The committee in charge of the call was W.R. Marshall, Richard Chute, A.P. Lane, N. McLeod, Warren Bristol, and John S. Mann. The method of appointment was left to the

counties to decide for themselves.⁷⁾ A summary of the important causes for this political action was contained in the call. The delegates to the convention were to be elected on July 4th according to the recommendation of the call.

Some news was published in the July 12, 1855 Republican with regard to the county organizations. A call was sent out to Cass and Benton Counties to send delegates according to their population, if no county convention was held. To this call Wright County responded by holding a convention on the evening of July 4th. Three delegates were chosen, one at large and two according to population. Republican delegates were also chosen by Dakota, Hennepin, Goodhue, and Rice counties. Other counties may also have selected delegates, although the above counties were alone recorded in the columns of the Republican as having selected delegates before July 26, 1855.

These preparations for a Republican convention were commented upon by the Democratic press. The Minnesota Democrat asserted in its publication of May 23, 1855, "The Minnesotian can not prevent the truth from being known", and under this heading it continued as follows: "This [the Republican] is the party, our neighbor considers the perfection of all earthly organizations either political or religious - the Republicans attended to a man's religion too, besides telling him the quantity of cider he must drink. If its succeeds in Minnesota, (but we have not the faintest idea it will) our neighbor may enjoy all the credit for political sagacity he is entitled to, and for which he is so very ambitious".

Later in the season it berates the Times and the Minnesotian for their support of Senator Sumner. Thus, in the Minnesota Democrat

7) The Minnesota Republican, May 24, 1855. A publication of the call may be found in the Minn. Bult. vol. II, p. 27 and in the Sibley Letters of 1855, Jan. and June. Minn. Hist. Society, St. Paul, Minn.

of June 20, 1855, it voices its opinions under the heading, "The Beauties of Republicanism", and asserts, "And yet these editors are endeavoring to organize in Minnesota a miserable sectional faction. We have yet to see it contradicted that Mr. Sumner is not heart and soul, a Massachusetts fusionist, a supporter of their principles, and an advocate of nullification. Yet the Minnesotian and Times thinks it is a disgrace to couple his name with the acts of the Fusion party in his own state. We rather think it is - and the opinion is becoming very general that a connection with the Fusionists is indicative of a small amount of patriotism or political honesty.

"We will not pretend to insult our citizens who differ from Mr. Sumner in political opinion, by stating he will not be received, if he should visit Minnesota, with courtesy and entertaining hospitality by them as well as by his political brethren. His position as a Senator, although it did not protect Douglas from a Republican Abolition mob - and his great literary acquirements, form a sufficient guaranty, that he will be entertained with a hospitality characteristic of all classes of our citizens, the slur of our contemporaries to the contrary notwithstanding".

In an editorial of June 27, 1855, the Minnesota Democrat placed special emphasis upon political honesty. It expressed the following sentiments regarding the boasted honesty of the Republican party: "Examine the proceedings of any legislative body, composed mainly of Republicans and Know Nothings, and instead of honesty, corruption will be discovered. Ignorance, sectional prejudice, and religious fanaticism will be found in the place of the boasted ability of the men who were chosen to succeed the old party hacks. This can not be denied, and while the ambitious promoters of Republicanism and Know Nothingism

in Minnesota have been ardent in denouncing the Democratic party, they have not dared to say one word in approval of the acts of the Fusionists in the east".

Throughout the month of July, this paper published editorials which aimed to draw the opposing Republican papers into personal quarrels. In an editorial of July 11, 1855, it asserted that the Times would have to play second fiddle to the Minnesotian. In the July 18th number the political theory of slavery was deplored. It was also insinuated that the Republicans were Know Nothings, that they were working under a secret oath. Furthermore, throughout this period the Minnesota Democrat was a true supporter of Rice as against Olmstead. It spoke in favor of Democratic party issues, but its chief aim was to silence the opposition to Rice. Since the Northwest Democrat supported Mr. Rice, its views were much the same as those of the Minnesota Democrat.

The Minnesota Pioneer represented that faction of the Democratic party which under the leadership of Mr. Sibley had placed Mr. Olmstead in the field in opposition to Mr. Rice. The Pioneer had caused the doctrine of Know Nothingism to be stretched throughout the campaign. It did not only accuse the Minnesotian of being in favor of Know Nothingism, but also declared Mr. Rice to be the leader of that party in the territory. This paper voiced its opinions regarding the delegate question in an editorial of July 5, 1855. It declared that the delegate question was one which had originally been raised by the Minnesotian. It was evident that the editor of the Pioneer did not agree with either paper. The editorial of the above date reported the Republicans to be selfish, ambitious, and not far behind Garrison in their ideas of slavery. It also stated that the Know Nothings were

at home in the Republican party. The editor asserted that should the plans of the Republicans be successful, civil war would result. It concluded as follows: "In our judgment, there is little to be gained in bringing forward such topics of controversy, as we have noticed, and we have only alluded to them in consequence of prominence given them by the leaders of the Republican movement. As a matter of fact, they should have nothing to do with the political interests in our territory, and they would not be allowed to enter into them, but for the very class of selfishly ambitious men and trading politicians so hypocritically denounced by the Republican committee, who cunningly and unscrupulously strive to turn the honest destination of slavery by the masses at the North to their own personal and political advantage. Hence the overshadowing importance given to the question of slavery in the councils of these self-styled Republicans. Does any candid man believe that these slightly-veiled Whigs have any greater dislike to the peculiar institution than have the masses of the Democratic party in Minnesota? We trow not".

By the spring of 1855, the Daily Minnesotian had become a genuine Republican paper. Although this paper had remained silent regarding the first attempts of the Republican party to organize; nevertheless in May 1855, it was one of the first papers to publish the "call", the official announcement of the republican party regarding the St. Paul convention. It was through the activities of the Minnesotian and the Daily Times that the news of the Republican party reached the people from day to day, inasmuch, as both publications were daily papers. In the Minnesotian of July 17, 1855, notice was given to the members of the Republican party that the homes of St. Paul residents of like political faith extended them a cordial invitation.⁸⁾ Attention

was also called to a letter in Freeport Journal. This letter published by said newspaper asserted that Mr. Rice would be opposed by Mr. Ramsey as the Republican candidate, and that the political inclinations of Minnesota were being formed by a large number of New England emigrants.

The Daily Minnesotian mentioned the conditions which made Ramsey a good candidate for the Republican nomination. These comments were contained in an editorial of July 20, 1855. In conclusion it asserted that Ramsey would be unable to become a candidate because of his business interests. The Weekly Minnesotian expressed its idea July 14, 1855, regarding the coming convention. With respect to the people of Minnesota it asserted: "They will stand no dictation from Pierce's hireling satraps, let them come from what source they may. The people of the lower counties will be fully represented in the Republican convention, as the busy farming season and the other circumstances will permit; but they rely for success mainly upon the discretion of the convention in giving them the right man for a candidate. Then they will pitch in".

The St. Paul Times was the only territorial newspaper which decidedly brought forth a candidate for the Republican convention, for in the issue of July 23, 1855, the name of W.R. Marshall was mentioned in a conspicuous manner as a good candidate through the columns of the Times in the July 25th edition.

In that period which intervened between the convention of March 29, 1855, and the St. Paul convention of July 25th, the Republican party had gained a place in the political field second only to the Democratic party. It appeared from numerous accounts of county conventions that it had begun to take a firm hold upon the people

8) The Daily Minnesotian, July 20, 1855.

throughout the territory, and that it had strengthened its position in St. Anthony, Minneapolis, and St. Paul. The St. Paul Times, which had been a Free Soil organ, gradually became more and more devoted to the Republican cause. By July, 1855, it had made common cause with the Minnesota Republican and the Minnesotian to further the interests of the new political party. The Minnesotian, which had failed to give the party any recognition one year earlier, had by the month of June, 1855, definitely cast its lot with the anti-slavery movement. The St. Anthony Express, which had opposed the movement, turned at last from its Whig position and joined the three Democratic papers, located in St. Paul and St. Anthony, for a final drive upon the three Republican organs. Consequently, the journalistic strength of the Twin Cities was almost equally divided between the Democratic and Republican parties. This united front of the Republican party was directed by a group of energetic leaders. In the newspaper field, the Republican cause was greatly aided by the editorials written by the Rev. Mr. Ames in the Minnesota Republican, as they were the best of the period. The influx of New England settlers and the constant stream of emigrants from the northern parts of Europe were also great aids to the new party. The disagreement of Rice and Sibley caused the Democratic party of the territory to be divided. Many Democrats felt a secret dislike for the dominance of the southern slaveholders in national affairs. Aside from the aid given the Republican party by the internal dissensions of the Democratic party, considerable encouragement was also given the new party by the influx of Whigs into its ranks, So it is evident that when Mr. Ramsey extended his cordial greetings⁹⁾ to the convention of July 25, 1855, the movement was no longer in its infancy.

⁹⁾Ramsey's Letter of July 25, 1855. Ramsey Papers of 1855. Minn. Hist. Socy, St. Paul, Minn.

The Republican Convention of July 25, 1855, and the Campaign of
1855.

A majority of the Republican delegates arrived at St. Paul, July 24, 1855. An account of the convention and the arrival of the delegates was given in the Weekly Minnesotian of July 25th. "Delegates to the Republican convention", says the paper, "had arrived up to last evening from the counties of Fillmore, Olmstead, Winona, Goodhue, Le Sueur, and Wright. Delegations will be in this morning from the other counties. The Gentlemen with whom we have met are all actuated by the right spirit, and appear determined to nominate the right man and lay down the right kind of platform. Give us this sort of action, and all will be well. The Democratic delegates are also coming in. Altogether we may expect quite interesting times today and tomorrow".

However, the list of delegates which the convention later published shows that several counties were only partially represented. It is not strange that many should be absent, when the conditions of the period are brought to mind. The territory was sparsely settled, consequently the delegates from the southern counties such as Houston, Fillmore, Winona, and Wabasha could only reach St. Paul by means of the river steamers. It must also be remembered that, aside from St. Paul, St. Anthony Falls, and Stillwater, the main occupation in the whole region was agriculture, and as the summer months are busy months for the farmers, they had little time to spare for political purposes. The St. Paul Daily Times of July 25, 1855, called attention to these facts as the reason for the absence of delegates which may have otherwise been in attendance. The Times also mentioned that some of the delegates had been elected to represent the county at the

Republican convention without the consent of the delegates and therefore such delegates refused to appear. In conclusion Mr. R.L.Nicholas of Fillmore County and Mr. H.D.Balcombe of Winona County accounted for the absence of the delegates from these counties by their failure to make steamboat connections.

The convention was called to order at 10 o'clock in the morning, July 25, 1855, by H.L.Moss of St. Paul, and he nominated Warren Bristol of Goodhue County as chairman pro tempore, while Daniel Rohrer of St. Paul was selected as secretary pro tempore. A committee of three was appointed to receive the credentials of the delegates and to determine their validity. As a determining basis for the apportionment of the delegates from each county served the July census of 1855.

Before further business was undertaken, prayer was offered by the Rev. Mr. Rikeldoffer, after which a committee of five was appointed to report the name of the permanent officers. Mr. Warren Bristol of Goodhue County was made president, Mr. D.C.Smith of Le Sueur and Mr. H.Fletcher of Hennepin were made vice-presidents, and Daniel Rohrer of St. Paul was elected secretary. When the convention was duly organized, it appointed a committee of resolutions. This committee consisted of one delegate from each county. However, this resolution was further amended so as to allow any tardy county delegation the privilege of appointing a member later, providing said delegation had the approval of the committee of credentials. Mr. C.G.Ames was later appointed to report for the committee of resolutions. The following list indicates the counties represented at the opening of the convention:

Mr. C.G.Ames of Hennepin.

John C.Parker of Wright.

W.D.Chillson of Goodhue.

G.A.Nourse of St. Anthony.
 Thomas foster of Dakota.
 A.L.Balcombe of Winona.
 Levi Nutting of Rice.
 Benjamin F.Davis of Scott.
 Judge Jones of Nicollet.
 J.A.Turill of Le Sueur.
 T.B.Swiford of Olmstead.
 R.L.Nicholas of Fillmore.
 P.P.Furber of St. Paul.

The convention then adjourned to meet at 2 o'clock in the afternoon.

The afternoon session decided to retain the central committee appointed at the St. Anthony convention.¹⁾ At this session the delegates from Carver and Wabasha Counties had arrived.

In the Daily Minnesotian of July 27, 1855, a list of the counties was given showing the number of delegates each county was allowed, and also showing the number actually present from each county.

| Counties. | No. of deleg. allowed from each county. | No. of delegates present. |
|---------------------------|---|---------------------------|
| Hennepin | 15 | 15 |
| St.Paul and Little Canada | 18 | 17 |
| St. Anthony | 10 | 10 |
| Olmstead | 10 | 1 |
| Wabasha | 2 | 2 |
| Scott | 8 | 5 |
| Dakota | 11 | 9 |
| Goodhue | 8 | 8 |
| Le Sueur | 3 | 3 |
| Fillmore and Mower | 16 | 2 |

¹⁾The account of the conv. is taken from the Weekly Minnesotian, July

| | | |
|----------|------------|-----------|
| Nicollet | 3 | 3 |
| Winona | 9 | 9 |
| Rice | 4 | 4 |
| Wright | 3 | 3 |
| Carver | 3 | 3 |
| Total | <u>123</u> | <u>94</u> |

Rev. C.G.Ames of St. Anthony reported the resolutions of the committee. Each resolution was voted upon separately. The first three were accepted without any change, and in substance read as follows:

1. It was the purpose of the Republican party to array the moral and political power of Minnesota on the side of freedom.
2. Wherever slavery may be constitutionally abolished, it was the duty of each and every citizen to exert influence for its removal.
3. Kansas and Nebraska were originally destined to be free by means of the Missouri Compromise. The breaking of the Compromise was an absolution from all contracts with slavery. The Republican party would never consent to the entry of another slave state into the union.

The fourth and fifth resolutions were amended before being accepted, whereas the sixth and seventh were adopted in their original form. The seventh resolution was brought forward independently of the committee. Mr. Nourde was responsible for its origin. Rev. Mr. Ames brought forward the eighth resolution. These resolutions expressed the following ideas:

4. River and harbor improvements are favored, if the same were of national importance.
5. It was the duty of members of the Republican party to act against

slavery. The Republican party should secure control of the government as much as possible by means of congressional law.

6. The platform invited all who thought along the same lines to join the Republican party.
7. The Fugitive Slave Law was declared unconstitutional.
8. This resolution expressed that the traffic in intoxicating beverages was an evil. The Republican party would do all in its power to pass laws preventing such traffic.

The last mentioned resolution introduced by the Rev. Mr. Ames met some opposition. Mr. Balcombe spoke strongly against it, as he believed that a question of such nature should be left outside of a political platform. The Rev. Mr. Ames spoke eloquently in favor of it. However, the resolution, as introduced by Mr. Ames, was carried after a heated debate. Mr. King of St. Anthony later moved that no man should receive the support of the Republican party as a delegate to Congress unless he was a practical Maine Law Man. Mr. Ames moved, however, that the above resolution should be laid upon the table, which motion prevailed.

The next business of the convention was the election of a candidate for delegate to Congress. Dr. Fletcher nominated W.R. Marshall for the position, and Mr. Rohrer nominated Alexander Ramsey. Before anything further was accomplished, a letter from Ramsey was read by Mr. Moss.²⁾ This letter stated the reason for Ramsey's refusal to accept the nomination, and gave as his reason that his business obligations would not permit him to serve, if elected. The letter did, however, express that he was in full sympathy with the new party,

²⁾ Ramsey's Letter declining the Republican nomination, dated July 25, 1855. Ramsey's Papers of 1855. Manuscript Room, Minn. Hist. Society, St. Paul, Minnesota.

and that he hoped the party would succeed. A second letter was then read by Mr. Rohrer from M.S. Wilkinson who also declined the nomination. A vote was then taken for the candidates for congressional delegate from the territory of Minnesota. Upon counting the ballots it was found that Mr. W.R. Marshall received 52 votes, Mr. Alexander Ramsey received 36 votes, Mr. David Olmstead received 4 votes, and Mr. G.A. Nourse received 1 vote. Upon motion by Dr. Fletcher the vote for Mr. W.R. Marshall was made unanimous.

Various comments were made by the newspapers of the territory upon the convention in accordance to their political affiliations. The St. Paul Daily Times contained a rejoinder to the Minnesotian in its 28th of July issue regarding the resolutions passed by the convention. In the Minnesotian some attention was paid to a difference of opinions in the convention, and it was stated that this difference seemed to be dangerous, as it indicated a spirit of discord. The Times asserted that this idea was a mistake, and explained that the resolution, which was tabled, was offered in good faith by the St. Anthony man, and that no ill feeling was shown when it was tabled by the motion of Mr. Ames.³⁾ "We think", says the Times, "the St. Anthony delegation deserves great praise for not only their efficiency in the convention but also for their moderation and firmness".

The Daily Minnesotian expressed its views on July 27, 1855, under the heading, "The Republicans - The Platform - The Candidates". It asserted that the convention was made up of the most intelligent men of the community, that it was represented by every settled community, and that a great number of politicians, who have held the party in sneering contempt, were now forced to think otherwise. It admitted

³⁾ See the King Resolution. In the Resolutions of the Republ. conv.

that some differences of opinions arose, but that might be expected.

The St. Anthony Express⁴⁾ commented in a more favorable manner on the convention than it previously had done in March on the St. Anthony convention. "The body of men", says the paper, "who composed the convention are spoken of by those who attended as very respectable for talent and character".

The Minnesota Democrat of August 1, 1855, contained a short account of the Republican convention of no special value as to ideas upon the Republican party. It did, however, discuss the Republican platform in detail by asserting:

"The platform adopted at the Abolition convention, on Wednesday is rather an ultra production. The first two resolutions are general in their nature, and may be set down as mere clap trap; divesting the others of flowery verbiage with which the few ideas contained in them are covered

"The platform is a St. Anthony production, with the exception of the internal improvement plank inserted by Dr. Fletcher

"The nominee of the Free Soilers, W.R. Marshall, is at present in the banking business in St. Paul. He is a gentleman of pleasing manners, of spotless private character, and moderate ability. Right sorry we are to see his name on a ticket doomed to certain defeat in October, but it is with still greater regret that we behold him stand forth as the representative of the detestible principles of the mongrels".

The Weekly Pioneer represented the Sibley faction of the Democratic party. At this period the Pioneer was almost entirely occupied with its attack upon Rice in an effort to further the campaign of Olmstead. Consequently, the Pioneer had no comments regarding the

4) The St. Anthony Express, July 28, 1855.

Republican convention in any way comparable to the other papers.

The Republican convention had selected a candidate to oppose the Democratic party. However, the Democrats were not able to present a united front. In the Democratic convention two candidates had been selected. The majority of the Democrats decided to remain faithful to Mr. Rice, as the election of 1855 indicated. A substantial portion of the party would not support Mr. Rice, but under the leadership of Mr. Sibley determined to defeat Mr. Rice for reelection. The campaign which followed was one of considerable excitement. The Pioneer Press which supported Mr. Olmstead, who was the candidate of the Sibley group, put special emphasis upon the Know Nothing dangers of the period. Although the Pioneer Press did not approve of the Republican party, yet it regarded Mr. Rice with even less favor.

The Minnesota Republican conducted an excellent campaign for the new party. This paper, unlike the Minnesotian and the St. Paul Times, had no past record to defend. It was originally founded for the purpose of furthering Republican interests, and as such it drove straight for its goal without any hesitation. The editor of the Republican, Rev. C.G. Ames, wrote articles in such a manner that personal gain and mere temporal advantage were, if at all, hard to detect. It is through the columns of the Minnesota Republican that the ideas of the new political party were most specifically stated. In the August 2, 1855 edition of the Minnesota Republican, an editorial appeared under the heading, "The Candidates and the Platform". In this editorial it was asserted that, since the nominating convention was over, the people of the territory might determine which party had the most claim to the support of the people. The editor believed that the early convention of the Republicans had forced the Democrats to act more

quickly than they had planned. It was evident that Mr. Rice was to represent the mercenary interests. The chief reason for supporting him was said to be that he could do so much for the territory. It became evident that Rice had the support of the federal officers, the liquor dealers, and those who were indebted to him for personal favors. He would be considered also the head of the old line Democratic ticket, but if Republicans did their duty, he might be defeated.

The following comment explains the attitude the Republican took toward the Olmstead group. This editorial makes it evident that Rice had to face the combined attack of the Republican and the Sibley group. If these two parties had fused, Mr. Rice would have been defeated. "The Olmstead Democrats", says the Republican, "are in a contradictory position. Their candidate is an anti-Nebraska man, supposed to be in sympathy with Republican principles, and he would have stood a fair chance of nomination at their hands had he previously identified himself with their movement. He is a man well reported of in every respect, except that he has kept bad political company. But as the convention, which nominated him, endorsed the Nebraska doctrine and the administration of Franklin Pierce, it is altogether probable that Mr. Olmstead will decline their nomination. A hearty hatred to Mr. Rice will prevent many of the Democrat men from voting for him. Some of them will, doubtless, stick to their candidate at all hazards, and others will vote the Republican ticket, if Mr. Olmstead declines".

Regarding the candidacy of W.R.Marshall, the same editorial states: "W.R.Marshall stands straight upon the platform which has for its main plank the union of freemen for the maintainance of freedom. He is also a perpendicular temperance man, and is heartily in favor of purging out the old leaven of party corruption from politics.

These three ideas of liberty, temperance, and political reform were made by the recent convention, as the former one, cardinal to the Republican movement. The candidate was already known to be in sympathy with these ideas; and he is abundantly qualified to represent them at home or abroad".

The comparative merits of the two candidates, Mr. Rice and Mr. Marshall, were brought forward in the August 2, issue of 1855. In this comparison it was stated that Mr. Rice would be a better "wire puller" than Mr. Marshall. However, Mr. Marshall would be able to represent the territory as honestly as any man in the country. It was stated that Mr. Rice's training as an Indian trader had not had the best influence upon his later deeds. The crux of the matter is explained in these words: "Mr. Rice has retired from the business of Indian trading; but he gives evidence of having brought away with him the peculiar impress of character which that business too generally leaves upon those who follow it".

An important change occurred in the community of St. Anthony in a political way August 4, 1855, when the St. Anthony Express announced its determination to support the honorable Mr. H.M. Rice. This action gave Mr. Rice the support of two papers in the St. Anthony region namely, the Northwest Democrat and the St. Anthony Express. The Express explained its course in an article published August 4th, under the heading, "To the Patrons of the Express". The editor sketched the rapid growth of the community. He told how the Express had been established four years previous, how at that time the Whig party was in power, that many great statesmen belonged to that party, thus causing the lot of a Whig organ to be one of prominence. The editor declared that the issues of that day had passed, that new

situations had arisen. The writer asserted that two parties claimed the vote of the people in Minnesota territory, the Democrats and the Republicans. It was evident to the Express that anyone who wished to retain his vote would have to choose between the two, although the editor believed there were many who might not agree with either party. As far as the Express was concerned, it chose the Democratic party. That party had some mistakes upon its record, but compared to the Republican party it was national, contained many great and honorable men, past and present. In conclusion the paper declared: "We believe the natural and inevitable consequence of carrying out the policy advocated by the Abolitionists would be a speedy dissolution of the union".

The Democratic press, as a whole, gave Mr. Rice its unqualified support. As has been stated previously, the only exception to this support was the Pioneer of St. Paul. The Northwest Democrat presented a Democratic view of the campaign throughout this period. The substance of this view was ridicule of the Republicans and a continued repetition of assurance that Mr. Rice could accomplish more for the territory than any other candidate. The Northwest Democrat presented some of its party ridicule in an article published August 4, 1855, under the heading, "How to get a Fusion Gathering". This stricture was taken from the Oshkosh Courier. Undoubtedly, many Democratic voters believed the statements in the article to be true. The article read as follows:

" Prepare an ample subscription paper, then hail the first whom you suspect knows little or nothing

" The subscription being filled to overflowing at the meeting; if

you can find a Whig who wants tickling, put him in the chair: it may help to prepare the Whigs for swallowing. Then if you can, one or two Democrats who are sure that their merits are not appreciated, make a vice-president or secretary of one of them and be sure to get a speech out of the other. Never mind the ultra-Abolitionists - they understand the game, but make a show of giving the Whigs almost all the committees, but be very careful to select none but 'woolly Whigs'; the simon pure Whigs can't be trusted. There is too much Democracy in them".

The campaign progressed with the usual assertions and denials so common to all political affairs. The Northwest Democrat of August 25, 1855, presented a series of questions which were placed under the title of, "Light Wanted". This set of questions was evidently a result of the efforts of Rev. C.G.Ames, and they read as follow: "Gentlemen editors of the St. Paul Democrat, Winona Argus, St. Croix Union, St. Anthony Express, and Northwest Democrat, the people are in want of light on the following subjects:

"Does H.M.Rice approve or disapprove the repeal of the Missouri Compromise? Should he be elected; would or would not his election be claimed as an endorsement of the Kansas Nebraska Act by the people of Minnesota? Does H.M.Rice stand by the Compromise of 1850, the Fugitive Slave Law included, as a fair and final adjustment of the slavery question? Does he abide by, or discard the Baltimore Platform? Is H.M.Rice for or against a congressional prohibition of all slavery outside of slave states? And is he for or against the admission of any more slave states into the Union? St. Anthony Republican".

The answers which the Northwest Democrat gave was evasive and

outside of the subject. It attempted to prove that the Whigs had always been grasping for the sensational, and that this was an attempt of the descendants of the Whigs to do likewise. "Although the Whig party is dead", asserted the paper, "its spirit still lives, as is clearly evinced by the enquiries made by the St. Anthony Republican, organ of the 'Free Will Baptists', the Abolition party, and of John W. North". The slave issue was passed over as a delicate matter, and Rice was too wise a person to meddle unduly with that affair. Consequently, if the answer did not suit the Reverend Gentleman, the Democrat advised him to seek the same comfort as he, undoubtedly, had often advised others to seek: To bow his head and admit his shortcomings.⁵⁾

The Minnesota Republican secured the letters of a certain Dr. Jewett, who was traveling through parts of the territory in the interests of the new party. These letters were published August 28, 1855. The letters give a sketch of the conditions in the political field and the prospects of the Republican party. The doctor stated as his opinion that Excelsior was a strong Republican community, that Chanhassan and Eden Prairie would give the Republican ticket a decided majority, but Shakopee would offer a close battle, Le Sueur would give Mr. Rice a majority vote, whereas Traversé Des Sioux was uncertain.

In this account Dr. Jewett explained the chief points, which caused many voters to support the Democratic party. These causes were of the following nature:

1. A blind zeal for an old party-name - supporting the Democracy when almost every principle truly Democratic had long ago been

5) The Northwest Democrat was used, no copies of the Daily Minn. Democrat for 1855.

banished from the party.

2. The desire for pecuniary gains for the territory with the idea that Mr. Rice is the only man who would gratify such desires.

In order that the two assertions above might be made clear, the following account of Dr. Jewett serves this purpose: "One very honest fellow at Le Sueur, the next place I visited beyond Shakopee, expressed himself thus, or as nearly in the following language as my recollections will serve me: 'We are poor, Sir, in the territory, and yet we have to pay for our lands. We want money; therefore we want appropriations from Congress; and we want a man at Washington who won't render himself unpopular with Congress by any Abolition tendencies - by any foolish adherence to principles, we dont care a d-m for. We want a man who can be all things to all men; who can worm and squirm around among the members and say just the right word to this man and to that man, and get them to vote the money - and let the principles you are prating about go to thunder'. Now he added, 'We have just the man. He has the experience in that way. He is too sharp to commit himself to any of your principles, and the only man who can get there untrammelled and get what we want - money'".

The Minnesota Republican continued the campaign by constantly admonishing the Republican voters of the territory as to the conduct, ideas, and candidates. In the September 6, 1855 number, it explained what sort of men should be sent to the Legislature. It explained that the candidates must be able men with good common sense. They must be able to understand the wants of the territory and willing to legislate in a constitutional manner. They must be men of stern vertue, bribe-proof, and safe against flattery. The editor believed that the coming legislative session would be a period of great temptation.

He also asserted that legislative candidates should be friends of the prohibition law.

In this number of the Republican it became evident that county conventions were held for the purpose of sending Republican members to the Legislature. Reports were printed of Hennepin and Goodhue Counties. The convention in Goodhue County represented the fourth council district, which contained the counties of Goodhue, Freeborn, and Dodge. All these counties were represented and took an active part in the campaign. There was also an account of meetings in Dakota and Wright Counties. C.G. Ames berated the meeting of Wright County for having nominated a liquor dealer for sheriff upon the Republican ticket.

In the Republican of September 27, 1855, an attack was made upon Mr. Rice for his connection with the Lake Superior railroad grant under the heading, "Wall Street and Mr. Rice". The editor stated that the election of Mr. Rice would be a great asset to the furthering of the plans to extend the railroad from Dubuque to Lake Superior; and that Wall Street had procured a changed copy of a bill granting two million acres of land to Minnesota for the construction of such a road. The alteration of this bill was made for the purpose of giving the land to Wall Street, and Mr. Rice was considered a sympathizer with the fraud.⁶⁾

In the September 27, 1855 issue accounts were given of Republican nominations in Monticello, Eden Prairie, and Hastings. Various reports were also given of mass meetings at Traverse Des Sioux, Red Wing, and Rice County.

6) The Lake Superior Dubuque Railroad Co. was officially known as the Minnesota and Northwestern Railroad Co. This bill was introduced by Rice into Congress. The controversy came about by changing the wording of the bill after passage. (Hist. of Minn. W.W. Folwell, vol. 1, pages 327-350)

During the territorial period the elections were held in the month of October. Consequently, the Republican of October 4, 1855, contained admonitions regarding the election. Voters were urged to make a sharp scrutiny of the tickets so that votes might not be cast astray. Under the title, "Watch the Ballot Box", the following appeared: "All sorts of frauds will be attempted next Tuesday by the desperate men who are struggling to maintain in Minnesota the supremacy of the old rotten dynasty of Indian trading politicians. Every citizen should help to guard the purity of the ballot; for when that is gone our free government becomes a farce. Look out, therefore, for illegal voting; and dare to challenge those whose citizenship you have reason to doubt". In the same issue under the title, "Examine your Tickets", the following appeared: "All sorts of tickets will be in circulation on election day. Look at every name, and be sure. There will be many tickets headed Republican with one or two names of independent or opposition candidates mixed in just to steal the votes of the careless look out". The Republican concentrated its attack upon Mr. Rice. No attention was given Mr. Olmstead. The advice of the Republican was of such an earnest nature that it requested all voters to abstain from voting for a candidate unless that candidate was considered worthy by the voters; thus it stated, "Vote for no candidate whom you deem unfit, even though his name be on the ticket of your own party".

The assertion has often been made that the Republican party was made up of the Know Nothing element as well as of Whigs and of Free Soilers. Aside from the Pioneer scarcely any attention was paid the Know Nothing idea in the campaign of 1855. In its campaign for Mr. Olmstead the Pioneer accused the Minnesota Democrat and Mr. Rice

of having the support of the Know Nothing element. It is true that previous to the break in the Democratic party between Mr. Rice and Mr. Olmstead the Pioneer asserted that the Republican party contained a great number of Know Nothings. Thus we read in this paper, "The Fusion party of Minnesota is composed mostly of the very men, who at first favored the Know Nothing movement, but who now style themselves Republicans".⁷⁾ An editorial in the Pioneer of July 30, 1855, indicated the nature of an attack made upon Mr. Rice by the Olmstead group. This editorial asserted that Mr. Rice was supported by Whigs, Free Soilers, and rank defenders of the Catholic Church burners, that the Court House convention was supported by the dark lantern Know Nothings, that the Rice cabal adjourned without announcing a single principle, for or against anything, and that his helpers had refused to show the light from their midnight lodges.

On October 4, 1855, the Pioneer ceased to support the candidacy of Mr. Olmstead.⁸⁾ This turn is explained by the Pioneer in an editorial of October 11, 1855, which read as follows: "We are further pleased with the result indicated, because the election of Mr. Rice will be a lasting rebuke to those who stole the livery of heaven to serve the devil in, by dressing up Mr. Olmstead, a Free Soil Abolitionist, in popular sovereignty clothes, and who attempted to palm him off in that disguise upon the party of Minnesota for a genuine legitimate Democrat".

7) The Daily Minnesota Pioneer, July 10, 1855.

8) Sibley Papers, Letters of 1854 and 1855. Manuscript Room, Minn. Hist. Socy., St. Paul, Minn. In the early part of 1854, Mr. B. C. Eastman had recommended Goodrich to Sibley as a newspaper man and stated that his wife was a sister of Mrs. Eastman. Sibley financed the Pioneer. In a letter of Oct. 19, 1855, Eastman apologizes to Sibley for having recommended Goodrich, and he expresses his feelings by hoping the "devil would take Goodrich to the hottest hell and keep him in a worm corner".

The Republican territorial ticket for Minnesota was published in the St. Paul Daily Times October 8, 1855. W.R. Marshall headed the ticket as delegate for Congress. The territorial Legislature was made up of Councillors and Representatives. The candidates of the Republican party for Councillors were the following:

| | |
|----------------------|--|
| Wilkinson, Morton S. | St. Paul and Little Canada. |
| Graham, W. H. | Dakota County. |
| Bristol, Warren | Goodhue, Dodge, and Freeborn Counties. |
| Howell, Warren J. | Fillmore County. |
| Bassett, Joel B. | Hennepin, carver, and Davis Counties. |
| Balcombe, A.D. | Wabasha and Winona Counties. |
| Thompson, C.W. | Houston County. |
| Dr. Humphrey, P.P. | Le Sueur and Nicollet Counties. |
| Chute, Richard | St. Anthony. |
| Dooley, Samuel | Scott and Rice Counties. |

The following were candidates for Representatives:

| | |
|---------------------|--|
| Nobles, W.H. | { Lower St. Paul. |
| Knauft, Frederick | |
| Dr. Adams, C.P. | { Dakota County. |
| Gribbs, oscar G. | |
| Galprath, Thomas J. | { Scott County. |
| Spencer, Alden G. | |
| Shaw, A. D. | { Goodhue, Dodge, and Freeborn Counties. |
| Dart, J. K. | |
| Thompson, M. G. | { Houston County. |
| Smith, Charles | |
| Thorndyke, T. | { Northern part of Hennepin and Davis Counties. |
| Pierce, Thos. W. | |
| Bradley, J. F. | |
| Cleveland, A. | { Southern part of Hennepin and Carver Counties. |
| Cabe, C. M. | |
| Mc Donald, J. | { Wright and Stearns Counties. |
| Ide, John C. | |

Kirkman, James (Wabasha and Winona Counties.
 Buck, Cornelius F. ()
 Pickett, Edward (Fillmore County.
 Linton, Thomas C. ()
 Stratton, J. W. (St. Anthony.
 Seecombe, David A. ()

The election returns for Congressional Delegate were printed in the St. Paul Daily Times October 18, 1855, showing the following result:

| County. | For Rice. | For Marshall. | For Olmstead. |
|------------|-----------|---------------|---------------|
| Blue Earth | 0 | 16 maj. | 0 |
| Brown | 30 Maj. | 0 | 0 |
| Benton | 195 | 52 | 121 |
| Cass | 57 | 0 | 1 |
| Chisago | 103 | 61 | 5 |
| Carver | 33 | 60 | 196 |
| Dakota | 146 | 156 | 331 |
| Dodge | 48 | 49 | 1 |
| Fillmore | 185 | 151 | 9 |
| Goodhue | 184 | 126 | 1 |
| Hennepin | 358 | 415 | 80 |
| Houston | 1 maj. | 0 | 0 |
| Le Sueur | 56 | 55 | 19 |
| Nicollet | 85 | 34 | 39 |
| Olmstead | 0 | 0 | 100 maj. |
| Pembina | 46 maj. | 0 | 0 |
| Rice | 50 | 226 | 48 |
| Ramsey | 735 | 510 | 529 |
| Scott | 199 | 129 | 129 |
| Sibley | 96 | 4 | 1 |
| Stearns | 125 | 7 | 42 |
| Wabasha | 18 | 103 | 30 |
| Washington | 292 | 143 | 37 |
| Winona | 131 | 128 | 56 |
| Wright | 63 | 18 | 11 |
| Total | 3215 | 2434 | 1430 |

In the Minnesota Republican of December 13, 1855, a set of totals for congressional delegate vote was published. This set of totals

9) According to the returns of the St. Paul Daily Times "maj." evidently stood for the majority of the candidate it was listed for. There were no returns for the elections of Minnesota earlier than 1857. These returns were given from the Secretary of State's office and are at hand in the archives of the Minnesota Historical Society. Mr. W.W. Folwell and Rev. E.D. Niell have no official returns in their works aside from the returns printed in the Newspapers of that period.

was copied from the St. Paul Pioneer and Democrat. It read: "Rice received 4988 votes, Marshall received 2885 votes, and Olmstead received 1924 votes".

The Minnesota Republican of October 11, 1855, stated that the Councillors elected were as follows:

Rice Men.

| | |
|--------------------|---------------------|
| Brisbin, John B. | St. Paul. |
| Mc Kuseck, J, Know | Nothing. Stillwater |
| Rolette, Jos. | Pembina County. |
| Stone, Lewis | Benton County. |

Olmstead Men.

| | |
|---------------|--------------|
| Rollins, John | St. Anthony. |
|---------------|--------------|

Marshall Men.

| | |
|---------------|--------------|
| Basset, J. B. | Minneapolis. |
|---------------|--------------|

Representatives elected.

Rice Men.

| | | |
|-----------------|---|---------------------------|
| Wilkinson, R. | { | St. Paul. |
| Tott, B.W. | | |
| Haus, R. | | |
| Van Vorkes, A. | { | Know Nothing. Stillwater. |
| Jackman, J. | | |
| Grant | { | Pembina County. |
| Burdick | | |
| Wilson, John T. | { | Stearns County. |
| Sturgis, N.G. | | |

Olmstead Men.

| | | |
|---------------------|---|--------------|
| Farnham, L.W. | { | St. Anthony. |
| Le Boutillier, C.W. | | |

Marshall Men.

| | | |
|------------|---|------------------|
| Nobles, H. | { | St. Paul. |
| Knauft, F. | | |
| Bradley | { | Hennepin County. |
| Pierce | | |
| Thorndyke | | |

The election returns of October 1855 indicate that the Republican party, which had existed little over one year, contained a great number of the voters of the territory. It could hardly be expected that the new party should be able to beat the Democratic party of the territory in its first attempt. The Republican party was forced to build upon its own strength entirely, inasmuch as the Whigs had little strength as far as numbers were concerned. The combined vote of Marshall and Olmstead exceeded that of Rice. It may be that the prohibition plank of the Republican party caused Marshall to lose many votes which he might otherwise have received.¹⁰⁾ However, it must not be forgotten that Rice had the best and greatest party organization behind him at that period, namely the Democratic party. It must also be remembered that he was a shrewd and careful politician. Neither must it be forgotten that Marshall and Olmstead belonged to the party which was called in scorn "the Black Republicans". This was especially true of Marshall, inasmuch as his party wished to disturb an old social order, namely the institution of slavery. According to the press of the territory, considerable difference of opinions was held regarding the South and the methods used by the southern states men. The Democratic papers scorned the Abolitionists and regarded them as the worst enemies of the country. In fact those who supported the doctrines of the Republican party were regarded in the same light as the name "Red" or "Bolshevik" conveys at the present time. The Republicans

10.) Folwell, W.W. History of Minnesota, vol. I, page 375. He asserts that Marshall might have been elected had it not been for the prohibition plank, which lost the German vote. Smalley, C.G. History of the Republican Party, page 153. He asserts that Marshall received the German vote.

on the other hand believed most implicitly that the South was determined to rule all in the interest of slavery or else show good reason for not doing so. It must not be forgotten as so far as the territory of Minnesota was concerned the weight of influence was against the Republican activities.¹¹⁾

The comment of the St. Paul Daily Times of October 18th presents the feeling of the period. It printed the number 4219 at the head of the column, as this number represented the total vote of Olmstead and Marshall. "The above figures", says the paper, "show the number of votes cast for William R. Marshall and David Olmstead, men who are opposed to the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, and who are in favor of the restoration of that measure. These figures prove that nearly 2/3 of the people of this territory are Republicans, and had the whole vote given to the anti-Nebraska candidates been concentrated on one, Mr. Rice would have been defeated by as many votes as he is now triumphant."¹²⁾ Besides this, a large number who sympathized with the Republicans and who would have voted with them, could not do so in consequence of not having been in the territory a sufficient length of time; so that we can safely say that Mr. Rice does not go to Congress as the exponent of the true sentiments of the people of Minnesota territory, but as the exponent of 1/3 of the whole number of our population who were influenced to vote for him either by pecuniary considerations or the hope of office, or through misrepresentation.

11) Boucher, Chauncey S. In Re That aggressive Slavocracy. Mississippi Historical Review, vol. VIII nos. 1-2, pp. 13-79. In this article a new view point, regarding the political activities of the slave holders is presented. The above writer believes that the Abolitionists are equally, if not more to blame for the beginning of the Civil War.

12) It is not hardly reasonable that all the Democrats who supported Olmstead would have voted for Marshall. Later elections show the fallacy of the Time's statement.

The vote for Mr. Marshall will reach 2500, and in view of the radical platform upon which he stood, this is a most excellent result, for it shows that a large number of our people are what the world terms, straight out and out Abolitionists, who will stick to their party at all hazards. In one more year from this time, the Republicans can add 3000 to their ranks, and that too without counting traitors and limber-back, dough-faces, who value a dollar more highly than principles. Then it will be a contest worthy the energies of those men who, during the campaign just past have fought as becomes men who knowing they were right shrunk not from meeting the issue boldly".¹³⁾

13) Newson, T.M. Pen Pictures. In this work Mr. Newson, as editor of the St. Paul Daily Times, describes a visit to Washington, D.C. Mr. Newson being a Republican expected Mr Wilkinson, the Republican Senator from Minnesota, to pay some attention to him. He relates, however, that Mr. Rice, who was at that time serving the short term in the Senate from Minnesota, was so polite and agreeable to Mr. Newson that he changed his view regarding Mr. Rice.

Republican Activities during the Year 1856 in the Territory of
Minnesota.

The elections of the fall of 1856 within the territory of Minnesota were ^{of} little political interest when compared to the elections of 1855 and 1857. Perhaps the one great cause for this lack of interest was the local nature of the elections. In 1856 the only officers to be elected were those of the various counties and the members of the territorial legislature. The second cause for lack of local interest was, no doubt, the presidential campaign of Frémont and Buchanan. Although the citizens of Minnesota could not yet cast a vote for either of the presidential candidates, nevertheless their interest was keen. The Republicans of the territory were anxious to see the strength of the new party throughout the union, whereas the Democrats waited and hoped for a national ~~reputation~~ ^{reputation} of the "New Ilk" in the November election.

That there was a genuine lack of interest in the campaign of 1856 is evidenced by the brief treatment given this period by Minnesota historians.¹⁾ A careful study of the newspapers of the period also indicates a general interest in national politics, more so than in local issues. As a consequence of the local nature of the contests in the fall of 1856, no adequate election returns are available. The various newspapers presented the election results of their own immediate vicinity, passing over the other parts of the territory in silence.

1) Neill, E.D. The History of Minnesota from the earliest Explorations to the present Time. 4th Ed. page 618. The year of 1856 was comparatively devoid of interest. The citizens of the territory was busily engaged in making claims in newly organized counties and enlarging the area of civilization.
Folwell, W.W. A Hist. of Minn. Vol. I. Politics in 1856 are briefly treated.

There was, however, one result of this campaign which has lasted to the present day. It was at this time that the Republican party showed itself firmly rooted in some parts of the territory and weak in other sections. The returns of the eleventh Councillor district which contained Hennepin County stamped this section as a stronghold of the new party, while the returns from Ramsey County indicated that the Democratic party was strong in this section.²⁾

The political parties furnished little material for local politics during the year 1856. The Minnesota Republican was silent on local politics from January 3rd to February 7th, after which time a period occurred in which the paper was not published due to financial difficulties. When the paper again appeared on July 17th, it advocated the candidacy of Frémont. On August the 7th an editorial appeared under the heading, "The True Issue". In this editorial the Republicans were warned of the methods used by the Democrats, as it pointed out that the Democrats requested voters to select the best men, regardless of party connections. It was further stated that the Democrats always voted a straight party ticket, that they never considered a Republican candidate, and that in all cases of victory it was called by them a huge Democratic victory. The editor also called attention to the fact that Minnesota would soon have to be admitted into the Union as a state, and that her large population and her ability to pay taxes would necessitate this move. It was further stated that during the next session of Congress this change would be demanded of the people. The editorial then stressed the importance of this question: How would the territory come into the Union? Would it be under a constitution framed

2) Smalley, E.V. History of the Republican party in Minnesota. Page 154.

by the Democrats, or would it be under a constitution framed according to the ideals of the Republicans? The editor further urged the necessity of electing a Republican House of Representatives and a "clean sweep of the county officers throughout the territory". The editorial concluded: "Let then every man who in his inmost soul favors Free Speech, Free Men, and Frémont determine in the first place to vote for no man for any office who is not a suitable man for the place; and secondly, to vote for no man this fall, for the most insignificant office even, who is not a full-blood Frémont man, and a quarter over". This article contained also accounts of Frémont clubs which were organized throughout the territory. In the same issue was a report of the organization of the St. Anthony Frémont club. It was stated that 200 citizens were present, and among them were many Germans. A call was also issued under the same date to keep all the Republican organizations intact for the fall election. Several other notices of local nature likewise appeared in this issue. From these notices it was evident that the Republicans of the eleventh Council district were to meet in Minneapolis on September the 17th, at Fletcher's Hall for the purpose of nominating candidates for the Council and candidates for five representative offices. County officers were also to be nominated by the same convention.

In the September 11th issue of the Minnesota Republican, accounts were given of conventions held in Winona and Wabasha Counties; and in the issue of September 18th information was given regarding the conventions held in Steele, Faribault, and Rice Counties. It also contained details of a political meeting held in St. Anthony, at which meeting addresses were given by Washburn of Wisconsin and Allison of Pennsylvania. The paper further stated that the above men have been

faithful laborers for freedom in the last session of Congress. The paper concluded with the following words: "All left the meeting, both speakers and listeners, with renewed determination to fight the good fight to the bitter end".

The St. Paul Daily Times continued to be an outspoken Republican paper. Early in January 1856, T.M. Newson, its editor, had voiced his disgust at the methods used by the Democratic majority in ~~the~~ organizing the Legislature. In the Council there was a contest between Mr. Tillotson and Mr. Howell. The committee which decided the matter chose to seat Mr. Tillotson, a Democrat, in preference to Mr. Howell who was a Republican. As a consequence of this action of the Democrats, an editorial appeared January 14th under the title, "Organize". And read as follows: "The high handed course pursued by the opposition party clearly demonstrates to our mind, that the period for a more perfect organization of the Republican party is at hand. There never was a time when the Republican party was more needed than now, nor a time when the people should be more watchful of their interests than now"

"So far the Republicans have done well. They entered the field, and drew party lines for the first time in Minnesota, and with a platform somewhat ultra in tone, rolled up a vote of nearly 3000. Many who sympathized in the movement could not vote, because they had not been sufficiently long in the territory, but another year they will be with us, and our banner will float in triumph over the rotten carcas of Democracy. To accomplish this we need a more perfect organization that will enable us to carry the war into Africa and show the world, that Minnesota is in sentiment adverse to the extension of slavery - that the people stand proudly forth in defense of Right of Freedom. Let us

have a perfect organization for in union there is strength".

On September 11th the same paper declared, "The time is at hand". It was time to elect men to the Legislature, and the Republicans should control the Legislature. An early canvas for suitable candidates should be begun, and the men most suitable should neither be old men nor inexperienced men. It was also stated that the new legislature would have charge of the first steps to admit Minnesota into the Union, and that the great issue of the Republican party was Freesom.

The Daily Minnesotian, the third Republican paper of the territory, was much like the St. Paul Daily Times and the Minnesota Republican in sentiment. Inasmuch as there was no new movement within the territory, most of the political writing of the territorial editors was centered around national political issues. Throughout the fall of 1856 the Democratic organ, the Daily Pioneer and Democrat, was more interested in the likelihood of Pennsylvania's being carried by Frémont than in the question whether or not the Territorial legislature would be carried by the Republicans.

The entire political activity of 1856 was centered in the election of three Council members, Representatives to the Lower House of the territorial Legislature and the selection of county officers. There was no officer to be chosen who might represent the whole territory, consequently there was a lack of united interest in 1856. Each and every locality conducted a campaign of its own. It was also evident that there was no great issue at stake which would cause a sharp distinction to be drawn between the political parties throughout the territory. In 1855, the election of Mr. Rice as a congressional delegate had divided the citizens of the territory into Rice and anti-Rice groups. Furthermore the election of 1857 made it obvious, that in

this political contest all who voted for Ramsey were Republicans and all who chose Sibley were Democrats. As a result of the lack of any issue or important political office at stake, the election of 1856 caused little more than local interest in Minnesota. There are no adequate election returns to be found in the newspapers of that period. Each publication proceeded to give the returns of its own vicinity. There were, however, some attempts made by the papers to furnish returns for more distant regions. The St. Anthony Republican made an effort to give returns from the various regions in the territory favorable to the Republican cause.

3)

An excellent impression of the Republican spirit within the territory may be gained from the following editorial. Under the heading, "The Election", the Minnesota Republican of October 23, 1856, published the following: "So far it seems that the Republicans have filled two of the three vacancies in the Council by the election of Bassett and Wales from this city and county; and the Buchananners have filled the other vacancy by the election of William Huey of Traverse from the 10th district. This is a judged rejection of her vote last year by giving to Hon. J.B. Bassett 503 out of 530 votes. We guess he is elected From the looks at this writing the Republicans might control the House".

Throughout this period the Daily Pioneer and Democrat was little concerned with local politics but paid great deal of attention to national political activities. Perhaps the above paper considered

3) The only records to be had are found in the Governor's Papers in the Minnesota Archives, Minn. Hist. Society, St. Paul, Minn. These returns cover the years 1849 - 1858. They are the original returns from the Register of Deeds of each county. However some of these county returns are missing.

the territorial election as a certain victory or of little importance to the Democratic party.⁴⁾

The returns published in the Minnesota Republican of October 23, 1856, classified the returns as follows:

For Representatives to the territorial Legislature.

| | | |
|---------------------------|------------------------------|--|
| St. Anthony | 2 Republicans | J. Hechtman J. Chase |
| Minneapolis | 3 Republicans | D.T. Smith J.P. Plumer W. Hyden |
| South Hennepin and Carver | 2 Republicans | A. Keith J.M. Todd |
| Chisago Dist. | 1 Republican | L. Stannard |
| Stillwater Dist. | 2 Democrats | E. Greely M. Black |
| Dakota County | 1 Republican 1 Democrat | C. Adams J. Mc Vay |
| Nicollet Dist. | 2 Democrats | J.R. Brown F. Baasen |
| Scott County | 1 Democrat 1 Republican | F.J. Whitlock L.M. Brown |
| Benton County | 1 Democrat | ----- |
| Goodhue County | 2 Democrats | ----- |
| Rice County | 1 Republican | M.L. Noble |
| St. Paul | 2 Republicans 3 Democrats | Wm. Branch J.C. Ramsey W.M. Costello W.P. Murray A.T. Chamblin |
| Winona Dist. | 2 Republicans | E.L. King A.P. Foster |
| Olmstead County | 1 Democrat | ----- |

4) The Daily Pioneer and Democrat, September to December 1856.

| | | | |
|-----------------|---------------|-------|----|
| Mower County | 1 Democrat | ----- | |
| Houston County | 2 Republicans | ----- | 5) |
| Fillmore County | 2 Republicans | ----- | |

According to the Minnesota Republican of November 6, 1856, ~~the~~ Upper House of the newly elected Legislature would be classified in the following matter:

COUNCIL

| District | Republican | District | Democrat |
|----------|------------------------------|----------|-----------|
| 11 | Bassett | 2 | Brisbih |
| 9 | Balcombe | 4 | Freeborn |
| 6 | Dooley | 9 | Lowry |
| 10 | Humphrey | 7 | Rolette |
| 1 | Ludden | 1 | Setzer |
| 8 | Thompson | 5 | Stone |
| 3 | Wales | 8 | Tillotson |
| 6 | Bailly Independent Democrat. | | |

Mr. Bailly of the 6th Council district was classified as an independent or an anti-Nebraska Democrat. From the above list it will be noted that all of the three vacancies in the Council were filled by Republican members, these being Mr. Bassett, Mr. Wales, and Mr. Humphrey. According to The Republican, the House would consist of 18 Republicans, 19 Democrats, 1 Independent, and 1 tie election. This tie election gave the Republicans a chance to equalize the Democrats in the House.

The Daily Minnesotian of November 19, 1856 presented some ideas
5) Minnesota Weekly Times for October 29, 1856.

of the election in an editorial entitled, "The Political Position of Minnesota". This editorial asserted: "There has been considerable figuring by one horse politician in regard to the result of the territorial election which took place on the 4th of October. Pro-slavery men have boasted about the streets and in public places of St. Paul, that the influence of this land office or that land office; of Judge A and Indian Agent B, could control the course of the delegation from one district and another. While doubting and in fact entirely disbelieving the existence of any such power on part of federal hirelings over men of principle and independent mind, we would quietly inform our friends abroad, that Minnesota is just ^{as} good a Republican settlement as we wish to live in. We had nothing to elect this year except members of the House of Representatives; three vacancies to fill in the Council - which body consists of fifteen members - and county officers. The three vacancies in the Council, left by the Democrats, were filled by three Republicans.

"The Democrats, so called, had ten majority in the House last session now they have no majority. A very large majority of county officers taking the territory throughout, are Republicans.

"This is not a bad beginning, taking into consideration the immense amount of public money which is expended in Minnesota. The whole influence which is diverted to the side of the Pro-slavery Party. Minnesota as a state, will stand beside Wisconsin, Iowa, and Michigan".

There are various opinions regarding the results of the election. One authority asserts the following to be true. "Although the territory could not cast a presidential vote in 1856, there was a hot campaign, but the Democrats generally elected their candidates for the Legislature and for the municipal officers".⁶⁾

6) Folwell, W.W. A Hist. Of Minn. Vol. I. page 394.

On the other hand, another writer of the period ⁷⁾ asserts that the Republicans had come into a vigorous existence and were fairly well organized in all the settled portions. This writer asserts further that the Democrats had their own way along the frontier but that the election returns gave the majority of county officers elected that year to the Republicans.

From the above statements it may be noted that there are two views as to the campaign of 1856. According to the sources which are available it is evident that the campaign of 1855 was more spirited than that of 1856. That the Democratic candidates were generally elected to the legislature is not substantiated by the election returns of 1856. Of the three vacancies in the council all were filled by Republicans, and in the lower house a Democratic majority of ten was cut to a lead of one member. As a consequence of these victories it is evident that the Republican party in the territory of Minnesota was thoroughly organized by 1856.

7) Smalley, E.V. A History of the Republican Party in Minnesota.
page 154.

Conclusion

The Republican party was founded in the territory of Minnesota at the St. Anthony meeting on July 4, 1854. At that time the Democratic party was all powerful in the territory of Minnesota. The Whigs within the territory were so few in number as to give insufficient opposition to the Democratic supremacy. In so far as the National Administration was under the control of the Democrats, the political ideas of the territory were influenced by that party. As a consequence of this the Democratic press, as a unit, attacked the men who had taken part in the St. Anthony meeting. This action of the Democratic party, expressed through its press, was caused by the St. Anthony meeting's criticism of the Administration, its adopted anti-slavery resolutions, and its bold language in the resolutions, ~~and its bold language in the resolutions,~~ producing a feeling of prevailing unrest. If, in 1854, the people believed the editorials of the Democratic press, which was commonly read in the territory, then the lot of the founders of the Republican party in the territory of Minnesota was similar to that of other third party movements. Because of the stigma cast upon the early movements of the Republicans, the Whigs were disinclined to be hasty in casting their lot with this new party. The early movements of the Republicans were attacked, scorned, and ridiculed by one Whig newspaper and the entire Democratic press of the territory. The founders of the Republican party were asserted to be fanatical, radical, and antagonistic to the Constitution. They were also charged with attempting to destroy the union as well as the establishment of a new social order that would wreck the American home. Furthermore, in order to give the foreign voter a prejudice against the Republican party, the charge was made

that the Know Nothings had allied themselves with the Republicans.

With the above array of accusations, made against this new political party, it was not strange that the first efforts of the Republicans were local. Nevertheless, three months after the July fourth meeting had been held a Republican weekly had been set up and was being published at St. Anthony. By ~~the~~ next spring the Republicans had gained the support of two St. Paul papers, in consequence of which the new party had support of the press in St. Paul and St. Anthony equal to that afforded the Democratic party. In a little more than a year's time from the meeting of July fourth 1854, the Republicans held a convention of delegates at St. Paul. Delegates from a majority of the counties of the territory were present at this convention. By the end of the year 1855 the new party had already shown sufficient strength to give the Administration Democrats a vigorous campaign. In the above campaign the Olmsted Democrats shared some of the ideas of the Republican party, but were never willing to join forces with the new movement. However, the final vote in the fall of 1855 showed the combined vote of the Olmsted-men and the Republicans to exceed that for Henry Rice, the regular Democratic candidate. This Republican vote indicated the strength of the Republican party to be such that the Democrats could not risk any schisms within their group if they should retain their position as the dictating political party of the territory. After the election of 1855, the Democratic press lessened its attack upon the Republicans of the territory and directed its editorials chiefly against the national Republican party movements.

The ability of the Republicans to elect members of their party into office in the fall of 1856, demonstrated the strength of the new party in the territory of Minnesota. In the fall of 1856 there

Were three vacancies to be filled in the territorial council. In each instance a Republican was elected. In the eleventh and third councilor districts the Republican victories were overwhelming. In the tenth district the results were doubtful, but in as much as a Republican was returned to fill the seat formerly held by Judge Flandrau, a staunch Democratic leader, the victory was all the more remarkable. In the lower house the elections returned so many Republicans that a Democratic majority of ten was cut down to one, so that there were eighteen Republicans and nineteen Democrats. The power of the Republican party in Minnesota was also indicated by the ability of the Republican newspapers to continue their publications. Other indications of strength were shown by the prominent parts taken by a few of the territorial Republicans in the National Councils of the new party. The most notable example of the above was that of ex-governor Ramsey who had definitely become a Republican leader by 1856.

The situation of the territory and the nature of the climate was conducive to the growth of the Republican party, because of the class of immigrants that it attracted. Of the native immigrants, the great majority arrived from the east in the states north of the Ohio river. The leaders of the Republican movement in the territory were chiefly from New England. Those that emigrated from Europe to Minnesota were as a rule either from north Germany or the Scandinavian countries. Because the people from the above regions, either native or foreign born, were inclined to look on slavery as a moral wrong, the Republican party instead of the Democratic party was benefitted by this influx of immigrants, pouring into the state prior to 1860. The Republican party had been attacked by the Demo-

ocratic editors at great length throughout the territory, because of supposed affiliations with the Know Nothing element. This argument which had proven so successful among the Irish Catholic immigrants of Pennsylvania, New York and Ohio, had been of little consequence among the Protestant immigrants of Minnesota Territory. It must also be remembered that the wonderful growth and success of the Republican party in Minnesota could not have come about by itself. It is true there were many promising conditions, but without leaders of the proper caliber these opportunities would have come and gone. The founders of the Republican party in the territory were enthusiastic. They were able. They were convinced of the necessity of reform in such a manner that their campaigns and arguments proved more effective in gaining converts than those of the Democrats. It is true that all Republicans did not believe in total abstinence and other moral issues, but all were convinced that slavery was bad.

With the above facts in mind it was not strange that the organization of the Republican party of 1856 was so strong that in the campaign of 1857, they should come within 300 votes of defeating the territory's best known man for the Democratic governorship.

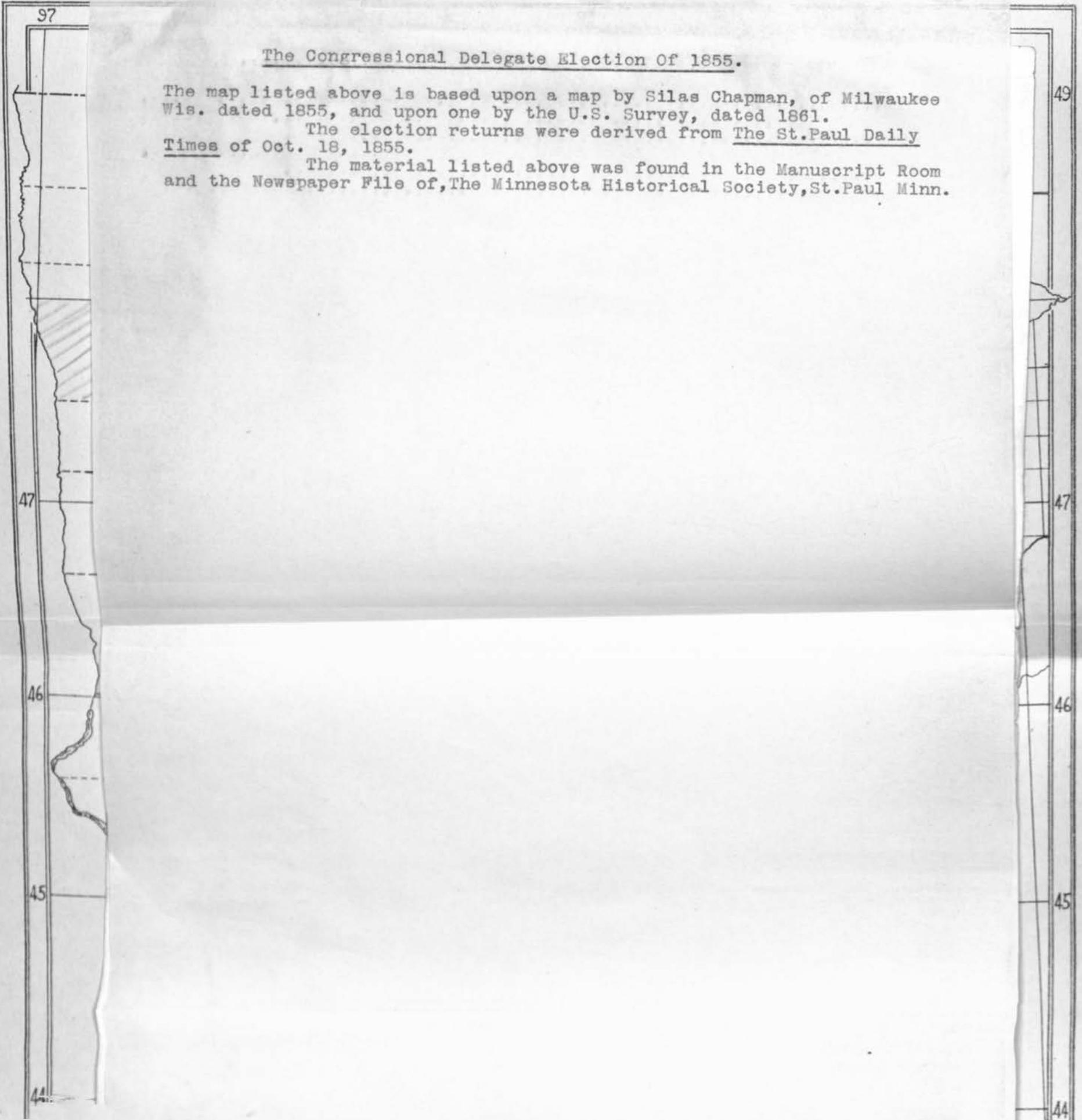
CONGRESSIONAL DELEGATE ELECTION OF 1855.

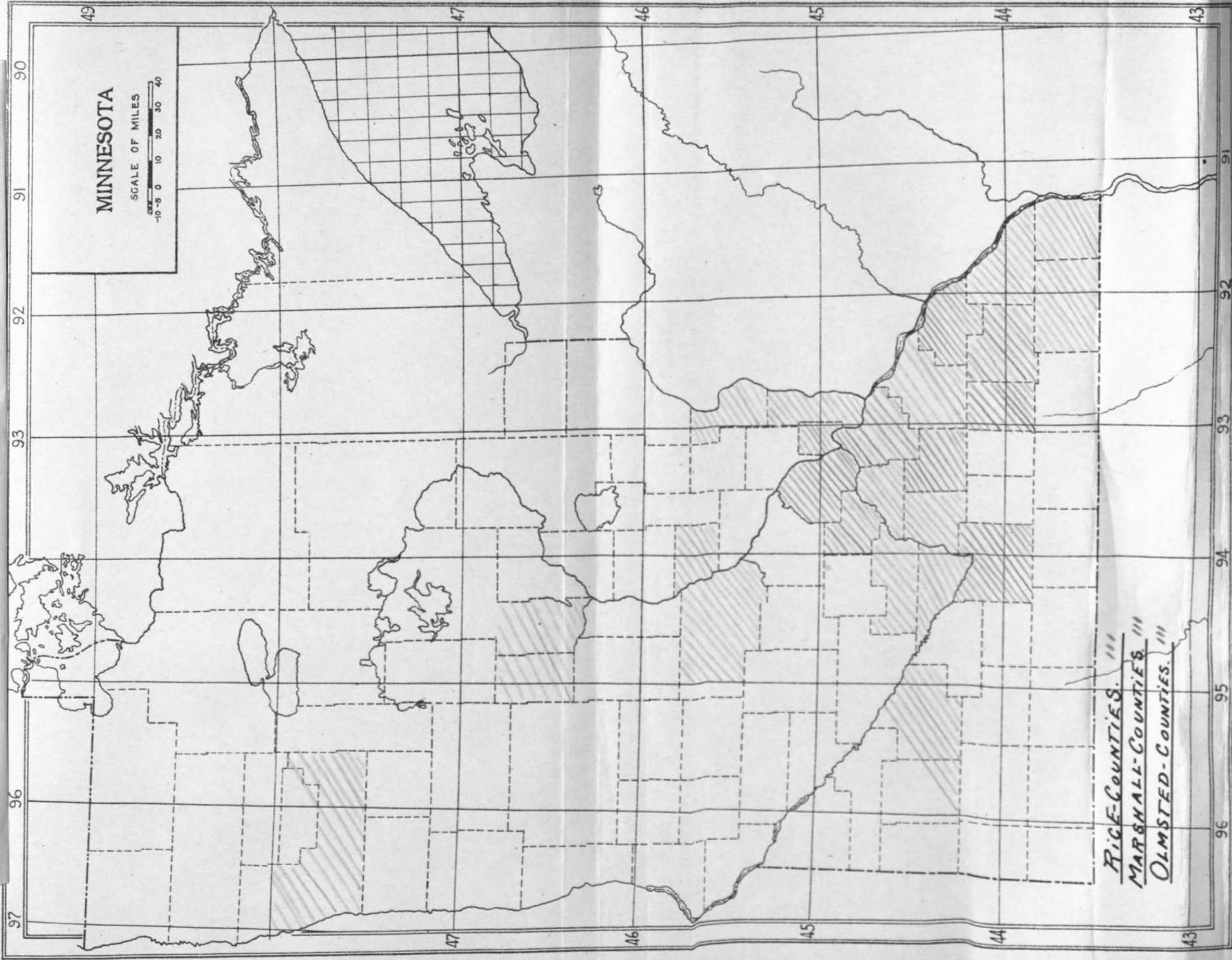
The Congressional Delegate Election Of 1855.

The map listed above is based upon a map by Silas Chapman, of Milwaukee Wis. dated 1855, and upon one by the U.S. Survey, dated 1861.

The election returns were derived from The St. Paul Daily Times of Oct. 18, 1855.

The material listed above was found in the Manuscript Room and the Newspaper File of, The Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul Minn.





DEMOCRATIC IIII

REPUBLICAN IIII

ONE OF EACH PARTY. IIII

The Councilor Elections of 1856.

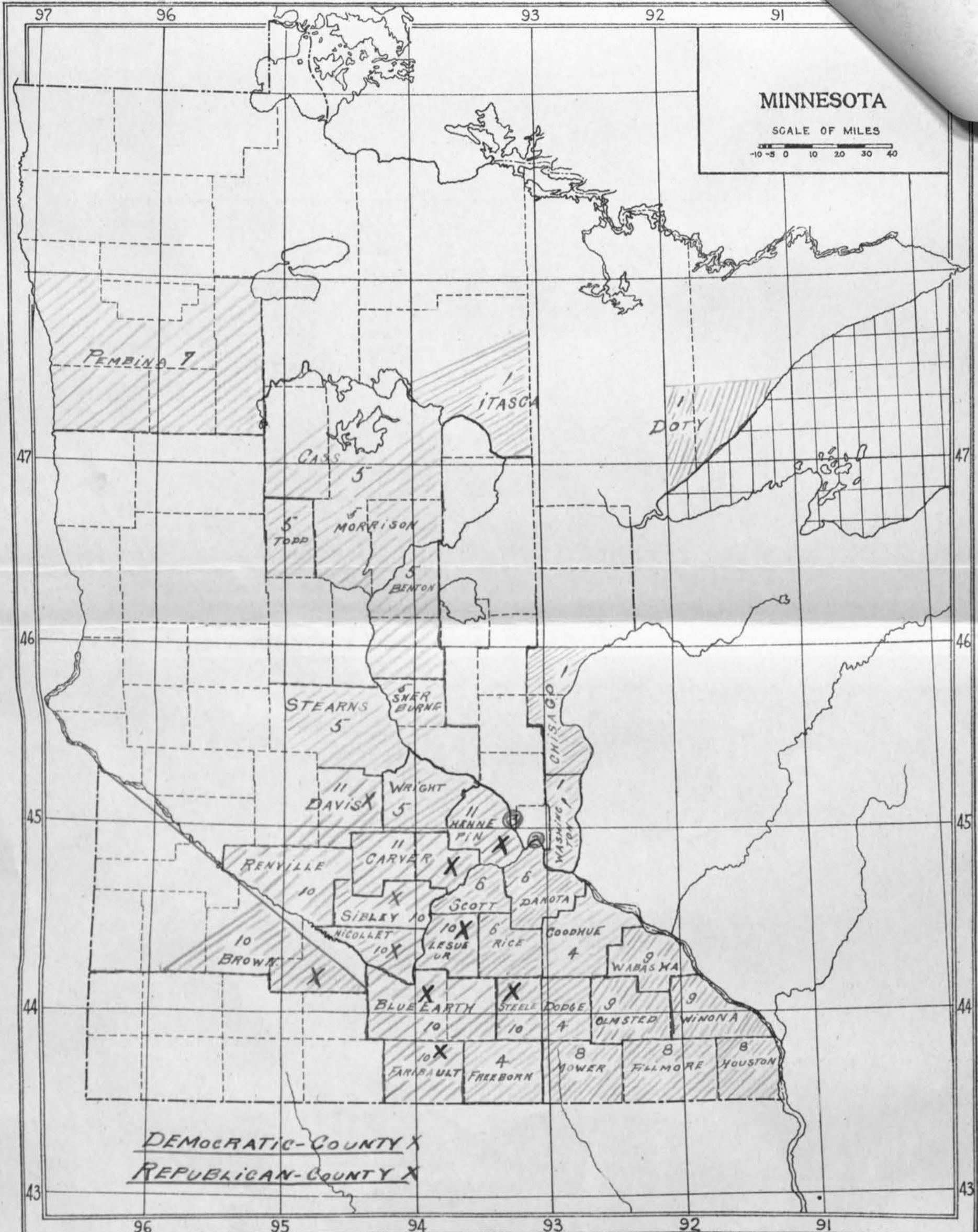
The geographical information used in these maps has been obtained from the following :

- (1.) A map by Silas Chapman of Milwaukee, Wis., dated 1855.
- (2.) A map by the United States Survey, dated 1861.

The election returns were derived from various sources. The most authentic being the election returns found in the Governors' Papers in the Minnesota Archives. Other returns were derived from the Minnesota Republican and the Daily Minnesotian of 1856. On account of the incomplete returns it has been impossible to assemble data for the whole territory.

REPUBLICAN-COUNTY X

DEMOCRATIC IIII
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