

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 Frida Pliefke 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.

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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 Frida Pliefke 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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INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS ON THE FRONTIER:

Public Opinion in Minnesota on
the Prusso-Austrian War of 1866.

a Thesis

Submitted to the Graduate Faculty

of the

University of Minnesota

by

Frida Pliefke

in partial fulfillment of the requirements

for the degree of

Master of Arts.

June, 1922.

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"Oh, how sweet is the quiet of these parts,
freed from the troubles and perplexities
of woeful Europe."

-William Penn

INTRODUCTION

There was a time when one could write history with impunity; the only purpose required was a desire to impart a worthy moral lesson, and the only qualification necessary was the ability to write passing well. Not so to-day. Now one must prove one's right to set pen to paper; one must have a vision, daring as an explorer's and iconoclastic as a prophet's; or, more humbly, one may devote patient hours of labor in gathering the bits of information that help to round out a theory already well established. It is not given to many to see the vision; and I have chosen the meaner task, to follow in the long wake of another's lead.

If it is true, as many believe, that the correct point of view in American history is the Great West, there follows the logical conclusion that the predominant forces and the characteristic ideals of the United States originated on the frontier. And, indeed, the historian of the West asserts that the frontiers produced the men who were the real leaders in the American Revolution - Patrick Henry and Thomas Jefferson among them - and the ideals of Americanism and independence which we have inherited. Western ideals wrote Washington's Farewell Address with its warning against entangling alliances with foreign nations, and fought the War of 1812. It was the frontier, too, which wrote the Monroe Doctrine and isolated America from Europe, and excluded Europe from America. Then came Henry Clay with his American system to champion the tariff which would build up a home market for the farmer, followed by Andrew Jackson who made the democracy of the frontier the ideal of American government.

Then, in the same spirit in which it had brought about the purchase of Louisiana, and national expansion, the West rose against the sectionalism of slavery, and fought the war to preserve the Union. And again produced a frontiersman for President - Abraham Lincoln. Followed a period of prosperity, of industrial and agricultural development, of railroad expansion, with its waves of agrarian revolts, of Populism, of Greenback and Free Silver movements. It was a period of self-centredness and splendid isolation. "Thus the advance of the frontier has meant a steady movement away from the influence of Europe, a steady growth of independence on American lines." We come down to the present and the country's opposition to the League of Nations, its choice of a reactionary Middle Western President and his attempts to continue the policy of isolation; and we look ahead into the future and wonder whether the West will continue to hold its own, or if the wiping out of the frontier line marks the end of its peculiar character and ideals. But the movements of the present and the developments of the future are arcana, and can find no place here.

For this paper is the result of a study of public opinion in Minnesota, during two years, 1865 and '66, when this state was a frontier state. It is an attempt to determine the interest or lack of interest of the pioneer settlement in foreign relations, a bit of concrete evidence of its connection with the rest of the world, or of its complete isolation. Did the West in its process of amalgamating and absorbing the foreign elements of its immigrant population also take over an interest in the native lands of its inhabitants?

Also, what was the attitude of the foreigners themselves - did they retain a keen attention to European affairs, or did they discard such interests as hampering shackles in a democratic community? Such are the questions which have confronted me in my work, and which I have tried to answer. And so, as a specific instance of the relation of the American frontiersman to Europe, of his reactions to international politics, this thesis is brought forth.

CHAPTER I

Minnesota in 1865-66

In 1866 Minnesota was at the edge of cultivation. It was the hither edge of the wilderness which separated the settled areas of the Mississippi Valley from the inhabited regions on the Pacific Coast. It was the northwestern frontier of the United States.

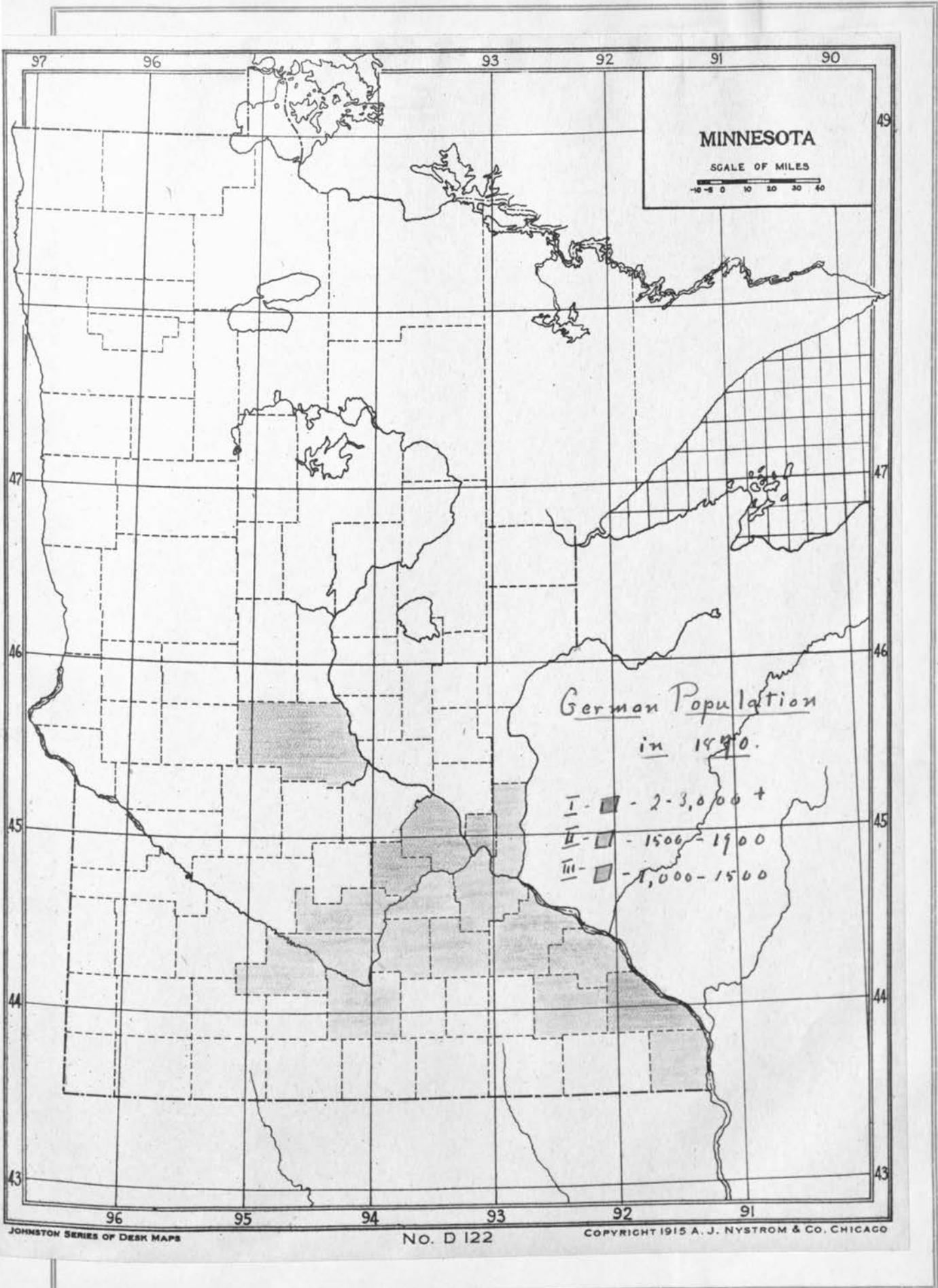
Being a primitive community, it was still open to the dangers of the wilderness, to the hardships of winter, and to attacks by the Indians. Only four years previously, in 1862, the state had undergone an Indian war, which followed an unusually severe winter, and resulted in the attack of New Ulm and Fort Ridgley by the Indians, and in their defeat by General Sibley at Birch Coulee. This uprising occurred while the state was raising new regiments to reinforce the Union armies, for it was the period of the Civil War. Yet when in 1865 the war ended, Minnesota was already entering upon a period of recovery and of prosperity. Neither the people nor the state were heavily burdened with debt; there was work for all and good prices for the agricultural products which were Minnesota's chief article of trade. Returning soldiers took up lands to develop - Minnesota men, and those who came from neighboring states, from Michigan, Illinois, Indiana and Wisconsin. It was also a period of increased immigration, the period from 1865 to 1870: Scandinavians came, and German settlers, attracted by cheap land and equal opportunities. Many went to the Red River Valley which had been opened in 1862 by a treaty with the Chippewas. Some, perhaps, were attracted by a short-lived gold boom in the regions around Duluth.¹

1. W.W.Folwell - Minnesota, the North Star State pp.252-253

But they came in large numbers, and the growth and the shift of population during these years reflects the rapid internal development of the state. Whereas in 1860, the total population of Minnesota amounted to only 172,023, the state census of 1865 places it at 264,600, which means that in five years it had increased fifty three per cent. By the end of the decade the population had more than doubled its 1860 figures, it had reached 439,706. In 1860 the native population made up about sixty-six per cent of the total, and in 1870 only a little less in spite of the great increase. For Minnesota was no less a land of opportunity to the progressive American element than to the immigrant; and the people of New York, and more immediately Wisconsin, were as much interested in cheap land as the German and Scandinavian settlers. Quite naturally also, since land was the attraction, and not gold or oil or other visions of immediate and immense fortunes, the population, both native and foreign, centered in the southeastern part of the state, near the settled areas of its neighboring states, and moved westward gradually as the incoming, increasing population urged it.²

The thirty-three per cent of the population which was foreign divided itself into several elements, of which the most numerous were the Irish, the Scandinavian, and the German. In 1860 there were in the state 12,831 Irish, who formed 7 per cent of the total inhabitants, and 25 per cent of the total foreign population. In 1870 the Irish numbered 21,746, or proportionately 5 per cent of the total number of people, and 14 per

2. All of the material for this chapter, except where otherwise indicated, was taken from the U.S. Census Reports for 1860 and 1870.



MINNESOTA

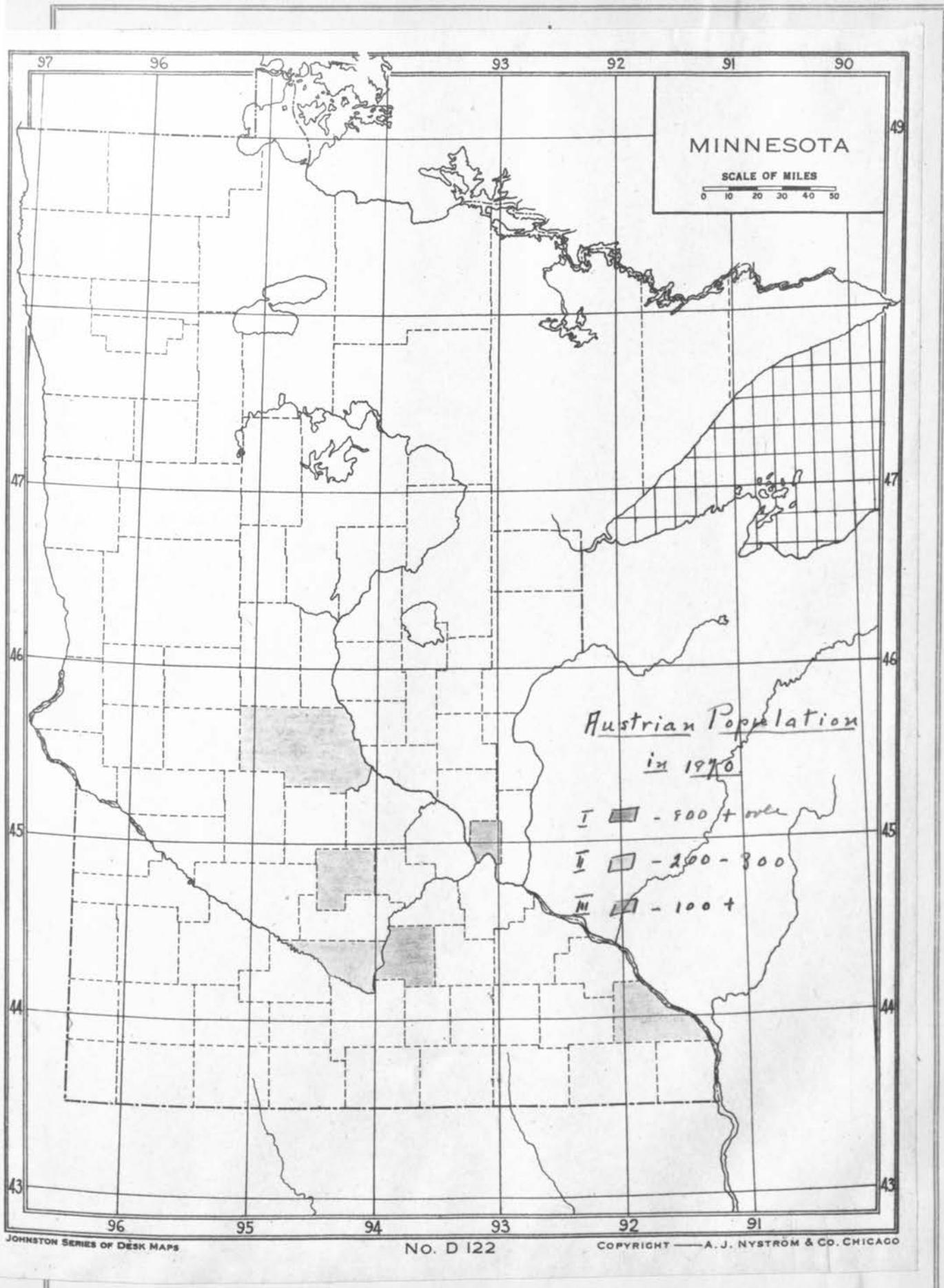
SCALE OF MILES
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*German Population
 in 1890.*

- I - ■ - 2,000 +
- II - ■ - 1,500 - 1,900
- III - ■ - 1,000 - 1,500

cent of the foreign inhabitants. On the other hand the Scandinavians who in 1860 numbered 12,603, which was only slightly less than the Irish population, and in the same proportions of 7 per cent to the total, and 25 per cent to the foreign, numbered in 1870, 56,927, or about 15 per cent of all the inhabitants, and 35 per cent of the foreign population. But while both these elements were large, they would not necessarily be interested in affairs in Germany; yet their attitude toward a problem, if they happened to be concerned about it, would demand consideration.

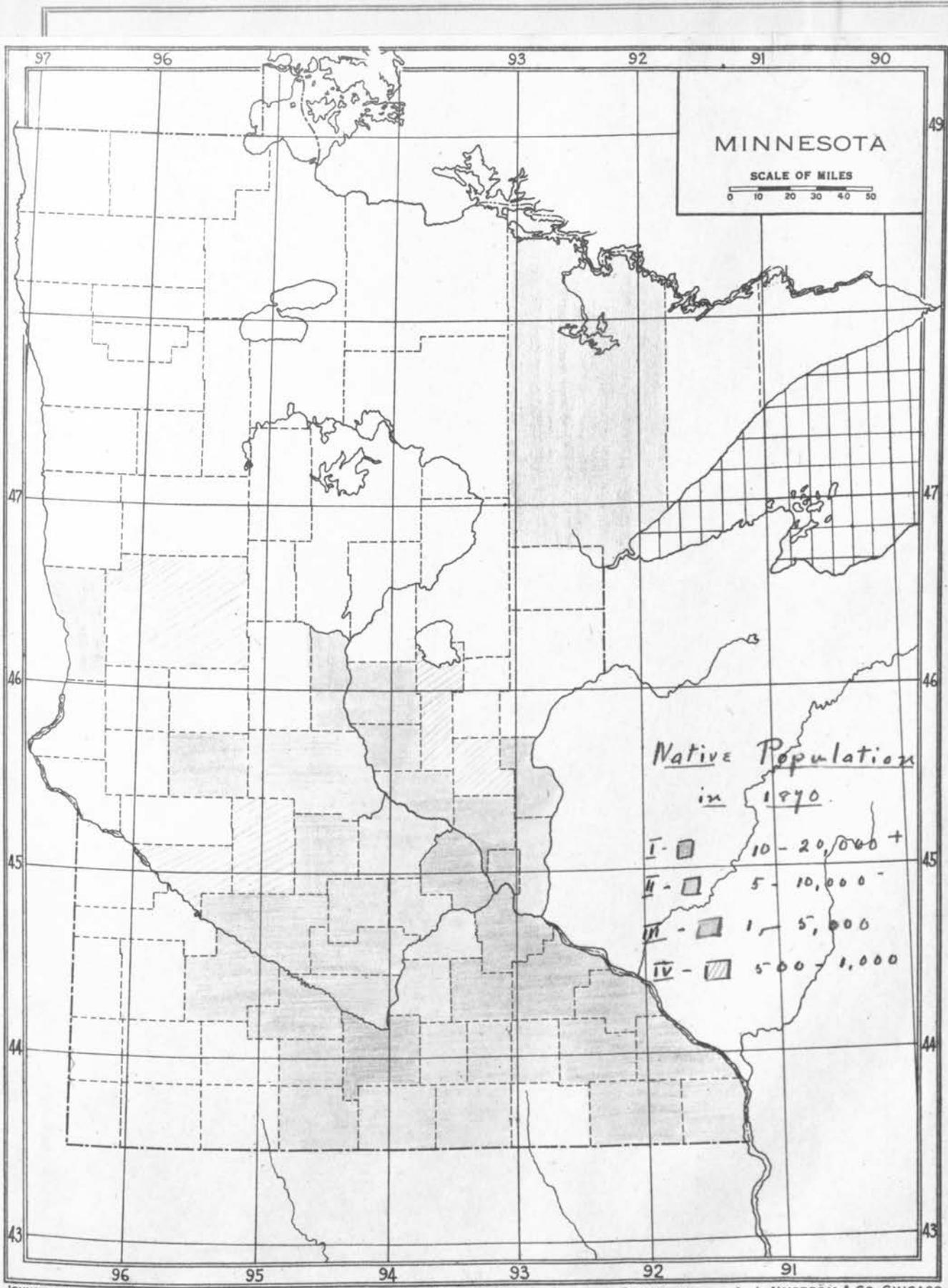
However, it is the German element in the Minnesota population with which we are more immediately concerned, and from which we should expect a more lively interest in the Prusso-Austrian war than from any other. In 1860 there were 18,400 Germans in the state, who came from all the parts of the German Empire. From Austria there were only 860 and from Prussia 5,977. We should expect, therefore, to find represented the varying opinions of the many parts of Germany, - that is, of course, all other things being equal. The German element in 1860 represented a little over 10 per cent of the total population, and 33 per cent of the foreigners. In 1870, there were in Minnesota, 41,364 Germans, which meant 10 per cent of all the inhabitants, and 25 per cent of the foreign people. They, too, had been outstripped by the Scandinavians. Of the German element in 1870, 23,688 or more than half were Prussians, and 2,647 Austrians. Over 800 of the Austrians were to be found in LeSueur County, and as many more in the three counties of Winona, Nicollet and Stearns - all in the southeastern part of the state, except Stearns, which is nearer to the center. The Prussian population, being larger, was more



widely distributed; but a good third of it could be located in Winona, Ramsey, Hennepin, Carver and Stearns counties - again in southeastern and central Minnesota. One might add that the other foreign population, as well as the native population, also was concentrated in southeastern and central Minnesota, and that the whole population as it increased tended to shift northward and westward, along the banks of the rivers.

So much for population, and the people who made the Minnesota of the sixties. To come now to the question of wealth and its concentration, for culture and enlightenment seem to be found where people congregate, and where wealth is concentrated. It may seem incongruous to speak of the concentration of wealth in a frontier state, and to look for culture and enlightenment in such a community; yet if our premise holds true, we should be able to find the beginning of such development. And truly enough we find that section of the state where the population was densest, leading in wealth- both in personal and real estate. The counties of Hennepin and Ramsey were in the front rank, as usual, followed by Winona, Goodhue, Fillmore, and the other southern and eastern counties, with Stearns county close on their heels. Moreover, quite as expected, we find that real estate far exceeds personal wealth.

And thus we have arrived at industries and manufacture. And, of course, we begin with agriculture, for what else does one expect in a frontier state? In 1870, the greater proportion of Minnesotans were engaged in farming. The farms were large, for land was cheap. The greatest number again are found in southeastern Minnesota, in Fillmore and Goodhue counties, but the largest in size are in a more outlying district, in



Nicollet county. The soil was virgin and there was little improvement necessary on the land. Moreover, there was no diversified farming; grain was the principal product - wheat, oats, and corn; also, hay and dairy products. Lumbering, besides, and fur trading came in for their share of attention; lumbering, especially increased during the early seventies. In 1872, there were 200 million feet of lumber scaled in the Stillwater district alone.³ All industries and anything that might be called manufacture were closely allied to agriculture and to the immediate needs of the people. Thus the boot and shoe industries, the manufacture of doors, sashes, and furniture to supply thousands of home-builders showed great increase in the decade from 1860 to 1870. At the latter date there were 207 sawmills in the state with an annual production of 4,299,162 dollars and 216 flour and grist mills with a production of 7,534,575 dollars. In general, such manufacturing as there was was found where wealth and population centered, in the southeastern section - in Ramsey, Hennepin, Winona, Washington, Rice and Goodhue counties. Here were also the largest towns, Minneapolis, St. Paul, Stillwater and Winona.

If the sixties were a period of material growth and prosperity, they also showed advance in education and intellectual development. For, in spite of the large foreign population the rate of illiteracy in the state was low. In 1870, 5 per cent of the total population was illiterate; only 2 per cent of the native population was unable to read or write, and 16 per cent of the foreign population fell in the same class. In 1867 the state superintendent of schools was reestablished; and during the same year

3. E. Dudley Parsons- The Story of Minnesota p.194

the University of Minnesota was reorganized under Dr. Folwell. Carleton College at Northfield was established in 1865; and 1868 saw a normal school opened at Mankato, 1869 one at St. Cloud. The state had no need to be ashamed of the provisions it had made for the education of its youth.⁴

One could hardly expect that in the Minnesota of the sixties there would be many persons who devoted their life to art and literature. An investigation of the census report of 1870 for the number of people engaged in various occupations yields some interesting bits of information. There were at that time 7 actors, the same number of inventors, 9 naturalists, 22 architects, 31 professional musicians, 77 journalists, 16 painters, 3 sculptors, 1 librarian and 1 author. The census of 1860 reports 4 professors, but in 1870 there were only teachers and those not specified. Moreover, these are indiscriminate figures, that leave one to wonder whether the three sculptors all made tombstones, and how many of the sixteen painters decorated wood, how many canvas. We know, too, that besides the lonesome professional author, there were others like Captain Newson and Ignatius Donnelly, who wrote poetry in their weaker moments, and was not 1864 the year that saw the publishing of a book called "The Poets and Poetry of Minnesota"?

Nevertheless, there were seventy-seven journalists- at least the state was not without newspapers. Here again we have to fall back on census statistics. In 1860, there were in Minnesota 49 newspapers and periodicals which issued 2,344,000 copies annually and had a circulation of 32,554. By 1870 the number had increased to 95 with a circulation of

4. Folwell - Minnesota pp.254-262

110,778 and 9,543,656 copies per year. Of these six were daily papers with a circulation of 14,800, five were issued three times a week, and 79 once a week. Most of these, 83 in number, were political in character, a few were religious and one was devoted to nationality. The latter was the Minnesota Staatszeitung, a German weekly with a circulation of 1,000, published in St. Paul. Many newspapers, too, closed down during the war, and did not revive until 1868 or '69 or even later so that the years 1865 and '66 are lean years in Minnesota journalism.

It was a period of change and progress for the state. The decade from 1860 to 1870 saw it through an Indian War and through the Civil War. It saw a great increase in population, and an influx of immigrants, a growth in manufacture and industry, and the development of educational facilities. It did not lack its distinguished men: Henry Hastings Sibley, the friend of scholars and statesmen, Alexander Ramsey and Ignatius Donnelly, the former United States Senator, if that be any claim to distinction, and the latter Congressman, poet, novelist, and champion of Bacon's claim to Shakespeare's dramas. Its immigrants, too, produced capable men such as Emil Munch who was for a long time state treasurer, and Andrew Kiefer, congressman and editor of the Staatszeitung. If the community was not interested in European affairs, it was because it was too busy developing a new state, not because it was lacking in intelligence.

The period was transitional and fluctuating, the people had
the vision of explorers, and pioneers who:

"Plotted sites of future cities, traced the
easy grades between 'em;
Watched unharnessed rapids wasting fifty
thousand head an hour;
Counted leagues of water-frontage through
the axe-ripe woods that screen 'em-
Saw the plant to feed a people - up and
waiting for the power!"

CHAPTER II

On Europe in GeneralA. The General Attitude of Germans in the United States
towards Germany

It may seem to be a long jump from a description of Minnesota in the late sixties to a discussion of the general attitude of German Americans towards the problems of German unity. But the German element in this state ought to be considered against its proper back-ground of the German element of the United States. It is probably a fair statement to say that a large part of the Germans in America in 1866 were Liberals who had come to this country because their attempts to create a democratic German nation had failed. One would naturally expect this group to be very much interested in any event which appeared to make or mar a united Germany.

That there was some interest evinced in the movements in their native land is shown by an editorial in The New York Tribune on May 4, 1866 when war had not yet been declared but was known to be unavoidable. This article claims that the majority of German Americans agree on these points:

1. opposition to civil war;
2. the right of the people of Schleswig-Holstein to choose by universal suffrage their own government;
3. the convocation of a National German Parliament elected by universal suffrage.

The writer goes on to say that it is a natural desire for the Germans in America to give expression to their sympathy with a national

movement in Germany, and to aid the establishment of a German republic. He speaks of a preliminary meeting held by the Germans in New York to discuss the situation, which was expected to be followed by meetings in all the states.⁵ The views expressed here are just the kind one would suppose a German Liberal to have. With the idea of finding out what were the opinions of a man who had taken a leading part in the German Liberal Revolt in 1848, I turned to Carl Schurz.

But I was doomed to disappointment. His reminiscences were devoid of any comments on the War of 1866, except for an account of a conversation with Bismarck in 1868 in which the war was mentioned. His correspondence exhibited a like lack of interest, although there was perhaps sufficient reason for that. In the first place, the letters to which I had access were selected, and probably chosen with a view to American politics rather than European affairs. In the second place, the volume contained a letter of Carl Schurz to Heinrich Meyer, June 10, 1866, in which he complains that all his letters, diaries and many books had been burned in a fire at the station.⁶

To come back, however, to the interview of 1868 with Bismarck. It contains some interesting side-lights on the attitude of Americans towards Germany, although one must, of course, remember that the memoirs were written in the light of subsequent events. Anyway, Schurz's conversation with the Prussian Minister turned to international relations and especially to the public opinion in America concerning Germany. It seems,

5. Whether there were any more meetings held in New York I do not know. I could find no evidence of any in the succeeding numbers of the New York Tribune during the course of the war.

6. Carl Schurz: Speeches, Correspondence & Political Papers v.1 pp. 375-6

too, that the American was surprised at Bismarck's knowledge of and interest in American affairs. To quote Schurz:

"Did America sympathize with German endeavors towards national unity? I thought that so far as any feeling with regard to German unity existed in America at all, it was sympathetic; among the German Americans it was warmly so. Did Louis Napoleon, the emperor of the French enjoy any popularity in America? He did not enjoy the respect of the people at large and was rather unpopular except with a comparatively small number of snobs who would feel themselves exalted by an introduction at his court. There would then, in case of a war between Germany and France, be no likelihood of American sympathy running in favor of Louis Napoleon? There would not, unless Germany forced war on France for a decidedly unjust cause."⁷

Thus Carl Schurz. But here was another German, who had played his part in the Liberal movement of 1833, a resident of Illinois, its lieutenant-governor, American minister to Spain in 1861, who traveled through Germany in 1863, and who also wrote his memoirs. And this is what he has to say:

"It was but natural that the Germans in this country were interested in these events. Many of them had relatives and friends fighting on either side in this war. At first most of them condemned Prussia, as undoubtedly the old Bund and Austria were theoretically right in sustaining the independence of Schleswig-Holstein under its hereditary duke, for the annexation to Prussia was merely to gratify her desire for enlarging her power. An alliance with a foreign power to drive Austria out of

7. Reminiscences of Carl Schurz v.III pp. 278-9

the old Bund and to make war on the other German states that adhered to the Bund seemed, not unjustly an act of rebellion. On the other hand the old Bund had really died of inanition, like the old German Empire. Everybody, even the princes themselves, had become satisfied that it could not be reformed in a liberal sense. Prussia had proposed to surround it with a parliament elected by German suffrage. The incorporation of Hanover, Hesse-Cassel, Nassau, Frankfort and Schleswig-Holstein into Prussia did away with five states. By the peace of Prague, Saxony and all the northern states were consolidated with Prussia into the North German Bund, comprising some thirty millions of people. That the southern states, already in the Zollverein with the northern ones, would ultimately have to join the northern ones was not an unreasonable expectation. Thus Germany would become at last a powerful united empire of some forty millions.

My correspondents from Frankfort, who felt most bitterly the loss of independence of the old free city and to whom I had expressed my opinion that after all the success of Prussia might turn out to have been the best thing for the union and glory of Germany, reproved me very strongly, and seemed surprised that I, a republican and a lover of popular liberty should uphold the tyrannical policy of Bismarck."⁸

This is interest, yes, but what kind of interest? Did it result in action - was Carl Schurz connected with a movement to aid the attempt for German unity, or, if opposed to Prussia, to aid the Bund and

8. Memoirs of Gustave Koerner v. II pp. 454-5

Austria? Did not both he and Koerner, influential German Americans, rather sit back and watch events, and finally come to the conclusion that Providence and Prussia had worked well for Germany? The desire of their German brethren for a Liberal government seemed very far away, and, perhaps they had come to consider it half-hearted. True, the war was exceedingly short, but it had been openly expected for some time. In general, what interest there was, was sympathetic to German unity and to a Liberal state, but the war did not produce the profound impression that one should assume on the part of the German population.

B. Minnesota's Interest in European Affairs in General.

When one finds the German element in America but lukewarm on the question of a German war, I wonder what one could expect of a frontier state on European affairs in general? No, the Minnesotans of '65 and '66 paid very little attention to Europe. What little interest was shown took the form of gossip about emperors and queens and ministers. Thus the only news from England in the newspapers of '65, aside from reports on the attitude of the British people toward the Civil War and the Confederacy, were several stories of Lord Palmerston. There was an account of his life, and a story of how he behaved when he was mistaken for somebody else. Then one might add stories of Queen Victoria, and in 1866 a lengthy account of the wedding of the Princess of Cambridge, with full details as to the attire of the bridal party, the trousseau and the honeymoon - really quite reminiscent of the late stories of Princess Mary's wedding.

Passing on to France the result is quite the same. It was astonishing that the Prince Imperial studied out of books that were

dog-eared and worn, and that he had an English governess, and arose at seven instead of ten o'clock, but that the Emperor denounced the treaties of 1815 caused hardly a stir. We find several columns devoted to the income and daily life of Napoleon III, and much interest in the fact that Napoleon's health was poor and that he had gone to Biarritz. Then we hear at length about the costumes of the Empress as she walked along the beach, and of her graciousness to Mrs. Bigelow, and how the Prince Imperial played in the sand with other children. Much space is also given to an account of the Life of Caesar by the Emperor of the French. It may be true as Carl Schurz told Bismarck that Louis Napoleon was despised in America, but nevertheless he was much talked about. But the only real feeling in regard to France came through the scheme for a Mexican Empire; the people were aroused at this violation of the principles of the Monroe Doctrine; and yet, I am not sure but that the fruitless attempts of the Empress Carlotta to obtain help in Europe caused more comment.

Of Germany and Austria one heard nothing until the war became imminent, of Italy neither, nor of the rest of Europe. The people of the frontier had little time to waste in considering the affairs of distant Europe; to put it in a slang phrase "they couldn't be bothered."

CHAPTER III

Attitude towards the Prusso-Austrian War 1866

And so, by a somewhat devious route we have at last arrived at the real subject of this essay: the attitude of the people of Minnesota towards the Prusso-Austrian war of 1866. Yet even now, we must delay a bit to consider the character of the newspapers then published in the state. One might say off-hand that the most influential journals would be Republican; nevertheless, although that was true, there were a number that were frankly Democratic - foremost among them the St. Paul Pioneer. Its editor at the time, Oscar Stephenson, was a native of Virginia, and this fact combined with his political convictions subjected him to attack as a rebel and a traitor. The paper, however, managed to survive until 1875, when it was combined with the St. Paul Press. The latter organ had under William R. Marshall absorbed the Minnesotian and the Times, and had as its editor Joseph Wheelock, who for half a century was one of the leading editors of the Northwest. Its policy was always staunchly Republican. These two newspapers, the Pioneer and the Press, together with one other, the Winona Daily Republican, are the only accessible dailies for '65 and '66. Probably there were no others, for, as I have already said many newspapers had closed down during the war period.

That brings us to the weeklies, of which there were many more. I have examined in the course of my work some twenty-five or more newspapers, mostly Republican, some Democratic, whose editors ranged from professional men - lawyers, teachers, physicians, to men who had served an apprenticeship in the East as printers and had then gone West to seek their

fortunes. There was J. A. Leonard editor of the Rochester Post, an attorney, who in 1869 became a United States Senator, and later was consul at Edinburgh and Calcutta; and there was also William J. McMasters, who had learned the printer's trade at Read's Landing and who was editor of the Lake City Leader.⁹ All in all, however, more lawyers took to journalism than men of any other class. Most of the weeklies, and, by the way, all of the dailies, were political in character although there were some like the Minnesota Chronicle whose purpose was religious, and the Anoka Star which I judge was a Temperance paper. There was one newspaper which was devoted to nationality, the Minnesota Staatszeitung, a German newspaper, edited by Andrew R. Kiefer. He had come to America in 1849, a Liberal refugee, was a member of the legislature in 1865, and later became a congressman, and mayor of St. Paul. On the whole, it seems to me that there is no reason to complain of the lack of intelligence of the editors.

Getting news, however, must have been difficult, especially during the winter months, when snowstorms cut off all communication with the rest of the world. And in spite of the fact that they always featured "The Latest by Telegraph", news was generally several days late before it reached St. Paul, and somewhat older when it finally penetrated to smaller and farther distant places. Then, too, the news that came by telegraph was but meager and had to be supplemented from the New York newspapers, which were the medium through which practically all foreign happenings, and even most of the American events were made known to Minnesota. Among the New York journals, the Herald and the Times and the Tribune were favorites. The Tribune, Horace Greeley's paper was

9. Upham: Minnesota Biographies. Minnesota Hist. Soc. Publications. v. XIV

at that time undoubtedly the most popular New York newspaper in the West; the Times was a common-sense, rational, middle class paper; and the Herald, which like the Tribune uttered the sentiments of its editor on all questions, was the most cosmopolitan of American journals. These were all Republican in sympathy. The Pioneer took its cue mainly from the World and the News which were Democratic.¹⁰ Now these New York papers had very lengthy accounts of the diplomatic relations that preceded the war, and of all the events of the struggle (i.e. if one may judge them by the New York Tribune). Moreover, much of the news of the New York journals was in turn taken from London and continental European newspapers so that the information had already undergone several processes of condensation and emendation before it reached the editors of Minnesota to undergo a final sifting. Again the information was late in arriving in the United States for the cable was not completed until the summer of 1866, after the war was over. However, the New York papers all had foreign correspondents in Europe, and specials on the scene of war (Raymond, the editor of the Times, was himself in Austria and Italy during the conflict) so that the chances for complete and accurate reports of this event were good. But to return to the foreign newspapers. London papers were naturally most often quoted, and were also the sources for news from the continent and for excerpts from continental journals. In the first place the London Times, of Palmerstonian views, which took the lead among British newspapers in supporting the southern rebels. Then the Daily Telegraph, zealous in the cause of Liberalism; the Army & Navy Gazette; the Pall Mall Gazette, Liberal in the

10. Hudson: Journalism in the United States is the source of information about the New York newspapers. pp.456 et passim.

Palmerstonian sense; a newspaper written by gentlemen for gentlemen; the Globe, exponent of cautious conservatism; the Morning Post, the aristocratic journal, zealous in support of the policy of Napoleon III; the Spectator, Liberal supporter of Gladstone; and the Daily News, as radical as it dared to be considering its recognized position as the champion of Gladstone's reform government.¹¹ One ought to add, too, a list of continental newspapers to show indirect influence: from France, the Moniteur, the official journal, the Temps, the Presse, the La Patrie, the Opinion Nationale, the Journal du Havre; from Germany - Prussian papers, the Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung and the Berlin Gazette, official papers, and the Staatsanzeiger - and others, the Dresden Journal, the Weser Zeitung, the Frankfort Kritik, the Frankfort Journal; from Austria the Wiener Abend Post, the Vienna Debate, the Neue Freie Presse; from Belgium, the Independence Belge; from Italy the Opinione Nationale; from Russia the Moscow Gazette; the St. Petersburg Correspondance. The array is formidable, yet all these papers are cousins six or seven times removed to the Minnesota papers. The arrival of a steamer in New York must have been welcomed joy fully by the Eastern press, and the arrival of a newspaper from New York must have been an event in St. Paul. As for the smaller towns in Minnesota, my opinion is that the St. Paul Daily Press furnished them the news; at least their information is devoid of any originality, such as independent news-gathering would tend to produce. One might almost say that only the Lord knows how many times removed they were from the source of the news.

11. Fox Bourne: English Newspapers pp. 261-293

Now that we have seen how long drawn out the process of getting news was, we have a right to wonder whether under the circumstances the Minnesota papers ever succeeded in getting correct and complete information. Did they, for instance, know about the working-out of the arrangement of Gastein between Austria and Prussia? I found no traces of any interest in the German problems before the spring of 1866. That means as far as the Prussian administration in Schleswig, the province's resistance to Prussia's policy, and the attitude of England and France on the question goes, the people of Minnesota were completely in the dark. Neither did they know about the agreement of Bismarck and Napoleon at Biarritz, in November, 1865. Late in April came rumors of the treaty of alliance with Italy, but of the proposal of Bismarck to the Diet for federal reform along democratic lines the inhabitants of Minnesota were ignorant. But they knew about Napoleon's speech at Auxerre¹² in which he declared his detestation of the treaties of 1815. They also were informed of Napoleon's proposal of a congress to arbitrate the question,¹³ and all the papers printed copies of Bismarck's circular to the Prussian representatives abroad.¹⁴ On May 26, 1866, the St. Paul Pioneer reprinted a poem from Punch, which subsequently appeared in practically every other Minnesota newspaper:

"Prussia was a robber,
Austria was a thief,
Prussia and Austria
Stole a Danish fief

12. Taylor's Falls Reporter Je. 2, '66. St. Paul Press May 30, '66.

13. St. Paul Press, Je. 7, '66

14. St. Paul Press, Je. 29, '66

Prussia said to Austria,
 What's the end to be?
 Austria said to Prussia,
 Hit me and you'll see etc."

They also knew about the failure of the Congress owing to the demands of Austria, and began to publish bits about the disposition of the German states to Prussia. On June 27, '66, the Pioneer reprinted an article from the New York Mercantile Journal, on the strength and attitude of the various German states in regard to the question. Somehow not much is said about Prussia's dissolution of the Diet and that body's declaration of war; Napoleon's letter of June 11 to M. Drouyn de L'Huys is printed in full,¹⁵ and the lining up of the states of the Bund comes soon after.¹⁶ Then follows Prussia's entrance into Saxony, and the war; and from then on come reports of battles and campaigns which are quite accurate although not always as complete as they might be. The fighting at Peschiera and Custoza, the campaigns in Saxony and in Hanover, the proclamations of the sovereigns to their dear subjects are all described. William Russell's descriptions of the battles of Custoza¹⁷ and Sadowa¹⁸ in the London Times are reprinted in full; the latter especially is copied in almost every newspaper in the state. Another thing that caused great interest is an account of the Prussian needle gun which won the war. The terms of the armistice are no mystery, nor is the increased favor in which

15. St. Paul Daily Press, Jul. 3, '66.
 16. St. Paul Daily Press, Jul. 10, '66.
 17. St. Paul Daily Press, Jul. 17, '66.
 18. St. Paul Daily Press, Jul. 24, '66.
 Winona Daily Republican, Jul. 28, '66.

German public opinion holds Bismarck, nor even Napoleon's demands of Rhine territory and Bismarck's refusal. The terms of peace come straggling along - Nicolsburg and the agreements with the smaller states. The Pioneer, July 27, '66 reprints an article from the Moscow Gazette on Russian fear of a strong neighbor; and there is a sketch of the career of Count Bismarck. There are two popular accounts of Bismarck which went the rounds, one a character sketch by George Townsend of the New York World,¹⁹ the other a description of him at the Berlin fetes in October.²⁰ Then after that there is again complete silence on German affairs.

It appears perhaps that we have forgotten one important organ of public opinion, the German newspaper. But that is not the case, for its particularly close relation to the subject in hand seemed to warrant for it separate treatment. The mention of the German press brings up the question of any difference in the character and sources of its information from that of the American press. But much as we may expect and desire radical departures from the other journals, we do not find any. The news seems to be taken from exactly the same sources from which the American papers gleaned theirs. The only difference is that the interest in the pending complication tended to crop out earlier because the events were more vital to its readers. Comment, too, was not wanting. On March 17, '66 the Minnesota Staatszeitung brings out an editorial which foretells that "in this year the fate of Italy will be decided", the question of Schleswig-Holstein will develop a new phase, and that a coup de etat is to be expected in Prussia if Bismarck remains in power. On June second, it asks:

19. Stillwater Messenger, Sept. 12, '66.

20. Stillwater Messenger, Oct. 24, '66.

"Will Louis Napoleon be quiet or take the part of the people which is lost when the rest are agreed? He does not want war but at the partition he will work for Belgium, Sardinia or the Rhine boundary."

Again on July 7, 1866, at the outbreak of the war, it characterizes the war as a conflict brought about by a diplomatic adventurer and a weak-minded king and continues:

"Never in our civilized times was a war begun so against all semblance of right, so against the own advantage of the aggressor. If King William wished to satisfy his thirst for glory, to expand his kingdom, he needed to do nothing further than to let those proceed who so long and with such untiring persistence wished to make him Emperor of Germany; but he wishes to accept as little as his predecessor from the people who are the source of all power, all right to rule.

How he begins this war! Against the will of his own people to whom he owes what he is, against the public opinion in Germany, yes, in the whole civilized world, against the earnest obligations of the German acts of union."

Likewise it declares that a nation worthy of freedom will know how to obtain and maintain it and that thus far only two nations, Switzerland and the United States have shown themselves worthy.²¹ There seems to be bitter hatred of Prussia and of Bismarck, and yet little faith in the Bund, and as great opposition to Austria on the part of this German newspaper. It insists that there ought to be no non-German peoples in the Bund. Austria is the hindrance of national development, as the negation

of every progress. From Austria the King of France has gotten his maxims, Bismarck his tendencies.²² Again the editor exclaims bitterly:

"We refer whomever expects anything from a Bismarckian German Parliament to the history of the Prussian Parliaments."²³

That is really sincere interest and good comment, yet it is neither as penetrating as one would expect from a person who is reasonably familiar with German problems, nor as frequent as that of one whose heart is so full that his mouth runneth over.

And now the opinion of the American press. The privilege of writing editorials on European relations seems to have been pretty well reserved for the three large daily papers; the weeklies will have little of it. There is one notable exception to this statement, and that is the Rochester Post, whose editor was A.J. Leonard, and whom I suspect of being well-read, and in touch with New York newspapers at least. On July 7, '66, he published a three column editorial on the war in Europe. He begins:

"With the certainty of a war in Europe of proportions so great and consequences so important to the future of all those monarchical governments and probably to the world, we cannot do our readers a greater service than by compiling for them the facts relating to the now opening war."

When he traces the history of the Schleswig-Holstein question,

21. Minnesota Staatszeitung, April 21, 1866.
 22. Minnesota Staatszeitung, August 4, 1866.
 23. Minnesota Staatszeitung, August 11, 1866.

and refers to the Italian question: "Of the causes of the forthcoming struggle in Lombardy it is superfluous to speak to a generation which remembers Magenta and Solferino, with which the names of Garibaldi and Victor Emanuel are the synonyms of heroism." He analyses the Venetian question, Bismarck's policy, the popular desire of Italy for war, her financial and military condition. Then he goes into the strength of the other nations - Prussia, Austria, the secondary German States, the Diet; he discusses the geographical and strategic features of the combatants and the possible plans of campaign.

The editorials of the other weekly newspaper can hardly be called anything but passing comments. Usually they merely rearrange the news for the day in another column, but add nothing, and they are occasioned either by the beginning or the cessation of hostilities. "The nations of Europe are about to engage in a conflict of almost unparalleled extent", and so on to the wish at the end: "Some good will surely come out of this great struggle. There is a destiny that never allows revolutions to go backwards."²⁴ Or the editorial with a moral such as this on the terms of peace between Austria and Italy, which ends:

"Thus the issue of the Italian war has become a great lesson, teaching the irresistible power which inheres in the will of a nation. The principle of popular and national sovereignty may yet be far from being generally recognized; but virtually it already asserts itself as the controlling principle of society."²⁵

24. Wabasha Herald, Je. 28, 1866

25. Minneapolis Daily Chronicle, Nov. 29, 1866

When we come to the opinion of the daily newspapers of the state, we find perhaps more editorials than in the weeklies, but the proportion is no larger, nor are they of a much better calibre. Most often they are very short, and then usually they are résumés of the events with perhaps passing conjectures as to future developments. There is one on the state of Europe in January, 1865 which hopes that the German-Danish treaty has forever rid Europe of one of its most dangerous complications, wonders whether the Roman people will overthrow the temporal power of the Pope, and speculates as to the attitude of France in such a case, and wonders whether Italy can induce Austria to cede Venetia. "(The inducements) can hardly be anything but territorial compensation and can hardly be found anywhere except in Turkey, therefore it is possible that new combinations will take place against Turkey."²⁶ Another one supposes that Napoleon will not give any help till the powers are reduced to such extremities that Italy will offer more than Sardinia, and he can extort the Rhenish provinces of Prussia.²⁷ Then someone writes on the balance of power in Europe, which "is so nicely adjusted that it is next to an impossibility that there should be a European war of long duration without involving the whole of the Continental Powers." This writer thinks that Prussian ambition will avail little "in the face of that inexorable law of adjustments which holds Europe in balance."²⁹ Referring to Napoleon III he praises the power and grandeur of France which he thinks is higher than it was under his great uncle, the first Napoleon.

26. Winona Daily Republican, Jan. 4, 1865

27. St. Paul Daily Press, July 24, 1866

28. St. Paul Daily Press, July 19, 1866

29. St. Paul Daily Press, Aug. 5, 1866

Bismarck, too, came in for his share of attention, especially after he had carried through the war to his advantage. He was no more admired by the American newspapers than by the German Liberals in the United States, but he had made himself talked about. Thus Joseph Wheelock of the St. Paul Press:

"Never before has so great a panic overspread the country as that which is excited by the mere supposition of what this Bismarck may say, do, or think for the next month or so. He proclaims himself the Savior of Europe from a Revolution and from France, and takes possession of Hanover, Hesse and Nassau, while he prepares himself to turn Austria not only out of the German confederation but out of Europe altogether. Europe looks on dumfounded and amazed. France, hitherto so grasping and so arrogant remains mute and humble before this new rival and quietly listens to the threats which Bismarck vociferates across the Rhine without daring to reply."³⁰

Perhaps I should have said that Bismarck got more than his share of interest, for he was considered a fitting subject for a poem some nine stanzas long. One really does not gather much from this verse except that Bismarck was doomed to a glorious failure like Napoleon's because he scorned common people:

"What heart first felt the mighty three?
 What hand first struck the fiery blow
 That hurled the proud hyena low?
 Despotic Austria?
 Leopold von Bismarck's and his fame
 Through English waters rings acclaim-
 The par-blind lion's bristling mane
 Proves she can hear and see.

30. St. Paul Daily Press, Oct. 4, 1866

Ah! proud Count Leopold castle-born,
 You cherish the old feudal scorn,
 For men who saw their natal morn
 On mud-walled hovels gleam." 31

But Bismarck did not strike the most responsive chord of Minnesota public opinion; that was left for the ideals of national unity and political liberty, for which they conceived Italians and Germans going to war, and by the opportunity which the European war afforded for comparison with the Civil War, and American affairs. For much as our republican journalists condemned Prussia's autocratic methods, they considered a war which would realize nationality a necessity, and approved it. They were particularly interested in the Italian campaign, and pleased with the cession of Venetia to Italy.

"To Americans the Germanic side of the quarrel is without interest though the extinction of the petty German states, which are now the last ramparts of an effete aristocracy would be hailed as a broad stride towards the political regeneration of Germany.

To the American public the main points of interest in the coming conflict will be around the walls of Mantua, Peschiera, and Verona, where Austria sits unmoved in impregnable ramparts and fosses of the red-shirted legions of Garibaldi. For here the success of the aggressors is the triumph of liberty and the iron crown of the Lombard King, which bears the significant inscription Rex totius Italiae, is the symbol not only of Italian unity but of Italian freedom." 32

31. Lizzie Putnam: Count Bismarck, St. Paul Daily Press, Nov. 25, 1866

32. St. Paul Daily Press, June 23, 1866

But the most passionate editorial on the ultimate principles of liberty and the necessity of national unity, and perhaps the most eloquent comment in all the local papers on the Prusso-Austrian war is one which had been written some days before the above. The only thing to do to avoid creating a false impression is to quote it almost entire:

"Tried by the laws and usages of nations, the faith of treaties or principles of international morality - both Prussia and Italy would be puzzled to find an adequate justification for the war they are waging against Austria. But in both cases the war, whatever its ostensible motives or its immediate causes, is the offspring of an ultimate principle far higher and deeper than the usages of nations or the conventions of diplomats - for in both cases it is a war for national unity - deriving its impulse in Italy directly and entirely from the popular aspiration for national integration, of which the court is the involuntary instrument, while in Prussia, it is in its immediate aspects, a cabinet policy of territorial aggrandizement which nevertheless seeks support in the universal German sentiment of national unity.

And it is a war, too, in both cases for political liberty; on the part of Italy, consciously and purposely so, and on the part of Prussia unintentionally, doubtless, but none the less certainly; for, in the order of historical development, national unity is the condition precedent of free institutions; it is the flower of which political liberty is the fruit. For it is necessary that nations should be strong before

they can be free, that they should be secure from external foes before they can render themselves secure from internal despotism. And though Bismarck may seek to subordinate German nationality to Prussian ambition, he has but to deliver Germany from the multitude of dynastic interests which now divide it in order to oppress it - he has but to organize it upon a common political center and unite its petty autonomies under one national sovereignty - to place it on the high road to complete political regeneration, and to launch it upon the grandest career which Providence has allotted to any European nation.

Nor is it a sentiment merely this yearning of Germany and Italy for their ancient and traditional entirety and power, nor is it mere territorial rapacity. Recollections of the past, sacred as they are, aspirations for the future, brilliant as they may be, would have little power to stir the blood of these historic peoples to war, if they were not instigated, and kept alive by the pressing physical necessities of their position. The presence of Austria with her overpowering armaments upon Italian soil, the frowning bastions of the quadrilateral, are not simply a perpetual insult, but a perpetual menace to Italy, imposing upon her the necessity of maintaining vast defensive armies disproportionate to her means and hanging over her like an ill-omened bird of prey, awaiting the moment of internal dissension or of foreign complications to pounce upon her provinces. To fling off this foreign yoke from her shoulders and to press the Austrian robber back to the natural limits of his empire, behind the Julian Alps, is to Italy, we say, a necessity." _ _ _ _

"If one will but look at the position of Prussia on the map, it will be easy to see that to her German unity is a necessity, and that, indeed, German unity can only be accomplished by engrafting the minor states upon this central trunk. At present she is a misshapen torso without head or limbs. Of the great valley of the Elbe, which is the principal seat of her power, and her main outlet to the sea, she possesses only an inland section, being cut off from the mouth by Hanover and Holstein, while the rich plains and basins of its upper course are held by Saxony and Bohemia. Her situation is not unlike what secession, if successful, would have made that of the United States, if the Atlantic slope and the mouth of the Mississippi were in the possession of foreign powers - an inland kingdom deprived of its natural approaches to the sea, surrounded by enemies, - and condemned to wage an eternal war for the mere right to exist."³³

The analogy in the last paragraph is perhaps badly taken, and Wheelock's theory of political liberty resulting from national sovereignty in Prussia may seem ridiculous in the light of the events of the twentieth century, yet this article shows an understanding of the position of Prussia and Italy in Europe, and a sympathy with ideals for which the writer believed the war was ultimately fought. Nevertheless one has a feeling that the writer sees this struggle through a haze of distance or of lack of information that obscures their actual relations.

The tendency to compare this European War with the War of the Rebellion crops out more delightfully in several shorter editorials. The

general effect of the movement on the United States is one of the first things of which the Pioneer thinks. Its editor discusses the advancing price of gold and breadstuffs and suggests that it should not materially affect other branches of trade save that of importers.³⁴ But the Press is more facetious; it draws bold comparisons:

"It was only last year that all Europe awaited with anxious eagerness from day to day the arrival of the steamers from this side the Atlantic freighted with news of great battles fought and won, with which Reuter's lying telegrams thrilled the courts of kings and the palaces of aristocratic bourgeois, who shuddered with pious horror at the spectacle of a nation of Christians cutting each other's throats.

Now, it is our turn to act the peaceful part of spectators and critics, and that of the gentle kings to be scrambling in the dark horrors of a war, at once international and fratricidal, for each other's crowns and heads and provinces."³⁵

And to end the paragraph this bit of egotism:

"Next to our Civil War this German war must rank in history as one of the wonders of the age."³⁶

But after all what the newspapers print as news or editorials is the result of the thinking of the editor, of his sympathies, his interest. For the views of the large masses of people one must go to

34. St. Paul Pioneer, June 17, 1866

35. St. Paul Daily Press, July 11, 1866

36. St. Paul Daily Press, Aug. 7, 1866

other sources. While one is on the subject of newspapers, one thinks of letters written to the paper by subscribers, and one looks for the readers' column or corner in the Minnesota papers of 1866. However, one does not find such a department, much less any letters on the Prussian-Austrian complications. Evidently interest in European affairs was not keen enough nor wide-spread enough to cause the average man to burst into print.

From letters to the newspapers it is but a step to private correspondence. But again the results were the same. I examined boxes of the correspondence of Sibley, and Ramsey, of Donnelly, and Neill, and Murray, and more, for the years 1865 and 1866, and in that mass of letters written to the most intelligent men of Minnesota, by persons from all parts of the United States, I found only one reference to the War of 1866. There were letters of governors, and congressmen, and senators, and preachers, and business men, and farmers; the correspondents were of all nationalities - American, Irish, Swedish, German - and of all classes. Ignatius Donnelly, for instance, corresponded with Andrew Kiefer, editor of the Staatszeitung and with Emil Munch, both prominent Germans of Minnesota - but never a mention of the war from these men who should have been vitally interested. It was left for one Thomas MacManus of Erie, Pennsylvania to mention European difficulties; and this was his contribution:

"They have been having a warm time over in Germany this hot weather, and Prussia is getting the best of it for which I thank God

and take courage. I notice that France has a disposition to go in - I hope she will - If all the little and big toads in that puddle would go in and cut each other up I think it would be a God-send for the world."³⁷

That, finally, left me with one other possible source of information, from which, however - in view of what the others had lacked - I could not expect much. It is very likely that the people of Minnesota - a large number of them at any rate - subscribed to some New York newspapers, and to Eastern magazines. I had not long to search for the names of the magazines for they were advertised in the Minnesota newspapers. Among the generally popular were the Atlantic Monthly and Harper's Magazine, also Blackwood's Magazine (a very conservative English periodical). I examined files of these to see first, whether these publications devoted considerable attention to international affairs, and second, whether they contained any correspondence from enterprising subscribers. The answer to both questions was negative. In Harper's, the European situation was given in résumé, in an inconspicuous place; in the Atlantic and in Blackwood's there were one or two articles discussing the affair, but the attention was rather upon the history of the royal houses than upon the significance of the struggle. Then I examined the files of what was probably the favorite of metropolitan newspapers in Minnesota, as throughout the West - the New York Tribune, Horace Greeley's newspaper. I went through that with the same questions in mind and got

37. Thomas MacManus to I. Donally, Erie, Pa. July 19, 1866.

the same answer to the second problem. The Tribune, of course, devoted a good deal of attention to the news from the war; but here again there was no evidence of any correspondence from subscribers - let alone Western subscribers.³⁸

38. I could not get figures as to the amount of circulation of the New York Tribune in Minnesota in '65 and '66. The nearest figures obtainable are for 1883 (which is too late entirely) and they place the circulation in Minnesota at 925, in Wisconsin at 1771, in Iowa at 1041.

CONCLUSION

And so we have arrived at the end with practically a negative result. In general one might say that the people of Minnesota were not interested in international affairs in 1866; a war at home was real and vivid, a war in Europe was something very horrible but very far away. There was so much within immediate distance that needed to be done - lands to be claimed, Indians to be quieted, infant industries that clamored for attention - that the people of Minnesota could spare to Europe but a passing interest. Moreover, they were a Main Street community, much concerned about their neighbor's personal affairs; and their attention was first of all turned to the manner in which kings live, and rulers marry. International relations are far removed.

As a whole the editors of the newspapers were an intelligent class, and one might have expected them to understand foreign affairs in a reasonably intelligent way. Moreover, while their information was not very complete, what they had was accurate. It is naturally quite hard to form a true conception of conditions when one's knowledge of them is deficient, but if one is greatly concerned, one is not on that account without opinions or theories. Neither does one hesitate to express them.

As we gather up the results of our investigation, we restate that there is a paucity of editorials and comments in the weekly papers. Indeed, many of them contain no foreign news of any kind; most of them confine their European interest to the conduct of the war itself, with very

little understanding of how it came about. Of course, most of the weeklies are the publications of small towns and the more outlying districts; therefore, it was hard for them to get news, and by the time the message of the declaration of war reached them, the conflict was practically over.

When we come to the dailies we find that the news is fuller and more complete, and we also notice that there are many more editorials. This condition is quite normal. The daily newspapers are products of the larger communities; they have better means of communication with the East, therefore, a better opportunity to get news. Again we should expect an urban population to have more interest in the rest of the world, because it is more dependent upon other sections of the country. And, we decide that the St. Paul Daily Press, Joseph Wheelock's paper, has the best comments on European affairs. It was the leading Republican newspaper in a thoroughly Republican state, and its editor was long a leading newspaper-man of the Northwest.

But in general all the comments show a lack of information and an incorrect grasp of foreign relations; the two conditions are probably inter-related. There is a general hatred of Prussia and Bismarck, perhaps due to the German Liberals in the country and their attitude, perhaps to a general abhorrence of an autocratic state and a domineering minister. However, there is also approval of Prussia's high-handed attempt to bring about German unity; the argument is that the German

people are fighting for national unity and political equality; Bismarck will be instrumental in bringing about the former; then the German people will know how to handle their despot and bring about the latter. Italy is idealized, and due to Italy's war of 1859 and her national movement, Austria is painted black and draws no sympathy. Minnesotans as Americans approve of revolutionary movements against imperial and tyrannical rulers, and wish the Italians every success. Even Napoleon III is stroked a little for his former aid to Italy. Impossible arguments and improbable reasons are brought forth to show that these movements are morally and ethically right, even if they are not right legally.

Then, too, the results for the German press of the state are practically the same as those for American newspapers. Their information is no more accurate; their comments are not much more penetrating. Their sources of news are the same as those of the other papers. Undoubtedly both the editors and the readers had a greater intrinsic interest in the problem; but it certainly was not great enough to result in any mass meetings or relief drives or sympathy demonstrations. Life moved on quite as placidly as at any other time. Farmer Schmidt bought a new cow, and Editor Kiefer promised to swing the German vote for Donnelly. One might say that, on the whole, the German element was hostile to both Prussia and Austria, as autocratic and hindrances to a liberal, united Germany. Austria was most hated because it comprised so many non-German races. When it was evident that Prussia's policy was a step in advance towards Germany unity, the German-Americans tended

to acquiesce in, if not to approve of the war. The prejudice against Bismarck, however, was not overcome by the War of 1866; he was the Iron Chancellor, autocrat, and foe to Liberalism and representative government. He was the fly in the ointment.

Likewise, we might say that the Germans in Minnesota were as busy as the native settlers, they were working as hard in building up a new country, and as anxious to make their fortune. It was not a case of infecting the native element with an enthusiasm for German affairs; but it was an instance of the foreigners forgetting the troubles of Europe, and being glad of having escaped to a land of liberty and opportunity. The struggle for Liberalism faded into the dim past, and the Liberals in Germany were looked upon as fools for remaining, and pursuing phantasmagoria. The illusions of Tantalus were always followed by realization. So both Germans and Americans looked upon the war as an interesting historical drama, far removed from actual, practical life.

So, too, there is no mention of the European turmoil in the correspondence of the period. It was not a matter of great importance to our citizens. Hundreds asked Ignatius Donnelly for offices, several even desired European consulships, but the existing war was alluded to with never a word. Neither is there any correspondence from Farmer Brown to his favorite St. Paul newspaper, or to his New York Tribune editor, expressing his outraged feelings on the atrocities committed in Europe. For, Farmer Brown had just taken up a homestead, and was speculating on the size of his crop.

And there we leave the problem. We have shown the general lack of interest in international relations by the people of Minnesota in 1866. We have also shown their championing of political liberty and national unity, momentary flickers of interest when the question at issue claimed kinship with American ideals. The interest shown is not vital nor lasting; it is ephemeral and superficial. It is as indefinite and vague as that of the man who said:

"This moment yearning and thoughtful, sitting alone,
It seems to me there are other men in other lands,
yearning and thoughtful;

It seems to me I can look over and behold them, in
Germany, France, Spain - or far, far away in
China, or in Russia or India - talking other
dialects;

And it seems to me if I could know those men,
I should become attached to them, as I do to men in
my own lands."

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American Book Company, 1916

A school edition, but happens to contain a few incidental details not included in other books.

Upham, Warren and Dunlap, Rose B: Minnesota Biographies 1655-1912. In Collections of the Minnesota Historical Society. vol. XIV.

St.Paul, Minn. June 1912

Very valuable. Practically the only place for information on editors of newspapers and other Minnesota citizens. Gives only the mere facts of the life of a man.

C. Manuscripts

I examined practically all the papers for 1865 and '66 at the Minnesota State Historical Society, and found no mention of the

European situation. As negative information they are valuable, but need no further comment. I list the most important collections.

Castle Papers.

Personal papers for 1865-6

Henry Anson Castle 1841-1916. Journalist, Civil War veteran, state representative, 1873. Editor of the Dispatch, 1876-85.

Chaney Papers.

Correspondence.

Diaries - 1865-66

Josiah B. Chaney 1828-1908. Librarian, Civil War veteran, member St. Paul School Board '72-5.

Donnelly Papers.

Letter press books.

Correspondence - 5 boxes

Scrap Book 1866-70.

Ignatius Donnelly 1831-1901. Politician and author, lieutenant-governor 1860-1863. Representative in Congress, 1863-9.

LeDuc Papers

Correspondence.

Very little. Mostly military and official papers 1823-1917. Wm. G. Le Duc. 1823-1917. Lawyer and railroad promoter. Civil War veteran. Commissioner of Agriculture 1877-81.

Murray Papers

Correspondence.

Letter books 1855-67.

William Pitt Murray 1825-1910. Lawyer. Member Territorial Legislature. State Constitutional Convention. Legislature 1863. State Senator 1866-67.

Neill Papers

Correspondence.

Scrap books

Edward D. Neill, 1829-1893. Clergyman, educator, historian, President Macalaster College. Secretary of Minnesota Historical Society.

Ramsay Papers

Correspondence.

Alexander Ramsey, 1815-1903. Pioneer, territorial governor, 1849-53. State governor 1860-63. United States Senator, 1863-75. Secretary of War under President Hayes.

Sibley Papers

Correspondence

Henry H. Sibley, 1811-1891. American Fur Co. Territorial delegate to Congress 1849-53. First state governor 1858-60.

Steele Papers

Correspondence (mostly political and business papers).

Franklin Steele, 1813-1880. Sutler of Fort Snelling. Built first suspension bridge across Mississippi.

Stevens Papers.

Correspondence

John H. Stevens 1820-1900. Farmer, merchant, editor, historian. Representative in Legislature, 1857-8. State Senator 1859-60.

Whipple Papers

Correspondence

Benjamin Whipple, 1822-1901. Episcopal bishop of Minnesota. Missionary to Indians.

D. NewspapersI. Outside of Minnesota:

New York Daily Tribune. January-November 1866.

Horace Greeley, Editor.

II Daily:St. Paul Daily Pioneer 1865-6

Davison & Hall Publishers.

The leading editor, whose name was not published by the paper was, according to the Minneapolis Chronicle, Oscar Stephenson, a Virginian, who had returned to the South during the war and served the Confederacy. He was also a son-in-law of the Democratic candidate for Congress, Col. D. Robertson. The paper was the first established in Minnesota, and the leading Democratic organ of the state.

St. Paul Daily Press 1865-6.

Joseph A. Wheelock- Editor

Came to St. Paul 1850, Commissioner of statistics of Minnesota, 1850-61. Helped found Press in 1861. Its editor after 1862. Leading Republican newspaper of Minnesota.

Winona Daily Republican 1865-6

Daniel Sinclair- Editor

Born in Scotland, 1833. Came to United States 1849. Learned printer's trade in Pennsylvania. Came to Minnesota in 1856. Legislature in 1903. Published Winona Republican for 50 years.

III Weekly:Anoka Star Jan. 28-Apr. 1, 1865

Charles W. and Edward H. Folsom- Editors

Sons of Ward W. Folsom, a settler at Taylors Falls. Came from New Hampshire.

Temperance paper. No European news.

Chaska Valley Herald 1865-6

W. B. Griswold, 1865

Born in Michigan, 1834. Admitted to bar 1860. Came to Minnesota in 1860. Newspaper publisher in Chaska and Mankato. Dealer in lumber and brick.

1866. Editor- F.E.DuToit
Born New York 1845. Came to Chaska when 10 years old.
1866 Purchased Chaska Herald. 1872-3 State Legislature.
1899-1909 State Senator.

Chatfield Democrat 1865-66

J. H. McKenny- Editor

Born Pennsylvania, 1813. Came to Minnesota, 1848; 1861
bought Chatfield Democrat. Brother associated with him.

Some foreign news and editorials.

Faribault Central Republican 1865-66

Orville Brown- Editor

Born New York 1812. Came to Minnesota 1856. For 10 years
editor of Faribault Republican. 1868 Purchased Mankato Record.

Very little foreign news.

Hastings Conserver 1865- Nov.13, 1866

Irving Todd- Editor

Born New York, 1841. Came to Hastings 1861. 1861-66 editor
Hastings Conserver. 1866 editor Hastings Gazette. Little
European news.

Hastings Gazette Nov.17-Dec.29, 1866

Todd & Stebbins- Editors

Todd-see above.

Stebbins, C. Came to Hastings 1857. Had published newspapers
in Indiana. Also Editor, Hastings Independent.
No foreign news.

Hastings Independent 1865-Dec.29, 1866

C. Stebbins- Editor

See above

July and August numbers have war news.

Lake City Leader August 5, 1865-66

April 21-August 11, 1866)
Sept. 29-Dec. 29, 1866) missing

Best numbers missing.

T.H. Perkins & William J. McMaster- Editors.

Perkins- Born, Ohio, 1837. Came to Minnesota, 1865. After 1867 editor of Goodhue County Republican.

McMasters- Born Ireland-1838. Came to United States 1848. Learned printer's trade at Read's Landing. Editor of Lake City Leader 1865-1876.

Mankato Union 1865.

Wm. B. Griswold, Publisher

See Chaska Herald.
Nothing on Europe.

Mankato Weekly Record 1865

John C. Wise, Editor & Proprietor.

Born Maryland, 1834. Came to Minnesota, 1859. Editor of Record until 1868. No foreign news.

Mantorville Express 1865.

J. E. Bancroft- Editor

No foreign news.

Minneapolis Chronicle June- Dec. 1866

Thomas Foster- Editor

Born Philadelphia, 1818. Newspaper work. Studied and practiced medicine. Came to Minnesota in 1849 as private secretary to Governor Ramsey. Part owner and editor of Daily Minnesotian 1857-71.
War news and editorials.

Owatonna Plaindealer 1865-July 17, 1866

H. Kelly, M.D. Editor & Proprietor.

Born New York 1808. Geneva College 1838. Albany Medical College 1840. Came to Minnesota in 1858. Engaged in newspaper publication in Rochester, Owatonna, Northfield and Faribault. No European news.

Preston Republican 1865-6

Watson W. Williams- Editor.

Born Pennsylvania, 1840. Came to Minnesota 1864. Newspaper publisher in various towns. 1878 Purchased Freeborn County Standard, Albert Lea.

Most of 1865 and 1866 numbers missing.

Rochester Post February 3-Dec.29, 1866

Leonard & Booth, Proprietors.

Leonard, J.A. Born Maryland, 1830. Philadelphia Medical College 1851. Came to Rochester 1858. Studied law and admitted to bar. 1865-99 Editor Rochester Post. Later State Senator and U.S. consul.

W.S. Booth, author and publisher. Born Connecticut 1827. Came to Minnesota, 1855. Studied law and admitted to bar at Austin. 1861 Edited and purchased interest in Rochester Post.

Good war news and excellent editorials.

St. Cloud Democrat 1865-Sept. 6, 1866

William Bell Mitchell- Editor

Born Pennsylvania, 1843. Came to St. Cloud 1857. Assisted Mrs. Jane G. Swisshelm in newspaper work. Editor of Democrat in 1859. War news in July and August, 1866.

St. Cloud Times Sept.-Dec. 1866

A. J. Reed- Editor

No news about Germany

Northwestern Chronicle Nov.17-Dec.29,1866

John C. Devereux- Editor

Born Ireland 1831. Came to U.S. 1839. Came to St.Paul
Established Northwestern Chronicle.

Catholic newspaper. Little foreign news.Minnesota Staatszeitung Dec.30-1865-1866

Andrew R. Kiefer- Editor

Born Germany, 1832. Came to United States 1849. Came to
St.Paul, 1855. Civil War Veteran. Representative in Legis-
lature in 1865. Congress 1893-7. Mayor of St.Paul,
1898-1900.

German newspaper. European news and editorials.

St.Peter Tribune 1865-66

A.R.McGill- Editor

Born Pennsylvania, 1840. Came to Minnesota, 1861.
Principal of Schools at St.Peter. Admitted to bar 1868.
Private secretary to Governor Austin 1870-4. Governor of
state 1887-9.

Foreign news and some editorials.

Stillwater Messenger 1865-6

A.J.Van Vorhes- Editor and Proprietor.

Born Pennsylvania, 1824. Came to Stillwater 1855. Commenced
Stillwater Messenger. State Legislature 1859-60.
Foreign news.

Taylor Falls Reporter 1865-66.

Edward H. and Chas. W. Folsom- Editors.

See Anoka Star. War news and editorials.

Wabasha Herald 1865-66.

Frank Daggett- Editor

Born Vermont 1837. Worked on St.Paul Pioneer.
War news and editorials.