

MINNESOTA HISTORY

A QUARTERLY MAGAZINE

VOLUME 15

MARCH, 1934

NUMBER 1

THE PRINTING PRESS MOVES WESTWARD¹

Whenever a printer leaves a comfortable and civilized community and carries press and types to a point on an unsettled and as yet uncivilized frontier, he is actuated to do so by some very specific motive. The motives which led the printers to keep up with the westward movement of the American frontier were varied, but an analysis of them throws light on an aspect of the development of the "western country" that has been too little considered in tracing the broader outlines of our pioneer history.

For the printers were not mute witnesses to the unfolding of that history; they played a large part in the making of it. Throughout the Middle West their first function was the establishment of a newspaper, and in its columns their trenchant and unmeasured phrases served to build a local consciousness and solidarity. They exercised a great influence on public opinion, not only on political questions, but also on issues that transcended partisan boundaries. Of the latter, slavery was the outstanding question on which the influence of the frontier press was brought to bear.

Then, too, these pioneer printer-publishers were the press agents of the new communities which they had chosen for their homes. There were printed many more copies of an issue of a newspaper than were required by local readers. The surplus copies were mailed back east, where new set-

¹ Presented on January 8, 1934, as the annual address of the eighty-fifth annual meeting of the Minnesota Historical Society. *Ed.*

tlers were recruited by the glowing accounts of the fertility of fields yet barren, of the beauty of a community made up of a mud road bordered by a series of hastily erected shacks, of the clemency of a climate that was far from hospitable, and of natural resources that were potential if not developed. I do not mean that these communities did not finally deliver the benefits pictured so eloquently by their typographical apologists, but in seeing the community they described, the writers must needs have drawn heavily on the founts of imagination and faith.

Faith—that was the watchword of the printer on the frontier. Without an indomitable confidence in the future, any but the hardiest would have turned back on first sight of the “city” they had chosen as a field of labor, and more would have given up after the first few months of struggle against heavy odds. The paper supply was uncertain, advertising was meager, subscriptions could not be collected. Yet in the face of every discouragement, the pioneer printer-publishers carried on, confident of what the morrow would bring forth.

Important among the motives which led printers into the wilderness was religious zeal for evangelization of natives. This was often closely tied up with education. Another lure to induce printers to settle in a community that did not as yet have the benefits of a press was the public printing. In the colonies the statutes and official documents furnished the surest source of income for the printers, and the same situation obtained in the newly organized territories of the West, as governmental functions were set up.

Another motive was the simple one of economic self-advancement. Where the field was crowded and competition severe in eastern cities, it was natural for printers who failed to make a satisfactory income to turn toward new fields for wider opportunities. And the young apprentice, smarting under what appeared to him to be the tyranny of

his master, yearned ambitiously for the status of a master printer on the frontier.

Some printers were brought to the outposts of civilization in the service of a moral cause. Many a newspaper in the West, in areas that had not as yet been designated as slave soil or free, was established to advocate or oppose the institution of slavery. There were other motives of less frequent appearance. Some printers were set up in business by land companies, whose first thought, after selecting a site to be boomed, was to establish a newspaper to broadcast to the world the unique merits of the new Jerusalem. And in a few instances men set up presses with the sole motive of rendering a public service.

Let us see how some of these motives were translated into action, and in so doing review the first establishment and diffusion of the press throughout some of the colonies and in territories—young, vigorous, and not to be denied—which were rapidly metamorphosed into states.

The first printing press in English-speaking North America was set up at Cambridge, Massachusetts, in 1638, and the first printing was done perhaps in that year, but more probably in 1639. I say "English-speaking North America" advisedly, for one of the most astonishing facts of typographic history is that printing had begun in Mexico City a hundred years earlier—in 1539 or possibly a few years before that date. The press used in Mexico, it may be noted, was brought over from Spain at the instance of the church authorities to produce evangelistic and educational literature for the enlightenment of the natives.

Our worthy ancestors who crossed the Atlantic in the "Mayflower" and in the ships which followed its course felt that a press was an essential in their religious activities and in the conversion and instruction of the Indians. The prime mover in the effort to establish a press at Cambridge was Jose Glover, who was also intimately associated with

those who were planning the erection of an educational institution—Harvard College. Glover went to England, raised funds, bought printing equipment, and employed Stephen Day and his two sons, at least one of whom had had printing office experience, to go to Massachusetts and erect and operate the press. It seems rather tragic that the man whose bold vision brought the first printer's ink to the colonies should have been fated to die on the trip. His wife, however, carried out his plans and set the press in operation.

Apart from a single sheet devoted to the "Freeman's Oath," no copy of which has survived, the first product of the infant press was an ambitious volume entitled *The Whole Booke of Psalmes*. This was "faithfully translated into English metre" by the local Cambridge divines, so that it became not only the first book printed within the present limits of the United States, but also the first product of American scholarship and literature.

The conduct of the press devolved on Matthew Day, and when he died a short time later his place was taken by Samuel Green, who was the first to learn the typographic art on American soil. The story of his descendants is a romantic bit of American history. The sons, grandsons, great-grandsons, and great-great-grandsons of Samuel Green, were active pioneers in spreading the benefits of the press for two hundred years, and in no less than a half dozen colonies or states.

Virginia came near being the second colony to boast a press and types. William Nuthead set up a press at Williamsburg in 1682 and began to print a volume of laws. His work, however, was summarily suppressed before the volume was well under way. So Nuthead moved to the more tolerant colony of Maryland, whose first printer he became in 1685.

In the same year William Bradford took a press from

THE
WHOLE
BOOKE OF PSALMES
Faithfully
TRANSLATED *into* ENGLISH
Metre.

Whereunto is prefixed a discourse de-
claring not only the lawfullnes, but also
the necessity of the heavenly Ordinance
of singing Scripture Psalmes in
the Churches of
God.

Coll. 111.

*Let the word of God dwell plenteously in
you, in all wisdom, teaching and exhort-
ing one another in Psalmes, Hymnes, and
spirituall Songs, singing to the Lord with
grace in your hearts.*

James v.

*If any be afflicted, let him pray, and if
any be merry let him sing psalmes.*

Imprinted

1640

England to Philadelphia, a strong Quaker settlement. There a rigorous censorship exercised by the religious authorities caused him constant trouble. When he was tormented too far, he shook the dust of Philadelphia from his feet and removed to New York in 1693, leaving his son Andrew to carry on the business in the City of Brotherly Love. William Bradford thus was the first printer of both Pennsylvania and New York. He went to New York at the cordial invitation of Governor Benjamin Fletcher, who wanted to utilize his services for printing proclamations, ordinances, and laws. Bradford was paid a regular salary by the colonial government.

When the Connecticut general assembly prepared for publication its first volume of laws, the copy had to be sent to Cambridge for printing. Such an arrangement, however, could not be permanent, so inducements were offered to a printer who would settle in New London and do the public printing. Thomas Short, whose sister was the wife of Bartholomew Green and who had served his apprenticeship in the printing office of his influential brother-in-law in Boston, in 1709 responded to the call. Though a young man, he died within three years, and Connecticut was again left without a printer. So once more the local solons turned to the Greens and induced Timothy Green to establish a shop in New London in 1714.

Rhode Island in 1727 also enticed its first printer from Boston. He was James Franklin, whom we know principally as the tyrannical older brother of the precocious Benjamin, through meeting him, in a rather unfavorable light, in the pages of the classic *Autobiography*.

A permanent press was established in Virginia in 1730 by William Parks, a Maryland printer of marked distinction. At his office in Williamsburg, Parks produced much printing of real typographical merit. He also established the first of a multiplicity of *Virginia Gazettes* which, by use

of the same title, have been the despair of newspaper bibliographers.

South Carolina was in desperate need of a printer to translate its statutes into print, and on several occasions it offered inducements to one who might settle in Charleston and take care of the public business. Finally, there was offered a bonus of two thousand pounds in proclamation money—which was quite different from sterling. This attracted three printers instead of one, and each petitioned for the advertised bonus. Two of them, George Webb and Thomas Whitmarsh, are now known to have produced printing in 1731. In January of the following year Whitmarsh and Eleazer Phillips, Jr., began the publication of newspapers, but the latter died within six months. Whitmarsh, whose silent partner was Benjamin Franklin, died in 1733, but Franklin sent out another of his printers, Lewis Timothy, to succeed him. The *South-Carolina Gazette*, originally established by Whitmarsh, was published practically continuously for many years.

North Carolina acquired its first press when James Davis, who was probably a young man working in the office of William Parks at Williamsburg, Virginia, removed to New Bern and printed the first *Journal* of the house of burgesses. Georgia was still later, agreeing in 1762 that James Johnston should become its public printer. Lack of equipment, however, delayed the beginning of his work until April, 1763, when he started to print and publish the *Georgia Gazette*.

In the years preceding the Revolution the newspapers of the colonies played a major rôle in establishing a conviction of common interest against a common enemy. It has been aptly said that "the Revolution was won with printer's ink," and a study of contemporary newspapers and documents shows that this statement is more than a figure of speech. In no colony was the demonstration more graphic than in

Georgia, farthest of all from the early centers of agitation and activity. If one reads the files of the *Georgia Gazette*, one finds reprints of news articles from the Boston, New York, and Philadelphia papers, taken to Savannah by coastwise sailing vessels. The early comment on the first disturbances in Boston was to the effect that "this was Boston's quarrel, let them carry it through." But, as the issues took shape, the isolationist policy became less pronounced; still later, indignation began to manifest itself; soon we find Georgia getting into the squabble with both feet. There are notices of meetings to discuss questions of public moment, and a committee of safety was formed to correspond with like committees in other colonies. It has been a great satisfaction to me to discover within the last few months, in the Public Record Office in London, apparently unique copies of printed broadsides, one calling the first Georgia meeting and another publishing a proclamation of the royal governor forbidding such a gathering.

The coming of peace after the troublous years of the Revolutionary War marked, economically as well as politically, an epoch. In the sadly disturbed conditions which followed the Revolution, Americans turned their eyes beyond the Appalachians to the vast expanse of territory to the westward. The celebrated Ordinance of 1787 still further stimulated interest in the "western country," as it came to be known.

Pittsburgh, located at the point where the Allegheny and Monongahela join to form the Ohio River, was already a flourishing village in 1786. H. H. Brackenridge, a lawyer who had cast his fortunes in this frontier town, felt that it could not achieve its potential possibilities without the aid of a local press. So he went to Philadelphia and convinced two young printers working there of the opportunities open to them in Pittsburgh. They yielded to his persuasion and soon afterward opened an office at this gateway to the new

P I T T S B U R G
A L M A N A C,

O R

W E S T E R N E P H E M E R I S,

For the Year of our Lord, 1788.

B I S S E X T I L E , O R L E A F Y E A R .

P I T T S B U R G :

Printed by SCULL and BOYD.

FACSIMILE OF THE TITLE-PAGE OF THE EARLIEST
EXTANT PITTSBURGH IMPRINT

West, where they began publication of the *Pittsburgh Gazette* in 1786. One of the partners soon died, but John Scull, the survivor, printed in Pittsburgh, without competition, for many years. The Ohio River was the first natural highway to the western country, and Pittsburgh was, therefore, the logical "port of entry." It was by way of the site of old Fort Duquesne that eastern printers traveled for many years in their migration westward.

The circumstances attending the beginnings of printing in Kentucky are of special interest. The land of Daniel Boone was a western county of Virginia when printing began there. A convention met with the object of setting on foot a movement to effect a separation from Virginia and set up a new state. Its members realized that little progress could be made toward crystallizing sentiment of the few and widely scattered settlers without the aid of a press. So they offered inducements to any printer who would settle in the proposed "state of Kentucke," as it was then known. But none came. After all attempts had failed, John Bradford, a surveyor and one of the leading citizens of the region, in spite of the fact that he knew nothing of the printing art, offered to set up a press at Lexington. He sent his brother, Fielding Bradford, to Pittsburgh to learn the "art and mystery" of printing in the office of John Scull, and he sent to Philadelphia to procure a press, types, and other necessary equipment. So the *Kentucke Gazette* was almost an amateur enterprise when its first number appeared in Lexington on August 11, 1787. The Bradfords, however, soon learned the printing business thoroughly and established their shop as the leading printing office of Kentucky, doing all the early public printing and retaining a goodly share of it for many years to come. Here was another important family of American printers, for descendants of John Bradford were pioneer printers not only in

A
CONSTITUTION
OR
FORM OF GOVERNMENT
FOR THE
STATE OF
KENTUCKY.

LEXINGTON;

Printed by JOHN BRADFORD.
M. DCC. XCII,

FACSIMILE OF THE TITLE-PAGE OF AN EARLY
KENTUCKY IMPRINT

other towns of Kentucky, but also in Tennessee, Alabama, and Louisiana.

The later development of the press in Kentucky unfolds one of the most astonishing records in American cultural history. For here on the very edge of the wilderness, there was a flowering of literature and scholarship which is difficult to account for. The focus of it, of course, was Transylvania University at Lexington, which under the dynamic leadership of Horace Holley, its president, attained a position among American educational institutions second to few. To the faculty of Transylvania were attracted scholars and scientists of the first rank, and the fruits of their research and scholarship were put into circulation by the Kentucky printers. We see the phenomenon, for example, of books in Latin being printed on a frontier press in the early years of the nineteenth century, of an authoritative and scientific work on ichthyology being issued by a Lexington printer in 1820, and of many medical and theological treatises of the first order being turned out by a number of Kentucky presses. Anyone who will examine a list of Kentucky imprints cannot fail to be surprised and amazed at the versatility of the local authors and the industry and resourcefulness of the local printers. Lexington proudly laid claim, with considerable show of reason, to being "the Athens of the West."

Kentucky rendered a cultural service of high importance to the other communities that soon were settled by the emigrants who, in an ever rising tide, were floating their barges down the Ohio. The first state, according to present boundaries, so to be served was Ohio. William Maxwell went to Lexington, Kentucky, with the apparent intention of establishing a newspaper. He found the demands there so adequately provided for that he decided to seek a greener field. So in 1793 he removed his printing equipment to Cincinnati, where he began publishing the *Centinel of the*

North-Western Territory, thus becoming the first printer of Ohio. The next territory to draw upon Kentucky for its pioneer printer was Indiana. Elihu Stout, who was a journeyman printer in one of the two offices operated by the Bradfords, went to Vincennes in 1804, established the *Indiana Gazette*, and turned out the first volume of laws to be printed in Indiana.

The first printer to take a press to the far-off trading post at St. Louis also came from Kentucky. He was Joseph Charless, an Irishman, who first printed in Philadelphia, then moved on to Lexington, and went thence to Louisville. He opened a shop in St. Louis in 1808, beginning the publication of the *Missouri Gazette*, but he retained an anchor to windward by continuing operation of his office in Kentucky. A few months later, when the merit of the Missouri experiment was proved by actual experience, he sold his interest in the plant at Louisville and became a full-fledged St. Louisian. He and his son Edward and his step-son Robert McCloud served the Missouri pioneers typographically for many years.

Illinois was the fourth state to go to the western center of intellectual activity for a printer. When Governor Ninian Edwards of Illinois in 1813 needed to have printed the first volume of territorial statutes, he sent them to his friend Matthew Duncan at Russellville, Kentucky, to be put into type. Thus the first book of Illinois laws is not an Illinois imprint. What more natural, after this taste of Illinois public patronage, than that Duncan, knowing that there was then no other printer in the newly established territory, should preëempt the position of public printer. So it happened, and in 1814 we find Duncan with a printing office set up in Kaskaskia and beginning the publication of the *Illinois Herald*.

It should be noted particularly that all these early printing points were on or near the Ohio River. The northern

and southern portions of Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois were peopled by entirely separate streams of migration and at different dates. When we recall that Cincinnati had its first press in 1793, whereas the year 1818 marked the beginnings of printing in Cleveland, that Stout began to print at Vincennes in 1804, while Indianapolis waited for its first whiff of printer's ink until 1822, and that printing was being done at Kaskaskia in 1814, but that Chicago's typographical début did not take place until 1833, we get a good picture of what was going on.

Before taking up the relationship of the press to the northern stream of emigration, we may report on Tennessee, which was separating from North Carolina and becoming a separate political entity. Governor William Blount was convinced that a printing office to serve the government was essential. He induced George Roulstone, a printer of Massachusetts origin, to come to Tennessee from Fayetteville, North Carolina. With Robert Ferguson, Roulstone crossed the mountains and in 1791 the two began the publication at Rogersville of the *Knoxville Gazette*. The paper was named for the town, not yet laid out, in which it was eventually to be published.

The northern stream of migration into the "western country" used Buffalo as a port of entry, traveling by water on the Great Lakes or going overland along the southern shore of those lakes. Migration over this route reached its height a quarter of a century later than that which moved westward through Pittsburgh and down the Ohio River. The popularity of this route was greatly stimulated by the completion and opening in 1825 of the Erie Canal, the western terminus of which was at Buffalo. This route, too, tapped a new supply of printers. New York state and New England began to contribute a larger quota to the West, as may be learned from analyzing geographically the sources from which were drawn the printers of northern Illinois, Wisconsin, and Minnesota.

A PROCLAMATION,
BY ALEXANDER RAMSEY,
GOVERNOR OF THE TERRITORY OF MINNE-
SOTA, TO THE QUALIFIED VOTERS OF THE
SIXTH COUNCIL DISTRICT.

Whereas, by a paper on file in the office of the Secretary of the Territory, dated August 21st, A. D. 1849, it appears that William Sturgis, elected a member of the House of Representatives of the Legislative Assembly from the Sixth Council District, declines said office; and whereas a petition of citizens of said District has been presented, asking the Governor to issue his proclamation ordering an election to supply the vacancy thus created,

Now it is hereby ordered and directed that an election be held in the Sixth Council District on Saturday, the 8th day of September next at the several places of election in said district as ordered in the election proclamation of the 7th of July last;—the election to be opened, conducted and closed, and return made out in the time and manner as provided in said proclamation.

The qualifications of voters will be the same as set forth in said proclamation. The judges and clerks that officiated at the election on the first day of August, inst., will officiate at this election, and should there be any vacancy in the board of officers the same will be filled in the manner provided in the proclamation of 7th July last.

The returns of the election will be made to the office of the Secretary of the Territory, on or before Tuesday, the 11th day of September next.

Given under my hand and the Great Seal of the the Territory of Minnesota, at Saint Paul, this 29th day of August, A. D. 1849, and of the Independence of the United States of America the seventy-fourth.

By the Governor:

ALEX. RAMSEY.

C. K. SMITH, Secretary.

FACSIMILE OF AN EARLY MINNESOTA IMPRINT

There were several ephemeral efforts to begin printing in Wisconsin, but the first press on an established commercial basis began operation at Green Bay in 1833, when Albert G. Ellis and John V. Suydam began the publication of the *Green Bay Intelligencer*. Wisconsin's first press was set up in advance of territorial organization—somewhat of an exception so far as printing history is concerned. Wisconsin's effort to establish a territorial mechanism, however, was more hectic than usual. The first capital was at Belmont, which was only a spot on a wind-swept prairie; the second was at Burlington, now in Iowa; and not until 1838 did the capital settle down to remain at Madison. By this time, however, the press—once established in the territory—spread very rapidly over the settled portions of the region. Printers set up offices in thirty different towns in the brief period between 1833 and 1850.

The printers of Wisconsin are of particular interest from the Minnesota point of view, because Minnesota's neighbor to the southeast supplied the newly established territory with its first press and printer. When it became evident that a territorial government was to be set up on the upper reaches of the Mississippi, three different individuals or partnerships eyed with interest the prospect of legislative printing and other commercial opportunities that would go hand in hand with the establishment of a newspaper in St. Paul. Two partnerships formed in Ohio determined in 1849 to transport presses and type equipment to the new territory. But, unfortunately for their claims to priority, there was another candidate for the honor of being Minnesota's first printer, and he was much nearer at hand.

James M. Goodhue was publishing the *Grant County Herald* at Lancaster, Wisconsin, in the early months of 1849. After deciding that there were better opportunities in the new field, he packed up his equipment and transported it by boat to St. Paul. Let him tell in his own words of

DISCOURS
DU
GOUVERNEUR
DU
TERRITOIRE DE MINNESOTA,
AUX
DEUX CHAMBRES
DE L'ASSEMBLEE LEGISLATIVE,
AU
COMMENCEMENT DE LA PREMIERE SESSION,
SEPTEMBRE 4, 1849:

ST. PAUL:

IMPRIME PAR JAMES M. GOODHUE.

1849

FACSIMILE OF THE TITLE-PAGE OF A GOODHUE IMPRINT

his first arrival in the frontier capital of the newly created Territory of Minnesota :²

But little more than one week ago, we landed at Saint Paul, amidst a crowd of strangers, with the first printing press that has ever rested upon the soil of Minnesota. Without subscription list or pledges of patronage, or the least personal acquaintance or even correspondence with any of the politicians of this young Territory, we trustingly launched out *The Pioneer*, depending upon the voluntary good will and patronage of the whole people of Minnesota, to extend it whatever support it may deserve. One of our cardinal principles is to *put our trust in the People, and not in princes*. That our success will be measured by the degree of zeal and ability we shall exercise in the advocacy of sound principles and of the permanent interests of this Territory, we do not entertain the least doubt. We have been received in St. Paul with a degree of cordiality and warmth, peculiarly grateful to the stranger. Every person we meet, expresses a wish to favor our new and expensive enterprize. All our interests are henceforth identified with the prosperity of this town and the welfare of this Territory. We shall steadily advocate the principles of morality, virtue and religion, and seek for *truth* without which nothing is excellent. In politics, we design to have no concealments; but to embark in no ultrasims. Our political relations to the Union as a Territory not only exempt us from the necessity, but preclude us from the propriety of enlisting in the great warfare of national politics. Our best interests require us to repose in advance a fair share of confidence in the new Administration, which has in its power the appointment of our principal Territorial officers, and the bestowment of some important appropriations and the passage of many laws deeply affecting our Territorial interests.

On April 28, 1849, appeared the first issue of Goodhue's *Minnesota Pioneer*, which was in fact as well as name the pioneer newspaper of the territory. It represented a serious effort, intelligently planned, and competently carried out. And the columns of the *Pioneer* showed Goodhue to be a trenchant editor as well as a workmanlike craftsman. On several occasions, Goodhue stressed the permanency and solidity of his venture. He had gone to Minnesota, he pointed out, to make it his home, entirely on his own initiative, and without the influence of inducements or bonus of-

² *Minnesota Pioneer*, April 28, 1849.

ferred locally. All he asked was reasonable encouragement by the local residents and merchants in the way of subscriptions and advertisements. He had no thought of starting a newspaper and then selling it. The *Pioneer* and the public or commercial printing which he might be able to obtain he regarded as his life work. It is to be regretted that Minnesota should so soon have been deprived of his service, for he died on August 27, 1852, little more than three years after his arrival in St. Paul. The *Pioneer*, however, was carried on; and its lineal descendant is still appearing under the title of the *St. Paul Pioneer Press*.

At Cincinnati, Nathaniel McLean and John P. Owens were getting together an equipment with which to print the first Minnesota newspaper. They actually printed an issue of the *Minnesota Register*—some copies of which are dated April 7 and some April 27, 1849, both dates being prior to the date of Goodhue's first issue—which appeared on April 28. The fly in the ointment, however, so far as their claim to priority is concerned, is that this first issue of the *Register* was printed in Ohio instead of in Minnesota. Yet the publishers even had the temerity to print the following in this Ohio-produced issue: "We have to congratulate ourselves on being the first to introduce a Printing Press, as well as the first to undertake the establishment of a paper in the new Territory of Minnesota."³ The first issue to be printed on Minnesota soil appeared on July 14, 1849. But this was even too late to be the second newspaper, for James Hughes, another Ohioan, arrived earlier with his press and began publication of the *Minnesota Chronicle* on May 31, 1849.

The new papers that were competing with Goodhue were both Whig in their political affiliation. So the field being limited, these two organs of like political faith promptly and wisely combined on August 26, 1849, as the *Minnesota*

³ *Minnesota Register*, April 27, 1849.

Chronicle and Register. The nationally appointed governor of the territory, Alexander Ramsey, was Whig in his political allegiance, so he favored the office of the *Chronicle and Register* in giving out any public printing over which he had jurisdiction. The first legislature, however, determined to favor Goodhue.

The motives behind the establishment of the press at the second Minnesota printing point were neither economic nor political. A missionary press, bought in 1849 with funds donated by students of Oberlin College and by some Ohio Sunday schools, was sent to Cass Lake in the wilderness of northern Minnesota with the Reverend Alonzo Barnard and others, missionaries to the Chippewa Indians.⁴ Like the press which first worked on the soil of what is now Kansas, taken there in 1833 by Jotham Meeker, the Baptist printer-missionary, the Cass Lake press was devoted solely to the service of religion. The history of this press is still shrouded in obscurity, but we know that some printing was done with it in 1849. Barnard, "although previously en-

⁴Since Cass Lake has not previously been regarded as the second Minnesota printing point, it seems worth while to present herewith the authorities on which this statement is based. The financial record of the American Missionary Association, in the library of Oberlin College, contains the following item: "April, June & August, 1849 Collected from Oberlin toward Printing Press for Cass Lake \$14.75." "We hope you will bring the printing press you spoke of with you," wrote Mrs. Frederick Ayer, the wife of a missionary at Red Lake, to Barnard on February 16, 1849. See *American Missionary*, 3:74 (July, 1849). The "Third Annual Report" of the American Missionary Association, which appears in the *American Missionary*, 4:5 (November, 1849), includes the following reference to Barnard and his press:

Rev. Barnard and wife, after having spent nearly a year in a visit to the States, recruiting their health, and preparing and publishing books in the Ojibwa tongue to aid them in their future labor, have returned to this station [*Cass Lake*]. . . . Owing to the impossibility of finding printers who knew anything of the Ojibwa tongue, he, although previously entirely unacquainted with the business, was constrained by his desire to facilitate the work, to set the type himself.

Late in 1850 it was reported that the Cass Lake missionaries "have a press, and print in Ojibue." "In 1849, they received about \$2,000, including the outfit and travelling expenses of five missionaries into that country, purchase of cattle, and farming implements for a new station, printing books, etc.," according to J. P. Bardwell, a missionary stationed

MESSAGE

FROM THE

GOVERNOR

OF THE

TERRITORY OF MINNESOTA,

TO THE

FIRST LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY

September 4, 1849.

SAINT PAUL:

CHRONICLE AND REGISTER, PRINT

.....

1849.

FACSIMILE OF THE TITLE-PAGE OF A "CHRONICLE
AND REGISTER" IMPRINT

tirely unacquainted with the business, was constrained by his desire to facilitate the work, to set the type himself," as he could find no printers who knew anything of the Ojibway language. There is still extant a crudely printed little broadside, containing hymns in Ojibway, undoubtedly from the Cass Lake press.⁵ In 1852 the mission station was removed to a site now in North Dakota. The Barnard press eventually found its way to Fort Garry — the present city of Winnipeg in Manitoba — about 1855.

The third printing point in Minnesota was St. Anthony, eight miles farther up the river than St. Paul. There El at Red Lake. See *American Missionary*, 5:3, 19 (November, 1850; January, 1851). In the same magazine, 6: 37 (March, 1852), is the following reference:

Mr. Barnard has got his printing press in operation, and has published a letter which he has sent to the Sabbath-Schools through whose kindness most of the fund expended in its purchase was raised. He has also printed in Ojibue a little book of one hundred and four pages, which he thinks will be a great help to missionaries who wish to learn the Ojibue.

According to the American Missionary Association's *Sixth Annual Report*, 1852, p. 29:

Mr. Barnard has got his printing press in operation, purchased by funds contributed mostly by Sunday-schools, and has printed in Ojibue a little book of one hundred and four pages, which he thinks will be of great advantage to missionaries learning the language.

The Reverend Frank H. Foster, writing of the "Oberlin Ojibway Mission" in the Ohio Church Historical Society, *Papers*, 1891, vol. 2, p. 24, relates that "the New Testament was translated, some spelling books were prepared, a few readers, a 'Peep of Day', a hymn book. Some considerable study was devoted to the language by the missionaries, but nothing has been published." The Cass Lake press is described as a "complete portable printing press . . . of unique pattern, with frame and legs of wrought iron . . . one of several that had been built as compact as possible, and designed for use on shipboard on a trip around the world," by James P. Schell, in a volume entitled *In the Ojibway Country, a Story of the Early Missions on the Minnesota Frontier*, 137 (Walhalla, North Dakota, 1911).

The writer was supplied with these references through the courtesy of Miss Mary C. Venn, reference librarian of the Oberlin College Library. All the works cited are in that library.

⁵A copy of this broadside was placed at the disposal of the writer by the Reverend James P. Schell of Waterbury, Connecticut, who knew Barnard personally. He has in his possession two copies of this sheet, which is printed on one side of a reddish paper. They are the only known surviving specimens of printing produced on the press at Cass Lake.

THE HEAVENLY WORLD.

ISHUPEMING ^{ṚṚSIN}DUNUKEWIN

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>1 We shall gain the heavenly world
By and by, by and by ;
We shall gain the heavenly world
By and by.--</p> <p>ref--Ride on King Jesus, Oh, ride on,
We 're on our journey home.</p> <p>2 We shall pass those pearly gates
By and by, by and by ;
We shall pass those pearly gates
By and by.--</p> <p>3 We shall walk the golden streets
By and by, by and by ;
We shall walk the golden streets
By and by.--</p> <p>4 We shall sing redeeming love
By and by, by and by ;
We shall sing redeeming love
By and by.--</p> <p>5 We shall strike the golden harps
By and by, by and by ;
We shall strike the golden harps
By and by.--</p> <p>6 We shall see Him as He is
By and by, by and by ;
We shall see Him as He is
By and by.--</p> <p>7 We shall meet to part no more
By and by, by and by ;
We shall meet to part no more
By and by.--</p> | <p>1 'Sh pe ming ke guh e zshah min
Pah ne mah, pah ne mah ;
'Sh pe ming ke guh e zshah min
Pah ne mah.--</p> <p>Mah jahn kin Je sus, Oh, mah jahn,
Nin dun e ke wa min.</p> <p>2 O da nahng pin de ga yung
Pah ne mah, pah ne mah ;
O da nahng pin de ga yung
Pah ne mah.--</p> <p>3 E mah puh bah mo sa yung
Pah ne mah, pah ne mah ;
E mah puh bah mo sa yung
Pah ne mah.--</p> <p>4 Ke guh nuh guh mo min dush
Pah ne mah, pah ne mah ;
Ke guh nuh guh mo min dush
Pah ne mah.--</p> <p>5 Che mud wa ze ga yung dush
Pah ne mah, pah ne mah ;
Che mud wa ze ga yung dush
Pah ne mah.--</p> <p>6 Ke guh wau bum ah nahn dush
Pah ne mah, pah ne mah ;
Ke guh wau bum ah nahn dush
Pah ne mah.--</p> <p>7 Che nuh quash ko dah te yung
Bah ne mah pah ne mah ;
Che nuh quash ko dah te yung
Bah ne mah.--</p> |
|---|---|

REDUCED FACSIMILE OF A BROADSIDE PRINTED BY BARNARD AT
CASS LAKE

mer Tyler, a tailor, and Isaac Atwater, a young attorney, joined forces to open a printing establishment and undertook to make *St. Anthony* better known through the columns of the *St. Anthony Express*, which began publication on May 31, 1851.

The fourth location at which printing was undertaken in Minnesota was as unusual as the second. It was Fort Ripley, an army post on the west bank of the Mississippi a little below the mouth of the Crow Wing River. There the mission of the press, such as it was, seems to have been to dispel

the ennui of army life at an isolated post. In August, 1854, some soldiers began to issue a little paper called the *Bomb Shell*. The *Minnesota Democrat* of St. Paul, in its issue of August 23, 1854, acknowledged receipt of its first (and perhaps only) issue and described it:⁶

Its contents are lively, and entertaining but it is not on that account only, we desire to see "Bomb Shell" succeed. To the eyes, it is an uncouth, ill-printed, muddy-looking sheet, and every letter in it is larger than those in a child's Primer—but all these drawbacks are more than compensated for, by the knowledge that all the letters and furniture used in setting up the paper, were made by one of the soldiers in the Fort, his principal tool to work with, being a small pocket knife. Those who know how necessary it is to accurately square and level types, to make them serviceable at all, will readily agree with us that this is a wonderful exercise of skill, patience, and ingenuity.

Within the limits of the present discussion it will not, unfortunately, be possible to give an account of the spread of printing throughout Minnesota, of the eagerness with which newspapers were received by the newly arrived residents, nor of the notably meager returns reaped by the enthusiastic printers and publishers. A faint idea of the vigorous manner in which the press struck its roots into Minnesota soil may be gained from the statement that by the end of 1857, the year before the territory became a state, printing offices had been established in more than forty different towns and villages. This was, indeed, a lusty growth.

The extent to which the printers of the frontier, who were always found among the earliest parties of settlers, contributed to the building of the great commonwealth which Minnesota is today can be guessed at but never accurately evaluated. That their contribution was a vital one, there is no doubt. It is fitting, therefore, that we should pay them today a meed of honor and recognition in tardy

⁶This contemporary reference to the *Bomb Shell* was called to the writer's attention by Mr. Arthur J. Larsen, head of the newspaper department of the Minnesota Historical Society.

substitution for emoluments which, in their lifetimes, were conspicuous by absence.

A French philosopher aptly said: "With twenty-six leaden soldiers I can conquer the world." Truly, these pioneer printers, with the aid of the lead soldiers in their type cases, pushed forward the cultural frontier, treading on the very heels of those who were breaking new trails to establish the great economic empire of the Middle West.

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