

GOOD TIMES, EH?

# Minnesota's Territ

“**T**hirty Hours From St. Paul to Chicago! Snake Ejected From a Man's Stomach. New Liquor Law in Maine. More Indians Killed. Grand Celebration: Mississippi River Wire Suspension Bridge. The Secret of Matrimonial Happiness. A Simple Yet Certain Cure For Piles. To Make Tomato Figs. Civil War in Kansas/Lawrence Destroyed: Free State Blood Spilt. A Nobleman of Sense. Look at This! No Murder!” These news and advertising headlines from the columns of Minnesota's earliest newspapers illustrate frontier journalism's curious and diffuse



JANE LAMM CARROLL

# Territorial Newspapers

content. The territorial press conveyed information, provided entertainment, offered advice to lovers and prescriptions for the good life, titillated with stories of the sensational and macabre, advertised local businesses and the latest patent medicines, sung Minnesota's praises to encourage immigration, and voiced fiercely partisan views on local and national political issues.



Territorial printing tools: hand press made by Cincinnati Typefoundry about 1836, reputed to be the one James M. Goodhue used to print the *Minnesota Pioneer*; and Goodhue's type arrayed on an early issue of his newspaper.

Like other midnineteenth-century American newspapers, Minnesota's territorial papers differed from modern ones in important ways. First, there was little attempt at "objective" reporting; readers expected and got news conveyed with a heavy dose of editorial comment. Second, papers were ferociously partisan, routinely attacking political opponents in a manner that readers today might find shocking and inappropriately personal. Finally, "news" 150 years ago was often based on nothing more than conjecture or hearsay; much of it would not meet current journalism standards.

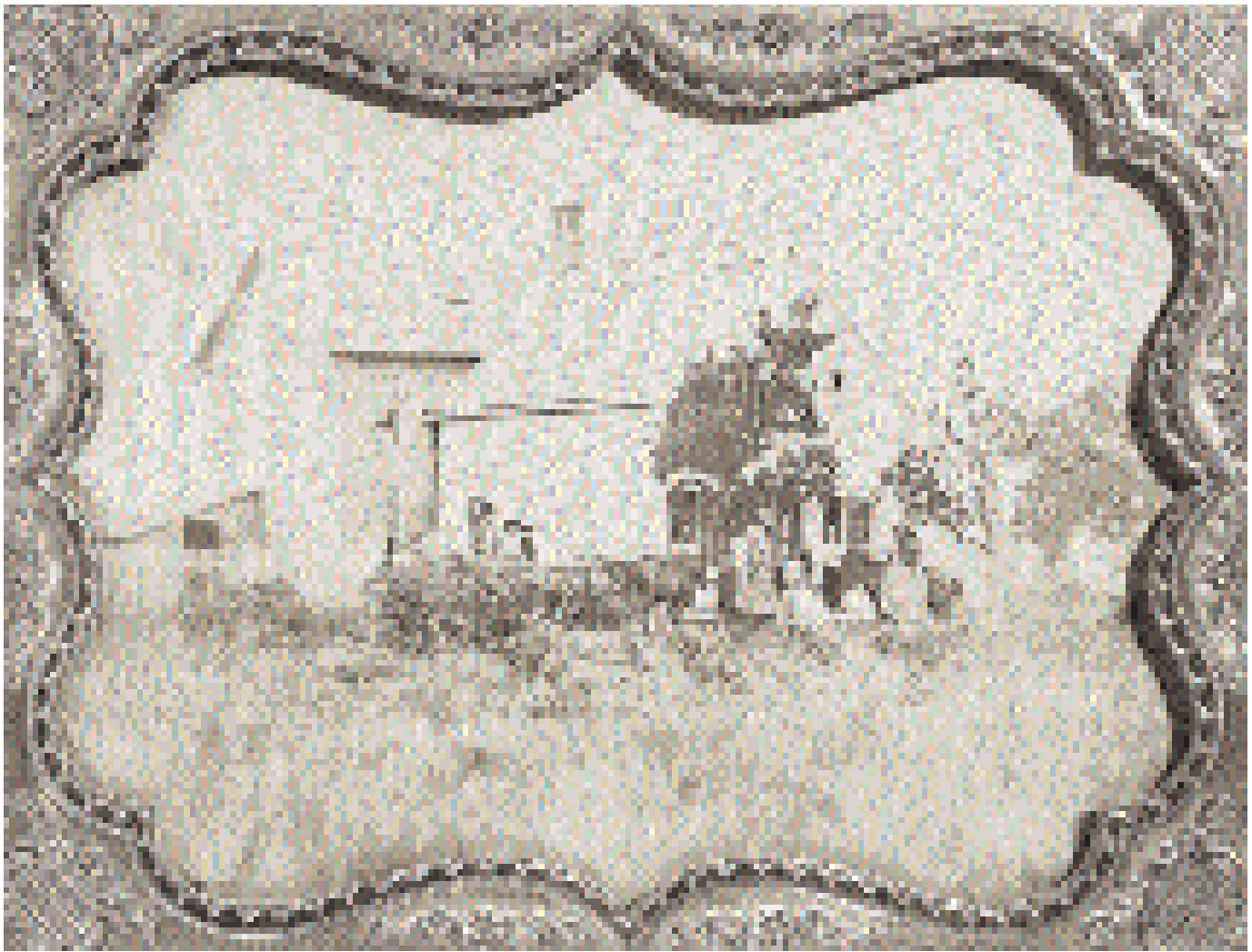
While today the most significant news appears on the paper's first page, that is not the way Minnesota's early editors organized their publications. Indeed, they gave a relatively meager amount of space to the news, often burying the most important stories on the second page amidst advertising, legal notices, sentimental fiction, recipes, and trivial items. But in the 1850s Minnesota newspapers were not primarily interested in reporting news. Rather, they aimed to promote the territory and act as a partisan voice in an era when newspapers were the only mass medium through which political parties could influence people.<sup>1</sup>

Between 1849, when James. M Goodhue started the *Minnesota Pioneer*, the territory's first newspaper, and 1857, the last full year of the territory, settlers established 82 newspapers in Minnesota. Of these, about 70 were published weekly, six daily, and the rest biweekly, tri-weekly, monthly, or irregularly. Unlike today's corporate-owned conglomerates, these were generally independent enterprises, owned and operated by one or two persons.<sup>2</sup>

At first, all of Minnesota's newspapers were weeklies; many later developed into dailies as the population expanded. St. Paul was home to 21 papers during the territorial period, including the German publications *Minnesota Deutsche Zeitung* and *Minnesota National Demokrat*, and the Norwegian *Folkets Röst*. The capital saw four daily publications established in 1854 alone. St. Anthony produced four newspapers and Minneapolis, two. Newspapers did not appear outside of these three locations until 1854, then multiplied rapidly as the territory's population increased dramatically and settlement spread up and down Minnesota's rivers. Between 1854 and 1860, almost 100 English and several foreign-language weeklies were established. Red Wing had five newspapers, including the Swedish-language *Minnesota Posten*. Stillwater, Winona, Shakopee, and Carimona (Fillmore County) each had three, and Rochester, St. Peter, Faribault, Hastings, St. Cloud, Monticello, Cannon Falls, Read's Landing/Wabasha, and Chatfield had two apiece. Towns with one newspaper included Sauk Rapids, Brownsville, Nininger, Lake City, Albert Lea, Preston, Traverse des Sioux, Wasioja, Oronoco, Owatonna, Bancroft, Belle Plaine, Glencoe, Hokah, Henderson, Watab/Little Falls, Mankato, and Mantorville. Chaska produced a German-language newspaper, the *Minnesota Thalboten*. This proliferation indicates a relatively high literacy rate among settlers. As John P. Owens, editor of the *Weekly Minnesotian* (St. Paul), observed, "The people of Minnesota are remarkable for the liberality with which they support their local newspapers."

Minnesota's first German-language newspaper, begun in St. Paul in 1855





**St. Cloud Democrat office and home of its founder, the fiery Jane Grey Swisshelm, about 1858. An abolitionist and suffragist, Swisshelm was the territory's first newspaperwoman.**

Local as these papers were, they relied heavily on national and international news, as well as other items clipped from eastern and downriver publications. Indeed, these clippings provided the bulk of the frontier newspaper's contents. Until linked to the telegraph in 1860, Minnesota editors relied on the mail to bring them other papers. This meant that there was a lag in the news of a few days during the navigation season and a week, at minimum, during winter. Mail traveled to the farthest point west via railroad, thence overland and upriver to Minnesota. The first railroad to reach the Mississippi River arrived at Rock Island, Illinois, in 1854. By 1857 the railroad had reached Prairie du Chien, Wisconsin, but the mail still had to travel more than 200 miles by steamboat up the Mississippi or overland via sleigh. Dubuque, Iowa, and LaCrosse, Wisconsin, were the closest telegraph termini in the 1850s, and the *Dubuque Daily Express and Herald* was the closest "big city" newspaper.<sup>3</sup>

Early editors depended on outside sources for more than their news. Printing presses, type, paper, and ink all came from distant cities such as Cincinnati and Boston. The equipment could be transported only during navigation season, due to the high cost of shipping overland in the winter. No local newsprint was available locally until 1859, when a paper mill on Hennepin Island began production. Sometimes editors had to make their own ink until a new supply could be obtained.<sup>4</sup>

Although markedly partisan in tone, Minnesota's territorial newspapers were otherwise very similar. They were generally two or four pages long; page dimensions of weeklies measured 20-by-25 inches, and dailies were generally 15-by-21—both larger than today's standard newspaper. Each page held six or seven columns broken sporadically into separate items usually identified by a brief title. Rarely was there enough on any one subject to fill an entire column, advertisements excepted. No



large headlines adorned the front page as in today's papers. Instead, first pages were devoted to clipped national and international news stories, as well as fiction and poetry. The second page contained national and local news, editorials, advertisements, legal notices, recipes, more fiction and poetry, proscriptive literature, and sensational items. Third and fourth pages generally consisted entirely of advertisements.<sup>5</sup>

THROUGHOUT THE TERRITORIAL ERA, editors promoted Minnesota as a desirable place to settle, filling their columns with detailed descriptions of the



The outspoken  
James M. Goodhue, about 1850

region's natural beauty, abundant resources, fertile soil, and healthy climate. Goodhue of the *Minnesota Pioneer* was the most frequent and enthusiastic booster. He explored the region by horseback, steamboat, and canoe, returning to St. Paul to report to the world what he had seen. Ever aware of an eastern audience that included potential immigrants, Goodhue tended to embellish his descriptions. In August 1849 he ended a long and comprehensive recital of Minnesota's virtues by extolling its climate and many waterways:

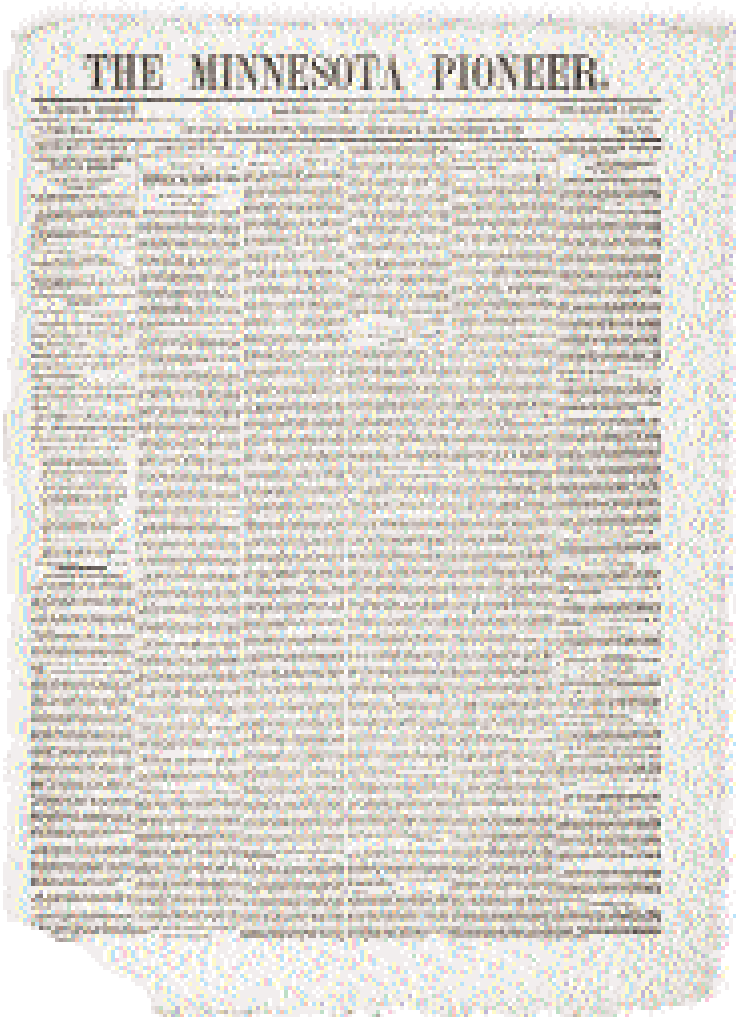
Farmers, especially of New England, if they could but once see our lands, would never think of settling on the bilious bottoms and the enervating prairies south of us. What is fertility, what is wealth,

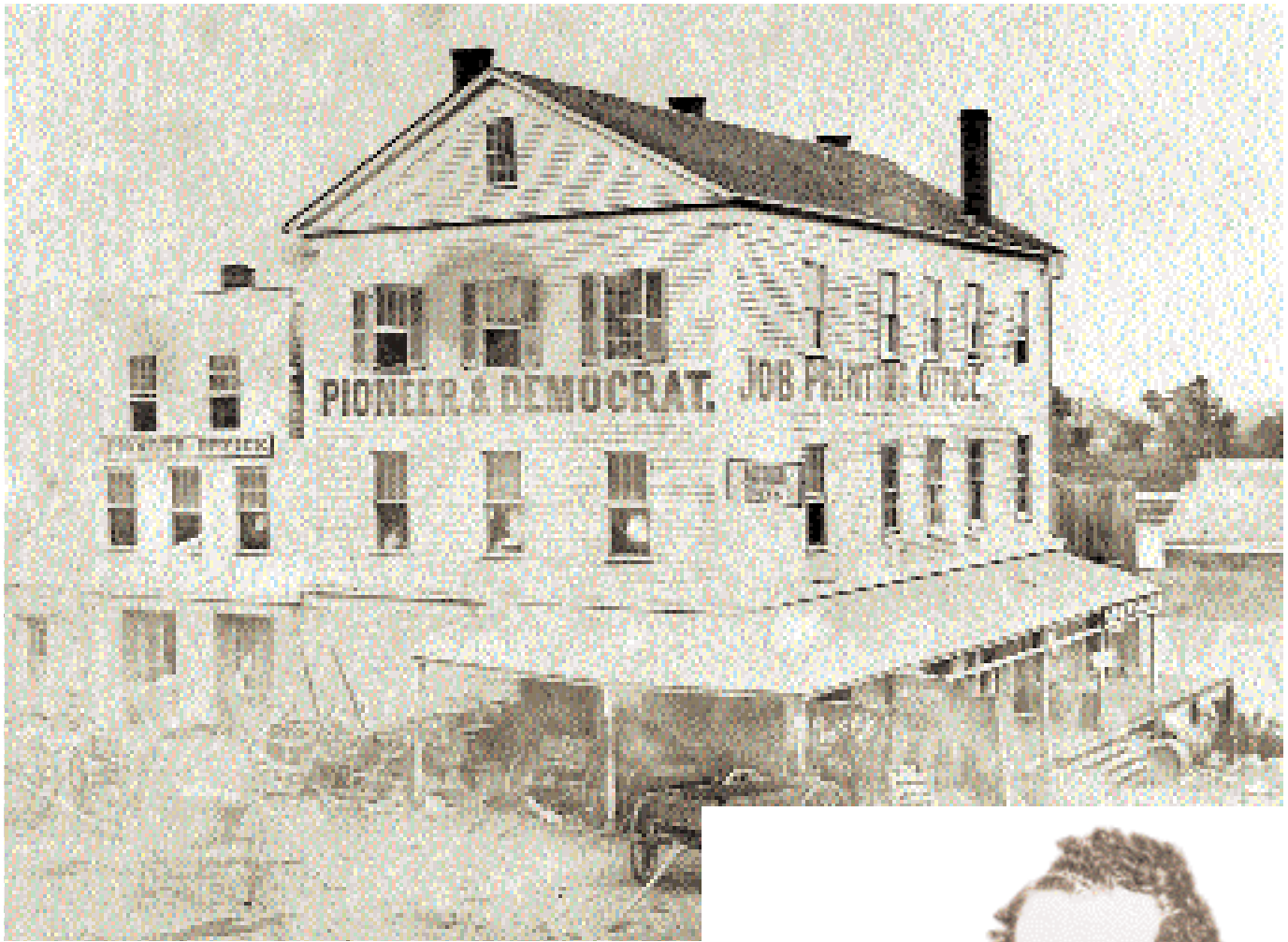
without vigorous health and activity of body and mind? These are considerations that will weigh more in the future with the immigrants, than they hitherto have: a clear, bracing air, an invigorating winter to give elasticity to the system—and water as pure and soft as the dews of heaven, gushing from hill and valley.<sup>6</sup>

Editorial opinion did not stop with boosterism. Any and all news was subject to comment. Reporting on a ball held at St. Paul's Central House, Goodhue opined: "Dancing, properly conducted, with chaste, correct music, has a tendency, not only to improve the manners, but to elevate, to etherialize the mind."<sup>7</sup> Reports on the weather, conditions about town, and local events also reflected the editor's personality. Earle S. Goodrich, editor of St. Paul's *Daily Pioneer and Democrat*, offered the following observations on life in St. Paul on May 30, 1857: "Third Street was kept yesterday in passable and comfortable condition, by the sprinkling wagon, thanks to somebody," and "The sun shone out brightly and warm, but the gentle wind abstracted the caloric, and made street walking pleasant."

*Minnesotian* editor Owens declared his indignation after reporting the death of a man stabbed in a saloon brawl: "If no man present at the drunken row on Tuesday night had carried about his person a concealed and deadly weapon, in all human probability no one would

*Minnesota Pioneer*, September 6, 1849, with columns of small, dense type typical of the era's newspapers





Earle S. Goodrich, the *Minnesota Pioneer's* third editor who introduced and merged the paper with the rival *Minnesota Democrat* in 1855. The building was located at Third and Jackson Streets, St. Paul.

have been killed. What a solemn protest is here against this horrible practice! What need has any man with a knife or pistol in St. Paul?" M. H. Abbott, the *St. Croix Union's* editor, lectured the men of Stillwater on relations between the sexes: "A lady's heart is a delicate institution and should be treated as such. There are some brutal specimens of corduroy that seem to think the little beater made to toss around like a joke, a glove or a bootjack. Young man, if you don't intend to take it to the milliner and parson, just let Miss What's-her-name's heart alone—right off too."<sup>8</sup>

THE OPENLY PARTISAN nineteenth-century newspapers often adopted their party's name as their title. But whether or not the title identified the newspaper as Democrat, Whig, or Republican, it would not have taken a reader long to ascertain a paper's affiliation. Editors did not hesitate to attack political enemies, including rival newspapermen, in robust, if not rancorous, terms. Daniel A.



Robertson of St. Paul's *Minnesota Democrat* had the following to say about Goodhue in 1851: "His inveterate propensity to gratify petty malignity, and personal hate, in the columns of his paper, renders him incapable of conducting a decent and honorable press." In 1851 Goodhue himself was stabbed and nearly killed as the result of his verbal attacks on Judge David Cooper, which included the following assessment of the judge's character:

He is not only a miserable drunkard, who habitually gets so drunk as to *feel upward* for the ground, but he also spends days and nights and Sunday, playing cards in groceries [saloons]. He is lost to all sense of decency and respect. *Off* the Bench he is a beast, and *on* the Bench he is an ass, stuffed with arrogance, self conceit and a ridiculous affectation of dignity.<sup>9</sup>

Before 1855 Democrats wielded most of the power in Minnesota. The founding of the territory coincided with the waning years of the Whig Party, which was increasingly split between North and South over slavery. Consequently, although there were prominent Whigs in Minnesota, including the territory's first governor, Alexander Ramsey, factions within the Democratic Party, led by Henry H. Sibley and Henry M. Rice, dominated politics. These factions were known as the "Fur" (Sibley) and "Anti-Fur" (Rice) parties because they grew out of a long-standing rivalry between the two men that had its roots in their involvement in the fur trade.<sup>10</sup>

These contingents were occasionally challenged by other Democrats and on particular issues would ally themselves with the minority Whigs. Although Goodhue had previously published a Whig paper in Lancaster,

**Minneapolis's *Minnesota Democrat*, at Second and Washington Avenues looking east to the more populous St. Anthony, 1857. Established in 1856, the newspaper was an ancestor of the current *Star Tribune*.**



Wisconsin, he discovered upon his arrival in Minnesota that the real power lay with the Democrats and quickly aligned himself with Sibley. In 1849 the first St. Paul newspaper to provide a political alternative to Goodhue's *Pioneer* was the *Chronicle* (later the *Chronicle and Register*), edited by John P. Owens, a staunch Whig. Although Owens's first newspaper lasted only two years, in 1851 he became editor of the *Minnesotian*, which would become one of the territory's most prominent publications. Robertson, who had founded the *Minnesota Democrat* in 1850, quickly became Goodhue's chief rival within that party.<sup>11</sup>



John P. Owens, about 1880

In the first years of the territory, Minnesota editors were very parochial in their partisanship; curiously, they had little to say about slavery at a time when that issue was tearing the nation apart and dominating national politics. Instead, they sparred over local matters, including allegations of corruption by officials, efforts to remove Chief Justice Aaron Goodrich from the territorial supreme court, and charges of fraud in the 1851 Indian treaties. Minnesota's politicians and editors were reluctant to speak out about slavery, fearing that they might offend congressmen and harm the territory's interests (especially appropriations). But this reticence ended in 1854 as the nation erupted in response to the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act.<sup>12</sup>

Senator Stephen A. Douglas's measure repealed the 1820 Missouri Compromise line, which had prohibited the introduction of slavery above 36° 30' north latitude in the Louisiana Purchase lands (excepting Missouri) and introduced popular sovereignty as the means for deciding whether slavery would be allowed in new states. Thus, the Kansas and Nebraska Territories could now be organized as slave states if settlers so chose. Pro- and antislavery settlers streamed into Kansas and began killing each other, and "Bleeding Kansas" became the focus of the nation. Unable to respond to the crisis, the Whig Party finally collapsed. In the North a new party, the Republicans, formed around the primary aim of stopping the extension of slavery into the nation's territories. In July 1855 Minnesota Republicans held their first convention, adopting a platform that denounced the repeal of the Missouri Compromise and the extension of slavery and demanded repeal of the 1850 Fugitive Slave law.<sup>13</sup>

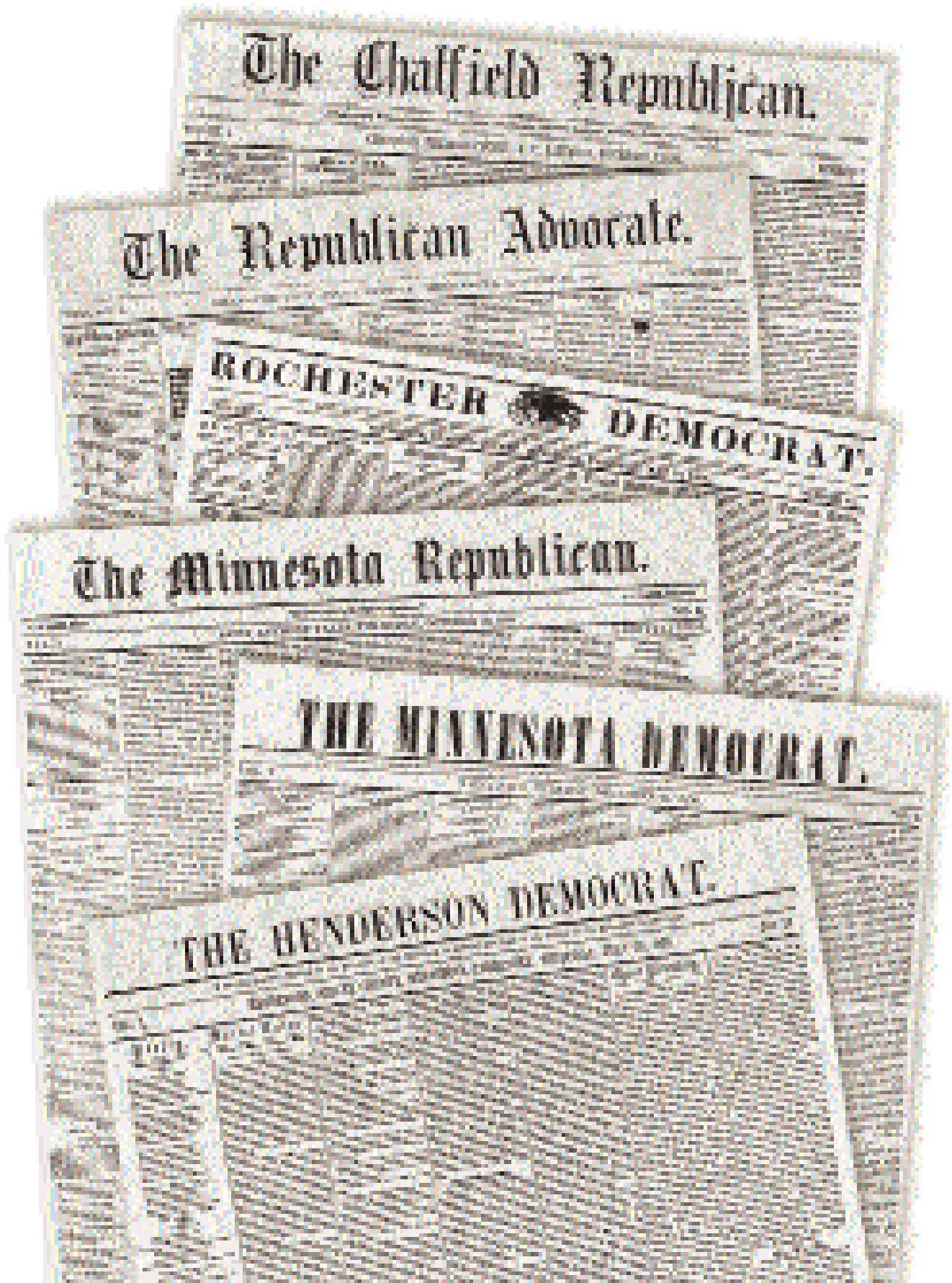
Minnesota editors jumped into the political fray. St. Paul's *Daily Pioneer* and, later, the *Daily Pioneer and Democrat* claimed to oppose the extension of slavery but at the same time vehemently attacked abolitionism. Most of Minnesota's Democratic papers took the position that the Constitution protected slavery where it already existed, and most supported popular sovereignty. The *Minnesotian* and the *St. Paul Daily Times* sympathized with abolitionism and generally supported the Republican view. In May 1855 the *Times* encouraged Minnesotans to go to Kansas and fight proslavery forces. A few months later it cried: "Let the Slave Oligarchy continue its course in Kansas, and if the Federal Government

does not interfere, civil war will follow. The whole power of the North will be brought to bear against this den of iniquity." When the national Democratic Party split over President James Buchanan's support of the fraudulent proslavery LeCompton Constitution for Kansas, the *Pioneer and Democrat* firmly backed Douglas's contention that the constitution violated the principle of popular sovereignty.<sup>14</sup>

Partisanship on the slavery issue continued in Minnesota newspapers as the territory prepared for statehood. In the summer of 1857, Minnesota Republicans and Democrats held rival constitutional conventions, each party hoping that the new state would enter the Union under its auspices. Coverage of the two conventions followed partisan lines, with some newspapers failing to report at all on the proceedings of the opposing convention. In his July 17 edition, Earle Goodrich justified the *Daily Pioneer and Democrat's* omission of news on the Republican convention: "We find on perusing the report of the Republican gathering, prepared for our paper, so many glaring and mendacious misrepresentations, that we do not think our duty as journalist would justify in giving further currency to their slanderous lies."<sup>15</sup>

Throughout the debate over the state constitution, Minnesota Democrats and Republicans reviled one another in the press. The *Pioneer and Democrat* frequently raised the race issue, calling its opponents "Black Republicans," who would allow "niggers" to vote and framing the issue as "White Supremacy against Negro Equality." In fact, the Republicans themselves split over black suffrage, resulting in a constitutional compromise





Around the territory and into statehood, newspapers boldly proclaimed their party affiliation.

that retained the word “white” as a qualification for voting but allowed for later consideration of the issue in a referendum. For their part, Republican editors referred to the Democrats as “dough faces” (a term commonly used to refer to Northerners sympathetic to slave owners) and “bootlicks.”<sup>16</sup>

In the last years before statehood there was also vigorous debate in Minnesota newspapers over the proposed boundaries of the new state and an attempt to move the capital from St. Paul to St. Peter. Settlers in southern Minnesota favored an east-west line at about the 46th parallel, while others advocated a north-south line running along the Red River Valley south to Iowa. An east-west boundary would have placed St. Peter near the center of the new state while marginalizing St. Paul. Faced with this threat, the bitterly partisan St. Paul newspapers closed ranks against southern Minnesotans. The editor of the *Winona Argus* expressed his disgust with St. Paul’s champions, describing them as “a corrupt gang of political knaves who have congregated about the gotham of Minnesota.” Especially at fault, according to the *Argus*, was Henry M. Rice, Minnesota’s delegate to Congress:

We have long felt convinced that Southern Minnesota occupied but a small share of Mr. Rice’s thoughts, except such as were devoted to the contrivance of schemes and plots counter to her interests . . . but we must confess that this secretly concocted and treacherous movement [to keep the capital in St. Paul] this stealthy, midnight, and assassin-like charge upon a confiding and unguarded constituency, in the shape of an attempt to render us yet more dependent upon a set of political schemers and tricksters whose presumption, venality and corruption hath had no equal since the cackling of the geese at Rome.<sup>17</sup>

In fact, the boundary dispute divided northern and southern Minnesotans of both parties. In July, for example, the Republican *St. Peter Free Press* warned Republicans that, if they approved a north-south boundary, southern Minnesotans would “fight it to the death.” Yet the controversy also had partisan implications; a north-south line ensured the dominance of the Democrats, whose strength was in St. Paul and to the north, while southern Minnesota was heavily Republican. In the end, both conventions adopted the north-south boundary, after which not much was said on the subject.<sup>18</sup>

PERUSING THE COLUMNS of Minnesota’s early newspapers provides a fascinating glimpse into everyday life in the 1850s. The diversity of Minnesota’s territorial population is evident. In 1849, for example, when the French-

Canadian and Indian populations were still large and influential, the *Minnesota Chronicle and Register* of St. Paul reported on the opening of district court at Mendota: “A number of jurors not understanding the English language, W. H. Forbes, Esq., acted as interpreter. He explained to the jury in a very satisfactory manner we are told, in the French language, the nature and impact of the oath they were about to take.”<sup>19</sup>

Newspapers frequently reported on fighting between the Ojibwe and Dakota and on other activities of these tribes and the Winnebago (Ho-Chunk). Most stories about Indians were bigoted; even attempts at praise were tinged with racism. In 1851, for instance, the *Minnesota Democrat* reported:

Batiste, the celebrated Winnebago chief, was in town last week. He is a noble looking son of the forest. He speaks several Indian languages, also the French, and understands English tolerably. His father was a Frenchman, and his mother a full blood Winnebago. He is 37 years of age, very intelligent for an Indian, and a great favorite among the whites. He lives with his band numbering 114 at Long Prairie.<sup>20</sup>

City and town ordinances, published in their entirety in the newspapers, reveal something of the health and safety conditions in Minnesota’s frontier communities. In 1855, for example, Stillwater prohibited hogs from running in the streets and provided the marshal a \$1 fee for each animal he impounded. The city also forbade blasting or quarrying rock within its limits “so as in any manner to endanger the life or limbs of any person passing along such street, alley, or highway,” as well as rolling rocks or stones down the sides of a bluff onto any thoroughfare. Among many other ordinances, St. Anthony outlawed the deposit of any “dung, dead animal, carion [*sic*], putrid meat or fish, entrails or decayed vegetables” in its avenues. Racing carriages and driving faster than six miles per hour were also prohibited. The *Minnesotian* reported an improvement for St. Paul pedestrians in 1853, through the efforts of two “gallant and commendable gentlemen”:

There has heretofore been, in muddy times, an “impassable gulf,” for ladies at least, between the upper and lower extremes of town. . . . This inconvenience is to be done away with . . . with a plank walk, which will make the promenade complete and continuous from the corner of Third and Robert streets to the top of the hill at Maj. Fridley’s dwelling.<sup>21</sup>

TERRITORIAL NEWSPAPER READERS were treated to a fair share of the sensational and macabre. The number of



Miscellaneous advertisements and notices from Stillwater's weekly *St. Croix Union*, June 16, 1855, page 3

such stories varied greatly from issue to issue, depending upon how much space an editor had to fill with clippings from eastern newspapers. Bloody murders, murder trials, massacres, seductions, divorce and adultery cases, and news of the weird were standard fare.

Typically brief, these stories usually had catchy headlines. The *St. Anthony Express*, for example, reproduced a story from an eastern newspaper, headlined, "A SNAKE EJECTED FROM A MAN'S STOMACH": "A Mr. Wade, in Virginia, has, by the aid of a vomiting emetic, succeeded in vomiting a load from his stomach, which proves to be a snake."<sup>22</sup>

Advertising was more genteel and understated than today; many territorial-era ads now read more like formal invitations or thank-you notes:

The Proprietors of this truly Minnesota River Boat, take this opportunity for tendering their sincere thanks for the very liberal patronage they received during the last season, and now have the pleasure of announcing to the shippers of St. Paul and the inhabitants of the Minnesota Valley, that they are refitting and refurnishing the Steamer Equator in a superior manner, and will be in readiness upon the opening of navigation, to resume her regular trips on the Minnesota River.<sup>23</sup>

Advertisements for retail businesses were similarly refined, especially when addressing female customers: "TO THE LADIES: Mrs. M. L. Stoakes wishes to inform her friends and patrons that she has just returned from New York, with a large stock of the Most Fashionable Millinery Goods that could be found in that city. Ladies, please call and see for yourselves on Friday, May 22d."

Restaurant owners and grocers always made a point of telling potential customers that they had large quantities of products in stock. C. & C. Schiller's Confectionery and Restaurant assured readers, "The proprietors of this well known Establishment beg leave to remind the citizens of St. Paul generally and strangers visiting the Northwestern metropolis, that their larder is well supplied daily with every variety and delicacy of the season." Grocers often listed not only the kinds of foods and dry goods available, but also their bulk quantities, as if to verify their claims.

Druggists sold a variety of medicines, many of which made outrageous claims for their healing powers. In an era before government regulation of the drug industry or advertising, Americans were left to experience through trial and error whether a drug or treatment

was beneficial. Patent medicines with names that must have been familiar to Minnesotans in the 1850s now sound mysterious and slightly sinister, if not downright dangerous: Roger's Liverwort and Tar, Jayne's Alternative, Fahnestock's Vermifuge, Osgood's Chologogue, Fasgate's Anodyne Cordial, Moffatt's Life Bitters, Barry's Tricopherous, and Wolfe's Aromatic Schneidam Schnapps. The purpose of Wood's Hair Restorative, on the other hand, is both clear and familiar to readers today and was further explained: "This is a most astonishing preparation, and perhaps the only ever brought before the public, that will bring back the hair that has prematurely fallen."<sup>24</sup>

Advertisements for popular entertainment show what interested and amused territorial residents. Plays, singing, and poetry recitals were usually combined into one program and presented for a night or two at a time. In August 1857, for example, two theaters in St. Paul vied for patrons. At the People's Theatre, the play *Satan in Paris*, Mr. Jamison's recital of "Mynheer Hans Schwab's Adventure," a song by Max Irvine, and another stage piece, "Rough Diamond," were one evening's entertainment. At Scott's Theatre, the play was *Ireland As It Is*, and the program included a dance and a poem. A year earlier, Ned Davis's traveling minstrel show, advertised as "The Magnificent Floating Theatre," arrived in St. Paul to offer "a Grand Melange of Amusement upon the Palatial Steamer BANJO," capable of seating 800. The program promised to "suit the taste of all classes" with: "Songs, Ballads, National Melodies, Refrains, Operatic Melodies, Duets, Choruses, Northern and Southern Negro Eccentricities, Dancing, Jokes, etc, etc."<sup>25</sup>

ON MAY 15, 1858, the *Minnesotian* reported that St. Paul newspapers had been anxiously awaiting the arrival of the steamboat *Grey Eagle*, with the most recent



Cures for most ailments imaginable offered alongside butcher knives and groceries, *St. Anthony Express*, June 6, 1855, page 3.

*Dubuque Express and Herald* containing news from Congress on Minnesota's application for statehood. The *Minnesotian* gleefully described what happened after the boat's arrival: "The news of admission of Minnesota into the Union spread throughout the city yesterday



morning. . . . The *Pioneer* issued an extra, which it scattered through town, and the *Minnesotian Office* a large sheet handbill, in which was displayed in six inch letters, MINNESOTA IS ADMITTED INTO THE UNION.”

The editor concluded his report with a personal assessment typical of Minnesota’s frontier press: “Everybody seemed satisfied, that we were at last out of that ‘snarl,’ and everybody said to everybody, as each drew a long breath, ‘Well! what next? Good times, eh?’”<sup>26</sup> ❧

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> George S. Hage, *Newspapers on the Minnesota Frontier, 1849–1860* (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society [MHS], 1967), 3–4, 22–23; Theodore C. Blegen, *Minnesota: A History of the State* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1963), 184–85.

<sup>2</sup> Here and below, Hage, *Newspapers*, 19, 47, 71, 138–45. The population of the territory in 1854 was 32,000; by 1857, it had grown to 150,037. William W. Folwell, *A History of Minnesota* (St. Paul: MHS, 1956), 1:360.

<sup>3</sup> Rhoda R. Gilman, *The Story of Minnesota’s Past* (St. Paul: MHS Press, 1989), 104. An advertisement for the Prairie du Chien and St. Paul Packet Line heralded its connection to the Milwaukee and Mississippi Railroad at Prairie du Chien; *Daily Pioneer and Democrat*, May 30, 1857.

<sup>4</sup> Hage, *Newspapers*, 18–19.

<sup>5</sup> Hage, *Newspapers*, 15.

<sup>6</sup> Hage, *Newspapers*, 7, 8–9 (*Pioneer* quote). For more on boosterism, see William E. Lass, “The Eden of the West,” within.

<sup>7</sup> *Pioneer*, Jan. 23, 1850, quoted in Hage, *Newspapers*, 23.

<sup>8</sup> *Weekly Minnesotian*, Oct. 16, 1852; *St. Croix Union*, June 16, 1855.

<sup>9</sup> *Minnesota Democrat*, June 3, 1851; *Minnesota Pioneer*, Jan. 14, 1851, quoted in Hage, *Newspapers*, 36.

<sup>10</sup> Folwell, *History of Minnesota*, 1:371–72. Rice felt that he had been wronged by Sibley and the American Fur Company. Ramsey and the other territorial officers had been appointed by the Whig administration in Washington.

<sup>11</sup> Hage, *Newspapers*, 26–27, 34, 138. Robertson generally supported the Rice faction and criticized Sibley and Ramsey.

<sup>12</sup> Blegen, *Minnesota*, 215–17; Hage, *Newspapers*, 25, 60.

<sup>13</sup> Folwell, *History of Minnesota*, 1:374–75.

<sup>14</sup> Hage, *Newspapers*, 60–62.

<sup>15</sup> Hage, *Newspapers*, 66.



*Winona Times*, May 15, 1858, page 2

<sup>16</sup> Folwell, *History of Minnesota*, 1:394; Hage, *Newspapers*, 67.

<sup>17</sup> *Winona Argus*, Feb. 19, 1857.

<sup>18</sup> Folwell, *History of Minnesota*, 1:406–11.

<sup>19</sup> *Minnesota Chronicle and Register*, Sept. 1, 1849.

<sup>20</sup> *Minnesota Democrat*, June 10, 1851.

<sup>21</sup> *St. Croix Union*, June 23, 1855, Apr. 18, 1856; *St. Anthony Express*, May 26, 1855; *Weekly Minnesotian*, Mar. 26, 1853.

<sup>22</sup> *St. Anthony Express*, Mar. 3, 1855.

<sup>23</sup> Here and two paragraphs below, *Daily Pioneer and Democrat*, May 30, 1857.

<sup>24</sup> *St. Anthony Express*, Jan. 6, 1855.

<sup>25</sup> *Daily Pioneer and Democrat*, Aug. 22, 1857, Aug. 4, 1856.

<sup>26</sup> *Weekly Minnesotian*, May 15, 1858.



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