

Territorial History: A Bibliographical Note

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IN THE TWENTY-SEVEN VOLUMES of *Minnesota History* issued from 1915 to 1946, more than a fourth of the articles deal with the territorial period of Minnesota history. In addition to the articles in the quarterly itself, scores of articles and books have been published by the Minnesota Historical Society and other organizations. A bibliography of all writings on the territorial period would require more space than is available here, but it seems useful and appropriate to take an inventory of the articles on the territorial period that have appeared in *Minnesota History* and to make some suggestions for future publication.¹ During the period of the Territorial Centennial, in 1948-49, it is expected that each issue of *Minnesota History* will include at least one article on the territorial period. The issue for September, 1949 (vol. 30, no. 3), according to present plans, will be devoted wholly to the centennial anniversary of the Minnesota Historical Society, which was created by an act of the territorial legislature on October 20, 1849.

Curiously enough, there is in *Minnesota History* no full-fledged article on the organization of Minnesota Territory. There is, however, a brief one, based largely on Dr. William W. Folwell's account and prepared as one of a series of talks given under the society's auspices over the University of Minnesota radio station in 1933. Although the accounts by Folwell and Professor William Anderson cover adequately the story of the beginnings of civil government in Minnesota, the entire subject needs rewriting.²

The boundaries of Minnesota have attracted many students. The

¹ For the best bibliography of works relating to the state as well as the territory, see Theodore C. Blegen and Lewis Beeson, *Minnesota, Its History and Its People: A Study Outline with Topics and References* (Minneapolis, 1937).

² Donald E. Van Koughnet, "The Creation of the Territory," *ante*, 14:127-134; William W. Folwell, *A History of Minnesota*, 1:231-265, 365-387 (St. Paul, 1921); William Anderson and Albert J. Lobb, *A History of the Constitution of Minnesota* (Minneapolis, 1921).

celebrated surveys by David Dale Owen, made in the years from 1839 to 1850, are fully treated by Walter B. Hendrickson. There are several articles dealing with boundary and local name changes. The most convenient brief account is, however, that by Folwell on "The Boundaries of Minnesota."³ There exists no full-scale study of Minnesota's boundaries.

Considering the tremendous importance to Minnesota of public-land policy, both federal and state, it is somewhat surprising to find only two articles dealing with this subject in the territorial period.⁴ It is probable that the neglect has been due to the laboriousness of the research involved, but the work of Dr. Verne E. Chatelain and the broader studies of American land policies by Professor Paul Gates give some indication of the possibilities and significance of the field. Ample material for a definitive study of public-land policy in Minnesota in the territorial period is available both in Minnesota and in Washington, D.C.

One of the more adequately treated aspects of the history of territorial Minnesota is that of transportation, especially roads. Arthur J. Larsen's articles deal effectively and authoritatively with the history of early Minnesota roads.⁵ One brief though useful article on the Red River trails scarcely exhausts that dramatic subject. Although no railroads were built during the nine territorial years, there were many projects, at least one of which involved scandal—the Minnesota and Northwestern Railroad Company. Perhaps the most important article in the field of railroad history in the quarter is that edited by Bertha L. Heilbron on "Isaac I. Stevens and the Pacific Railroad Survey of 1853." The history of steamboating

³ Walter B. Hendrickson, "David Dale Owen's Geological Survey of Minnesota," *ante*, 26:222-233; Calvin L. Brown, "Some Changes in Local Boundaries and Names in Minnesota," *ante*, 4:242-249; "The Boundary at the Lake of the Woods," *ante*, 5:46; "The Excluded Portion of Minnesota," *ante*, 5:205-207; Lois M. Fawcett, "Marking Minnesota's Western Boundary," *ante*, 19:424-426; Folwell, *Minnesota*, 1:486-502.

⁴ See Verne E. Chatelain, "The Public Land Offices on the Northwestern Frontier," and the same author's "Federal Land Policy and Minnesota Politics, 1854-60," *ante*, 12:379-389, 22:227-248.

⁵ Dr. Larsen's articles on "Roads and Trails in the Minnesota Triangle, 1849-60," "Early Transportation," and "Roads and the Settlement of Minnesota" appear *ante*, 11:387-411, 14:149-155, and 21:225-244. See also George H. Primmer, "Pioneer Roads Centering in Duluth," *ante*, 16:282-299.

has been more fully treated, chiefly because of the work of William J. Petersen of the State Historical Society of Iowa. A significant general article on the history of transportation in Minnesota is Mildred Hartsough's "Transportation as a Factor in the Development of the Twin Cities."⁶

That agricultural history is a recent field of concentration in America history is illustrated by the fact that the most important articles on the development of agriculture have been published in *Minnesota History* since 1940. Most of those relating to the territorial period are by Merrill E. Jarchow, who has written about "Early Minnesota Agricultural Societies and Fairs," "Farm Machinery in Frontier Minnesota," "Livestock in Frontier Minnesota," and the "Beginnings of Minnesota Dairying." An earlier article on "Claim Associations and Pioneer Democracy in Early Minnesota," by Charles J. Ritchey, also deserves special mention.⁷ There is obviously much more to be done on the history of early Minnesota farming.

Business history is well represented in *Minnesota History*. Among the first articles published in the magazine was one on the development of banking in Minnesota to 1873. An important study of flour milling by Charles B. Kuhlmann includes material on the territorial period, as does also Paul R. Fossum's study of "Early Milling in the Cannon River Valley."⁸ The lumber industry has attracted much attention, and *Minnesota History* has published important studies by Agnes M. Larson, Rodney C. Loehr, and Elizabeth M. Bachmann.⁹ The work of the Forest Products History Foundation

⁶ See Grace Lee Nute, "The Red River Trails," *ante*, 6:279-282; the articles by Miss Heilbron and Miss Hartsough, *ante*, 7:127-149, 218-232; and Dr. Petersen's accounts of "The Early History of Steamboating on the Minnesota River" and "Steamboating in the Upper Mississippi River Fur Trade," *ante*, 11:123-144, 13:221-243.

⁷ The articles listed appear *ante*, 9:85-95, 22:249-269, 23:316-327, 26:106-125, and 27:107-121. An article on "King Wheat" by Dr. Jarchow will be published in a later issue of *Minnesota History*.

⁸ Sydney A. Patchin's study of banking appears *ante*, 2:111-168; and Fossum's article is published *ante*, 11:271-282. Under the title, "The Influence of the Minneapolis Flour Mills upon the Economic Development of Minnesota and the Northwest," Kuhlmann's study appears *ante*, 6:141-154.

⁹ Dr. Larson's articles, entitled "On the Trail of the Woodsman in Minnesota" and "When Logs and Lumber Ruled Stillwater," appear *ante*, 13:349-366, and 18:165-179; Dr. Loehr deals with "Caleb D. Dorr and the Early Minnesota Lumber Industry," *ante*, 24:125-141; and Miss Bachmann describes "Minnesota Log Marks," *ante*, 26:126-137.

should help fill the gaps in our knowledge of this field. Other studies in business history during the territorial period include an article by Rodney C. Loehr on "Franklin Steele, Frontier Business Man," and "The Old Store at Marine" by E. L. Roney.¹⁰ During the next few years dozens of business firms in Minnesota will be celebrating their centennials, and it is to be hoped that each will have its historian.

Urban history today rivals the frontier in the interests of American historians, and *Minnesota History* has not been remiss in this respect. Again, however, considering the many towns and cities that were established in the territorial period, it is a matter of remark that so few have been covered in articles. We have studies of old St. Peter's and early St. Paul, Nininger, Chatfield, and Stillwater. There is also an article on the "Mythical Cities of Southwestern Minnesota," exposing the sham in the 1857 census.¹¹ The Minnesota Historical Society has available much material for the history of Minnesota towns and cities, notably the census records, local newspaper files, and manuscript collections. All that is required is that students use them.

Minnesota's population is a richly colorful and dynamic mixture of almost all the world's nationalities and races. It was almost as much so in the territorial period as it is today. Much of the interest in immigration to Minnesota has been stimulated by Dean Theodore C. Blegen of the graduate school and Professor George M. Stephenson of the department of history in the University of Minnesota, and both are represented by articles in *Minnesota History* on the territorial period. In collaboration with Livia Appel, Dr. Blegen contributed an article on "Official Encouragement of Immigration to Minnesota during the Territorial Period," and Dr. Stephenson wrote an article entitled "Sidelights on the History of the Swedes in the St. Croix Valley."¹² Two other Scandinavian groups, the Danes and the Norwegians, each have been treated

¹⁰ See *ante*, 18:420-422, 27:309-318.

¹¹ These articles, by M. M. Hoffmann, Dudley S. Brainard, Robert J. Forrest, Ralph L. Harmon, Sarah A. Davidson, Margaret Snyder, and Emma Glaser, appear *ante*, 8:27-51, 13:127-151, 14:243-262, 17:262-275, 22:55-59, 24:95-110, and 24:195-206.

¹² See *ante*, 5:167-171, 17:396-405.

fully for the territorial period. There is a brief note on the Swiss settlement of Bern in Dodge County. A member of the Minnesota Historical Society's staff, Esther Jerabek, has contributed two articles on the Czechs which include material for the territorial period. Two short articles on the Massachusetts group that settled in what became Chanhassen Township, Carver County, scarcely suffice to indicate the importance of the New England migration to Minnesota.¹³ Except for the Scandinavian groups, the history of immigration to Minnesota Territory remains to be written. Adequate studies of the Germans, the Irish, the French Canadians, the English and other foreign groups should be prepared and published. Accounts of migration to Minnesota from other sections of the United States, especially from New England and the Old Northwest, would add not only to the record of Minnesota's history, but would be important contributions to general American history. Ample materials are available, especially in the original census schedules, and it is hoped that this subject will not have long to wait for its historian.

The huge newspaper collections of the Minnesota Historical Society should have attracted more historians to the history of Minnesota's press. Herman Roe's useful article on "The Frontier Press in Minnesota" should be expanded into a general history of the newspaper's role in the building of Minnesota. There is need for more articles like Edwin H. Ford's excellent analysis of the *Winona Republican*, the *Chatfield Democrat*, the *Red Wing Republican*, and the *Mantorville Express*.¹⁴ The long-felt need for a study of James M. Goodhue will soon be satisfied by the forthcoming volume by Mary Wheelhouse Berthel of the staff of the society, but there is room in *Minnesota History* for more than the brief note on him published in 1920.¹⁵ Frontier life in the 1850's is vividly portrayed in articles by Theodore C. Blegen on "Minnesota Pioneer Life as Re-

¹³ See Thomas P. Christensen, "Danish Settlement in Minnesota," *ante*, 8:363-385; Carlton C. Qualey, "Pioneer Norwegian Settlement in Minnesota," *ante*, 12:247-280; "Swiss Settlement in Minnesota," *ante*, 8:174; Miss Jerabek's articles on "Antonin Jurka, A Pioneer Czech Schoolmaster," and "The Transition of a New-World Bohemia," *ante*, 13:269-276, and 15:26-42; and Charles W. Nichols' studies of the Northampton colony, *ante*, 20:140-145, and 22:169-173.

¹⁴ For Roe's and Ford's articles, see *ante*, 14:393-410, and 27:1-20.

¹⁵ "The Goodhue Press," *ante*, 3:291-294.

vealed in Newspaper Advertisements," and in Richard B. Eide's "Minnesota Pioneer Life as Reflected in the Press." Mention should also be made of Ruby G. Karstad's "The 'New York Tribune' and the Minnesota Frontier."¹⁶ The fact remains that the history of pioneer journalism in Minnesota remains largely to be written. It is true that the research required involves the examination of "acres of newspapers," but no one who has turned the yellowing pages of the early newspapers can fail to be charmed by them. With the acquisition of adequate microfilming apparatus, the Minnesota Historical Society will soon be able to provide copies of its newspapers on films, and the laboriousness of the research should be reduced to a minimum.

The important subject of religion on the Minnesota frontier has received rather meager attention in the pages of *Minnesota History*. The files indicate only five articles that touch the territorial period. They deal with "The Lac qui Parle Indian Mission," "Ramsey's Early Church Connections," "Quakers in Minnesota," "Pioneers of German Lutheranism in Minnesota," and the establishment of a Benedictine monastery in Minnesota.¹⁷ Obviously there are treatments of pioneer churches in other publications, but in the field of religion, as in many of the other fields of Minnesota history, the opportunities are great for significant contributions to American history. The histories of sects, institutional studies of the church in frontier communities, biographies of pioneer clergymen, and analyses of the religious press are only a few of the possibilities.

The excellent brief article by Lois M. Fawcett on "Frontier Education," the recently published study of Harriet Bishop, an article on Hamline University, and an article on Antonin Jurka constitute the principal studies in the field of education for the period.¹⁸ The pioneers were preoccupied with the rigorous tasks of frontier life,

¹⁶ These articles appear *ante*, 7:99-121, 12:391-403, and 17:411-420.

¹⁷ The note on Governor Ramsey appears *ante*, 5:45; the other subjects are treated at greater length by August C. Krey, Esther A. Selke, Charles M. Gates, and Thomas E. Drake in articles published *ante*, 8:217-231, 14:45-58, 16:133-151, and 18:249-266.

¹⁸ See Hellen D. Asher, "A Frontier College of the Middle West," *ante*, 9:363-378; and Zylpha S. Morton, "Harriet Bishop, Frontier Teacher," *ante*, 28:132-141. Miss Fawcett's article is published *ante*, 14:142-149, and Miss Jerabek's study of Jurka appears *ante*, 13:269-276.

and the story of formal education in Minnesota in the territorial years is necessarily a limited one. Nevertheless there is adequate material for a thoroughgoing study of public education and another on higher education in early Minnesota, especially on the University of Minnesota.

Minnesota History has published various articles on the history of health in Minnesota. Dr. Charles W. Borup probably should have a longer study than that accorded him in Grace Lee Nute's brief note, and there should be more articles like Helen Clapesattle's "Health and Medicine in Rochester."¹⁹ The cholera epidemic of 1854 in St. Paul is described by Dr. John M. Armstrong, and "Frontier Home Remedies" are recalled by LeRoy G. Davis.²⁰ The subject of child life and child health on the frontier has been neglected, and there is need for a study of Minnesota as a health resort. The project for the history of public health in Minnesota, now proceeding under the direction of Professor Philip D. Jordan in the Historical Building, will undoubtedly be the source of studies of health in the territorial period, as well as in the later decades of Minnesota history.

One of the editors of *Minnesota History* is also the principal authority on the history of Minnesota art. Bertha L. Heilbron's studies of Frank B. Mayer and Eastman Johnson in this magazine are supplemented by others published in book form by the Minnesota Historical Society.²¹ Further studies from Miss Heilbron in this field are in progress, and the centennial art committee should also be a source of articles on early Minnesota art. *Minnesota History* has four articles that touch on music in the territorial period.²² Others are in preparation, and the newly developed association of the Minnesota Historical Society and the Schubert Club of St. Paul

¹⁹ These accounts appear *ante*, 7:150, and 20:221-242.

²⁰ *Ante*, 14:288-302, 19:369-376.

²¹ See "The Goucher College Collection of Mayer Water Colors," *ante*, 13:408-414; "A Pioneer Artist on Lake Superior," *ante*, 21:149-157; "Frank B. Mayer and the Treaties of 1851," *ante*, 22:133-156; and "Mayer's Album of Minnesota Drawings," *ante*, 26:140-142.

²² Lois M. Fawcett, "Some Early Minnesota Bells," *ante*, 18:371-380; Willis H. Miller, "The Biography of a Piano," *ante*, 19:318-321; Philip D. Jordan, "The Hutchinson Family in the Story of American Music," *ante*, 22:113-132; and Bessie M. Stanchfield, "The Beauty of the West: A Minnesota Ballad," *ante*, 27:179-189.

for the presentation of programs of Minnesota music gives promise of future interest in the field.

The society's quarterly is rich in travel narratives for the territorial period. Almost every year of the nine from 1849 to 1858 is represented. For 1849 there are an unsigned letter, "Impressions of Minnesota in 1849," and Dr. Folwell's "Minnesota in 1849: An Imaginary Letter"; as well as Willoughby M. Babcock's articles on "A Dragoon on the March to Pembina in 1849" and "Steamboat Travel on the Upper Mississippi in 1849." These impressions are supplemented by "A New Englander in the West: The Letters of Eben Weld, 1845-50."²³ The visits in 1850 by Fredrika Bremer and John C. Laird, and of Henry M. Nichols in 1852-53 are recounted. Minnesota in 1853 is reported in "Up the Minnesota Valley to Fort Ridgely in 1853."²⁴ Three descriptions of Minnesota in 1854 are available in the society's magazine, two for 1855, two for 1857, and one for 1858.²⁵ General articles for the pioneer period are Willoughby M. Babcock's "The St. Croix Valley as Viewed by Pioneer Editors" and Charles M. Gates's "The Tourist Traffic of Pioneer Minnesota." No one should miss Dean Blegen's brilliant "'Fashionable Tour' on the Upper Mississippi," which has recently been reprinted in an anthology as a notable piece of prose writing about the West.²⁶

Biographies of territorial pioneers and leaders are numerous in *Minnesota History*, but they are rather uneven in coverage of the field. There is no adequate study of Alexander Ramsey, Henry M.

²³ The items mentioned are published *ante*, 5:286-290, 6:34-40, 7:54-61, 8:61-74, and 15:301-308.

²⁴ The 1853 item, as edited by Willoughby M. Babcock, appears *ante*, 11:161-184. See also Grace Lee Nute, ed., "A Western Jaunt in 1850," *ante*, 12:157-168; Charles W. Nichols, "Henry M. Nichols and Frontier Minnesota," *ante*, 19:247-270; and John T. Flanagan, "Fredrika Bremer: Traveler and Prophet," 20:129-139.

²⁵ "Benjamin Densmore's Journal of an Expedition on the Frontier," *ante*, 3:167-209; "A Pennsylvanian Visits the West in 1855," *ante*, 7:336-339; Gertrude Ackermann, ed., "An Optimistic Pioneer in a Period of Depression," 13:174-178; William J. Petersen, "The Rock Island Railroad Excursion of 1854," *ante*, 15:405-420; Flanagan, "The Hoosier Schoolmaster in Minnesota," and "Bayard Taylor's Minnesota Visits," *ante*, 18:347-370, and 19:399-418; Heilbron, ed., "By Rail and River to Minnesota in 1854," and "A 'Craven Lad' in Frontier Minnesota," *ante*, 25:103-116, and 27:281-299.

²⁶ For these articles see *ante*, 16:276-281, 17:276-287, and 20:377-396. Dean Blegen's article appears also in John T. Flanagan, ed., *America Is West*, 361-373 (Minneapolis, 1945).

Rice, Franklin Steele, Edward D. Neill, or Joseph R. Brown—all leading figures in the territorial period. Certain others are better served, notably Martin McLeod, Joseph Renville, Norman W. Kittson, George Northrup, the Pond brothers, Father Francis Pierz, and Henry Hastings Sibley.²⁷ Of course many of the leaders of the territorial period are represented in the *Dictionary of American Biography*, but there is a real opportunity for students of Minnesota history to produce biographical studies of Minnesota's pioneer leaders.

Under the general heading of social history one could cite a large number of articles dealing with the territorial period. A notable series is that by Evadene Burris Swanson on frontier domestic life—"Keeping House on the Minnesota Frontier," "Frontier Food," "Building the Frontier Home," and "Furnishing the Frontier Home."²⁸ Of similar quality is Bertha L. Heilbron's "Christmas and New Year's on the Frontier." Theodore C. Blegen's "Pioneer Bookshelves and Modern Libraries" and William Randel's "Edward Eggleston's Library at Traverse des Sioux" are admirable, as is John T. Flanagan's "Early Literary Periodicals in Minnesota." Frank M. Whiting's "Theatrical Personalities of Old St. Paul" deserves mention. That perennial subject, the weather, is treated by Ralph H. Brown in "Fact and Fancy in Early Accounts of Minnesota's Climate."²⁹ These articles illustrate the growing interest in social history that has marked the last generation of American historians. The field is almost inexhaustible, however.

Certain fields seem to have been almost entirely neglected, notably politics, which is represented by only one brief article.³⁰ One hopes this neglect will soon be corrected, for the field is rich. Rela-

²⁷ See Wilson P. Shortridge, "Henry Hastings Sibley and the Minnesota Frontier," *ante*, 3:115-125; Nute, ed., "The Diary of Martin McLeod," *ante*, 4:351-439; Clarence W. Rife, "Norman W. Kittson, a Fur Trader at Pembina," *ante*, 6:225-252; Blegen, ed., "The Unfinished Autobiography of Henry Hastings Sibley," *ante*, 8:329-362; Sister Grace McDonald, "Father Francis Pierz, Missionary," *ante*, 10:107-125; Charles J. Ritchey, "Martin McLeod and the Minnesota Valley," *ante*, 10:387-402; Ackermann, "Joseph Renville of Lac qui Parle," and "George Northrup, Frontier Scout," *ante*, 12:231-246, and 19:377-392; and Blegen, "The Pond Brothers," *ante*, 15:273-281.

²⁸ Published *ante*, 14:263-282, 378-392, and 15:43-55, 181-193.

²⁹ For the articles mentioned, see *ante*, 16:373-390, 17:243-261, 22:351-366, 23:305-315, and 26:242-247, 293-311.

³⁰ "The Genesis of the Republican Party in Minnesota," *ante*, 2:24-30.

tively little is included on the patterns of ideas on the frontier.³¹ Folklore is included in a number of articles, but there are few studies for the territorial period in this field.

In general, the record is a good one. *Minnesota History* is a rich mine of material for the territorial period, as well as for the earlier and later periods of the history of Minnesota. That its coverage for the territorial period is incomplete is only natural and inevitable. The approaching Territorial Centennial provides an opportunity to fill many of the gaps in the record, and by 1958 the inventory should be far more complete.

³¹ An exception is Gates, "Bridges Facing East," *ante*, 16:22-34.



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