THE DIARY kept by Claude August Crommelin of Amsterdam, Holland, while traveling in America in the prosperous summer of 1866 was first called to the attention of the Minnesota Historical Society in 1947 by Mrs. Miss Poatgieter, editor of the society’s magazine for juniors, the Gopher Historian, here appears in a new role stemming from her linguistic skill. Mrs. Hidy, who resides in Belmont, Massachusetts, is a business historian of wide reputation. She is presently collaborating with her husband, Professor Ralph W. Hidy of Harvard University, in the preparation of a history of the Great Northern Railway Company, under the auspices of the Business History Foundation, Inc.

Rudolph Weyerhaeuser of St. Paul, she had received a translation of the section relating to Minnesota from Henri Crommelin of Spokane, Washington, a grandnephew of the diarist, who informed her that “Uncle Claude died very young and I never knew him.” He added, however, that according to family tradition, C. A. Crommelin “was very clever and did much to introduce American Railroad securities on the Stock Exchange in Amsterdam,” though he was only twenty-six years old when he visited America and Minnesota. “Imagine a little country like Holland furnishing funds to build American Railroads,” exclaimed the writer. “That is only eighty-one years ago and think of the
changes and improvements that have taken place since then.”

A short time after writing this letter, Henri Crommelin kindly allowed the society to borrow and reproduce on microfilm a typewritten copy of the Dutch diary in his possession. He described the copy as “one of several that were made for distribution to members of my family who were interested in its contents.” Unfortunately, he did not know where the original diary could be found. Thus the translation which follows is based on a typewritten transcript obviously made by someone who was unfamiliar with the names and many of the terms used, and who doubtless often misread the handwriting of the original.

Crommelin’s diary calls attention to two important factors that were influencing the state’s development in the 1860s—his own nationality group and the pioneer railroads that were opening the country to settlement and providing access to markets for the farmers’ products. When Crommelin wrote, railroads were just beginning to have an impact on Minnesota settlement. The state’s first ten miles of rail were put into operation between St. Paul and St. Anthony in 1862, and the next two years saw only a moderate increase. By the end of 1865, however, Minnesota boasted two hundred and ten miles of rail, and within another year the few railroad corporations active in the state had increased this mileage by fifty per cent. Crommelin, who sensed the excitement of this new and dramatic development, took the opportunity to study it.

His interest doubtless was stimulated by the fact that citizens of the small but rich country of Holland were contributing in several ways to Minnesota’s economic growth in the 1860s. Some were settling in the state, and others helped to finance its transportation development by buying the bonds of pioneer railroad firms like the First Division of the Saint Paul and Pacific Railroad Company. Several million dollars worth of its bonds, for example, were marketed in Europe by the Amsterdam banking firm of Lippmann, Rosenthal and Company, assisted by other Dutch business concerns—among them Crommelin’s family firm of Daniel Crommelin and Sons.

The presence in the Minnesota capital of Crommelin and a companion, H. I. Oyens, is noted in the St. Paul Press of June 12, 1866, which describes them as “two gentlemen who represent a large amount of capital in Amsterdam, Holland,” and who “are now in this city on a quiet tour of observation, and taking notes as to the best place to invest their money and that of their employers.” They visited Minnesota, according to this contemporary report, “for the purpose of examining the country, investigating our railroad system, and looking into our present condition and future prospects.”

Crommelin’s trip, which started in Amsterdam on April 17, 1866, appears to have been for both pleasure and business. After visiting art galleries and other tourist attractions in Brussels and London, he sailed from Liverpool to New York on the “Java.” His tour to the West took him by way of Canada from Niagara to Windsor, then across the St. Clair River by ferry to Detroit to catch a train on the Michigan Central Railroad to Chicago. Late in May, he was fortunate in traveling with the officers of the Illinois Cen-
Central Railroad Company while they were making their annual inspection trip of its road. This experience undoubtedly sharpened the young man’s ability to analyze the railroads he observed in Minnesota. Crommelin traveled on the La Crosse and Milwaukee Railroad from Milwaukee to La Crosse, where he boarded the steamboat “Key City” for St. Paul.

Upon returning to the East, Crommelin again traveled by way of the river and La Crosse. The diary ends in New England on February 23, 1887, just before the writer returned to Holland, where he died at the early age of thirty-four. His travels after leaving Minnesota included visits to Chicago, Indianapolis, Washington, D.C., Philadelphia, Charleston, Savannah, Montreal, and Quebec. In Boston the young man lunched with James Russell Lowell and Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, with whom he doubtless talked of the romantic new state of Minnesota which had captured the latter’s imagination. Crommelin also visited the factories of New England. He was a man of broad interests, collected pictures and books, took an interest in mechanical engineering and photography, and, as the excerpts from his diary show, was concerned both with the beauties of nature and the economy of the United States.

Crommelin’s journey upstream on the Mississippi and his experiences in Minnesota during the ten days that followed his arrival in the Minnesota capital are described in the section of his diary here presented in translation.

June 9. Reached La Crosse at eight o’clock, where we had to wait until one o’clock for the Key City, the boat going upstream. It appeared at last, however, and put an end to our impatience. The first part of the journey was wonderful, mountains of six to seven hundred feet on both sides, overgrown with heavy timber. And in between, the Mississippi winding back and forth among islands large and small. Nevertheless, although our draught was scarcely thirty-three English inches, the voyage was difficult. This was mainly because of two barges loaded with goods, which we dragged along fastened on both sides of the boat. Instead of arriving in St. Paul at eight o’clock in the morning, we did not reach there until seven in the evening.

June 10. Arrived in St. Paul, at present a city of about 15,000 inhabitants that has existed since 1848. Before that time it was a little church dedicated to St. Paul . . . In the above named year the first settlers began to explore the road to Minnesota and a start was made to develop its great wealth, consisting of fertile prairie and forest lands.5

June 11. I presented a letter to Mr. E. S. Edgerton, president of the 2nd National Bank, and inquired at the offices of the St. Paul and Pacific about young [John H.] Kloos from Amsterdam, who is working as engineer (as a hobby) with this railroad. He has, in a way, been sent out here by Kerkhoven and Company to keep them posted about the condition and prospects of this railroad.6

At the railroad office we found President Georg W. [George L.] Becker and the manager of the land department, Herman[n] Trott, who received us very kindly, but who

5 In using the date 1848, Crommelin may have had in mind the fact that the public land in the townsite of St. Paul was then offered for sale at the St. Croix land office. The church mentioned was, of course, the Chapel of St. Paul built by Father Lucian Galtier. The city’s population was estimated at about 13,500 in 1865 and 16,000 in 1867. See J. W. McClung, St. Paul Directory and Statistical Record, 1866, p. 7; St. Paul Directory, 1867, p. xi, xiv, xx; William W. Folwell, A History of Minnesota, 1:225 (St. Paul, 1921).

6 Kloos was employed by the First Division of the Saint Paul and Pacific Railroad Company, a separate organization from the Saint Paul and Pacific. He went to Minnesota from Holland in 1866 and represented the Dutch bondholders who had invested in the road as well as the Kerkhoven firm, which marketed some of the bonds of the First Division in Amsterdam. Kloos published several reports in Dutch and English. See Henry S. Lucas, Netherlanders in America, 363–365, 693 (Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1955). Crommelin had letters of introduction from Winslow, Lanier, and Company of New York, and “other Eastern Houses,” according to the St. Paul Press, June 12, 1866.
told us that Kloos was out in the forest with a party surveying the line, and therefore not in St. Paul at present. After talking to them, and after they saw that we were interested in the matter, and realized that our judgment could be of some value in favor of their bonds which are now sold on the Amsterdam Stock Exchange, Mr. Becker soon proposed a plan to send us out with Trott to view the railroad to Big Lake, its present terminus. After dinner Trott came to look us up and suggested to us that we extend our plans and, instead of going to Big Lake and back, to take a team from there and go into the forest to visit the engineering camp where Kloos now is and then to return along Lake Minnetonka to Minneapolis and St. Paul. Since this would be our only opportunity to see something of the backwoods life, we seized that plan with both hands and agreed to start early next morning.

June 12. At the station we found Mr. Herman[n] Trott, who, insisting we are to be the guests of the company (1st Division of the St. Paul and Pacific Railroad), allows us to ride free and also takes all our expenses for his account. We ride about three hours to Big Lake, where at present the railroad ends. The road bed has been surfaced to St. Cloud, and as soon as the rails have been laid, that part will be open for traffic. These rails are on the way from Europe, and it will not be long until the intention becomes accomplishment. From St. Cloud to Watab, the terminus of the road as far as the 1st Division of the St. Paul and Pacific Railroad is concerned, is about another ten miles, and these will also be fin-

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1 Becker, who had been mayor of St. Paul and later served as a state senator, was both president and land commissioner of the First Division; Trott was secretary of its land department from 1863 to 1869, when he was named land commissioner and treasurer. He came from a distinguished German military family. For a sketch of Becker, see Warren Upham and Rose B. Dunlap, *Minnesota Biographies*, 1855–1912, 43 (Minnesota Historical Collections, vol. 14); information on Trott is to be found in Hildegard Binder Johnson, "Eduard Pelz and German Emigration," in *Minnesota History*, 31:224, 225 (December, 1950), and the *Minneapolis Times*, December 30, 1903.

2 The forty-eight miles of line between St. Paul and Big Lake had been completed in May, 1868. Simeon P. Folsom, *Statement of the Inception of the Minnesota & Pacific Railroad Company and Its Successors*, 90 (1894).
ished before long. The railroad company does not plan at present to continue the road farther north than Watab. When the company was originally set up by Edmund Rice, the road took in an enormous length of railway line, and there was talk about connections to the Pacific and with Lake Superior, but the strength of Rice seems to have been insufficient for an undertaking of that kind and about two years ago he transferred a large part of the business to Mr. [Electus B.] Litchfield and associates, wit: the railroad from St. Paul to Watab, which had been partly constructed; the railroad from St. Paul to Big Stone Lake which, if I am not mistaken, had not been started but is now under negotiation; and also, I believe, the right for future building from Watab to the Pacific—a plan which for the present lies in the far future. For himself Rice retained the right (and land grants as per charter) to the northerly continuation from Watab to Crow Wing and the British possessions and from any point between to the western corner of Lake Superior, as well as the road from St. Paul to

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"Service to St. Cloud began in September, 1866. In 1867 the First Division extended its branch line to Sauk Rapids, about four miles south of Watab, and it did not build farther in that direction. St. Paul Pioneer, September 2, 1866; Folsom, Minnesota & Pacific Railroad Company, 90.

"The terms of the "Agreement between the Saint Paul and Pacific Railroad Company and E. B. Litchfield...under Act of February 6, 1864," are included in a booklet on the First Division of the St. Paul and Pacific Railroad Company, 72-80 (St. Paul, 1868). Edmund Rice, who was president of the Saint Paul and Pacific Railroad Company from 1862 to 1872, was a brother of Senator Henry Mower Rice. For the provisions of this company's original franchise and later legislation increasing its rights, see Minnesota, Laws, Extra Session, 1857, p. 3-16; Special Laws, 1862, p. 247-253; 1863, p. 147-151; 1864, p. 174-177; 1866, p. 15. An advertisement of the First Division for 1866 in McClung's St. Paul Directory stated that the branch line "extends from St. Paul by way of Saint Cloud and Crow Wing to Pembina, on the Red River of the North, and is a part of the great international route across the Continent to the Pacific."
Winona, which is now under negotiation, and I also believe even to La Crosse, which would establish the very much needed connection between St. Paul and the Eastern railroad system. At present, when there is an obstruction of steamship traffic on the Mississippi, communication between St. Paul and other parts of the country is very difficult. The only way open at present under such circumstances is by railroad track to Faribault, then by stage (about forty miles) to a little place named something like Crescen [Kasson], and from there by the track to Winona, and then again by stage to La Crosse. Traveling by stage over these roads and crossing the Mississippi on the

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Litchfield organized the First Division on February 6, 1864, under special legislation which provided for issuing stock and establishing separate organizations with their own directors, under the charter of the Saint Paul and Pacific. The First Division had its own stock, contrary to the statement made by Crommelin, who may have wanted to indicate that its funds were raised solely from the sale of bonds. Litchfield and Company was a New York firm. Minnesota, Special Laws, 1864, p. 174-177; 1866, p. 11–13; Minnesota Railroad Commissioner, Annual Report, 1873, Appendix, 38, 49.

Litchfield obtained the aid of Lippmann, Rosenthal and Company of Amsterdam in marketing several issues of bonds, some of which were based on the security of the railroad line and others on the land grant to be earned by building the road. The Saint Paul and Pacific actually issued three mortgage indentures, totalling $2,020,000 in value, on the seventy-six miles of branch line from St. Paul to Watab, all in 1862, and these were assumed as a responsibility of the First Division, which executed a mortgage for a consolidated bond issue in October, 1865. Rail Road Mortgages: St. Paul and Pacific and First Division Companies (St. Paul, 1873).

Litchfield was originally one of the contractors who took over the business after Rice withdrew. Instead of setting up the old St. Paul and Pacific Railroad Company, he started the new 1st Division of the St. Paul and Pacific Railroad Company, which has not one share of capital and is supported entirely by the funds and the credit of Litchfield and Company with associates. The road is being built as much as possible from the returns of bonds, which are being sold on the Amsterdam Stock Exchange and which are secured partly by a mortgage on the railroad and partly by one on the lands. The two mortgages at present amount to $2,020,000. However the plan now exists (and is being executed) to replace the two kinds of bonds into one bond issue of $2,800,000 secured by the railroad and the lands. The bonds and mortgages only refer to the so-called branch line (St. Paul–Watab), while the lands etc. along the main line (St. Paul–Big Stone Lake) remain unencumbered.
The land grant consists of ten sections (a square mile equals 640 acres) for each finished mile of track. According to the officers, this company had the great privilege of establishing itself here so early that it could choose lands where it wished, inasmuch as hardly any of the land had been sold to settlers nor had claims been taken up by them. Such had not been the case in Illinois when the Illinois Central started its operations there. It is easy to understand that the Illinois Central Railroad therefore could not obtain the best lands. The map which we saw supported this contention, because lands are not distributed regularly along the railroad. The land grants along the road on which we traveled [in Minnesota] were more regularly distributed, and were not scattered here and there, as is frequently the case along the Illinois railroad. On the other hand, it shows that the country here is not as far advanced as in Illinois. However, immigration is now much freer and is increasing daily. The present land price averages from $5 to $6 per acre, but it is the company's policy at present to promote sales as little as possible, in order to hold the land until higher prices can be demanded. By way of contrast, it is the policy of the Illinois Central to sell as much land as possible in order to increase population, and in this way increase travel. That this is the more wholesome viewpoint is not to be doubted, for the former method makes the business into a huge land speculation. Everything, however, depends on how well the business is handled.

The new bonds seem to be issued under the following conditions: the profits eventually to be realized will not be used for the payment of dividends until after a reserve is built up, and this capital, invested in solid securities, will secure the bonds in addition to a mortgage on the railroad and the unsold lands. The railroad from St. Paul to Big Lake runs fairly close along the Mississippi, but over the table land in which the river has cut its bed. Therefore one sees almost nothing of the river. The country along the railroad is prairie, which does not appear to me to be very fertile. It is thinly grown over with more weeds than grass. Trott tells us that this is one of the least fertile stretches and that other parts are infinitely better. One still sees hardly any settlements.

We hear much about the excellent prospects that will be opened to this road because of its proximity to the British possessions, with which lively trade is already carried on, especially by means of the so-called Red River carts, which are made entirely of wood and are [each] pulled by one ox. They come in great numbers loaded with pelts from Fort Abercrombie and the Red River, and are looked upon as one of the greatest curiosities of the countryside. We were disappointed that upon our arrival at Big Lake there did not happen to be any carts in the neighborhood. The opinion has been emphatically expressed that St. Cloud will have greatly improved traffic as soon as the railroad reaches there.

According to reports, Minnesota, and especially the western part of it, is the best wheat-growing land in the entire Union. Already splendid crops are being harvested.
and reports indicate that Minnesota wheat is separately quoted in New York at higher prices than any other. At present, Minnesota wheat is kept separate in Milwaukee elevators, while that from all other places is mixed in grades of first, second, and third quality. Thus Minnesota wheat apparently is considered better than the usual first quality. This cannot but ensure a wonderful future for this part of the country, as well as for the railroad. At present, wheat is much more valuable than Indian corn, selling for $1.77 as against $.57 per bushel, and it can be transported at better freight prices. However, one acre of land produces about sixty bushels of corn as compared with twenty bushels of wheat. In Minnesota, crops of forty bushels per acre have been reported. The reason that Illinois still produces so little wheat is, according to reports, because the soil is too rich. After it has been exhausted somewhat it is believed that it will be better suited for wheat raising.

That is what I am told.

At Big Lake we took a team and crossed the Mississippi, and before long arrived at Monticello. There and somewhat beyond, most of the land is still prairie, broken by large and smaller forests. Farther along one comes to the backwoods, usually called bush. From Buffalo (where we saw Captain [George A.] Overton) we drove to Rockford, a lovely place in the forest consisting mainly of sawmills. It was the first place in the West that could claim the name of village, and was not a city in an embryonic stage of development. It reminded me of many lovely villages in the Alps. To augment the illusion, there was no hotel and we spent the night with a well-to-do farmer, Mr. Hayford. Lovely child in a little pink dress . . .

My first contact with the woods, and especially those of Minnesota, made an extremely favorable impression on me. The country is beautiful, full of large and small lakes, hilly, and therefore charmingly picturesque. The forest consists of white oak, elm, hickory, hard and soft maple, ironwood, etc. The soil was originally rather sandy, but because of the enormous number of leaves that have fallen and disintegrated for centuries, it is easily understood that the surface layer consisting of about two feet of pure humus has made it very fertile. The soil is on the average lighter than that of Illinois, and therefore warmer. It is also drier, because.
it drains better. In the beginning, it is perhaps better than that in Illinois. A great advantage in my opinion is that the dirt roads stand up better than those in Illinois, and therefore the railroads can influence a greater area of country.

June 13. Broke camp at seven o'clock in the morning and after a little searching found the engineering camp. Sam prepared us a good lunch, after which we went to look for the engineers, who are busy surveying the road at some distance from the camp. After traveling a couple of miles, we found Mr. Place and Kloos, and soon we persuaded them to return to camp with us. Dinner in the evening in the tent. Big fire. Listened to yarn by Trott about his adventures in 1848, in Austria, where he participated in a rebellion and was taken prisoner, but escaped by intercession. Slept with Trott between two buffalo robes and suffered much cold.

June 14. Left about seven o'clock; drove about thirty miles along Lake Minnetonka; in the evening to Minneapolis. Saw a performance of a troupe of Indians, dance and song. Extremely monotonous and tiresome, but the costumes quite beautiful, in fact the whole remarkable. "Other day," who in the Sioux massacres saved sixty whites, was among them. The gratitude of the saved ones seems not to have been great. Falls of St. Anthony. Suspension bridge to Minneapolis.


June 16. Trott took me to the office of the Lake Superior railroad. They plan to build from St. Paul to Superior City, and want the opportunity to post the Holland railroad men and capitalists about their plans. By railroad with Kops by way of Mendotah [sic] along the Minnesota Valley Railroad to Shakopee.

June 17. By carriage with him via Carver to Benton post office, where we were told that a colony of Hollanders lives. We found them in an inn and they appear to be from the province of Limburg; they are well-to-do people who came here with some capital and who have prospered. To Lake Waconia [Waconia] and back. The trip was beautiful and we had good fun. Slept in Shakopee.

June 18. Back to St. Paul. To Mendota & said goodbye to Kops. Did a few errands with Trott. In the evening walked around with Becker; went home with him and ate strawberries, etc. His wife is lovely. A certain Mr. Nietingevuld helped to shorten the evening.

June 19. Left St. Paul by Steamer Phil Sheridan, down river the following morning.

June 20. Arrived at La Crosse about 5 o'clock.

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21 The name "Place" could refer to W. P. Payte, a well-known local civil engineer who worked on the main line of the First Division. Both he and Kloos seem to have been engaged in surveying this line, which was being started from Minneapolis to Wayzata on the way to Breckinridge.

22 John Other Day was prominent among the Sioux Indians who refused to join the uprising against the whites in 1862. He led sixty-two settlers to safety on August 19 from the Yellow Medicine agency. Crommelin notwithstanding, Other Day was substantially rewarded for his loyalty. Folwell, Minnesota, 2:117, 264.

23 Jacob de Bruyn Kops could have been a Hollander who emigrated in 1849 and settled in Winona County as a Presbyterian minister in 1870. Upham and Dunlap, Minnesota Biographies, 412.

24 The Lake Superior and Mississippi Railroad was completed between St. Paul and Duluth in 1870. Twenty-two miles of the Minnesota Valley Railroad, which followed the south banks of the Mississippi and Minnesota river westward from St. Paul, had been completed in 1866.

25 For information about some of the Hollanders who settled in the vicinity of Benton in the early 1860s, see History of the Minnesota Valley, 394-396 (Minneapolis, 1882).

26 The name "Nietingevuld" was added to the Dutch typescript in longhand. It appears again in Crommelin's entry for July 1, when the diarist was in Washington, D.C. There he mentions "Baron Nietingevuld" as the Prussian ambassador. The envoy from Prussia in 1866 was Baron von Gerolt, according to the Congressional Directory.