

A FRONTIER COLLEGE OF THE MIDDLE WEST: HAMLINE UNIVERSITY, 1854-69¹

Hamline University was the first institution of higher learning established in Minnesota Territory. It may be taken as typical in many respects of the frontier colleges established by religious denominations in the fifties and sixties. By this time the Indian had been pushed back to a fairly safe distance; the trader, often French, was fast disappearing; and the speculator and permanent settler were being drawn to the West by the promise of free land. There was keen competition among towns that sought to increase their population and property valuations by inducing organizations to plant churches and schools within their limits. The pioneer with his eastern heritage of religious and educational ideals was eager to erect edifices in his new home to perpetuate those ideals. Lack of fluid capital and hard times did not daunt the fearless and independent frontiersmen who combined the conservative culture of the East with the rather primitive emotionalism and democracy of the West.²

“At an early date American Methodism ceased to look across the sea to England and turned its face westward. Wherever the pioneer went there went the Methodist itinerant also, the preacher making as unique and definite a contribution of thought and character as the pioneer.”³ Hamline University had its roots in the early Methodism of the Northwest. Chauncey Hobart, an itinerant preacher in Minnesota, was among the

¹ A paper read at the fourth state historical convention under the auspices of the Minnesota Historical Society at Winona on June 17, 1925. *Ed.*

² Frederick J. Turner, *The Frontier in American History*, 1-6 (New York, 1921); Louise P. Kellogg, *The French Régime in Wisconsin and the Northwest*, 1: 386-423 (Madison, 1925); Frederic L. Paxson, *History of the American Frontier*, 95-101 (Boston, 1924).

³ Francis J. McConnell, “David D. Forsyth,” in *World Service News*, vol. 12, no. 12, p. 8 (December, 1926).

first to correspond with friends in Illinois and New England in an effort to interest wealthy people who would donate money to an educational project. The Reverend David Brooks drew up the charter for the school and served as president of the first board of trustees, which was composed of fifteen members.⁴

The act of incorporation was obtained from the legislature and the projected school was placed under the control of the Wisconsin conference until Minnesota Territory should have a Methodist conference of its own. Brooks presented to the Honorable William Pitt Murray, then a member of the territorial council, a bill for a special charter to incorporate a Minnesota academy. Such a charter was unnecessary, so, in spite of Brooks' opposition, Murray referred the bill to a select committee of which he was a member and redrafted it for a university charter. In this form it passed both houses and was approved by Governor Willis A. Gorman on March 3, 1854.⁵

Section 4 of the charter stated that the school was to be located between St. Paul and Lake Pepin on the Mississippi River. Land was plentiful and the school grounds would probably be donated or purchased for a small sum. Towns were anxious to have any institution locate in them that would bring prosperity and stimulate growth. Faribault and West St. Paul made bids for Hamline, and Mayor Nathaniel McLean of St. Paul offered to give twenty acres on Dayton's Bluff as a site. Another St. Paul site of from ten to forty acres at the head of Jackson Street was available for a few hundred dollars, but the money was not forthcoming. An effort was made to secure the ground on which the University of Minnesota now

⁴ Wisconsin Annual Conference, Methodist Episcopal Church, *Minutes*, 1854, p. 20; Chauncey Hobart, *History of Methodism in Minnesota*, 284, 285 (Red Wing, 1887).

⁵ Minnesota Territory, *Laws*, 1854, p. 105-107; Wisconsin Annual Conference, *Minutes*, 1854, p. 21; *Daily Pioneer Press* (St. Paul), June 6, 1880.

stands. Speculators eager to sell their lots increased the rivalry. A certain John Holton at first refused to donate his land in the vicinity of Red Rock, but seemed willing enough after other plans had been formulated. William Freeborn, a member of the original group of Hamline trustees, wanted the school located at Red Wing, a village of some three hundred people. He thought the town so situated that it would be the metropolis of Minnesota in the near future. A number of Red Wing business men donated a block in the heart of the town and this became the site of Hamline's first home.⁶ A three-story red brick building was ready for use by January, 1855. Classes, however, had been held since the preceding November on the second floor of the Smith Hoyt Company's store near the river. The new structure served as a dormitory, a library, and a chapel, as well as a recitation hall.⁷

The name "Hamline" was chosen in honor of a distinguished Methodist bishop of the time, Leonidas L. Hamline. He had indicated his interest in higher education in the Northwest upon several occasions, so it was no surprise when he donated real estate in Chicago and New York valued at twenty-five thousand dollars as endowment for a frontier college. When he made this gift he seemingly did not know that his name was to be given to the school, for in a letter to the Reverend E. S. Grunley of Schenectady, New York, written on August 25, 1854, he said: "Yours received. I have given twenty five thousand dollars to the Minnesota University, but the name was all unknown to me, and was given it before they expected anything from me. I wish the name was changed. . . . I

⁶ *Laws*, 1854, p. 106; Hobart, *Methodism in Minnesota*, 284; *History of the Hamline University of Minnesota when Located at Red Wing, Minnesota, from 1854 to 1869*, 9 (St. Paul, 1907).

⁷ *Hamline University at Red Wing*, 10; Malcolm C. Shurtleff, "The Introduction of Methodism in Minnesota," 86. The latter is a University of Minnesota master's thesis (1922); the Minnesota Historical Society has a copy.

will give no institution anything for a name." The Reverend David Brooks sent a letter on May 10, 1855, to the *Western Christian Advocate* in much the same tenor: "We had just got our University, and, without a syllable of correspondence with Brother Hamline, had given it his name. We had never notified him that we had even thought of a University in Minnesota, till I received his letter."⁸ It was a commonplace at this time for people of means to give money to educational enterprises with the understanding that the name of the school be that of the largest donor. Bishop Hamline, a man of sensitive nature and high idealism, evidently resented having his name used in accordance with such a materialistic practice.

The two presidents during the Red Wing period were Jabez Brooks and Benjamin Crary. Brooks was born in Stockport, England, in 1823 and was brought to this country as a small boy. He received his elementary education in Wisconsin and completed his college work at Connecticut Wesleyan University, where he was graduated as valedictorian of his class and was elected to membership in Phi Beta Kappa. He followed his father, the Reverend David Brooks, to Minnesota, and was soon chosen as Hamline's first president. In addition to serving in an executive capacity, Brooks was principal of the preparatory department, teacher, and librarian. His health began to fail under the excessive responsibility and he resigned in 1857. Crary took his place, but he resigned in 1861. By this time Brooks had gained new physical vigor and again assumed the rôle of president. When Hamline closed its doors in 1869 he was called to the University of Minnesota as professor of Greek.⁹

⁸ Walter C. Palmer, *Life and Letters of Leonidas L. Hamline, D. D.*, 441, 445, (New York, 1866).

⁹ Shurtleff, "Methodism in Minnesota," 42; *History of Hamline at Red Wing*, 40-42; *Goodhue County Republican* (Red Wing), July 26, 1861; August 19, September 9, 1869; Noah Lathrop, "The Methodist Preacher of the Olden time. His trials and Triumphs," 33, and "Historical Remarks on Hamline University," 9-11, manuscript addresses in the

Brooks was an ardent worker for education throughout the state. He gave addresses, wrote articles in behalf of better education, and was twice president of the State Teachers' Association. The *Goodhue County Republican* published the following statement about him in its issue for August 19, 1869: "Were our own 'Hamline' in progress, we should feel disinclined to his transfer to St. Anthony, as too many of its students would follow him. As it is, the State University cannot do better for itself than to give him a prominent position, and we hope he may be called to labor in a place where he can be so signally serviceable to the State."

Crary went to Hamline from Indiana, where he was born and educated. He had attained success as a preacher and found it hard to adjust himself to teaching. When Governor Ramsey appointed him state superintendent of public instruction in 1861, he accepted, and Brooks filled the vacancy at Hamline. The following year Crary became chaplain of the Third Minnesota Volunteer Infantry in the Civil War. He did not return to Minnesota after the war but went farther west to do more pioneering.¹⁰

The trustees had the power to appoint all teachers and to prescribe and regulate the course of study. It is doubtful whether there were more than six or seven teachers employed at any one time during the Red Wing period. Methodists from the East (New England and states north of the Ohio) were very often sought, and anyone at all competent living in the vicinity was enlisted. Money was scarce and salaries seldom reached the five hundred dollar mark. Brooks was appointed president at a salary of \$550 a year, but a good part of this probably was paid in produce. Students frequently paid their tuition

Minnesota Methodist Historical Society Papers in the possession of the Minnesota Historical Society.

¹⁰ *Hamline University at Red Wing*, 41, 45; "Historical Remarks on Hamline University," 13-17; *Red Wing Republican*, June 25, 1858. The name of this paper was changed to *Goodhue County Republican* on August 12, 1859.

by boarding the professors. On one occasion the faculty, it is said, had to divide a single sack of flour. They carried their shares home after dark to prevent the students from knowing the truth regarding their circumstances. Hamline started with two teachers, Jabez Brooks and Emily Sorin, his assistant. The school was little more than a preparatory school at this time, but Miss Sorin took advanced work and was among the first to be graduated from the collegiate department. Miss Helen Sutherland, another early graduate, taught Latin and Greek and was preceptress of the preparatory department. Subsequently she taught in the Minneapolis public schools, and then in the University of Minnesota. Her rank as a teacher was high.¹¹

An important addition to the faculty was made in 1858, when H. B. Wilson went to Hamline as professor of mathematics and civil engineering. He was a graduate of Wesleyan College in Maine, his native state. In 1862 he entered the army as captain of Company F, Sixth Minnesota Volunteer Infantry. When Wilson returned to Minnesota he became superintendent of schools for Goodhue County and later state superintendent of public instruction. While he held the latter office he was secretary of the state normal board and a regent of the University of Minnesota, *ex officio*. He worked hard to establish training schools and institutes in the state. As if these many educational achievements were not enough, he served both as representative and senator in the Minnesota legislature.¹²

The Reverend Peter Akers, who was born in Campbell County, Virginia, was evidently one of the few Southerners who went to Illinois and opposed slavery. He was known for his anti-slavery convictions and writings both at McKendree College in Illinois and during his eight years, from 1858 to 1865, at Hamline. He taught Biblical literature and produced

¹¹ *Laws*, 1854, p. 105; *Hamline University at Red Wing*, 35, 39, 64, 71, 91, 208; Shurtleff, "Methodism in Minnesota," 84.

¹² *Republican*, June 25, 1858; *Hamline University at Red Wing*, 50-53.

a scholarly book entitled *Biblical Chronology*. While many Hamline professors and students were fighting in the Civil War, at least one teacher helped in the frontier war at home. This was the professor of mathematics, the Reverend A. J. Nelson, who was originally from Ohio. He raised a band of volunteers and participated in the quelling of the Sioux Outbreak in 1862.¹³ Doubtless other teachers in this early period deserve mention, but it is believed those included here not only made large and definite contributions to Hamline but also to this entire pioneer section.

The purpose of the Hamline curriculum was to provide a well-rounded and useful education with emphasis upon Christian, classical, and scientific training. The course of study embraced four departments — classical, preparatory, scientific, and ladies' graduating. The freshmen wishing a classical course studied Livy, Xenophon's *Anabasis*, Homer's *Illiad*, geometry, algebra, and English literature. The sophomores went on with the study of Latin and Greek and took in addition trigonometry, analytical geometry, calculus, composition, and elocution. Juniors were required to study English, logic, philosophy, mathematical mechanics, chemistry, Latin, and Greek. Seniors studied Hebrew or German, ethics, English, astronomy, modern history, and civil polity. Declamations from all the "gentlemen" of the school and compositions by all students were required each week.¹⁴

The academic year was divided into three terms of thirteen weeks each. During the fall term all students were required to attend lectures on anatomy, physiology, chemistry, natural science, and English literature. All juniors were obliged to hear lectures on natural history and zoölogy during the winter term, while lectures on mineralogy, geology, and botany came in the spring. The tendency to recognize scientific courses

¹³ *Republican*, February 3, 1860; *Hamline University at Red Wing*, 48, 59.

¹⁴ *Republican*, December 11, 1857; *Hamline University, Catalogue*, 1863, p. 6-8, 23.

can be discerned. Though not given the same attention as classical subjects, they were considered of enough importance for special lectures. In harmony with this trend toward practical courses, the Hamline law school was started in 1857 under Charles McClure, a Red Wing lawyer. Later several business courses were added.¹⁵

The ladies' graduating course differed from the classical in that French, German, music, drawing, and history were substituted for some of the Latin courses and Greek. Preparatory courses of three years were offered, including scientific, ladies' preparatory, and classical studies of a more elementary nature. The normal department stressed the theory and practice of teaching and sought to give actual experience in model schools.¹⁶

Four types of degrees were conferred. The bachelor of arts degree was granted to students who had completed the classical course satisfactorily, and a lady baccalaureate of arts was presented to those finishing the ladies' graduating course. Upon completion of the scientific course the bachelor of science degree was awarded. A master of arts degree was "conferred, upon application, on every Bachelor of Arts of three years standing," if the applicant had "sustained a good moral character" during that time. The fee in each case was five dollars. Entrance examinations were required for admission to Hamline. Public examinations were held before a committee appointed by the faculty at the close of the fall and winter terms. At the end of the spring term this committee, together with the board of visitors, appointed by the Minnesota Methodist conference, examined the students. All were required to attend the examinations unless excused by the president.¹⁷

The majority of students came from in and around Red Wing, but there were representatives from Iowa, Wisconsin,

¹⁵ *Catalogue*, 1863, p. 5, 22; *Hamline University at Red Wing*, 31, 137.

¹⁶ *Catalogue*, 1863, p. 9, 12-15.

¹⁷ *Catalogue*, 1863, p. 21, 22.

and Michigan. Nearly five hundred students attended Hamline between 1854 and 1869. The number enrolled during the first year in all departments was seventy-three. Of these thirty were girls and forty-three boys. The total graduated in the Red Wing period was twenty-two, with two or three receiving diplomas each year after 1859. The only year in which there were no graduates was 1862, when the Civil War took many of the boys, while the girls were busy with war work at home. Minnesota answered the first call for volunteers and more than a hundred men were in the ranks from Hamline. There were seven corporals, three sergeants, three orderlies, one second lieutenant, three first lieutenants, nine captains, three majors, and two chaplains. The rest served as privates. After 1867 the enrollment increased until it seemed about to exceed that of any previous year.¹⁸

Tuition was to be paid or secured before the middle of each term. Deductions, however, were made in cases of illness. The tuition ranged from three and a half dollars a term in the primary department to fifteen dollars in the law school during the first years. The fee for those in the collegiate division was ten dollars, with extra charges for music and drawing. All students paid a janitor's fee of seventy-five cents. As early as 1862 a discount of five dollars in the collegiate department was allowed for clergymen's children.¹⁹

Tuition was paid in many ways. For the fall term of 1859 Jacob Bennett received a bill for the tuition of two students, in the first and second preparatory classes, and for "Two Janitor's Fees" amounting to a total of \$14.50. This was paid "by Amanda's Teaching" to the amount of \$7.75 and

¹⁸ *Hamline University at Red Wing*, 13, 64, 209-220; Shurtleff, "Methodism in Minnesota," 91, 94; *Hamline University Magazine*, vol. 1, no. 3, p. 26, 30 (spring term, 1865).

¹⁹ *Republican*, December 11, 1857; *Hamline University Day Book*, 134. The latter is a manuscript record of the tuition accounts of Hamline students from 1859 to 1868, in the Minnesota Methodist Historical Society papers.

"By boarding Miss Gibbs" for \$6.75. An example of payment in produce is to be found in the case of R. Z. Bell, whose bill "To tuition of himself Second Prep Dpt." and janitor's fee amounted to \$7.75. He was credited with \$4.00 for "hay and Corn to Dr. Crary" and with \$3.75 earned by "J. L. Farber in teaching." As the result of an accident in the family of Lorin Brown, his children attended classes for only four weeks during the fall term of 1861, so his bill of \$15.50 for their tuition was taken care of "by loss of time" to the amount of \$10.73, by contributions of "½ sack of flour" at one dollar and four pounds of butter at ten cents a pound, by hauling wood for thirty-seven cents, and by the payment of three dollars in cash. Thomas Simmons paid the "Tuition of one Student in First Prep. Dep't." and his janitor's fee, amounting to \$6.75, for the fall term of 1869 "By merchandise" to Dr. Crary and Professor Wilson.²⁰ It is interesting to note the exactness with which these accounts tally. Cash payments were more common after 1865, but the bills cited here reveal the lack of money in a frontier region.

The spirit of Hamline has been characterized in the following manner: "The entire atmosphere of the Institution is so genuinely and generously Christian that one feels lonesome if he does not take an active interest in religious life and service. And yet Hamline is far removed from the sectarian spirit." Indeed, the incorporation act specified that all would receive equal privileges regardless of religious tenets. Students were expected to attend chapel exercises every morning and one service on Sunday, but their presence was not required at the "religious worship of any particular denomination except as specified by the student, his parents or guardian." On Sunday afternoons all students were required to attend the "College Lecture" in the chapel. The administration aimed to carry on the government of the school in a parental manner,

²⁰ Hamline University Day Book, 19, 20, 30, 106.

showing mildness but firmness and impartiality. No student guilty of profanity or improper conduct was allowed to remain in the school. Disorderly conduct such as gambling, drinking intoxicating liquors, or visiting saloons was strictly forbidden. Disrespect for the Sabbath or for religious observances and neglect of studies or school duties were also included in the category of offenses punishable by expulsion.²¹

The year 1857 marks the founding of a lyceum, of which Professor Brooks was chosen president. This was really a weekly debating society. Here are some of the subjects discussed throughout the year: "That Lafayette deserves more credit for his actions in the American Revolution than Washington"; "That man's success in life depends more on individual exertion than on circumstances"; "That the present political aspect indicates a dissolution of the Union"; "That dancing, as practiced at balls, is fully compatible with true morality"; "That woman should be allowed the privilege of the elective franchise"; "That notwithstanding the many evils of intemperance, a Prohibitory Liquor Law would be impolitic"; and "That Americans should rejoice at the overthrow of the British government."²²

The women planned to establish a paper that would consist of voluntary contributions and be read from time to time at the lyceum. A literary association soon took the place of the lyceum and became the forerunner of the present literary societies. The Sigourneyan Society was the first one formed for the women, and it issued a school paper known as the *Hesperia*. The Adelpian, a men's literary society, put out a similar paper called the *New Era*. Both groups held public exercises once a month. Soon the Euterpean, a musical organization, appeared, and references are found to the Philologean,

²¹ *Laws*, 1854, p. 105; *Catalogue*, 1863, p. 23; "Historical Remarks on Hamline University," 34.

²² *Republican*, November 6, 13, 20, 27; December 18, 1857; January 1, 8, 22, 1858.

which seems to be the Sigourneyan under a new name. The Philogeans arranged a special entertainment to raise money with which to purchase an artificial arm for the Reverend G. W. Richardson, pastor of the Methodist church at Red Wing, who had lost his arm in the war.²³

The issues of the *Hamline University Magazine* of 1864 and 1865 were filled with Civil War sentiments. The coming of peace evoked the following flight from one contributor:

The yoke of bondage has been broken, the shackles of slavery have fallen from the limbs of the oppressed, *our Union is preserved* — *our Nation is free*, and the glorious flag of liberty, the Star Spangled Banner waves triumphantly. . . . But, hark! mingled with the shout of gladness I hear a dirge. . . . There is scarcely a home in all our land that has not been made desolate. A husband, a son, a father, a brother has fallen upon the field of battle. . . . Yet we rejoice that our friends have not all been slain. . . . Hail, glad day of peace that has dawned upon us.

Many of the articles in the school magazine dealt with abstract themes handled with lofty generalizations. "Rely on Right," "Never Say Die," "Diligence and Idleness," "Cheerfulness," "Liberty," and "Do Good" are a few titles of the papers that were printed.²⁴

The students formed a library association in 1867, which sponsored the Hamline Library. Any man who signed the constitution and paid fifty cents a quarter became a member, but women were honorary members and had access to the library without cost. The payment of ten dollars entitled one to life membership and the right to vote at all meetings. In the fall of 1867 the library could boast of owning more than a thousand volumes. The reading room was supplied with the *Atlantic Monthly*, the *Nation*, the *Red Wing* and *St. Paul*

²³ *Republican*, November 6, 1857; November 20, 27, December 4, 1863; *Catalogue*, 1863, p. 22.

²⁴ *Hamline University Magazine*, vol. 1, no. 2, p. 3, 9; no. 3, p. 2-5, 9 (winter and spring terms, 1865).

newspapers, *Harper's Weekly*, the *Ladies' Repository*, and the *Methodist Quarterly Review*.²⁵

A flag bearing the motto "Hamline University. *Religio, Literæ, Libertas*; 1854" was presented to the school by the senior class during the commencement of 1863. Commencement exercises usually began with the baccalaureate services on Sunday and lasted until the following Wednesday, when student exhibitions were held and degrees were conferred. Public examinations were held on Monday and Tuesday. At least one evening was given over to the literary societies, which secured lecturers. In 1860 President Cray gave the baccalaureate address on "The Power of the Invisible." Before the diplomas were awarded, two student essays were read. One by Miss Williams was entitled "Education, Real and Unreal"; the other by Miss Mary Sorin was called "Æsthetic Culture and Valedictory." The Adelphian Society secured the Reverend James F. Chaffee of St. Paul as its lecturer. His subject was "Knowledge in Its Influences, Social, Civil and Religious." The Reverend A. J. Nelson talked to the Sigourneyans on "Woman and Her Sphere."²⁶

In the fall of 1868 former students met in the college chapel and arranged for a reunion to be held during the commencement week of the winter term from February 26 to March 3, 1869. The resident students were appointed to provide the supper for the reunion, while an alumni committee was to give the affair publicity. Many promised to attend and all seemed pleased with the project. Captain W. W. Rich, a civil engineer, composed a poem for the occasion which indicates that it is not only college students of the present day who combine good thoughts with poor poetry. The first stanza follows:

²⁵ *Republican*, August 16, 1867. The records of the "Students' Centenary Library Association of Hamline University" are in the Minnesota Methodist Historical Society Papers.

²⁶ *Republican*, June 15, 22, 1860; June 19, 1863.

As again we meet, and sit at thy feet,
And hear the beat of thy tender heart,
 With love abounding,
 A welcome sounding,
Dear memories come,—the tears *will* start;
 And we thank the good Creator,
That again we meet, and sit at thy feet,
 Our Alma Mater.²⁷

While the undergraduates and alumni were rejoicing at this festive celebration, the trustees were talking of closing the school. It had witnessed many financial setbacks. Money had been raised by endowment, by voluntary subscription, by tuition, and by the sale of scholarships. Bishop Hamline's endowment of real estate brought in less than the estimated twenty-five thousand dollars. Hard times made it difficult for people to pay their subscriptions and for students to pay their tuition. The grasshopper plague swept over Minnesota in the fifties, as it did again in the seventies, and destroyed the crops generally. People had scarcely recovered from the effects of this loss when the panic of 1857 brought the despairing fruits of over-speculation to the frontier. If teachers received any money payment on salaries in this year they were fortunate. Nevertheless, it was at this time that those interested in the school announced that its policy would be "to pay off the debt on the present building, and secure a permanent endowment fund" that would establish the school once and for all. In the early sixties the Civil War drained finances everywhere, and certainly the Hamline faculty and student ranks were depleted, but in 1867 the number of students was increasing. In 1865 the assets were \$33,886.93 over the liabilities, and by 1868 the assets had accrued to \$37,716.83 in excess of the liabilities and the school's debts had been liquidated to the extent of \$7,666.79. Moreover, Minnesota as a whole showed signs

²⁷ W. W. Rich, *Poem Read Before the Alumni of Hamline University, at Red Wing, Minnesota, March 3d, 1869*, 5 (St. Paul, 1870).

of prosperity. After 1865 "there were gains . . . in population, industry, wealth, and general comfort. . . Abundant crops, high prices for agricultural staples, and the depreciation of the currency enabled the farmers to clear their mortgages and other debts."²⁸

Nevertheless the trustees reported that Hamline could not continue on account of "loss of students, financial embarrassments, and lack of interest of former supporters." They decided to change the time of commencement from summer to spring. This was done, and in 1869 the spring term was omitted. Brooks tendered his resignation and Chaffee, then a trustee, made the motion to close the school, adding that it was to open again when existing liabilities could be managed and new buildings erected. The motion was carried. Chaffee claimed that the suspension was due to the sale of ten thousand dollars worth of scholarships at fifty dollars each. The scholarships, according to Chaffee, were "endowment, and interest on the same income for the support of the school; and so it happened that when students began to come in on scholarships, which yielded each of them, about three or four dollars interest for the support of the school, instead of about thirty dollars as formerly from tuition, the faculty . . . found the treasury empty, and themselves in need of bread." Certain it is that the sale of scholarships proved a detrimental policy to sound finances wherever used, and the Hamline treasury was not as full as it might have been. Yet other frontier colleges had survived under even less promising conditions.²⁹

²⁸ William Watts Folwell, *A History of Minnesota*, 3:1, 93 (St. Paul, 1926); *Hamline University at Red Wing*, 17, 22-24; Shurtleff, "Methodism in Minnesota," 87, 93; *Republican*, November 13, 1857.

²⁹ J. F. Chaffee, "Hamline University," in *Minnesota Methodist Historical Society Papers*; *Republican*, March 11, 1869; Shurtleff, "Methodism in Minnesota," 95; Hellen D. Asher, "The Growth of Colleges 1850-1860 Particularly in the North West," 60-64. The latter is a University of Wisconsin master's thesis (1926); the Minnesota Historical Society has a copy.

The lack of interest argument must be discredited if judgment can be grounded upon increasing numbers and the enthusiasm displayed at the reunion. It seems evident that politics entered in as an important factor. The buildings were old and the grounds too limited. Moreover, Red Wing was not proving to be a central location. The block donated by the town was returned in exchange for the balance of the university liabilities. Chaffee admitted that it was generally understood that if the school ever recommenced the location would be other than Red Wing. Thus Hamline closed not to open again for eleven years, and then St. Paul became its home.⁸⁰

At least three things had been accomplished by Hamline's Red Wing career. In the first place an institution of higher learning had actually been established — the first in the territory and open to both men and women. Secondly, through its professors, it was the means of stimulating further educational activity along various lines throughout the state. Professor Wilson started the first teachers' institute in Minnesota when he was county and state superintendent of public instruction. Crary was called from the Hamline presidency to be state superintendent of public instruction. Brooks was president of the State Teachers' Association at two different periods and he gave unsparingly of his energies for higher educational standards. Lastly, Hamline as a frontier college was able to furnish a well-rounded training for students living in the upper Mississippi Valley. Many would have been deprived of college training had it not been that such a school with moderate tuition charges was within comparatively easy reach.

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⁸⁰ Shurtleff, "Methodism in Minnesota," 96, 97; Hamline University, *Prospectus*, 1880-81, p. 13.



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