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MINNESOTA AND THE COMPETITION FOR IMMIGRANTS

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PREFACE

This study considers a phase of American immigration promotion which has received only scant attention from historians. During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries many states maintained official immigration agencies whose purpose was to encourage settlement of Easterners and foreign. Although this work is concerned primarily with the promotional efforts of Minnesota Territory and State, it also considers the competition for immigrants which existed between Minnesota and other western states for three-quarters of a century following Appomattox.

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MINNESOTA AND THE COMPETITION FOR IMMIGRANTS

CHAPTER I

CAUSATION: THE OLD WORLD BACKGROUND

Population to develop unused resources was one of the principal needs of all states and territories in the American West. In 1850, the year following its organization, Minnesota Territory had only 6,077 people.[1] Obviously, if the Territory were to grow and prosper it must draw population from both the eastern United States and Europe. Minnesota, of course, was not peculiar in this respect. The same need existed in other western states and territories, and consequently vigorous efforts were made to attract immigrants during the late nineteenth century by establishing official agencies to promote settlement. Minnesota was among the first to establish an official immigration agency with the appointment of an immigration commissioner in 1855.

The precise influence played by territorial and state immigration promotion agencies cannot be determined because they worked along side private agencies, but there is no doubt that in Minnesota, at least, the official organizations fulfilled an important role in advertising the advantages of the Territory and State. In the half century following

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[1] U.S., Bureau of the Census, Seventh Census of the United States: 1850, p. 993.

1850 Minnesota's population grew from 6,077 to 1,751,394. Of this number somewhat over half were born within the state or territory, and approximately a fifth were born in other parts of the United States. As would be expected, the percentage of foreign-born decreased in a relative sense, but the 505,318 people of foreign birth made up about 29 per cent of the total population.[2] Thus, even as late as 1900, half of Minnesota's population had come from other states and nations.

Magnificent opportunities in new areas do not alone cause great population movements. Something more is needed. There existed in the older areas certain factors which served as expulsive forces and worked in harmony with the attractive forces of the newer regions. Before describing and evaluating the role of official agencies created to promote immigration into Minnesota, it is necessary to analyze the conditions in the American East and in Europe which made the prospective emigrant receptive to the appeals of the promoters.

Because of its relative newness and the existence of large amounts of unoccupied land, the United States has been until recently the scene of tremendous population movements from heavily settled regions to those with sparse settlement. The rather consistent movement westward has been explained by Frederick Jackson Turner and other scholars concerned with the development of the West. Until the recent development of an industrial

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[2]U.S., Bureau of the Census, Twelfth Census of the United States: 1900. Population, I, Pt. I, 2, 485. All of the states with which Minnesota competed for immigrants had a relative decrease in foreign born residents. In 1900, North Dakota, with 35 per cent, had a greater percentage of foreign born than Minnesota. This can be explained by the lateness of its development. Wisconsin's foreign born population was 25 per cent of its total.

economy, which changed the population flow from one which was rural-centered to one directed to the large industrial centers, most of the intranational migration was a movement from areas of scarce and expensive land to regions where land was plentiful and cheap. There, an agricultural life could be begun with a minimum of capital and a maximum of ambition and physical endurance.

Although American migration has been credited in large part to the romantic concepts of "restlessness" and the need for "elbow room," the typical settler is more truly personified by the hard working and parochial farmer than by the Daniel Boones and the Davy Crocketts of American historical legend. Most pioneers abandoned their old roots for new in the hope that what developed in new soil would be stronger and firmer, that life would be more enriched for themselves and for their families.

But what about the countries of Europe from which so many Minnesotans came? Why were the English, Germans, and Scandinavians willing to bid goodby to the land of their parents, cross a wide and ominous ocean, and finally trek hundreds and thousands of miles across a strange nation to the small plot of land they hoped awaited them upon their arrival in Minnesota?

Although in the maze of history and numbers, emigration is frequently discussed in terms of statistics, one cannot ignore the important fact that statistics represent very real people who moved because of their own particular reasons. Emigration was a personal matter, and for each emigrant, the decision to change country and loyalty was based upon a unique combination of circumstances. Causal factors also varied among the nations of Europe. In order to delineate the different factors which in-

fluenced emigrants, the various political and geographical regions of Europe which supplied the majority of emigrants to Minnesota will be identified and discussed individually. Since the bulk of Minnesota's foreign population came from Scandinavia, Germany, and the United Kingdom, those nations will be considered separately. Other western Europe nations and those in eastern and south central Europe, which sent relatively few nationals to Minnesota, will receive briefer consideration.

When taken as a unit, Scandinavia constantly supplied the largest number of citizens to Minnesota. In 1870, the total number of Scandinavians in the state approached 60,000. In 1900, the figure had more than quadrupled, growing to more than 250,000. Of this total, Sweden supplied the greater number with 20,987 in 1870 and 115,476 in 1900. Norway led in 1870 with 35,940 but dropped to second place in 1900 with 104,895. Denmark had sent 1,910 by 1870 and 16,299 by 1900. Finland, for which 1870 statistics do not exist, had 10,727 of its people in Minnesota in 1900.[3]

Perhaps the main cause of Scandinavian emigration was the rather rapid population increase during the nineteenth century which outran the availability of good agricultural land. This was especially true in Norway. There the apparent alternative to emigration was removal to the city to become either an industrial worker or a tradesman. Industry, how-

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[3]U.S., Bureau of the Census, Ninth Census of the United States: 1870. Population, I, Pt. 1, pp. 732-35. One problem in determining the exact statistics for Norway and Sweden is that the census enumerators, and others, who were not familiar with the nations of Scandinavia tended to group all as "Swede." Finland was under Russian domination in 1870; perhaps the emigrants were not identified as Finnish. Also, Russia discouraged emigration.

ever, was not able to absorb a significant number of the population surplus; Norwegian industry employed only 15 per cent of the total population in 1865 and this increased only four percentage points by 1876. Similarly, the trades provided no significant outlet for the government restricted the number of such occupations through stringent trade-licensing requirements. With the ever-diminishing open lands and the reduction in the number of farm laborers as a result of modernization and the demand for higher wages, there was no longer any good alternative to emigration.[4]

Other economic factors acted as additional expulsive forces. In the early eighteen sixties a severe financial crisis hit Norway and Sweden, caused, at least in part, by an attempted transition from a self-contained economy to one based upon foreign trade. Moreover, taxes were increased, and the climax came with a series of severe agricultural failures. The economic situation remained little improved until the 1880's.[5] According to one observer, conditions in Norway were so bad by 1869 that "the poor people [had] . . . commenced to mix their bread with bark meal and with meal made from straw." The observer also noted that in Christiana work was almost impossible to find and, when found, paid "not more than from

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[4]Ingrid Semmingsen, "Norwegian Emigration to America During the Nineteenth Century," Norwegian-American Studies and Records, trans. Einar Haugen, XI (1940), 69-73; Theodore Blegen, Norwegian Migration to America, 1825-1860 (Northfield: Norwegian-American Historical Assoc., 1931), I, 4. By 1900 the number of renters, cotters and hired men was only half that of 1865. Semmingsen, "Norwegian Emigration," 73.

[5]Semmingsen, "Norwegian Emigration," 72; B. Kihlholz to Gov. William Marshall, July 25, 1867, printed in St. Paul Press, August 3, 1867.

4 to 8 cents a day and board."[6]

The importance of social and political factors as motives for emigration from Scandinavia is difficult to assess. That the condition of the lower farm classes was difficult there can be no doubt. The condition of the cotter, one who obtained a small piece of land in return for services rendered to the landowner, was especially deplorable around the middle of the nineteenth century. In fact, by 1850 the demands made upon the cotters were so great that they demanded governmental guarantees limiting their service to eleven hours a day and five days a week. The time remaining would be used for tilling their own fields. Furthermore, they were denied the franchise until 1898.[7]

Hans Mattson, immigrant agent for Minnesota and himself of Swedish birth, stated that "the chief cause" of emigration would be found in "the social conditions of Europe," and mentioned Sweden specifically. Mattson reported that there was considerable dissatisfaction with "aristocracy, and other inherited privileges," which were based upon birth and family and not upon "just principles." People wished to emigrate to the United States where the "civilization is . . . to a large extent, built on equality and the recognition of personal merit." He also suggested that there was a desire for greater religious

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[6]Letter from N. H. Hilton, Christiana (Oslo), January 6, 1870. Written to Iowa North West which was published in Ft. Dodge, Iowa, and printed in the issue of February 10, 1870. Reprinted in Theodore Blegen (ed.), "Minnesota's Campaign for Immigrants: Illustrative Documents," Yearbook of the Swedish Historical Society of America, XI (1926), 53.

[7]Blegen, Norwegian Migration, pp. 7-8; George M. Stephenson, "Mind of the Immigrant," Norwegian-American Studies and Records, XI (1940), 72.

liberty.[8]

Equally difficult to determine with any certainty is the role of taxation in forcing Scandinavians from their homes, although there is some evidence of discontent in Norway during the first period of major emigration (1866-1873). The increase of taxation during the 1860's followed an economic crisis of the early part of the decade. The purpose of the revenue increase was to modernize the country and to provide necessary relief for the unemployed.[9] In 1867, B. Kihlholz, another Minnesota immigrant agent, reported to Governor Marshall that the economic crisis was made worse for many Norwegians by "the burden of intolerable high taxes," and that the dissatisfaction was so great thousands were expected to emigrate.[10]

But evidence offered by competent sources tends to diminish the actual importance of the social, economic and political factors. An excellent source of information on the causes of emigration, for all of Europe, is the special Consular Reports issued by the United States Government in 1886. The American consuls in Stockholm and Christiana (Oslo) both reported that the political, social, and economic forces were negligible so far as their respective host countries were concerned. Gerhard Gade, Consul in Christiana, reported that Norway was unrivaled

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[8]Hans Mattson, Reminiscences, The Story of An Emigrant (St. Paul: D. D. Merrill Co., 1891), p. 296

[9]For evidence of dissatisfaction see Asmund Olavsen Vinje's article in Valen, June 3, 1870, as quoted in Semmingsen, "Norwegian Emigration," 72.

[10]Kihlholz to Marshall, printed in St. Paul Press, August 3, 1867.

in "free and democratic institutions," and that there were no political or social causes of emigration. Nere A. Elfwing, Consul in Stockholm, reported similarly that there were "no political causes" and that "onerous taxation" was not a factor. Both Consuls were very positive in stating that military service, although required, was of no significance whatever in the decision of the Scandinavian to emigrate. The main flow of emigrants was composed of small farmers and farm laborers who left their homes simply because of the greater rewards for labor they thought existed in the United States.[11]

In the early decades of Minnesota history, Germany sent more immigrants to the state than any other European nation. Of the 2,048 foreign-born in the territory in 1850, 146 were German while Scandinavia had only twelve.[12] By 1875 these numbers had increased to 59,602 and 88,325 respectively. Of the latter, Norway had the most with 53,766.[13] By 1900, the number of German-born residents of Minnesota had increased to 117,007 and Germany was still the leading supplier of immigrants.[14]

Nearly all contemporary observers of the nineteenth century scene were quite certain that emigration from Germany was not caused primarily by internal economic, social or political conditions. Rather,

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[11]See the reports of Consuls Gerhard Gade, Christiana, October 19, 1886, and Nere A. Elfwing, Stockholm August 18, 1886, in U.S., Congress, House, Emigration and Immigration. Reports of the Consular Offices of the United States. In the Executive Documents of the House of Representatives, 1886-87, Exec. Doc. No. 157, 1887, pp. 320-23, 330-31. Hereafter referred to as Consular Reports 1886.

[12]Census of 1850, p. 118.

[13]Pioneer Press (St. Paul), Dec. 30, 1875, p. 4.

[14]Census of 1900. Population, I, Pt. 1, p. 733.

emigration resulted from the simple desire to go to a new country where opportunities were more plentiful and rewards more apparent. Most of the American consuls in Germany, in their 1886 reports, regarded the desire to attain a higher standard of living as one of the most important reasons for removal.[15] Some six years earlier, in 1880, Richard T. Ely, writing in the New York Tribune, made the same observation:

> The motives leading to emigration [from Germany] were formerly to a great extent of an ideal nature, and the class of emigrants such as could be affected by ideal considerations. The motives now leading to emigration are chiefly of a material nature, and the class of emigrants such as cannot be moved by other than material considerations.

However, to Ely, the main reason for the great exodus from Germany[16] was the pressure of a rapid population growth which would have to be curbed if Germany were to progress. At this time, emigration was "a dire alternative to starvation."[17] The American consul in Dusseldorf, D. J. Partello, in his report of 1886, ranked population increase as the major cause of emigration from his district.[18] The same cause was given primary importance by William W. Lang, Consul at Hamburg, while William D. Wamer, Consul at Cologne, denied that over-population had any significant relation to the movement from Germany. To Wamer the cause was the desire

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[15] Consular Reports 1886, pp. 99-197.

[16] From January 1 to December 1, 1881, 188,255 Germans arrived at Castle Garden alone. During the same period, only 35,335 arrived from Sweden and 13,895 from Norway. New York Tribune, December 31, 1881, p. 8. The Norwegian number is small because many landed at Quebec. This was the second great period of Norwegian immigration.

[17] Richard T. Ely to Editor, New York Tribune, December 18, 1880, p. 2.

[18] D. J. Partello, Consul at Dusseldorf, June 25, 1886, Consular Reports 1886, p. 175.

to buy land at more favorable terms than possible in Germany. Henry F. Merritt, Consul at Aix-la-Chapelle also stated that the population increase was not a major cause of emigration.[19]

Although Germany was a highly militaristic state in the nineteenth century, the desire to escape obligatory military service was not considered a major cause of emigration by most contemporary observers. Evidently the orders for the survey of emigration from the various consular districts which resulted in the 1886 reports specifically requested information regarding the importance of military service as a factor in emigration. Nearly every report includes an evaluation of the conscription factor. Only the Consul at Bremen, from which the bulk of German emigrants left for the United States, credited the desire to escape military service as a significant cause. The Consul, Albert Loening, stated that young men, rich and poor, emigrated to escape conscription "which [was] considered by the rich as an inconvenience and by the poor as a hardship."[20] But to George C. Tanner, at Chemnitz, military service played "a less conspicuous part in it [emigration] than the Department [State] has been led to believe." The same suggestion was made by F. Raine, Consul-General in Berlin, and by the Consuls in Aix-la-Chapelle, Cologne and Dusseldorf.[21] However, in 1890, F. L. Dingley, of

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[19]William W. Lang, Consul at Hamburg, June 16, 1886, Ibid., p. 182; William D. Wamer, Cologne, June 1, 1886, Ibid., p. 164; Henry F. Merritt, Aix-la-Chapelle, May 22, 1886, Ibid., p. 136.

[20]Albert Loening, Bremen, May 26, 1886, Ibid., p. 152.

[21]George C. Tanner, Chemnitz, May 28, 1886, Ibid., p. 152; E. Raine, Berlin, June 19, 1886, Ibid., p. 105; Merritt, Ibid., p. 135; Wamer, Ibid., p. 164; Partello, Ibid., p. 175.

the Bureau of Statistics, reported that "the abnormal movement of German population to the United States, which . . . the military service of Germany generated, was heightened by the blood-and-iron policy of Prince Bismarck. . . ."[22]

The statement by Dingley perhaps can be interpreted as a general fear of war; emigration was a way of retreating from the possible ravages of war rather than the result of a desire to escape military service as such. Certainly the desire to escape the destruction of war was of at least some significance during this period. Albert Wolff, Minnesota's immigration agent resident in Germany in 1870, reported to Governor Austin that the threat of war in early 1870 caused many persons to emigrate. In Bremen he found thousands awaiting transportation to the United States who had no particular American destination in mind. "The shadow of the coming war . . . frightened these thousands of well to do and peaceable people . . . away from pleasant and happy homes," Wolff wrote.[23]

The evidence available suggests that the major cause of emigration found within Germany was the desire for economic improvement regardless of the particular economic conditions of Germany at the time. The decision to move was not based necessarily upon the degree of poverty or prosperity, nor upon restrictive social or political conditions, but

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[22]F. L. Dingley, "European Immigration," House Miscellaneous Documents, 52d Congress, 1st Session, 1892, Doc. No. 19, p. 247.

[23]Report of Albert Wolff, "State Commissioner of Emigration for Germany," to Gov. Horace Austin, dated Bremen, September 7, 1870, in Gov. File 241, Minnesota State Archives (MSA); Blegen, "Illustrative Documents," pp. 58-59.

upon the belief that in the United States a way of life could be found which was better than that existing at home.

The bulk of the emigrants from the British Isles came to Minnesota during the period before 1875. While in 1850 there were less than 400 from this area in Minnesota, of whom nearly three-fourths were Irish,[24] by 1870, the state contained 30,554 former residents of the United Kingdom.[25] The number was increased by some three thousand within the next five years.[26] In the twenty-five years prior to 1900, the representation from this region increased only 7,000, some 40,548 being listed in the census of 1900.[27]

During most of the nineteenth century, the United States was the destination of the great majority of emigrants from the United Kingdom. The greatest period of emigration was 1861-70 when 72 per cent of all emigrants went to the United States. Over half of the emigration continued to the United States until 1901 when the Empire began to attract settlers. In the period, 1901-10, the United States received 44.4 per cent of the emigrants while 47.9 per cent went to various parts of the Empire. By 1913 the United States received only 26.5 per cent while Canada alone received 40.7 per cent.

Two-thirds of all the farmers who left the United Kingdom during

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[24] Census of 1850, p. 117. The problem of identification is difficult because many who came from Canada were probably English in origin.

[25] Census of 1870. Population, I, p. 340.

[26] State census figures for 1875 in Pioneer-Press (St. Paul), December 30, 1875, p. 4.

[27] Census of 1900. Population, I, Pt. 1, pp. 732-35.

the period 1876-1900 went to the United States, as did a majority of the farm laborers. During the same period, about 60 per cent of the skilled laborers also chose the United States as their destination. Toward the end of the century, 75 per cent of the skilled workers went to the United States.[28]

Ireland supplied by far the greatest number of emigrants from the United Kingdom. There were nearly four times as many Irish in Minnesota as English in 1870. By 1900, this ratio had been reduced considerably but there were still approximately two Irishmen to every Englishman in the state. Scotland supplied relatively few residents, 2,194 by 1870 and 4,810 by 1900. Wales, listed separately in the census, increased its number by about 300, from 944 in 1870 to 1,288 in 1900, despite attempts by Minnesota to increase the size of Welsh immigration.[29]

During the eighteenth century and the first half of the nineteenth, Ireland experienced a remarkable population growth. The population, estimated by Malthus at 1,250,000 in 1700, increased to an estimated 8,295,000 by 1845. During that same period, the population of England and Wales tripled to 15,909,000.[30] After 1845, however, the population of Ireland

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[28]Brinley, Thomas, Migration and Economic Growth; A Study of Great Britain and the Atlantic Economy. The National Institute of Economic and Social Research: Economic and Social Studies, Vol. XII (Cambridge: University Press, 1954), pp. 57-59.

[29]Census of 1870. Population, I, p. 340; Census of 1900. Population, I, Pt. 1, pp. 733-35. In 1870, the Census listed 5,670 persons of English birth and 21,746 of Irish origin. The attempt to promote Welsh emigration is discussed in a later chapter.

[30]D. A. E. Harkness, "Irish Emigration," International Migrations, ed. Walter F. Willcox (New York: National Bureau of Economic Research, 1931), II, 261-63.

declined at a rate even more rapid than that by which it had increased. In 1851, the Census revealed a population of 6,552,000, and by 1901 Ireland's population was only 4,459,000.[31] Statistics of mortality and emigration explain the population loss. During the period 1846-1851, nearly one million Irish died, most of them as a result of the potato famine which began in 1845. Similarly, the outward flow of people was extraordinary, over two million emigrated in the fifteen year period of 1841-55, with the overwhelming majority leaving after 1846. Of this number, 1,601,000, or nearly 77 per cent, went to the United States. Unlike prior Irish emigrants, most of those who left during this period were from the poorer classes.[32]

As a result of the famine and the consequent population loss, the number of small plots on which peasants eked out a submarginal living decreased considerably through consolidation. During the period 1841-51, the number of farms under fifteen acres decreased 381,000. But there were still 36,000 holdings of less than one acre in 1851.[33]

After 1855, emigration from Ireland decreased steadily, except for a few years following 1862 and 1879. The increase in the emigration rate after 1862 resulted from a second series of potato crop failures which began in 1860. Over one hundred thousand persons emigrated from Ireland between 1863 and 1865. Following this, emigration once again declined.

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[31]Maurice R. Davie, World Immigration: With Special Reference to the United States (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1936), p. 65.

[32]Ibid.; Harkness, "Irish Emigration," pp. 265, 269. In 1846, 106,000 Irish emigrated; in 1847, 215,000. The record year was 1851 when 250,000 left Ireland. Ibid., p. 265.

[33]Harkness, "Irish Emigration," p. 268. In 1841, there were 134,000 farms under one acre in size. Ibid.

During the early 1870's, the Irish potato crops again were poor, although emigration did not increase as it had in the previous decade. But in 1879 Ireland experienced the poorest potato yield on record and emigration again shot upward. This was the "Black Year" in British history, with economic troubles being experienced throughout Ireland and Great Britain. The emigration rate remained relatively high until 1900.[34] During this period, George W. Savage, Consul at Belfast, identified the major cause of emigration as "the lamentable condition of the small tenant farmers." Most of the tenants had "holdings" of less than three acres, for which they paid an annual rent of about five dollars per acre. Much of this land, Savage stated, was submarginal and produced "a depth of destitution unknown in our country." John J. Platt, Consul at Queenstown, credited tenant farmers and farm laborers as providing significant numbers in the exodus; but he stated also that many agriculturalists were the younger sons and daughters of farmers and that some of the tenant farmers had more than $2,500 in cash.[35] These most certainly represented a rather small fraction of the total number of emigrants.

It is more difficult to determine the internal causes of English and Scottish emigration. During the latter years of the nineteenth century emigration depended largely upon conditions in the United States and seemingly very little on the status of the British economy. Throughout the last quarter of the century, the majority of English emigrants were

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[34] Ibid., pp. 271-73.

[35] George W. Savage, Belfast, June 4, 1886, Consular Reports 1886, p. 557; John W. Platt, Queenstown, July 17, 1886, Ibid., p. 565. During the period 1875-1900, between 80-90 per cent of the Irish emigrants were unskilled laborers. Thomas, Migration and Economic Growth, p. 65.

unskilled laborers. Skilled workers were second in number. Farmers, professional people and businessmen represented only a small part of the total, never more than 15 per cent. The largest number of Scottish emigrants came from the class of skilled laborers, with the unskilled ranking second. Relatively few farmers came from Scotland and not many professional people or businessmen.[36] According to Thomas Waller, American Consul-General in London, the desire to escape military service or taxation was not a significant cause of British emigration.[37]

By the end of the nineteenth century, there were nearly as many residents of Minnesota from Eastern Europe as there were from the United Kingdom. The United States Census for 1900 listed the Eastern European population as 39,952. Of this number, Poland supplied 11,361, Bohemia 11,147, Austria 8,872, and Russia 5,907. Hungary provided only 2,182 and Rumania was barely represented with 483.[38]

It is extremely difficult to identify causes of emigration which are applicable to all of the various peoples found within the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Because Bohemia and Austria sent the largest number of immigrants, major attention will be focused upon them, with primary concentration upon Bohemia. Poland, of necessity, will be discussed separately and only brief consideration will be given to Hungary and Rumania.

Prior to 1840, Bohemians had little interest in emigration. This

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[36]Thomas, Migration and Economic Growth, pp. 64-66. For a discussion on the exodus of skilled workers from Scotland, see the report of D. B. Wood, American Consul in Dundee, May 31, 1886, Consular Reports 1886, p. 548.

[37]Thomas M. Waller, Consul General, London, July 9, 1886, Ibid., p. 362.

[38]Census of 1900. Population, I, Pt. 1, pp. 732-35.

was largely the result of a wave of prosperity which hit the province following the end of the Napoleonic wars. The good times ended with the drought of 1840 which brought a failure in the potato crop. The idea of removal began to play upon the minds of the people.[39] After the abortive Revolution of 1848, the flow of emigration increased, although authorities disagree as to the importance of the Revolution as a cause. The answer to this may be that, although there were few who emigrated as a direct result of the Revolution, many did move from Bohemia because of their dissatisfaction with the political situation, a dislike which was made manifest by the Revolution.[40]

The basic internal reason for emigration from Bohemia, however, was economic. Most of the Bohemian emigrants were from the southern region where the Czech population was dominant. Here the land was poor and industry almost nonexistant. The area also had been struck by a series of poor harvests, intermittent floods, and drought.[41]

Taxation and military service were also causes of emigration from Bohemia. In fact, the American Vice-Consul in Prague ranked "onerous taxation" as the most important factor. In addition, "the law rendering

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[39]Thomas Čapek, The Čechs (Bohemians) in America: A Study of Their National, Cultural, Political, Social, Economic and Religious Life (New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1920), p. 25.

[40]Čapek considers the Revolution to be quite important while Milan Jerabek does not. Milan Jerabek, "Czechs in Minnesota" (unpublished Master's thesis, Dept. of History, University of Minnesota, 1939), p. 52. Esther Jerabek, however, in "The Transition of a New-World Bohemia," Minnesota History, XV (March, 1934), 26, suggests that it indicated extreme discontent.

[41]William Hunning, Vice-Consul, Prague, July 9, 1886, Consular Reports 1886, p. 55.

every able-bodied man liable to military duty [was] another cause of emigration . . . ." The certainty of such service, the official reported, caused many young Bohemians to leave the country.[42] Milan Jerabek, however, in his study of Czech emigration recognizes the importance of military conscription but places it well under economic factors.[43] Thomas Čapek, in The Čechs in America, credits the news of gold discoveries in California as having a very significant affect on the emigration from Bohemia.[44]

Bohemian emigration was not directed to the United States until after 1866. Prior to this time many Bohemians went to Russia, attracted by promises of high wages and free land. When the emigrants came to the United States in large numbers, a majority of them settled in the Middle West. Illinois, in 1910, was the leading state in number of Bohemian residents with 124,225. Minnesota ranked seventh with a total of 33,247. Outside the Middle West, Texas led with a Bohemian population of 41,080.[45]

In Austria, the economic factor appears also to have been the most significant internal cause of emigration. Austria, like Ireland, was a country of small landholdings; partition following inheritance had resulted in a proliferation of small farms. At the same time, the number of large estates was increasing. The Austrian census of 1902 showed that over half of the farms in the realm were less than five acres in size. At

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[42] Ibid.

[43] Jerabek, "New World Bohemia," p. 26; Jerabek, "Czechs in Minnesota," p. 52.

[44] Čapek, The Čechs in America, p. 31.

[45] Ibid., p. 60.

the other extreme, approximately one-third of the country was controlled by owners of estates of over 250 acres. The number of large holdings, however, was less than one per cent of the entire number of farm units. Further aggravation was caused by chronically poor wages, in both the urban and rural regions.[46] Heavy taxation and compulsory military service were also expulsive forces. The American Consul-General at Vienna, Edmund Jussen, informed the State Department in 1886 that many young men were anxious to leave Austria because of the spectre of military service. The youths were unable to pass the examinations which permitted one year's military service rather than three. They wanted "to avoid the drudgery of a common soldier's life. . . ."[47]

Identification of the causes for Polish emigration is not an easy task. Although the censuses of the United States listed Polish emigrants separately, the nation did not exist, except in the hearts and minds of an extremely nationalistic people. It is quite possible that the number of Polish people in Minnesota and the United States was actually greater than statistics indicate, for many Poles were probably identified with the nation occupying that part of Poland in which they lived. Of the Slavic people in the United States, the majority is Polish. The number was so great in fact that some nineteenth century writers described the United States as the "Fourth Part" of Poland.[48]

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[46]Davie, World Immigration, pp. 118-119; Edmund Jussen, Consul-General at Vienna, July 27, 1886, Consular Reports 1886, p. 47.

[47]Jussen, July 27, 1886, Consular Reports 1886, p. 47.

[48]Davie, World Immigration, pp. 127-28. Davie, on p. 138, states that in 1900 there were about 8-1/2 million Poles in Russia, 4-1/4 million in Austria, and about 3-1/2 million in Germany.

The movement of Poles to America began in the early years of the last century, increasing greatly after the 1880's when the primary attraction was the Middle West.[49] The largest number after 1880 were from Galicia, which was part of Austria and quite similar to the Middle West. Galicia, however, was plagued by a system of primitive agriculture, minute landholdings, and over-population.[50]

Polish emigration from the area under Russian control was extremely light. The American Consul at Warsaw reported in 1886 that emigration from that area was so light that the government did not bother to keep statistics. About the only people to emigrate were poor Jews who had difficulty in finding work and who disliked military service. The Consul stated that taxation was not considered cppressive by the people.[51] The economic factor is stressed as the major cause of Polish emigration by Carl Wittke in his book, We Who Built America. Wittke states that most of Poland was an area of "primitive agriculture" with almost no industry and characterized by a "slum" environment. Wittke also contends that high taxation was a cause, especially when coupled with low wages.[52]

Russians have played a very small role in Minnesota history, although the state ranked eleventh in 1919 in the number of Russian inhabitants. At that time there were 517 Russians in the state. The statistical problem in regard to Russia, as with a few other countries, is

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[49]Ibid., p. 128.

[50]Ibid., p. 130.

[51]Joseph Rawicz, Consul at Warsaw, May 24, 1886, Consular Reports 1886, p. 47.

[52]Carl Wittke, We Who Built America: The Saga of the Immigrant (New York: Prentice-Hall Inc., 1939), p. 421.

that the federal census counted as Russian all those who spoke Russian, even if they were born in some other nation.[53]

Significantly, most of the emigrants from Russia were non-Russians. During the period 1851-1915, 4,510,000 emigrated from Russia of which two-thirds went to the United States. Of this number 44 per cent were Jews and 25 per cent were Poles. Only somewhere between six and nine per cent of the emigrants were actually Russian.[54] The Russian government during the nineteenth century prohibited the emigration of all people except Jews and Poles. Of the two groups, Russia appeared especially eager to have the Jewish people leave. The American Consul-General in St. Petersburg stated in August, 1886, that "the Government is well satisfied and even anxious to get rid of its Israelite population, and when they go it is not with a blessing but with a kick and 'glad to get rid of you.'"[55]

The Mennonites were another large emigrant group leaving Russia in the late nineteenth century. These people, who had moved to Russia from Holland and Prussia in the early years of the century, lived with considerable freedom until 1871 when the government ordered their young men to serve in the army. The Mennonites resisted and the government responded by ordering them to leave the country within ten years. Many did leave but the order was revoked, the obligation of military service

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[53]Jerome Davis, The Russian Immigrant (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1922), p. 130.

[54]Davie, World Immigration, p. 135.

[55]P. M. B. Young, Consul-General at St. Petersburg, August 6, 1886, Consular Reports 1886, p. 324.

cancelled, and emigration prohibited. By 1886, no Mennonites were leaving Russia.[56]

Little needs to be said regarding the causes of emigration from Hungary and Rumania, since neither country sent many of its peoples to the United States. Few immigrants came from that region to the United States until after 1880, and the most significant movement did not take place until after 1900.[57] The American Consul in Budapest assessed the causes of emigration in his 1886 report. He identified the major cause as the loss of Hungarian supremacy "as the granary of Europe" and the decline of rewards in agriculture resulting from the competition of other European agricultural regions. In an attempt to cope with this, wages were lowered and "labor-saving machinery" was introduced which resulted in a drop in employment. To make matters worse, the unemployed farm workers could not be absorbed by the cities.

The Consul also reported that military service "though nowhere cheerfully submitted to," was definitely not a cause of emigration. However, he did consider taxation a major factor, although indirectly, since it raised "the cost of living." Thus, while agreeing on the importance of taxation as a major reason, the Consul in Budapest disagreed with Jussen in Vienna over the significance of military service. Neither man suggested that over-population was a factor. In fact, the Hungarian Consul stated that Hungary could hold a "much larger population."[58]

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[56] Ibid.

[57] Davie, World Immigration, p. 122; Gustav Thirring, "Hungarian Migration of Modern Times," International Migrations, II, 411.

[58] Henry Sterne, Consul at Budapest, n.d., Consular Reports 1886, pp. 49, 53.

Switzerland and Italy were the only nations in South Central Europe to contribute any sizeable number of nationals to Minnesota in the nineteenth century. In 1900 there were 3,258 Swiss and 2,222 Italians in the state. Nearly all of the Italians came to Minnesota after 1870 as the total Italian population in that year was forty. Switzerland, on the other hand, sent the greatest number to the state prior to 1870, the census listing some 2,162 as of Swiss birth.[59]

Internal causes of emigration from Switzerland and Italy did not differ appreciably from those of other European nations. Agricultural discontent existed in each country. In Italy, farmers were injured by the readjustment of the Italian economic policy from one which was agrarian-centered to one which stressed trade and industry and which, to a degree at least, ignored or sacrificed agriculture.[60] In Switzerland, discontent was largely the result of soil and climate which were not conducive to agricultural pursuits.[61] In both countries, the comparison of the rich frontiers of the New World with the restricted opportunities of the Old made emigration not an undesirable action.

The French were not an emigrating people; this was the observation made by nearly all of the American consuls reporting in 1886 on emigration from France to the United States. Frank H. Mason, Consul at Marseilles, declared that the French were "perhaps, more than any other

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[59]Census of 1870. Population, Pt. 1, pp. 337-41; Census of 1900. Population, I, Pt. 1, pp. 732-35.

[60]Anna Maria Ratti, "Italian Migration Movements, 1876 to 1926," International Migrations, II, 449-50.

[61]See the report of Boyd Winchester of the Consulate-General in Berne, May 22, 1886, Consular Report 1886, p. 333.

[nationality] in Europe, home-loving and patriotic." Albert Hatheway, at Nice, stated that French tradition was "distinctly at variance with the idea of expatriation." In other consular districts, the amount of emigration was also extremely small; F. F. Dufais at Havre stated that it was "nil."[62] Those who did emigrate were influenced, according to these observers, almost solely by economic conditions. The consuls reported that wages were often low, even for skilled laborers,[63] and that over-population existed in some areas with industry unable to absorb the numbers who wanted work.[64]

The consuls were almost unanimous in denying the expulsive influence of taxation and military service. While acknowledging that taxation was very high and that military service was compulsory, they again referred to the extraordinary patriotism of the French, "the preservation and glory of France," as Mason of Marseilles put it.[65] The Consul at Bordeaux, George W. Roosevelt, was the only one to disagree, and only in regard to military service. In his report, Roosevelt listed "compulsory military service" as one of the principal causes of emigration from his southwestern district, along with over-population, poor wages, and impoverished vineyards.[66]

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[62]Frank H. Mason, Consul at Marseilles, June 7, 1886, Ibid., p. 69; Albert N. Hatheway, Consul at Nice, July 14, 1886, Ibid., p. 75; F. F. Dufais, Consul at Havre, n.d., Ibid., p. 186.

[63]John L. Frisbie, Consul at Rheims, May 26, 1886, Ibid., p. 79.

[64]George W. Roosevelt, Consul at Bordeaux, June 26, 1886, Ibid., pp. 82-83; Daniel Coleman, Commercial Agent at St. Etienne, June 18, 1886, Ibid., p. 73.

[65]Mason, June 7, 1886, Ibid., p. 70.

[66]Roosevelt, June 26, 1886, Ibid., pp. 82-83.

The reports of the consuls in Belgium and Holland reveal that taxation and military service were also of little significance in those countries. G. D. Robertson, Consul for Verviers and Liege, reported that "the [military] discipline is comparatively lax and the work light." D. Eckstein, Consul at Amsterdam, explicitly denied the influence of taxation and conscription upon emigration.[67] There was some disagreement between the American consuls regarding other factors. William Slade, stationed in Brussels, argued that the economic conditions in Belgium had a very definite influence upon the exodus of its people. As a result of division and sub-division, the average landholding was seven acres in Belgium as a whole. Over half the holdings in West Flanders were one and one-half acres or less.[68]

Although a few regions or nations of Europe there was considerable poverty, and thus a dire necessity to remove, economic, political, and social conditions were not generally harsh enough to cause the tremendous European emigration to the United States which did take place. What then were the major causes?

The answer is quite easily discovered. Removal from Europe was not based upon internal conditions; rather it was motivated by external forces—the attractions of a new and rewarding frontier to the west, an area which promised quick and plentiful rewards for those who came. The responsibility of bringing this new world to the attention of Europeans

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[67]G. D. Robertson, Consul for Verviers and Liege, June 21, 1886, Ibid., p. 65; D. Eckstein, Consul at Amsterdam, May 31, 1886, Ibid., pp. 297-98.

[68]William Slade, Consul at Brussels, June 21, 1886, Ibid., p. 62.

was accepted by many and different individuals, organizations, and interests. Some of them acted in a very personal and sincere capacity, others were profit-motivated and noticeably lacking in scruples, and still others worked in a usually honest manner for private or public interest.

Of all the American agents affecting the emigration patterns of Europe, the official representatives of Minnesota played a relatively minor role. This, however, is not an indictment of the state or its agents. It applies as well to the agents of most organized public and private groups.

There is no doubt that the greatest publicist America possessed was the immigrant himself. It was he who wrote many and lengthy letters to friends and relatives in Europe, describing in often-glowing terms the opportunities he had discovered. It was not uncommon for the immigrant-publicist to ignore the strict discipline of truthfulness. Whether the majority of the "American letters" were epistles of honesty or masterpieces of fiction, the point is not important. What is important is that the letters were read, not only by the recipient but also by his friends and relatives and often by nearly all the people in his former village, and that they were usually believed. Why could not such a utopia exist? So the thousands and millions of letters poured into Europe, reciting the vast opportunities that could never exist in the Old Country but which were to be found throughout the United States.

A few years ago, Theodore Blegen published a select collection of "American letters" under the title Land of Their Choice: Immigrants Write Home.[69] Although these letters were written by Norwegian immigrants

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[69]Theodore Blegen, Land of Their Choice: Immigrants Write Home (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1955).

to people in Norway, a similar volume could be published for nearly every nation in Europe. The desire to justify the momentous decision to emigrate was universal. This was perhaps the most important reason for the flood of letters which struck Europe from all parts of the United States. But it was not the only reason. The European immigrant usually came to this country alone or with his immediate family, leaving behind many close relatives and life-long friends. Once settled in his new home, he would think of those whom he had left behind and would express his longing in his letters.

The influence of "American letters" was acknowledged by many state immigration agents. In his report of 1870, A. Wolff, Minnesota's accomplished agent in Germany, admitted "that to this agency the state is indebted to a larger share of its immigration, than to any other agency, mine included. . . ."[70] Two years later, Michigan's Commissioner of Immigration for Europe made a similar admission: "Undoubtedly the largest proportion are induced to settle in the State [of Michigan] by relatives who have preceded them."[71]

Letters reaching Europe were more often fantasy than documents of reality. George Stephenson described such letters as "fanciful stories" about "a land of milk and honey."[72] Wolff, in the 1870 report previously

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[70]Wolff to Austin, September 7, 1870.

[71]Report of M. H. Allardt, Hamburg, May 20, 1872, in Reports of the Immigration Commissioners of the State of Michigan for 1871 and 1872. In Joint Documents of the State of Michigan for the Year 1872, II, Jt. Doc. No. 7 (Lansing: W. S. George Co., 1872), pp. 6-7.

[72]George Stephenson, "When America was the Land of Canaan," Minnesota History, X (September, 1929), 237-60. This is an excellent discussion of the Swedish immigrants' reaction to America—to the social and political

referred to, remarked on the "extravagant and sometimes absurd statements" in the letters and to the need for his agency to give correct information about the opportunities of Minnesota.[73] The glowing statements in the letters were most often based upon no other desire than to justify the emigration of the writer. But this was not always the basic reason. One of the problems faced by honest immigration agents was that of bringing truth to those who had been deceived. Deception was sometimes practiced through "friends letters," as Wolff called them, for selfish motives.[74] That this was true in Norway is shown by the report of Consul Gerhard Gade in Christiana. Gade charged that letters were written to friends in Norway to get "more hands" for the new farm of the immigrant.[75]

The letters often contained more than eulogies. For words alone, although they provided the incentive, did not supply the means of removal. Gade reported that 50 per cent of those who went to the United States traveled on tickets sent them from that country.[76] D. J. Partello of Dusseldorf, in his report, stated that 50 per cent of the emigrants had been persuaded to move through such letters and that these letters often contained money to pay for the trip.[77] The American Consul in Stockholm

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equality and the freedom of economic improvement, based upon testimony given by the immigrants themselves through their "American letters."

[73]Wolff to Austin, September 7, 1870.

[74]Ibid.

[75]Gerhard Gade, Consul at Christiana, October 19, 1886, Consular Reports 1886, p. 322.

[76]Ibid.

[77]D. J. Partello, Consul at Dusseldorf, June 25, 1886, Ibid., p. 175.

also reported that many letters contained "tickets or money" for the voyage.[78]

The importance of the immigrant letter was not restricted to northern Europe. Letters also flowed from America to nations in the south and east of Europe—to Bohemia,[79] to Switzerland,[80] and to Italy. Writing in 1890, F. L. Dingley gave an interesting appraisal of the influence of "American letters" in creating interest in the United States in Italy:

> A few years ago the Latin race in the United States was represented mainly by an occasional Italian, with his hand-organ and his monkey, or with his scissors-grinding wheel, a curiosity of population rather than a factor of the census. It is interesting to note how great results flow from causes in themselves apparently trivial. The organ-grinder, the harpist, the scissors-grinder, the proprietor of the monkey got on in the American world as he never got on in Italy. He sent word to his friends in Calabria, in the Basilicata, and in Salerno. His family was brought over; his cousins and his aunts followed. The movement at first was an obscure one. It takes time to create rivers; but the success of the forerunners really made the present stream of Italian emigration. I have asked scores of Italians in Naples, intending emigrants to the United States, "What leads you to emigrate?" The uniform substance of their reply is this: "My friend in America is doing well and he has sent for me." . . . . Several do not know where the United States is located, but they think it is somewhere near New York. . . . prepaid passages yet further swell the stream.[81]

European governmental reaction to the letters was often hostile.

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[78]Nere A. Elfwing, Consul at Stockholm, August 18, 1886, Ibid., p. 331.

[79]Milan Jerabek has a letter written by two Bohemians to a Bohemian immigrant in Owatonna, Minnesota, in which the writers expressed thanks for the offer of financial help to remove. See letter of Jan Herman and Jan Kumpošt to Josef Škeřik, February 3, 1883, in Jerabek, "Czechs in Minnesota," pp. 341-42.

[80]George Clifford, Consul at Basel, June 21, 1886, Consular Report 1886, p. 337.

[81]Dingley, "European Immigration," pp. 211-12, 219.

But unlike the activities of actual emigration agents, nothing could be done except to publicize letters, through the press and pulpit, which told a different story—one of the disillusionment and hardships experienced in the New World.

The major factor in the internal promotion of emigration from Europe was economic, although the situation varied from country to country. What stands out as the most important single economic factor is the poorness of agriculture and lack of opportunities in industry during the last half of the nineteenth century. Nearly every contemporary observer or latter-day scholar points to the prevalence of agricultural poverty which resulted from the primitive methods, the vagaries of nature, and the division of land into extremely small plots. With the relative scarcity of industry an urban "safety-valve" did not exist.

In assessing the importance of other causes, there is not sufficient evidence to make generalizations. While both heavy taxation and the obligation of military service are credited as significant causes in Bohemia and Austria, it appears that the former was important in Hungary while the latter was not. In Russia and Russian Poland, the desire to escape military service did cause minority groups, such as the Jews and the Mennonites, to leave, but the importance of taxation is uncertain. High taxes apparently played a part in Scandinavian emigration in the sixties and seventies but were of little significance later in the century. Neither taxation nor military service was considered an expulsive force in Italy, Great Britain, France, and the Low Countries.

Similarly, the existence of a surplus population varied from nation to nation and even within a nation. While Austrian Poland suffered

from a population surplus, Hungary was reported to be under-populated. In the British Isles, neither Scotland nor England had an excessive number of inhabitants but the problem of over-population was extremely acute in Ireland. If one considers that surplus population is not determined by inhabitants per square mile, but by the ability of the economy of a region to support the people, then nearly all European nations suffered at times from over-population.

Most Europeans, however, did not leave their homes because of unbearable circumstances. They were not "shoved" by internal forces. Rather, they were drawn to a new land where they thought opportunity was limitless; where anyone with ability and perseverence could rise to the highest economic, political, and social levels. There was no dearth of information about the United States and the things it had to offer. Much of the information came through immigrant letters and much from hired American publicists. The news which these agents brought to the Old World had one common purpose—to paint a tempting portrait of opportunity and reward. Europeans responded, and their response can be measured by the millions who left for the United States and the hundreds of thousands who eventually settled in Minnesota.

CHAPTER II

AMERICAN PROMOTION: THE ACTIVITY OF THE STATES

In the various studies of the campaign for immigrants in Europe and the eastern cities of the United States, emphasis has nearly always been placed upon the work of the railroad and land companies. The influence of these well-organized agencies cannot be dismissed. They were not, however, the only promoters of America. To have a complete understanding of the intensity of the competitive campaign, the official activity of the western territories and states must be carefully and critically analyzed. Full appreciation of the American phenomenon of immigration promotion comes only when the activities of the railroad and land companies, of the ethnic and philanthropic societies, and of the territories and states are studied in their cooperative and competitive relationships.

Cooperation between a state or territory and railroad or land company occurred quite often—when such cooperation was mutually advantageous. But if a governmental agency and a private agency did cooperate, they then became the promotional enemies of other territories, states and private organizations. Cooperation among states or territories was almost nonexistant. State immigration promotion appears to have been based as much upon the desire to prevent other states from attracting immigrants as to attract immigrants.

The American campaign for immigrants did not become intensive until after the Civil War, although its conception, as far as the western states and territories are concerned, antedated that conflict by two decades. Although Minnesota Territory recognized the need for official immigration promotion as early as 1855, it was not the first to take action. That honor belongs to Michigan which established its agency nearly a decade before. In March, 1845, the Michigan legislature authorized the governor to use $700 for immigration promotion. An agent was to be appointed to reside in New York City from April to November whose task was to "encourage emigration [sic] into the state. . . ."[1] The governor appointed John Almy at a salary of $60 a month and authorized him to spend $30 for the completion of a pamphlet on the "lands and public works" of the state. In addition, Almy could spend a small amount to hire interpreters to work with "immigrant foreigners." Evidently Almy did very little; Governor Felch reported to the Senate, in February, 1846, that he had received only one report from the agent.[2]

In 1849, the Michigan legislature again provided for an immigrant agent to be resident in New York City during the immigration season. Another appropriation of $700 was made.[3] An immigration bill passed the

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[1]Michigan, Acts of the Legislature of the State of Michigan, 1845, Jt. Res. No. 30, pp. 167-68.

[2]Message of Governor Alpheus Felch to Senate, Feb. 27, 1846, in George N. Fuller (ed.), Messages of the Governors of Michigan (Lansing: Michigan Historical Commission, 1926), II, 51.

[3]Michigan, Acts of the Legislature, 1849, Jt. Res. No. 7, p. 364. In 1850, the Michigan legislature paid its agent $900 for "services and expenses." Michigan, Acts of the Legislature, 1850, Act No. 26, p. 21. Whether this was a supplemental appropriation or that authorized in 1849 is not made clear.

legislature the following year but was returned by the governor without his signature. In his veto message, Governor John S. Barry gave a unique reason for his disapproval. Stating that Michigan and its resources were already known in Europe, Barry revealed his fear that "should we express too much anxiety upon the subject [of immigration] and make an unexampled effort to turn public attention to our State, we might therefore create a distrust of the reality of our representations." The Governor was also concerned about the weak control over the agent provided by the law. He considered the position more of a sinecure for a fortunate individual that something which would benefit the state.[4]

Michigan's failure to attract what it considered its share of the immigrant population during the next several years brought about renewed interest in promotion. In his 1853 message to the legislature, Barry's successor, Robert M. McClelland, strongly supported the establishment of an agency. Michigan, he stated, was attracting few immigrants because it failed to advertise and also because other "Western States" were beginning their campaigns.[5] The legislature did not concur in the Governor's opinion; there is no evidence of official immigration activity by Michigan until 1859, when provision was made for two agents to reside in New York City and Detroit. The agents shared an annual appropriation of $2,500. When the Civil War broke out, Michigan's promotional activities

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[4]Message of Governor John S. Barry to Senate, March 20, 1850, in Fuller, Messages, II, 176-78.

[5]Message of Governor Robert McClelland to Senate and House, Ibid., p. 236.

ceased. They were not resumed until 1869,[6] except for the appointment of a "mining district association" in Paris as an agency of the state to encourage immigration to Michigan's Upper Peninsula. The state, however, did not share in the expense.[7]

Official activity began again in 1869 when the Michigan legislature provided for the appointment of a commissioner of immigration for Germany and for a local agent with whom he was to cooperate. An annual appropriation of $5,000 was granted.[8] The Commissioner for Germany traveled throughout the state for several months to get the necessary information. He then went to Hamburg and established his headquarters. A pamphlet containing information about the state was printed and a monthly paper called "Michigan Guide" was begun. A little over 20 per cent of the 2,500 German immigrants going to Michigan through Castle Garden, New York's emigrant depot, were sent by the Commissioner.[9]

The 1869 law remained in force until 1881, although immigration activity lessened to the point that in late 1873 the New York City office was closed. A year later, the Commissioner for Germany was recalled.[10]

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[6]Michigan, Commissioner of Immigration, "Report of the Commissioner of Immigration for the State of Michigan for the Years 1881 and 1882," Michigan Joint Documents for 1882, IV, Jt. Doc. No. 4, December 30, 1882, pp. 3-4.

[7]Michigan, Acts of the Legislature, Regular and Extra Sessions, 1861, Jt. Res. No. 12, pp. 585-86.

[8]Ibid., 1869, Act. No. 112, p. 188.

[9]Governor Henry P. Baldwin to Senate and House, January 6, 1871, in Fuller, Messages, III, 86-87.

[10]Michigan, Commissioner of Immigration, Report 1881 and 1882, pp. 3-4.

In 1881, Governor David Jerome requested the reestablishment of the commission. A commissioner was appointed at $2,000 a year and an assistant at $1,500. The Commission was responsible for sending 50,000 immigrants to the state in 1882, according to Governor Jerome. An extensive pamphlet campaign was undertaken with over 100,000 copies of "Michigan and its Resources" distributed in the United States and Europe.[11] The agency, although considered successful, was abolished by the legislature in 1885 at the request of Governor Josiah Begole. Governor Begole stated in his valedictory message that "the operations of the Bureau have . . . been disastrous to our workingmen." The publicity regarding the desirability of Michigan had brought many seeking employment into the state. An "overcrowded" labor market was the result. Jerome did suggest that the descriptive pamphlet be continued and that inquiries be handled by the State Land Office.[12]

Begole's successor, Russel Alger, encouraged the continuation of the state's efforts. In his inaugural address, delivered the same day as Begole's valedictory, Alger told the legislators that approximately two million immigrants had passed through or near Michigan on their way west during the past two years. Michigan, he urged, should make an effort to attract them.[13] The legislature followed the advice of Begole. Alger admitted to the legislators, two years later, that "they were much wiser

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[11]Governor David H. Jerome to Senate and House, January 4, 1883, in Fuller, Messages, III, 441.

[12]Governor Josiah W. Begole to Senate and House, January 8, 1885, Ibid., pp. 504-505.

[13]Governor Russel A. Alger to Senate and House, January 8, 1885, Ibid., pp. 527-28.

than I." He had discovered that "the great per cent of inmates" in the state's institutions were of foreign birth. The Governor charged foreign nations with sending these people to the United States "because it is much cheaper to pay steerage fare for them across the waters than to keep them . . . ."[14] No further promotion was undertaken by Michigan.

Wisconsin was another pioneer promoter of immigration. The history of its immigration activity, like that of Michigan and other western states, is one of establishing and abolishing agencies because of uncertainty regarding the effects of promotion. Gysbert Van Steenwyck was Wisconsin's first Commissioner of Immigration. He was appointed in 1852 and directed to establish an office in New York City where he could work with the newly-arrived immigrants. So the immigrants could be reached through their native tongues, Van Steenwyck employed two German assistants and one Norwegian. He also hired an assistant of English birth. The Commissioner published a pamphlet on Wisconsin which was printed in several European languages. The pamphlets were distributed at first among the Europeans in New York City. Later they were sent to Europe. Once they had arrived in this country, immigrants were usually too busy to read.[15]

Immigration promotion was even more successful during the next two years, although Van Steenwyck was no longer commissioner. The Com-

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[14]Alger to Senate and House, January 6, 1887, Ibid., pp. 559-60. This was not done according to Consular Reports 1886.

[15]Theodore C. Blegen, "The Competition of the Northwestern States for Immigrants," Wisconsin Magazine of History, III (September, 1919), 4-5. Blegen's article provides a good discussion of Wisconsin promotion and its competition with Minnesota. Wisconsin's 1848 Constitution gave foreign-born males the right to vote after they declared their intention to become citizens. See Marcus Hansen, "Official Encouragement of Immigration to Iowa," Iowa Journal of History and Politics, XIX (April, 1921), 163.

mission reported that immigration to Wisconsin in 1853 was 15 per cent more than in 1852. An agency was established in 1854 in Quebec, a city which was rapidly becoming an important port of entry, especially for immigrants from Great Britain and Norway. Because of a lack of funds, however, the Quebec agency was closed after a few months. In 1855 the operations of the Wisconsin Immigration Commission was halted. No more work was done for over a decade.[16]

A Board of Immigration was established in 1867 "to enhance and encourage immigration to this state [Wisconsin] from the older states of the Union, and from Europe." The Board was instructed to collect information about the state and to determine the best routes to it. This information was to be incorporated in a pamphlet printed in the English, German, Scandinavian and Welsh languages. The governor was directed to appoint county committees which were to gather names and addresses of those people who had friends and relatives interested in removal to the state. Pamphlets were to be distributed to those people with money for postage. The entire promotional campaign centered around the pamphlet; the state board and the county committees were responsible for placing the pamphlet in the hands of interested parties.[17] No immigration agent was appointed until 1869, when the legislature authorized the appointment of an agent who was to work with two other agents stationed in Chicago

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[16]Blegen, "Competition of Northwestern States," pp. 6-10. Blegen states that the agency was closed because of political opposition (p.10).

[17]The law which established the board was approved April 10, 1867. Wisconsin, General Laws Passed by the Legislature in Wisconsin, the Year 1867, Together With Joint Resolutions and Memorials, 1867, pp. 122-24.

and New York City during the immigration season. The local agents received a salary but the agent in Wisconsin was given only expense money. A New York agent was again authorized in 1870, but, because there was no salary provided, no one was interested in the position and it was not filled.[18]

Wisconsin's promotional system was reorganized in 1871. A Commissioner of Immigration was appointed at an annual salary of $500. The Commissioner was instructed to establish his office in Milwaukee, to prepare a yearly phamphlet in English, German, Welsh, French and Norwegian. The county committees were retained and directed to compile a list of residents who would mail the state pamphlet to interested friends and relatives. The Commissioner was also authorized to appoint a salaried agent in Chicago and unpaid agents in other cities and foreign countries. The Commissioner was to be appointed to serve until 1872 when the office would be filled through election.[19]

The office of Commissioner was abolished by the legislature in 1874 because of political opposition to it and the lessening of immigration.[20] Activity was resumed in 1879 with the appointment of a Board of Immigration under the supervision of a salaried secretary. The county boards were retained and instructed to prepare reports on the resources of their areas. These reports were then printed in several foreign languages. The Board undertook a vigorous promotional campaign which

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[18]Ibid., 1869, pp. 118-19; Ibid., 1870, p. 71; Blegen, "The Competition for Immigrants," p. 13.

[19]Wisconsin, General Laws, 1871, Chapter 155, pp. 240-44.

[20]Ibid., 1874, Chapter 338, p. 756; Blegen,"The Competition for Immigrants," p. 19.

lasted until 1887. During this period, over 100,000 pamphlets were distributed in the United States and abroad. Much of the work was done by state agents in Europe.[21] In 1887, state activity again ceased and was not renewed until 1895 when the state returned to the older system of a central and county boards with no paid officials.[22]

The example set by Wisconsin in 1852 had an immediate affect upon Stephen Hempstead, governor of Iowa. Governor Hempstead, speaking to the legislature in December, 1852, requested the appointment of a "commissioner of emigration" to live in New York City. The recommendation was referred to a House committee which refused a favorable report. A second recommendation made by the Governor two years later also was not followed.

The movement of people through Iowa to other western states, particularly to Minnesota, caused considerable concern to Iowans during the late fifties. In response to this competition, an Emigrant Association was formed by the Dubuque Board of Trade in February, 1858. The Associations task was to spread the news of Iowa's resources and to attract some of those who were going west. The Board hired a "travelling representative," and spent $2,000 for promotion during the remaining months of 1858. Because of the need for promotion and the proof of its value, as shown by the Dubuque organization, residents of Keokuk county petitioned

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[21] New York Tribune, February 15, 1880, p. 2; Blegen, "The Competition for Immigrants," pp. 20-21. Merle Curti and Kendall Birr, "The Immigrant and the American Image in Europe, 1860-1914," Mississippi Valley Historical Review, XXXVII (September, 1950), 206.

[22] Wisconsin, The Laws of Wisconsin, Biennial Session of the Legislature of 1887, I, Chapter 21, pp. 29-30; Ibid., 1895, Chapter 235, pp. 461-62.

the legislature in 1860 for state action. The legislature reacted favorably out of fear "that unless some such effort was made only the undesirables would come to Iowa, the better class of immigrants being induced to proceed to other states" which were more active publicists.

The Democratic majority in the Senate refused to go along with House approval as such action would give the Republican governor another office to fill. However, after reconsideration the bill was finally passed. The act allowed the governor to appoint an agent for a two-year period at a salary of $2,400. An appropriation was made for a New York City office and for printing a pamphlet in several languages. The law also provided that anyone misusing the office was liable to imprisonment of from one to five years. At the expiration of the two years, the agency was permitted to die. There were several reasons for its demise. By 1862, the nation was involved in civil war and attention was focused upon that conflict. It also appears that the agency was not effective. Less than one per cent of the 100,000 immigrants who arrived in the United States in 1860 went to Iowa.[23]

Like so many other western and southern states following the Civil War, Iowa in 1868 again turned its attention to the need for more settlers. A bill providing for the creation of an immigration board passed the House in 1868 but did not reach the Senate in time to be acted upon during that session. Because of the competition offered by so many states, the Iowa legislature in its next session, 1870, created a Board of Immigration with

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23Hansen, "Official Encouragement," pp. 164-70; Iowa, Revision of 1860, Containing all the Statutes of a General Nature of the State of Iowa, 1860, Chapter 181, pp. 872-73.

the primary task of promoting European interest in the state.[24]

The Board, which included representatives of several nationalities, was headed by an appointed secretary who was to draw a salary of $100 per month. But a shortage of funds caused the secretary to work without pay during 1872. The shortage of money also necessitated the return of the European agents before the expiration of their terms. Europe was left to local agents who distributed some 47,000 pamphlets in the English, German and Dutch languages. Ten thousand pamphlets printed in the Scandinavian languages were destroyed in the Great Chicago Fire so none was issued.[25] During 1871 the population of Iowa increased 50,000 and the Board claimed that much of this was due to its efforts.[26]

The Board's life was extended by the legislature in 1872. The governor served as president and funds were doubled. Attention was now given, however, to publicizing the opportunities which existed for capital and industry. Little was done to advertise agricultural potential because of the fear that an influx of farmers would cause a surplus of farm goods which would, in turn, lower prices. The editor of the Iowa Progress, assisted by the Board, prepared a pamphlet entitled Manufacturing, Agri-

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[24]Hansen, "Official Encouragement," pp. 171-73. Hansen states that Iowans were greatly concerned about the intensive propaganda campaign of the other states. They charged that many misstatements were being spread by agents from competing states. Minnesota agents were accused of telling Norwegians that Iowa summers were so hot that Norwegians would find them unbearable. In the first eleven months of 1869, only 7,192 of the 251,000 immigrants arriving in the United States gave Iowa as their destination (p.173).

[25]Iowa, Board of Immigration, "First Biennial Report of the Board of Immigration," Legislative Documents for 1872, II, Report No. 27, 1872, 3-9.

[26]Hansen, "Official Encouragement," p. 178.

cultural and Industrial Resources of Iowa. Two thousand copies were purchased and distributed in the eastern United States. Twenty thousand copies of a similar pamphlet prepared by a member of the Board were also distributed. In addition, 10,000 copies of a German pamphlet were circulated along with "a large number of other documents, papers, and circulars directing attention to Iowa."[27] With the expiration of the Board's term in September, 1873, all official immigration activity in Iowa came to a temporary halt.

The state was forced to resume immigration promotion in the late seventies. According to the Iowa State Register in 1875, the western-bound immigrant passed Iowa and went to "warmer Kansas and cheaper Nebraska." As if this were not enough, many Iowans were leaving the state because of adverse agricultural conditions,[28] and the very intensive and allegedly unfair promotional activities of other states and of private agencies. The Secretary of Agriculture for Iowa, in his report for 1878, claimed that many Iowans were "induced to make this grand mistake [of leaving the state] by overdrawn sketches, and illuring [sic] pictures, which have been sent forth in pamphlets and scattered all over the land."[29] The depressed Iowa economy, which necessitated the promotion of immigration, also made it difficult to accomplish. Unable to conduct an intensive campaign of its own, the state sought and obtained the cooperation of railroad

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[27]Ibid., pp. 182-84; "Biennial Message of Cyrus C. Carpenter, to the Fifteenth General Assembly," January, 1874, Legislative Documents, I, Rept. No. 1, p. 33.

[28]A heavy rain in 1877 prevented farmers from harvesting their crops which then rotted in the fields.

[29]Hansen, "Official Encouragement," pp. 186-87.

and land companies. These private agents were commissioned as official representatives of the state and served without compensation. Although the honorary agents worked effectively, the citizens of Iowa disliked the close working relationship existing between the state and the profit organizations.[30]

It appeared in 1880 that there would be a heavy immigrant influx into the United States during the coming decade. Iowans were determined to win their fair share. Reacting to what appeared to be public pressure, Governor John H. Gear requested a legislative appropriation for an immigration commission. The honorary agents came out in full support and alienated many Iowans who suspected that the commission would serve private landholders at the expense of the immigrant and the general public. When the appropriation bill passed with the provision that the commission was to show "the people of the United States [Italics mine] the natural advantages and resources of the state of Iowa," even more people were displeased. The Iowa Staats-Anzeiger called it a "Know-Nothin law" because it "was narrowed in its application to the people of this country." None of the appropriation was expended abroad.[31]

Although the Commission worked with great effectiveness in the United States during the next two years, issuing some 481,000 copies of various pamphlets and fact sheets on its small appropriation of $5,000,[32]

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[30]Ibid., pp. 187-88.

[31]Ibid., pp. 188-90.

[32]Iowa, Commissioner of Immigration, "Report of the Commissioner of Immigration to the Governor, From May 1, 1880 to November 1, 1881," Legislative Documents Submitted to the 19th General Assembly of the State of Iowa, 1882, pp. 3-4.

it rapidly lost the support of the people. The legislature which had created the Commission had also passed a resolution calling for an amendment to the state Constitution which provided for the prohibition of alcoholic beverages. The amendment was attacked by leaders of foreign derivation, causing the temperance people to become militantly anti-foreign. Within a few months, those who had pleaded for immigration promotion were supporting laws restricting immigration. As a result of the strong anti-foreignism, official promotion of immigration to Iowa ended in 1882. It was not resumed. During the period 1860-1882, the several commissions and boards had been active approximately nine and one-half years and had expended less than $30,000. During the same period, the foreign population of the state increased two and one-half times, from about 106,000 in 1860 to over 261,000 in 1880.[33]

There was considerable official support for immigration promotion from the very beginning in Dakota Territory, the vast and largely unsettled area west of Minnesota. In March, 1862, Governor William Jayne charged the first Territorial Legislature with the responsibility "by the exercise of just, wise and judicious legislative action, to invite and encourage immigration."[34] The Assembly responded with a bill which authorized the governor to appoint an "emigrant agent" at an annual salary of $100. The Council, however, tabled the bill. Insufficient public funds appears to have been the reason for this action and for the failure of other attempts

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[33]Hansen, "Official Encouragement," pp. 191-94.

[34]William H. Russell, "Promoters and Promotion Literature of Dakota Territory," South Dakota Historical Collections, XXVI (1952), 434-35.

to promote immigration.[35]

With the refusal of the legislature to support promotion, interested officials and businessmen continued to work for the development of the Territory. Governor Newton Edmunds, Surveyor-General George D. Hill and W. W. Burleigh were particularly active. Hill, for instance, made many trips to Michigan and other eastern states to publicize the opportunities offered by the new territory. As a result of the efforts of these men, the locally-famous "New York Colony" arrived in Dakota in 1864.[36]

Following the arrival of the New Yorkers, Governor Edmunds made a strong request to the legislature for an official promotional agency. He apparently had the support of many residents who realized the need for more rapid development. The legislature adjourned without taking action, leading the Sioux City Journal to remark:

> As near as we can learn, no need exists and no inducements are held out to immigration to Dakota Territory. Enough are already there to fill the offices and consume all the government patronage, and no more are needed until the hand of Providence is laid upon some of the officers.[37]

Again, two years later, Governor Edmunds asked the legislature to create an immigration agency. Following his recommendation, an "Immigrant Agent of Dakota Territory" was appointed to work with the National Bureau of Immigration and to carry on the search for immigrants in Europe.

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[35]Herbert Schell, "Official Immigration Activities of Dakota Territory," North Dakota Historical Quarterly, VII (October, 1932), 5-6.

[36]Harold E. Briggs, Frontiers of the Northwest: A History of the Upper Missouri Valley (New York: D. Appleton-Century Co., 1940), p. 444.

[37]Harold E. Briggs, "Settlement and Economic Development of Dakota Territory," (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Dept. of History, State University of Iowa), Pt. 1, pp. 69-70.

Because the legislature failed to authorize the bond issue requested by the governor, the agent had no funds and was unable to fulfill his duties. It was the lack of funds, caused by poor crops and little population, which precluded immigration promotion during the first decade.[38]

In 1869, the legislature finally approved the establishment of an immigration commission but apparently again without an appropriation with which to work. James S. Foster, who had come with the New York Colony, was appointed Commissioner. John Hodnett, Assessor of Internal Revenue, and Frank Bem were named as assistants. Hodnett was a Fenian and hoped to create in Dakota a center from which the Irish could work for their freedom. He left the Territory in 1870, after losing his position as assessor. Bem had come to Dakota in 1869 as an advance agent for some eastern Bohemians and had proved quite successful in attracting those people to the Territory. For his work, Bem requested $747 from the legislature. He was forced to settle for $100.[39]

The first appropriation for Dakota Territory's immigration work was made in 1871. James S. Foster was again named Commissioner and placed in charge of the Bureau of Immigration. Two hundred dollars was appropriated for the Bureau. Foster received no salary.[40] During the following

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[38]Schell, "Official Immigration Activities," p. 5; Russell, "Promoters and Promotional Literature," p. 435; Briggs, Frontiers, p. 444.

[39]James S. Foster, Outlines of History of the Territory of Dakota and Emigrants Guide to the Free Lands of the Northwest (Yankton, 1870), reprinted in South Dakota Historical Collections, XIV (1928), 112; Russell, pp. 437-38.

[40]Dakota Territory, General Laws, Memorials and Resolutions of the Territory of Dakota, 9th Session, 1871-72, Chapter 174, p. 441.

two years, Foster distributed 2,300 copies of his "History and Emigrant's Guide," which was accompanied by a map of the Territory, and 5,000 copies of a Swedish-language pamphlet. Foster also distributed 3,000 English-language pamphlets and several thousand copies of his annual report in Norwegian, French and English.[41]

The 1871 act gave the appointed commissioner a two-year term. After that time, the position was to be filled by election. In late 1872, Foster, a regular Republican won the election. The legislature appropriated $500 for yearly expenses and an annual salary of $400 for the commissioner. This appears to be the first time the commissioner received a salary. Because of limited funds, Foster could not carry out his plan of using salaried agents and had to depend instead upon volunteers.[42] The use of unsalaried agents proved quite successful; several colonies were brought to the Territory during Foster's tenure. Rev. G. M. Binks, a professional lecturer, went to England and appears to have been responsible for bringing back a colony of one hundred families.[43] Several other colonies also settled in counties along the Missouri River,

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[41]Russell, "Promoters and Promotional Literature," p. 438; Schell, "Official Immigration Activities," p. 8.

[42]Russell, "Promoters and Promotional Literature," pp. 438-39; Dakota Territory, General Laws, 10th Session, 1872-73, Chapter 14, p. 29. Dakota's agents received money for postage, printing and "general passage tickets to and from the old country." James S. Foster's Report to the legislature, December 10, 1874, quoted in George W. Kingsbury, History of Dakota Territory, ed. by George M. Smith (Chicago: S. J. Clarke Publishing Co., 1915), p. 852.

[43]Briggs, Frontiers, p. 461; Schell, "Official Immigration Activities," pp. 11-12; Briggs calls him G. M. Binkley while Schell speaks of a G. M. Binks.

with Yankton County apparently the most popular.[44] Approximately 500 Russian-Germans settled along with a large number of Bohemians. A rather large colony from Ohio also arrived in 1873 and settled in Hutchinson County.[45]

Foster's term ended in 1874 and he did not seek re-election. Reporting on his activity to the legislature in December, 1874, Foster recommended that the agency be reorganized into a board of immigration, with members chosen from districts throughout the state. Such a method of selection permitted all areas to have a voice in promotion and also allowed ethnic representation.[46] The legislature, acting upon Foster's advice, established a board headed by a superintendent and consisting of five commissioners.

Two commissioners were selected at large and three were appointed by the legislature from the three judicial districts. Fred J. Cross, who had been elected Foster's successor, was appointed superintendent at an annual salary of $800. The Board received an appropriation of $3,000 per year. During the following two years, the Board was especially active—largely because it had an appropriation which permitted a more intensive promotional campaign. In 1875, some 18,500 pamphlets were printed in the

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[44]The probable reason for the heavy traffic to Yankton County was that the citizens of the town of Yankton underwrote much of the publicity expense prior to 1875. Schell states that they even provided temporary care and paid for the expenses of the private agents, "Official Immigration Activities," p. 16.

[45]Much of the settlement during the seventies and eighties was by colonies. See Briggs, Frontiers, p. 852.

[46]Foster's Report, Kingsbury, Dakota Territory, I, 461-63.

English, German and Norwegian languages. Twelve thousand pamphlets and 10,000 circulars were distributed in 1876. In addition, several members of the Board traveled to the eastern states. The Board also hired agents who worked with foreign immigrants and who were successful in obtaining special railroad rates for them.[47] One thousand dollars was appropriated by the legislature in 1875 for the construction of an immigrant house in Yankton. Residents of that town also authorized the expenditure of an equal amount for another house. Both buildings were erected on ground provided by the Dakota Southern Railroad.[48]

Official interest in the promotion of immigration was only shortly sustained. When the two-year appropriation expired in 1877, the legislature refused further support. Considerable adverse reaction to the Board had developed throughout the Territory. Some legislators and newspaper editors voiced their suspicions about the eastern trips made by members of the Board. Governor Rennington suggested that the Board be replaced by a single commissioner. But the residents of the settled counties wanted to end the activity. A petition was presented to the legislature by 143 residents which stated that all of the signatories had lived in the Territory less than two years and that none had come as a result of the Board's efforts. The petitioners prayed for the dissolution of the Board and for its replacement by a European agent. The legislature was unwilling to provide even that much and subsequently repealed all legislation dealing with immigration promotion. There was no

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[47]Russell, "Promoters and Promotional Literature," pp. 439-41.

[48]Schell, "Official Immigration Activities," pp. 17-18.

more official activity until 1885.[49]

There was a great population increase during the eight years in which Dakota operated without an immigration agency. This was the result of an extraordinary agricultural "boom" which lasted from 1879 to 1886. During this general period, several hundred thousand settlers were attracted to the Territory as a result of the excellent farming conditions, the extension of the railroads and railroad advertisements, the availability of credit, the prohibitive cost of eastern land, the planting of hard rather than soft wheat, the diversification of agriculture and other factors. Probably most significant was the discovery of gold in 1876 in the Black Hills. The discovery provided not only an irresistable lure to many eager easterners but also an impetus to agricultural development. The miners needed agricultural products. They also needed a large amount of supplies from the East, much of which was freighted by the farmers who in this way augmented their incomes.

Many Easterners, who set out for the gold field, decided, once they were in the Territory, that farming was a more dependable source of income than was the search for elusive gold. During the "boom" nearly all of the Eastern part of the Territory was settled. The population increased from 135,177 in 1880 to about 210,000 in 1882. Approximately another 120,000 settled in Dakota in 1882 and 1883. According to Harold Briggs, "probably more people moved in [to Dakota] to make farm homes during any two years of the boom than during the twenty years which followed its collapse." At the end of the period, the population was estimated at 568,477. This was an increase of approximately 750 per cent over the

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[49]Russell, "Promoters and Promotional Literature," pp. 441-42.

population of 1878.[50]

In 1885, after several abortive attempts,[51] the legislature authorized the reestablishment of the Immigration Commission. Lauren J. Dunlap was appointed Commissioner and given a salary of $2,000 per year. An additional $6,800 was alloted for annual expenses. During the two years in which Dunlap headed the Commission, 6,000 inquiries were received and 2,000 letters were sent. The Commission also distributed 150,000 "pieces of literature." Dunlap depended primarily upon a monthly bulletin which averaged sixteen to twenty pages in length. Several of the bulletins were enlarged and devoted to specific areas of the Territory. Some of the enlarged bulletins had a circulation of 15,000. An attempt was made to defray cost through the solicitation of private advertisements. Much of the promotional material was distributed by railroad companies. Because of insufficient funds, no European agents were employed and little was done in regard to foreign-language materials.[52]

P. F. McClure was in charge of a Bureau of Immigration during the last two years of the Territory's existence. Under his direction, Resources of Dakota, a compilation of some 500 pages, was printed and distributed. In 1889, just prior to the division of the Territory into new

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[50]Briggs, "Settlement and Economic Development," I, 132-33, 170, 183.

[51]Dakota Territory, House of Representatives, Journal of the House of Representatives of the Territory of Dakota, 16th Session, 1885, pp. 220, 500, 677. Governor Ordway asked the legislature in 1883 to reestablish the commission but he was not successful. Kingsbury, Dakota Territory, I, 1298-99.

[52]Schell, "Official Immigration Activities," pp. 22-23; Russell, "Promoters and Promotional Literature," pp. 442-43.

states, Frank H. Hagerty became Commissioner. Hagerty compiled a book of 310 pages which dealt separately with the two states.[53]

Neither North Dakota nor South Dakota did much to promote immigration for years following statehood. The South Dakota Bureau of Immigration was abolished in 1891, although the governor made a strong plea for legislative support and increased budget for its work.[54] In 1908, an effort to promote immigration was authorized by the legislature[55] and in 1911 a Board was created which consisted of the governor and two other executive officers. The Board appointed the commissioner. The law which established the Board specifically authorized the use of a railroad car for advertising purposes, providing the railroads would cooperate at no expense to the state. The biennial appropriation was $25,000.[56] In 1919, the commissioner was made the head of the State Employment Service Department.[57] The Board received a biennial appropriation of $50,000 in 1921 and the commissioner an annual salary of $3600.[58] The Board was

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[53]Russell, "Promoters and Promotional Literature," pp. 442-43. McClure's book was distributed in 1888 at the Encampment of the G.A.R., the Republican and Democratic Conventions and the Sioux City Corn Palace Exhibition. Twenty-five thousand copies were printed in 1887. Schell, "Official Immigration Activities," p. 23.

[54]Doane Robinson, South Dakota: Stressing the Unique and Dramatic in South Dakota History (Chicago: American Historical Society, Inc., 1930), I, 336-37; South Dakota, Laws Passed at the 2nd Session of the Legislature, 1891, Chapter 35, p. 97.

[55]Kingsbury, Dakota Territory, III, 585 ff.

[56]South Dakota, Laws, 12th Session, 1911, Chapter 100, pp. 123-24.

[57]South Dakota, Laws, 1st and 2nd Special Session, 16th Leg., 1920, Chapter 54, p. 51.

[58]South Dakota, Laws, 17th Session, 1921, Chapter 21, p. 150.

abolished in 1925 and its functions turned over to a newly-created Department of Agriculture. The Department was directed by law "to promote and encourage immigration. . . ."[59]

The first North Dakota legislature transferred the responsibility of immigration promotion to the Commissioner of Agriculture and Labor.[60] The legislature charged the Commissioner "to look after and devise means to advance the immigration interests of the State, and to encourage and promote the permanent settlement and improvement of all sections of the State." He was also instructed to prepare the necessary pamphlets, to handle all correspondence relating to immigration and to obtain reduced railroad fares for the immigrants.[61]

This arrangement proved inadequate to the task, causing the legislature to supplement state-wide activity with country promotion. The new program permitted the county commissioners to levy a tax to finance county immigration promotion upon the presentation of a petition signed by one-third of the voters in the 1890 election.[62] It appears, however, that the following attempts to promote immigration were not successful; the commissioner, because of a shortage of funds, could not fully discharge his responsibilities.[63]

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[59]South Dakota, Laws, 19th Session, Chapter 4, p. 131.

[60]North Dakota, Laws Passed at the First Session of the Legislative Assembly, 1890, S.F. 141, p. 507.

[61]Ibid., H.F. 206, p. 154.

[62]North Dakota, Laws, 2nd Session, 1891, H.B. 204, p. 195.

[63]North Dakota, Commissioner of Agriculture and Labor, "Report of the Commissioner of Agriculture and Labor to the Governor of North Dakota, for the Two Years Ending June 30, 1896," Public Documents of the State of North Dakota, 1896, III, Doc. No. 18, pp. 12-13.

During the next year, a state immigration convention in Fargo established the North Dakota Immigration Association. It was followed by conventions in nearly every county in the state. The state and county associations were given enthusiastic support by the railroad companies and by other private interests but, because of the need for large sums of money, were unable to continue their work.[64]

For several years following 1896, North Dakota did not have an agency. The legislature finally appropriated $500 in 1899 to the Commissioner of Agriculture and Labor for the printing of maps and other material which would aid immigrants.[65] Not until 1905 did the legislature appropriate a sum which made effective promotion possible. In that year, the Commissioner of Agriculture and Labor received $20,000 to publicize the opportunities offered by North Dakota.[66]

Additional large sums were appropriated during the following years. The major reason for the sudden concern was probably the false statements about the state found in the eastern press. The 1907 legislature provided $20,000 for a campaign to counter the "many false, sensational and detrimental reports [which] have been published lately in the eastern newspapers and periodicals, and promulgated semi-officially, calculated to work injury to the good name of North Dakota and retard immigration to the state. . . ."[67] An even larger appropriation of

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[64]Ibid., p. 13.

[65]North Dakota, Laws, 6th Session, 1899, H.B. 317, p. 141.

[66]North Dakota, Laws, 9th Session, 1905, S.B. 164, p. 36.

[67]North Dakota, Laws, 10th Session, 1907, S.B. 69, p. 36.

$30,000 was made in 1909 to permit North Dakota to compete with other states which, according to the legislature, were spending "immense sums of money to stem the tide of immigration to this state. . . ."[68]

There was considerable support in 1915 for the creation of a separate board of immigration. This was supported by Governor Louis Hanna who believed that a large movement from Europe could be expected after the war. The legislature provided a generous appropriation of $60,000 for the biennium but the measure was defeated by a referendum.[69]

The continued need for a greater population resulted, in 1919, in the establishment of a commission of immigration with a biennial appropriation of $200,000. This is the largest appropriation made by any state for such activity. The commission continued its work with fairly generous grants until 1933, when it was abolished and immigration promotion permanently ended.[70]

Like North Dakota in its early years, Kansas primarily depended upon its Board of Agriculture for the encouragement of immigration. A

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[68]North Dakota, Laws, 11th Session, 1909, Chapter 142, pp. 168-69. In the 1911 appropriation act, the legislature recognized the intensive promotional activity of Canada "to induce citizens of the United States to become inhabitants of the Dominion, and is sending its emissaries to all parts of this country to distribute . . . literature portraying what it has to offer. . . ." The legislature also acknowledged the "immense sums of money" spent by neighboring states "to stem the tide of immigration to this state." North Dakota, Laws, 12th Session, 1911, H.B. 337, pp. 58-59.

[69]Clement A. Lounsbury, Early History of North Dakota: Essential Outlines of American History (Washington: Liberty Press, 1919), p. 439; North Dakota, Laws, 14th Session, 1915, S. B. 194, pp. 280-81.

[70]North Dakota, Laws, 16th Session, 1919, H.B. 193, pp. 196-97; Laws, 23rd Session, 1933, S.B. pp. 298-99.

separate immigration agency existed only briefly. The legislature, through a law enacted in 1864, authorized the governor to appoint two commissioners to act, with the governor, as a Bureau of Immigration. The law directed the Bureau to appoint several agents and to charge them to solicit reduced railroad and packet rates for immigrants. The agents also were to visit Europe. The state schools were requested to gather information regarding Kansas' climate, soil, minerals and other particulars for publication by the Bureau. Other governmental agencies were instructed to prepare abstracts which would aid the immigration agents in their work. An appropriation of $5,000 was granted to the Bureau.[71]

When the Board of Agriculture was established in 1872, it immediately was assigned the task of promoting immigration. This, in fact, was one of the principal reasons for the creation of the Board.[72] The Board's main instrument was the regular Report which included all pertinent information on agricultural and other resources. Consideration was given to climatological data, schools, churches, industries, mineral wealth, water power, and other data which not only provided an attraction to the immigrant but also aided the residents of the state. Special reports were also published which were designed especially for the prospective settler.[73]

The use of "Emigrant agents," begun in 1864, was continued by the

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[71]Kansas, The General Statutes of the State of Kansas, 1868, Chapter 48, pp. 519-21.

[72]Edwin O. Stene, Kansas State Board of Agriculture: A Study in Administrative History (University of Kansas: Bureau of Governmental Research, 1948), p. 14.

[73]I. D. Graham, "The Kansas State Board of Agriculture: Some High Lights of History," Kansas Historical Collections XVII (1926-28), 797-98.

Board of Agriculture. Fifteen agents were employed in the eastern states and Europe. At least twenty-five agents were active between 1872-1902.[74] One apparent reason for the failure of Kansas to use a separate agency for the promotion of immigration was the jealousy of the Board of Agriculture in regard to its promotional functions. In its report for 1877-1878, the Board stated that Kansas needed no immigration agency as it had "always received its full share of the foreign immigration, without any special aid from Immigration Bureaus, foreign or otherwise."[75] The legislature was satisfied with the Board's performance and no separate agency was established.[76]

Nebraska did the least of all Great Plains states to entice immigrants. Recognition of the need for a promotional agency came as early as 1864 when the legislature incorporated the Nebraska Immigration Association. This organization was privately established to publicize the Territory and to "induce" immigration from the East and from Europe.[77] No official agency was created until 1870 when an ex-officio board established under the direction of an appointed commissioner. The Commissioner was salaried at $1,500 but received no additional money for expenses other than $1,700 appropriated for a pamphlet advertising the

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[74]"A Roster of Kansas for Fifty Years," Ibid., VIII (1903-04), 797-98.

[75]Kansas, State Board of Agriculture, First Biennial Report of the Kansas State Board of Agriculture for 1877-78 (Topeka: Kansas State Board of Agriculture, 1878), pp. 11-13.

[76]Other states also apparently agreed for many instances can be found of states specifically mentioning Kansas publicity.

[77]Nebraska Territory, Laws, Joint Resolutions and Memorials, Passed at the Ninth Session of the Territory of Nebraska, 1864, pp. 232-33.

state. He was directed to live in New York City where he could contact prospective Nebraskans and assist them in reaching the state. Local agents could be appointed but they were to receive no compensation.[78]

Reorganization was effected in 1871 with a superintendent elected by the legislature placed in charge of the Board. Qualifications for this office included ownership of at least $2,500 in real estate. The superintendent was authorized to employ four agents, each receiving $150 per month. Agents were to possess no less than $1,500 in property. The total annual appropriation was $15,000.[79]

Further reorganization was carried out in 1873. Three commissioners were appointed, one of whom acted as the salaried superintendent of immigration. The other two received only expenses. Agents were appointed in each county of the state to act as correspondents.[80] The 1875 law provided another change in the structure of the agency. The old board with ex-officio membership was reestablished. A secretary, elected by the legislature, served as the principal agent. Headquarters was to be established in Omaha if the city provided the office without charge to the state. The secretary was specifically prohibited from "acting as the agent of steamships or railroad companies, and from being directly interested in the sale of lands." With the assistance of the Board, the secretary was to prepare foreign-language pamphlets which described the state and its many

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[78]Nebraska Territory, Laws, Joint Resolutions and Memorials . . . of the State of Nebraska, 6th and 7th Sessions, 1870, pp. 21-23.

[79]Nebraska, Laws, 8th Session, 1871, pp. 90-92.

[80]Nebraska, General Statutes, 1873, Chapter 29, pp. 406-407.

advantages. An additional allocation of $2,000 was made for this purpost.[81] Two years later, in 1877, the Board was abolished. No similar agency was henceforth created.[82]

Although the central states made the greatest and most persistent official efforts to promote settlement, they were not the only ones active. Nearly every state, during sometime in its history, has had an agency charged with the special task of publicizing the unrivaled opportunities it offered to the settler. Nearly all of the southern states worked vigorously for increased population during the decades following the Civil War. The motives were, of course, the desire to settle hundreds of thousands of uncultivated acres and the need to increase the tax revenue of the state. But the southern states were also motivated by the belief that the free Negro could not be depended upon to provide an adequate labor source. Many of these new citizens were moving from the rural areas of the South to the cities, to the coastal states and even to the Southwest.[83]

South Carolina was the first southern state to enter the promotional contest; its bureau of immigration was established in 1866 and employed agents in several European nations. The agent sent to Germany was responsible for the arrival in 1867 of 150 Germans from Bremen who "were received with joy and celebration. . . ." Other southern states soon followed South Carolina. Louisiana began sending agents to Europe

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[81]Nebraska, Laws, 11th Session, 1875, pp. 143-45.

[82]Nebraska, Laws, 14th Session, 1877, p. 69. The state evidently was satisfied with the advertisements of railroad companies and other private organizations. Annadora Foss Gregory, History of Crete, Nebraska, 1870-1888 (Lincoln: State Journal Printing Co., 1937), p. 58.

[83]Bert J. Lowenberg, "Efforts of the South to Encourage Immigration, 1865-1900," South Atlantic Quarterly, XXXIII (October, 1934), 363-67.

also in 1866; Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Mississippi, Missouri, North Carolina, Tennesse, Texas, Virginia and West Virginia all had agencies within approximately five years.[84]

The states of the South attempted to work together through several immigration conventions, two of which were held in 1868 and 1869. The 1868 convention included delegates "from all places interested in the settling of the unemployed lands of the Southern States" and met at Jackson, Mississippi. A convention was held the following year at Louisville, Kentucky, and was presided over by Millard Fillmore. Not all of the delegates were from the South,[85] although the major concern of the convention was with that area's development. The convention favored "a comprehensive plan of enlightening Europe upon the advantages of the region below 'thirty-six thirty' and of making known the climatic conditions and industrial resources. . . ."[86]

Virginia was especially active during the 1870's. On several occasions representatives went to New York City in attempts to create interest among both Americans and foreigners. In September, 1875,

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[84]Ibid., pp. 369-71. Nearly all of these states employed European agents at one time or another. The president of Louisiana's Board traveled four months in Europe in the late 1860's. West Virginia established the office of Commissioner of Immigration in 1864. In 1868, agents were working in Europe "but with little more success than Louisiana." Florence E. Janson, The Background of Swedish Immigration, 1840-1930 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1931), pp. 254-55. An article on Missouri's promotion is Norman L. Crockett's "A Study of Confusion; Missouri's Immigration Promotion, 1865-1916," Missouri Historical Review, LVII (April, 1963), 248-60.

[85]Lowenberg states that more than 100 were from "the West," and thirty-two from the eastern and middle states. Lowenberg, "Efforts of the South," p. 373.

[86]Ibid.

Fitzhugh Lee and twenty-four others, representing the Rappahannock and Potomac Immigration Society, arrived in New York City. Their task was to encourage the development of the area between the Rappahannock and Potomac rivers which had been left desolate by the recent war. The Virginians pleaded not only for more population but also for northern capital.[87] In 1877, the New York Tribune published several editorials which described the opportunities and encouraged northern workers to move to Virginia and other southern states. "There never was a better time than the present for emigration to the South." The South would benefit from the presence of advanced northerners and the northern labor market, upset by recent strikes, would be helped.[88]

Another Virginia delegation, headed by Senator R. E. Withers and Addison Borst, arrived in New York City in 1878. It represented the newly-organized Virginia Immigration Society, a private association under the aegis of the state. The delegation attempted to interest the people of New York in the opportunities to be found in Virginia. Borst, secretary of the Society, reported that the purpose of the visit was "to turn a strong tide of emigration in the direction of Virginia." To augment the "tide," distinguished citizens of the state were to visit Europe and deliver lectures on what Virginia offered the immigrant.[89] The Society established an office in New York City and distributed a large amount of

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[87]"Plea for Southern Immigration," New York Tribune, September 3, 1875, p. 8.

[88]"Go South," Ibid., September 5, 1877, p. 4; "Southern Emigration Again," Ibid., September 10, 1877, p. 4; "Southern Emigration," Ibid., October 24, 1877, p. 4.

[89]"Virginia's Call of Settlers," Ibid., July 4, 1878, p. 5.

printed material describing Virginia.[90]

Although there were some instances of success, the southern states were usually not able to overcome the barriers of northern and European prejudices. One example of outstanding success was achieved by Tennessee in 1880 when the English Emigration Association, led by Tom Hughes, purchased 300,000 acres of land for an English colony.[91] Statistics, however, speak clearly on the failure of the southern states to compete with those of the West in attracting the newly-arrived immigrant. Of the approximately 400,000 foreign immigrants in 1883, less than 8,000 listed their destination as one of the southern states. This was barely more than the number received by Connecticut. In spite of its determined efforts Virginia obtained only 202 persons while Texas received nearly one-third of the entire number going to the South, or some 2,600 immigrants.[92]

Northwestern states also competed officially for immigrants, although much of their promotional activity was conducted by railroad companies. The first public immigration agency in Oregon was established in 1872 by the city of Portland. The Portland Board of Statistics, Immigration and Labor Exchange, concerned primarily with the settlement of the Willamette valley, accomplished little, and in 1874 a state board of immigration was established. The legislature, however, failed to provide an appropriation, forcing the Board to solicit funds from private

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90"Virginia's Resources," Ibid., August 2, 1880, p. 1.

91"The English Colony," Ibid., August 27, 1880, p. 4.

92"The South's Immigrants," Ibid., January 1, 1884, p. 4.

sources. During the next two years, with private support, the Board sent agents to several American cities and to Europe. In 1876 the operations of the Oregon Board of Immigration came to a halt. The state preferred to allow the railroad companies, with their superior ability, to provide the necessary promotion.[93]

Washington began to promote immigration while still in its territorial stage. At Governor Edward S. Saloman's request, the 1871 legislature provided the "Emigration Society," a private non-profit organization, with an annual appropriation of $150 and a supply of 5,000 promotional pamphlets. The Territory continued to support the Society throughout the 1870's.[94] Although the Washington State Constitution of 1889 provided for the establishment of a Bureau of Statistics, Agriculture and Immigration, the legislature did not create the agency until 1895. After a somewhat hesitant start—the legislature refused to appropriate funds in 1897-1899[95]—the Washington immigration bureau remained active until well into the twentieth century.[96]

Although millions of foreigners poured into the United States in the decades following the Civil War, there was never enough people to

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[93]James B. Hedges, "Promotion of Immigration to the Pacific Northwest by the Railroads," Mississippi Valley Historical Review, XV (September, 1928), 183-84.

[94]Arthur John Brown, "Means of Promoting Immigration to the Northwest and Washington," (unpublished Master's thesis, University of Washington, 1942), pp. 30-31.

[95]Ibid., pp. 71-72.

[96]The Board depended primarily upon the distribution of promotional pamphlets. Copies of the state's promotional literature are on file in the Washington State Library, Olympia, Washington.

satisfy the population needs of the developing states. As a result of the rapid development of the American West and the desire of the southern states to improve their economic postures, there was competition for every immigrant who arrived on the American shore and for every American Easterner who desired to change his residence.

The Minnesota Board of Immigration, created in 1855, continued to promote immigration until 1927, although there were periods in which economy seemed to dictate the curtailment of activity. But after a few years, during which immigrants appeared to be ignoring the state, Minnesota would realize that curtailment had, in fact, been false economy—that every immigrant who did not settle in the state represented an irreplaceable loss of wealth.

This fear of competition was not peculiar to Minnesota; it motivated all the states which maintained official promotional agencies. Each of these states knew that if it did not act positively and quickly to attract immigrants, the opportunity would not be missed by some other state.

But the states were certainly not the only promoters of American settlement. They were, in fact, not even the most energetic and effective of the American promoters. That honor belongs to the nation's land-grant railroads who, through liberal land-purchase terms, reduced transportation rates, and effective and plentiful agents in Europe and eastern United States, carried on intensive campaigns to people their millions of acres of potentially valuable land.

CHAPTER III

RAILROAD PROMOTION

The Illinois Central was the first American railroad to undertake the quest for immigrants. The Company began its campaign as a result of Illinois' failure to establish the machinery necessary for promotion. According to Paul Gates, historian of the Illinois Central, the company was "determined to embark on the largest and most expensive advertising campaign ever entered upon by a land company up to that time."[1]

The pamphlets which the Illinois Central issued contained cuts showing how attractive and prosperous a prairie home and farm could be. The text explained why and how one should utilize the magnificent opportunities offered. Because of the early competition from Iowa lands, the pamphlets stressed the advantages which lands east of the Mississippi River possessed over those to the west.[2]

Extensive use was also made of agents who traveled throughout the United States and Europe. In 1856-57, the "travelling agents" visited southern and eastern states, distributing pamphlets at county fairs, public meetings, markets and at other places where people as-

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[1]Paul W. Gates, The Illinois Central Railroad and Its Colonization Work (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1934), p. 171.

[2]Ibid., p. 176.

sembled. Less of this type of promotional work was done after 1858, although thousands of pamphlets were still distributed. The Railroad also used ethnic representatives to reach potential settlers. In its first year of operation, it printed German pamphlets and advertised in German newspapers. Dr. J. G. Kohl, a well-known German "cartographer and traveller," was employed to publish a book describing the Company and its land and to publish it in Germany. Kohl published Reisen im Nordwesten der Vereinigten Staaten in 1857. Shortly after this, Francis Hoffman, lieutenant-governor of Illinois and the best-known German in the state, agreed to act as an agent. Hoffman's contract promised him one dollar for each of the first 20,000 acres he sold and fifty cents per acre on sales over that amount. He was to pay all of his own expenses. The Company agreed to provide passes on freight trains for all prospective settlers. Within four years, Hoffman's agents had sold 80,000 acres.[3]

A Scandinavian immigrant agent was employed in 1862. Rev. Abraham Jacobson, a Norwegian Lutheran minister, was hired to work in Quebec during the immigration season. Jacobson did his work so well and conducted himself in such an exemplary manner, that the Canadian government showed its appreciation through a grant of money. The government did not realize that the minister was a railroad agent.[4] Agents were also hired to work among prospective immigrants in other countries. They were especially active in England.[5]

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[3]Ibid., pp. 198-203, 205.

[4]Ibid., p. 197.

[5]Ibid., pp. 214-24.

The Burlington Railroad, with land in Iowa and Nebraska, was an early competitor of the Illinois Central. Although its land department was established in 1859, the Burlington undertook little promotion before 1869 when George Harris became land commissioner. Harris began an immediate campaign to publicize the Burlington lands in Europe, with major emphasis also upon the British Isles. The first step was the appointment of Edward Edginton, who was also employed by Iowa, as the Burlington agent in Great Britain. Approving Edginton's ambitious advertising scheme, Harris agreed to pay him $60 monthly in addition to expenses. Edginton ordered a large supply of material in January, 1871: 10,000 circulars, 10,000 two-color handbills, and 50,000 circulars of smaller size. In addition, he placed advertisements for an indefinite period in twenty English and Scottish newspapers.[6] Harris enlarged the program in February by hiring Cornelius Schaller as Commissioner for Europe and Henry Wilson as agent-general. Schaller was salaried at $2,500 and given a percentage of sales up to $4,000. Edginton was transferred to Glasgow and William Hayward, London Agent for Nebraska, was made resident-agent in that city. Other agents soon were appointed to other cities to work with 1,000 local agents. The local agents were paid on a commission basis. The focal point of the entire operation was Schaller's Liverpool headquarters. An emigrant house was established in Liverpool, the main port of embarkation for those going to the United States. Here the emigrant "could stay for 25 cents a night, obtain coffee for four cents, a

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[6]Richard C. Overton, Burlington West: A Colonization History of the Burlington Railroad (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1941), pp. 111, 359-61.

chop for eight cents," and be thoroughly protected from "runners and touters."[7]

Although the Burlington concentrated its activities in the British Isles, other European countries were not neglected entirely. Harris contracted with two of Nebraska's emigrant agents to work in the countries to which they were assigned by the state: C. B. Nelson in Copenhagen and Frederick Hedde in Hamburg. In addition, a company agency was established in Goteborg, Sweden, under the direction of Joseph E. Osborn. Osborn revealed the plight of many emigrant agents in Europe when he reported that such agents were looked upon as "robbers and scoundrels of the deepest dye."[8]

The growing competition from other states and private promotional agencies forced the Burlington to liberalize its land policy in 1873. Land sales had decreased in Iowa and Nebraska. Under the new program no payment was required on the principal until the end of the fourth year. Thereafter, one-seventh was paid annually until the end of the tenth year, when the last payment was made. A sizeable discount was allowed if full payment were made before the end of the prescribed time.[9] Further inducements were provided through the establishment of immigrant houses in Burlington, Iowa, and Lincoln, Nebraska. Families were lodged free and food provided at cost while they investigated company land. In addition, the price of "land exploring tickets" was decreased.[10]

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[7] Ibid., pp. 361-62.

[8] Ibid., pp. 366, 368.

[9] Ibid., pp. 340-42.

[10] Ibid., pp. 336-40.

Several other railroads, with millions of acres of Kansas land to sell, offered strong competition to the Burlington. The Union Pacific's Central Branch promoted the sale of 1,280,000 acres at $1 to $10 an acre, and its Katy Railroad advertised 1,300,000 acres at $2 to $8. The Kansas Pacific offered 6,000,000 acres, the L L & G 500,000, and the Santa Fe 3,000,000.[11]

The Santa Fe Railroad employed C. B. Schmidt, a German who was also a Kansas agent, as Commissioner of Immigration. Schmidt sponsored an intensive campaign which resulted in the sale of nearly all the Santa Fe land. He was especially successful in competing for the German-Russian Mennonites with many states and other railroad companies. Under his direction half of the 10,000 Mennonites arriving in the United States in the 1870's settled in Kansas.[12] According to Schmidt, 15,000 Russian Mennonites were settled along the Santa Fe line by 1883.[13] Of especial importance to the success of this activity was the drastic reduction of land prices. Santa Fe land sold from $2.50 to $5.00 per acre.[14]

The Southern Pacific also had a liberal land policy. Purchasers of company land were given five years credit on land which sold for approximately $5 an acre. The price of transportation from California to the acquired land was deducted from the price. This latter practice remained

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[11]Paul W. Gates, Fifty Million Acres: Conflicts over Kansas Land Policy, 1854-1890 (Ithica: Cornell University Press, 1954), p. 235.

[12]C. C. Regier, "An Immigrant Family of 1876," Social Science, VII (July, 1932), 252-53.

[13]C. B. Schmidt, "Reminiscences of Foreign Immigration Work for Kansas," Kansas Historical Collections, IX (1905-1906), 485-95.

[14]Regier, "An Immigrant Family of 1876," p. 252.

in effect as late as 1880.[15]

In Minnesota, several railroad companies became especially active in the quest for settlers, although there was little activity before the 1870's.[16] The St. Paul and Pacific Railroad was apparently the first to offer land for sale and to conduct a campaign for settlers. In 1864, the Company opened 307,000 acres for sale in units of forty acres or more.[17] An agent was sent in 1865 to Germany to assist immigrants on their journey to Minnesota.[18] Other agents also were sent to Europe. J. H. Kloos, assistant engineer of the First Division of the St. Paul and Pacific,[19] reported in 1867 that the Railroad was well known and respected in many European countries. Many Europeans, he stated, were moving to its Minnesota lands.[20] In 1873, Robert Watt, a Danish journalist, was hired as head agent in northern Europe. Watt had visited Minnesota and St. Paul and Pacific land two years before and had published a book in Denmark about his tour. Articles written by him also appeared in the Norwegian press. Carlton Qualey, a student of Norwegian immigration, calls Watt a "minor figure" in the whole picture of the Norwegian move-

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[15]Stuart Daggett, Chapters on the History of the Southern Pacific (New York: The Ronald Press Co., 1922), p. 111.

[16]Harold F. Peterson, "Early Minnesota Railroads and the Quest for Settlers," Minnesota History, XIII (March, 1932), 26.

[17]Ibid., p. 36.

[18]Margaret Mussgang (Pempeit), "The Germans in St. Paul," (Unpublished Master's thesis, Dept. of German, University of Minnesota, 1932), p. 8.

[19]Kloos identified in The Gazette (Amsterdam), January 6, 1867, reprinted in Pioneer (St. Paul), March 1, 1867, p. 1.

[20]J. H. Kloos to Editor, Pioneer, February 27, 1867, p. 2.

ment, but "nevertheless of considerable influence."[21]

Other Minnesota railroads became active in settlement promotion. The Lake Superior and Mississippi Railroad offered 1,632,000 acres for sale in 1869—with the usual long-term credit provisions. It was soon followed by the Northern Pacific, the Southern Minnesota and the St. Paul, Minneapolis and Manitoba Railroads.[22] The Southern Minnesota Railroad had an agent, H. F. Sherman, operating an office in London in 1873. Sherman failed to recruit many new farmers for the state, probably because of the exhorbitant price he set on the railroad land. The land was priced at $4 an acre by the Railroad and Sherman attempted to sell it for $20. His contract with the Southern Minnesota permitted him to retain the difference. The agent spent several years in London but sent only a small colony to Martin County.[23] The St. Paul, Minneapolis and Manitoba Railroad, which later became the Great Northern, was extremely aggressive in promoting the sale of its land and proved a very real competitor of the Northern Pacific.[24]

The Northern Pacific was the most ambitious, and certainly the most effective, of all railroad land promoters in Minnesota. For over a

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[21]Carlton C. Qualey, "Pioneer Norwegian Settlement in Minnesota (To 1876)," (unpublished Master's thesis, Dept. of History, University of Minnesota, 1930), pp. 104-105.

[22]Peterson, "Early Minnesota Railroads," pp. 37-38; James B. Hedges, "The Colonization Work of the Northern Pacific Railroad," Mississippi Valley Historical Review, XIII (December, 1926), 333.

[23]Althea M. Herwig, "The Settlement and Development of Martin County, 1856-1880," (unpublished Master's thesis, Dept. of History, University of Minnesota, 1931), pp. 84-89.

[24]Hedges, "Colonization Work," p. 333.

decade it promoted the sale of its Minnesota land, and brought thousands of new citizens to the state. Throughout this period it cooperated in many ways with Minnesota in the state's campaign. Prior to the organization of its own agency in 1869, the Northern Pacific depended, as did other roads, upon commercial emigration agencies. The National Land Company was most often used.[25] In 1869 the Land Committee was established with headquarters in New York City and an office in St. Paul. John S. Loomis, president of the National Land Company, was appointed Land Commissioner. He proceeded to organize the department along the lines of the National Land Company. Loomis suggested that the Northern Pacific print descriptive pamphlets in the "languages of all nationalities" and have them distributed throughout Europe and the United States by railroad agents and by officials of the United States government. He further suggested that the Railroad establish good relations with all carriers and strive for reduced rates for immigrants. Loomis also stressed the importance of a friendly press in both the United States and Europe.[26]

As a result of Loomis' suggestions, the Bureau of Immigration was established to work with the Land Department. Major George B. Hubbard was appointed Superintendent of Immigration and George Sheppard was placed in charge of the London agency. Branch agencies were established in Liverpool, the Scandinavian countries, Holland and Germany. One of the European agents was Dr. J. P. Tustin, A Scandinavian minister

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[25]E. P. Oberholtzer, Jay Cooke: Financier of the Civil War (Philadelphia: George W. Jacobs and Co., 1907), II, 296-97. The land grant equalled in size the total area of the six New England states and Maryland (p. 313).

[26]Hedges, "Colonization Work," pp. 314-15.

who had promoted settlement of railroad land in Michigan. Another agent was Hans Mattson, Minnesota's Secretary of State who had done considerable promotional work for the St. Paul and Pacific and the Lake Superior and Mississippi Railroads and also for Minnesota. Tustin was assigned to Norway and Mattson to Sweden. Their major task appears to have been the organization of colonies. Agents of steamship companies in Scandinavia also acted as agents of the Railroad.[27]

The Northern Pacific agents circulated large amounts of printed material and sponsored newspaper advertisements in the countries to which they were assigned. The advertisements were often quite large. The Northern Pacific, for example, sponsored a supplement to the Folketidene of Mandal, Norway, on December 31, 1873 entitled "Det Nye Nordvesten i De Forenede Stater." The cover was a map of the United States and Canada with several lines of the Northern Pacific indicated. The ad noted the various agents of the Railroad who were located in Norwegian cities. It also informed prospective settlers of the immigrant houses operated by the Railroad in Minnesota. Mention was also made of the reduced transportation rates and the liberal sales of the Northern Pacific.[28]

The Northern Pacific's publications were usually little more than a collection of facts and figures, but occasionally its writers

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[27]Ibid., pp. 315-17. Mattson continued as Secretary of State. Later he promoted immigration for the state, serving concurrently as agent of the Railroad. Hans Mattson, Reminiscences, The Story of an Emigrant (St. Paul: D. D. Merrill Co., 1891), pp. 118, 121, 131-34. Mattson was in Europe during much of the period 1870-76.

[28]Qualey, "Pioneer Norwegian Settlement," pp. 71-72.

would lose themselves in orgies of ostentatious description. In one advertisement, the climates of Minnesota and Montana were accredited with power to heal virtually every sickness. The only illness affecting the residents of these areas resulted from over-eating which was caused in turn by the exhilarating climate.[29] Usually, however, the Railroad tried not to mislead immigrants through its printed material. Oftentimes, circulars and handbooks cautioned them not to expect more than what was reasonable from newly-settled areas. Jay Cooke stated that he wanted no "grumblers brigade" of people who found they could not adjust to the primitive conditions of the West. These people, he believed, would return to the eastern cities and discourage settlement. Rather than go west, Cooke advised the timid souls to "cling to the maternal East and petition their government to give them free homesteads of 160 acres each within sight of the steeples of Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Liverpool or London." Cooke warned that "in the Northwest as elsewhere thrift and success will not follow idleness, chicken-heartedness, changeableness, corner grocery lounging, bad management and drinking habits."[30] Such candor in promotional propaganda was refreshing.

Although the Northern Pacific, under Cooke's direction, was interested in the purchase of its land by individuals, it was especially active, and for some time quite successful, in the promotion of colonies.[31]

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[29]Hedges, "Colonization Work," p. 316. But the state was also often guilty of publishing overly-descriptive advertisements.

[30]Oberholtzer, Jay Cooke, pp. 312-13.

[31]Cooke to President of Indianapolis Immigration Convention, December 31, 1870, quoted in Harold F. Peterson, "Some Colonization Projects of the Northern Pacific Railroad," Minnesota History, X (June, 1929), 130.

Efforts to settle colonies began in 1871. The Northern Pacific's Bureau of Immigration promoted the sale of land to military veterans who, according to an 1870 Congressional law, were entitled to homesteads. Although the government land was given to the veteran, the Bureau planned to sell railroad land, adjacent to the government land, to veterans' colonies. Responding to the Bureau's generous terms, G. H. Johnston, President of the New England Military and Naval Bureau of Migration, informed the Northern Pacific that the New England Bureau was interested in establishing a colony for some one thousand persons. Johnston and the Company reached an agreement in the fall of 1871 and, in the following spring, the first colonists arrived in the Detroit Lake area of Becker County. In accordance with the agreement, the Northern Pacific authorized construction of 500 houses which were sold to the colonists at cost with payment extended over a ten-year period.[32]

While the Detroit Lake Colony was being established, another company was negotiating with the Northern Pacific to act as its agent in the settlement of a Red River colony in Clay County. The resultant contract gave the L. H. Tenney Company the sole right to sell twelve townships of Clay County land for a commission of 10 per cent. The Railroad agreed to provide immigrant houses and local agents to assist in the registration of land and to help drain the flat land along the River. The Railroad also agreed to assist in advertising the colony and gave the Tenney Company one year to either settle 400 families or sell 40 per cent of the land. The colonization company immediately began an intensive

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[32]Hedges, "Colonization Work," p. 320; Peterson, "Some Colonization Projects," pp. 132-35.

publicity operation, spending over $10,000 by the summer of 1872. At that time only one hundred settlers were in the colony, although Tenney had applications for the purchase of approximately $25,000 of Northern Pacific land. The effort was handicapped by a delay in the construction of immigrant houses and by false stories of the extreme coldness of the Red River valley. The Tenney Company was given an extension of time and continued to work for the settlement of the area.[33]

Another Red River colony was started in 1873. This was the Yeovil colony located near the Clay County town of Hawley. The colony was organized initially by the Rev. George Rodgers of Stalbridge, Dorsetshire, England, in 1872. Rodgers was employed by the Northern Pacific to tour the Red River valley with several other Englishmen and locate the site of the new colony. He finally selected eight townships comprising 180,000 acres, half of which was government land and open to homestead. The other half was owned by the Northern Pacific. A small group of eighty colonists left England in March, 1873. In April, two hundred families representing about one thousand persons were expected to leave. The colonists were reported to have brought with them from $1,000 to $10,000 per person.[34]

While the Yeovil settlement was being established, another English colony, later known as the Furness colony, was organized in northern England. Its rules called for members "of good moral character," and prohibited the use of liquor. Members were required to have enough

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[33]Peterson, "Some Colonization Projects," pp. 135-37; L. H. Tenney to Gov. Austin, February 26, 1872, in Gov. File 280, MSA.

[34]Inquirer (Philadelphia) quoted in New York Times, August 30, 1873, p. 5; Peterson, "Some Colonization Projects," pp. 138-39.

money to pay passage and to begin farming. By late 1872, seventy-three families had joined, each possessing between 50 to 5,000 pounds. Some were farmers while others were artisans and merchants. A committee, which had been sent to spy out the land, reserved some 42,000 acres of land near Wadena. In 1873 the first contingent of settlers left England.[35]

Although the Northern Pacific successfully established some colonies in western Minnesota, it met with several complete failures. Norwegians, who comprised a significant part of the state's population, could not be persuaded to colonize as long as free government land existed.[36] An attempt to settle a Mennonite colony also failed.[37]

With the closing of the Jay Cooke Company in 1873, the promotional activity of the Northern Pacific Railroad came to a temporary end. The Land Department continued until 1874, but, because of the lack of funds, its operations were severely limited. When the Northern Pacific recouped its fortune sufficiently to resume construction in 1879, it also began an energetic immigration campaign. In 1881, the General Land Office was moved from New York City to St. Paul and an immigration bureau was opened in Portland.[38] Henry Villard, who took over the direction of the Company in 1881, carried out immigration projects with an even greater intensity. In 1882, the Northern Pacific had 831 local agents in the

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[35]Peterson, "Some Colonization Projects," pp. 138-39.

[36]Qualey, "Pioneer Norwegian Settlement," pp. 72-73.

[37]Charles H. Smith, The Coming of the Russian Mennonites: An Episode in the Settling of the Last Frontier, 1874-1884 (Berne, Indiana: Mennonite Book Concern, 1927), p. 119.

[38]Hedges, "Colonization Work," pp. 327-29; Peterson, "Some Colonization Projects," p. 131.

United States and in nearly every European nation. It operated its own newspapers in Germany, Switzerland and England.[39] In 1883, in addition to the local agents, the railroad had 124 general agents in Germany, Switzerland and Scandinavia. In that year, the Liverpool agent distributed 632,590 copies of literature printed in several languages, and the St. Paul and Portland offices reported receiving 60,000 inquiries and distributing 2,500,000 pieces of literature.[40]

The Northern Pacific continued its promotional efforts with growing intensity during the remaining years of the eighties. As late as 1888, its advertisements appeared in more than 3,000 newspapers, over 500,000 maps of its land were distributed, and 90,000 copies of its Northwest magazine circulated. Hundreds of thousands of circulars and other printed matters were also distributed. The Northwest was a monthly publication edited by Eugene V. Smalley and subsidized by the Northern Pacific. As the title indicates, it publicized the northwestern United States. Its special target appears to have been the people of the British Isles.[41]

After its intensive push of Minnesota land ended with the Panic

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[39]A. M. Sakolski, The Great American Land Bubble: The Amazing Story of Land-Grabbing, Speculations, and Booms from Colonial Days to the Present Time (New York: Harper and Bros., 1932), pp. 309, 369. The agents were given a 5 per cent commission on land sales up to 160 acres if the purchaser lived on the land, cultivated twenty acres the first year and another twenty the next. Later, in 1882, the amount was increased to 640 acres and the commission set at 12 per cent on land east of the Missouri River and 2-1/2 per cent on land west of the River. Hedges, "Colonization Work," p. 332.

[40]Hedges, "Colonization Work, p. 330.

[41]Ibid., p. 331; Hedges, "Promotion to Northwest," p. 199.

of 1873, the Northern Pacific continued to advertise its land west of the Missouri River until 1886. In the latter year, nearly 2,500,000 acres of land were sold to one syndicate at $2 per acre paid in the preferred stock of the Company. After 1886, major emphasis was placed on settling the large area between the Missouri River and Puget Sound.[42]

The close cooperation which had existed between the Northern Pacific and the state of Minnesota now changed into competition. The Northern Pacific spent large sums of publish vast amounts of materials and to hire agents who traveled through the United States and Europe to expound the wonders of the region westward. Minnesota was forced into protecting its own interest by attempting to slow down the movement west of the immigrants and, indeed, of its own people.

In the eighties, cooperation between the state and other railroads also came to an end. Most of the roads had disposed of their lands in the sixties and seventies. But the cooperation while it lasted, was a great boon to the state, to the railroads and to the settlers. The charges of exploitation levelled by the farmers against the railroads came after the West was settled. During the years in which the area was being peopled newly-arrived settlers were befriended in many ways by the railroads.

Innumerable instances of assistance to the immigrant can be cited: free or reduced railroad fare to the newly-acquired lands, freighting of personal belongings free or at a nominal charge, the provision of immigrant homes as temporary residences, and,where necessary, supplying food

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[42]Hedges, "Colonization Work," p. 340.

without charge. The generosity of the Minnesota and St. Paul Railroad, for example, was noted as early as 1869 by William Abell, a Minnesota immigrant agent. In his report to the Board of Immigration, Abell commended the Railroad for its "very liberal and praiseworthy conduct toward destitute Emigrants," stating that it gave free passage and free food to "emigrants," who were without sufficient funds. Hundreds were allowed to travel to Minnesota with their luggage as security. Luggage was frequently returned, without a request for payment, if "the owner was utterly unable to pay for it."[43]

Hans Mattson in his Story of an Emigrant told of a Swedish colony which settled in Mississippi in 1870. During the winter of 1870-71, one-fifth of the colony died and "nearly all the rest were sick." Mattson, who was both Secretary of State and an immigrant agent for Jay Cooke, had the Duluth and St. Paul Railroad dispatch a representative to bring the destitute Swedes to Minnesota. According to Mattson, the Railroad built them "comfortable houses, [and] furnished an abundance of provisions, cooking utensils and other necessaries. . . ." When the men were able to work, the Company gave them employment. Yet, Mattson related, many of the people who were helped "growled and complained because we did not do more for them." Many, however, later apologized.[44]

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[43]Theodore C. Blegen (ed.), "Minnesota's Campaign for Immigrants: Illustrative Documents," Yearbook of the Swedish Historical Society of America, XI (1926), 42-43; Roy W. Swanson (trans., ed.), "Minnesota As Seen by Travelers; A Swedish Visitor of the Early Seventies," Minnesota History, VIII (December, 1927), 400, 409; Peterson, "Early Minnesota Railroads," pp. 40-41.

[44]Mattson, Story of an Emigrant, pp. 119-20. Other examples of railroad assistance to the settler and the state can be found throughout this book.

Nearly all railroads offered land for sale on long-term credit and gave a special reduction for cash purchases. The St. Paul and Pacific in 1872 sold land for $5 to $15 an acre with ten years in which to complete payment. The price was reduced $1 on cash sales. The Northern Pacific also sold its land on ten-years credit at a price from $2.50 to $10 per acre. The Lake Superior and Mississippi sold its land in 1871 for $2.50 to $6 per acre at 10 per cent interest over a period of eight years. The Sioux City charged $2.50 to $5 and provided five years credit at 7 per cent interest.[45]

The Northern Pacific applied the cost of "land exploration tickets" to the down payment if more than forty acres were purchased within sixty days after issuance of the ticket. It also provided free transportation to the West to families purchasing its land. In some cases, this was even extended to people who settled government land.[46] The St. Paul and Pacific announced in 1879 that if the purchaser plowed a certain portion of his acreage the first year, he would "be allowed $2.50 for breaking," with the same offer to be extended during the following two years. An additional fifty cents per acre was given if crops were planted on the tilled land.[47]

The history of Minnesota promotion is one of almost constant cooperation between the state and the railroad companies. Railroads were active not only in the sale of their own land but also land in the public domain. Railroads constructed immigrant houses, distributed official

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[45]Peterson, "Early Minnesota Railroads," pp. 36-38.

[46]Hedges, "Colonization Work," p. 321.

[47]Peterson, "Early Minnesota Railroads," pp. 39-40.

literature in which their paid advertisements frequently appeared, gave reduced passage fares to prospective settlers, and joined the state in the employment of agents. There is virtually no evidence that these co-operative efforts ever worked to the detriment of Minnesota or its people.

Even during the waning years of the "Granger Period," the Minnesota Board of Immigration could announce publicly that "great credit is due the [railroads] companies for the earnest efforts they are putting forth to attract immigration."

If the western farmers were justified in some of their complaints against the railroad companies, it is obvious that many of them benefited from earlier acts of the same companies.

CHAPTER IV

IMMIGRATION PROMOTION BY OTHER AGENCIES

In addition to the official state agencies and those established by the many land-grant railroads, there was a host of private immigration agencies active in the United States and Europe. Some were profit motivated while others were philanthropic. Of the former there were land companies, steamship companies and companies which encouraged immigration and settlement on a fee basis. The philanthropic organizations were created to encourage the immigration and settlement of particular ethnic groups or members of a particular religious faith. While many of the profit agencies were sometimes quite unscrupulous, the charitable ones were fairly operated and well respected. Additional promotional activity was carried on by residents of certain areas.

The land speculator played an important, although morally questionable, role in the history of the American westward movement. Just as land speculation was important to the development of the eastern states, it was a significant factor in the settlement of the trans-Mississippi West. Paul Gates has pointed out that speculators controlled nine million acres of Illinois land in 1856. "The role of the speculator," Gates states, "has been one of profound importance in the history of Illinois."[1]

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[1]Gates, Illinois Central, pp. 111, 114.

Andrew J. Galloway was one of the most successful Illinois speculators. His Western Land Agency owned several hundred thousand acres of land in Illinois and additional land in Iowa and Wisconsin. Much of the prairie land in eastern and central Illinois was settled through his efforts.[2]

Innumerable counterparts of Galloway could be found in the western states and territories. Sioux City, Iowa, became "a hot-bed of . . . speculative activity" in the 1850's. From that city, steamboats regularly sailed the Missouri River to Nebraska and Dakota carrying interested parties to land and town lots offered for sale by eager land-jobbers. "Many paper townsites were laid out on land secured at $1.25 per acre and sold to the innocent and the gullible at $2.00 to $5.00 a lot."[3]

Many land companies were active in Dakota before the territory was created: the Western Town Company, organized in 1857 by several Dubuque, Iowa businessmen, which founded Sioux Falls; the Dakota Land Company, organized in the same year by residents of St. Paul; and the Upper Missouri Land Company established in 1858 by J. B. S. Todd and D. M. Frost of Sioux City. Other companies were created at about the same time to exploit the area along the Red River to the north.[4]

Such activity was by no means limited to the central states and territories. In the Northwest, Henry Villard's Oregon Improvement Company purchased over 150,000 acres in eastern Washington from the Northern

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[2]Ibid., pp. 115-16.

[3]Briggs, "Settlement and Development," I, 2-3.

[4]Ibid., pp. 16-18 212-14; Briggs, Frontiers, pp. 350-51, 357, 363.

Pacific and patterned its colonization scheme after that used by the National Land Company in Kansas.[5] Far to the south, the Florida Land and Immigration Company conducted a successful sales campaign while, in New Mexico, the Western Migration and Agricultural Association sold twenty-acre farms, completely fenced and with houses, for $200.[6]

These companies were interested exclusively in land sales but there were other companies, often heavily capitalized, created for the sole purpose of promoting immigration; their profits derived from the sale of steerage tickets or from commissions paid by other companies.

The American Emigrant Company, capitalized at $540,000 and headquartered in New York City, had major agents in all principal European ports and local agents in many rural towns and villages. Its business was selling passage to the United States. In 1866, cabin passage sold for $75 to $105 and steerage on sailing ships $12.50 to $20. Food and bedding were not provided for steerage passengers. The Company advertised in Sweden that it belonged to "certain wealthy and philanthropic persons in America who wish to aid the emigrant during his voyage so that he does not fall into the hands of unscrupulous countrymen or others. . . ." Even with this noble purpose, the Company was attacked in the Swedish press for enticing people with inadequate funds to the United States. Reacting to the charge, the Company publicly cautioned prospective travelers to have enough money to tide them over until they were settled.[7] Hans Mattson wrote to Governor Marshall in 1866 about

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[5]Hedges, "Promotion to Northwest," pp. 196-97.

[6]New York Tribune, January 6, 1879, p. 3.

[7]Florence E. Janson, The Background of Swedish Immigration, 1840-1930 (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1931), p. 234.

the dishonest practices employed by the "American Emigration Company" which sold inferior land in western Iowa to immigrants.[8] Whether these two companies were the same can not definitely be determined, but there is the similarity of name and also the fact that both were very active in all the major European port cities in 1866.

Other companies also were active. The Columbian Emigration Company provided stiff competition to the American Emigrant Company. It frequently undersold passage and provided extra inducements such as free board at port and free medical care. The American Emigrant Aid and Homestead Company was extraordinarily large. Capitalized at $5,000,000, it sold not only passage on its own ships but also land in many states, from California to Pennsylvania. The Company even owned a banking department, an old-age insurance agency and an employment bureau.[9] The European-American Land Company was another active promoter. Headed by Caleb Cushing, then minister to Spain, it was capitalized at $1,000,000. Other concerns were the British-American Land Company of Canada, the Scandinavian Emigrant Agency which sold passage and western land, and the Swedish-American Emigrant Company. The latter company offered not only passage tickets but also assistance in finding employment and free transportation from New York City to the place of employment.[10]

Several promotional companies were active in promoting immigration

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[8]Mattson to Marshall, August 2, 1866, quoted in Blegen, "Illustrated Documents," p. 234.

[9]Janson, Swedish Immigration, pp. 235-38. These companies were operating in Sweden but one may assume they were active throughout Europe. The only exception would be the Scandinavian Emigrant Agency, discussed infra.

[10]Ibid., pp. 239-40.

to Minnesota and in the sale of Minnesota lands. Probably the two most active were the Western Emigration Agency and the A. E. Johnson Company, both with main offices in Chicago. The Western Emigration Agency, headed by B. A. Froiseth, began to promote Minnesota while it was a territory and continued for several decades. It possessed agencies in nearly all the larger cities in Europe.[11] The A. E. Johnson Company was also active in promoting emigration from Europe, specializing in Scandinavian emigration promotion. This company also had offices in many European cities. Its chain of American offices extended from New York to Seattle. According to Kenneth Bjork, "No other company sold a third as many acres or nearly as many tickets. . . ." In 1895, in the midst of depression, the Company sold nearly one million dollars worth of land along the Northern Pacific line alone.[12] The Johnson Company while serving Minnesota in 1869 was charged, according to Peter Engberg, Minnesota's immigrant agent for Chicago, with "some very grave charges of fraud and swindle." Johnson and his agents had not been arrested because of insufficient proof. The victims had left the city.[13]

Many Minnesota-chartered companies also sold land or promoted immigration. The Territorial Immigration Society, chartered by the legislature in February, 1855 was the first. The charter permitted the Society

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[11]Ibid., pp. 163-64. Froiseth's concern over immigration to Minnesota will be discussed in greater length in a later chapter.

[12]Kenneth Bjork, West of the Great Divide: Norwegian Migration to the Pacific Coast, 1847-1893 (Northfield: Norwegian-American Historical Assoc., 1958), pp. 392-96.

[13]Peter Engberg to Gov. Marshall, quoted in Blegen, "Illustrated Documents," p. 39.

to establish offices in St. Paul and New York City.[14] Two years later, in 1857, the legislature incorporated two organizations bearing similar names and sharing several incorporators. The American and European Emigrant Aid Company was capitalized at $100,000 and had as its purpose the promotion of "white Emigration" to the unsettled lands of the Territory "and the other States and Territories of the United States."[15] The Emigrant Aid Association appears to have directed its attention to American easterners. Its purpose was to facilitate "emigration to the North-west, by the diffusion of the necessary information among the people of the Eastern States. . . ." Ignatius Donnelly was one of the owners.[16]

Donnelly, twenty-six years of age, was busy with his dream of establishing the town of Nininger which he and John Nininger had laid out in 1856. The two men had purchased 800 acres three miles north of Hastings for $22,000. In 1857, Donnelly directed a very intensive publicity drive for his infant town. One of his most eloquent speeches on the West was given in March at the Broadway House in New York City. Here Donnelly painted the contrast between the West and the East:

> Those who seek the means of merest life emigrate here [East]; those who seek the means of wealth and fortune emigrate from here westward. In the east we live amid immense competition, climbing to independence only over the shoulders of those less fortunate around us. . . . Here are men calling for room; there room calling for men.[17]

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[14]Minnesota Territory, Session Laws of the Territory of Minnesota, 1855, Chapter 28, pp. 82-83.

[15]Minnesota Territory, Laws, 1857, Chapter 63, pp. 249-50.

[16]Minnesota Territory, Laws, 1857, Chapter 18, p. 58.

[17]Ralph L. Harmon, "Ignatius Donnelly and His Faded Metropolis," Minnesota History, XVII (September, 1936), 271.

The Emigrant Aid Association made extensive use of eastern newspapers. Nininger, the advertisements stated, offered unparalleled opportunities to those who left the crowded cities and moved to the uncluttered West. The town was reported to possess "mills, stores, a school, fine hotels, a wonderful steamboat landing, and a newspaper," and was "surrounded by a rich farming country."[18] In spite of all these advantages, Donnelly's dream city soon disappeared into nostalgia. He then turned his attention to the adventure of politics.[19]

In what Donnelly attempted to do early in Minnesota's history, other promoters were more successful. The city of Bemidji, for example, owes its development largely to the Bemidji Townsite and Improvement Company which was established in 1896 to promote the development of a ninety-acre tract of land on the west side of Lake Bemidji. With several important state officials involved, including the secretary to the governor, the enterprise was successful.[20]

Although the promotional efforts of the many private agencies were undoubtedly significant in the development of Minnesota, their record is not unblemished. Throughout the last half of the nineteenth century, charges of misconduct and corruption constantly were levelled at their agents. Speculators were especially active during the 1850's, when Minnesota was in its earliest stage of development. A particularly offensive scheme was the sale of "paper" towns at high prices to unknowing

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[18] Ibid., p. 272.

[19] William W. Folwell, A History of Minnesota (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society, 1926), II, 60.

[20] Harold T. Hagg, "Bemidji: A Pioneer Community of the 1890's," Minnesota History, XXIII (March, 1942), 27-28.

and gullible buyers. Many townsite speculators were members of the territorial legislature who used their positions to promote their towns. In 1857, for example, after Congress gave the Territory title to an area of western Minnesota, a special session of the legislature organized seven new counties. The county seats of three were actually named, although the entire area was devoid of population. The Dakota Land Company was active in this region.[21]

As a result of economic security experienced by Minnesotans following the Panic of 1857, the high-handed activities of the speculators became particularly offensive. These entrepeneurs, "who had once been regarded with high public esteem as promoters of the common good, fell from grace and became a hated class."[22] This hatred often was revealed in the state's newspapers. "Shall Minnesota be Cursed with Speculators, or Settled by Actual Farmers" was the title of an editorial appearing in the St. Paul Pioneer in late December, 1866. The editorial was prompted by land statistics recently issued by the General Land Office. The statistics revealed that of the over 500,000 acres of public land disposed of the St. Cloud office, only 15,438 were obtained through homestead patents. The remainder was taken through agricultural college script and military warrants. "This tells the tale," the editor stated. Two entire counties had been alienated this way. "These counties had far better have been visited by the locusts of Egypt or the grasshoppers of the Red River than by these speculators." Apparently most disturbing

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[21]Robert J. Forrest, "Mythical Cities of Southwestern Minnesota," Minnesota History, XIV (September, 1933), 243-44.

[22]Verne E. Chatelain, "The Federal Land Policy and Minnesota Politics, 1854-60," Minnesota History, XXII (September, 1941), 236.

was the fact that land controlled by speculators developed at a much slower rate than that taken through other means. "If our best lands fall into the clutches of speculators immigrants will be driven so far on the frontier, that they will avoid Minnesota entirely, and go to other States and Territories." The editorial urged people to write to the Federal Land Department and Congress and request that no land be sold except to actual settlers.[23]

The Red River Star, almost a decade later, made virtually the same indictment against the speculator. In an 1875 article, entitled "Moorhead's Land Reserve," the lack of settlement on the prairie surrounding Moorhead was lamented. That this was unsettled was not because of the quality of the land but because it was controlled by speculators who had gained possession of the "choicest" before the arrival of the railroad. The writer hoped this land would seen be divided and sold and its value thus increased.[24]

The conduct of the speculators was a chronic problem to Minnesota's immigration promoters. As late as 1922, the secretary of the state board acknowledged that no problem was more "vexatious" than "the curbing of the unscrupulous land dealers who resort to dishonest and unfair tactics, both in the misrepresentation of lands and in gouging their victims to the limit." The "scum of the real estate profession" were directing their efforts to "the poor who [could] not afford a trip to investigate the land." The agents, the secretary charged, assumed various

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[23]Pioneer, December 29, 1866, p. 1.

[24]Red River Star (Moorhead), June 5, 1875.

personalities. They posed as official agents of the state, or as "Government Homestead Locator[s]," selling the same land many times for a "location fee" which amounted to several hundred dollars. The secretary urged legislation to protect the prospective buyer by requiring real estate dealers to be licensed and all land certified before sale.[25]

But other bothersome agents also exploited the newly-arrived immigrant. In 1857, many Minnesota-bound immigrants were forced to travel through Canada rather than the United States because of the "outrageous frauds and rascalities perpetrated upon [immigrants] in Eastern seaports. . . ."[26] Ten years later, complaints were voiced that Scandinavians were being swindled in Quebec. That city was a main point of entry to the United States for Scandinavians. The immigrants reportedly were charged for first-class steamship or railroad passage and given third-class accomodations. One family bound for Minnesota was forced to have its baggage checked at every stop and pay a special charge each time.[27]

Minnesota's immigration agents in Chicago frequently reported that their work was made difficulty by "runners," agents who represented hotels, boarding houses, express agencies, exchange brokers, ticket sellers and the like. In 1866, Hans Mattson said:

They [the runners] flock around the emigrants—hurry them

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[25]Oscar H. Smith, Seventh Biennial Report of the Minnesota State Board of Immigration, July 1, 1920 to June 30, 1922 (Minneapolis: Syndicate Printing Co., 1922), pp. 16-17.

[26]Pioneer and Democrat (St. Paul), June 20, 1857, p. 2.

[27]Thomas Simpson to M. H. Dunwell, February 12, 1867. Copy in Gov. File 185, MSA.

> about—and by pretended interest, friendship or authority obtain their baggage checks, get them loaded on to wagons and hurried off to boarding-houses, when it is really their desire to go to the next station in order to proceed on their journey, or get their little gold and silver exchanged for them below its real value. . . .[28]

William Abell, another agent stationed in Chicago, complained about the activity of parasitical promoters in his 1870 report. He called Chicago a "miserable" city for the immigrant and stated he knew of cases where immigrants, who were planning to pass quickly through the city, were told that no more trains were going west, when, in fact, trains were leaving regularly. The "stranded" immigrants were worked upon by agents and often lost all of their possessions. Abell knew of "many cases" in which immigrants were left destitute and stranded in the city. To protect the immigrants, the agent warned those without friends in Chicago to use Milwaukee as their approach to Minnesota.[29]

Runners also were very active in Europe. Ole K. Broste, who came to Minnesota in 1868, recalled the activities of the "ticket agents and land promoters. . . . [who] spread the American fever like wildfire in the Norwegian 'bygder.'" These agents of America painted grandiose portraits of the New World which, when compared to "stones, stumps, [and] steep mountainsides," became an irresistable lure for Broste's family and for many others.[30]

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[28]Hans Mattson to Gov. Marshall, August 2, 1866, quoted in Blegen, "Illustrated Documents," p. 33.

[29]Report of William Abell to Bd. of Immigration, 1870, in Gov. File 208, MSA.

[30]Ole K. Broste (as told to Petra M. Lien), "Coming to America, 1868," 1943, Manuscripts Division, MSHS.

Another Norwegian immigrant who came to the United States in 1882, told of his experiences in Liverpool while waiting for a ship to continue his voyage. Hans Solberg recalled seeing a man with dipper and pail selling milk to emigrants. "It looked rich and inviting so many of the emigrants bought and drank it." The "milk" turned out to be water mixed with lime. "When a policeman appeared at the corner the milk peddler disappeared in a hurry."[31]

But the immigrant was not safe even when at or near his destination. The St. Paul Pioneer and Democrat, in October, 1857, criticized the activity of the steamboat runners who operated in that city. The runners worked for different companies and constantly pressured immigrants to patronize their respective lines. If the sales talk failed, the runner attempted to force the immigrant into his ticket office. "There are disturbances daily" related the newspaper, "in which each of the respective runners gives a tolerably correct opinion of the character of the other." The article admonished agents to improve their conduct with visitors so they could not say "I was a stranger and they took me in. . . ."[32]

Also extremely active in promoting Minnesota's settlement were the highly-respected ethnic and philanthropic societies which operated in the United States and Europe. The first known organization of this type was established in 1858 by Germans living in St. Paul. The German Emigration Society sent letters describing the state to all parts of Germany.

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[31]Hans Solberg, "Saga of an Emigrant Citizen," Manuscripts Division, MSHS.

[32]Pioneer and Democrat, October 23, 1857, p. 3.

It also sponsored a contest for the essay which best described the advantages of the state. The winning essay was to be printed in the newspapers of Germany and in the German-language papers of the eastern states. The Society reported that cooperation, including financial support, was generously provided.[33] The Germans continued to promote immigration to Minnesota and, in 1870, the "State German Society" received $600 from the Minnesota legislature.[34]

The Irish were by far the most active ethnic group in Minnesota. The first formal Irish promotion came in 1864 with the formation of the Minnesota Irish Emigration Society. The Rev. John Ireland was president and Dillon O'Brien, who also became involved in official promotion, was secretary. Ignatius Donnelly, formerly lieutenant-governor and then a member of Congress, was an honorary member.[35] O'Brien lived in New York City for four months in 1865 where he worked with immigrants and also solicited the support of prominent Irish-Americans. By summer, "103 families and 50 individuals" went to Minnesota as a result of O'Brien's efforts.[36] While O'Brien was busy in the East, General Thomas Francis Meagher, under the Society's sponsorship, spoke in St. Paul on "the relationship of the Irish immigrant to the United States." The event

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[33]Ibid., April 9, 1858, p. 3.

[34]W. S. Jackson, Chairman of Joint Committee on Immigration, to Gov. Austin, February 18, 1870, in Gov. File 208, MSA.

[35]Howard E. Egan, "A History of Irish Immigration to Minnesota, 1865-1890," (unpublished Master's thesis, Dept. of History, University of Minnesota, 1925), pp. 15-17.

[36]Report of Dillon O'Brien "to the President of the Minnesota Immigration Society," in Pioneer, July 16, 1865, p. 2; Other articles in Ibid., July 27, 1865, p. 1; July 30, 1865, p. 4; September 24, 1865, p. 1; and October 6, 1865, p. 4.

was to stimulate local interest in the work of the Society. The entire speech was printed in the Pioneer.[37]

An 1866 legislative bill which allocated $1,500 to the Society was defeated, precipitating a quarrel in the Pioneer between Dillon O'Brien and J. B. H. Mitchell, the legislator responsible for the defeat. O'Brien accused Mitchell of telling the legislature "that the Irish are notoriously the very worst class of citizen." To this, O'Brien replied that he promoted only the immigration of ambitious Irish; those who lacked this quality were advised to stay away. O'Brien also stated that the Society had been extremely successful during its first year, having brought some seven hundred new residents to the state.[38] The feud continued through several issues of the Pioneer; Mitchell replied that the truism he had uttered was being proved by O'Brien's attack.[39] Despite such criticism, the Society continued its efforts, although without legislative assistance. In January, 1867, the Northwestern Chronicle, described as "a Catholic, family, weekly immigration paper," was begun under the editorship of O'Brien.[40]

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[37]"The Irishman in America," Ibid., August 3, 1865, p. 1.

[38]Dillon O'Brien to Editor, Ibid., February 24, 1866, p. 4. O'Brien also stated that "the consequence was, a far greater flow of immigration into this State last year, than for years before." The immodest Mr. O'Brien neglected to ascribe any significance to the fact that the Civil War had just ended and that, naturally, immigration was receiving a renewed impetus.

[39]J. B. H. Mitchell "To the Editor of the Pioneer," Ibid., February 25, 1866, p. 1.

[40]Ibid., January 13, 1867, p. 1. The Society, however, did work with the State Board of Immigration and received $332 from the Board in 1867 for "publications and correspondence." Minnesota, State Board of Immigration, Annual Report of the Board of Immigration, to the Legislature of Minnesota, for the Year ending November, 1867 (St. Paul: Press Printing Co., 1868), p. 7.

Other Catholic agencies were established to promote Minnesota, such as the Catholic Colonization Bureau of Minnesota, organized in 1876 as a joint-stock company, and the Irish-American Colonization Company, founded in 1880 by John Sweetman, "a wealthy landowner of County Meath, Ireland." The prospectus of the latter company stated that it was not a charitable organization but one designed to provide the money needed by immigrants at 6 per cent interest on land and 8 per cent on supplies. John Ireland was also a director of this company. The Sweetman company actively promoted settlement in Swift and Big Stone Counties for two years. Sweetman continued, however, to dispose of the land until the last was sold in 1905. He had purchased the stock of the company so that no others would have to take the risk.[41]

A booklet, written by Johan Schroder in 1867 appears to be the first attempt to promote Scandinavian immigration not under the aegis of the state. Schroder, later secretary of Minnesota's immigration board, was in 1867 on the staff of Fadrelandet, a Norwegian newspaper published in La Crosse, Wisconsin. The booklet gave all the information pertinent to arrival in Minnesota and to settlement.[42]

The Scandinavian Immigration Society was organized in Minneapolis two years after Schroder's booklet was published. Forty delegates from various parts of the state met on March 18, 1869 in the Board of Trade Building to create an agency which would be concerned exclusively with the promotion of Scandinavian immigration. L. R. Aaker, Federal Land

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[41]Alice Smith, "The Sweetman Irish Colony," Minnesota History, IX (December, 1928), 340-45.

[42]Qualey, "Pioneer Norwegian Settlement," pp. 48-49.

Agent at Alexandria and later a state immigration agent, was elected president. Others who attended were Soren Listoe and Sneedorf Christensen, both of whom were active in state immigration work. The Society undertook a variety of efforts; it employed agents in Chicago and Milwaukee and printed information about the state on the backside of stationary which Scandinavians were encouraged to use for their letters abroad. The Society also encouraged the legislature to sponsor a more intensive promotional campaign. Local societies were formed in Lake Prairie and St. Peter to promote immigration to those areas.

In Red Wing, a Scandinavian Society for the Aid of the Sick was organized. All persons in good health and between the ages of fifteen and sixty were eligible for membership. Each member paid an initial fee of $2.00 and monthly dues of fifty cents. All members who were ill and without means were to be cared for by the Society, along with "sick and needy immigrants."

Apparently the Scandinavian Immigration Society was short-lived for, in 1871, another statewide immigration society was established by Scandinavians in Owatonna.[43] Assistance was also given by the legislature when it appropriated $2,000 in 1870 for the aid of Scandinavians who were in need.[44]

Other Minnesota ethnic groups were represented by promotional organizations although some of them were probably profit-motivated. Among these were the Bohemian Colonial Association of Chicago[45] and the

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[43]Ibid., pp. 78-80.

[44]Jackson to Austin, February 18, 1870, G. F. 208, MSA.

[45]Marshall to Register and Receiver at the U.S. Land Offices in Minnesota, March 26, 1869. Copy in Gov. Press Book, pp. 403-404, MSA.

First Hungarian-American Colonization Company with headquarters in New York City.[46] The French-Canadians of Polk County petitioned Governor Pillsbury in 1878 for support of their effort to attract their "fellow countrymen" to the country. The petitioners reported they had brought in two hundred and fifty settlers during the past year but wanted "at least 1500."[47]

Even the Danish Church was active in the promotion of Minnesota settlement. Under the direction of Rev. F. L. Grundtvig, son of the well-known Danish bishop, an option on 35,000 acres of Lincoln County Land was purchased from the Winona and St. Peter Railroad Company. For three years the land was open only to Danes. The price was seven dollars per acre the first year with an increase of fifty cents each year following. The Church agreed to bring one hundred settlers to the area during the first year; the agreement however was fulfilled largely through the arrival of Danes from neighboring states. Only a few came directly from Denmark.[48]

Many meetings were held in various parts of Minnesota to discuss means of attracting more immigrants to a particular region or to the state in general. There were many such meetings held during the first years after Minnesota statehood. After the Panic of 1857, the state was virtually bankrupt. Population and revenue were desperately

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[46]Paul D'Esterhazy, president, to Gov. Hubbard, April 14, 1882, G.F. 419, MSA.

[47]Petition signed by M. Filiatrault and Tsai Jarvai "by order of the Red Lake Falls French Colony," Crookston [December,] 1878, G.F. 400, MSA.

[48]T. P. Christiansen, "Danish Settlement in Minnesota," Minnesota History, VIII (December, 1927), 377-78.

needed. The Pioneer and Democrat reported in April, 1858: "We see accounts of meetings held to devise ways and means for the encouragement of emigration, in nearly all of our State exchanges, and every one seems to be making a strong and manly effort to induce emigrants to settle in their respective localities." The newspaper gave an account of a meeting held at Hastings to promote immigration to that region. A publicity plan was presented to the delegates by the committee on resolutions. The committee recommended:

> subscribing for five hundred copies of each newspaper published in this portion of country, provided the papers will agree to devote the first page to such publications as may be furnished by the committee; that a committee be appointed to prepare an advertisement setting forth the advantages of the country; that the same committee shall superintend the distribution of these papers, and that for any locality desirous of joining in this movement and not possessing a newspaper a chance may be obtained in the columns of some newspaper in the vicinity.

The committee's report was adopted and the new committee appointed. Ignatius Donnelly was appointed to the publicity committee. The Pioneer and Democrat commented that "the plan proposed at Hastings will do more good and have more influence, if carried out, then all the emigration agents that can be packed into Castle Garden."[49] Another meeting was held in 1858 in St. Paul. The St. Paul meeting appears to have been a state-wide meeting. Its publicity program was similar to that adopted at Hastings; the purchase of 500 copies of each newspaper printed in the state and their gratuitous distribution.[50] A meeting of Rice County inhabitants was held in Faribault in 1859 to discuss the promotion of immi-

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[49]Pioneer and Democrat, April 7, 1858, p. 3.

[50]Arthur James Larsen, "The Settlement and Development of Rice County, Minnesota, to 1875," (unpublished Master's thesis, Dept. of History, University of Minnesota, 1937), p. 89.

gration to their county. The meeting authorized publication of a descriptive pamphlet and the establishment of a bureau to register inexpensive lands. There was a noticeable increase in the population of Rice County in the following months.[51]

In the period immediately following the Civil War, many Minnesota counties organized immigration boards to work with the state agency.[52] Later in the century, when no state board of immigration was operating, several official county boards were established. In 1891, for example, the legislature authorized the county commissioners of Polk County to appropriate $1,000 for the "Board of Immigration of the Red River Valley of Minnesota," and those in Marshall County to appropriate $800 for immigration work. The latter authorization came in response to a petition signed by a majority of Marshall County voters.[53] The commissioners of Kanabec County were also permitted to use $600 for expenses of the Kanabec County Immigration Society of Mora, Minnesota.[54]

Minnesota's newspapers were among its most vigorous boosters, although they were not always philanthropically motivated. Newspaper promotion virtually began with the organization of Minnesota Territory. By 1855, only six years after the territory was organized, four daily and fourteen weekly newspapers had been in existence, although some for only a short time. Articles were often featured which described the

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[51] Ibid., p. 90.

[52] See chapter 7 for a discussion of county promotion.

[53] Minnesota, Special Laws for Minnesota, 27th Session, 1891, Chapter 405, pp. 1018; Chapter 414, pp. 1035-36.

[54] Ibid., Chapter 397, p. 1011.

Territory and the opportunities it offered. Copies of these newspapers were distributed throughout the country by interested residents. Articles also appeared in magazines with national circulation.[55]

The Pioneer and Democrat, in 1857, was replete with advertisements of realtors and townsite promoters, although there were relatively few articles dealing specifically with immigration. The first article dealing exclusively with the development of the Territory to appear in the Pioneer and Democrat in 1857 was a reprint from the Philadelphia Morning Times. Entitled "Letter from Minnesota," the article dealt with the recent development of Minnesota and the Northwest. It noted that St. Paul's population had increased ten-fold since 1850 and discussed the commercial and agricultural potential of the Territory. Although the "letter" signed by "Traveler" did not reveal an extreme bias, it was quite favorable to the Territory and especially to St. Paul.[56]

Several months later the same newspaper reprinted a letter written to the Boston Post by C. C. Andrews, a brigadier-general in the Civil War and well-known resident of Minnesota. Andrews' letter dealt mainly with the town of Mankato, although descriptions of New Ulm and South Bend were also given. To solicit immigration, and at the same time avoid a too-glossy portrait, Andrews wrote:

If people will come to this part of the country to farm, they

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[55]Livia Appel and Theodore C. Blegen, "Official Encouragement of Immigration to Minnesota During the Territorial Period," Minnesota History Bulletin, V (August, 1924), 168-69. Among these the authors mention De Bow's Review, Harper's New Monthly Magazine, and the Western Journal and Civilian.

[56]Morning Times, n.d., reprinted in Pioneer and Democrat, March 7, 1857, p. 1.

> will need considerable energy and industry. For three or four years the country will seem rude, and they will be deprived of many of the luxuries and conveniences of eastern homes. . . . But they will be pleased with their progress within five years.[57]

Such sound and cautious advice was not always given by others interested in promoting settlement.

After statehood, many newspapers became first-class boosters of the state and particularly of the region which they served. Many foreign-language newspapers also promoted immigration, with the Scandinavian press especially active. Fadrelandet og Emigranten, published in Minneapolis after 1886 and absorbed by Minneapolis Tidende in 1893, enjoyed a good reputation in Minnesota and contained much in the way of promotional material. Also aiding the state in this pursuit was the Nordisk Folkeblad, first published in Rochester by Sneedorf Christensen, a Norwegian extremely active in immigration work. In its first issue, March 12, 1868, the Nordisk Folkeblad predicted that Minnesota would "become the state of the greatest future promise for our people of all the states of the Union."[58]

The Red River Gazette, published at Glyndon by Tenney's Northwestern Land Agency,[59] was widely distributed. The Gazette devoted many of its columns to descriptions of the valley and the state. E. Page Davis, state immigration agent, publicly applauded the newspaper for its work in publicizing the entire state. "As a State immigration document," he wrote in the St. Paul Press, "it [the Gazette] is second to none other ever

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[57]Boston Post, n.d., reprinted in Pioneer and Democrat, July 7, 1857, p. 1.

[58]Qualey, "Pioneer Norwegian Settlement," pp. 80-83.

[59]Peterson, "Some Colonization Projects," p. 137.

issued. . . ." Davis reported that the Gazette had wide circulation among investors, for whom Minnesota had an obviously great need.[60]

Since it was owned by the promoters of the Red River colony, the Gazette often featured the colony. In fact, a one-column advertisement of the colony appeared in every issue. The Gazette, like many other newspapers, contained personal testimonials to the salubrity of Minnesota's climate and the productivity of its soil. Where the wonders of the weather were concerned there was nearly always a lack of restraint. An article which appeared in August, 1872 entitled "The Winters of Minnesota" took cognizance of the many rumors circulating in the East about Minnesota's winters. Such false stories, it stated, kept "away thousands of invalids and others to whom the pure and invigorating air of a Minnesota winter would give a new lease on life." As evidence of the mild winters, the Gazette related that John P. Fish, U.S. Deputy Surveyor and sixteen years a resident, worked outside all winter "without discomfort" except for an average of three to five days. He wore no more clothing than did Easterners. Some Minnesotans in fact lived through the winter in "tents and shanties . . . without much inconvenience and no suffering."[61]

On February 6, 1873, the Gazette printed the "Testimony of an Impartial and Disinterested Observer." The "observer" was identified as a Rev. Kribs, a resident of the area since the previous summer. Kribs did recognize that there were some drawbacks to living in the region: "Some winter days are bad . . . [and the] mosquitos are bad," but the

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[60] Red River Gazette, June 27, 1872, p. 4.

[61] Ibid., August 1, 1872, p. 1.

grasshoppers are "the only drawback of any magnitude I have yet seen in this country." Writing on the positive side, Kribs praised the "rich" soil, the "delightful" climate, the "beautiful" days. He concluded by stating that he knew of no other place where he could "have spent a more pleasant winter than the present one thus far."[62]

Two weeks later, the Gazette printed another letter, one which had been requested from J. Rosenteil, an area farmer. Rosenteil's story was similar to many others published in newspapers throughout the state.

> I came here for the health of my family, my wife being troubled with weak lungs, which at different times, assumed alarming symptoms. After having been repeatedly told by our family physician that we must get to some other and more congenial climate, or it would soon be too late, we left Michigan. . . . We arrived at Glyndon . . . in the middle of a chilly rainstorm, and were obliged to take shelter in a canvas hotel. Under the circumstances, I could not see the slightest chance for my wife's recovery, and had every reason to fear the worst, yet she is still here, and feeling better then she has done for anumber of years . . . [even though] we lived in a shanty 12x14 all summer.[63]

Similar testimonials to the climate, soil and health factors appeared in nearly every issue of the Gazette. In addition, of course, large advertisements offering vast tracts for sale were regular features.[64]

The Red River Star, published in Moorhead, also ran frequent eulogies on the climate and soil of the region. The Star beginning in

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[62]Ibid., February 6, 1873, p. 4.

[63]Ibid., February 20, 1873, p. 4. Such letters also appeared in Minnesota's official publications.

[64]James Douglas of Moorhead advertised 50,000 acres along the Red River at prices beginning at $3 with terms. Ibid., May 22, 1873, p. 1. The same advertisement appeared in many of the following issues.

April, 1875, printed a series of articles entitled "Den Skandinavisk Spalte" (A Scandinavian Speaks) which discussed at length the avtivity and conditions of life in the Red River valley.[65] Another regular feature was a lengthy article entitled "The Red River Valley, Position, Soil and Climate" which gave the by-now usual glowing statements and which concluded "believe this, if you wish, it is a fact."[66] The Moorhead newspaper, in its January 15, 1876 issue, contained an article simply entitled "Come." After a discussion of the "enormous crop" of the previous year and the attractive power this information had in Europe and the United States, the article stated "THE RED RIVER VALLEY HAS A FARM EACH FOR MILLIONS OF GRANGERS. . . ." Those who suffered elsewhere were encouraged to move to Minnesota where "the yield of wheat . . . is astonishing . . . [where] religion and educational facilities are excellent, . . . [and where the climate is] far preferable to that of sections interested in its abuse."[67]

Early in 1877, the Star announced plans for a new newspaper to publicize the Red River valley.[68] The Moorhead Advocate, which began operation on April 2, 1877, devoted the entire first issue to a detailed description of the region. One article, two columns in length, discussed "The Red River Valley as a Farming Country." Veterans were reminded that they were eligible for 160 acres of free land. The Advocate also ran

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[65]Red River Star, April 24, 1875, May 1, 1875, May 15, 1875.

[66]Ibid., March 27, 1875 and in many following issues.

[67]Ibid., January 15, 1876.

[68]Ibid., February 16, 1867, p. 1.

stories dealing with "A Beautiful Winter," the history of Moorhead and the development of steamboating on the Red River. Over two pages of the first issue were devoted to land offered for sale on generous terms by the Northern Pacific.[69] Subsequent issues ran similar articles. One article in a fall issue was headed "Come West, Young Man! A Sure Cure for Hard Times." Also appearing in this issue was "Clay County, Minn. A Sketch of Its Natural Features, its Progress and the Inducements it Offers for Immigration."[70]

In the fall of 1878, another eulogistic article appeared in the Advocate. The article, actually a letter which took up two columns, was written by an eastern newspaper editor who recently had traveled through the state. J. Q. A. Stone, editor of the Windram County, Connecticut Transcript, could hardly restrain his enthusiastic pen: "If full freedom should be given to the expression of personal impressions of this wonderful new and great State, . . . the readers . . . would surely think the editor had lost his head in the marvelous clear atmosphere which might exhilarate to fancy flights the most prosaic." "Anyone," Stone wrote, "who went to Minnesota would contract the 'western fever.'" Stone had been "prepared to be astonished" prior to his trip west, but his "astonishment finally dissolved into one perennial exclamation point" when he realized the full potential of the state![71] Such an "impartial"

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[69]Moorhead Advocate, April 2, 1877, p. 1.

[70]"Come West" article appeared first in Pioneer Press. It was reprinted in Ibid., September 1, 1877, p. 4; "Clay County," Ibid., p. 1.

[71]Ibid., August 3, 1878, p. 4.

testimonial could not help but be extremely advantageous to the state.

Newspapers in other part of the state were equally vigorous in promotion. James E. Child, editor of the Wilton Weekly News published a pamphlet in 1867 entitled Waseca County in Minnesota as a Home for Immigrants. Through his newspaper he urged residents of the county to send the pamphlet to their eastern friends. The pamphlet was dedicated to "laboring men who earn a livelihood by honest toil, to Landless men who aspire to the dignity and independence which comes from a free home on God's green earth; To all men who wish for homes in a beautiful, fertile, productive county."[72]

The Mower County Transcript in several 1871 issues complained that the state immigration agency was ignoring Southern Minnesota. Observing that "train after train of covered wagons . . . [were] dragging their slow length towards the setting sun," Child stated that these people would be wise to settle in Mower County. Land agents and Mower County residents were urged to promote southern Minnesota in the absence of state effort in its behalf.[73]

Although Minnesota was frequently the victim of adverse publicity in other states, it did receive a rather generous amount of good publicity from the American press. Within one week, for example, the Chicago Tribune carried two articles, one describing Moorhead and the other the entire Red River valley. Moorhead was recognized as the "Athens

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[72]Gladys A. Harshman (Du Priest), "The History of the Settlement of Waseca County, 1854-1880," (unpublished Master's thesis, Dept. of History, University of Minnesota, 1931), pp. 76-77.

[73]Qualey, "Pioneer Norwegian Settlement," pp. 61-62.

of the Far Northwest," containing "an advanced and intellectual people." The valley was one of the "finest agricultural areas in the world. . . ."[74]

The New York Times was equally vigorous in singing praises of Minnesota. An article appeared in the September 9, 1866 issue of the Times entitled "Minnesota. From Vermillion Lake to the Red River of the North." It was described as "special correspondence of the New York Times." The rather lengthy account gave a general description of the state and its startling development as well as descriptions of its cities, weather, lakes and rivers. Several paragraphs introduced readers to the Chippewa Chief Hole-in-the-Day. A short paragraph dealt with "Invalids." Stressing what was to become a virtual theme of the state's health propaganda, the paper noted that "Minnesota is more and more becoming a grand asylum for consumptives." Although the present summer was not especially favorable to those stricken with consumption, "the old settlers say that persons born [there] never have the consumption, and they seem to expect as a matter of course that invalids will be restored."[75] The Times ran another article on the state two years later in which the same general format was employed. Again the salubrity of the climate for consumptives was noted. The correspondent "Clifford" openly preferred Minnesota's winters to those of New York. "Clifford" went even further, stating that "of all the Western States—I have been

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[74]Chicago Tribune articles reprinted in Moorhead Advocate, September 16, 1880, p. 4; September 23, 1880, p. 1.

[75]New York Times, September 9, 1866, p. 5. On September 30, the same correspondent had articles on "The Northwest," in which he dealt largely with Wisconsin. Ibid., September 30, 1866, p. 4.

in them all—I very much prefer Minnesota, and hope, ere long, to make it my home."[76]

In 1872 and 1873, several more articles appeared in the Times; one described the Otter Tail region and another the area around Duluth. A third was entitled "The New North-West. Minnesota."[77] But, in January, 1873, the Times informed its readers of "The Storm in Minnesota;" this certainly did not encourage removal to the state. The article was a moving account of a prairie storm which recently had struck a large area of the Midwest. "In Minnesota, its violence seems to have culminated. . . ."[78] Such news of nature's perfidy undoubtedly lessened the impact of the often-favorable mention of the state.

Minnesota was greatly aided in its promotional crusade by various media: the letters of settlers; the publicity of railroads, land companies, townsite jobbers and emigration companies; the activities of philanthropic and ethnic societies; and by the encouraging articles in the press. Although this unofficial promotion was aggressive and constant, it was not sufficient. Minnesota realized, during the territorial stage, that if it were to develop its full pctential, an official agency was needed to promote immigration. The agency would be charged with the task of populating the Territory with foreign and American settlers who possessed one or several especially needed attributes: ambition, skills,

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[76]Ibid., October 25, 1868, p. 2.

[77]"The Far West," Ibid., October 31, 1872, p. 9; "The New North-West. Minnesota. Duluth," July 27, 1873, p. 1; "The New North-West. Minnesota," August 9, 1873, p. 1.

[78]Ibid., January 30, 1873, p. 4. Article was entitled, "The Storm in Minnesota."

wealth. Of paramount importance was the need to fill the vast "waste-lands," the large areas of excellent but untilled farm land. The resultant wealth, in terms of produce and taxes, would enable Minnesota to develop its full resources and to increase its public service functions.

CHAPTER V

MINNESOTA PROMOTION: THE TERRITORIAL PERIOD

Minnesota had an estimated population of 4,057 when it was organized as a territory in 1849. One year later, the population had increased to 6,077 of which 1,977 were of foreign birth. The population, increasing rapidly, was estimated at 40,000 in 1855.[1] During these early years, with the rapid influx of Americans and foreigners, no organized immigration program was considered necessary. Governor Alexander Ramsey reflected the popular optimism in his first message to the legislature:

> Our territory, judging from the experience of the few months since public attention was called to its many advantages, will settle rapidly. Nature has done much for us. Our productive soil and salubrious climate will bring thousands of immigrants within our borders . . . and it may not be long ere we may with truth be recognized throughout the political

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[1] Census of 1850, p. 118; William Watts Folwell, A History of Minnesota (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society, 1922-1930), I, 360. Although the federal survey of what became Minnesota Territory began in 1847, settlement actually started several years before. St. Paul, eventually the capital, was settled as early as 1840 by a few farmers who had been driven off the Fort Snelling military reserve. But the "pioneer farmer," however, was Joseph Renshaw Brown, who raised his first crop near Minnehaha Falls in 1829. By 1855 the land survey had progressed beyond the Mississippi River, and over four and one-half million acres were ready for sale at six federal land offices. See Verne E. Chatelain, "The Federal Land Policy and Minnesota Politics 1854-60," Minnesota History, XXII (September, 1941), 228; Folwell, Minnesota, I, 222-23. A biographical sketch of Joseph Renshaw Brown, who later published the Minnesota Pioneer, appears in Warren Upham and Rose B. Dunlap (comp.), Minnesota Biographies, Vol. XIV of Minnesota Historical Collections (1912), 84.

> and the moral world, as indeed the 'polar star' of the republican galaxy.[2]

The Governor revealed the same enthusiasm in subsequent messages, and not once did he even suggest the need for official action to promote immigration. Ramsey did admit in 1851 that the inflow had not been great during the previous year, but he said that conditions would soon change.[3]

The importance of the foreign-born to Minnesota and its development was recognized, implicitly at least, by the organic act establishing the Territory. The act extended the right of suffrage and office-holding to "every free white male inhabitant above the age of twenty-one years who shall have been a resident . . . at the time of the passage of this act." Qualifications to participate in subsequent elections were to be determined by the legislature; the right, however, could be extended only to citizens of the United States and to declarants who took an oath "to support the Constitution of the United States, and the provisions of this act."[4] The first legislature, in 1849, extended suffrage and the right to hold office to declarants who had lived in the Territory for six months and the United States for two years. The state constitution also ex-

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[2]Ramsey's message to the legislature, September 4, 1849, quoted in James H. Baker, Lives of the Governors of Minnesota, Vol. XII of Minnesota Historical Collections (1908), 36-37.

[3]Ramsey's message to the Legislature, January 7, 1851, in Minnesota Territory, Journal of the House of Representatives, 2nd Session, 1851, pp. 14-19.

[4]Section five of the Minnesota Constitution. Francis N. Thorpe (ed.), The Federal and State Constitutions, Colonial Charters and Other Organic Laws of the States, Territories, and Colonies . . . , House of Representatives, House Documents, 59th Cong., 2d Sess., Doc. No. 357, XC, 1983.

tended these rights to declarants who had lived one year in the United States, in the state four months and in the election district ten days. The foreign-born retained these rights until 1896 when an amendment, submitted by the legislature the year before, was adopted by the people of Minnesota. The amendment deleted from the constitution the provision granting the rights. The reason behind this action was that declarants were enjoying not only the rights of citizenship, but also such other privileges as exemption from jury duty and the right to sue in the federal courts.[5]

Even though Governor Ramsey seemingly ignored the need for an official promotional agency, he and others were quite active in this work. Many inquiries regarding the Territory are found in Ramsey's files. Within four days after his appointment as territorial governor, Ramsey received a letter from Rev. Friedrich Schmidt, an old acquaintance. Schmidt, who lived in Boston, told Ramsey that there were many Germans around Boston who, although presently without adequate work, had the money with which to buy and stock Minnesota farms. Schmidt, acting for these persons, wanted additional information regarding the territory.[6]

In January, 1850, Ramsey received another inquiry, this one from Reverend C. L. Clausen, a minister among the Norwegians in northern Illinois and Wisconsin. Clausen wrote that there were many Norwegian immigrants residing temporarily in the region who wanted cheaper western land. He had heard much about eastern Minnesota and was interested in

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[5]Folwell, Minnesota, I, 332-33.

[6]Rev. Friedrich Schmidt to Alexander Ramsey, Boston, April 6, 1849, in Manuscripts Division, MHS.

establishing a Norwegian colony there. Unlike Schmidt's Germans, the Norwegians served by Clausen were "generally poor," although they were "sober, hardy and industrious farmers and mechanics. . . ." Clausen also mentioned that he knew of wealthy capitalists in Norway and Denmark who were interested in moving to the United States.[7]

Clausen's interest in Minnesota was surpassed by that of Fredrika Bremer, the articulate writer and keen observer who traveled through the Territory in 1850:

> What a glorious new Scandinavia might not Minnesota become! Here would the Swede find again his clear, romantic lakes, the plains of Scania [sic] rich in corn, and the valleys of Norrland; here would the Norwegian find his rapid rivers. . . . The Danes might here pasture their flocks and herds, and lay out their farms on richer and less misty coasts than those of Denmark.[8]

Henry H. Sibley, Minnesota's first territorial delegate to Congress, was extremely active in promoting immigration to the Territory. Sibley received many letters from interested individuals, associations and colonizers, requesting information, and he conscientiously answered all inquiries.[9] Sibley also sought to increase the number of settlers by working for a federal homestead law during a brief period in 1852. The effort was abandoned after he realized that the present land system was not a deterrent to territorial development, a fact which has been previous-

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[7]Rev. C. L. Clausen to Ramsey, Luther Valley, January 22, 1850, in Manuscripts Division, MHS.

[8]Quoted in John T. Flanagan, "Fredrika Bremer: Traveler and Prophet," Minnesota History, XX (June, 1939), 129.

[9]Robert Malcolm Brown, "Office of Delegate for Minnesota Territory, 1848-1858," (unpublished Master's thesis, Dept. of History, University of Minnesota, 1942), p. 123.

ly noted.[10]

While Sibley and Ramsey were informally promoting immigration, several individuals, acting in a private capacity, were doing the same. In 1850, E. S. Seymour wrote to Ramsey that he had published a book entitled "Sketches of Minnesota." The book, Seymour wrote, had been received favorably by the eastern press "and all that is now wanting is the confirmation of that good opinion by the press of Minnesota." He admitted that "slight errors in the description of an unsettled country are unavoidable, . . . [but] if the work is reliable in its general character, I trust that the Press of St. Paul will not be so fastidious about trivial inaccuracies as to weaken public confidence in the accuracy of the work." If the press gave "a favorable notice," the result would be "much to the benefit of Min, [sic] as well as to the Author."[11]

Another privately printed book on Minnesota was published in 1853. Written by J. W. Bond, who later became a state immigration agent, the work was entitled Minnesota and Its Resources. It was described as "a brief general view of Minnesota, as it existed prior to its organization as a territorial government in 1849, and 'as it is' at the present time."[12] Minnesota and Its Resources discussed such topics as: "General Remarks and Reflections—Agricultural Advantages—A Talk with Farmers, Capitalists, Mechanics, Laborers, Tourists, and all Others;" "Review of

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[10]Chatelain, "Federal Land Policy," p. 235.

[11]E. S. Seymour to Gov. Willis A. Gorman, place obscured, April, 26, 1850, in Manuscripts Division, MHS.

[12]J. W. Bond, Minnesota and Its Resources. . . . (New York: Redfield, 1853), p. 5. At least ten editions of this book were published.

the weather of Minnesota;" "Facilities for Travel.—Railroads Through and toward Minnesota;" "The Indian Tribes. . . ;" and "Conclusion.—A Vision: Scene in St. Paul Twenty-Three Years hence; All of which I saw, and part of which We all expect to be."[13]

Wilson A. Gorman, who succeeded Ramsey as territorial governor in 1853, maintained the same silence about official promotion in his first message to the legislature that had characterized Ramsey's addresses during the four preceding years. One significant promotional activity was undertaken in 1853, however, because of the persuasive ability of William G. Le Duc, a young St. Paul attorney.[14] A world's fair was scheduled to be held in New York City in 1853 and it occurred to Le Duc that this would be an excellent opportunity to advertise the Territory. He later recalled that "in the winter of 1852-53 the once-a-week mail, carried up the river on the ice, brought one of these notices finally into my hand. At once I saw in the World's fair an opportunity to attract to our territory, then practically unknown, and to induce immigration to move in our direction."[15]

Le Duc convinced Ramsey and the legislature of the merit of Minnesota's participation. The legislature passed an act authorizing the governor to appoint a commissioner and appropriating three hundred

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[13]Ibid., Table of Contents.

[14]Le Duc was born in Ohio in 1823 and moved to St. Paul in 1850. He was an active railroad promoter, a brevet brigadier-general in the Civil War and Commissioner of Agriculture in the Hayes' administration. Brief biographical sketch of Le Duc in Upham and Dunlap, Minnesota Biographies, pp. 430-31.

[15]William G. Le Duc, "Minnesota At the Crystal Palace Exhibition, New York, 1853," Minnesota History Bulletin, I (August, 1916), 352.

dollars for his expense.[16] Le Duc received the commission and immediately began to prepare his exhibit. Traveling throughout the Territory, he gathered samples of crops,[17] furs, wild rice, and an Indian canoe. He was even persuaded by M. Cunrade, foster brother of Louis Napoleon and clerk in a frontier trading post, to take a young buffalo bull to the exhibition.[18]

Minnesota's Crystal Palace exhibit attracted wide attention and even earned a "long editorial" in the New York Tribune. Le Duc had taken Horace Greeley to see the exhibit and Greeley was favorably impressed. According to Le Duc, "this notice in the Tribune started a tide of immigration to Minnesota. . . ."[19] After two months in New York City, superintending the exhibit and spending more than the amount appropriated, much of it in maintaining the buffalo, Le Duc returned to St. Paul quite satisfied with his accomplishments.[20]

Governor Gorman discussed the need to aid immigration to Minnesota in his 1854 message but suggested that this was the responsibility

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[16]The bill was prepared by Le Duc.

[17]"At this time," according to Le Duc, "agriculture was practiced only at the United States forts and on farms of a small colony of Yankees who had settled on some fertile lands a few miles above the junction of the St. Croix with the Mississippi, called Cottage Grove." Le Duc, "Minnesota at the Crystal Palace," p. 352.

[18]Ibid., pp. 352-53. The latter choice proved to be a regrettable mistake; Le Duc disposed of the buffalo in New York without exhibiting him and after incurring considerable expense (p. 367).

[19]Ibid., p. 364.

[20]Le Duc to Governor Gorman, St. Paul, n.d., in Governor's Papers, File No. 24, Correspondence and General Papers-1853, MSA.

of the federal government.[21] Perhaps spurred on by the mention of immigration promotion, the legislature went beyond Gorman's suggestion and considered a bill which provided for legislative election of an immigration commissioner salaried at $1,500 with an expense allowance of $1,000. The bill also called for printing a description of the Territory in several European languages. There was evidently not enough interest in the bill for it was voted down by the Council.[22]

The legislature finally provided for official immigration promotion in 1855. This was done in response to Gorman's request for an agency in his January message, which was prompted by the untruths about the Territory being spread throughout the United States. Gorman had told the legislature that:

> During the past year I have received almost innumerable letters from the middle states propounding a variety of questions about our territory, especially desiring to know if our winters are not very long, and so exceedingly cold that stock freezes [sic] to death, and man hardly dare venture out of his domicile.[23]

The act provided for the appointment of a Commissioner of Emigration to a one-year term who was instructed to reside in New York City, the main port of entry for immigrants. The legislature also required the official to provide all pertinent information about the Territory to interested

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[21]Minnesota Territory, Governor, Annual Message of the Governor of Minnesota Territory, 1854, p. 4.

[22]Appel and Blegen, "Encouragement of Immigration to Minnesota Territory," p. 170; Minnesota Territory, Council, Journal of the Council of Minnesota, During the Fifth Session of the Legislative Assembly, 1854, C.F. no. 13, pp. 70-71, 90, 99, 271.

[23]Gorman's 1855 address to the legislature quoted in Ralph H. Brown, "Fact and Fancy in Early Accounts of Minnesota's Climate," Minnesota History, XVII (September, 1936), 61.

parties. He was further required to inform immigrants as to the most practicable routes and to protect them "from being exploited." An annual salary of $1,000 and an expense appropriation of $750 were granted the Commissioner.[24] In 1856 the Commissioner's term was extended for one year and his salary raised to $1,500.[25] The importance attached to the position is revealed by a comparison of the Commissioner's $1,500 annual salary with the $250 given the Attorney General and the $500 received by the Territorial Treasurer.[26]

Eugene Burnand, who had come to the Territory only a few months before,[27] was appointed Commissioner by Governor Gorman on March 16, 1855.[28] Burnand remained in office during the entire period of the agency's existence. The Territory and the agency were advertised by Burnand in many foreign-language newspapers in New York City and Europe. Advertisements appeared in 1855-1856 in Die Sud Deutsche Auswanderung's Zeitung, Die Hansa, Die Bremen Auswanderung's Zeitung, Die Allgemeine Auswanderung's Zeitung, and Die Schweizer Auswanderung's Zeitung. All

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[24]Minnesota Territory, House of Representatives, Journal of the House of Representatives . . . During the Sixth Session of the Legislative Assembly, 1855, H.B. 74, pp. 290, 354, 376, 405, 432, 442, 459; Appel and Blegen, "Encouragement of Immigration," p. 177.

[25]The budget was increased to $1,000. Minnesota Territory, Session Laws of the Territory of Minnesota, 7th Session, 1856, Chapter 14, pp. 20-21.

[26]"Report of the Territorial Auditor," January 9, 1857, in Reference Library, MHS.

[27]Burnand was born in Switzerland "about 1805," and came to the United States "about 1850," settling in Minnesota in 1855. Upham and Dunlap, Minnesota Biographies, p. 94.

[28]Appel and Blegen, "Encouragement of Immigration," p. 170.

were published in Germany except the latter which was a Swiss newspaper. The Commissioner also advertised in the German press of New York City: Die New York Demokrat, Staats Zeitung, Deutsche Handelzeitung, Die Neue Zeit, and Der Unentgeldlicher Wegweise. Advertisements were also placed in the St. Paul Pioneer and Democrat, the Weekly Minnesotian, the New York Herald, and other New York newspapers.[29]

The only European newspapers in which Minnesota's advertisements appeared were those specifically directed to emigrants. "The publishers of these papers have an extensive correspondence with the United States, and hence, are enabled to point out to their countrymen the most eligible parts of America for a settlement," Burnand stated in his report. The only emigration paper with which he was familiar that was unfriendly to the United States was the "Colonization Emigration Gazette" published in Hamburg. The Gazette promoted settlement in South America and made "it a point to publish anything . . . [it could] find against the United States."[30] To reach more German emigrants, Burnand sent weekly to Germany three thousand copies of Der Unentgeldlicher Wegweise which contained "a lengthy advertisement descriptive of the resources of Minnesota." Described by Burnand as "a mere sheet of advertisements," there was no difficulty in effecting its distribution, unlike other German-language papers printed in the United States. These papers, Burnand wrote,"would

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[29]Receipts found in Gov. File 35, MSA; Report of Eugene Burnand to Governor Gorman, St. Paul, February 16, 1856, Gov. File 35, MSA; "Annual Report to the Legislature of the Commissioner of Emigration [Burnand] 1856," found reprinted in full in Appel and Blegen, "Encouragement of Immigration," p. 195.

[30]"Annual Report to the Legislature of the Commissioner of Emigration, 1856," in Appel and Blegen, "Encouragement of Immigration," p. 193.

immediately attract the attention of the police and be entirely excluded from the Territories of the German majesties from the King of Prussia down to any petty Prince of the Germanic confederation."[31]

There is no evidence that Burnand used any foreign-language press other than the German. Most of his immigration work was with Belgians and Germans, although he did do some work with the Swiss and the French.[32] That the German population increased from 146, or 6 per cent of the foreign population, in 1850 to 18,400, or 31 per cent, in 1860 is a strong indication of the success which Burnand enjoyed in working with that nationality.[33]

Burnand's official letters and reports indicate that he was constantly confronted by minor crises. Writing from New York in August, 1855, Burnand complained to Governor Gorman that the regulations of Castle Garden, New York's immigrant station,made it extremely difficult for him to carry on his business with immigrants temporarily confined there. He asked Gorman to write New York's commissioners of emigration and request easier "access."[34] Writing to Gorman in June, 1856, Burnand

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[31]Ibid., p. 194.

[32]Appel and Blegen, "Encouragement of Immigration," p. 171.

[33]Census of 1850, p. 117; Census of 1860. Population, p. 262. Burnand evidently had little success in his Belgian campaign for the 1860 Census lists only ninety-four in the entire state. Appel and Blegen, "Encouragement of Immigration," p. 199.

[34]Report from Burnand to Gorman, New York, August 7, 1855, Gov. File 36, MSA. Governor Gorman wrote on August 21 to G. C. Verplanck, president of the New York Board of Emigration, in behalf of Burnand. Gorman stated that Burnand "requests the privilege of admission for the sole purpose of being able to discharge the functions of his office in the most efficient manner" and that he would obey all regulations. W. A. Gorman to G. C. Verplanck, St. Paul, August 21, 1855, in Gov. Press Book, MSA (this is a signed copy of original).

was even more critical of the Castle Garden officials: "The object of the Commissioners of Emigration at Castle Garden is not always the welfare or the interest of the emigrants, but rather the obtaining of their money by providing them with passage tickets over some favored Rail Road." But Burnand did state that the officials protected the "emigrants against the rapacity and villainy of a pack of thieves called 'Runners'. . . ."[35]

A problem which often vexed Burnand was his inability to obtain the funds appropriated by the legislature. On one occasion he complained that a draft for $100 was returned "protested, with about $3 expenses," although he had a balance of $700 in his account.[36] On still another occasion, Burnand reported that territorial orders totalling $335 were discounted $83.75, and that he was forced to use part of his salary to make up the deficit in the contingency fund.[37]

The financial situation did not improve and again the Commissioner complained to Governor Gorman. Writing in February, 1857, shortly before the agency was to expire, Burnand stated that "I am tired in the extreme with my present position and little encouraged to any thing required in my official capacity." He had lost $997.34 of his own money during his

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[35]Report from Burnand to Gorman, New York, June 8, 1856, Gov. File 45, MSA.

[36]Report from Burnand to Gorman, New York, October 4, 1856, Gov. File 45, MSA. Burnand also reported on the political situation in New York, stating that "Buchanan's ticket in the State of New York is by no means safe," and that the Democrats may vote for Fillmore in order to defeat the Republicans. Since this was an official report required by the legislature, its appropriateness is questionable.

[37]Report from Burnand to Gorman, St. Paul, February 16, 1856, Gov. File 35, MSA.

two years as commissioner. "Through such a loss I am left with liabilities, which I am unable to meet," he reported. Much of the loss was evidently the result of severe discounting of his warrants.[38]

In spite of what appears to have been constant frustration and discouragement, Burnand conducted his agency's affairs with energy and success. Besides answering the many inquiries and utilizing the newspapers, Burnand, with the assistance of several interested persons, printed pamphlets in French and Flemish for circulation in Belgium and obtained the cooperation of the Belgian minister and consul-general in New York. He also worked closely with the Pittsburg Homestead Association and Pfaender's Cincinnati German Association. Burnand sought to convince Gorman of the need for agents in Europe to bring to prospective immigrants the story of Minnesota. This was especially necessary, he stressed, "to counteract the disadvantages and injurious effects of Castle Garden in relation to my Agency."[39]

But Burnand was not given the permission to travel abroad which he had requested. In fact, when his term of office expired in March, 1857, the Territory's immigration promotion program came to an end. Nothing was done until 1864, several years after statehood.

There can be little doubt as to the effectiveness of Burnand's activity when population statistics for the 1850's are studied. As

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[38]Report from Burnand to Gorman, New York, February 6, 1857, Gov. File 49, MSA.

[39]Report from Burnand to Gorman, New York, June 8, 1856, Gov. File 45, MSA. Burnand to Gorman, New York, May 5, 1856, Gov. File 47, MSA. In the latter report, Burnand stated that the peace "is expected to give a new impetus to emigration to this country but nothing is left undone in Germany to hinder immigrants to choose this country. . . ."

noted previously, the population of the Territory in 1850 was only 6,077. By 1855, when the agency was created, the population had increased to 40,000. Two years later, in 1857, the number had almost quadrupled, being estimated at 150,000.[40] Significantly, during the two years in which the population increased so phenomenally, the immigration agency was active. Further evidence of Burnand's success is revealed by comparing the population growth of this period with that of the three-year period following 1857. During the latter years the population of the Territory increased by approximately 22,000,[41] compared with the 110,000 increase of the earlier period. One cannot, of course, ignore the fact that the years during which the agency was active were prosperous ones, and that the depression which struck the nation in 1857 was a deterrent to immigration.

While Minnesota's population increased at a rapid rate following 1855, the number of immigrants arriving in the United States fell sharply. An estimated 1,853,551 immigrants arrived in American ports between 1850-1855. The number arriving in 1856 was less than half that of 1854, and the number of immigrants remained relatively small for the rest of the decade, reaching the lowest point of 121,282 in 1859. During the period 1855-1857, when Minnesota's population increased 110,000, total American immigration was 652,619.[42]

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[40] Folwell, Minnesota, I, 360.

[41] Census of 1860. Population, p. 262.

[42] Ibid., p. xix. Caution must always be used when dealing with immigration statistics. Immigration from Canada was evidently not carefully checked so these figures must be increased. But immigration statistics also include those who are only visitors and Americans returning

Minnesota's population increased from 100,000 in 1856 to 150,000 in 1857.[43] But the purpose and destination of the new immigrants apparently had changed. No longer was a majority interested in settling unoccupied lands and farming. The bulk of the new immigrants went instead to new towns to begin life in the Territory as laborers, clerks, and merchants. Many immigrants did of course go to unoccupied lands, although not all were prospective farmers. Folwell has declared that "no form of speculation was more alluring, and for a time more profitable, than operation in town sites."[44] During 1856-1857, "at least seven hundred towns were platted into more than three hundred thousand lots —enough for one and a half million people."[45] The town-building mania became so great that in 1857 a legislator is reported to have introduced a bill which reserved one-third of the Territory for agriculture and the remainder for town sites and roads.[46] This change of purpose is attested by land sale statistics. In 1856, 2,334,298 acres of public land were sold; in 1857 only 1,468,434. Yet the tax valuation doubled, from $24,394,395 to $49,336,673.[47]

Interest in the Territory appeared to be unabated throughout 1857. Governor Gorman received an inquiry in January of that year from the "Swiss Colonization Society" which had just been

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from abroad. The Census advises that in determining the actual number of immigrants for the period 1855-1860 the published figure should be reduced by 14.5% (pp. xx-xxi).

[43] Folwell, Minnesota, I, 360.

[44] Ibid., p. 362.

[45] Ibid.

[46] Ibid.

[47] Ibid., p. 360.

organized the month before and wanted to purchase a "large tract" of "50,000 acres, or more" somewhere in the Northwest. It expected "to sell from two to three thousand shares among the Swiss in the U.S." Gorman was advised that the organization was "entirely Democratic" and had no speculative purpose.[48] There is no evidence that the Society acquired land in Minnesota. However, a group of one hundred Germans "all connected with the German Turner Associations" left Cincinnati in April "for New Ulm where the Turners have been forming a settlement" since 1855.[49]

In May the Pioneer and Democrat reported the approach or arrival of other immigrant groups. In a short article entitled "The Right Kind of Emigrants," the newspaper reported the arrival of thirty persons from Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, aboard the Equator. The Pennsylvanians planned to settle in the Mankato area. In the same issue there was a report of the arrival of "several Emigrant wagons, which are doubtless the advance guard of the great army now pouring in to subdue the rich prairies and primeval forests. . . . Broad acres enough for all!"[50] A week later two more articles revealed the approach of one hundred and fifty French Canadians from Montreal and four wagons of emigrants from Illinois.[51]

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[48]J. C. Christin and Felix Schelling to Gorman, Cincinnati, January 19, 1857, Gov. File 49, MSA.

[49]Cincinnati Gazette, April 13, 1857, reprinted in Pioneer and Democrat, April 21, 1857, p. 2.

[50]Pioneer and Democrat, May 9, 1857, pp. 2-3. These were among the first articles on immigration to appear in 1857.

[51]Ibid., May 16, 1857, p. 3.

The Pioneer and Democrat continued to give attention to immigration during the remainder of 1857. In another article appearing in May it reported that 100,000 persons were about to move from New England to the Mississippi Valley; each possessed an average of one hundred dollars, for a total of ten million. The essential reason for the large removal was "the centralization of capital and business in the great cities, and, in the hands of the few, destroying, by their superior advantages, the chance of successful competition by industrial mechanics and business men of moderate means."[52]

The St. Paul paper was determined that such immigrants would find the city hospitable. It specifically asked residents to sell some of their lots on reasonable terms to "mechanics" at a fair rate of interest, 10 per cent being considered fair. Purchasers should be obligated to pay only the interest, but if this were not acceptable the seller could demand small monthly payments with or without interest. Cooperation between old and new residents was essential if St. Paul were to develop; as it was, interested business men were having difficulty finding places to live and to establish businesses. As a result, they were leaving.[53]

Although St. Paul needed people with a variety of skills, it had a surplus of "salesmen." "These are the kind of men, of which we have too many" stated the Pioneer and Democrat. "A young man coming west should have some other capital than a knowledge of . . . business. . . .

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[52]Buffalo Commercial, n.d., quoted in Ibid., May 23, 1857, p. 2.

[53]Pioneer and Democrat, June 2, 1857, p. 3.

There is only one way to succeed here, as in all new countries, and that is to pitch in [and] take up with any thing, however rough, work hard and save what is made." But even those without capital were not doomed to failure, for "the surest road to success . . . is to be found in taking a claim, and commencing a farm. There is no species of land rising so rapidly as farm land. . . ."[54]

Immigration to the Territory continued at a fairly rapid pace throughout the summer of 1857. In June the Pioneer and Democrat told of the imminent arrival of fifty emigrants who were going to Olmstead County,[55] and that another "fine log of emigrants [with cattle and other possessions] . . . reached the city yesterday" enroute to the Crow River Valley.[56] Later in the month, the newspaper reported that "the emigration by land from Wisconsin this year has thronged the Ferry, at La Crosse for several days, and hundreds of families are waiting a crossing." Most of these were Wisconsin residents who were moving "for the benefit of their children." "Success to the enterprising pioneers,"[57] concluded the editor!

The movement of easterners to Minnesota and other areas of the West was resisted by the eastern press. The campaign to discourage immigration appears to have begun in the spring or early summer of 1857, although there had been attacks on Minnesota in previous years. Governor

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[54] Ibid., June 5, 1857, p. 3.

[55] Ibid., June 9, 1857, p. 3.

[56] Ibid., June 10, 1857, p. 3.

[57] Ibid., June 20, 1857, p. 3.

Gorman, for example, received a letter from a Philadelphian who wanted an appointment as Minnesota's resident agent. The applicant wrote that he had done much already to publicize the Territory and had "prevented the publication of several libellous [sic] communications from the author of those celebrated letters in our newspaper last summer."[58] The Philadelphia Press in August, 1857, probably echoing the sentiment of other eastern newspapers, was especially critical of the opportunities supposedly available in the West. "The Eldorado towards the setting sun," claimed the writer, "is losing its charms for residents of the East who would better their conditions by immigration." The Press stated that many had gone west to improve their lot only to return home even poorer. One Philadelphian, who took his family to "a promising region," was worth six thousand dollars when he left; he returned impoverished two years later. Then came words of advice: "To those who would engage in agricultural pursuits a long journey is not necessary. Our own State has fields inviting culture which can be attained at prices more reasonable than the same quality of land in most portions of the Western States."[59]

The Pioneer and Democrat rose to the defense of the West in general and of Minnesota in particular; "We think we know the gentleman referred to," said the editor. The St. Paul paper admitted that the man did have $6,000 "but he supposed there was no other way to make a fortune than by going to a crowded city, and opening a store, which is really the

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[58]James S. Ritchie to Gorman, Philadelphia, February 7, 1857, Gov. File 50, MSA.

[59]Philadelphia Press, n.d., quoted in Pioneer and Democrat, August 15, 1857, p. 3.

last business that a man with $6,000 in money, two years ago, should have thought of engaging in." At that time the man was advised to put half his capital in real estate; he could have purchased property for $3,000 which recently was sold for $12,000. He did not even bother to pre-empt land. Instead, the easterner entered the "mercantile business," and tried to live in the manner of the East. His store burned and he returned to Philadelphia. "He was not the right kind of man to go West. People who thrive in the west are workers," the Pioneer and Democrat lectured.[60]

The propaganda campaign against the West in 1857 appears to have been rather widespread. It probably increased after the panic struck in August. Henry H. Sibley,[61] in an October speech, accused the "eastern states" of carrying out "a concerted plan . . . to arrest by every means in their power, the emigration of their citizens westward." Those states, Sibley stated, had "already lost a large number of their population, and they will resist to the uttermost every additional inducement which may be held out by the Western States. . . ." Sibley charged that the eastern press had "teemed for months with statements calculated to injure the West, and to discourage emigration. The Indian difficulties in Iowa and Minnesota, insignificant in themselves, have been exaggerated into a regular system of savage warfare." Further charges were levelled by the former delegate: "Our agricultural and mineral resources have been misstated and misrepresented, and in short, a regular system of attack

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[60] Pioneer and Democrat, August 15, 1857, p. 3.

[61] Sibley was president of the Democrats in the Constitutional Convention. In 1858, he became the first governor of the state.

and depreciation has manifested itself in the Eastern journals in reference to the Great West." He then challenged Minnesotans, despite "whatever powerful persuasive shall be held out to encourage a revival of immigration to our new State, let us work with one mind for its successful accomplishment."[62]

The concern about a larger population became even greater as the date of statehood drew nearer. Toward the end of 1857, the Pioneer and Democrat admonished Minnesotans to do more to build up the Territory's reputation. Its columns were available to print facts about the Territory if the information were made available; yet, "scarcely one of the thousands of intelligent farmers in the state have availed themselves of the proposition; and as a consequence, our own farmers and those of the East and South have but a limited knowledge of what our land is capable of producing."[63]

The depression which followed the August panic worked havoc in Minnesota. Loans were called in by eastern creditors and money and credit were severely restricted. Indebtedness plagued everyone, banks and stores closed, property decreased in value and the price of town lots dropped to virtually nothing. According to William W. Folwell, the historian of Minnesota, "the floating population of speculators began to look for other scenes of operation and left the cities and towns. . . . The population of . . .[St. Paul] fell off almost fifty

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[62]"Sibley's Annual Address to the Minnesota Agricultural Society at the Third Annual Fair," Speech printed in full in Pioneer and Democrat, October 11, 1857, p. 1. Sibley was president of the Society.

[63]Pioneer and Democrat, November 7, 1857, p. 2.

per cent."[64]

In the depth of the depression, Minnesotans prepared for statehood. On October 13, 1857 they went to the polls to make several extremely important decisions. They voted on the ratification of the constitution and elected national representatives, supreme and district court judges, a state legislature and all executive officers.[65] The constitution was overwhelmingly adopted[66] and Democrats were placed in all elective positions.[67] With everyone anticipating Minnesota's immediate admission as a state, the newly-elected legislators met as a state legislature on December 2.

The Minnesota constitution was delivered to President Buchanan on January 6 and subsequently submitted to the Senate. Within a week after Douglas' Committee on Territories reported favorably on statehood, the Lecompton Constitution was submitted to the Senate, and Minnesota's future became a pawn of sectional politics. The debate over a sectional balance delayed the Territory's admission until late May. The legislature, however, which convened on December 2, 1857, continued in session until March 25 when it adjourned until June 2. By that time, the legislators hoped Minnesota would be a state.[68]

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[64] Ibid., pp. 363-64.

[65] William W. Folwell, A History of Minnesota (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society, 1924), II, 1.

[66] 30,055 voted for the Constitution and 571 opposed. Folwell, Minnesota, II, 2.

[67] Ibid.

[68] One subject of the House debate was the constitutional provision granting suffrage to declarants. For a discussion of the Congressional debate over Minnesota's admission. See Folwell, Minnesota, II, 4-17.

With Minnesota and its people virtually bankrupt, legislative interest in immigration promotion was greatly heightened. Various bills to achieve this were introduced in the early months of 1858. By far the most interesting bill was introduced on January 11 by James Starkey.[69] The Starkey bill did not provide for either immigration agents or printed materials, but sought rather to create a climate which would be especially appealing to debt-ridden Americans by exempting,

> all immigrants who may arrive in this State between the first day of April, 1858 and the same date of 1860, from process of law for the recovery of any debts which they may have contracted, outside the limits of the State, previous to the first of April, 1858, and also provide[d] that no judgement or execution shall be rendered by any Court of this State, for debts of the character above described, within the time specified.[70]

Criticism of the Starkey bill was answered by the Pioneer and Democrat. The objection that it was unconstitutional was "not founded in fact, as it does not interfere with the creditor's right to seek relief through the United States Courts." Since a state is not obligated to legislate on "the collection of debts," and since "the passage of such . . . [is] a voluntary matter, their partial abrogation is certainly a subject within the province of the Legislature." To the charge that such a law would bring in "rascals from other States," the paper replied that such persons "will find themselves within the jurisdiction of the United States Courts, even if they come here." The purpose of the bill was to lighten the burden of the "poor . . . whose liabilities . . . range from $100 to $1,000, and whose creditors are of that class that

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[69]Pioneer and Democrat, January 12, 1858, p. 2.

[70]Bill is described in Ibid., January 19, 1 , p. 2.

would harass [them], just because each one's account is so small, that he imagines the debtor can without difficulty, pay his claim."

> This law will give encouragement to many a poor and honest man, who would willingly pay his debts; but who finds himself unable to do so, in the older States, where competition is close, and high, and labor plenty and at low rates. He looks to the West, where the reverse of all this exists, and where he has reason to hope he will not only obtain a competency, but eventually will be enabled to pay his debts.[71]

The Starkey debt-staying bill was referred to the House Committee on Judiciary on January 12 and considered by the Committee of the Whole House on February 2. While in the latter committee, several amendments were added, including one which limited the bill to "mechanics and laboring men." Upon reconsideration the amendment was defeated.[72] Whatever its merits, the bill never became law.

Among other bills introduced in early 1858 was another by James Starkey which called for the appointment of an "Emigration Commissioner." A week later, however, the House voted for its indefinite postponement.[73] At about the same time another measure was proposed which called for the appointment of a five-member commission to prepare and print 30,000 copies of a pamphlet on the state in "different languages." The pamphlet was to be distributed in the United States and Europe.[74]

Immigration promotion appears to have received considerable support from the citizens of the "state." Reacting to petitions calling

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[71] Ibid.

[72] Pioneer and Democrat, February 3, 1858, p. 2.

[73] Ibid., February 6, 1858, p. 2; February 13, 1858, p. 2.

[74] Ibid., February 6, 1858, p. 2.

for action, the Senate created a committee to work with the House on devising means of promotion. The committee reported in favor of publishing information but, in order to achieve an increase during the coming season, it stressed that this should be done through the press.[75] Following the committee report, a joint resolution was introduced in the Senate which called for a committee of five, three members appointed by the Speaker and two by the President of the Senate. The committee, according to the resolution, would prepare a pamphlet containing information about Minnesota history, geography, and soil, routes to the "State," and laws of interest to immigrants. Sixty thousand copies were to be printed in various languages.[76] The resolution was described by the Pioneer and Democrat "as a sort of compromise, upon which all could unite."[77] The Senate, however, soon passed another bill which called for the employment of one person to write an immigration pamphlet.[78] A week later, the Senate passed an act to encourage immigration.[79] Within another week, the House also approved a bill to promote immigration.[80] None of these bills became law before adjournment in March, although one closely resembling the Senate bill was enacted in June.[81]

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[75] Ibid., March 2, 1858, p. 2.

[76] Ibid., February 25, 1858, p. 2.

[77] Ibid.

[78] Ibid., March 10, 1858, p. 2.

[79] Ibid., March 19, 1858, p. 2.

[80] Ibid., March 25, 1858, p. 2.

[81] See Chapter 6.

The Pioneer and Democrat campaigned editorially for an immigration law throughout the legislative session. Greater population was imperative, and the opportunity to obtain it was at hand. "The levelling process of the six months last past, has turned the attention of the unfortunate to the West," reported the paper in early February.[82] In another editorial, printed the next day and beginning with the question "why should not the population of Minnesota be doubled within the next twelve months?," it stated that "there is no good reason why thirty thousand families should not this year find homes on the surveyed lands of Minnesota. . . ."[83] The specter of competition was used frequently to support the newspaper's demands:

> Will the citizens of Minnesota look calmly upon the vast army, which is about to make its exodus from the East . . . to seek homes in the West, and allow them to make choice of Missouri, Kansas, Iowa or Nebraska, without even stretching out the hand of friendship, or lifting a voice of welcome.[84]

The Winona Times agreed with the Pioneer and Democrat that promotional activity was needed. In a February article the Winona newspaper boasted that "We have here the finest and most healthy climate in the world. . . . We have a soil which will bear the test of comparison with any other. . . . Our beautifully rolling prairies are everywhere intersected by crystal brooks. . . ." Plenty of cheap land was still available to easterners who were invited to "leave then the pent up city, your counters, and your counting-houses, that blanch your cheeks,

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[82] Pioneer and Democrat, February 5, 1858, p. 1.

[83] Ibid., February 6, 1858, p. 2.

[84] Ibid., February 5, 1858, p. 1.

deaden your energies, and bury you in a premature grave."[85]

Responsibility for the legislature's failure to pass an act to promote immigration was blamed upon partisan politics by the Pioneer and Democrat. Two weeks before the legislature adjourned, the newspaper, observing that the Iowa legislature was considering an immigration promotion bill, charged that:

> In Minnesota, the Republican branch of the Legislature, with a few honorable exceptions are opposing every measure proposed for the purpose of directing emigration to this State. Iowa is pecuniarily in as poor condition as Minnesota, being compelled to resort to a public loan to pay the government expenses; yet the cry of extravagance has not been raised in that state against the Republican majority of the Legislature, because they seek to devise means to attract emigration. Will our Republican legislators make the capital they anticipate in this State, by their steady opposition to every question of this kind?[86]

The probable reason, however, for the failure of the legislature to take action was the lack of necessary funds and uncertainty as to its right to legislate since the state had not yet been admitted into the Union. Finally, the legislature adjourned until the problem of its status was resolved.[87]

But before adjournment, and while the legislature was considering these bills another measure, destined to become one of the most famous in Minnesota history, was debated. The "Five Million Loan Bill" was the legislature's answer to the problem of railroad construction by companies with millions of acres of land and no capital. A few months before the

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[85] Winona Times, n.d., quoted in Ibid., February 20, 1858, p. 2.

[86] Pioneer and Democrat, March 12, 1858, p. 2. The Iowa legislature did not pass the law referred to by the Pioneer and Democrat. See chapter 2.

[87] Folwell, Minnesota, II, 21-23.

panic struck, the legislature had authorized four of the territorial railroad companies to receive six sections of land for every twenty miles of track laid. Title to the land had just been surrendered by the federal government. Minnesotans believed that from this time forward the Territory would develop rapidly,and that railroads would promote the settlement of their land and provide an easy entrance to the Territory to the benefit of all.[88]

But, as Folwell has stated, "a cloud was soon to cover the bright prospect."[89] After the panic hit in late August, the four railroad companies could not raise "a dollar." The prospect of selling millions of acres of land, after twenty-mile stretches of tracks were laid, did not provide the immediate financial support needed. One of the companies tried to sell over 500,000 acres of its prospective lands "at one dollar an acre, and found no buyers."[90] The popular dream was turned into a nightmare. The great plans for the Territory's development disintegrated and, again quoting Folwell, "the people of Minnesota felt sorry for themselves. . . ." The popular reaction of the residents was to extend "their sympathy to the members of the corporations which had planned generously for the public advantage."[91]

The solution hit upon by the legislature early in 1858 was to lend the credit of Minnesota to the four companies. Construction could

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[88] Ibid., pp. 40-43.

[89] Ibid., p. 43.

[90] Ibid.

[91] Ibid.

then begin. On April 15, 1858, Minnesotans went to the polls to vote on a constitutional amendment which permitted the state to issue five million dollars of "special railroad bonds." Approval was overwhelming and some of the gloom lifted. William W. Folwell described the public attitude toward this solution: If only the railroads could

> build and set in operation twenty miles, . . . more acres would be acquired and the business begun would yield an income. Population would flow in, cultivation would extend, towns would develop, land values—especially those of railroad lands—would mount. . . . All these companies lacked was a start, just a little sum to locate and build, say fifty miles apiece. The whole state was interested; why should not the state, following the example of the national government, assist these worthy enterprises, of so much account to her. . . . The proposition was not novel.[92]

The loan, although supported by 75 per cent of the voters, was opposed from the time of its introduction by the St. Paul Minnesotian, a Republican organ, although the Republican party took no official stand against it.[93] The paper claimed that railroad building would bring in the lower classes, such as "10,000 raw wild Irishmen," whom it also called "a herd of wild celts."[94] The Pioneer and Democrat, however, was an enthusiastic supporter and, after the bill passed the legislature, devoted a series of articles pleading for popular support. The seventh of the series, subheaded "Speedy Railroad Construction the best Possible Emigration Agency," reminded readers that eastern and southern states "all prospered when the railroads came. . . ." All that was needed to attract immigrants was "to announce, that a new State has united all energies—

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[92] Ibid., p. 44.

[93] Ibid., p. 48.

[94] Minnesotian, n.d., quoted in Pioneer and Democrat, March 19, 1858, p. 2.

public and private—to furnish the iron roads to market. . . ." In further support of its cause, the Pioneer and Democrat asked readers to

> Look at Illinois! There are citizens of Minnesota who recollect when the whole interior of Illinois was stagnant—even government lands without purchase—because the crops of the farmer could not be transported to market. Within ten years this was so. But the Illinois Central Railroad, aided by a grant of lands, has brought a wonderful change.[95]

The optimism which developed following the approval of the loan and the beginning of railroad construction was short-lived. Within a year after statehood, by July, 1859, all construction ceased and the railroad companies were unable even to pay interest on the bonds. All that had resulted from the sale of over two million dollars of bonds was "240 miles of discontinuous, ill-executed grading."[96]

During the legislative interim of March 25-June 2, the Pioneer and Democrat, while also boosting the loan, continued to emphasize the need to populate the state by disseminating descriptive information. Such information would not only attract immigrants but would also answer the many untruths which were being circulated "by speculators and their agents, interested in certain other States and Territories . . . on steamboats, in the rail cars, at hotels, and in business circles. . . ." The paper angrily charged that there "never was . . . uttered a viler slander to alarm the fears and misdirect immigration and enterprise [than the claim that] 'Minnesota is too far North—her climate is too

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[95]Pioneer and Democrat, March 21, 1858, p. 2.

[96]Folwell, Minnesota, II, 56. For a good discussion of "The Five Million Loan," see Folwell's chapter, pp. 37-59.

cold—and her winters fit only for savages and beasts of prey.'" All "classes of good men" were welcome. "Let the farmer, the tradesman, mechanic and manufacturer, all workers and producers, with the capitalist, with his money to loan or invest, and the man of general business come along."[97]

Minnesota ceased to be a territory on May 24, when the officers elected in October were sworn into office.[98] In less than a decade its population had increased from a meager handful to over 150,000; towns were built, and many more planned; millions of acres were claimed, although considerably less were under the plow; dozens of railroads were planned but none yet built; and a fierce pride was developed by the citizenry.

Under other circumstances, Minnesotans would have begun the new era with confidence and determination. But 1858 was a depression year and Minnesotans, like many other Americans, had lived in near-poverty for many months. If they were not especially confident in May, 1858, they at least were determined. They resolved to increase the population of the state, to make the paper towns flourishing metropolises, to cover the land with a blanket of crops, and to construct the railroads upon which so much of the rest depended. Their purpose in short was to make Minnesota truly "the North Star State."

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[97] Pioneer and Democrat, April 1, 1858, p. 1.

[98] Folwell, Minnesota, II, 59.

CHAPTER VI

MINNESOTA PROMOTION: 1858-1870

When the state officers elected the previous October were sworn into office on May 24, 1858, Minnesota Territory ceased to exist. Now Minnesota was a state, a status which its citizens anxiously had sought for many months. But the problems and tasks of the new state were almost overwhelming. The situation confronting the adjourned session of the legislature when it reconvened in early June was dramatically described by Governor Henry H. Sibley:

> Foreign immigration, so essential to the development of our resources, and the enhancement in value of the taxable property of our infant State, was entirely checked [by the depression]. Eastern capitalists ceased to invest their funds among us, operations in real estate were suspended, our lumbermen failed to receive an adequate return for their labor, and our cultivated fields, usually so prolific, seemed for a time to deny our farmers that abundance of return which they were accustomed to yield. But for the strong and abiding faith of our citizens in the ultimate triumph of Minnesota over all these discouragements, founded upon the knowledge they possessed of the fertility of her soil, the salubrity of her climate, and the advantages of her geographical position, they must have succumbed to such a concurrence of adverse circumstances.[1]

The solution was not simply the promotion of immigration, and no one made such a suggestion at the time.[2] But no one doubted that a

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[1]Minnesota, Governor, Governor's Message to the Senate and House of Representatives of the State of Minnesota, [1859] (St. Paul: Pioneer and Democrat, 1859), p. 3.

[2]In 1860, however, Gov. Ramsey did make such a claim.

greater population would create more produce, more wealth, and more taxes. The legislature in the last months of the territorial period, before its adjournment in late March, had considered a plethora of bills and resolutions designed to increase population. Because of the shortage of funds and some political opposition, only one modest act was eventually passed. On June 11, 1858, the legislature approved "An Act to encourage Emigration" which provided for the payment of $100 to Joseph A. Wheelock, former editor of the Real Estate and Financial Advertiser, "for preparing and superintending the publication, in newspapers in different parts of the United States, of a series of essays on the climate, soil and resources of the State of Minnesota."[3]

During the next year, 1859, the effects of the depression appeared to be abating. Immigration into Minnesota increased somewhat, and a greater optimism was apparent. In June, the Pioneer and Democrat noted that "a large company of Norwegian emigrants" had recently passed through Chicago "on their way to Minnesota," and observed "of such hardy material are the new States built."[4] By late spring, immigration increased to the point where it was compared with the pre-depression movement. "The Tide is coming back again, the great tide of men," reported the Pioneer and Democrat in May. There was, however, one essential and pleasing difference. Current immigrants were "farmers and mechanics, working men, producers; they seek farms; their capital is the . . . honest

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[3]Minnesota, General Laws of Minnesota, 1st Session, 1858, Chapter 43, pp. 102-103. Biographical sketch of Wheelock in Upham and Dunlap, Minnesota Biographies, p. 845.

[4]Pioneer and Democrat, June 26, 1858, p. 1.

will to labor." The paper also stated that the new immigrants were not interested in being "clustered in little town sites here and there in situations favorable to land scape views, or some fanciful or contingent advantage, while between them spread miles of wasted uncultivated soil just reeking with the sure rewards of industry." The depression, the Pioneer and Democrat claimed, had made drastic changes; it "went in among these little useless compost heaps of men and shovelled them over the soil and plowed and harrowed them into it,—set them to work." The state was "beginning to get prosperous again—beginning to feel sure of a living, and sure of the future." With its newly-found optimism, the Pioneer and Democrat anticipated an immigration of 50,000 during 1859.[5]

In the same issue, the St. Paul newspaper, again reflecting the belief that the worst was past, ran a humorous article on the type of men needed in Minnesota:

> Twenty thousand feeble-bodied scalliwags [sic] from the universities, colleges, hospitals, lawyer's offices, and dry good's stores, are wanted in Minnesota to hoe corn, and cultivate muscle, and twenty thousand able bodied men wanted to bring them along in litters or otherwise. Twenty thousand bundles of the raw materials of men packed loosely in the original skin, are wanted in Minnesota to manufacture into full grown men. One hundred and twenty thousand pairs of decayed lungs and old boots wanted immediately to be revamped with uppers, and have souls put in them.
>
> Also, two hundred thousand wrecks of constitutions from Illinois, Indiana, Kansas, and the Congress of the United States, whether shaken to pieces by fever or ague, or the abolitionists, to be repaired on the electric anvil of Minnesota's steel blue sky.
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> . . . . . .
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> Speaking of these matters, Minnesota will pay $1,000 per capita, annually, in wheat, corn, oats, potatoes, and miscellaneous vegetables, for all the paupers in New York

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[5] Ibid., May 4, 1859, p. 2.

> city, who have legs, arms and eyes enough left to handle a pickaxe or hoe.
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> . . . . . .
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> All the above except the lawyers, are requested to bring along at least one woman each to do the cooking, and sow [sic] on buttons.[6]

Many other articles appeared in the Pioneer and Democrat throughout 1859 which sought to encourage further settlement. The April 28 issue devoted six pages to Minnesota and St. Paul which gave rather complete descriptions of the geography, agricultural and mineral wealth, and a chronological history of the state. The same issue also contained a lengthy discussion of Minnesota's climate, comparing it frequently, and always to Minnesota's advantage, with that of other states. The paper claimed that it was less cold in Minnesota at "twenty or thirty or even sometimes forty degrees below zero, than in Illinois or New York at twelve or twenty degrees above." The climate was especially salubrious for the "hundreds of consumptive invalids [who sought] its exhilarating atmosphere every year. . . ."[7] Other articles appeared frequently, some of which were devoted to descriptions of specific areas.[8]

Despite the apparent interest in immigration promotion in 1859, no legislative action was taken, other than the transmittal to Congress of a joint resolution favoring the passage of a homestead law. The resolution was requested by Governor Sibley in his annual message. Sibley stated that such a "measure [homestead law] would not only be just in itself, but it would tend incalculably to advance the prosperity of the

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[6] Ibid.

[7] Ibid., April 28, 1858.

[8] See for example "A Trip Up the Minnesota," Ibid., June 17, 1859, p. 1.

state."[9]

Popular interest in immigration promotion remained high in 1860. As early as February 14, 1860, a meeting was held at the state capitol to discuss "the best means of attracting emigrants to Minnesota." In attendance were legislators and interested citizens. The Pioneer and Democrat, which ran an announcement of the meeting, stated that "a large audience should be present."[10]

The month before, on January 1, Alexander Ramsey succeeded Henry Sibley as governor. In his inaugural address, Ramsey reviewed the financial problems of the state and declared that "immigration then is the grand solution for our present difficulties."[11] "Give us the capital of more men," the Governor stated, "and we will vivify, infuse the breath of life into, the dead capital of millions of acres now growing only prairie flowers. . . . Immigration will multiply capital, diffuse wealth, sell our town lots [and] increase activity in every pursuit and business. . . ."[12] Ramsey suggested the advisability of establishing an "Emigrant Agency, . . . if the embarrassed circumstances of the State can afford the necessary appropriation."[13]

The only immigration legislation considered by the 1860 legis-

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[9]Minnesota, Governor, Governor's Message to the Senate and House, [1859], p. 26.

[10]Pioneer and Democrat, February 14, 1860, p. 3.

[11]Minnesota, Governor, Inaugural Message of Governor Ramsey to the Senate and House of Representatives [1860] (St. Paul: Minnesotian and Times Printing Co., 1860), p. 14.

[12]Ibid.

[13]Ibid., p. 21.

lature was a House bill, introduced within days after Ramsey's inauguration, "to discourage the immigration and settlement of negroes" in Minnesota. In the debate which followed, Daniel A. Robertson spoke for the bill, stating that if the Republicans were successful in obtaining freedom for Negroes, "such a law as the bill contemplated would be necessary to protect our white citizens from hordes of vagabond negroes who would come among us."[14] David Secombe moved its rejection and declared the measure unconstitutional because it violated the privileges and immunities clause of the Federal Constitution. Robertson answered that Negroes were not citizens. A Mr. Sweet, the bill's sponsor, talked at great length. He reminded the legislature that southern states were enacting laws to drive out free Negroes; Minnesota, he said, needed such a law as he proposed to keep these people from flooding the state. After considerable debate, the bill was rejected by a vote of 57-12 which the Pioneer and Democrat described as "a party vote." The newspaper gave the measure editorial support.[15] A few days later, Robertson introduced a lengthy resolution which called upon the House Judiciary Committee to report out immediately a bill to prevent immigration of Negroes and Mulattos, except those who could "give ample security for their good behavior. . . ." A motion to postpone indefinitely was approved by a vote of 57-14. Every negative vote was cast by a Democrat, and all but two supporting votes were Republicans.[16]

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[14]This is actually a description by the Pioneer and Democrat of what Robertson stated. Pioneer and Democrat, January 5, 1860, p. 2.

[15]Ibid., January 6, 1860, p. 2.

[16]Ibid., January 10, 1860, p. 2.

Although no immigration agency was established in 1860, Minnesota was not without an official publicist. Joseph Wheelock, Commissioner of Statistics was instructed, at Ramsey's request, to compile and publish statistics of interest to prospective immigrants.[17] The Bureau of Statistics published in 1860 a report entitled Minnesota, Its Place Among the States which contained chapters on geography, agriculture, commerce, railroad development, manufacturing, public lands and "Beneficial Effects of the Commercial Revulsion of 1857." The Bureau claimed in the latter chapter that the depression brought a much-needed lowering of prices.[18]

The Commissioner of Statistics remained the only official publicist for several years, partly because of the effectiveness of his office and partly the result of the financial inability of the state to maintain a separate immigration agency. Speaking to the legislature early in 1861, Governor Ramsey stated that he supported the establishment of an immigration bureau, but "at present, . . . I believe the best encouragement of immigration we can afford, will be the faithful collection of the Statistics of the State, and a liberal distribution of the reports . . . as immigration documents."[19]

Commissioner Wheelock issued another report in 1861. Entitled Minnesota: Its Progress and Capabilities, the work followed the style

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[17]See Ramsey's Inaugural Message, 1860, p. 21.

[18]Minnesota, Commissioner of Statistics, Minnesota Its Place Among the States, 1860. For a discussion of the "Beneficial Effects" of the depression see Ibid., pp. 147-48.

[19]Minnesota, Governor, Annual Message of Governor Ramsey to the Senate and House of Representatives [1861] (St. Paul: Wm. R. Marshall, Incidental Printer, 1861), p. 22.

and purpose of the 1860 report: "With resources of soil and climate, and advantages of position rivalled in many respects by no American state, it is not to be doubted that a future of marvelous, and, perhaps, unparalleled progress lies before Minnesota."[20] The legislature provided that a maximum of 5,000 copies be printed for distribution to state libraries, state legislators, Minnesota's Congressional delegation, and:

> To the leading newspapers and other influential periodicals of the United States, the British Provinces, Great Britain, Ireland, the German States, France, Belgium, Holland, Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, to the consuls representing these countries in principal ports of the United States, and the principal consuls and resident ministers of the United States in Europe, to the boards of trade, the principal hotels, reading rooms, library and agricultural societies, and to public libraries in the United States and British Dominions, and to such other influential persons, associations and institutions as . . . shall best promote the interest of immigration to this State.[21]

One thousand copies were to be retained and advertised in the state's "official paper" for three months. The Commissioner was further directed to publish a "monthly official communication" in regard to the state's development in "such newspapers as he may elect in this state, and at New York, Philadelphia, Boston, Chicago, Cincinnati, and Saint Louis, and, if practicable, in London, Dublin, Hamburg, Bremen, Stockholm, Amsterdam and Paris. . . ." But this had to be done "without expense to the State."[22]

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[20]Minnesota, Commissioner of Statistics, Minnesota: Its Resources and Capabilities. Being the Second Annual Report of the Commissioner of Statistics for the Years 1860 and 1861 (St. Paul: Wm. R. Marshall, 1862), p. iv.

[21]Minnesota, General and Special Laws of Minnesota, 3rd Session, 1861, Chapter 46, p. 169.

[22]Ibid.

Wheelock had not been renumerated for his first report. When Governor Ramsey first advised the compilation and publication of statistics to the legislature of 1860, he suggested that, "in lieu of salary," the Commissioner should "have the exclusive copy-right of any compilation from, or publication of such statistics, which he should choose to make."[23] Shortly after the publication of the 1860 report, Ramsey wrote to Ignatius Donnelly, President of the Senate, that "the Commissioner . . . so far from having received any compensation for his labors, . . . has been unable to defray the expenses of its publication—and the usefulness of the office has consequently been crippled by its embarrassments." Stating that the report had already been of "favorable influence . . . abroad," Ramsey urged an appropriation and provision for the further distribution of the "Annual Report."[24] The 1861 legislature gave Wheelock an annual salary of $1,000 and budget of $1,500 for expenses.[25] The Bureau of Statistics continued to publicize the state until it was abolished by the legislature in 1863.[26]

The 1861 legislature received several petitions urging more in-

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[23]Ramsey's Inaugural Address, 1860, p. 21.

[24]Ramsey to Donnelly, January 22, 1861, Gov. Press Book, p. 283, MSA.

[25]Minnesota, General and Special Laws of Minnesota, 1861, Chapter 46, p. 169. The bill passed the House by a vote of 66 to 3. One opponent claimed the bill was unconstitutional and "an act not likely to benefit the State as much as the expense." Pioneer and Democrat, February 15, 1861, p. 2. Other bills were introduced during the session. One provided for the appointment of "an Agent of Emigration" resident in New York City, and another for a board of emigration. Ibid., December 31, 1860, p. 2; Ibid., January 19, 1861, p. 2.

[26]Minnesota, General and Special Laws of Minnesota, 5th Session, 1863, Chapter 57, pp. 104-105.

tensive promotional efforts. One petition, signed by nineteen Germans and directed to "the german members of the legislatur [sic]," called for an appropriation of $500 for "printing expences for german descriptions," and also for the appointment of a "german-immigrant agent [to] be employed in the shipping place at Hamburg preliminary at least for one year on the expens of the State." The petitioners prayed "that the legislatur in this matter will act statesman-like and patriotic and recomend for the office as agent to appoint an able and practical man. . . ."[27] In February, Donnelly, delivered to the Senate a petition, "from thirty five citizens of New York and Pennsylvania, who are deeply interested in Minnesota," which urged the state to "adopt some prompt and energetic measures with a view of attracting agricultural emigrants from Europe."[28]

The population movement to Minnesota, which by 1865 had increased the number of residents 50 per cent over the 1860 figure,[29] was well under way in the spring and summer of 1861. Innumerable articles appeared in the press during the 1861 session announcing the arrival of immigrant groups. The La Crosse (Wisc.) Republican, for example, reported in mid-June: "there is a large movement of teams to-day from Dodge county, Wisconsin, to Minnesota. As we go to press there are a dozen or fifteen 'prairie schooners' at the Ferry, with as many families

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[27]This is a translation of a newspaper article in German. The translator and newspaper are not identified. Date 1860 appears on copy which was found in Gov. File 89, MSA.

[28]Pioneer and Democrat, February 10, 1861, p. 2.

[29]Minnesota's population in 1865 was 250,099. There were 172,000 residents in 1860. Census of 1860. Population, p. 262.

and not less than a hundred head of good cattle."[30] A few days later, the Pioneer and Democrat informed readers of the arrival in St. Paul of "a large party of emigrants," and that "hundreds of teams, families, and cattle bound for different points west," had been seen.[31]

Little legislative interest in immigration promotion was evident in the 1862 and 1863 sessions. Governor Ramsey, addressing the legislature in 1862, declared he was more than satisfied with the publicity achievements of the Bureau of Statistics and with Commissioner Wheelock.[32] Ramsey also endorsed the Bureau's plan to publish the annual report in the German and Scandinavian languages. Although he admitted his pleasure with the Bureau's work,he suggested that "when our finances shall admit, more extensive efforts to influence emigration may be employed. . . ." But until that time, the Bureau of Statistics was "likely to achieve far more in this interest than the much more expensive and ostentatious agencies of other States. . . ."[33]

The only immigration promotion bill introduced in the 1862 session was a House bill which, although extremely modest in its provisions, failed to clear the Senate. Introduced by the House Committee on Emigration,[34] the bill appropriated $500 "for printing Emigration

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[30]La Crosse (Wisc.) Republican, June 11, 1861, quoted in Pioneer and Democrat, June 14, 1861, p. 1.

[31]Pioneer and Democrat, June 14, 1861, p. 1.

[32]Wheelock resigned in January, 1863. Folwell, Minnesota, III, 19.

[33]Minnesota, Governor, Annual Message of Governor Ramsey to the Legislature of Minnesota [1862] (St. Paul: Wm. R. Marshall, 1862), p. 18.

[34]The House established this committee in 1860; the Senate established a similar one in 1864. See The Legislative Manual for the Use of the Second State Legislature, 1860, p. 83; Also Ibid., Sixth Session,

Documents."[35]

Despite the failure of Minnesota to undertake an intensive promotional campaign and the existence of the Civil War, immigration into the state continued to increase during 1862. Again, numerous articles appeared in the press, heralding the arrival of new settlers. The La Crosse Democrat observed in late May that "twelve emigrant wagons with families" were moving from Wisconsin to Minnesota, and that "all the ferries between St. Paul and Prairie du Chien, are crowded daily in the transportation of emigrants from Wisconsin and Illinois." The Democrat reported that good crops during the past three years had boomed Minnesota "as the best State now open to the enterprise of poor men. . . ."[36] Certainly not all the immigrants were American. The Pioneer and Democrat reported in June that "ten families consisting of fifty persons, direct from Holland, arrived last night on the Northern Belle," and that "two hundred more" Hollanders were expected within several days.[37] A month later, the same paper noted that "the steamer Milwaukee on her last trip up, took on board at Prairie du Chien over four hundred Norwegian emigrants, destined for different parts of Minnesota."[38]

Immigration, which had begun so well in the early summer, ground to a near halt in late August. News spread from the state that struck

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1864, p. 12.

[35]Pioneer and Democrat, January 23, 1862, p. 1; February 19, 1862, p. 4; March 1, 1862, p. 4; March 12, 1862, p. 2.

[36]La Crosse Democrat, n.d., quoted in Pioneer and Democrat, May 28, 1862, p. 4.

[37]Pioneer and Democrat, June 8, 1862, p. 4.

[38]Ibid., July 13, 1862, p. 4.

terror and sorrow in the hearts of many Americans. Settlers in western Minnesota had been massacred by the Sioux. Stories of Indian atrocities were carried by the nation's press. While the facts were gruesome enough, the reports were frequently exaggerated. The number of settlers killed was first estimated in the hundreds, then a thousand, and finally two thousand. President Lincoln informed Congress on December 1, 1862 that the number was not less than eight hundred. The actual number, not determined until thirty-five years later, was 357.[39]

Contemporaries not only exaggerated the number killed; they "also circulated stories of atrocities of the most fiendish and horrible character," reported William Folwell.[40] Even Governor Ramsey publicly revealed his belief in these stories in a special address to the legislature:

> But massacre itself, had been mercy if it could have purchased exemption from the revolting circumstances with which it was accompanied. . . . Infants hewn into bloody chips of flesh, or nailed alive to door posts to linger out their little life in mortal agony, or torn untimely from the womb of the murdered mother and in cruel mockery cast in fragments on her pulseless and bleeding breast; rape joined to murder in one awful tragedy . . . women held in captivity to undergo the horrors of a living death; whole families burned alive; and as if their devilish fury could not glut itself with outrages on the living, its last efforts exhausted in mutilating the bodies of the dead.[41]

Such stories could not help but have a profound effect upon Easterners and foreigners, and cause many to reconsider their decision to move to Minnesota or even to other western states. The popular fear was

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[39]For a discussion of the Indian outbreak and the reports of number killed, see Folwell, Minnesota, II, 109-47, 391-93.

[40]Ibid., p. 393.

[41]Ramsey's message to the Minnesota Legislature, September 9, 1862, quoted in Ibid., p. 393.

articulated in a letter to Governor Ramsey written in December by a New Englander. W. R. Gregory told Ramsey that a group of New Englanders had planned to establish a colony in Minnesota, but they would abandon the plan "unless the Sioux Indians are removed from the state, and some efficient guard system established upon the western border during the coming year." Gregory stated that "New Englanders generally stand more in fear of the Red Savages, than the peoples of the border. . . ."[42]

After the Indian uprising was quelled, and the nerves of Westerners and Easterners settled, immigration to Minnesota resumed a healthy pace. In January, 1864, Governor Henry A. Swift[43] told the legislature that the state's population "is now not less than 225,000,"[44] and

> though more than one-fifteenth of our whole population by the census of 1860, has been sent to reinforce the armies of the republic [sic], and several counties have been depopulated by the Indian raid, there is good reason to believe that the numbers thus temporarily withdrawn from the State have been more than made up by immigration and natural increase. . . . Immigration has more than repaired the thinned ranks of our husbandmen, from whom our volunteers in the field were chiefly supplied. . . .[45]

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[42]W. R. Gregory to "Honored Sir" [Ramsey], Marblehead, Mass., December 17, 1862, Gov. File 118, MSA. Fear of Indians was not confined to the early sixties. In 1867, Governor William Marshall received a letter from Iowa in which the writer informed him that a group of Scandinavians living in that state wished to move to Red Wood county, Minnesota. But they had to be first satisfied on one point: "Now is there any danger of the scalping knife & tomahawk in Red Wood county? When are the Indians to be removed from there?" J. Alden Winter to "Gov.. of Minnesota," Forest City, Iowa, March 8, 1867, Gov. File 185, MSA.

[43]Swift had been elevated to the governorship upon Ramsey's election to the United States Senate the previous July.

[44]The State Census of 1865 revealed a population of 250,099.

[45]Minnesota, Governor, Annual Message of Governor Swift to the Legislature of Minnesota [1864] (St. Paul: Press Printing Co., 1864), p. 3.

Although Swift said nothing about the need for official promotion, Governor Stephen Miller, in his inaugural address delivered two days later, did support immigration legislation:

> I respectfully recommend the adoption of such measures, as will attract to Minnesota, her fair proportion of immigration. We should be admonished by the efforts of rival localities, that ill-advised economy with reference to this important subject, may result in serious loss to the State. . . . the judicious expenditure of a few thousand dollars per annum, will secure communication through the most influential channels, with the chief fountains of our European supplies; and at the same time provide an appropriate Agency in New York, which might also be used as a place of resort and registry, by such of our citizens as may visit that great commercial emporium.[46]

Miller's request for a European agent "to labor personally and through the local press of Europe for the attainment" of greater immigration, was not supported by the legislature.[47] However, that body did give considerable attention to the subject of immigration promotion, and finally enacted a law establishing a Board of Immigration. The first consideration of such legislation followed the introduction by Representative J. P. Kidder of "a bill to induce and promote emigration," which appropriated $5,000 and provided for commissioners "in each Congressional District" and "in foreign countries."[48] Debate over the bill took place in late February. A motion to amend the bill was described by Andrew Kieffer as an attempt to kill it. Kieffer claimed the measure was "the

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[46]Minnesota, Governor, Inaugural Address of Governor Miller to the Legislature of Minnesota [1864] (St. Paul: Press Printing Co., 1864), p. 6.

[47]Miller to Rev. Father Pierz, Catholic Missionary, Red Wing, July 18, 1864, Gov. Press Book, p. 314.

[48]St. Paul Pioneer, February 13, 1864, p. 1. The paper's name was changed during the Civil War from Pioneer and Democrat to Pioneer.

most important one to the State generally of any other yet before the House."[49] Speaking for the bill's passage, Kieffer told the legislators:

> If it brings 1,000 only, they would bring an addition of $100,000 to the cash capital of the State, besides their labor which would amount to $300,000 more in one year. . . . With every resource of the most favored country, why cannot Minnesota afford to give $5,000 to promote immigration, which will make these resources productive.[50]

About a week after this debate, the legislature approved a rather elaborate promotional system. Providing for no agents in Europe or eastern United States, the law designated the Secretary of State as the Commissioner of Immigration. Assisting the Commissioner were local and district committees. The governor was to appoint no more than three members to each district committee. The district committees, in turn, recommended to the governor the appointment of local committee members not to exceed three in number, who were to meet in the county seat of each county.

The essential feature of the entire program was a pamphlet "describing the advantages of the state." The Commissioner of Immigration was instructed to advertise a $200 first prize and a $100 second prize for the two best essays on the state. The prize-winning essays, chosen by a board of examiners, were to be in a pamphlet and published in the English, German, and Norwegian languages. The pamphlets were to be mailed to individuals in Europe whose names were obtained by the local committees from

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[49]Description of Kieffer's speech by the Pioneer, February 24, 1864, p. 4.

[50]Ibid., p. 4.

Minnesota residents. District committees were authorized to send information about their own areas with the pamphlet, but the state would not share in the expense of printing. Neither the Commissioner nor the committee members received compensation. For the expense of advertising, printing, and mailing, an annual appropriation of $3,000 was granted.[51]

Of the ten essays entered in the competition, two were written in German and one in Scandinavian. Only the English essays were considered, and Mary J. Coburn of Hennepin County was declared the winner in September, 1864. William R. Smith was awarded second prize. The two essays were published under the title of Minnesota as a Home for Immigrants in 1865, with a second edition in 1866.[52] The only difference between the two editions is a four-page "General Summary" added to the 1866 pamphlet. The prize pamphlet was also printed in the German and Norwegian languages; the Norwegian pamphlet contained only the Coburn essay while that printed in German contained both.[53]

Minnesota as a Home for Immigrants was typical of the promotional literature of the period. It discussed the history, geography, climate, mineral and agricultural resources, manufacturing and commercial

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[51]Minnesota, General and Special Laws of Minnesota, 6th Session, 1864, Chapter 19, pp. 64-67. The advertisement appeared in the St. Paul Daily Press, March 20, 1864, and the Pioneer, March 20, 1864.

[52]Minnesota, State Board of Immigration, Minnesota, as a Home for Immigrants. Being the First and Second Prize Essays Awarded by the Board of Examiners (St. Paul: Pioneer Printing Co., 1865), p. 80.

[53]Facsimile copies of the two pamphlets are in the Reference Library, MHS. The originals are in the Boston Public Library. The German translation went through at least three editions. The Norwegian edition was printed by Emigranten. Five thousand copies were published. C. F. Solberg to Secretary of State, Madison, July 7, 1865, copy to Secretary of State, "Official Correspondence," I, 73, in Secretary of State's vault.

facilities, and the operation of the state government—all in rather glowing terms. The statement that "Minnesota is destined at no distant day, to be to the West what Massachusetts is to the Eastern states," suggested the industrial potential of the state.[54] In regard to agricultural potential, the pamphlet claimed that "Minnesota has a vast area suitable for agriculture, comprising neaily [sic] three-fourths of its entire extent. . . . Minnesota occupies the first rank as a wheat growing state.[55] But, like the pamphlets published before and after, the best prose was reserved to describe the salubrious climate:

> While other states, in lower latitudes, are being drenched by the cold rain storm, or buried beneath huge drifts of wintry snow, Minnesota enjoys a dry atmosphere, and an almost unbroken succession of bright, cloudless days and serene star-lit nights; and when the moon turns her full-orbed face towards the earth, the night scene of Minnesota is one of peerless grandeur.
> . . . . . .
> The dryness of the air, the character of the soil, which retains no stagnant pool to send forth poisonous exhalations, the universal purity of its water, the beauty of its scenery, and the almost total absence of fog or mist; the brilliancy of its sunlight, the pleasing succession of the seasons, all conspire to give Minnesota a climate of unrivaled salubrity, and to make this the home of a joyous, healthy, and prosperous people, strong in physical, intellectual, and moral capabilities.[56]

Lest the reader suspect exaggeration motivated by loyalty to the state, a letter, or rather a testimonial, written by Horace Bushnell was included in the pamphlet. Bushnell reported spending nearly a year in Minnesota seeking a cure for consumption. He had sought relief in Cuba and California prior to his Minnesota visit. Able to obtain "only partial

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[54]Minnesota, State Board of Immigration, Minnesota, As a Home for Immigrants, p. 41.

[55]Ibid., p. 30.

[56]Ibid., pp. 23-24.

recovery, [he] made the experiment . . . of Minnesota. . . ." Upon his return to the East, Bushnell was examined by a physician who told him "you have had a difficulty in your right lung, but it is healed." The eastern minister attributed his recovery to the climate of Minnesota, and to the fact that he had had "a complete rest." Bushnell was certain that Minnesota's climate was excellent for consumptives. He wrote that he knew of one man who had arrived on "a litter" and left in good health, and of another who coughed "lumps of walnut size" from his lungs who apparently was well after seven or eight months in Minnesota.[57]

One person, long experienced in emigration promotion, was extremely critical of the prize essays. Edward Pelz, a Frankfurt editor and sometime promoter for railroads and for the states of Missouri and Minnesota, reported to Herman Trott of the St. Paul and Pacific Railroad that the "prize pamphlets prepared and published in America are ineffectual, because the public regard them as self praise, or praise furnished for a price and paid for."[58]

With the end of the Civil War and the promise of greater economic security, immigration to the United States and Minnesota began to boom. The New York Journal of Commerce announced on June 16, 1865 that "the immigration within the past four days has been over 5,000 souls. This

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[57]Bushnell's letter quoted in Ibid., pp. 25-26.

[58]Pelz to Trott, Hamburg, September 29, 1866, Gov. File 173, MSA. Pelz was interested in promoting Minnesota as early as 1858 when H. H. Sibley received a letter of introduction. Two years later, in January, 1860, Gov. Ramsey received a letter from Judge Charles P. Daly of New York suggesting that Minnesota employ Pelz who was at that time working for Missouri. If hired, Pelz would "let the emigrant . . . choose for himself between the two [states]," R. R. Nelson to Sibley, New York, May 27, 1858, Sibley Papers; Charles P. Daly to "Dear Sir" [Ramsey], New York, January 30, 1860, Ramsey Papers. Both letters are in the Manuscripts Division, MHS.

is fully up to the famous rush of immigrants in . . . the Crystal Palace year. The tide is not yet at its height."[59] The increase in national immigration was reflected in the development of Minnesota during the next five years, when the state's population nearly doubled.[60]

Although popular interest in promotion increased greatly after Appomattox, the system devised by the 1864 legislature was continued by that of 1865. The secretary of state remained in charge of the state agency which received another appropriation of $3,000.[61] New appointments were made by the governor to the district and local committees.[62] Revealing the general interest in the subject, the St. Paul Pioneer ran many articles on the need to promote immigration, and gave evidence of the success of the current program. Later, in the fall, the Pioneer noted that while there was an abundance of female laborers in the East, there was an acute shortage in Minnesota:

> If an immigration Society could be formed that would transfer them to this State, where their labor is in such demand, it would be as meritorious an institution as some immigration societies already at work. Twelve and fourteen dollars per month are not unusual wages for good cooks and domestics to receive here, and can be easily obtained.[63]

Also indicative of the greater interest are some of the letters

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[59]Pioneer, June 22, 1865, p. 1.

[60]Census of 1870. Population, I, 299.

[61]Minnesota, General Laws of Minnesota, 7th Session, 1865, Chapter 82, pp. 119-20.

[62]See lists of appointees in Gov. Press Book dated January 19, 1865, April 6, 1865, and April 27, 1865; Also Executive Record Book "C," pp. 252, 318, 364, 425. Both in MSA.

[63]Pioneer, September 1, 1865, p. 4.

received by Governor Miller. Former Governor Henry A. Swift,[64] for example, wrote to Miller in May, urging him to do more to promote Swedish immigration. Swift observed that the Norwegian-language pamphlet was of little use in promoting emigration from Sweden, for "only the better educated Swedes can read the Norwegian language." If "the proper means are used," Swift wrote, "we may look for a large immigration from that country. . . ." He requested that the pamphlet be printed in Swedish.[65]

Shortly after receiving the Swift letter, Miller was forwarded a letter written to Senator Ramsey by Oliver H. Kelley.[66] Writing that Minnesota's resources "would more than fulfill the wishes [and] expectations of the most sanguine farmers, merchants [and] mechanics," Kelley stated that "our sister states . . . have spent freely, willingly [and] with abundant proffit [sic], hundreds of thousands of dollars while our state with equal, if not superior advantages, has remained comparatively dormant." Ramsey was asked to recommend Kelley's appointment as agent to the Minnesota legislature and governor. Kelley wanted a salary of $1,500 but was not given the position.[67]

Despite the refusal of the 1866 legislature to authorize an intensive campaign—it actually reduced the appropriation from $3,000 to

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[64]Swift was at this time register of the St. Peter Land Office. Baker, Lives of the Governors of Minnesota, p. 123.

[65]Swift to Miller, St. Peter, May 16, 1865, Gov. File 154A (Jan.-May), MSA.

[66]Kelley was employed in Washington, D. C.

[67]Kelley to Alex. Ramsey, Washington, D. C., July 7, 1865, Gov. File 154A (Jan.-May), MSA.

$1,000—immigrants arrived in ever-increasing numbers. Nearly every issue of the Pioneer in April, at the beginning of the immigration season, had at least one article on the arrival of new settlers. "For many a year immigration has not been so brisk at this early date of the year, as it has been this Spring," the paper stated in mid-April, noting that "the boat from below comes in crowded every day with immigrants—a really superior class of settlers. . . ."[68] Other Pioneer articles described the influx: "Settlers continue to pour in like a flood," reported the paper on April 22:[69] "We have not seen the city [St. Paul] so full of strangers for several years as it is now. So it is all over the State, and by fall we will doubtless have a population of 300,000" observed the paper on April 24.[70] The movement into the state continued at a good pace, and the Pioneer noted in late July that "the number of Swedes and Norwegians coming to Minnesota is beyond belief. It seems as if the Scandinavian Kingdoms were being emptied into this State."[71]

Demand for greater state activity became sharper and more frequent in 1866. Hans Mattson, who had been appointed "Special Emigrant Agent" for Minnesota in Chicago and Milwaukee and who was supported in part by the St. Paul and Pacific Railroad, the Minnesota Valley Railroad,[72] and the Northwestern Packet Company, reported that one-fourth

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[68] Pioneer, April 18, 1866, p. 4.

[69] Ibid., April 22, 1866, p. 4.

[70] Ibid., April 24, 1866, p. 4.

[71] Ibid., July 24, 1866, p. 4.

[72] Marshall to Mattson, St. Paul, July 7, 1866, copy in Gov. Press Book, p. 68. K. Hasberg, another railroad agent, also was appointed, Minnesota Governor, Annual Message of Governor Marshall to the Legislature of Minnesota [1867] (St. Paul: Pioneer Printing Co., 1867), pp. 20-21.

of the Norwegians and Swedes arriving in those cities had not chosen a final destination. Mattson claimed it was "a self evident fact" that these immigrants would be an asset to Minnesota. In order to attract peoples from Scandinavia and other nations, Mattson urged the establishment of "a State Emigration Bureau," and "that good, honorable and favorably known men be sent to Quebec, New York, Chicago and Milwaukie [sic] to remain their [sic] from May to September each year . . . with complete authority to employ subagents if necessary to follow the immigrant trains to the places of destination."[73]

Others joined Mattson in his demand for a broader promotional program. Shortly before the legislature convened, the Pioneer devoted a front-page editorial to the need for more activity:

> Immigration is the one great interest of Minnesota. She owes to it all that she is, and must look to it for all she expects to be. Every other matter that comes before the legislature this winter is of secondary importance compared to it. . . . When it ceases we cease; when it declines we decline; when it stands still we stand still. It is therefore with much pleasure we notice that the subject is attracting much interest throughout the State. . . . We must let our light shine, that our attractions may be seen and read of all men.[74]

Disapproving the use of agents as "impracticable, expensive, and judging by experience, futile," the Pioneer strongly urged the creation of a "Bureau of Immigration and Agriculture," which would "give its whole time to the business and be paid a full and liberal salary." If salaries were made attractive, "the choicest talent in the State" could

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[73]Report from Hans Mattson to Marshall, August 2, 1866, typewritten copy of original report. Both in Gov. File 176, MSA.

[74]Pioneer, December 30, 1866, p. 1.

be employed. The paper attacked the use of unpaid agents as a "most foolish extravagance," and declared that such a practice would "result in a loss of thousands and tens of thousands of dollars annually." An appropriation of "at least" $10,000 "would be worth millions of dollars to the State. Rather than employ agents, the Pioneer claimed the Bureau should advertise extensively "in the press of Europe and America."[75]

Several immigration bills were placed before the 1867 legislature, and the Pioneer undertook a campaign of persuasion. Articles dealing with promotion appeared regularly. On January 17, 1867, the newspaper, using the strongest terms, called for the legislature to act. Stating that while it did not argue with the various schemes being considered, the Pioneer declared it was "most heartily in favor of a Bureau of Immigration, with large discretionary powers . . . and with at least ten thousand or twenty thousand dollars to spend. . . ." The article concluded by declaring that "the feeble, cheap, gratuitous, inefficient system of the past will not do."[76] Two days later, the Pioneer, discussing the question "Immigration—What is to be Done?," asked whether "we can afford to lose another year?" This article was followed in a week by another which warned that some action must be taken immediately, for the Bureau, even if it were established, could do little to promote immigration during the forthcoming season. As a stopgap measure, the paper recommended that the Commissioner (Secretary of State) "print and circulate a hundred thousand pamphlets in the English, German, and Swede

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[75] Ibid. One year later the new Board of Immigration concurred fully with this analysis.

[76] Ibid., January 17, 1867, p. 1.

language at once. . . ."[77] On the same day, a resolution to this effect was introduced in the House.[78]

In late February, the legislature passed an act which reorganized the promotional system and created a three-member Board of Immigration. The governor and secretary of state served as ex-officio members. The third member was appointed as secretary by the governor upon approval by the Senate. Charged with the broad "duty to do everything which may enhance and encourage immigration to our state," the Board was permitted to hire salaried agents and to publish and distribute such information as would promote immigration. The Board was given an appropriation of $10,000 and the right to solicit "contributions and endowment of money from corporations, manufacturers, [and] merchants. . . ."[79]

Hans Mattson, active as special agent the year before and one of the earliest advocates of reorganization, was appointed Secretary.[80] Mattson was at the time, and continued to be, land agent of a Minnesota railroad which went through Wright, Meeker, Kandiyohi, Swift and Stevens counties.[81]

The Board held its organizational meeting soon after Mattson's

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[77] Ibid., January 19, 1867, p. 21; January 25, 1867, p. 1.

[78] Ibid., January 26, 1867, p. 2.

[79] Minnesota, General Laws of Minnesota, 1867, Chapter 28, p. 53.

[80] Marshall to Thomas H. Armstrong, President of the Senate, St. Paul, February 27, 1867, Executive Record Book "D," p. 146; George Wilson, Secretary of State, to Marshall, St. Paul, March 6, 1867, Ibid., p. 158. Mattson was commissioned on March 12. Notation by J. P. Sudden, private secretary to Marshall, Ibid., p. 163.

[81] Hans Mattson, Reminscences: The Story of an Emigrant (St. Paul: D. D. Merill Co., 1891), p. 99.

appointment. Because of the relatively small appropriation, it was decided not to hire European agents.[82] The refusal to send agents to Europe was supported by B. Kihlholz, Minnesota's New York City representative. Evidently responding to a request from Governor Marshall that he interview a person who planned to go to Switzerland and wanted an appointment, Kihlholz stated "that any person who goes to Europe on private business and stays there only a month or two cannot do . . . much in promoting emigration to our State. . . ."[83]

At its first meeting, the Board agreed that the "least expensive, and most efficient" means of promoting immigration was the employment of agents in various port cities and the circulation of reliable information about the state. The Board also decided that "it was . . . best for the present to confine such circulation principally to the United States."[84]

The most significant new publication was Minnesota: Its Advantages to Settlers. The pamphlet, written by Girart Hewitt, St. Paul

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[82]There was, however, at least one European agent appointed by Gov. Marshall. R. H. Cromwell of the Minneapolis Chronicle told the governor that he was going to Germany and Denmark and wanted an appointment as agent "to defray a part of my expenses. . . ." The appointment was made on May 28, 1867, although there is no indication that Cromwell was to be remunerated. R. H. Cromwell to Marshall, Minneapolis, May 7, 1867; Cromwell to Marshall, Minneapolis, May 21, 1867. Both in Gov. File 184, MSA. On bottom of May 21 letter is Marshall's notation of appointment dated May 28. This was the largest appropriation thus far, but not enough to salary European agents.

[83]Kihlholz to Marshall, Chaska, Minnesota, April 18, 1867, Gov. File 185, MSA.

[84]Minnesota, State Board of Immigration, Annual Report of the Board of Immigration, to the Legislature of Minnesota, for the year ending November, 1867 (St. Paul: Press Printing Co., 1868), p. 3. Hereafter cited as 1867 Report.

realtor and attorney, was printed in January, 1867, and won immediate praise.[85] The Pioneer described it as "indeed a meritorious work,"[86] and suggested that it be made the principal official publication of the state immigration agency.[87] A bill to this effect was actually introduced in the legislature.[88] Hewitt's work was not significantly different in organization from other privately and publicly printed promotional pamphlets. It contained information on Minnesota geography, history, available lands and land laws, manufacturing and commercial activities, public schools, the salubrity of the climate, and other topics of interest to prospective immigrants. Typical of the statements in the pamphlet is that regarding the climate: "The conclusion is thus forcibly impressed upon us, that for invalids, as well as for every class of inhabitants required to populate a State, Minnesota is superior as a place of settlement to any region in the world."[89]

One of the first acts of the new board was to adopt the pamphlet and print an edition of 10,000 copies. The work was extensively advertised and, within a few weeks, all copies were distributed. Editions of 10,000 each were printed in April and May and another 5,000 in July, and all

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[85] Ibid., p. 10; Also K. Hasberg's report, n.d., appended to Ibid., p. 28.

[86] Pioneer, January 22, 1867, p. 1.

[87] Ibid., January 25, 1867, p. 1.

[88] See Ibid., February 9, 1867, p. 2.

[89] Girart Hewitt, Minnesota: Its Advantages to Settlers . . . (St. Paul: Press Printing Co., 1867), p. 34. On title page is notation "Published by the State." The pamphlet had eight pages of railroad advertisements.

"were rapidly distributed in the same manner as the first."[90] At least seven editions were printed in 1867 alone. Hewitt reported that 43,000 copies were printed and circulated between March and November. The pamphlet was sent to every person whose name was given to Hewitt. Most were distributed in the United States, although some were sent to Canada and Europe. Extracts of the pamphlet frequently appeared in eastern papers, and eight pages were included in "Sweetzer's Guide to the North West."[91] New editions were published in 1868 and 1869, with at least six editions in the latter year.[92] A Dutch translation appeared in 1868.[93]

In addition to the Hewitt pamphlet, the Board published Norwegian and Swedish editions of Hans Mattson's Minnesota og dets Fordele for Indvandreren.[94] Kihlholz translated the 1864 prize essays into German, and 10,000 copies of this pamphlet were distributed in the United States through advertisements placed in the German-American press. Another 2,000 copies were distributed in Germany by the "Book Trade Association."[95] A small circular was prepared in the Welsh language by Ellis P. Ellis of

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[90] 1867 Report, p. 4.

[91] Hewitt's Report to Board of Immigration, November 26, 1867, Gov. File 186, MSA.

[92] On the cover of a 1869 pamphlet is statement "Third Year, Sixth Edition."

[93] Entitled Minnesota, Zijn Voordeelen. Voor Landverhuizers en Kolonisten. Tweede Druk. 1868. Uitgegeven op last van den Staat.

[94] Each edition was printed in 5,000 copies. The Norwegian edition was printed by Fadrelandets Officin in La Crosse and the Swedish by the Svenska Amerikanarens boktryckeri of Chicato. 1867 Report, p. 5.

[95] 1867 Report, p. 4.

Mankato upon the request of Mattson. One thousand copies were circulated among the Welsh in the United States and in Wales. Ellis also had an article printed in a Welsh newspaper and another in a "Welsh Monthly."[96]

The Minnesota Board publicized the state extensively in the American and northern European press and also in the United States. The articles, describing the state and what it had to offer, the Board reported, were reprinted in "other journals to a very gratifying extent."[97] Some of the articles were written by Kihlholz, who also represented Minnesota as its German agent. His compositions appeared in the New York Staats Zeitung, New York Demokrat, New York Belletristiches Journal, Philadelphia Freie Presse, Philadelphia Demokrat, and the Illinois Staats Zeitung.[98] Mattson also wrote many articles, although he apparently was guilty of exaggeration when he later claimed he "was the author of nearly all of this literature," including the German works.[99] Many of Mattson's articles appeared in the Scandinavian-American press. A series of letters, written while he was on a tour of the state, appeared in Fadrelandet in the spring of 1867.[100] In addition, Johan Schroder was paid $50 for an

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[96]Ellis P. Ellis to Mattson, Mankato, May 13, 1867, Gov. File 186, MSA; 1867 Report, p. 5. There were 944 residents of Welsh birth in Minnesota in 1870. Census of 1870. Population, I, 340.

[97]1867 Report, p. 5.

[98]Report of B. Kihlholz, Chaska, November 30, 1867, appended to Ibid., p. 15.

[99]Mattson, Story of an Emigrant, p. 99.

[100]Qualey, "Norwegian Settlement in Minnesota," pp. 100-101. Mattson reported to Marshall that he paid four newspapers twenty-five dollars each to print his letters, but he did not give their names. Mattson to Marshall, Red Wing, March 27, 1867, Gov. File 185, MSA.

advertisement in his Skandinaverne i de Forenede Stater og Canada.[101]

The most prolific of the hired correspondents was Henry A. Castle, editor of the Anoka (Minn.) Union, who was employed as "special correspondent for the state in the interest of immigration."[102] Castle wrote fifty-seven lengthy letters to newspapers throughout the nation. Thirty-eight are known to have been printed, and only one article was formally refused. Castle estimated that his articles were read by over 200,000 persons. The total cost to the state was $124.[103] The letters appeared in such newspapers as the Terre Haute Express, New York Tribune, Worcester Evening Gazette, Cairo (Ill.) Democrat, Bridgeport (Conn.) Daily Chronicle, Cincinnati Commercial, Lowell (Mass.) Daily Citizen and News, New Orleans Weekly Picayune, Newark Evening Courier and the Springfield (Ill.) Daily State Journal.[104] Castle used a variety of pseudonyms and datelines, evidently to disguise the fact that the letters were coming from the pen of one person. Such credits appear on the various articles as "H. A. C.," "C.," "Asa," "H.C.," "A.," "H.," "M.," "X.," "Merton," "Lex," and "Juvenis." There is no doubt that Castle wrote the articles bearing these different signatures; all were written in the same style,

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[101]Schroder to Mattson, ,La Cross, March 21, 1867, Gov. File 185. Full citation of the work is: Johan Schroder, Skandinaverne i de Forenede Stater og Canada med Indberetninger og Oplysninger fra 200 skandinaviske Settlementer. Eng Ledetraad for Emigranter fra det gamle Land og for Nybyggeren i Amerika af Johan Schroder (La Crosse: trykt og forlagt af Forfatteren, 1867)

[102]Castle's certificate of appointment, signed by Marshall on April 18 1867, found in Castle (Henry A.) Papers, Manuscript Division,MHS.

[103]Report of H. A. Castle, n.d., appended to 1867 Report, pp. 22-23.

[104]See clippings in Mattson scrapbook, 4, Manuscript Division, MHS.

and nearly all emphasized Minnesota's climate.

The most interesting portions of Castle's letters were, in fact, those devoted to the healthfulness of the Minnesota climate. Castle, in his report to the Board of Immigration, justified his emphasis upon the climate by stating that it attracted "the attention of the publishers and readers;" that he had been cured of a "deep-seated lung disease, purely and solely by the climate [of Minnesota];" and "chiefly . . . because the bug-bear of the unhealthy climate of the 'West,' meaning Illinois and Missouri, deters many persons in the East from emigrating. . . ."[105]

The Anoka editor was at his best when he wrote on this subject. In his letter to the Elmira Daily Gazette in June, Castle stated that

> An invalid seeking health and finding it in every breath of this June Minnesota air that presses into his diseased lungs, is constrained to give you some of his experiences and impressions of this beautiful beautiful Northern Prairie country. I came here less than a year ago, sick and helpless and hopeless. Now I am well, stronger than ever before. To retain this acquired strength I have resolved to make the State my home. I love it already with an affection second only to that I feel for my native State

In this letter Castle did inform the reader that most of those cured of consumption are "young and naturally vigorous. . . . To this class, the climate is a sure restorer." He then warned that those whose disease was advanced usually died, but, "yet even in these last cases are instances of cure which would be incredible, were not the living witnesses abundant on all sides."[106]

Two of Castle's first articles were written for the New Orleans

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[105]Castle's report appended to 1867 Report, p. 21.

[106]"Letter from Minnesota," Elmira Daily Gazette, June 24, 1867. Clipping in Mattson scrapbook, 4. The letter is signed "Castle."

Weekly Picayune and the Springfield Daily State Journal. In each case Castle stressed the fact that he had been cured of consumption during his short residence in Minnesota. His disease, he reported, had been contracted in his former state. He was not consistent, however, in identifying that state. In his letter to the Weekly Picayune, for example, he stated:

> An ex-invalid sojourned in this silvery, smiling Northland, the spirit moves me to indite a brief epistle to those left behind, many of whom I know are deeply and personally interested in the . . . climate. I left New Orleans [italics mine] a little over one year ago, a weak invalid, suffering from long disease of chronic character. I stand to-day, after the rigors of a Minnesota winter, following a Minnesota summer, a well man.

The letter was signed "C."[107] Three days after the above letter was printed, a similar one, signed "H.C.," appeared in the Springfield Daily State Journal:

> Knowing the interest felt by many of your readers in knowing facts concerning the State of Minnesota, I will, with your permission, try to condense a few items within the limits of a short letter.
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> I may preface by saying that I am an ex-invalid, who came here from Illinois [italics mine] last July, weak, and almost hopeless. I had severe lung disease, and came to try the wonderful effects of the climate, of which I had heard so much, but in which I had but little faith. . . . I am nearly well.[108]

Shortly before the last letter was written,[109] Castle wrote Governor Marshall that he had "adopted your [Marshall's] suggestions as to 'Honing down' the style." He told the governor, however, that "you

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[107]Weekly Picayune, April 27, 1867. Clipping in Mattson scrapbook, 4, Manuscript Division, MHS.

[108]Daily State Journal, April 30, 1867. Clipping in Mattson scrapbook, 4, Manuscript Division, MHS. Castle had lived in Illinois prior to his removal to Minnesota in 1866. Upham and Dunlap, Minnesota Biographies, p. 111.

[109]Letter dated April 23, 1867.

must speak enthusiastically, especially in benefits to invalids."[110]

The Board also worked closely with the Irish Immigration Society. The Society had unsuccessfully sought an appropriation from the legislature the year before,[111] but obtained a working agreement with the Board in 1869. Two thousand copies of Hewitt's pamphlet and a special "Irish immigration circular" were printed at the Board's expense for distribution by the Society.[112] Dillon O'Brien reported to Mattson that 1,500 copies of Minnesota: Its Advantages to Settlers and 1,500 circulars were sent to Ireland, and that twenty letters and fifty advertisements appeared in Irish newspapers. The total cost to the Board of Immigration was $332.[113]

Although the Board of Immigration decided against the use of European agents, it did employ an agent in Quebec and several in American ports of entry. Kihlholz, the Board's German correspondent, was sent to New York City for the immigration season, where Charles Kempe, a Swede, was also assigned. T. K. Simmons, a Norwegian, was appointed Quebec agent, and K. Hasberg, another Norwegian, was stationed at Milwaukee. L. K. Aaker, who became a member of the Board of Immigration in 1869, was very critical of Hasberg's appointment. He wrote to Marshall that Hasberg had shown him "his commission which I supose [sic] is only intended as a recommandation [sic] to give him influence with Steamship

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[110]Castle to Marshall, St. Cloud, April 20, 1867, Gov. File 185, MSA.

[111]See chapter 4.

[112]1867 Report, p. 5.

[113]Report of Dillon O'Brien to Mattson, St. Paul, October 15, 1867, appended to Ibid., p. 25.

and R. R. Co. but it struck me that he may go to work on his own hook. . . . I can not doubt he needs watching."[114] Mattson worked for a short while in Quebec and other port cities.[115] All agents were instructed to

> take charge of such immigrants as were ignorant of the English language, immediately upon their arrival at our sea-ports and assist them in the purchase of tickets and weighing and checking of baggage, to show them information concerning this state, the different settlements and their friends already here before them, and in some instances where it seemed necessary, send interpreters with them on their journey west.[116]

Cooperation between the state and railroad companies, which began the year before with the appointment of Mattson and Hasberg as joint agents was continued in 1867. Hasberg appears to have been especially successful in getting support from several companies. In his 1867 report, he acknowledged the assistance of the Northwestern Railroad Company in transporting indigent immigrants to the state. Hasberg also stated that "over a thousand of these poor immigrants I have been fortunate enough to get transported from Chicago to Milwaukee, for a very small compensation." The immigrants were then carried to La Crosse by the Milwaukee and St. Paul Railroad, whose officers, Hasberg claimed, "have shown a liberality not often met with."[117] It is probable that Hasberg was still employed by one of the Minnesota roads, as was Robert too Laer, who acknowledged that he had been appointed state agent through the recommendation of Herman Trott, Secretary of the St. Paul and Pacific's

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[114] Aaker to Marshall, Norway, Minnesota, May 28, 1867, Gov. File 186, MSA.

[115] 1867 Report, p. 6; Mattson to wife, New York, June 17, 1867, Mattson Papers, Manuscript Division, MHS.

[116] 1867 Report, p. 6.

[117] Report of K. Hasberg appended to Ibid., pp. 26-27.

Land Department. Trott sent the Chicago agent "several books and advertising cards," which he distributed among Hollanders and in "boarding houses and Saloons."[118]

Minnesota also cooperated with the Northern Pacific Railroad; cooperation, in fact, had begun the year before when William S. Rowland, Commissioner for the Northern Pacific, asked Marshall to commission one of the Railroad's directors as state agent. The director was going to Europe to promote settlement of his company's Minnesota lands, and wanted "such official recognition as would add to the character of his mission. . . ."[119] In September, 1866, Marshall appointed Rowland "Special Commissioner of the State of Minnesota to the Paris Universal Exposition of 1867." The position was not authorized by law and no expenses were paid. Marshall noted that Rowland sought the position "to facilitate [his] proposed efforts to organize a Bureau of Emigration in connection with the Northern Pacific Railroad Company."[120]

An additional task was assigned to the Board in the spring of 1867. An article entitled "How a Lie Travels!" appeared in the May 22 issue of the Pioneer. The newspaper claimed that rumors were being spread in Illinois and Iowa that Minnesota was experiencing "famine, [and] starvation!" The Pioneer had been told by several visitors that in Illinois they had "met them [the stories] at every turn." Dillon O'Brien of the

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[118]Laer received $100 from Minnesota. Robert too Laer to Marshall, Chicago, June 12, 1867, Gov. File 186, MSA.

[119]W. S. Rowland to Marshall, New York, May 15, 1866; Marshall to Rowland, St. Paul, May 27, 1866. Letters in Gov. Press Book, p. 66, MSA.

[120]Marshall to Rowland, September 24, 1866, Gov. Press Book, p. 99, MSA.

Irish Immigration Society had also reported that the same stories were given wide circulation in Iowa, and that "they alarm many immigrants on their way to Minnesota, and turn hundreds back or aside." The paper strongly hinted that the rumors were deliberately started by the press of Iowa and Illinois, and concluded by stating that "we see very plainly that immigrants now have to fight their way in to our State."[121]

Two days before the Pioneer branded the stories of famine a "lie," Governor Marshall had received a letter from Mankato stating that "in Martin Co[unty] particularly [and] in the Borders of counties adjoining . . . there is bitter [and] terrible suffering." Marshall was told that one family of Martin county homesteaders "had nothing but bread and water for six weeks. . . ." The greatest suffering, the writer reported, was among those "who are worthy but will sooner die than beg."[122]

The stories denied by the Pioneer were actually true; the frontier counties had been struck by drought in 1866, and many inhabitants were destitute by the spring of 1867. One of Hans Mattson's first duties as secretary of the immigration board was to tour these counties and administer aid. Obtaining support from the federal and state governments, Mattson and his agents distributed large quantities of flour and other provisions, as well as seed corn and wheat for spring planting.[123] Mattson wrote to his wife on May 20:

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[121]Pioneer, May 22, 1867, p. 1.

[122]G. R. Cleveland, Mankato, May 17, 1867, Gov. File 186, MSA.

[123]Mattson, Story of an Emigrant, p. 98.

> Instead of coming home to night as I expected, I have to start away out on the frontier with provisions and money for the poor settlers—The Gov[ernor] is receiving letters every day that the people are starving, he has done much to help them but not enough yet—We have got an order from Washington to buy rations at Fort Ridgly [sic]—and the Governor wants me to go out and see what is wanted—I shall get 10,000 rations to distribute among them up the Minnesota river—I also bring money to buy seed wheat and corn. . . . The people are starving and I will come as a messenger of live [sic] to them.[124]

Assistance was also solicited from local authorities by Governor Marshall, in a letter admitting that "the destitution upon the new settlers upon our frontier proves so much more general than was believed. . . ." Marshall called upon the local officials to "do as was done during the war to raise bounties," and stated that "if towns and counties could raise thousands of dollars for soldiers to kill our enemies, surely they can raise something to serve their own neighbors from starving."[125]

Before the news of Minnesota's frontier troubles became widespread, immigrants were coming to the state in large numbers.[126] The Pioneer exclaimed in late April that "all the cars moving Westward are thronged with immigrants, and . . . [we have been assured] that Minnesota will receive her full share." The newspaper also stated that Northwestern Railroad cars "were crowded to their utmost capacity;" that the steamer Keokuk had just brought to the city "the largest number she ever carried;" and that "the Winona and St. Peter Railroad brought to Owatonna five car loads [of immigrants]. . . ." The Pioneer predicted that "we shall receive a large accession to our population this year, then [sic]

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[124]Mattson to his wife, St. Paul, May 20, 1867, Mattson Papers, Manuscript Division, MHS.

[125]Form letter from Executive Dept., 1867, Gov. File 185.

[126]Mattson, Story of an Emigrant, p. 98.

in any one year since the palmy days of [1854-1856]. . . ."[127]

When the press began to publicize the plight of western Minnesotans, immigration fell off; but, by midsummer, after relief had been extended to those in need, immigrants "began to pour in with more than usual vigor, and continued so until the end of the season."[128] The Board of Immigration estimated that the number of immigrants arriving in Minnesota in 1867 "will not fall short of fifty thousand. . . ." It also reported that "the relative number of foreign to that of native born immigrants has increased." The probable reason for this disparity was the news of destitution early in the season, "the time when the American immigration mostly takes place."[129]

To help the new immigrants, Hans Mattson urged the state, as early as February, 1867, to establish an "Emigrant home or depot" in St. Paul. In a letter to Marshall, Mattson reported he had heard that some "Rail Road men are thinking . . . of building one of their own," but that he thought it would be better "if the city or community at large" cooperated with the state in the project.[130]

Three weeks after Mattson wrote to Marshall, the Pioneer printed an editorial on the need for an immigrant home, and suggested that it be built jointly by the city and the railroads.[131] Another editorial ap-

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[127]Pioneer, April 20, 1867, p. 1.

[128]1867 Report, p. 7.

[129]Ibid.

[130]Mattson to Marshall, Red Wing, February 18, 1867, Gov. File 185, MSA.

[131]Pioneer, March 9, 1867, p. 1.

peared in two weeks which declared that two railroad companies would turn a warehouse over to the city "if they [the city authorities] will fit it up with bunks for sleeping. . . ."[132] The "Emigrant Home" was opened in late April under the joint sponsorship of the St. Paul Chamber of Commerce, the Board of Trade, and the St. Paul city council. The Home was immediately successful, and the Pioneer reported three weeks later that "it has constantly been occupied by families. . . . On Sunday last over 60 persons were at the Home. . . ."[133]

Immigrants were expected to leave the Home as soon as they located homes of their own and employment, or farms. While at the Home they were furnished stoves, fuel, and "apartments to sleep in," at the rates of fifteen cents per day for adults and half that for children.[134] The state did not participate in this venture, although its inspiration probably came, in part at least, from Mattson.[135] The Board of Immigration, however, did employ an agent to work with the one employed by the Home "in assisting and forwarding . . . immigrants to their destination on the frontier, or in the older settlements. The Board reported spending $75 in 1867 "for charities to destitute immigrants."[136]

At the end of 1867 the Board declared it was generally satisfied

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[132] Ibid., March 20, 1867, p. 1.

[133] Ibid., May 18, 1867, p. 4.

[134] Ibid.

[135] Mattson told Marshall that he would probably write to the Chamber of Commerce about his plan for a home. Mattson to Marshall, February 18, 1867, Gov. File 185, MSA.

[136] 1867 Report, pp. 6-7.

with its labors, although it recognized that "the very nature of the work intrusted to the board is such that it may require years for its full development and to show its fruits. . . ." It found "the prospect . . . very gratifying."[137] The Board did admit, however, that its decision to concentrate upon emigrants already in the United States was unwise, and that it was also dissatisfied with the use of agents in port cities:

> The experience of the past year demonstrates, we think clearly, that the most economical and most efficient means to promote the object in view, is to scatter fair and truthful information concerning the state, by pamphlets and newspaper correspondence, upon the plan heretofore pursued, and that to effectively reach the foreign immigrants, this work should be done among them before they leave their native homes. The system of agencies as pursued during the year appears on the whole to be of less value to the state, and its renewal cannot be recommended.[138]

Mattson, who probably wrote the report, had indicated earlier his dissatisfaction with the use of agents. Writing to his wife from New York on June 17, he stated he was "convinced that we can do nothing here for the [immigrants] and I want to draw in all the agencies as soon as possible." Like Burnand over a decade before, Mattson complained that "the officers of Castle Garden look on us with suspicion—I have to ask permission every time I go in there. . . ."[139] The 1867 Board report also was critical of the Castle Garden authorities.[140]

B. Kihlholz, who worked in New York City during the entire season, while not explicitly eschewing the practice of employing agents, did re-

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[137] Ibid., p. 9.

[138] Ibid., p. 10.

[139] Mattson to his wife, New York, June 17, 1867, Mattson Papers, Manuscript Division, MHS.

[140] 1867 Report, pp. 809.

port that immigrants had to be reached before they left Europe. The best means of publicizing the opportunities of Minnesota, Kihlholz stated, was through "a good pamphlet . . . with a sectional map of our state," and "by advertising the . . . pamphlet in the papers of those states or countries from whence numerous immigration is to be expected. . . ." Kihlholz declared that "the immigrants have generally determined what state to go to before they emigrate . . . [and their decision] cannot be changed after their arrival in this country."[141]

K. Hasberg, the Milwaukee agent, while agreeing with Kihlholz and the Board on the distribution of pamphlets, strongly supported the use of agents. Hasberg stated in his report that he was "inclined to think that the distribution of pamphlets through agents is preferable to any other mode of disposing them."[142]

The one point on which all concerned agreed was that Minnesota must continue its promotional activities. The Board asserted in its report that competition from states in the South and West forced Minnesota to campaign for its share of the national immigration.[143] The Board's opinion was reiterated by Governor Marshall in his 1868 legislative address:

> The conclusions arrived at from the year's experience and observations, are that agencies are of comparatively little use, and that the most effective means of promoting immigration, are the publication through pamphlets and newspapers of information setting forth the advantages of the state as a home for immigrants. To reach and influence effectively

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[141]Report of B. Kihlholz, appended to Ibid., p. 13.

[142]Report of K. Hasberg, appended to Ibid., p. 28.

[143]1867 Report, p. 11.

> foreign immigration, this work will need to be done in the countries from which the immigrants came.[144]

Marshall appeared somewhat reluctant to request the continuation of the Board. He told the legislature "if it were not that other new states are putting forth efforts to control and direct immigration to their territory, I should be inclined to forego any direct effort in behalf of our state. . . ." However, "as other states are actively competing," the Governor declared, "it is probably our duty to do something to secure our just share of immigration, which might otherwise be diminished."[145]

The legislature responded to Marshall's reluctant endorsement of continued promotion by appropriating $3,000 for the work of the Board of Immigration in 1868—a reduction of $7,000 from the previous allocation.[146]

As a result of limited funds and its belief that agents were not effective promoters, the Board did little more than distribute pamphlets in 1868. Thirty-five thousand copies of Hewitt's pamphlet were printed and distributed during the year, along with 5,000 copies of Kihlholz's 1867 work,[147] and a similar number of a Swedish pamphlet written by Hans Mattson.[148] As in the past, all pamphlets were distributed long before

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[144]Minnesota, Governor, Annual Address of Governor Marshall to the Legislature of Minnesota [1868] (St. Paul: Press Printing Co., 1868), pp. 21-22.

[145]Ibid., p. 22.

[146]Minnesota, General Laws of Minnesota, 10th Session, 1868, Chapter 123, p. 179.

[147]Kihlholz's pamphlet was revised by Albert Wolff and Theodore Sander. Sander was publisher of the Minnesota Staats Zeitung, and Wolff was a co-editor. Upham and Dunlap, Minnesota Biographies, pp. 668, 874.

[148]Minnesota Sasom Hem for Emigraten.

the end of the year.[149]

The only agents commissioned in 1868 were those who represented other interests and sought the prestige of a state appointment, even if no remuneration were involved.[150] Joseph Prince of New York City, general eastern agent for several Minnesota railroad companies, served the state effectively and received special commendation from Marshall.[151] Other agents were also appointed. Soren Listoe, assistant editor of the Nordisk Folkeblad, was commissioned "Special Emigrant Agent." Listoe planned to visit Denmark and, according to the governor, wanted the position "without compensation to facilitate his business there and . . . to promote immigration to Minnesota."[152] Shortly after Listoe's appointment, Marshall granted a commission as "Special Commissioner of Immigration of the State of Minnesota" to John H. Orf of Columbus, Ohio. The position, Marshall stated, received no compensation or expenses and was not "authorized by any express law."[153]

In late winter, 1868, Hans Mattson, Secretary to the Board, went to Sweden to promote the emigration of his former countrymen. Mattson was under the employ of Herman Trott of the St. Paul and Pacific Railroad

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[149]Minnesota, Governor, Annual Message of Governor Marshall to the Legislature of Minnesota]1869] (St. Paul: Press Printing Co., 1869), p. 6.

[150]The practice of using honorary agents began several years before and was continued throughout the seventies.

[151]Minnesota, Annual Message of Gov. Marshall, 1869, p. 17.

[152]Governor's memorandum, July 8, 1868, signed by Marshall, Gov. File 202, MSA.

[153]Marshall to John H. Orf, St. Paul, August 6, 1868, Gov. Press Book, p. 302, MSA.

Company. Whether he was also salaried by the state is doubtful, but Mattson did carry letters of introduction from Senator Ramsey and Governor Marshall.[154]

Immigration promotion in 1869 resembled that of 1867 in intensity. The Board of Immigration was reorganized by the legislature in February. The reorganization act appointed to the Board the presidents of the German, Scandinavian, and Irish Immigration Societies—William Seeger, L. K. Aaker, and Rev. John Ireland. The governor, secretary of State, and treasurer served in ex-officio capacities, with the governor as chairman. None of the members was salaried, although the appropriation was brought up to the 1867 figure of $10,000.[155]

As suggested by its composition, the Board of Immigration worked closely with the major ethnic organizations in the promotion of Minnesota among their people in the United States and Europe. The Board apparently permitted each of the three nationality groups to decide for themselves the best way of promoting immigration.[156]

Albert Wolff was appointed Commissioner of Immigration for Germany and spent the entire year abroad.[157] Wolff was assisted by Edward Pelz,

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[154]Mattson, Story of an Emigrant, p. 103; Mattson to wife, St. Paul, November 27, 1868, Mattson Papers, Manuscript Division, MHS.

[155]Minnesota, General Laws of Minnesota, 11th Session, 1869, Chapter 91, p. 109.

[156]Report of L. K. Aaker to Gov. Horace Austin, Alexandria, January 1, 1870, Gov. File 208, MSA.

[157]Marshall's memo, March 10, 1869, Gov. File 203, MSA. Wolff's success resulted in his reappointment in 1870. Wolff was salaried at $1,500.

who was in the employ of the St. Paul and Pacific Railroad Company. The year before, Pelz had written Minnesota das Central-Gebeit Nord-Amerikas.[158] In addition to Wolff's appointment, the Board promoted German immigration by distributing 5,000 copies of Minnesota, als eine heimat fur Einwanderer,[159] a forty-page pamphlet based upon the prize essays.

The Board cooperated closely with the Irish Immigration Society, but it did not hire an Irish Immigration agent. However, pamphlets and other publications were circulated among the Irish in the United States and in Ireland. Nearly $1,000 was expended by the Board for Irish promotional literature.[160]

Minnesota's Scandinavians were represented by two salaried agents assigned to stations in Chicago and Milwaukee. In May, Peter Engberg and William Abell[161] were appointed to the respective posts. Engberg was recommended for the Chicago position by the Swedish Emigrant Aid Society of Goodhue county and was salaried at seventy-five dollars per month. Abell most likely received the same amount for his services at Milwaukee. Both men were engaged for two months and charged with the obligation to "aid and protect immigrants arriving at that place [their respective cities] en route for Minnesota."[162] Abell, carrying out his instructions

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[158](Leipzig: Berlagsbuchhandlung von J. J. Weber, 1868.)

[159](St. Paul: Minnesota Staats Zeitung, 3rd edition, 1869.)

[160]Minnesota, Governor, Annual Message of Governor Marshall to the Legislature of Minnesota [1870] (St. Paul: Press Printing Co., 1870), p. 26.

[161]Engberg was Swedish and Abell probably was Norwegian.

[162]L. K. Aaker to Marshall, Red Wing, May 14, 1869, Secretary of State's "Official Correspondence," Vol. I, 116, MSA; Commissions entered

to the letter, advertised in the Nordisk Folkeblad that immigrants should avoid Chicago, where there were so many docks and stations that an agent could not be of help to many. He advised immigrants to approach Minnesota through Milwaukee.[163]

The Board issued 10,000 copies of a pamphlet written in the "norwegian-danish language" by Sneedorf Christensen,[164] and 5,000 of the Swedish-language Minnesota Sasom Hem for Emigranten.[165] Soren Listoe, author of Staten Minnesota i Nordamerika, was reappointed "Special Agent" for the task of providing information to the "emigrant classes in the Scandinavian countries."[166]

Another Scandinavian, Mans Olson Lindbergh, also wrote a pamphlet on Minnesota and did valuable work for the state. A veteran of the British, Swedish, and American armies, Lindbergh had become acquainted with Minnesota through visits to his father's home near Melrose. Lindbergh first contacted Marshall in July, 1868 in regard to his effort to bring Swedes to the state. He informed the governor that he planned to bring 1,000, and that he needed assistance. Marshall promised help.

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in Gov. Press Book, May 15, 24, 1869, p. 411. The only other agent in the United States was Henry Warfield who was employed "as agent of the State Commissioners of Immigration to protect immigrants at St. Paul." His commission recorded in Gov. Press Book, May 14, 1869, p. 411, MSA.

[163]Qualey, "Pioneer Norwegian Settlement," p. 50.

[164]L. K. Aaker to Austin, Alexandria, January 1, 1870. Typed copy of original. Both in Gov. File 208, MSA.

[165]This was an abbreviation of Mattson's 1867 work. Minnesota, Governor, Annual Message of Gov. Marshall, 1870, p. 26.

[166]Appointment noted in Exec. Record Book "D," July 18, 1869, p. 423, MSA.

Shortly after receiving Marshall's reply, Lindbergh met Hans Mattson. Mattson was impressed with Lindbergh and advised prospective emigrants to contact him. Finally, in the spring of 1869, Lindbergh arrived in Minnesota with a group of 200 emigrants, most of whom settled in the area around Big Lake.[167]

None of the agents in Scandinavia was paid for his services. The Scandinavian State Immigration Society, unlike its German counterpart, preferred to sue its allocation to finance a tour of the Red River valley and other parts of western Minnesota by Paul Hjelm-Hansen. An accomplished Norwegian editor and publicist, Hjelm-Hansen left Norway in 1867 and took a position with Fadrelandet og Emigranten.[168] He was appointed by Marshall in June, 1869 to travel through western Minnesota "partly to examine the economical condition of the Norwegian, Swedish [and] Danish Settlements, partly to make myself acquainted with the lands, yet open for immigration."[169] During his tour, Hjelm-Hansen wrote descriptive letters to newspapers in Norway and to the Scandinavian-American press. A series of sixteen of his letters was printed by the

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[167]Lindbergh's father was accused of embezzlement before he left Sweden in 1859. Because of this Lindbergh was constantly attacked by the Swedish press. This explains why he was not able to bring the 1,000 settlers he had promised Marshall. Lindbergh's pamphlet was Staten Minnesota i Nord Amerika. Dess Innebyggare, Klimat Och Beskaffenhet (Copenhagen: I Cohens Tryckeri, 1868). Grace Lee Nute (trans., ed.), "The Lindbergh Colony," Minnesota History, XX (September, 1939), 243-58.

[168]Carlton Qualey, "Pioneer Norwegian Settlement in Minnesota," Minnesota History, XII (September, 1931), 259. This article is based upon the author's Master's thesis which has been cited previously.

[169]P. Hjelm-Hansen to the Board of Immigration, dated "30th, 1869," typed copy of original. Both in Gov. File 208, MSA.

Nordisk Folkeblad.[170] In one of the letters to the Folkeblad, written at Alexandria on July 31, Hjelm-Hansen told his Scandinavian readers that he had been on "a real American pioneer journey in to the Wilderness behind an ox team hitched to a farm wagon," and that after twelve days on the prairies "I have gotten rid of my rheumatism, and in place of it I have gained much strength and good humor."[171] The Norwegian traveler's report to the board revealed his great pleasure with western Minnesota and indicated that he wished to undertake a similar tour the following summer.[172]

Carlton Qualey has evaluated Hjelm-Hansen's role in promoting Norwegian immigration in the following statement:

> Paul Hjelm-Hansen perhaps had more influence than any other individual on Norwegian settlement in Minnesota. It was he who made the Norwegians conscious of the tremendous agricultural possibilities of the Red River Valley and was to a considerable extent responsible for the peopling of the Red country with thousands of Norwegian farmers.[173]

One other ethnic group won the attention of Minnesota's immigration board in 1869. A Welsh convention, held in Mankato on March 1, 1869, adopted a resolution memorializing the state legislature to appoint D. C. Evans a "Commissioner of Emigration," and provide "a liberal

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[170]Letters also were written to Fadrelandet og Emigranten (La Crosse), Amerika (Winona), and Minnesota Tidning (St. Paul). Qualey, "pioneer Norwegian Settlement," Minnesota History, pp. 259-60.

[171]Nordisk Folkeblad, August 11, 1869. Three of the letters to the Folkeblad have been translated by Sigurd Welby and are with the Hjelm-Hansen Papers, Manuscripts Division, MHS.

[172]Report of P. Hjelm-Hansen, "30th, 1869," He reported that his expenses were $875, or $175 more than the Board had agreed to pay.

[173]Qualey, "Pioneer Norwegian Settlement," Minnesota History, pp. 258-59.

portion" of the immigration fund "for the publication and distribution of a Welsh Emigration pamphlet."[174] Evans was hired by the Board to write the pamphlet for $300, although he wrote Marshall that he would like to have the amount raised to $700, "if possible." He told the governor that he and other Welsh leaders in the state were concerned about the small appropriation, and that they found the situation rather "discouraging."[175] Later, Evans wrote another letter to Marshall and asked for payment of the $300. He informed Marshall that he and others were writing about Minnesota to Welsh newspapers in the United States and Wales.[176]

In addition to employing ethnic representatives and distributing foreign-language literature, the Board of Immigration undertook other promotional activities in 1869. J. W. Prince, the railroad agent who had served the state without pay in 1868, was recommissioned at a salary of $500.[177] Henry A. Castle and Girart Hewitt, who had performed notable services in the past, were also active promoters. Castle offered his talents in a letter to Marshall written shortly after the Board's reorganization. Stating that he preferred a promotion plan that would work on "a large scale," Castle realized that the "meagre"

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[174]Typewritten copy of Petition of Jenkin Jenkins, President of the Convention, to the Legislature, Mankato, March 1, 1869. Both copy and original are in Gov. File 202, MSA.

[175]D. C. Evans to Marshall, South Bend, Minnesota, March 30, 1869, Gov. File 203, MSA.

[176]Evans to Marshall, South Bend, May 19, 1869, Gov. File 203, MSA. Evans did receive the $300. Minnesota, Governor, Annual Message of Gov. Marshall, 1870, p. 26.

[177]Minnesota, Governor, Annual Message of Gov. Marshall, 1870, p. 26.

appropriation made "the simpler and less expensive the plan adopted, . . . the better." Castle told Marshall that the entire allocation should be used for "printed matter"—pamphlets and letters to newspapers. He also expressed his concern that the organization of the along ethnic lines would result in little or no effort to promote American immigration. To guard against this, Castle offered to resume his role as correspondent. Letters to newspapers, Marshall was told, had several advantages: they were usually free and, as "they appear to come spontaneously, from a disinterested person, and frankly state the facts without high coloring, they are not open to the suspicion with which an advertisement, confessedly written by interested parties, and inserted and paid for with an evident object, must certainly be regarded."[178] Marshall accepted Castle's proposition and hired him to write a maximum of forty letters. Castle received $4 for each letter published.[179]

Shortly after receiving the Castle letter, Marshall received one from General C. C. Andrews. The General stated that he had the addresses of 3,000 men who were under his command in the Civil War and who now lived in other midwestern states. Andrews was willing to send information regarding the state to these men, if it were provided by the Board along with wrappers and postage. He specifically asked for copies of the Hewitt pamphlet. Marshall authorized Andrews to receive the requested material, and the General distributed 2,000 copies.[180] Girart Hewitt's pamphlet,

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[178]Castle to Marshall, St. Paul, March 3, 1869, Gov. File 203, MSA.

[179]Initialed memo in Marshall's hand, dated March 10, 1869, Gov. File 203, MSA.

[180]C. C. Andrews to Marshall, St. Cloud, March 6, 1869, Gov. File 202, MSA. Notation on March 6 letter indicates Marshall's approval. Also Memo of March 10, 1869, Gov. File 203, MSA.

as indicated by Andrews' letter, was still the most effective literature employed by the Board. In 1869 alone, 50,000 copies were printed and distributed, at a cost exceeding $3,500.[181]

Such official promotion was especially necessary for Minnesota's development in the sixties. The railroad companies, soon to be the most ambitious and successful of all the Minnesota promoters, were just being established, and they devoted most of their energies to the tasks of construction. During the decade, the state's population had increased nearly 250 per cent, from 172,000 in 1860 to 439,000 in 1870.[182] It is, of course, impossible to determine the exact influence of the immigration agencies in the development of Minnesota during this period. Their activity, however, can be measured quantitatively. During the decade of the sixties, beginning with the commission of Joseph Wheelock to compile and publish the official statistics as an immigration document, Minnesota spent almost $35,000 in public funds for the employment of agents and for the publication and distribution of nearly one-quarter million pieces of promotional literature.

After 1869, the state was aided by the Northern Pacific and other Minnesota railroads which carried on their own intensive campaigns, greatly surpassing the state agency in effort and accomplishment. However, as a result of the resurgence of intensive promotional work by other midwestern states in the 1860's and the early 1870's and decreasing immigration into the United States, Minnesota thought it must continue its

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[181]Hewitt did the printing at the rate of 10,000 copies for $333.33 (includes discount). Memo of March 10, 1869; Minnesota, Governor, Annual Message of Gov. Marshall, 1870, p. 26.

[182]Census of 1870. Population, I, 299.

official campaign.

CHAPTER VII

MINNESOTA PROMOTION: 1870-1887

During the 1870's official immigration promotion continued in the same sparodic manner as it had in earlier years. From 1870 to 1872 there was intense state effort to promote immigration; but between 1873-1878 activity was virtually non-existant. Interest in immigration promotion developed again in 1878 and work was continued in a fairly systematic manner until 1887. During the years after 1870 the same means were employed to promote settlement, although after 1871 small appropriations precluded the use of salaried agents.

Although neither Governor Marshall in his valedictory address nor Governor Horace Austin in his inaugural gave explicit endorsement to the continuation of immigration promotion,[1] the 1870 legislature manifested a great deal of interest in the subject, as had its predecessor. Consequently, various schemes were considered before an act was finally passed in March.

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[1]Marshall discussed the activity of the past year and informed the legislature of the Board's request for an increased appropriation, but he did not comment on the need for further work. Minnesota, Governor, Annual Message of Governor Marshall to the Legislature of Minnesota, 1870 (St. Paul: Press Printing Co., 1870), p. 26. Austin did not even mention the subject of immigration. Minnesota, Governor, Inaugural Address of Governor Austin to the Legislature of Minnesota, 1870 (St. Paul: Press Printing Co., 1870).

In early February, the Joint Committee on Immigration approved a program which retained the ethnic orientation of the 1869 law. The Committee bill allocated $2,100 to the German Immigration Society, $1,500 to the Irish Immigration Society, and $1,200 to the Welsh promotional organization. The Scandinavians were given $1,000 to maintain immigrant houses at six Minnesota cities, and an equal amount for immigrant relief. The Committee also approved the purchase of 50,000 copies of a new edition of Girart Hewitt's pamphlet.[2]

The legislature, however, decided against binding the Board to a promotional plan which was not of its own making. Thus, the new immigration law, although technically reorganizing the Board, closely resembled the acts of 1867 and 1869, in that the agency's duties were defined in general terms. The Board was left with the responsibility for implementing the law. As in the past, the Board was directed to publish promotional literature and to employ immigration agents. The only innovation was a provision empowering the Board to establish and maintain immigrant houses.[3]

Unlike the 1869 law and the bill first considered by the Joint Committee, the 1870 act did not explicitly provide for ethnic representation. However, four of the five Board members were of foreign birth and represented different nationalities. The new act named the governor,

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[2]W. S. Jackson, Chairman, Joint Committee on Immigration, to Austin, St. Paul, February 18, 1870, Gov. File 208, MSA. Hewitt offered to provide, advertize, and mail 50,000 pamphlets for $3,500. Girart Hewitt to W. S. Jackson, St. Paul, February 10, 1870, Gov. File 208, MSA.

[3]Minnesota, General Laws of Minnesota, 12th Session, 1870, Chapter 24, pp. 40-41.

secretary of state, and the state treasurer as ex-officio members, and appointed John C. Devereaux and J. T. Williams to the two remaining positions.[4] Devereaux was born in Ireland and was the publisher of the Catholic Northwestern Chronicle, while Williams was of Welsh birth.[5] Of the ex-officio members, Emil Munch, the state Treasurer, was Prussian, and Hans Mattson, the recently-elected Secretary of State, was born in Sweden.[6]

Financed by an appropriation of only $10,000,[7] the main feature of the 1870 campaign was to distribute immigration pamphlets. Although Girart Hewitt offered a new edition of his popular work at a price slightly lower than that of 1869, the Board elected to use a pamphlet prepared by the Secretary of State's office. Twenty thousand copies of Minnesota: Its Resources and Progress, Its Beauty, Healthfulness and Fertility, and Its Attractions and Advantages as a Home for Immigrants were printed in the Norwegian, German, and Welsh languages. In addition, 30,000 English-language copies were distributed.[8] The Board also as-

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[4]Ibid., p. 40.

[5]Biographical sketches of Devereaux and Williams in Upham and Dunlap, Minnesota Biographies, pp. 174, 861.

[6]Munch came to the United States in 1849 and Minnesota in 1851. He was elected Treasurer in 1868 and served until 1872, when he was succeeded by William Seeger. Biographical sketch in Ibid., p. 532. Mattson took office in January, 1870, having been elected the previous fall. Mattson, Story of an Emigrant, p. 116.

[7]Minnesota, General Laws, 12th Session, 1870, Chapter 24, p. 41.

[8]Minnesota, Governor, Annual Message of Governor Austin to the Legislature of Minnesota, 1871 (St. Paul: Press Printing Co., 1871), p. 21; Also, Minnesota, Secretary of State, "Annual Report of the Secretary of State for 1870," Executive Documents of Minnesota, 1870, pp. 698-99. The Norwegian edition was translated by Mattson and en-

sisted the Irish Immigration Society in the publication of a promotional work entitled, simply, Emigration Pamphlet of the Minnesota Irish Immigration Society.[9]

As suggested by the number of pamphlets distributed, the 1870 promotional campaign closely resembled in intensity those of 1867 and 1869. In addition, to its extensive publishing program, the Board also established immigrant houses in La Crosse, Wisconsin, Red Wing, and Minneapolis, and employed a number of agents in American port cities and Europe.[10] Albert Wolff, who had begun his work the year before, was directed to remain in Germany until March, 1871. Wolff reported being handicapped at first by a general suspicion that he "was agitating in the interest of speculating property holders, whose only object was to pilfer the emigrant by swindling land sales."[11] However, he was able to overcome the prejudice and carried out a rather successful campaign.

Wolff admitted that much of his success in early 1870 was caused by "the shadow of the coming war" with France, and the consequent desire of many Germans to escape the threatened hostilities.[12] The agent was

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titled Minnesota, En Beskrivelse over Staten, dels Hjaelpskilder og öbrige fordele som et Hjem for Indvandreren. Copy in Reference Library, MHS.

[9]On the title page appears the notation "published by the authority of the State Board of Emigration [sic]." Copy in Reference Library, MHS.

[10]Minnesota, Governor, Annual Message of Gov. Austin, 1871, p. 21.

[11]Report of Albert Wolff to Gov. Horace Austin, Bremen, September 7, 1870, p. 2, Gov. File 241, MSA.

[12]Ibid., p. 5.

also assisted by the Bremen "Bureau of Information" whose usual purpose, he stated, was "to warn emigrants against agents and runners for American corporations." Having confidence in Wolff's integrity, the Bureau referred to him all emigrants interested in the American West.[13] Although German emigration was halted by the outbreak of the Franco-Prussian War in July, Wolff continued to promote Minnesota. He found that one especially promising field was the Landwehr encampment near Bremen. The Prussian and Rhenish soldiers stationed there—nearly all were in their late twenties—"love[d] to hear of the Far Northwest," according to Wolff who predicted that many would emigrate after the war.[14]

The only other Minnesota agent stationed in Europe was D. Wanwig, who was sent to Trondheim, Norway at the end of the immigration season. During the season, Wanwig was the state's Milwaukee agent—residing there from April 1 to September 1.[15]

In addition to the Milwaukee agency, the state maintained agents in Chicago and New York City. The Chicago agent was S. S. Hamilton, representative of the American Emigrant Company which headquartered in that city. During the 1870 season, Hamilton received over $400 from the Minnesota Board.[16] The most successful agent, however, was E. Page

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[13] Ibid., p. 6.

[14] Ibid., p. 10.

[15] Report of D. Wanwig to Board of Immigration, Milwaukee, September 1, 1870, Gov. File 241, MSA; Qualey, "Pioneer Norwegian Settlement," p. 51.

[16] S. S. Hamilton to Board of Immigration, Chicago, July 9, 1870, Gov. File 208, MSA; Minnesota, Auditor, "Annual Report of the State Auditor for 1870," Executive Documents of Minnesota, 1870, pp. 676-78.

Davis of New York City. Davis, who continued to serve the Board throughout 1871, was primarily responsible for distributing the state pamphlet in the East. Through small advertisements placed in fifty eastern newspapers, Davis announced that copies of Minnesota: Its Resources and Progress were available to all interested parties.[17] Davis and his wife also wrote over 250 letters to persons interested in Minnesota. As a result, the agent claimed to have "diverted many from Kansas and other Western and Southwestern States" to Minnesota.[18]

The Minnesota Board was also represented, although against its will, in New England and Canada by Colonel William Gray, who identified himself as a "General Traveling Agent." In the spring of 1870, Gray was promised $150 by the Board to help finance a promotional tour of Europe. But, instead of going to Europe as he had promised, Gray was accused by Governor Austin of "blowing about in Canada [and] New England."[19] Gray reported frequently to Austin, and every letter referred to some criticism which was currently being directed against him. In one such report, in which Gray enclosed a newspaper clipping describing him as an "indefatigable" emigration agent, the Colonel told Austin he "had the Dominion Govnt to fight as well as the Lake Superior [and]

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[17]Some of the newspapers were: New York Semi-Weekly Tribune, Springfield (Mass.) Republican, Augusta (Me.) Standard, and the Burlington (Vt.) Free Press. Report ot E. Page Davis to Board of Immigration, New York City, August 24, 1870, Gov. File 241, MSA.

[18]Ibid.

[19]Austin's notation on back of letter received from James D. Sublette, St. Albans, Vt., November 25, 1870, Gov. File 237, MSA. Sublette complained that Gray had given a local hotel several drafts on Minnesota which were not honored.

Mps. R R, [and] the fire in the rear is too much for me." Because of the criticism, he offered to return the money given him by the Board.[20] But the money was not returned, and criticism of Gray did not stop. As late as December, 1871, E. Page Davis described Gray as "an old, if not accomplished swindler."[21]

In September, at the end of the 1870 immigration season, Governor Austin received a letter from Lucius Fairchild in which the Wisconsin governor inquired about the feasibility of calling a national immigration convention. Fairchild stated that he had been approached by several prominent Easterners about a national meeting "to consider such matters as may properly be brought before it—particularly the question of proper control and management of the interests of immigrants upon their arrival at the Atlantic ports, with a view to having the general government assume such control." Fairchild wanted the convention held at some central point, around November 20. He asked Austin to join him and other midwestern governors in calling the meeting.[22] Austin agreed that such a meeting should be held, and concurred in the time suggested by Fairchild.[23] In mid-October, Fairchild, Austin, and the governors of five other states

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[20]William Gray to Austin, Eastport, Me., August 21, 1870, Gov. File 241, MSA. Other letters from Gray to Austin are in this file.

[21]Report of E. Page Davis, New York City, December 11, 1871, Gov. File 251, MSA.

[22]Lucius Fairchild to Austin, Madison, September 24, 1870, Gov. File 233, MSA. Fairchild sent the petition he received from the Easterners, one of whom was William E. Dodge. The petition is in Gov. File 233.

[23]Notation on back of Fairchild's letter, unsigned but in Austin's handwriting.

wrote to Indiana Governor Conrad Baker to get his support.[24]

The National Immigration Convention convened on November 23 at Indianapolis, Indiana, with Governor Baker as permanent chairman.[25] Minnesota was represented by Secretary of State Hans Mattson, W. S. Rowland, William Pfaender, and E. Page Davis.[26] Almost immediately, the delegates were embroiled in controversy—the result of a speech by Governor John M. Palmer of Illinois which criticized the lack of protection offered to arriving immigrants by the federal government and the eastern port states. The delegates from other midwestern states supported Palmer, and accused immigration authorities of eastern states of exploiting immigrants. They also brought up the issue of Castle Garden's head tax of $2.50, which they claimed was unconstitutional under the decision of the 1849 Passenger Cases. New York's delegates defended the tax as a correct exercise of the state's police power. The revenue, they argued, was used to provide assistance to needy foreigners.[27]

Further controversy developed when the Convention adopted a series of resolutions which, in part, called for more federal regulatory legislation and the creation of a federal bureau of immigration, and condemned the capitation taxes collected from immigrants by port states.[28]

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[24]Maurice Baxter, "Encouragement of Immigration to the Middle West During the Era of the Civil War," Indiana Magazine of History, XLVI (March, 1950), 36.

[25]Ibid.

[26]Appointments recorded in Gov. Press Book, p. 536, MSA.

[27]Baxter, "Encouragement of Immigration," p. 37.

[28]Report of the National Immigration Convention, December 9, 1870, signed by Samuel Galloway of Ohio and seven others, in Gov. File 241, MSA.

The resolutions hit hardest at New York and Massachusetts. The New York delegation actually left the Convention before the vote. Its action was explained by the minority report of E. R. Mead, a New York delegate and a member of the resolutions committee. Mead stated that immigrants should be able, and indeed expected, to take care of themselves. He feared both the development of a larger federal bureaucracy and the growing class of paupers. The Massachusetts delegates remained in the hall but refused to vote.[29]

Hans Mattson was appointed to a committee of seven which was to prepare an appeal to Congress. He reported to Austin that "the North West got the control" of the liaison committee.[30] Mattson wanted the Governor to ask "Wheelock to agitate the matter in the Press [St. Paul Press]."[31] While the Press did come to the Convention's support, its rival, the Pioneer, was extremely critical. That newspaper's attack actually began with the appointment of E. Page Davis as one of the delegates:

> We notice among the names of State magnates who are expected to attend the Indianapolis Emigration Convention, "Hon. E. Page Davis, Commissioner of Emigration for Minnesota in New York City." Can any one inform us how much money "Hon. E. Page" received from the State for his services, and how many emigrants he has sent to Minnesota the past season; and, incidentally, whether the "Hon. E. Page" parts his hair in the middle, as might be inferred from the intitial attached

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[29]Baxter, "Encouragement of Immigration," p. 37.

[30]Mattson to Austin, Chicago, November 25, 1870, Gov. File 241, MSA.

[31]Ibid. Wheelock was editor of the Press.

to his name?[32]

A few days after the Convention adjourned, another critical article appeared in the Pioneer. This one charged that the meeting was controlled by "radicals having been appointed by the governors of radical states," and that it was "run in the interest of the radical party." The Pioneer stated further that the New York delegates bolted the Convention after a Nebraska delegate "charged the democracy [Democratic Party] obtained their large majority in New York City by corruptions like those of Castle Garden." The article concluded that "the main idea of the convention was peculiarly radical, that of concentrating the emigration business in the hands of the federal government, and of providing fat offices for the comorants who make that business a means of livelihood."[33]

Yet another critical article appeared in the Pioneer—this one attacking W. S. Rowland. It claimed that Rowland was responsible for calling the Convention, and that he hoped "to make Congress see that the thing has nothing in it but a scheme of the wildest philanthropy, and the most disinterested patriotism."[34] This assertion ran counter to what Mattson reported to Governor Austin. Mattson, while sharing the Pioneer's dislike for Rowland, denied that he was of any importance to the meeting:

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[32]Pioneer, November 19, 1870, p. 1. Another attack upon Davis appeared in the Pioneer four days later—the day the Convention—in which the question of his salary was again raised. Ibid., November 23, 1870, p. 1.

[33]Ibid., November 29, 1870, p. 1.

[34]Ibid., December 3, 1870, p. 1.

> I regret to inform you that Col.Rowland is another specimen of the "Grey" kind [Colonel Gray, employed by the Board], though of a different order. He is I think a designing scheming humbug—and certainly had not a particular influence in that convention, indeed, his schemes were so well understood and disapproved that he could not have done a thing here and it was only your commissioner that shielded him from your denunciation. I have learned much about that man and would as your true friend caution you for him—he is a regular "dead beat."[35]

Austin supported the Convention in his 1871 legislative address. He told the legislators that the Indianapolis meeting had received general favor, and that "the President of the United States has promised his co-operation in the matter."[36] The legislature, a month after Austin's speech, adopted a memorial which asked Congress to establish a National Bureau of Immigration and to assume greater responsibility for the protection of immigrants.[37]

Despite the apparent national interest in greater federal control over immigrants, little was done for more than a decade. The federal bureau demanded by the Convention was not established until 1891. The Supreme Court, however, did strike down the state head taxes in Henderson vs. Meyers (1876).[38]

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[35]Mattson to Austin, Chicago, November 25, 1870, Gov. File 241, MSA. Mattson called E. Page Davis "first rate."

[36]Minnesota, Governor, Annual Message of Gov. Austin, 1871, p. 22.

[37]"Memorial of the Legislature of Minnesota," March 7, 1871, Senate Miscellaneous Documents, 42d Cong., 1st Sess., 1871, Doc. No. 2 (Serial No. 1467), pp. 1-2.

[38]Darrell Hevenor Smith and H. Guy Herring, The Bureau of Immigration: Its History, Activities, and Organization ("Service Monographs of the United States Government," Institute for Governmental Research, No. 30, Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1924),pp. 4, 7.

The complaints voiced by the Pioneer in regard to Minnesota's participation in the Indianapolis Convention proved an omen of further and rather widespread criticism of state immigration promotion. The Red Wing Republican, for example, reprimanded the Board for spending more than its 1870 appropriation. It was also critical of the Board's request for an increased allocation of $15,000—stating that it

> conforms to the custom of public boards of magnifying themselves and always asking for more. Now that the Northern Pacific is advertising our State beyond all past experience, we trust the legislature will see that we can save some of our funds. Pay the Board's debt of $2,500 and let them have $7,500 for the current year.[39]

The St. Anthony Democrat was critical of the Board's policy of hiring agents who

> simply attend the arrival of such railroad trains and boats as are known or expected to have immigrants on board, and after their baggage is dumped out, they look over it and mark down in a memorandum book the number of those whose baggage indicates a destination in the State the "agent" represents! And from this worthless data they make up their monthly and annual "reports," and the agent is eulogized for having sent so many immigrants, who had really fixed their destination before they left their country.

The Democrat gave its approval to "small amount judiciously expended" for pamphlets, but called the New York City agent, E. Page Davis, a "nincompoop."[40] The Pioneer, joining in the attack, claimed that Minnesota should either eliminate the Board or place stricter controls on its

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[39]Red Wing Republican, n.d., quoted in Pioneer, February 7, 1871, p. 1.

[40]St. Anthony Democrat, n.d., quoted in Ibid., February 11, 1871, p. 1. The Pioneer article was entitled "The Immigrant Agency Humbug." The author searched subsequent issues for replies in defense of the Board or its agents, and found none.

expenditures.[41]

Many legislators were also opposed to a continuation of promotional work, or so Governor Austin claimed. In a reply to an agent who had requested $100, Austin stated that the immigration fund was depleted, and that "it is by no means certain whether the legislature will make any appropriation for immigration purposes. There is much feeling [against] it [and] to paying agents."[42]

The opposition to which Austin referred was probably that directed against a bill introduced in the Senate by William Pfaender, on February 20, 1871. The measure originally provided an appropriation of $15,000, but this was reduced in committee to $10,000. When the bill was brought before the Committee of the Whole, one Senator moved to reinstate the original sum, while another called for the payment of the Board's indebtedness, and nothing more. Several Senators claimed that further promotion was a waste of public funds.[43] The measure was finally passed by the Senate on March 1, approved by the House the following day, and signed by the Governor the next.[44]

The new law was essentially the same as the one enacted by the previous session. The appropriation remained at $10,000, and similar authorization was granted regarding publications, the hiring of agents, solicitation of private funds, and the maintenance of immigrant homes.

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[41] Pioneer, February 11, 1871, p. 1.

[42] Austin's notation on back of letter received from Charles D. O'Reilly. Letter dated February 14, 1871, and is in Gov. File 213, MSA.

[43] Pioneer, February 22, 1871, p. 1.

[44] Ibid., March 2, 1871, p. 1; March 3, 1871, p. 4.

The only difference was a slight change in the Board's membership: J. T. Williams was replaced by David C. Evans.[45]

Since over $2,500 of the appropriation had to be used to clear the 1870 deficit, the Board was forced to dispense with the agencies earlier established at Milwaukee, Chicago, and Quebec. There was, however, actually less need for these posts because of the greatly increased activity of the railroads, whose agents, the Board stated, "performed their duties to the satisfaction of all parties, without expense" to the state. The Board also had warned immigrants in 1870 not to use water routes, when railroad transportation was obtainable at reasonable prices.[46]

Albert Wolff, the intrepid German agent, was called home as a result of the Board's inability to continue his salary. Only one salaried agent was retained. He was E. Page Davis, who worked for the state through his New York City agency.[47] Davis' agency appears to have been extremely active and successful in its 1871 operation. Governor Austin stated that both he and the Board were pleased with its work.[48]

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[45]Minnesota, General Laws of Minnesota, 13th Session, 1871, Chapter 50, pp. 104-105. Evans, like Williams, was born in Wales. He came to the United States in 1836, and to Minnesota in 1853. He was a state senator in 1859 and served as a brigadier general in the 1862 Indian Outbreak. See Upham and Dunlap, Minnesota Biographies, p. 211.

[46]Minnesota, Board of Immigration, Report of the Board of Immigration to the Legislature of Minnesota [1871] (St. Paul: D. Ramaley, 1872), p. 7. Hereafter referred to as Immigration Report, 1871.

[47]Ibid., pp. 3-4.

[48]Minnesota, Governor, Annual Message of Governor Austin to the Legislature of Minnesota, 1872 (St. Paul: D. Ramaley, 1872), p. 20.

Davis advertised his office and Minnesota's promotional literature in 600 newspapers published in New England and the Middle Atlantic States. He reported that the response was so great he was forced to hire additional help,[49] and was faced with a constant shortage of pamphlets. In December, he wrote to Austin and asked for 1,500 pamphlets. Previous requests for more literature, he told the Governor, had been ignored—forcing him to answer inquiries with personal letters. In his reports, Davis stated that he had three "mail books" in which he kept the names and addresses of those to whom material had been sent. In addition, he recorded whether and when the person requesting information planned to move, and his Minnesota destination.[50]

Davis was also able to get significant cooperation from several railroad companies. As a result, Minnesota-bound immigrants received a fare-reduction of one-third and an extra luggage allowance from the Erie Railroad— "in striking contrast with the grapsing [sic] policy of competing lines."[51] The agent also acknowledged the assistance of the Lake Superior and Mississippi Railroad and the Union Steamship Company. The Union Steamship Company provided a fare reduction of one-third from Lake ports to St. Paul and Duluth. Davis received help from individuals who distributed pamphlets and gave lectures. He singled out for special attention I. J. Rochussen of Richford, Vermont. Rochussen had pro-

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[49]The advertisements appeared in the newspapers in May and cost $511.24. Report of E. Page Davis to Board of Immigration, New York City, December 8, 1871, typewritten copy of signed original. Both in Gov. File 251, MSA.

[50]Report of E. Page Davis to Board of Immigration, New York, December 11, 1871, Gov. File 251, MSA.

[51]Report of E. Page Davis, December 8, 1871, pp. 3-4.

moted emigration to Minnesota in Vermont and Canada and was "quite successful," according to Davis who requested that the agent be reimbursed $60.[52]

Although the Board virtually abandoned the practice of using salaried agencies, it did have representatives who served without compensation—in addition to the railroad agents who worked with the official promoters. During 1871, Governor Austin was besieged with requests from individuals who were planning to visit Europe and wanted the prestige of a state appointment. Many of the applicants were like A. A. Anderson of Blooming Prairie. Anderson planned to organize a colony of Scandinavians to settle in Minnesota and wanted the state to pay his expenses while abroad. He requested an immediate reply in order to have time to inspect the prospective colony site "and writ a book of the plase."[53]

The state also recruited individuals to work as unsalaried agents. Governor Austin, for example, wrote to D. Sinclair of Winona for the name of a person or group in that city who would be willing, without compensation, to assist newly-arrived English immigrants. Austin stated that "our emigration agent in London" would give the Winona host's name to emigrants before they left England.[54]

Another unsalaried state agent was Charles O'Reilly, who worked

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[52]Ibid., p. 4. Rochussen received the $60. I. J. Rochussen to Captain McGill, Austin's Secretary, Richford, Vt., June 12, 1872, Gov. File 280, MSA.

[53]A. A. Anderson to Austin, Blooming Prairie, July 14, 1871, Gov. File 250, MSA.

[54]Governor Austin to D. Sinclair, St. Paul, June 16, 1871, Gov. File 295, MSA. The London agent was not paid by the state.

in the Boston area. Austin, in January, 1871, was forced to reprimand O'Reilly for representing himself as a paid agent of Minnesota. He did tell the agent, however, that, if his work was successful, a salaried appointment was possible.[55] The same day, Austin wrote to Charles Letts, from whom O'Reilly had borrowed money under false pretenses, and stated that the agent would repay the loan. If he did not, "his commission will be taken away from him [and] he will be duly exposed."[56] Earlier, O'Reilly was criticized by the Pioneer which stated that "everyone who knows this O'Reilly will blush upon learning that he is an accredited agent of this State."[57]

Increasing activity forced the Board to hire a full-time clerk. He was John Schroder, author of Skandinaverne i de Forenede Stater og Canada and Vägvisare för Emigranter. Schroder reported that during the year he received 9,000 letters of inquiry about the state, and mailed about 20,000 pamphlets to individuals in the United States and Europe. In addition to his clerical duties, Schroder gave assistance to immigrants in St. Paul, wrote articles for foreign-language newspapers, and translated the state pamphlet into Norwegian.[58]

The pamphlet which Schroder translated was Minnesota: Its Resources and Progress. In 1871, 34,000 copies of this pamphlet were printed in the English, Norwegian, Swedish, and German languages, along

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[55]Austin to Charles O'Reilly, St. Paul, January 12, 1871, Gov. File 232, MSA.

[56]Austin to Charles Letts, St. Paul, January 12, 1870, Gov. File 232, MSA. This is an unsigned copy in Austin's handwriting.

[57]Pioneer, December 4, 1870, p. 1.

[58]Immigration Report, 1871, p. 9.

with a special English-language edition designed for distribution in Ireland.[59] The pamphlet answered many of the rumors about Minnesota circulating in other states, and made some charges of its own against its competitors:

> It is well known that some of the fairest portions of the Western States are so fruitful of the causes of disease, as almost to preclude settlement. And multitudes have left their comparatively healthy New England and European homes to find untimely graves in the rich soil of Indiana, Illinois, Missouri, and Iowa. And even in sections of these States deemed most healthy, the climate has an enervating effect upon these accustomed to the bracing air of Northern Europe and Eastern States.
>
> The dryness of the air, the character of the soil, which retains no stagnant pools to send forth poisonous exhalations, the universal absence of fog or mist; the brilliancy of its sunlight, the pleasing succession of the seasons, all conspire to give Minnesota a climate of unrivalled salubrity, and to make this a home of a joyous, healthy, prosperous people, strong in physical, intellectual, and moral capabilities. And while the chilly, damp winds from the Atlantic are sowing broadcast the seeds of that terrible diseasse [sic]pulmonary consumption; while the malarious exhalations from the undrained soil of Indiana, Illinois, and other States of the Southern Mississippi Valley, yield an annual harvest of fevers,—Minnesota enjoys an almost entire immunity from both. If fever and ague occur, the germ was imported; if consumption claims its victim, the cause is to be sought elsewhere than in the climate of Minnesota.[60]

The Board also published K. Hasberg's Trapperen's veilder, a 94-page Norwegian-language pamphlet.[61]

Hans Mattson, Secretary of State and Secretary of the Board of Immigration, was employed by Jay Cooke to represent the Northern Pacific

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[59]Over 23,000 copies contained maps of the state. Minnesota, Governor, Annual Message of Gov. Austin, 1872, p. 20.

[60]Minnesota: Its Resources and Progress, pp. 45-46.

[61](La Crosse: Fadrelandt og Emigranten, 1871.)

in Europe. Mattson later recalled that his salary as railroad agent was "more than twice as large as that I had from the state."[62] His principal task was to promote settlement of the Northern Pacific's Minnesota lands, so there was no conflict with the state's interest. Mattson offered to resign his public post, but Austin refused to accept the resignation, stating that Mattson's assistant could carry out the responsibilities of the office. Mattson went to Europe in mid-1871, and spent two years in Scandinavia.[63]

Before departing for Europe, Mattson wrote a series of promotional letters to Scandinavian-American newspapers, such as Fadrelandet og Emigranten and the Nordisk Folkebald.[64] He also authored a small immigration pamphlet for Cooke which was printed in Swedish and Norwegian and entitled Land for Emigranter ved Lake Superior and Mississippi Jernveien mellem St. Paul og Duluth i Staten Minnesota, Nord-Amerika.[65] In addition to these tasks, Mattson, still active as Board Secretary, was able to get the assistance of Cooke's Duluth and St. Paul Railroad in a humanitarian effort. During the winter of 1871, the Secretary received letters requesting help from Swedes living in Mississippi. The settlers had gone to the southern state directly from Sweden

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[62]Mattson, Story of an Emigrant, p. 118.

[63]Ibid., pp. 121-22, 131.

[64]Fadrelandet og Emigranten (La Crosse, Wisc.), February 2, 9, 16, 23, March 2, 16, 23, 30, April 6, 23, 1871; Nordisk Folkeblad (a Minneapolis weekly), from February 1 to April 4, 1871. Qualey,"Pioneer Norwegian Settlement," p. 101.

[65](Minneapolis: Nordisk Folkeblad, 1871). (St. Paul: Svenska Monitorens Tryckeri, 1871).

in 1870. Mattson later recalled that their plight was most pathetic:

> The climate was unsuitable; one-fifth of the people had already died, nearly all the rest were sick, and there was great distress and misery among them. They asked me to get them away into the healthy climate of Minnesota. They were entirely destitute of means, and had to be placed where the men could obtain employment when they could have regained sufficient health and strength.[66]

The Duluth and St. Paul, at Mattson's request, sent Sneedorf Christensen to rescue the disenchanted and destitute Swedes. They were brought to St. Paul and provided with furnished homes constructed for them by the railroad company, which also gave employment to the men. Yet the Swedes, Mattson recalled years later, were not satisfied and "one of the women, when her share of groceries and provisions arrived, was perfectly indignant because there was only granulated sugar, and she had always been 'used to drink coffee with lump sugar in Sweden.'" The immigrants, Mattson stated, later "repented and apologized for their former folly and ingratitude," and became prosperous farmers.[67]

At the end of 1871, the Minnesota Board of Immigration reviewed its activities during the past year with considerable satisfaction. It estimated the state had gained 35,000 new residents, of whom 10,000 had come from Scandinavia and 12,000 from other European nations. Recognizing that residents of the older regions of the state "often fall into the error, that the State is receiving no immigration—in short, that the fund is squandered," the Board suggested that these people

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[66]Mattson, Story of an Emigrant, p. 119.

[67]Ibid., p. 120. The Board in its 1871 report stated that Christensen, as railroad agent, "bestowed upon immigrants arriving at St. Paul all the kindness and care they are in need of in their often helpless condition from a journey of thousands of miles." Immigration Report, 1871, p. 7.

could be "undeceived by taking a journey along our western frontier or sojourning for a time . . . on some one of the numerous routes of travel leading to these counties, into which the annual tide is flowing."[68]

Despite its apparent success in 1871, the Board was forced to operate the following year with a greatly decreased budget of $5,000.[69] Also, as a result of Evans' resignation and Austin's refusal to serve, the Board had only three active members. The Secretary of State, who was one of the ex-officio members, declared that Austin's refusal was caused by "the expression of want of confidence thought to have been implied by the action of the last legislature. . . ."[70] Although he did not elaborate, the Secretary probably had reference to the drastic cut in the Board's allocation.

The small budget forced the Board to dispense completely with the use of salaried agents. Dependence was placed upon honorary agents and, most importantly, upon the distribution of promotional literature. The Board continued to use Minnesota: Its Resources and Progress and distributed 20,000 copies in English, German, Norwegian, and Swedish editions. The Board also prepared a French edition of 1,500 and a special edition of 4,000 for circulation by the Irish Immigration Society.[71]

Although the Board continued to use unsalaried state repre-

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[68] Immigration Report, 1871, p. 11.

[69] Minnesota, Auditor, "Annual Report of the State Auditor for 1872," Executive Documents of Minnesota, 1872, p. 467.

[70] Minnesota, Secretary of State, "Annual Report of the Secretary of State for 1872," Ibid., p. 94.

[71] Ibid., p. 93.

sentatives, such as Rev. L. Jorgenson, a Danish-American minister who went to Denmark "to devote himself to enlightening his people upon the advantage of this state and inducing immigration,"[72] primary dependence for distribution of literature and assistance to immigrants was placed upon the agents of the railroads.

The railroad companies benefitted greatly from this relationship. Their agents were given the endorsement of a state government and, thus, enjoyed even greater respectability and effectiveness. The willingness of the Northern Pacific to enter such an arrangement, for example, is attested by a letter written to Austin by George B. Hubbard, the Company's Superintendent of Immigration. Hubbard, writing in September, 1872, informed Austin that he had employed Father James Gurley as an agent as the Governor had requested. Hubbard then asked Austin to commission Gurley as "General Immigration Agent of the State."[73]

Whereas the 1872 legislature provided at least a small immigration fund, the 1873 session refused to grant even a nominal amount.[74] As a result, promotion of immigration by Minnesota came to another virtual halt. For five years, 1873-1878, the state did little to publicize its resources—other than employing honorary agents and circulating a few of the pamphlets left over from the 1872 campaign. The

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[72]H. D. Brown to Austin, Albert Lea, May 27, 1872, Gov. File 280, MSA.

[73]Evidently Austin had promised that this would be done. George B. Hubbard to Austin, Brainerd, September 2, 1872, Gov. File 280, MSA. On back of Hubbard's letter is notation of Gurley's appointment dated September 10, 1872.

[74]Minnesota, Secretary of State, "Annual Report of the Secretary of State for 1873," Executive Documents of Minnesota, 1873, II, 926.

only significant activity during this period occurred in 1873, when the state attempted to promote the settlement of German-Russian Mennonites who indicated a strong desire to move to the United States. The Mennonite interest in removal from Russia developed in 1871, when they were declared liable to military service. Rumors also circulated through their colonies that attempts were to be made to "Russianize" them. By January, 1872, some of them were considering emigrating to Minnesota. They had become acquainted with the state through the pamphlet Minnesota Als Eine Hemet für Einwanderer which had reached Russia from Germany, where copies were distributed by Wolff.[75]

As a result of this interest in Minnesota, and other western states and territories, three young Mennonites visited the United States in the fall of 1872. Their itinerary included stops in Minnesota. According to Ferdinand P. Schultz, "their enthusiastic reports [about the United States] dispelled most of the erroneous and unfavorable impressions concerning America." Previously, Schultz states, Mennonites thought of the United States as "interesting for adventurers, [and] a refuge for criminals."[76]

The visit to Minnesota caused considerable interest in the possibility of Mennonite settlement among the residents of the state. But Minnesota was not the only state interested in the German-Russians. The competition caused Kansas and Nebraska, as well as Minnesota, to amend

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[75]Ferdinand Peter Schultz, "The History of the Settlement of German Mennonites from Russia at Mountain Lake, Minnesota" (unpublished Master's thesis, University of Minnesota, 1937), pp. 24-25.

[76]Ibid., pp. 25-26.

their laws to exempt Mennonites from the obligation of military service.[77]

When the three investigators returned to Russia, the Mennonites called a general conference which elected twelve of their number to go to America to investigate the opportunities offered by the different states and Canada. American interest in these people was almost phenomenal. Canada made extremely liberal offers which included partial payment of the cost of removal, railroad companies promised generous terms on land sales, and many states and territories began campaigns to entice the Mennonites to their soil.[78]

Minnesota's campaign was carried out by William Seeger,[79] who was first appointed to the Board of Immigration in 1869, as the representative of the German Society. In 1872 he became state Treasurer, and an ex-officio Board member, but resigned a year later after being impeached on charges offinancial irregularities. Despite the acceptance of his resignation by Austin, Seeger was declared guilty by the Senate, removed from office, and declared ineligible for any position of trust in the state government.[80]

Seeger was permitted to continue his work as special agent in

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[77]Charles H. Smith, The Coming of the Russian Mennonites: An Episode in the Settling of the Last Frontier, 1874-1884 (Berne, Indiana: Mennonite Book Concern, 1927), pp. 114-15.

[78]Schultz, "The History of the Settlement of German Mennonites," pp. 26-27.

[79]Minnesota, Secretary of State, "Annual Report of the Secretary of State for 1873," p. 926; Minnesota, Governor, Fourth Annual Message of Governor H. Austin to the Legislature of Minnesota, 1874 (St. Paul: Press Printing Co., 1874), p. 23.

[80]For a discussion of the Seeger impeachment, see Folwell, Minnesota, III, 357-62.

charge of promoting Mennonite immigration. When the twelve investigators arrived in the state, Seeger acted as their host and guide. He was especially interested in equalling, and perhaps bettering, the Canadian offer, and requested help from the legislature and the state's railroad companies. The railroads were slow to act, but the legislature responded almost immediately after Austin gave mild support in a special message. The legislature unanimously adopted a joint resolution which was little more than a friendly invitation to the Mennonites. Schultz describes the resolution as "the beginning and the end of the Legislature's action on the subject of Mennonite immigration."[81]

The twelve Mennonites, accompanied by a Mennonite from Canada and one from Prussia, arrived in Minnesota in June, 1873. According to Seeger, they represented 60,000 people living in Russia and Prussia. After a brief tour of the state which was facilitated by free passes from several railroads, the Mennonites left to inspect Iowa and Nebraska. Seeger accompanied them because, as he stated, he was "anxious to see and compare these States for my own information, and to observe what inducements they held out to the Mennonites, if any."[82]

After the delegates departed for Russia, Seeger continued to work among the German-Russian Mennonites in the United States. He visited one colony of thirty-five families at Elkhart, Indiana. They had just arrived from Russia but Seeger discovered they had "almost decided to go to Kansas, where two of them had been induced to buy land."

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[81]Schultz, "The History of the Settlement of German Mennonites," pp. 32-33.

[82]William Seeger, "Report on Russo-German Immigration" to Gov. Austin, St. Paul, December 20, 1873, pp. 12, in Reference Library, MHS.

He was able to persuade several of them to visit Minnesota, "but nevertheless, after their return to Indiana, they were induced by land agents to go to Yankton, Dakota Territory, and to settle there." Seeger, refusing to give up, proceeded to Yankton, where he convinced most of them of Minnesota's greater advantages. Twenty families were then taken by Seeger to Cottonwood county.[83]

But Minnesota was not destined to be the American center of Mennonite attention. The Red River Star, on August 1, 1874, reported that an advance party of 320 had arrived in Moorhead and immediately "took passage on the International" for Fort Garry, Manitoba. Nearly 800 more were expected the next day. The immigrants were described by the Star as a "fine hardy set."[84]

During the period 1873-1876, Minnesota employed no agents other than Seeger, although it did continue to commission honorary representatives. Many such appointments were made during the period, but it is doubtful that much was accomplished—especially when one considers that the state had virtually no promotional literature for these agents to distribute. One of the agents, Jacob Christiansen, was commissioned in July, 1874 as "agent residing in Saint Paul, for the purpose of promoting the welfare of immigrants."[85] Among the European agents were H. de Lemoth in France,[86] Rev. S. Y. McMasters, a St. Paul minister who

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[83]Ibid., pp. 2-3.

[84]Red River Star, August 1, 1874, p. 1.

[85]Christiansen's appointment recorded in Exec. Record Book "E," January 16, 1872-March 14, 1877, p. 287, MSA.

[86]Appointed January 26, 1874, Gov. File 336, MSA.

represented the state at the Vienna Exposition,[87] Joseph Fuchs who resided in Austria,[88] and Peter Rodman who represented Minnesota in Sweden.[89]

It is probable that some of the agents appointed by Minnesota were also employees of the state's railroad companies, although their promotion activity had been greatly curtailed by the depression. Jacob Christiansen's appointment, for example, was requested by Herman Trott of the Northern Pacific. "The additional authority," Trott told Governor Cushman K. Davis, "will only be used in the interests of needy immigrants and might greatly expedite business in their behalf."[90] E. Page Davis was also employed by the Northern Pacific to boost the Company's Red River Colony.[91] After he received his appointment from the Northern Pacific, Davis was commissioned as Minnesota's unsalaried agent in New York City.[92] Davis, however, did not long retain the position for in 1875 Governor Davis reported that "no such office [New York City Agent] exists." J. W. Post of the Canadian Gas Lighting Company had written to Davis for confirmation of the report that Davis did not represent Minnesota.[93] Shortly, Post wrote another letter in which he acknowledged the

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[87]Appointed March 31, 1873, Gov. Record Book "E," January 16, 1872-March 14, 1877, p. 114, MSA.

[88]Appointment noted in Ibid., p. 378.

[89]Appointment noted in Ibid., p. 454.

[90]Herman Trott to Governor C. K. Davis, St. Paul, July 22, 1874, Gov. File 335, MSA.

[91]Dora J. Gunderson, "The Settlement of Clay County, Minnesota, 1870-1900" (unpublished Master's thesis, University of Minnesota, 1929), p. 15.

[92]Appointed December 27, 1873, Gov. Record Book, "E," January 16, 1872-March 14, 1877, p. 163, MSA.

[93]J. W. Post to Davis, Montreal, August 9, 1875, Gov. File 363, MSA.

Governor's denial and reported that the former agent was involved in a "disreputable blackmailing scheme." According to Post, some of the parties involved had received letters from Davis in which he represented himself as an official agent of Minnesota. Post stated that Davis had "been clearly identified as one of the blackmailing gang . . . [and that] his 'official' letters were exhibited in open Court."[94]

In 1873 and for several years following, the vagaries of nature and man seemed to conspire against the further development of Minnesota. In 1873, the state was struck by a severe blizzard, the effects of a national depression, and the first of a series of grasshopper invasion.[95] This combination of catastrophic events presented rival states and organizations with an excellent opportunity to present an unfavorable picture of Minnesota. Malicious stories were even circulated by European newspapers. A March, 1875 issue of the Red River Star, for example, discussed a letter which appeared originally in the Barrow (England) Daily Times. The Star described the letter as consisting "from beginning to end of falsehoods of the most glaring character," and dealing with

> our almost eternal winter, with a few weeks of seething heat

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[94]Post to Davis, Montreal, August 26, 1875, Gov. File 363, MSA.

[95]Folwell, Minnesota, III, p. 72. Folwell claimed that the depression was much less severe in Minnesota than in many other states, especially those in the East (p. 72). H. H. Sibley, chairman of the committee extending relief to grasshopper victims, reported that $15,551.56 was distributed to needy people, along with "very large amounts of clothing and provisions," by 1875. The money was provided by the state, county commissions, individuals, and organizations. Minnesota, Governor, Special Message of Governor C. K. Davis to the Legislature of Minnesota [1875] (St. Paul: Press Printing Co., 1875),pp. 3, 5.

> which we call summer, our venemous reptiles, wire worms, no chance of employment and still less chance to get one's pay after working, and a thousand or so other imaginary and exaggerated ills, such as famines, pestilence, the losing of your scalp, through the instrumentality of the . . . red man, etc.[96]

A few months after this article appeared, Girart Hewitt wrote to the Star that

> Eastern papers have only spoken of our State as a region swept by terrific storms and devastated by armies of grasshoppers. Rival localities, finding Minnesota head and shoulders above them in all that makes an attractive State, have magnified these and continue to dwell upon them until many persons have actually come to associate our name with a succession of calamities that renders us objects of commisseration [sic].

Hewitt then challenged his Minnesota readers to "come to the front" and stop these falsehoods:

> Tell them [people residing outside Minnesota] that we have a climate unequalled for comfort and health the year around, that our winters, upon the severity of which our rivals so much delight to dwell, are by many preferred to our summers, pleasant as they are conceded to be, . . . that the health of our people when contrasted with the middle, south, and southwestern States, is alone sufficient to determine thinking men.[97]

But Minnesotans were also capable of attacking other states. The Red River Star, in June, 1875, ran several articles which certainly were not designed to create good will. The June 5 issue told of a Moorhead land agent's "exhibit" of two "grown grasshoppers" which he had named "Kansas" and "Nebraska." The paper quoted the agent as saying that he "had little doubt but what the strangers were blown upon the strong south wind of the previous days from the States of Nebraska and Kansas."[98] Two

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[96]Red River Star, March 13, 1875, p. 1.

[97]Ibid., September 25, 1875, p. 4.

[98]Ibid., June 5, 1875, p. 1.

weeks later, the Star ran an article, written by a correspondent of the St. Louis Globe, which described the current mass migration to California. The correspondent reported, to the obvious delight of the Star, that "the majority . . . must return ere long, . . . [because of] the fact that the West, particularly California, is no place to go, unless [one] is willing to work for a Chinaman's wages, and subsist on Chinamen's fare. . . ." The reporter had

> conversed with a great many immigrants from the Pacific Coast, who express themselves as glad to be on their way home, and who say that, grasshoppers and drouth, not withstanding, a man who owns an acre or so of ground East [Midwest], and can get enough to eat, was far better off than the deluded victims of California land rings and trans-continental railroads.[99]

Although Governor Davis manifested little interest in immigration promotion during his tenure (1874-1876), he did give the subject considerable attention in his valedictory address to the legislature. He reviewed the recent development of the state, and described some of the advantages which it possessed—such as a "salubrious climate . . . [which causes people to be] wholly exempt from many diseases which in other regions form a part of the daily ills of life." The Governor also stated that "the universal failures of crops which makes the occupation of agriculture a hazardous one elsewhere have never occurred here." Such problems, he admitted, did occur occasionally in Minnesota, but they had comparatively little effect.[100]

While Minnesota possessed many great attributes, Davis regretted

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[99]Ibid., June 19, 1875, p. 2.

[100]Minnesota, Governor, Annual Message of Governor C. K. Davis to the Legislature of Minnesota, 1876 (St. Paul: Pioneer Press Co., 1876), pp. 28-29.

that almost nothing had been done recently to publicize them outside the state. The result, the Governor claimed, was that "we have suffered the tide of immigration to pass us without any serious effort to deflect it." While Minnesota was idle, other states were not. "They have been wisely liberal in setting forth their advantages by pamphlets and advertisement, . . . and by personal representation and solicitation by their public agents."[101] Davis then reviewed the promotional activities of these states, and concluded with the following statement:

> The unsettled condition of industry and the financial stringency, which for the past two years have been felt so severely in the eastern states, have caused many of their people to turn their faces westward. The emigration from these states has been very large, and it is growing in volume. We have taken no measures to secure our share of this most valuable increment to our prosperity. The subject is earnestly commended to your attention.[102]

John S. Pillsbury, Davis' successor, also supported the cause of immigration promotion. In his inaugural address, Pillsbury invited the legislature to consider the renewal of a systematic effort to encourage immigration. Recognizing the need for labor, he said that peopling the unoccupied territory was a most legitimate object of legislation.[103] Pillsbury also reminded the legislators that Minnesota was "above the central current of travel through which immigrants move," and that other states were being boosted by their own agents and those in the employ "of powerful railroad combinations."[104]

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[101] Ibid., p. 29.

[102] Ibid., p. 30.

[103] Minnesota, Governor, Inaugural Message of Governor J. S. Pillsbury to the Legislature of Minnesota, 1876 (St. Paul: Pioneer Press Co., 1876), p. 13.

[104] Ibid., p. 14.

The endorsement of renewed promotion by the two governors and also by the Secretary of State[105] precipitated a flurry of activity in the legislature. On the second day of the 1876 session a bill was introduced which provided $35,000 for a state exhibit at the Philadelphia Centennial Exposition. The display had the full support of Governor Pillsbury,[106] but was opposed by many members of the House. As a result, it was temporarily tabled. The Pioneer Press stated that a majority of the legislators believed:

> that the scheme is the offspring of fertile brains in St. Paul and Minneapolis, to whose benefit only it will redound. On general principles, therefore, and because, in the opinion of some members, no good thing can come out of the sister cities, . . . the measure was pigeon-holed.[107]

A resolution was then introduced in the Senate which provided only $10,000 for the display. John L. MacDonald, its sponsor, claimed that Minnesota did not need an elaborate display, and that it was futile for the state to compete with other states.[108] The Pioneer Press sarcastically editorialized:

> Well we had not thought of that before; but on reflection we have come to the conclusion that Mack is about right. A state with only six hundred thousand inhabitants; which produces an annual surplus of only twenty-five million bushels of wheat; whose annual exports aggregate only some thirty million dollars; whose aggregate wealth amounts to the paltry sum of only some

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[105]Minnesota, Secretary of State, Annual Report of the Secretary of State to the Legislature of Minnesota for the Fiscal Year Ending November 30th, 1876 (St. Paul: St. Paul Press Co., 1877), Reference Library, MHS.

[106]See Pillsbury's Annual Message for 1876, p. 13.

[107]Pioneer Press, January 6, 1876, p. 2. The two St. Paul rivals the Pioneer and the Press, merged in 1875.

[108]Ibid., January 8, 1876, p. 4.

> two or three hundred million dollars, and whose annual income amounts to the insignificant sum of but thirty-five million dollars—a state which is in such deplorable depths of indigence as this is obviously too poor to spend the enormous sum of thirty-five thousand dollars in a vain display of its barrenness and poverty of resources before the sympathizing nations of the world. . . . Let Minnesota creep in her beggar's rags behind the majestic procession of the states and nations. . . .[109]

In subsequent editorials, the Pioneer Press supported the larger appropriation.[110]

In the debate over the Senate resolution, many senators revealed their reluctance to spend public funds for such a purpose. One branded "the appropriation of money for centennial purposes as unconstitutional, illegal, unwise, . . .[a] violation of the demand for general economy, and as utterly useless for the purposes intended." But he was willing to support the $10,000 allocation. The Senate finally passed a resolution appropriating $10,000. Following the Senate action, a vigorous debate took place in the House, during which one member moved an appropriation of $200. The resolution was finally disposed of by a House decision to refer all "centennial matters" to a joint committee where the matter died.[111]

The failure of the legislature to authorize an exhibit was widely condemned. The Faribault Democrat, for instance, declared that "there is no longer any doubt but the pig-headed folly, which some people term economy, of our legislature will prevent Minnesota taking her rightful

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[109] Ibid., January 15, 1876, p. 2.

[110] Ibid., January 16, 1876, p. 2; January 25, 1876, p. 2; January 26, 1876, p. 2; January 28, 1876, p. 4.

[111] Ibid., January 27, 1876, p. 4.

place" at Philadelphia. The Democrat branded the $10,000 appropriation provided by the MacDonald bill as "picayunish."[112] The Anoka Republican thought "the amount was beggarly small, . . . $10,000 to represent at the Centennial the industries and advantages of Minnesota. Bah!"[113]

The requests of Pillsbury and Davis for a Board of Immigration fared no better. On February 12, while the legislative battle still raged over the Centennial issue, a bill was introduced in the Senate which provided for a board consisting "of the state officers, together with Dillon O'Brien, John Swanson, and others,"[114] and appropriated $10,000.[115] The measure did pass the Senate with a reduced appropriation of $5,000[116] but failed to clear the House.[117] The only action touching upon immigration taken by the 1876 session was the appropriation of $1,000 "for destitute immigration."[118]

As a result of the failure of the immigration legislation in the 1876 session, nothing was done that year to promote the state. In his next legislative address Governor Pillsbury called the failure of the Centennial measure "the lost opportunity of the century, but immi-

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[112]Fairibault Democrat, n.d., quoted in Ibid., February 1, 1876, p. 2.

[113]Anoka Republican, n.d., quoted in Ibid.

[114]Pioneer Press, February 13, 1876, p. 4.

[115]Ibid., February 18, 1876, p. 4.

[116]Ibid., February 26, 1876, p. 4.

[117]Ibid., March 2, 1876, p. 4.

[118]Ibid., March 3, 1876, p. 4.

gration promotion fared no better at the hands of 1877 legislature.[119]

Pillsbury, who proved to be a constant champion of state promotion, again urged the legislature in 1878 to support a program. The opportunity for effective promotion existed, he informed the legislature, but so also did competition from other states:

> . . . I request your aid in behalf of a systematic effort for the encouragement of general immigration. I think the time has fully come for a persistent movement to that end. The paralyzed industries of the Eastern States with idle workmen, many of whom are earnestly seeking opportunities for honest labor, and looking for places to obtain it on the soil. Combinations and active movements are taking place among them, looking toward immigration, for which various states of the west and south are entering into strong competition, using as an effective aid to that end the reports of their recent bountiful harvest. Can Minnesota, with such fruits as she has to exhibit, and with such need of people upon her vacant prairies, afford to remain idle while her competitors are active? Whatever else is necessary to build up a prosperous state, the first requisite for such purpose is unquestionably to people its vacant places and cultivate idle soil. However rich its natural resources, if nothing is done toward their development, prosperity cannot follow.[120]

A bill creating an immigration board was introduced in mid-February by Senator Robert B. Langdon,[121] and immediately opposition arose which was based largely on the grounds that the state could not afford the expense. But the measure had many supporters, such as

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[119]Minnesota, Governor, Annual Message of Governor J. S. Pillsbury to the Legislature of Minnesota, 1877 (St. Paul: Pioneer Press Co., 1877), p. 27.

[120]Minnesota, Governor, Annual Message of Governor J. S. Pillsbury to the Legislature of Minnesota, 1878 (Minneapolis: Johnson, Smith and Harrison, 1878), p. 3. Later in his address, however, Pillsbury stated that "our unoccupied lands are being rapidly absorbed for immediate cultivation by new immigrants in numbers and character never before equalled. . . ."(p. 4).

[121]Pioneer Press, February 23, 1878, p. 3.

Michael Doran who claimed that if the state could afford $20,000 to encourage fruit culture, it would spend $5,000 on immigration promotion, and Ignatius Donnelly who supported the bill because "every depot and hotel in the country was placarded with advertisements of the beauty and advantages of the God-forsaken fever and ague States of the Southwest." Donnelly finally concluded that he heartily favored the bill.[122]

After another lengthy debate, and a decision to postpone further consideration indefinitely, the bill finally passed the Senate on February 28,[123] and the House on March 7, the last day of the session.[124]

The Langdon bill was actually the work of the St. Paul Chamber of Commerce, the Minneapolis Board of Trade, and the immigration committees of the legislature.[125] It established a board consisting of the governor as president and two members appointed by the governor from each of the state's three congressional districts. The Board was authorized to hire a secretary and to carry out the usual promotional functions. There was not any explicit permission to hire agents, but this was precluded by the small appropriation of $5,000.[126] The selection of Board members from congressional districts gave greater assurance of regional representation, and made it more difficult for opponents to charge that the promotional agency was a creature of Twin

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[122] Ibid., February 28, 1878, p. 3.

[123] Ibid., March 1, 1878, p. 3.

[124] Ibid., March 8, 1878, p. 3.

[125] Ibid., February 25, 1878, p. 4.

[126] Minnesota, General Laws of Minnesota, 20th Session, 1878, Chapter 90, p. 152.

City interest.[127]

Immigration activity during 1878 was directed exclusively to residents of eastern cities. This decision was made because the East was filled "with idle workmen and idle capital." The Board's funds were limited and it was thought that work within the United States would provide the greatest yield.[128]

John W. Bond, the secretary, was directed to write a new state pamphlet.[129] His work, entitled Minnesota: The Empire State of the New North-West: The Commercial Manufacturing and Centre of the American Continent, was advertised through the American Newspaper Union.[130] It became quite popular and went through three editions, totalling 70,000 copies, in 1878 alone.[131] The Board's determination to attract the unemployed workers of the East was revealed in the pamphlet's dedicatory statement:

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[127]The six positions were filled by the following appointees: Albert Knight, St. Peter; E. C. Huntington, Windom; August Peterson, Albert Lea; Frederick von Baumback, Alexandria; Dr. J. P. Corcoran, De Graff; and Theodore Holton, Lake Park. Minnesota, The Legislative Manual of the State of Minnesota (Minneapolis: Johnson, Smith and Harrison, 1879), p. 284.

[128]Minnesota, Governor, Annual Message of Governor J. S. Pillsbury to the Legislature of Minnesota, 1879 (Minneapolis: Johnson, Smith and Harrison, 1879), p. 14. The Board did recommend that promotion of foreign immigration be resumed in 1879. Ibid.

[129]Bond was the author of Minnesota and Its Resources (1853).

[130]Minnesota, Governor, Annual Message of Gov. Pillsbury, 1879, p. 13. The advertisements cost the state $750. Statement of Board's expenses, November 14, 1878, Gov. File 400, MSA. The pamphlet was based upon Minnesota: Its Resources and Progress, first published in 1870.

[131]Minnesota, Governor, Annual Message of Gov. Pillsbury, 1879, p. 13.

TO LABORING MEN,
Who Earn a Livelihood by Honest Toil;
TO LANDLESS MEN,
Who Aspire to that Dignity and Independence Which Comes
From Possession in God's Free Earth;
TO ALL MEN,
Of Moderate Means, And Men of Wealth, Who Will Accept
Homes in a Beautiful and Prosperous Country, This
Pamphlet, With Its Information and Counsel,
Is Respectfully Offered by Direction
Of the Governor and Board of
Immigration of the State
of Minnesota
THE BENEFITS OF IMMIGRATION ARE RECIPROCAL.
If it is Well to Exchange Tyrannies and Thankless Toil
of the Old World, for the Freedom and Independence of
The New, and to Give the Overcrowded Avocations
of the East a Chance to Vent Themselves Upon
the Limitless and Fertile Prairies of the
New North West, it is also Well for
the Hand of Labor to Bring Forth
the Bosom of the
New Earth.[132]

To defray the expense of publishing the 88-page pamphlet, Bond solicited support from state railroad companies. Multiple-page advertisements were purchased by six companies,[133] at a total cost of $2,400. The railroads spent another $400 to mail 20,000 copies of the pamphlet.[134] Bond reported to Pillsbury that an advertisement "only costs $16.50 [per] page [and] we got $100. . . . I charged George P. Goodwin $800 for his 8 pages which he accepted."[135]

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[132]John W. Bond (for Board of Immigration), Minnesota: The Empire State of the North-West. . . . (St. Paul: H. M. Smyth & Co., 1878).

[133]Advertisements are on pp. 68-86 of the pamphlet.

[134]Statement of Board's expenses, November 14, 1878.

[135]J. W. Bond to Pillsbury, St. Paul, April 29, 1878, Gov. File 400, MSA. Goodwin was Land Commissioner for the Chicago and Northwestern Railroad Company.

In addition to the conventional promotional activities, Minnesota was represented at the Paris Industrial Exposition of 1878, although not in the style desired by either Governor Pillsbury or state Senator Charles H. Lienau.[136] Speaking on a Paris exhibit in his 1878 legislative message, Pillsbury declared that it was an "opportunity . . . to repair in some degree the consequences of the lamentable failure of our State to take part in our great National Exposition of 1876."[137] Following the speech, Senator Lienau prepared a bill authorizing an exhibit. But before he presented it to the legislature, Lienau discussed it with the St. Paul Chamber of Commerce, whose chairman came out in opposition. He declared that the Exposition would be visited largely by sightseers and travelers who had little interest in the state of Minnesota.[138] Lienau's bill, which provided $25,000 for the display, was finally presented to the Senate.[139] But, as to placing "Minnesota before the World at Paris," Lienau moved the indefinite postponement of his own bill.[140]

The only representation the state had at the Paris Exposition was through the presence of E. L. Drake, a prominent St. Paul railroad builder

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[136]Lienau was an indefatigable champion of immigration promotion and was one of the major backers of the Langdon bill in 1876. He was born in Germany and in 1857 came to St. Paul where he published the Volkzeitung. A biographical sketch appears in Upham and Dunlap, Minnesota Biographies, p. 440.

[137]Minnesota, Governor, Annual Message of Gov. Pillsbury, 1878, p. 29.

[138]Pioneer Press, January 19, 1878, p. 7; Ibid., January 22, 1878, p. 7.

[139]Ibid., January 26, 1878, p. 4.

[140]Ibid., January 31, 1878, p. 4.

and former state senator, and A. C. Wedge, an Albert Lea physician who also served several terms in the legislature.[141] Herman Trott sought an appointment as state representative to the exposition but, despite the fact that he had the support of Hans Mattson[142] and John Ireland,[143] Pillsbury, for some reason, did not honor the request.[144]

The Board of Immigration was again reorganized in 1879, and given a biennial appropriation of only $6,000. The new Board consisted of the governor, secretary of state, treasurer, clerk of the Supreme Court, and Dillon O'Brien.[145] During the 1879-1880 biennium, the Board published 133,000 copies of its new pamphlet Minnesota, Her Agricultural Resources, Commercial Advantages, and Manufacturing Capabilities in English, German, Swedish, Norwegian and French editions. All but 9,000 copies were distributed by December 1, 1880.[146] The decision to print a French edition (3,000 copies) was probably prompted by a petition presented to Pillsbury

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[141]Their appointments are recorded in Exec. Record Book "E," February 8, 1877-July 11, 1881, p. 131, MSA. Biographical sketches of Drake and Wedge in Upham and Dunlap, Minnesota Biographies, pp. 186, 833.

[142]Mattson to Pillsbury, Minneapolis, January 17, 1878, Gov. File 400, MSA.

[143]Ireland to Pillsbury, St. Paul, January 21, 1878, Gov. File 400, MSA.

[144]No record of Trott's appointment can be found, and William Evarts did not acknowledge one in a letter to Pillsbury in which he indicated receiving the commissions of Drake and Wedge. Evarts to Pillsbury, Washington, D.C., March 19, 1878, Gov. File 400, MSA.

[145]O'Brien was a member of the Board a decade before and had long been associated with Irish immigration promotion. He died in February, 1882, while still serving on the Board.

[146]Minnesota, Board of Immigration, Report of the Board of Immigration of the State of Minnesota [for 1879-1880] (no printer, 1881), p. 5.

in December, 1878 by the French residents of Polk county. The petition noted that plans were being made by the Board for printing foreign-language pamphlets and the petitioners asked that some be printed in French.[147]

The new pamphlet was written by H. H. Young, the recently-appointed successor to Bond. It followed the usual format, discussed the various resources offered to new settlers, and gave the familiar panegyric on the climate:

> The climate of Minnesota is one of its chief glories, and experience only confirms what has been . . . spoken and written in its praise. . . . If further evidence is required, the invalids who flock here annually from all parts of the United States may be referred to. These refugees from death by lingering diseases contracted in the humid climates of more southerly localities, find in the pure, dry atmosphere of Minnesota a panacea for the ills they suffer; and, if the vitality of their systems is not too completely exhausted, they usually recover health upon a few years residence in this State. One who has had such experience cares little whether the mercury mounts above or sinks below zero.
>
> The air here is too attenuated to float the noxious gases so injurious to health, and being always in motion, is purified by constant circulation.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> No one need fear the cold of Minnesota who can endure that of Ohio and Pennsylvania, for the mercury sinks at times nearly as low there as it does here, while here the system is in a much better condition to endure the cold.[148]

To supplement its funds, and to help pay the cost of the pamphlet, the Board again solicited railroad advertisements. Six companies paid $1,500 for advertisements in the new publication, although they believed that the results did not justify the expenditure. Several companies

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[147]Petition signed by M. Filiatrault and Tsai Jarvais, "by order of the Red Lake Fals French Colonin," [December, 1878], Gov. File 400, MSA.

[148]Minnesota, Board of Immigration, Minnesota, Her Agricultural Resources, Commercial Advantages, and Manufacturing Capabilities (St. Paul: H. M. Smyth & Co., 1879), p. 17.

which did not sponsor ads assisted in the distribution of state literature.[149] The Board, however, reported at the end of 1880 that it was opposed to further support by the railroads, because:

> it necessarily places the Board under implied obligation to the company which contributes most liberally, and leads to a disturbance of what might otherwise become a harmonious co-operation . . . with all companies for the promotion of the general interests of the State.[150]

But by this time, railroad promotion of Minnesota lands had lessened greatly.[151] The Northern Pacific, the most active of the promoters, was beginning to boost its lands in the western territories.[152] Although the decrease of railroad promotion and the continuation of western state and territorial competition[153] forced Minnesota to continue its own immigration activities for another six years, the state did not work with the fervor that characterized its earlier campaigns. Even the Board itself appeared to endorse continued promotion with reluctance, and only because of fear of competition from other states. In late 1886, only months before the Board was abolished by the legislature, H. H. Young stated that, in his opinion, "his office might be closed at

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[149] Ibid., pp. 4-5.

[150] The report did compliment the railroads on their efforts to publicize the state, Ibid., p. 5.

[151] Robert E. Riegel, The Story of the Western Railroads (New York: Macmillan Co., 1926), p. 284. See also Harold F. Peterson's "Some Colonization Projects of the Northern Pacific Railroad," Minnesota History, X (June, 1929).

[152] For a discussion of Northern Pacific promotion, see Chapter 3.

[153] The competitive factor was stressed by Pillsbury in his 1881 address. Minnesota, Governor, Biennial Message of Governor J. S. Pillsbury, 1881 (St. Paul: J. W. Cunningham, 1881), pp. 18-19.

once, and the distribution of documents hereafter be made by the secretary of state."[154]

During the six years between 1881 and 1887 when the Board was abolished for the remainder of the century, nearly 200,000 copies of various pamphlets[155] were distributed, along with 100,000 circulars and approximately the same number of state maps. Much of the promotional material was printed in foreign languages,[156] but in late 1886 Young reported that "outside the United States, few inquiries [for pamphlets]

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[154]Secretary's Report to the Board of Immigration, in Minnesota, Board of Immigration, Third Biennial Report of the State Board of Immigration for The Years 1885 and 1886 (St. Paul: Pioneer Press Co., 1887), p. 7. Hereafter cited as Immigration Report, 1885-1886.

[155]The following publications were issued by the Board (publication date given): The Agricultural, Manufacturing and Commercial Resources and Capabilities of Minnesota (St. Paul: no printer, 1881); Die Hulfsquellen und Vorzüge des Uderbau und Fabrikwefens und der Handels-Verhaltnisse vom Staate Minnesota (Minneapolis: Free Press, 1881); Beskrivelse af Staten Minnesota og Dens naturlige Hjaelpekilder med Hensyn til Ugerbrug, Fabrikdrift og Handel (Minneapolis: Budstikkens Press, 1881); Minnesotas Landtbruk, Manufaktur, Handelstillgångar och Ofriga Resurser (no printer, 1881); Ressources et Avantages Agricoles, Industriels et Commerciaux, du Minnesota (No printer, 1881); Beskrifning ofver Staten Minnesota År 1885 (St. Paul: Skaffarens Tryckeri, 1885); The State of Minnesota: Its Agricultural, Lumbering and Mining Resources, Manufacturing and Commercial Facilities, Railroads, Pleasure Resorts, Fish, Game, Etc. . . . (2 editions, St. Paul: Pioneer Press, 1885); Beskrivelse af Staten Minnesota i 1885 og dens naturlige hjaelpekilder met hensyn til ugerbrug, fabrikdrift og Handel . . . (no printer, 1885); and Det Staat Minnesota: seine Agriculture seine walestand und berjban, seine Manufaktur und handels facilitaten, Eisenbahnen, Sommerfritchen, Fische, Wild u. f. w. (St. Paul: Volkzeitung, 1885). Young also wrote "The State of Minnesota," an article which appeared in the Northwest, III (March, 1885), 32-35, and a 120-page pamphlet described as "An unofficial Publication" by the Secretary of the Minnesota State Board of Immigration. Saint Paul, The Commercial Emporium of the Northwest (St. Paul: Pioneer Press, 1886).

[156]Minnesota, Board of Immigration, Biennial Report of the State Board of Immigration for 1881-2 (no printer, n.d.,), pp. 4-5; Immigration Report, 1885-1886, p. 6.

are now received, except from Germany, and these are considerable less numerous than during 1883 and 1884."[157]

By the time the Minnesota legislature abolished the Board of Immigration, nearly every one of the state's neighboring competitors had made, or were in the process of making, the same decision. Midwestern competition had come to an end, temporarily. Nebraska was the first state to abandon promotion, abolishing its board of immigration in 1877.[158] Iowa, a frequent competitor, did not officially promote immigration after 1882.[159] Michigan, the first state to create an agency, discontinued promotion in 1885 at the request of its governor.[160] Wisconsin, the second state to create an immigration agency, did not promote immigration between 1887 and 1895.[161] Dakota Territory, the youngest and least populated of the competitors, was Minnesota's only neighbor to continue promotion after 1887, having resumed its activity in 1885.[162] However, South Dakota abolished its agency shortly after

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[157] Immigration Report, 1885-1886, p. 6.

[158] Nebraska, Laws, Joint Resolutions and Memorials Passed at the Fourteenth Session of the State of Nebraska, 1877, p. 69.

[159] Marcus Hansen, "Official Encouragement of Immigration to Iowa," Iowa Journal of History and Politics, XIX (April, 1921), 191-94.

[160] See Message of Governor Josiah W. Begole to Senate and House, in George N. Fuller (ed.), Messages of the Governors of Michigan (Lansing: Michigan Historical Commission, 1926), III, 504-505.

[161] Wisconsin, The Laws of Wisconsin, Biennial Session of the Legislature of 1887, I, Chapter 21, pp. 29-30; Ibid., 1895, Chapter 181, pp. 461-62.

[162] William H. Russell, "Promoters and Promotion Literature of Dakota Territory," South Dakota Historical Collections, XXVI (1952), 442-43; Herbert Schell, "Official Immigration Activities of Dakota Territory," North Dakota Historical Quarterly, VII (October, 1932), 22-23.

statehood and did nothing to promote settlement until 1908.[163]

In 1887, Minnesota was no longer a frontier state. The population in 1890 was 1,301,826 which represented a 68 per cent increase over 1880. In the decade 1880-1890 the state's urban population increased over 150 per cent, compared to a 30 per cent increase in the rural population.[164] There was, however, the timber region in the northeast which remained primitive and unsettled. In the first decade of the twentieth century this region, which comprised 40 per cent of the entire area of the state, was still wilderness, inhabited primarily by miners and loggers.[165] The settlement of northeastern Minnesota, much of it "cut-over" land, was perhaps the most important object of the state promoters of the twentieth century.

Thus the abandonment of immigration promotion by Minnesota in 1887 was characteristic of other well-established states of the Middle West. Popular support for official promotion had been declining for several years, and each attempt to gain support for it met with increased opposition. There was the feeling that the Board could accomplish little more and that the state was not really getting much in return for its investment. The older settled regions, where most of the political strength lay, had little interest in immigration by the 1880's, and some felt promotion just a scheme by Minneapolis and St. Paul to help those

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[163]South Dakota, Laws Passed at the 2nd Session of the Legislature, 1891, Chapter 35, p. 97; George W. Kingsbury, History of Dakota Territory, III, ed. by George M. Smith (Chicago: S. J. Clarke Publishing Co., 1915), p. 585.

[164]Folwell, Minnesota, III, 192.

[165]Ibid., IV, 251-52.

urban communities. But most felt that there simply was no further need for either a separate promotional agency or a systematic campaign; publicity still needed could be handled by other state agencies. When immigration promotion was again resumed nearly two decades later, the program at first received the support of the residents of the older regions. Although the Board was established primarily to settle the virgin lands of the northeast, it was also directed to consider problems peculiar to the south and the southeast.

CHAPTER VIII

MINNESOTA PROMOTION: 1905-1927

Although Minnesota could be considered well-established by the first decade of the twentieth century, it was soon apparent that it had many of the problems faced by newer and obviously less-developed states. Minnesota had been a state for nearly fifty years, it possessed a population of over 1,750,000,[1] and, so far as its citizenry was concerned, it enjoyed a rich agricultural productivity. However, when Governor John A. Johnson delivered his inaugural address to the legislature in 1905, he pointed out that the state still faced some major challenges:

> Throughout the northern part of our commonwealth large tracts of land are idle and unproductive because of the lack of people to till the soil. Our neighbors have been busy in the encouragement of settlers to locate with them, and within a few years, thousands of home seekers have passed through our own state to find an abiding place in the Dakotas, Montana, Washington and Canada. Minnesota offers every advantage to the settler and by well-directed effort, a large proportion of people seeking new homes, might be induced to locate in our own state and materially aid in its growth and development. The establishment of a permanent bureau of immigration with sufficient funds to prosecute the work of urging settlers to locate here, would result in great good.[2]

Responding to Johnson's appeal, the legislature appropriated

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[1]U.S., Bureau of the Census, Twelfth Census of the United States: 1900. Population, I, Pt. 1, p. 2.

[2]Minnesota, Governor, Inaugural Message of Governor John A. Johnson to the Legislature of Minnesota, 1905 (Minneapolis: The Great Western Printing Co., 1905), p. 14.

$15,000 to the State Auditor, who was directed to publicize for a period of two years the millions of acres of unsold and unsettled lands in the state.[3] The Immigration Department of the State Auditor's office began to function immediately. It published two pamphlets which appear to be the core of the promotional program. The first, published in 1905, was Great Opportunities in Minnesota: A Thousand Interesting Facts About the "North Star" State; A State of Prosperous Homes, Beautiful Churches and Excellent Schools.[4] During the following year, the pamphlet Minnesota was released for distribution. The frontispiece was a brilliantly-colored scene, with Minnesota and the other western border states hanging on a clothesline. Mother World, standing by a tub and washboard, is telling Uncle Sam that Minnesota is "the best place on the line." Uncle Sam responds, "it's allright mother!" The pamphlet was amply illustrated with scenes of natural beauty, farms, industry, and other significant features of the state. The concluding discussion, entitled "Great Opportunities in Minnesota," attempted to dispel any false notions which might still exist about the state:

> "A Great State is Minnesota" you may say, and add "but there is no room for me. Minnesota is an old state and well settled and the opportunities are farther west." But do not entertain such an opinion, for Minnesota has room for hundreds of thousands yet, and land opportunities far richer and greater, and ought to be far more tempting than the opportunities in the far west or the "last great west." We have right here in this state a big hunk of the "last great west" still in its virgin state and much of it surrounded by twentieth century development, and a

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[3]Minnesota, State Auditor, Biennial Report of the State Auditor to the Legislature of Minnesota for the Fiscal Years Ending July 31, 1905, and July 31, 1906 (Minneapolis: Harrison and Smith Co., 1906), p. lxi.

[4](St. Paul: Webb Publishing Co., [1905])

happy and contented class of people.

Information is then given regarding the amount of land available: over 3,500,000 acres of surveyed federal land, and 3,000,000 acres of state land.[5]

The two pamphlets and other printed materials were distributed by the Immigration Department with the help of the major railroad companies and the commercial clubs of many cities and towns. The commercial clubs also printed materials, such as maps, plats and pamphlets, at their own expense.[6] The cooperation between the state and private businesses and organizations continued for at least a decade, and is one of the most interesting features of twentieth century promotion. In addition to the distribution of literature, the Department also advertised extensively in "agricultural and general newspapers," and in the foreign-language press.[7] The Auditor, in his biennial report, indicated his satisfaction with the amount of state land sold during the two years—over 111,000 acres—and noted that "the average price per acre is more than a dollar in excess of the price obtained for lands sold prior to the enactment of . . . [the immigration promotion] law. . . . The results obtained for the past year are very gratifying."[8]

A separate Board of Immigration was established by the legislature in 1907, and a biennial appropriation of $30,000 was provided. The new

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[5]State Auditor's Office (Immigration Department), Minnesota, no printer, no pagination. Copy in Reference Library, MHS.

[6]Auditor's Report, 1905-1906, p. lxi.

[7]Ibid.

[8]Ibid.

board consisted of five members who served without compensation. The governor, auditor, and secretary of state served in ex-officio capacities, and together they elected the other two members. In July, 1907, George B. Barnes, Jr. and A. E. Nelson were elected to the Board. George Welsh was appointed Commissioner of Immigration, a position provided for by the legislature at a salary of $2,000. In addition to its responsibility for the publication of statistics and the promotion of the state "by correspondence, by messengers and public lectures and by all forms of legitimate advertising," the Board was instructed to work with the state land commissioner in advertising and selling the state's land.[9]

With the assistance of a salaried clerk and secretary, Commissioner Welsh set to work on the various problems faced by the state. The task of promoting the settlement of over 2,000,000 acres of federal lands still open to homesteading,[10] and the sale of millions of acres of state lands was given considerable attention and energy. But other problems had developed which demanded immediate attention. A major one was the relative decrease in the state's rural population. This was not caused by the growth of cities and towns, while the development of northern Minnesota proceeded slowly. If this were all, the situation would not have been considered especially acute. The gravest problem was the loss of population in the established rural counties of southern

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[9]Minnesota, General Laws of Minnesota, 35th Session, 1907, Chapter 267, pp. 361-62; Minnesota, The Legislative Manual of the State of Minnesota Compiled for the Legislature of 1909 (Minneapolis: Harrison and Smith Co., 1909), pp. 318-19.

[10]Minnesota, Board of Immigration, First Biennial Report of the Minnesota State Board of Immigration for Period Ending December 31, 1908 (Minneapolis: Syndicate Printing Co., 1909), p. 10. Hereafter cited as Immigration Report, 1908.

Minnesota. Farmers of that region were finding it extremely difficult to locate farm laborers. The Board, in fact, reported that laborers were "impossible to obtain in many localities at any price." The shortage of agricultural workers not only threatened production, but had caused land in southern Minnesota to decrease in value.[11]

To determine a course of action, the Board sought to discover the reasons for the decline of agricultural settlement. Inquiries were made throughout the United States to elicit opinions about the state and its agricultural capabilities. The Board reported that it received "many reports written by persons from different sections of the United States [which] placed our farm products per acre at so low a figure that men desirous of securing farm homes would be justified in evading Minnesota."[12] The state had made little effort to correct these misconceptions in the past, apparently because no agency was given such a directive.[13]

After identifying the major problems and their causes, the Board made a decision relative to its subsequent program:

> The whole work . . . was therefore concentrated almost wholly to one purpose, viz: retaining where possible the present agricultural population, and the inducing of tillers of the soil to settle within the border lines of the state of Minnesota. . . .[14]

Limited by its funds, the Board soon abandoned the practice of placing large advertisements in leading national magazines in favor of small ones which solicited correspondence. When names were received, the Board mail-

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[11] Ibid., pp. 3-5.

[12] Ibid., p. 3.

[13] Ibid., pp. 3-4.

[14] Ibid., p. 5.

ed information to the inquirer. It also asked those who wrote for the names and addresses of friends who were interested in the state and to whom information could be sent. In 1907-1908, the Board reached 63,000 persons in this manner.[15]

The Board also instituted the practice of using displays at national conventions and expositions. The need for such displays was made apparent by visitors to the state's exhibit at the National Farmers' Congress which was held in Oklahoma City in October, 1907. Although the display was small, it helped Minnesota's agents in their attempt to dispel misconceptions about the state. New England farmers at the Congress admitted, according to the Board's report, that they "believed the state of Minnesota to be a barren wilderness of rocks and icebergs. . . ." When the exhibit of Minnesota farm products was shown to them, "some . . . emphatically stated that they believed they were imported from a southern climate." These false beliefs, the Board declared, explained why so few New Englanders had settled in the state during recent years.[16]

The immigration board also visited the 1908 National Farmers' Congress in Madison, Wisconsin, and subsequently received many requests for information.[17] The Madison Democrat reported that "Minnesota's exhibit is second to none in importance. . . ."[18] In 1908 also, "an elaborate exhibit" was prepared for the National Grain Growers' Exposition which was held at Omaha, Nebraska. One of the products displayed was Minnesota-

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[15] Ibid.

[16] Ibid., p. 6.

[17] Ibid.

[18] Madison Democrat, September 26, 1908, quoted in Ibid.

raised corn, "but prevailing opinion [seemed] to be among the people visiting the exhibit that corn could not be grown successfully in Minnesota. . . ." The state displays of clover and timothy won first prizes in the "world's contest," and several cereal products also won prizes.[19]

The Minnesota State Fair was used by the Board to promote the state and publicize its agricultural capabilities. The Board helped to promote the 1908 Fair by sending 15,000 letters to people in neighboring states and by advertising in the newspapers of those states. As a result, more people from outside the state visited the Fair than ever before.[20] The practice of maintaining exhibits was continued and extended in succeeding years.

Traditional devices of promotion were also used by the new board. George Welsh wrote a pamphlet entitled Minnesota. Although it bore the same title as the 1906 publication of the State Auditor, and carried the same illustrations, it was a new work. Several English editions were printed in 1907 and 1908, as well as editions in German, Swedish, and Norwegian.[21] These evidently were the last foreign-language works published by the State Board. Welsh also published a profusely illustrated book of nearly 200 pages entitled Minnesota's Fiftieth Anniversary which was extremely popular. Two years later, in 1910, the eleventh edition, entitled Minnesota's Fifty-Second Anniversary was published.[22]

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[19]Ibid., p. 7.

[20]Ibid., p. 6.

[21]Commissioner of Immigration (George Welsh), Minnesota (St. Paul: Bd. of Immigration, 1907, 1908).

[22]Neither edition carries the name of the printer.

With a fairly ambitious program already behind it, the Board reported to the legislature in 1909 that its efforts to promote the state were handicapped by a lack of agents at American ports of entry and in Europe. If the state's lands were to be settled by Europeans, it was imperative that Minnesota be represented in Europe. The Board restated what preceding agencies had declared decades before: that Europeans "have their ultimate destination selected before leaving Europe. . . ." Europeans, the Board stated, also wanted to select land before they left their homes. "This department," the Board declared in its report, "is unable to carry on this campaign successfully on state account, having no lands to dispose of in such manner."[23]

The law required sale of state lands at public auction. If the Board were to work to greater advantage, changes in the laws relative to land promotion and sale would have to be made: (1) land guides should be attached to the State Auditor's office to show available lands to prospective buyers before the public sale, (2) permit the Auditor to sell at an autumn sale land which was not sold in the regular mid-summer sale, (3) provide for the publication of prices and descriptions of the lands available for purchase.[24] The Board also advised greater cooperation between the state and "large land owners" in the sale of privately-owned land. Such land could be sold to, or set aside for, immigrants before they left Europe. The Board already had cooperated with "one of the improvement companies of Minnesota" in arranging for settle-

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[23]Immigration Report, 1908, p. 8.

[24]Ibid., p. 9.

ment of Europeans. As a result of this effort, contracts were signed with agencies in Europe which provided for the removal of hundreds of families to Minnesota farms.[25] The need to cooperate with land companies and to amend the state land laws were recurrent themes in subsequent reports.

The work of the Board of Immigration during its first two years drew the applause of Governor Johnson. Johnson, who in 1905 had appealed for a promotional agency, told the 1909 legislature that "a good start has been made and work outlined for the future, and the . . . thought of leading men in Minnesota is that the state will make a good investment by continuing this work . . . along liberal and progressive lines."[26] The Governor emphasized the need for continued promotion by citing the problem of rural population loss in southern Minnesota and by describing the grand potential of the northern part of the state. Portraying that area as "the most interesting, fertile and resourceful region yet undeveloped on the continent of North America," Johnson stated that there still remained open to settlement "2,000,000 acres of government lands subject to homestead entry, about the same acreage of state school lands open to purchase on easy terms, and a total of something like 15,000,000 acres of virgin agricultural lands which are offered to settlers on most reasonable terms."[27] The Governor acknowledged the promotional work of "commercial clubs and other civic organizations," but he emphasized the

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[25] Ibid., p. 8.

[26] Minnesota, Governor, Inaugural Message of Governor John A. Johnson to the Legislature of Minnesota, 1909 (Minneapolis: Syndicate Printing Co., 1909), p. 14. Johnson, however, said nothing about promotion in his 1907 address.

[27] Ibid., p. 5.

need for a state agency to work with the private promotional organizations and coordinate their activities.[28]

With only a slightly increased appropriation of $20,000 per year,[29] the Board of Immigration carried on a campaign during the next biennium which was substantially the same as before, and directed to the same problems. One of the recurrent complaints of the Board was the state's failure to provide guides for prospective buyers of Minnesota lands. The Board declared in its 1910 report that many persons who came to Minnesota to inspect available lands failed to locate them, and left the state. One of the Board's earlier suggestions regarding an autumn sale had been implemented, but the Board now wanted sales every thirty days of land which had been previously offered for sale but remained unsold.[30]

The Minnesota Board worked more closely with realtors, and was able to induce many whose offices were outside the state to open branch offices in Minnesota, "with a result that an indefinite number of farmers have and now are purchasing Minnesota farms at marked advances in price."[31] During 1909-1910, about 100,000 acres of state land were sold.[32]

In addition to the shortage of farm laborers, the immigration

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[28]Ibid., pp. 5-6.

[29]Minnesota, General Laws, 36th Session, 1909, p. 435.

[30]Minnesota, Board of Immigration, Second Biennial Report of the Minnesota State Board of Immigration for Period Ending December 31, 1910 (Minneapolis: Syndicate Printing Co., 1911), pp. 8-10. Hereafter cited as Immigration Report, 1910.

[31]Ibid., p. 4.

[32]Ibid., p. 10.

board was now faced with the need to encourage more prospective farm renters to come to Minnesota. Advertisements were placed in newspapers in "the more congested states," and a very satisfactory response was received. By late 1910, the Board could report that "the scarcity of renters for Minnesota farms is rapidly disappearing, [and] many of the men who came to Minnesota for the purpose of renting have purchased farms."[33]

Yet another task continued to challenge the state promoters. In the 1910 report, George Welsh stated that many of the state's best farmers wanted to sell their farms to seek new opportunities elsewhere. The answer, according to Welsh and the Board, was "to exploit Minnesota's resources among her own citizens." To do this, lecturers, sponsored by the State Board, were sent into various areas to relate the advantages Minnesota offered its people.[34] An excellent opportunity to sell the state to its own citizens came in early 1910, at the meeting of the State Conservation and Agricultural Development Congress. The exhibits at the Congress were arranged by the Board and all but four of the state's eighty-five counties sent displays. In addition, many of the counties had personal representatives to answer the questions of interested parties.[35]

Other displays were sponsored by the Board at nation-wide meetings, such as the National Farm Land Congress which met in Chicago in November, 1909, and the United States Land and Irrigation Congress which met in the

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[33] Ibid., p. 7.

[34] Ibid., p. 4.

[35] Ibid.

same city the following month. Not only was Minnesota well represented at the first Congress, but Adolph O. Eberhart, who had succeeded to the governorship upon the death of John A. Johnson in September,[36] was a featured speaker.[37]

The Board introduced another type of display in 1910, and it too became part of the promotional scheme. In the summer of that year, the Board obtained an agreement with the Great Northern Railroad Company to send an exhibition car through the eastern states showing Minnesota products. The Board's only contribution, apparently, was the provision of samples of various farm crops, as well as specimens of products manufactured in the state, minerals, and wild life. According to Welsh, "practically all of the great varied resources of the state . . .[were] demonstrated in this car." The operating expenses, estimated at $25,000, were absorbed by the Great Northern. The car was exhibited in many cities and towns in Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, and Pennsylvania.[38]

Publicity was also carried out through traditional promotional literature. In fact, probably more pamphlets were distributed by the Board during its two decades of operation in the twentieth century than by all the state's nineteenth-century immigration agencies. In 1909-1910 alone, five different publications were issued by the state, with two editions of at least one pamphlet. Great Opportunities in Minnesota: 300,000 Acres of . . . Land Offered Annually was published by

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[36]Folwell, Minnesota, II, 283.

[37]Immigration Report, 1910, p. 4.

[38]Ibid., pp. 7-8.

the State Auditor and dealt with the usual subjects of climate, natural resources, agricultural productivity, and information regarding the types of land available. The introduction was written by Fred Sherman who soon became chief clerk of the Board of Immigration, and the successor to Welsh as Commissioner.

The other publications issued during the 1909-1910 biennium were: Facts About Minnesota, Professor C. P. Bull's Minnesota Resources, Public Lands in Minnesota, and Minnesota's Timber Lands.[39] The latter work dealt largely with northern Minnesota, and nearly all of its illustrations depicted scenes from that area. George Welsh, in the introduction, stated that the purpose of the pamphlet was

> to explain the conditions as to soil, climate, crops and other matters of interest, concerning northern Minnesota's timber and cut-over lands. The facts are conservatively stated, and can be borne out upon investigation. A hearty welcome awaits those men who are looking for good, cheap land. . . .[40]

The only pamphlet closely resembling the promotional literature of the nineteenth century was that written by C. P. Bull.[41] It declared that

> Minnesota, the North Star State of the Union, has much to commend itself to the attention of the people of these great United States. It has frequently been said, and justly so that Minnesota is the garden spot of North America. Her fertile fields of waving grains and corn have dubbed her the granary of the United States. Like Greece, in ancient times looking for the corn fleet from Egypt, the United States, yea the markets of the world, look each harvest for the rich pro-

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[39]All of these pamphlets are in the Reference Library, MHS.

[40]No pagination.

[41]Bull was Secretary of the Minnesota Field Crop Breeder's Association and Assistant Agriculturist at the University of Minnesota.

> ducts of Minnesota's farms. . . . Minnesota affords the best all-round conditions for health, strength, happiness and home. Her people are hale and hearty, rugged and prosperous, intelligent and congenial, and hold out their open arms in welcome to all those who wish to come and partake of her resources as a citizen of a great state.[42]

Bull's work is replete with glowing statements: Minnesota's school systems were "second to none in the world,"[43] her crops "superior in every respect,"[44] and "a word artist could not do justice to Minnesota as a land for livestock."[45] Professor Bull apologized "for attempting to describe Minnesota as a land suitable for dairying," since "words fail to express the resources open to the farmer for the rearing of dairy stock, the manufacturing and sale of dairy products and the successful use of dairy by-products at home."[46]

The only other official publication to give effusive praise to the glories of the state was a pamphlet written in 1911 by Carl W. Thompson, also of the University of Minnesota. Thompson's Minnesota at a Glance covered a wide range of topics, and gave only a short paragraph to most. But in his summation Thompson waxed eloquent:

> We are therefor ready to formulate . . . the most important conclusion to be reached regarding the North Star State: Situated as it is, at a point of strategic advantage in the heart of the American continent where it is free to draw to itself over world wide highways on land and sea, the state of Minnesota is, at the same time, so favored by the organic

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[42] C. P. Bull, Minnesota's Resources, p. 2.

[43] Ibid., p. 17.

[44] Ibid., p. 5.

[45] Ibid., p. 13.

[46] Ibid., p. 15.

> structure of resources and activities within its domain that it constitutes largely the great market place for its own products and thus creates in its people a solidarity of interest and a unity of purpose that is unrivaled in any other state or nation on the face of the earth.[47]

The Board continued to publish promotional pamphlets, sometimes several in one year, but they were nearly always unemotional and valid descriptions of the state, its regions, lands, and products.

Supported by regular, although rather modest, legislative allocations, the Minnesota Board of Immigration continued to promote settlement of the state through the publication of pamphlets, advertisements in the English and foreign-language press of Minnesota and eastern United States, and through railroad, fair, and exposition displays. The Board constantly promised even greater success if its budget were increased, and Governor Eberhart in his 1911 legislative message asked for a larger appropriation. The Governor spoke highly of the accomplishments of the Board in its attempts to sell the state's lands and increase its population. Since land sales and immigration promotion were inextricably interwoven, Eberhart suggested that the land department and the immigration board be brought into an organic relationship, with an appropriation of "not less than $100,000 annually."[48] This, however, was not done.

In its 1912 report, the Board reiterated its request for a

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[47]Carl W. Thompson, Minnesota at a Glance (1911), pp. 17-18.

[48]Minnesota, Governor, Inaugural Address of Governor Adolph O. Eberhart to the Legislature of Minnesota, 1911 (Minneapolis: Syndicate Printing Co., 1911), pp. 28-29.

greatly increased appropriation.[49] But the next legislature provided only an annual increase of $10,000—bringing the total yearly budget to $35,000.[50] The Board again pleaded for more funds in 1915,[51] but the legislature actually decreased the allotment to $25,000.[52] The immigration budget remained at this figure until 1921, when it was reduced to $18,000.[53] Nearly every request for increased funds was backed by an invocation of the specter of competition. The Board's 1912 report, for example, stated that:

> This is an age of great competition between states and countries. The west is offering most inviting propositions to the land seeker. The outward flow of population from Minnesota seems to have been stemmed; but with the countless millions of acres of wild land in Minnesota, developed and brought into use, the state could comfortably care for a population many times as large as at present.[54]

The Board continued during the immediate pre-World War I years to use the old device of promotional literature, in addition to the newer

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[49]Minnesota, Board of Immigration, Report of the Minnesota State Board of Immigration, January 1, 1910 to January 1, 1912 (Minneapolis: Syndicate Printing Co., 1913), p. 10. Hereafter cited as Immigration Report, 1910-1912.

[50]Minnesota, Board of Immigration, Report of the Minnesota State Board of Immigration, January 1, 1915, to January 1, 1917 (Minneapolis: Syndicate Printing Co., 1917), p. 10. Hereafter cited as Immigration Report, 1915-1917.

[51]Minnesota, Board of Immigration, Report of the Minnesota State Board of Immigration, January 1, 1913 to January 1, 1915 (Minneapolis: Syndicate Printing Co., 1915), p. 8. Hereafter cited as Immigration Report, 1913-1915.

[52]Immigration Report, 1915-1917, p. 10.

[53]Minnesota, Session Laws of the State of Minnesota, 42d Session, 1921, p. 566.

[54]Immigration Report, 1910-1912, p. 10.

ones. In the seven-year period 1911-1917, the State Board of Immigration printed nine different publications, one of which was 200 pages in length. One, Minnesota: The Land of Opportunity, went through three editions by 1916, and two more were published after World War I.[55] This work treated each county separately, but others covered the entire state without any regional breakdown.[56] Several of the pamphlets, however, were devoted to particular areas. The first such work was issued in 1913 and was entitled Northeastern Minnesota: Land of Certainties: Where Independence May be Won on a Few Acres by Men of Moderate Means—May Even be Hewn Out of Timber by Those Whose Only Asset is Their Brawn.[57] In 1914, the Board published Northwestern Minnesota: Land of Prosperity; Where Peace and Prosperity Prevails, Where Bountiful Crops Are Grown, Where Cities And Villages Thrive, Where Farmers, Merchants and Manufacturers Prosper.[58] Southern and Central Minnesota were not ignored. Their descriptions were published in Southern Minnesota: The Great Corn Country: A Country Unsurpassed In Richness Of Soil; A Spot Where Fortunes Have Been Made By Thousands of Men Who Pioneered That Great Rich Territory Fifty Years, And Yet There is Enough Wealth Left In The Top Six Inches of Soil To Make

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[55]Board of Immigration, Minnesota: The Land of Opportunity for Agriculture, Horticulture, Live Stock, Manufacturers, Mining, Education and Everything That Attracts the Immigrant (St. Paul: Board of Immigration, 1911, 1913, 1916, 1918, 1919).

[56]They are: The Opportunity Spot of America (1913); Minnesota's Fifty Second Anniversary (1911); and Souvenir (1912). In addition, the State Agricultural Society published Minnesota: The State of Opportunities (1912).

[57](Minneapolis: The Great Western Printing Co., [1913]).

[58](St. Paul: McGill-Warner Co., 1924).

Many Millions More,[59] and in Central Minnesota: The Dairy Country.[60] Despite the grand titles of the three works and the brightly-colored covers of all, the descriptions presented were, although indicative of great pride, not extremely boastful. The Board reported in 1912 that it was publishing eleven different promotional pieces and that well over 300,000 copies had been distributed during that year.[61]

In 1915, the Board instituted yet another promotional device. A "List of Inquiries" regarding land in the state was published weekly and, for $1 a year, mailed "to any one in Minnesota, who have [sic] Minnesota lands to sell or other legitimate Business Propositions to offer."[62]

Advertisements continued to appear frequently in eastern newspapers and in farm journals throughout the pre-World War I period.[63] Contacts were also made through correspondence with commercial clubs and through lectures delivered by members of the Board.[64] In 1915-1916 the Board employed two lecturers. Former Congressman Frank M. Eddy addressed residents of forty Iowa towns in 1915, and forty-eight Illinois towns in 1916. In the latter year, John D. Deets lectured in Ohio and Indiana under Board auspices, visiting also forty-eight cities

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[59](St. Paul: Louis F. Dow Co., [1914]).

[60](St. Paul: Board of Immigration, 1915).

[61]Immigration Report, 1910-1912, p. 7.

[62]Reference Library, MHS, has Lists for years 1915-1922.

[63]Immigration Report, 1910-1912, p. 5; Immigration Report, 1913-1915, p. 6.

[64]Immigration Report, 1910-1912, p. 9.

and towns. The Board reported its satisfaction with the results of these tours.[65]

The agreement made in 1910 with the Great Northern Railroad Company, by which the Company supplied a railroad exhibit car, was renewed regularly during the next four years. The car traveled through the eastern states in 1911, southern Iowa and northern Missouri in 1912,[66] and through the states of Nebraska, Illinois, and Iowa in 1914.[67]

During these years, the Board made even greater use of fairs and expositions. The biennial reports for the period before 1917 constantly mention various exhibits which the Board sponsored. In 1912, exhibits were placed at the Illinois State Fair, where farmers "took great interest in Minnesota's splended products raised on much cheaper land [than existed in Illinois],[68] and at the Northwestern Land Products Exposition in Minneapolis, where a $3,500 display, financed by the Board and local businessmen, was placed.[69] In 1914, exhibits were used at state and district fairs in Illinois, Indiana, and Iowa. A display was also erected that year in Christiana, Norway, and another at the National Corn Show in Dallas, Texas. The latter two projects were joint undertakings with private organizations.[70] The Board also provided permanent

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[65] Immigration Report, 1915-1917, pp. 6-7.

[66] Immigration Report, 1910-1912, pp. 5, 8.

[67] Immigration Report, 1913-1915, p. 5.

[68] Immigration Report, 1910-1912, p. 8.

[69] The Board's share was $750. Ibid.

[70] Ibid., p. 14.

displays for realtors in many cities of South Dakota, Indiana, Illinois, Iowa, and Nebraska.[71]

In 1914, Commissioner Fred Sherman had one especially bitter experience in regard to state fair exhibits. He had been successful, he thought, in arranging a "Minnesota Day" at the Indiana State Fair. The Fair Board, however, cancelled that feature when, or so Sherman claimed, "certain bankers and business interests of Indiana raised a strenuous objection, setting forth the fact that Minnesota was useing [sic] their State Fair to exploit herself and induce Indiana citizens to leave their native State and move to Minnesota."[72]

Despite this particular failure, the Board continued to be represented at fairs throughout the nation. This was especially true in 1915 when Minnesota displays were erected at state and district fairs in Indiana, Illinois, and Iowa.[73] In 1915 also, the Board sent a small display of grass and grains with the Great Northern exhibit to San Francisco's Pan American Exposition.[74]

The state continued to promote immigration during World War I, although the Board enjoyed less success than before. The war itself

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[71]Ibid., p. 14.

[72]Fred Sherman to Gov. Eberhart, St. Paul, August 22, 1914, Gov. File 646A—Gov. Corr., Eberhart's Admin., MSA.

[73]Sherman to Gov. Hammond, St. Paul, August 24, 1915, Gov. File 646D—Dep't & Agencies, State, Gov. Hammond, 1915, MSA; Sherman to Chas. N. Andrist (Sec. to Governor), St. Paul, July 26, 1915, Gov. File 647D—Dep't & Agencies, State, Gov. Hammond, 1915, MSA.

[74]Unsigned copy of letter to Leslie Welter, St. Paul, August 12, 1915, Gov. File 647D—Dep't & Agencies, State, Gov. Hammond, 1915, MSA. The letter was probably written by Sherman.

was a direct deterrent to immigration. The Board reported that American entrance into the war was marked by a severe decline in immigration into the state.[75] Concurrent with this was an increase of 50 per cent in the costs of printing, postage, and traveling. Since the Board was still operating on a $25,000 yearly budget,[76] retrenchment was necessary, even though "competition [grew] keener with each succeeding year."[77]

There is no evidence that new promotional materials were published during the war years, but the Board did report the distribution of "300,000 pieces of literature" during that period. In addition to this it maintained a permanent display in St. Paul.[78] This was probably the display established for the Northwestern Land Products Exposition in 1912.[79] Exhibits were also placed at state and regional fairs in Illinois and Indiana, and at the Dairy Cattle Congress in Waterloo, Iowa, and the International Farm Congress in Kansas City.[80] A lecture program was also carried out in early 1917. Frank M. Eddy, who served

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[75]Minnesota, Board of Immigration, Report of the Minnesota State Board of Immigration January 1, 1917 to January 1, 1919 (Minneapolis: Syndicate Printing Co., 1919), p. 7. Hereafter cited as Immigration Report, 1917-1919.

[76]Ibid., p. 9.

[77]Ibid., pp. 9-11. The North Dakota Board of Immigration, for example, received $200,000 from the legislature in 1919. See Chapter 4.

[78]Immigration Report, 1917-1919, p. 9.

[79]The 1912 display was in a store on Jackson Street, as was the one described in the later report. See Immigration Report, 1910-1912, p. 8.

[80]Oscar H. Smith (Commissioner), [Seventh Biennial] Report of the Minnesota State Board of Immigration, July 1, 1920 to June 30, 1922 (Minneapolis: Syndicate Printing Co., 1922), p. 8. Hereafter cited as Immigration Report, 1920-1922.

the Board in a similar capacity during 1915-1916, visited fifty-five Nebraska towns, and J. A. Cederstrom spoke to audiences in fifty-eight towns in Iowa.[81] The planned "illustrated lecture tour" for 1918, was "abandoned before completion," as Fuel Administration orders prohibited many theater owners from fulfilling their contracts. The Board did little more that year than distribute literature and conduct a newspaper advertising campaign.[82]

Minnesota continued to promote immigration for eight years following the war. But, because of soaring costs and reduced appropriations, the Board's program was curtailed even further.[83] During this period, the Board did manage to issue six new publications—and based much of its program on their distribution: Minnesota Lands (1919), "What Others Have Done You Also Can Do," (1922), Northeastern Minnesota (1925), Northwestern Minnesota (1925), and Minnesota Facts and Figures (1925).[84] A Weekly Bulletin was begun in January, 1923. It contained short articles on many Minnesota topics and ran editorials designed to boost the state. An "Inquiry list" was also featured to aid all those who wanted either to buy or to sell Minnesota land. The Bulletin was published regularly until May 23, 1927.[85] In 1924 the Board sponsored

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[81] Ibid., p. 7.

[82] Ibid., p. 9.

[83] The annual appropriations between 1921 and 1925 were $18,000. In 1925, it was reduced to $12,500. See Immigration Report, 1920-1922, p. 6; Board of Immigration's Weekly Bulletin, April 27, 1925.

[84] Copies of these works are in Reference Library, MHS.

[85] Copies of the Weekly Bulletin are on file in the Reference Library, MHS.

a series of radio talks by Governor J. A. O. Preus, Commissioner Oscar H. Smith, and other prominent Minnesotans over a local station. The talks were published by the Board under the title Minnesota and Her Industries.[86]

Probably the most disturbing problem faced by the immigration authority during the 1920's was one about which it had complained for years—the lack of an adequate land sales program. In its 1922 report, the Board declared that "one of the greatest problems this department has had to face—and certainly the most vexatious one—has been the curbing of unscrupulous land dealers who resort to dishonest and unfair tactics. . . ."[87] Much of the blame, the report stated, lay with the state. Minnesota did have some poor lands,

> and to its detriment and its everlasting disgrace it has permitted hundreds of excellent settlers to locate on these poor lands and wreck their fond hopes, simply because a great state has persisted in clinging to methods of the pioneer days.
> . . . . . .
> To permit a continuation of the present conditions would be little short of criminal. A thorough land classification and soil survey should be provided for, that will properly classify these undeveloped lands and thus hasten the day when every acre of unused land in the state will be made to produce its utmost.[88]

The legislature did not provide for such a survey until 1929, despite the constant urging of the Board. The Board also failed to get the enactment of a law requiring the licensing of real estate dealers.[89]

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[86]The radio talks were directed by the Board, and the time paid for by the Northwest Farmstead. Copy of Minnesota and Her Industries is in Reference Library, MHS.

[87]Immigration Report, 1920-1922, p. 16.

[88]Ibid., p. 15. The Board made the same request in earlier reports. See Immigration Report, 1913-1915, p. 9; Immigration Report, 1915-1917, p. 11.

[89]W. A. Hartman, State Land Settlement Problems and Policies in the United States, U S , Department of Agriculture, Technical Bulletin 357 (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1933), pp. 61, 76.

The publication of the Weekly Bulletin was a partial solution to the problem of effective and honest land promotion. The issue of January 22, 1923 outlined the program in regard to land sales promotion:

> Promptly upon receipt of his [prospect's] first letter, in answer to our advertisements, we send him a map and general literature on Minnesota. We write him a personal letter and enclose an information blank which we ask him to fill out so as to better assist him to get properly located where he will best fit in. On this information blank we ask him to designate which particular section appeals to him the most. If he expresses a strong preference for a certain section we so designate the section on this [inquiry] list, and we are going to ask only such dealers who have what the prospect asks for to send him their literature. All others are asked to "lay off" and not spoil the prospect by trying to induce him to purchase something he does not want.[90]

However, Minnesota did attempt in two ways to come to the assistance of deserving settlers. It, along with other western states, became especially concerned about future development during and immediately after the war. The concern was based upon the facts of decreased immigration into the United States, decreased migration within the nation, and increased competition between states for persons willing or wanting to change residences. The most novel, and certainly the most unsuccessful, of the state's two settlement promotion schemes was the attempt to establish colonies on state-owned lands. Six states, including Minnesota, developed actual programs of colony-settlement, and all of them failed.[91]

Technically, the law passed by the Minnesota legislature in 1917 did not provide for the establishment of colonies. Rather, it directed the State Auditor to develop and sell forty-acre tracts of state land.

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[90]Weekly Bulletin, January 22, 1923.

[91]Hartman, State Land Settlement Policies, p. 35.

The intention of the legislature was, according to W. A. Hartman, "to indicate the possibilities of developing cut-over land and . . . to eliminate many of the loopholes so encountered."[92] The Auditor appointed a "land improvement board" which was responsible for directing the experiment. The Board worked with a revolving fund of $100,000 provided by the 1917 legislature. The forty-acre tracts were partially cleared and broken, and sold at public auction. The cost of the land included the bid for the acreage itself, plus $7.50 an acre for the improvements. The cost of the improvements was to be paid within five years. Payment on the land itself was to be completed within forty years. The Land Improvement Board began operation in 1918, and by 1924 it had improved 600 forty-acre farms. Less than one-third were sold—none after 1923. In 1930, the State Auditor's office estimated that the abortive experiment had cost the state $90,000.[93]

Another, and somewhat more successful farm-settlement scheme, employed by Minnesota and other western states, was the policy of lending money to settlers for the purchase of land authorized by rural credit acts. The Minnesota rural credit act provided for loans up to 60 per cent on land and 33 1/3 per cent on improvements. The funds used were derived from the sale of bonds. The rural credit law limited outstanding bonds to $40,000,000.[94]

By March, 1930, Minnesota had made more than 10,000 loans under

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[92] Ibid., p. 43.

[93] Ibid., pp. 43-44.

[94] Bertha Henderson, "State Policies in Agricultural Settlement," Journal of Land and Public Utility, II (July, 1926), 287.

the rural credit act, for a total sum exceeding $46,000,000. Of the loans made, 1,644 were delinquent at least one time, and 1,302 resulted in foreclosure. Another 1,000 to 1,500 loans were expected to be foreclosed during the next two years. Nearly all of the loans which were foreclosed were made prior to 1925, when the Department of Rural Credit was reorganized and the lending policy made much more rigid.[95]

Although the State Board of Immigration was not charged with implementing the two laws, it could, and did, use their generous provisions to further its work of bringing more settlers to the state.[96]

The Board was forced to curtail further its promotional activities during 1921-1922. This was the result of decreased allocations and rising costs, a debt carried over from the last biennium, and a low inventory of printed materials. At the same time, the Board was especially concerned about its effectiveness because of the order from Governor Preus that activity "be speeded up." More and more, primary dependence was placed upon newspaper and magazine articles and advertisements.[97] Commissioner James S. Arneson also participated in many meetings held throughout the state. In one year, he reported attending seventy-three meetings, speaking at nearly every one.[98] As a result of the restricted program and the careful handling of its finances, the Board was able to eliminate its out-

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[95]Hartman, State Land Settlement Policies, p. 58.

[96]The Board did, for example, advertise the sale of the forty-acre improved farms in its 1925 pamphlet, Northwestern Minnesota (see p. 63).

[97]Immigration Report, 1920-1922, pp. 6-7.

[98]Ibid., p. 7.

standing debt and to replenish its stock of maps and other printed material by the middle of 1922.[99]

The campaign to abolish the Minnesota Board of Immigration began in the legislative session of 1923. The Weekly Bulletin was used effectively to defend the Board and to illustrate the need to continue promotion. Again the specter of competition was placed in the forefront. The Bulletin of January 29, 1923, for example, stated that Canada and many of the midwestern and western states were increasing their campaigns, and that Canada alone was spending "a million dollars a year for immigration work. . . ." Not only did Minnesota have to compete with these agencies but, the Bulletin with obvious exaggeration reported, "on top of this comes the information that three large railroad companies have appropriated $5,000,000 for a publicity drive to attract settlers to western states."[100] The Bulletin played up the activity of Minnesota's western neighbor, North Dakota. That state was carrying on an intensive drive and its immigration report, the Bulletin claimed, showed

> that during a period of fifteen months from August 7, 1919 to November 1, 1920, . . . $126,090.49 was spent for advertising and other immigration activities, including the employment of nineteen field men who visited Minnesota, Iowa, Illinois and other neighboring states for the purpose of holding out inducements to the better class farmers to move to North Dakota.[101]

Continuing its battle for life, the Board printed in the Bulletin some of the protests lodged against its dissolution by various state news-

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[99] Ibid., p. 6.

[100] Weekly Bulletin, January 29, 1923.

[101] Ibid., February 26, 1923.

papers. The issue of March 5, 1923 introduced several of these statements with the declaration that "from all sections of the state protests are pouring in against abolishing, consolidating or in any way curtailing the State Immigration Department." The Bulletin also claimed that commercial clubs and other organizations were vigorously protesting the Board's dissolution through resolutions and letters to legislators.[102] In the same issue, the Bemidji Sentinel was quoted as declaring "a howl of protest that would shake the very foundations of the state should go from Northern Minnesota against the abolishment or curtailment in any way of the Department of Immigration." The Fairbault Pilot was quoted as saying that "the state legislature will make a serious mistake if it does away with the State Immigration Department."[103]

Although the 1923 legislature did extend the Board's life for another two years, it was obvious to all that death could come easily in 1925. Between 1923 and 1925, the Board continued to press its case by citing many instances of competition with other western states. Not only were these competitors enjoying large appropriations, claimed the Board, but they were also getting the unwitting assistance of many Minnesotans. The Board was especially critical, despite its own recent history, of its competitors being permitted to use the Minnesota state fair and regional fairs to introduce themselves to Minnesota citizens. In both its 1922 report and the Weekly Bulletin, the Minnesota Board attacked

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[102] Ibid., March 5, 1923.

[103] "Protesting in all Directions," Ibid.

this policy of the state fair authorities.[104] The Bulletin, for example, asked:

> Would the president of the state fair board, who operates a hardware store, permit his competitor down the street for a small consideration to place in Mr. President's store, an exhibit in charge of an oily-tongued salesman who would make every effort to divert the trade to the competitor's store? Not while he is sane. But here you have a state institution doing that very thing.[105]

The Bulletin also attacked state theater owners for "lending themselves to the spreading of propaganda favorable to California. . . ." The article stated that, as a result of proclaiming

> California as the "promised land," through the showing of pictures and the rendition of illustrated songs, which is a part of the efficient publicity scheme of the Californian, . . . a number of citizens [are] leaving the state. Records show that approximately 20,000 persons migrate from Minnesota each year to the far western states, the majority going to California. . . .[106]

Despite all its own efforts and the pleas of its supporters, the Board in 1925 once again faced abolition. As late as April 13, its fate had not been decided by the legislature, although the House Appropriations Committee had refused to appropriate it any funds. The Bulletin of that date claimed that the House committee consisted mainly of representatives from southern Minnesota, but that there was another source of opposition:

> The Southern Minnesota legislator who objects to his portion of the state contributing toward the development of Northern Minne-

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[104] Immigration Report, 1920-1922, p. 19; Weekly Bulletin, August 6, 1923. The Minnesota Board had discontinued its long-used practice of fair displays because of the shortage of funds.

[105] Weekly Bulletin, August 6, 1923.

[106] Ibid., March 24, 1924.

> sota, and those legislators who contend that the Department, by placing new settlers on Minnesota lands, is increasing competition for the Minnesota farmer.[107]

The Board criticized the sectionalism of southern Minnesota and stressed the need to consider the state as one economic and political unit. It reminded southern Minnesotans that their area received its share of the taxes and royalties from the mines of northern Minnesota. In addition, the Board stated, the sale of northern lands would bring more money into the permanent school fund. The second argument, that of competition being created for established farmers, was "equally fallacious. This department is not concerned with bringing foreign immigration into the United States. Its sole duty is to procure additional population from American sources. . . ."[108] The Board declared that the farm market was world-wide, and that if Minnesota did not get "the surplus farming populations" of other states, they would go to Canada or other western states. If this were permitted, Minnesota farmers would suffer from their competition nationally without receiving any benefit of their financial contributions to the state's public services.[109]

As a result of the pressure placed upon the legislature by the Board and its supporters, a conference committee agreed to an appropriation of $12,500 per year, and the legislature gave its assent.[110] But immigration no longer was to be carried out by a separate agency; after July 1, 1925, the promoters were attached to the newly-created Department

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[107] Ibid., April 13, 1925.

[108] Ibid.

[109] Ibid.

[110] Ibid., April 27, 1925.

of Conservation.[111] However, George H. Smith, who became Commissioner in May, 1921,[112] remained in charge of the promotional activities. In 1927, immigration promotion by the state came to a permanent and undramatic end. Without repealing the 1907 act establishing the Board, the legislature simply refused to appropriate any money.

With the refusal of the legislature to appropriate the necessary funds, official immigration promotion by Minnesota came to an end—nearly three-quarters of a century after William G Le Duc brought the young Territory's display to New York's Crystal Palace Exposition.[113]

Twentieth century promotion was much less romantic and far more business-like than that of the nineteenth; and the promoters, unlike their predecessors who considered themselves state-builders, were bureaucrats with specific tasks to perform.[114] Even with much larger funds—the legislature allocated over $450,000 from 1905 to 1927—the later promoters appeared to accomplish less. Depending almost entirely upon the printed

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[111] Ibid.

[112] Immigration Report, 1920-1922, p. 6.

[113] Shortly after its decision to halt immigration promotion, the legislature realized that such activity was still of some value. But its answer was not the creation of an official agency. On April 13, 1929, the Committee on State Development and Immigration recommended that the legislature give financial support to a private promotional organization, The Ten Thousand Lakes of Minnesota-Greater Minnesota Association. The legislature provided an annual appropriation of $37,500 to the Association. This was a sum greater than any the Board had received. "State Development and Immigration," Committee Records, Minnesota Secretary of State's Office; Hartman, State Land Settlement Policies, pp. 34, 87.

[114] Governor J. A. O. Preus described the position of Board Secretary as a "sinecure," when discussing the Board's activities during his tenure as Governor. Interview with J. A O. Preus, August 5, 1960.

word and exhibits, and virtually abandoning the older practice of agents, they directed their attention to the American migrant. Obviously, the promoters of this country worked under greater obstacles than did their predecessors. European immigration into the United States had dropped greatly, in part the result of militant European caprice and restrictive American immigration laws. But there were other factors which worked against effective Minnesota promotion in the later period. Not only did the Minnesota promoters face determined, and well-financed, competition from Canada and sister states, but they were frequently opposed by parochial-minded citizens of their own state who lived in the older and established regions and disliked contributing to the development of the newer areas.

But the most important reason for the cessation of promotional activities was the obvious fact that Minnesota was an established state by 1927. It contained a population of 2,500,000[115] and possessed an excellent reputation for its agricultural productivity. The imperative which motivated the frontier state no longer existed.

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[115]U.S., Bureau of the Census, Fifteenth Census of the United States: 1930. Population, I, 10.

CHAPTER IX

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The great migration from Europe to the United States in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was the result of a variety of factors. Overpopulation, war, and nature's vagaries all conspired to make life unpleasant and difficult for many Europeans. But European migration is not to be explained by internal factors alone. Except for such unfortunate events as the Irish potato famines and the threat and actuality of war, European conditions were not strong expulsive forces. The low standard of living and the social and political distinctions, which characterized Europe in general, became unbearable only when compared with the opportunities the New World was said to offer. There, it was thought, no classes existed to differentiate men. There, also, was to be found a vast unsettled domain where one could take root, till the soil, and provide a satisfying life for oneself and family.

Many agencies were responsible for bringing America to the attention of Europeans. But the most effective publicist was the immigrant, himself, who, for reasons of pride and heart, wrote encomia about the great rewards which were his in the new country. The "American letter," although addressed to an individual or a family, became a public testimonial to emigration. It was handed from one person to another, or read, as in Scandinavia, from the pulpit. Many of the letters contained

money or passage tickets which aided the translation of dreams to reality.

But there were many other promoters: the agents of the western land-grant railroads who carried on the most intensive—and, perhaps, the most successful—campaigns; the representatives of profit-motivated emigrant and land companies who operated usually on a commission basis; the emissaries of ethnic an philanthropic societies whose only purpose was to offer succor to their fellows; and, finally, the envoys of the American states and territories.

Despite the immigration of millions of Europeans each decade, and the existence of hundreds of thousands of Americans in the East who wanted to migrate, there still was not enough population to satisfy the demands of the developing territories and states in the West and South. As a result, vigorous competition for settlers took place and continued well into the present century. Documentation of the competitive character of public promotion can be found in newspapers, messages of governors, official promotional literature, and the reports of the immigration agencies.

Michigan became the first state officially to promote immigration when the legislature of 1845 appropriated $700 and authorized the employment of an agent and interpreters. Only two other public immigration agencies were established in the following decade, Wisconsin in 1852 and Minnesota in 1855. But in the 1860's competition increased greatly through the establishment of over a score of state and territorial agencies. These state boards and commissions, allied with private organizations promoting the same area, competed intensively in the Eastern states and Europe. They were motivated by the common fear that, if they did not carry on their own campaign, the needed population growth would

not occur and economic development would be stifled.

Minnesota's campaign for immigrants started rather inauspiciously during the mid-years of the territorial period, with the appointment of William Le Duc as representative to the Crystal Palace Exposition of 1853. In the following year, a bill authorizing the election of an immigration commissioner and the publication of promotional literature failed to win enactment. In 1855, however, the legislature authorized the appointment of a salaried commissioner. Eugene Burnand carried out an effective campaign until 1857. Minnesotans, at first preoccupied with the mechanics and glory of statehood and later with the problems of depression, gave little consideration to further promotion. Except for distributing the report of the Commissioner of Statistics which was designed for promotional purposes, Minnesota did nothing to induce immigration until 1864. By this time, other states had joined Michigan and Wisconsin and were actively promoting settlement. Others soon followed.

With the resumption of immigration promotion in 1864, Minnesota became one of the major competitors for immigration. But, like other states, its campaign was not continuous. Rather, it was marked by periods of intensive effort and periods in which virtually no activity was carried out. The first period lasted from 1864 to 1887, although even this was interrupted for five years between 1873-1878 when little was done. During this interim, Minnesota suffered greatly from nature's caprice: hard blizzards and a series of grasshopper invasions. Concurrent with these natural calamities came the effects of another nation-wide depression. With the resultant strain on the public treasury, the legislature rejected continued promotion for reasons of economy.

When economic and natural conditions improved in the late 1870's, Minnesota once again resumed its promotional work. But, unlike the earlier periods when agents were sent to eastern cities and Europe, the state depended almost exclusively upon the publication and distribution of promotional literature. By 1887, the southern counties of Minnesota were well-settled and no longer belonged to the frontier. Since nearly all the political strength lay in this area, the impulse which had sustained immigration promotion no longer existed. Seemingly, the work of the state promoters was now unnecessary. True, millions of acres of northern Minnesota land remained unsettled, but this area had no articulate or influential spokesmen, and its agricultural potential was not yet realized. Not until much of the land was abandoned by logging companies, and title reverted to the state, did Minnesota work aggressively to settle it. Minnesota was only one of many midwestern states to discontinue promotion in the 1880's. It, like the others, did little more until the early part of the next century.

Although a large part of twentieth century promotional activity, which began in 1905, was directed to the sale and settlement of lands in the northern counties, the promoters were also concerned with conditions existent in the older regions. The decline of population in the southern counties was one of the major reasons for the resumption of immigration activity. Here, again, the factor of competition became apparent. During the early decades of the twentieth century, many western states carried out promotional campaigns which, at least in terms of money expended, surpassed the programs of the last century. Minnesota not only faced the loss of prospective residents, if it failed to carry out a pro-

motional scheme, but it was confronted with the vexing problem of having thousands of its people succumb to the attractions of other states. Whereas Minnesota had earlier competed for newly-arrived foreign immigrants and restless and dissatisfied Easterners, it was now forced to resist the encroachments of newer and less populated states to the west. With the reduction of foreign immigration, a result of American immigration laws and various European factors, the competitive field was limited to the United States. Thus, Minnesota resumed promotion not only to attract settlers to its northern domain, but also to maintain its population in the southern counties.

It is, of course, impossible to determine with certainty the effectiveness of any promotional agency, whether it was a state or private organization. Assumptions must be based upon the intensity of the particular activity and population statistics. Evidence suggests that Minnesota was one of the more successful states in attracting immigrants. Certainly, it was among the most consistent supporters of immigration promotion. The third midwestern state to adopt an official program, it carried out its campaign in the nineteenth century with an intensity greater than that of most other states, and it continued to promote settlement long after many of its competitors, such as Iowa and Nebraska, had discontinued their efforts.

However, as with nearly every other state in the West, the introduction of population and capital can not be credited solely—or, perhaps, even primarily—to the agency of the state. For over a decade after 1869, Minnesota was joined in its crusade by many of the land-grant railroads. These companies, especially the Northern Pacific,

carried on intensive campaigns in the United States and Europe, frequently backed by promotional budgets which far surpassed in amount the legislative allocations to the State Board of Immigration.

The most successful promotion was carried out by the Board of Immigration in the nineteenth century, when there was no dearth of good agricultural land in the central and southern sections of the state. During this period, the promoters were determined state-builders who took their task most seriously, and, with extremely small budgets, worked effectively through agents and promotional pamphlets to attract Easterners and Europeans to Minnesota. All told, the Board during 1855-1887 expended slightly more than $100,000 of public funds, in addition to a few thousand solicited from private sources such as the railroads. It employed agents and printed nearly 1,000,000 pamphlets and circulars for gratuitous distribution. Other states spent considerably less. Iowa spent only $29,500 during its promotional period, 1860-1882,[1] while Dakota Territory expended $11,000 during 1871-1887. Despite the lack of adequate funds and uncertainty as to the future of legislative support, Minnesota's promoters carried out a dedicated campaign. Their zeal is manifest in their official reports and in the frequently exaggerated descriptions of the state which appeared in their literature.

Immigration promotion in the early 1900's appears to have been without the dedication and enthusiasm which motivated the promoters of the earlier period. Abandoning the use of agents, except for occasional lecturers and individuals in charge of displays, the Board of Immigration

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[1]Marcus Hansen, "Official Encouragement of Immigration to Iowa," Iowa Journal of History and Politics, XIX (April, 1921), 193.

was little more than a clearing-house for vast amounts of promotional literature. Even with an expenditure of $457,000 and the distribution of over 2,000,000 pamphlets and circulars,[2] the campaign lacked the determination and devotion of those of the nineteenth century.

Competition was as important a factor during the later period as ever before. But, with the decline of foreign immigration, the field was restricted mainly to the United States. As a result, Minnesota undertook a promotional campaign designed as much to keep its own people from moving to other western states as to promote the settlement of the underpopulated northern counties. The actual and potential loss of population caused great concern in Minnesota. There was good reason for this concern; states which had been somewhat indifferent to official immigration activities in the past now appeared indefatigable. North Dakota, for example, which did little for nearly two decades following statehood in 1889, resumed promotion in 1905, and in 1919 appropriated $200,000 for a two-year campaign. It continued to support immigration promotion with generous grants until 1933.

Minnesota competed for twenty-three years in the twentieth century but, finally, as the need for greater population lessened, opposition to promotion once again developed in the southern and central counties. The legislature, reflecting the attitude of a majority of its constituents, refused to appropriate further funds in 1927, and thereby brought about the permanent end of the state's immigration promotional activities.

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[2]The amount of promotional literature distributed during the period is an estimate as no exact papers exist. The estimate is based upon numbers known to have been distributed during certain years.

Although Minnesota promotion was carried out by a variety of agencies—such as the railroads, land companies, and organized national groups—Minnesotans realized early that responsibility should be shared by the state. But this was not the only reason for the entrance of Minnesota into the promotional arena. There was also the fear that if the state did not lend its prestige and financial support to the cause, the alliances of other states and private agencies would leave Minnesota behind in the competition for population. There was also the question of status.

However, the official campaign which began in 1857 and continued until 1927 was not without a lack of continuity, and this fact undoubtedly lessened its influence. Uncertainty as to the effectiveness of promotion led the legislature on several occasions to reduce the Board of Immigration's allocations; but the actual interruptions, at least until 1887, were the result of financial exigencies. Both the panics of 1857 and 1873 were followed by periods in which virtually no promotional work was carried out. In each case, agitation for resumption of promotion began when state financial conditions improved.

It is impossible to evaluate exactly the contributions made by the Board of Immigration to the development of Minnesota. The energy and devotion with which the nineteenth century promoters carried on their work creates the impression that their campaign was effective. But this is not possible to prove. Certainly, the importance of Minnesota promoters lies in the fact that they were part of a grand amalgam. They, along with private publicists, brought the attention of many Easterners and Europeans to the developing frontier state. With other states and

private agencies they were the means by which millions of Europeans became acquainted with the opportunities offered by America—the first step in the process of emigration. As representatives of the United States, as well as Minnesota, their actual significance transcended their importance to the state.

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