

OFFICIAL ENCOURAGEMENT OF IMMIGRATION TO MINNESOTA DURING THE TERRITORIAL PERIOD

During the middle of the nineteenth century, when Minnesota's territorial and state governments were being fashioned and put into operation, there was in progress a great migration of Americans and foreigners across the Atlantic states, over the mountains, and down the Ohio Valley into the virgin fields and forests of the Middle West. Some idea of the rapidity of their march may be derived from an examination of the census figures for the period, which reveal that in the twenty years from 1840 to 1860 Wisconsin multiplied its population by twenty-five and Iowa by fifteen and one-half. In 1849, when Minnesota was made a territory, its inhabitants numbered less than 5,000; in 1860, over 172,000 people resided within its boundaries.

The primary need of the new states and territories of the West was settlers; for economic and social progress depended upon the cultivation of land, the building of towns, and the development of transportation. From the point of view of the individual state, therefore, this enormous influx of settlers created a problem of first importance — that of attracting as many as possible within its own particular boundaries. The upper Mississippi Valley belongs to a single physiographic unit, and each of the political units comprising it has much good agricultural land; several had at this time large quantities of timber. As a result of the attempts of a number of states to direct the attention of immigrants to themselves, there arose a keen, aggressive competition, carried on officially and participated in by all those agencies, public and private, which had anything to gain from it. Wisconsin inaugurated the official movement in 1852 by sending an agent to New York who was authorized to do everything in his power to

attract settlers to its lands. The distribution of pamphlets in English, Norwegian, German, and Dutch; the insertion of advertisements in newspapers; and personal conferences with the emigrant were among the methods employed by the Wisconsin commissioner.¹

Minnesota, soon to follow Wisconsin's example, did not immediately recognize the necessity of doing so. The prophecies for the glorious future of the state which one heard on every hand were based on the assumption that such opportunities as existed here would advertise themselves. The messages of Governor Ramsey to the legislature from 1849 to 1853 are replete with brilliant predictions, but at no time does he suggest the necessity of official action on the part of the territory.

In neglecting to advocate such official advertisement, Ramsey was not relying wholly upon chance, however, to bring the advantages of Minnesota to the attention of outsiders. The land speculator and the newspaper editor, often one and the same individual, utilized every opportunity to spread information about its unrivaled advantages among the uninformed. Before 1855 no fewer than fourteen weekly and four daily newspapers, some short-lived indeed, had been established in Minnesota,² and most of them published in their columns articles descriptive of the new territory. Extra copies of these issues were printed and circulated, and all persons interested in the development of the territory were strongly urged to buy them and distribute them among friends and relatives in the East. Several periodicals with a national

¹ Wisconsin Legislature, *Acts and Resolves*, 1852, ch. 432. For a survey of official activities undertaken by Wisconsin and several other states, see Theodore C. Blegen, "The Competition of the Northwestern States for Immigrants," in the *Wisconsin Magazine of History*, 3: 3-29 (September, 1919). The most active encouragement of immigration by the mid-western states occurred in the period after the Civil War. Minnesota's territorial activity was only the prelude to aggressive and long-continued efforts made by the state to induce immigrant settlement.

² Daniel S. B. Johnston, "Minnesota Journalism in the Territorial Period," in *Minnesota Historical Collections*, 10: 247-276 (part 1).

circulation, *De Bow's Review* for example, included similar articles from time to time.³ Moreover, a number of handbooks reviewing the history of Minnesota and enumerating its advantages had appeared before 1855. Several of the newspapers also conducted a kind of information bureau for the benefit of prospective settlers and visitors. But the influence of the press of a new territory was naturally somewhat limited, and often it did not reach those most open to persuasion.

In the summer of 1853 William G. Le Duc, later a prominent figure in Minnesota, was sent to New York to prepare an exhibit of Minnesota products at the Crystal Palace world's fair, the slender sum of three hundred dollars having been appropriated for that purpose. In his official report to the governor Le Duc pointed out the opportunity of persuading foreigners to come to Minnesota and suggested official action.

Although the first message of Governor Willis A. Gorman, delivered on January 11, 1854, likewise contained no mention of the subject of official advertisement of the territory, the legislature, in the session of that year, considered a bill to provide for an emigration commissioner in New York City and for

³ In some cases the authors of these articles were Minnesotans. For example a speech of Judge Bradley B. Meeker, delivered before the Benton County Agricultural Society, was reprinted from a Minnesota newspaper in the *Western Journal and Civilian*, 14:330-338 (October, 1855), under the title "Minnesota," and material published in the *Annals* of the Minnesota Historical Society for 1850-51 (St. Paul, 1851) forms the basis of an article entitled "Towns and Statistics of Minnesota," in the *Western Journal of Agriculture, Manufactures, Mechanic Arts, Internal Improvement, Commerce, and General Literature*, 6:103-113 (May, 1851). A few years later Governor Alexander Ramsey contributed a sketch of the state entitled "Minnesota—Her Progress and Her Bright Future" to *DeBow's Review and Industrial Resources, Statistics, Etc.*, 28:325-327 (March, 1860). Earlier articles on Minnesota appear in *DeBow's Review*, 16:343-354 (April, 1854), 17:350-361 (October, 1854), and 21:71-78, 286-288 (July, 1856). An illustrated article entitled "Sketches on the Upper Mississippi," in *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, 7:177-190 (July, 1853), includes a description of Minnesota Territory. The *Western Journal* was published in St. Louis, *DeBow's Review* in New Orleans, and *Harper's Magazine* in New York.

the publication of a description of Minnesota Territory. Apparently there was still little demand for such an act, however, and nothing came of this move.⁴

In his second message, a year later, Governor Gorman discussed the matter at some length and urged the establishment of an emigration agency and the publication of a pamphlet setting forth the advantages of the territory for immigrants. Acting upon this suggestion, the legislature, on March 2, 1855, passed a measure providing for an emigration commissioner at New York which was reenacted in amended form at its next session. In pursuance of this law, the governor on March 16, 1855, named Eugene Burnand for the position thereby created. A man of culture and refinement and possessing a good education, Burnand was well fitted for the position and his appointment appears to have given universal satisfaction, despite the fact that he had resided in the territory only a few months. His official reports disclose the nature and the extent of the advertising done by him during the two years the law was operative.

Most of his efforts were expended in the direction of attracting Germans and Belgians, although he also made some attempt to bring Swiss and French to Minnesota. Very few Belgians came, but the number of Germans grew in the decade after 1850, from 147 to 18,400, or from two and one-half to

⁴ Secretary of State's Archives, Legislative Papers, Council File no. 13. The bill contained a provision for the election of a commissioner by the Council and the House of Representatives in joint convention; the sum of \$1,500 was to be appropriated for his salary, \$250 for office rent, \$100 for maps and office furniture, and \$400 for assistance to the commissioner; the governor was to be authorized to spend \$250 in the publication of a description of the territory in German, French, and such other languages as he should deem advisable. A manuscript note attached to the printed bill reveals that it was proposed to amend it to make the amounts appropriated payable from the "county treasuries of the several counties, in proportion to the amount of population they shall receive in consequence of the establishment of the commissioner of emigration respectively," instead of from the territorial treasury. The archival materials referred to in connection with the documents herewith printed are in the custody of the Minnesota Historical Society.

ten per cent of the total population; and there can be little doubt that the special efforts made by Burnand to attract settlers of that nationality were an important factor in this increase. Although Le Duc as early as 1853 had emphasized the desirability of Scandinavians as settlers and the state of Wisconsin was making vigorous efforts to attract them to her lands, Burnand made little attempt to induce Scandinavians to make homes in Minnesota.

In attempting a critical estimate of the achievements of Burnand, it must be recognized, on the one hand, that many other influences were conspiring to attract settlers to Minnesota, as is proved by the fact that in spite of the commissioner's neglect of the Scandinavians their numbers increased from 12 to nearly 12,000 in the decade after 1850; and, on the other hand, account must be taken of the handicaps under which the commissioner was laboring. That the action of the territory outlined above played its part in bringing about the increase in population from 4,535 in 1849 to 40,000 in 1855, 150,037 in 1857, and 172,023 in 1860, cannot be disputed.⁶ To throw light on this interesting and little-known phase of territorial history, therefore, several contemporary documents have been assembled and are herewith printed.

LIVIA APPEL

THEODORE C. BLEGEN

MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

ST. PAUL

⁶ Censuses were taken in 1849 and 1857 in preparation for the organization of the territorial and state governments, respectively; the figures for 1860 are, of course, from the federal census; those for 1855 are estimates based on figures of Minnesota's first statistician, Joseph A. Wheelock. See William W. Folwell, *History of Minnesota*, 1: 352, 360 (St. Paul, 1921).

APPENDIX TO WILLIAM G. LE DUC'S REPORT TO GOVERNOR
WILLIS A. GORMAN, 1853⁶

[Minnesota Territory, *Council Journal*, 1854, Appendix, 147]

The number of emigrants arrived at the port of New York, according to the records of the Office of Emigration, was for 1851, 209,601.

Of these, 163,256 were natives of Ireland; 69,883 of Germany; 16,812 of Switzerland, Holland, Norway, Sweden, Denmark and Scotland; 46,824 of other countries.

The total number of emigrants who arrived at the port of New York during the year 1852, was 300,992. Of these 118,631 were natives of Ireland; 118,511 of Germany; 19,631 of Scotland, Switzerland, Sweden, Denmark, Norway, Holland and Poland; 44,519 of other countries.⁷

⁶ William Gates Le Duc came to St. Paul in 1850, where he soon won recognition for his ability and his keen interest in the development of the territory. In 1853 the governor appointed him commissioner to the Crystal Palace Exhibition in New York, at which he displayed Minnesota agricultural products. His report to the governor afforded him an opportunity to append this recommendation in regard to immigration. For a later account by Le Duc of his experiences as fair commissioner, see his article entitled "Minnesota at the Crystal Palace Exhibition, New York, 1853," *ante*, 1: 351-368. A sketch of Le Duc by Gideon S. Ives appears *ante*, 3: 57-65.

⁷ Statistics of alien arrivals at the port of New York during 1851 and 1852, compiled by the secretary of state from reports of the customs-house collectors, are published in *Passengers Arriving in the United States*, 1850-51, p. 32-35; 1852, p. 9 (32 Congress, 1 session, *House Executive Documents*, no. 100; 32 Congress, 2 session, *House Executive Documents*, no. 45 — serials 644, 679). A table including figures for these years appears also in the New York Commissioners of Emigration, *Annual Reports*, 1868, p. 118; this table is reprinted in Appleton's *American Annual Cyclopædia and Register of Important Events*, 1869, p. 351 (New York, 1871). The secretary of state and the New York board of commissioners differ in their figures for various nationalities and consequently in their totals. The figures given in Le Duc's report are at variance with all of these reports; it is evident, however, that they are based on the report of the emigration commissioners and that discrepancies are due to typographical errors and mistakes in addition. The secretary of state reports, by quarters, a total of 278,703 aliens entering the port of New York in 1851 and 284,865 in 1852; the report of the commissioners of emigration gives 289,601 and 300,992 for the two years respectively.

By the above statistics we learn that there is a large proportionate decrease from Ireland, and the southern countries of Europe, while there is a remarkably large increase from Germany, Norway, Sweden, and the northern countries of Europe, where the soil, climate and productions are more nearly allied to that of Minnesota, and other northern inland States of the Union.

The immigration for the year 1853 has been, according to the best information obtained, not far from 300,000,⁸ and will show a still larger proportionate increase from northern Europe of that class of immigration particularly desirable for Minnesota. The greater part of the Germans, Norwegians, and Swedes who now emigrate, bring with them not only the means of reaching their respective destinations, and establishing themselves in some honest, if humble occupation, in our cities, towns, and inland counties, but they also bring what is incomparatively [*sic*] more valuable, honesty, sobriety, persevering industry, and mental cultivation sufficient to bring them, after a short residence among us within the benign influence of a Free Press.

This class of immigrants eagerly desire any reliable information of our country, and would naturally prefer and seek that portion more nearly like the land of their nativity.

By leaving pamphlets for gratuitous distribution at the various offices of emigration in New York, written in the language of the emigrant, and containing brief descriptions of our Territory and its advantages, with descriptions of the manner, time, and expense of travel, a wide and salutary influence might be excited.

There are also certain newspapers in Germany for the especial purpose of diffusing intelligence among emigrants, such as the

It is noteworthy that the New York customs-house collector reports no immigrants from Denmark in either of these years, nor any from Switzerland in 1851, whereas the emigration commissioners' report includes all of the countries listed by Le Duc.

⁸ Aliens arriving at the port of New York in 1853 totaled 284,945 according to the table in the report of the New York emigration commissioners cited above and 270,725 according to the report of the secretary of state in *Passengers from Foreign Countries*, 1853, p. 10-12 (33 Congress, 1 session, *House Executive Documents*, no. 78—serial 723). The latter figure is exclusive of six whose nationality was unknown.

General Emigration Gazette, published at Rudolstadt; the *German Emigrant*, published in Frankfort on the Main; the *Saxon Emigrant*, published in Leipsic. There are also associations in various parts of Germany, called Associations for the Protection of Emigrants, whose business it is to give all aid, information and assistance to the emigrant which may be useful in enabling him to establish himself satisfactorily in the new home he seeks. The Leipsic Association for Emigrants is the best and most widely extended of any of its kind, and it has branches all over Germany, and exercises an immense influence.

With these facts, I submit to the consideration of your Excellency, whether it is advisable to recommend legislative action to be taken to influence foreign emigration toward Minnesota.

Respectfully, &c.,
W. G. LE DUC.

EXTRACT FROM GOVERNOR GORMAN'S ANNUAL MESSAGE TO THE
LEGISLATURE, January 18, 1855

[*Council Journal*, 1855, p. 31]

Sound political economy has taught us that population is the basis of wealth and greatness. It is therefore the duty of the law-making power to so frame the political institutions of government as most certainly to secure it. Our agricultural, mineral and manufacturing resources are so abundant, that Minnesota needs no utopian pictures to be drawn to entice to our Territory either population, capital or commerce. We need only a true history of our broad fertile prairies, our woods, lakes, rivers, minerals, pineries, water power and navigation to tempt capital in abundance, and direct emigration to where they can find enough of those advantages combined to satisfy the enterprising of all classes and countries. We need not stop to inquire why it is that thousands of our fathers, brothers and friends can content themselves to stick to the worn out and comparatively barren soil of the old states, rather than seek a home in this invigorating and healthy climate and fertile soil. They will soon find out our facilities for wealth and comfort when we take steps to advertise them. I would, therefore, as the first step to this end, recommend that you take into consideration at the earliest

day convenient, the propriety of appointing an emigration agent to reside chiefly in the city of New York, whose duty it shall be to give to the people correct information of our Territory, its soil, climate, population, productions, agricultural, manufacturing and educational facilities, and prospects. Up to this time our Territory has had mainly to rely upon the faithful pen of visitors and our local press, while most of the territories of the confederacy have been ushered before the civilized world in congressional debates; each and every page of their history published before their organization, owing to the peculiar sensitiveness of the public mind north and south on the subject of slavery. The wealth, beauty and fertility of each hill, mountain, mine, prairie, navigable stream, soil and climate, have been portrayed by the able and watchful senator or representative in Congress, until the reader of our national history in the old world, and elsewhere, is fully informed from reliable authority of all he needs to enable him to make up his mind where he will go to seek a home. While Minnesota came before Congress quiet and unobtrusive, asked for a civil government, and has received it; and has made her way up to her present high position by the force of truth and her own natural resources, fertility and beauty. It is a lamentable truth that the climate of Minnesota is less understood among the masses of the people in the states, than almost anything else connected with her history. 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 to death, and man hardly dare venture out of his domicile. This popular error among the citizens of the states must be speedily corrected in some reliable manner.⁹ To this end, I respectfully recommend that you take measures to have prepared a brief, well-written pamphlet, giving

⁹ The notion that Minnesota was virtually icebound for twelve months of the year was a rather common one and advertisements of the territory therefore laid great emphasis on the fact that the common grains and garden vegetables might be successfully raised there. The other states competing for the immigrant traffic were often accused, sometimes with justice, of fostering mistaken ideas of the climate of Minnesota for their own advantage.

the facts in regard to the soil, climate, productions, agricultural, manufacturing and educational facilities; our growth, population and prospects; which, having your official sanction, will produce such favorable results as have been neither seen nor felt before. Such a brief official history of our territory should be placed in the hands of the people in all parts of this country and Europe through an emigration agent; and it is believed that it can be fully prepared by the first of March, and ready for distribution by the opening of navigation in the spring.¹⁰

¹⁰ No measure was passed during this session which made specific provision for the publication of a pamphlet about Minnesota Territory, although the commissioner of emigration provided for by the act of March 3 was authorized to insert advertisements in newspapers. Two such pamphlets did appear in 1855, however, under other auspices. One of these, *The Rise and Progress of Minnesota Territory*, was published by Charles L. Emerson, editor of the *Minnesota Democrat* (St. Paul) and member of a real estate firm. Its sixty-four pages contain a sketch of the territory in general, as well as accounts and statistics of individual counties and towns. The other, the *Minnesota Messenger, Containing Sketches of the Rise and Progress of Minnesota*, a pamphlet of seventy-eight pages, by A. D. Munson, includes similar data. As early as 1849 had appeared a work by the Reverend J. W. Putnam, entitled *Minnesota: A Description of the Natural, Political, Mechanical, and Agricultural State of the Country, Presenting Prospects for an Immediate Organization into a Territorial Government, with a Table of Distances* (Galena, 1849). From an incomplete copy of this pamphlet in the possession of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin a manuscript copy was made for the Minnesota Historical Society some years ago. See *ante*, 1:67. Among other works on Minnesota published before 1856 are E. S. Seymour's *Sketches of Minnesota, the New England of the West; with Incidents of Travel in that Territory during the Summer of 1849*, a volume of 281 pages published in New York in 1850; J. Wesley Bond's *Minnesota and Its Resources; To Which are Appended Camp-fire Sketches, or Notes of a Trip from St. Paul to Pembina and Selkirk Settlement on the Red River of the North* (Chicago, 1853), a substantial volume of 400 pages which passed through several editions in three years; H. W. Hamilton's *Rural Sketches of Minnesota, the El Dorado of the Northwest* (Milan, Ohio, 1850); and the five annual editions of William G. Le Duc's *Minnesota Year Book*, the first of which appeared in 1851. The newspapers also printed articles from time to time dealing with the history and resources of the territory.

THE FIRST MINNESOTA IMMIGRATION LAW, March 3, 1855¹¹

[*Daily Minnesota Pioneer* (St. Paul), April 21, 1855]

AN ACT

To Provide for the Appointment of a Commissioner of Emigration for the Territory of Minnesota.

Be it Enacted by the Legislative Assembly of Minnesota Territory:

Section 1. A Commissioner of Emigration for the Territory of Minnesota shall be appointed by the Governor, by and with the advice and consent of the Legislature; said Commissioner shall have been at the time of appointment at least three months in the Territory, and shall hold said office from the fourth day of March next to the fourth day of March, 1856. He shall as soon as practicable reside and keep an office in the city of New York, and for the term of his appointment be present during the usual business hours at such office, and by explanation to individuals who may call upon him, by communications to emigrants and kindred associations, by lectures in New York and vicinity, and by publications in newspapers of the United States and foreign countries, furnish to immigrants all necessary information in relation to the soil, climate, resources and condition of the Territory, particularly designating the branches of industry and business to be pursued therein with advantage, and the cheapest and most expeditious routes by which the same can reach the Territory, and he shall give such further information as will protect immigrants as far as practicable against impositions practiced upon them; and shall report to the Governor quarterly, the number of immigrants sent by him to this Territory, their nationality and branches of business intended to be pursued by them, and

¹¹ This law is not included in the printed session laws of 1855, undoubtedly as the result of an oversight, and as it was no longer operative after March 3, 1857, it is not included in the compilation of statutes issued in 1858. Nor is the bill to be found among the legislative papers in the Minnesota Archives in the custody of the Minnesota Historical Society, which are very incomplete for these early years. The law was reenacted in 1856 with slight amendments: the salary of the commissioner was increased to fifteen hundred dollars and a blanket appropriation of one thousand dollars was made to cover all other expenses, including that of advertising. *Minnesota Territory, Laws, 1856, p. 20.*

to make such suggestions as he may deem important to the Territory; he shall also make a full report to the next session of the Legislature of the Territory,¹² and for his services he shall receive no other compensation, fee or reward, than such as is or may be provided for by law.

Sec. 2. The following sums of money are hereby appropriated out of any monies in the Territorial treasury not otherwise appropriated, or Territorial orders shall be issued for the same, to carry out the object of this act: the sum of \$1000 for the salaries of the said Commissioner of Emigration for one year; a sum not exceeding \$250 for office rent; a sum not exceeding \$200 for office furniture, maps and stationery; a sum not exceeding \$300 for clerk hire of said Commissioner, and the sum of \$100 for contingent expenses.

Sec. 3. The salary of said Commissioner shall be paid to him quarterly in advance, and the remainder of the sums appropriated shall be paid on the order of the Governor for said purposes, in such sums and at such times as the Governor shall direct, and said Commissioner shall render to him an accurate account of the disbursements thereof.

Sec. 4. The said Commissioner, before entering upon the duties of his office, shall give bond to the treasurer of the Terri-

¹² The commissioner's annual report to the legislature, dated January 14, 1856, is published in the legislative journals. That for the following year has not been located. In his letter of February 6, 1857, Burnand informs the governor that he has sent his report to the legislature, but apparently it never was published. Of the quarterly reports to the governor for 1855 only one has been located; this is dated June 8, just three days after Burnand's arrival in New York. He states that up to June 6, only 52,218 emigrants had arrived at the port of New York as compared with 114,467 to the same date of the previous year. About two thousand had returned to Europe immediately upon their arrival, not because of lack of means, but because they had received the impression that "there was no protection for them in this Country in a political and religious point of view." In spite of these unfavorable circumstances he was preparing measures "to secure to Minnesota as many substantial and able farmers and mechanics" as possible. This report, the letter of February 6, 1857, and a report dated June 8, 1856, are in the Governor's Archives, File no. 573; reports of May 5, February 16, and August 31, 1856, are in Reports of Territorial Officers, File no. 463. The last two are financial statements, the latter of which is accompanied by vouchers for expenditures to that date.

tory with two or more sureties to be approved by the Governor, conditioned that said Commissioner shall faithfully disburse the several sums herein appropriated in accordance with the provisions of this act.

J. S. NORRIS, Speaker of H. of R.
WM. P. MURRAY, Pres't Council.

Approved March 3d, 1855.

W. A. GORMAN.

I hereby certify the foregoing to be a correct copy of the original act on file in this office.

J. TRAVIS ROSSER,
Secretary of Minnesota Territory.

A NEWSPAPER EDITORIAL, March 16, 1855

[*Daily Minnesotian* (St. Paul), March 16, 1855]

AGENT OF IMMIGRATION

Most of the new Western States have tried the experiment of appointing Agents of Immigration to reside in the city of New York, and devote their time to inducing immigrants who are wending their way westward, to settle within the jurisdiction of their respective agencies. Success, both in regard to numbers and character of the people induced to locate in accordance with this plan of populating the fertile lands of the new States, has been governed by the ability, energy, and associations of the respective agents themselves. If an agent be a man who goes to New York, and has only the qualifications and *taste* — if that be a proper term — to associate with and control the hordes of steerage paupers and transported convicts that are daily thrown upon our shores from the lazar houses and prisons of Europe, it were certainly better that Minnesota should have no Agent of Immigration. But if we have one who is, by education and association, a man of broad and liberal intelligence, and withal a gentleman, we believe much good, not only to the Territory but to tens of thousands of the human family, may be accomplished by the existence of such an official.

Our Legislature at its late session, created the office of Agent of Immigration for the Territory of Minnesota. The primary appointing power rested with the Governor; and we were pleased

to learn yesterday that he had conferred upon Eugene Bernand, Esq., the position contemplated by the action of the people's representatives. Mr. Bernand is a Swiss by birth—a native of the city of Geneva. He is a gentleman of classical education, and speaks fluently the three great controlling languages of Europe—English, French and German. He has been a citizen of the United States for many years; and at one time undertook the hazardous enterprise, at his own expense, of locating a large colony of his countrymen in the counties of Lewis and Jefferson, in the State of New York. After purchasing the lands, he visited Europe, and succeeded in procuring his colony; but when its members arrived in this country and found that their promised location was upon lands covered with heavy forests of timber, and that “out West” there were millions of acres delivered over by the hand of nature ready for the plow, they started for the Illinois prairies, much to the disappointment and pecuniary disadvantage of Mons. Bernand.

Having finally concluded that the West, and particularly that portion of it comprised within the limits of Minnesota, was *the* place in all the Union to make his final home, Mons. Bernand pitched his tent among us last year. Soon after his arrival here, Rev. Mr. Neill made his acquaintance, and became so favorably impressed with his abilities as a scholar and a competent man, that he offered him the charge of the male department of the Baldwin School. This was declined, on the ground that Mr. B. did not wish to engage permanently in teaching. We are strongly impressed with the fact that Gov. Gorman has made the best possible selection he could, all things considered, by the appointment of this gentleman. He will leave for the East some time during the month of April, and meantime wishes to gather all the information he possibly can in regard to Minnesota and its resources.¹³

¹³ In the Governor's Archives, File no. 573, is a letter of Charles E. Clarke, written from Great Bend, New York, October 18, 1854, introducing Burnand to Governor Gorman; according to this, Burnand was a graduate of the University of Heidelberg and in addition to a mastery of French and German had also some knowledge of the Spanish language. After the expiration of his office Burnand returned to St. Paul, where he died on March 6, 1880. For a brief sketch of his eventful and interesting career, see the *Daily Pioneer Press* (St. Paul), March 7, 1880.

EUGENE BURNAND TO GOVERNOR GORMAN, August 7, 1855

[Governor's Archives, File no. 573—L. S.]

OFFICE OF THE COMMISSIONER OF EMIGRATION FOR MINNESOTA BATTERY PLACE N^o 1 NEW YORK, August 7th 1855
TO HIS EXCELLENCY GOVERNOR WILLIS A. GORMAN,
SIR,

I beg to enclose a copy of the rules and regulations of Castle Garden, as the Emigrant landing depot.¹⁴ After a perusal of the same you will see the importance of my being admitted within the castle, in order that I may hand or cause to be handed a paper which I had printed for distribution among Emigrants. Under the present circumstances whenever I may wish to visit the castle, I must apply to one of the Commissioners of Emigration who may or may not be willing to give me a card of admission. Therefore I am advised to write to your Excellency on this subject and request the favor of a letter directed to Gulian C. Verplank President of the Board of C^{rs} of Emigration,¹⁵ stating to him the object of my mission in New York and asking that the Board may grant me free access to Castle Garden. Writing officially as Governor of the Territory of Minnesota, I

¹⁴ In May of this year the New York board of emigration commissioners had succeeded in leasing the building known as Castle Garden, situated in Battery Park on Manhattan Island, and had established there a landing depot. The structure was an historic one, having been erected as a fortress in 1807 and later converted into an amusement hall and indoor garden. The first board of emigration commissioners of New York was established in 1847 as a result of widespread agitation for measures to protect the helpless foreigner from the rapacity, fraud, and misrepresentation to which he was subjected by dishonest individuals and institutions. After Castle Garden was obtained by the board all emigrants coming to New York landed there, and only persons authorized to do so were permitted to enter to sell transportation tickets, solicit trade, and exchange foreign money. In 1890, after the federal government assumed full charge of immigration, the depot was removed to Ellis Island. Interesting pictures of the exterior and interior of the Castle Garden depot are published in the report of the New York board of emigration commissioners for 1868.

¹⁵ Gulian Crommelin Verplanck was president of the New York board of emigration commissioners from the time of its inception in 1847 until his death in 1870. See Charles P. Daly, *Gulian C. Verplanck; His Ancestry, Life, and Character* (New York, 1870).

have not the slightest doubt that the favor will be granted. Mr. Garrigue one of the Commissioners of Emigration and President of the German Society, offered me to present your letter to the Board. Have the goodness to send me that letter, as soon [as] you can conveniently do so.¹⁶

I remain, Your Excellencys, Most obedient and devoted
Servant,

EUG. BURNAND

[*Enclosure — Broadside*]

RULES AND REGULATIONS FOR THE GOVERNMENT OF THE
EMIGRANT LANDING DEPOT AT CASTLE GARDEN.

1. All emigrant passengers, on landing at the depot, shall be carefully examined in passing from the vessel to the Castle, for the purpose of ascertaining whether any are liable to be specially bonded, or in such condition of health as to require hospital care.

2. The examining officer shall make careful record of such persons as are liable to be specially bonded, and immediately report to the *Mayor* at his office.

3. The examining officer shall also make record of such persons as require hospital care, and shall have them placed in charge for immediate removal to the appropriate hospital.

4. Before passengers shall be permitted to disperse themselves in the enclosure, each person or head of family shall be properly interrogated in relation to destination, the route of travel preferred, if any, and the means possessed for defraying the expense of transportation; of which proper record shall be made.

5. At the time of making record, or at any other time, such advice and information shall be imparted in each case as may be desired, or as the parties seem to require.

6. No officer or other person shall recommend one route of travel in preference to another, having the same destination, nor recommend the purchase of tickets from one office in the enclosure in preference to another, under the penalty of exclusion

¹⁶ A copy of the letter written by Gorman to Verplanck in compliance with Burnand's request is in the Governor's Archives, Territorial Records, vol. 2, under date of August 21, 1855. Burnand soon after was given permission to enter Castle Garden.

from the depot; provided that such exclusion shall not be taken as relieving an offending party from prosecution, under the laws of the State, for improperly soliciting emigrant passengers.

7. Immediately after examination, the emigrant passengers shall be furnished with an adequate supply of Croton water ¹⁷ to enable them to cleanse their persons.

8. The interior of the Castle, and the galleries and promenade connected therewith, shall be free for the use of the recently arrived emigrants, until ready to take their departure.

9. When the emigrant elects to remain in the city of New-York, or its vicinity, he will be permitted to leave the enclosure by the land side, so soon as he has properly cleansed his person with water.

10. The expense of landing luggage from the emigrant vessels to the emigrant depot shall be borne by the owners of such vessels, and the expense of transferring it from the depot to the point of departure from the city shall be borne by the proprietors of the route of travel for which they are ticketed. Such emigrants as remain in the city of New-York shall defray the expense of removing their luggage from the depot.

11. The proprietors of the several routes of travel are required to transport by water conveyance, from the depot at Castle Garden, all emigrant passengers who may have been ticketed there, together with their luggage, to the starting place of such proprietors, and placed in their conveyance free of any expense whatever. In no case shall transportation by land from the depot be permitted, unless the passage by water is so obstructed by ice as to make it imperatively necessary, and in that case the expense of such transportation shall be borne by such proprietors of routes.

12. Before the removal of luggage by the proprietors of any route of travel from the depot, the same shall be weighed, and each piece shall be ticketed to its destination, with a common number for all the pieces of luggage of any one passenger, and a proper check given to each passenger, setting forth the number

¹⁷ In 1842 the aqueduct connecting New York with the Croton River, flowing into the Hudson forty miles above the city, was put into operation. Martha J. Lamb, *History of the City of New York*, 2:730 (New York, 1877).

of his luggage ticket, the number of pieces of luggage, the gross weight, and the charge he is liable to for its transportation to the point of destination. The same to be signed as a receipt for the luggage by a proper agent of the proprietors of the several routes of travel.

13. No person shall be employed by any party occupying an office within the enclosure as clerk, ticket seller, or interpreter, or in any other capacity, unless first submitted for approval to the Commissioners of Emigration, and approbation is given. Such approval may be withdrawn at any time, and the person excluded from the premises.

14. The Committee on the Emigrant Landing Depot are empowered to suspend any officer or employee of the Commissioners, or of any clerk or other employee of other parties, stationed in the depot, for violation of rule; and temporarily to fill any vacancy that may occur in the officers of the Commissioners, and approve of appointments by other parties, subject to the action of the Commissioners.

15. No licensed emigrant runner shall be permitted to enter the premises, under any pretence whatever.

16. No person shall be admitted within the enclosure except the officers, employees, and emigrant passengers, unless on special permission of the officer in charge at the time. A book shall be kept in which shall be registered the name of every person specially admitted, and the time of admittance.

OFFICE OF THE COMMISSIONERS OF EMIGRATION,
New-York, June 13th, 1855.

At a Meeting of the Board, held this day, the foregoing Rules and Regulations for the government of the Emigrant Depot, at Castle Garden, were adopted.

Vice President.
Secretary.

CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN CHARLES P. DALY AND DANIEL A.
ROBERTSON, 1855¹⁸

[*Daily Pioneer and Democrat* (St. Paul), January 26, 1856]

CORRESPONDENCE WITH JUDGE DALY ON EMIGRATION
AGENCY—EMIGRATION TO MINNESOTA, &C.

MR. EDITOR:—Believing that but a few of the people of this Territory fully appreciate the advantages to be derived from judicious measures for securing a large emigration from Europe, I deem it proper to communicate for publication, the following correspondence with Judge DALY, of the Court of Common Pleas of New York city. The Judge's letter contains many valuable suggestions, which I commend to the favorable consideration of the citizens and presses of the Territory. The object sought is not the service of any party or selfish interest, but the public good of Minnesota only.

Judge DALY is a gentleman of the highest character, distinguished for ability and public spirit; he has traveled over Europe, speaks its languages, and is familiar with the habits, opinions, and literature of that portion of the globe. He owns property here, intends to become a resident, and feels a deep interest in the progress of the Territory. His views are, therefore, entitled to the greatest respect.

ST. PAUL, Sept. 8, 1855.

DEAR JUDGE:—It has occurred to me that as you feel some interest in the development of our Territory, and are well acquainted with the arrangement existing in your city respecting emigration, to ask you, if your time will permit, to ascertain what has been done for Minnesota in New York. Our Governor

¹⁸ Daniel A. Robertson, who had settled in St. Paul in 1850 where he founded the *Minnesota Democrat*, was at this time interested in land speculation. For sketches of his life and the services he rendered the state, see Charles E. Flandrau, *Encyclopedia of Biography of Minnesota*, 431 (*History of Minnesota*, vol. 1—Chicago, 1900); Thomas M. Newson, *Pen Pictures of St. Paul, Minnesota, and Biographical Sketches of Old Settlers*, 217 (St. Paul, 1886); *Mankato: Its First Fifty Years*, 298 (Mankato, 1903); and the *St. Paul Dispatch*, March 18, 1895. Charles P. Daly was a prominent jurist, geographer, and author of New York. Although he owned land in St. Paul and, it was said, planned to remove to Minnesota Territory, he never did so. *Lamb's Biographical Dictionary*

appointed an agent for the Territory, Mr. E. Burnand, (to whom I have given a letter of introduction to you) to be permanently located in New York, as I informed you on a recent visit to this city, and I am anxious to know what he is doing or what has been done, towards forwarding emigration to this quarter. Is he, in your opinion, the right kind of person, or has he gone to work in the right way? I and many of your friends here, would feel exceedingly indebted if you would make this inquiry. As I know that you are extensively acquainted with the subject of emigration, we would also feel indebted for any suggestions that may occur to you respecting our agency in New York, and upon the subject of emigration generally, upon which, it is important our people should have the most enlightened views.

Very truly yours,

D. A. ROBERTSON.

TO THE HON. C. P. DALY, New York City.

NEW YORK, Oct. 3, 1855.

MY DEAR SIR:—I have made the enquiries you suggested, and they are satisfactory; I think you have been fortunate in the selection of your Agent. He is a gentlemanly, well-informed man, whose deportment and manner will inspire confidence. He speaks several languages fluently and seems to be exceedingly well-informed respecting Minnesota. He has established an office at No. 1 Battery Place, close to Castle Garden, which has now become the sole emigrant depot, and I think, considering the inadequate means furnished him, that he has accomplished much more than could have been expected. To direct emigration to Minnesota it is necessary to inform Swiss and German Emigrants, now the principal class, of its advantages before they depart from Europe, for the great bulk and most reliable part of them, those who emigrate in families, bringing with them the necessary capital, determine before they leave home what part of the United States they will go to. To reach this class, information must be disseminated by advertisements in the emi-

of the United States, 2:324 (Boston, 1900). According to an editorial comment in the *Pioneer and Democrat* for January 26, 1856, the correspondence is reprinted from the *Minnesota Pioneer* for October 22, 1855. No copy of the *Pioneer* of that date is in the newspaper collection of the Minnesota Historical Society.

grant Gazettes of Germany and Switzerland, a special kind of newspaper published for the use of emigrants, of which there are two in Switzerland and five in Germany. Mr. Bernand has advertised in these papers to an extent even beyond the means supplied him, and I send you herewith a translation of his advertisement, which, I think, is a very judicious one. His office is kept open daily, during the regular business hours, and he seems to be constantly employed in furnishing information, besides which he has obtained from the Commissioners of Emigration, access to the emigrant depot at Castle Garden, and the right of communicating freely with the emigrants; a privilege accorded to but very few, and which in his case, I think, is mainly owing to the confidence felt by the Commissioners in his integrity and character. He seems, so far, to have been very successful, and has induced a great many to go to Minnesota. When I consider how crippled he has been for want of means, it is really a matter of wonder, with the active competition that exists here, that he has been able to accomplish so much.

The establishment of an emigrant agent was a very judicious step, but it is not enough. — When you consider that the State of Wisconsin has expended from \$20,000 to \$30,000 annually, to further emigration to that State, — that she has ten agents; one general agent here, two in Europe, and others in New England and other places: that Canada, to lead emigration thither expends about \$25,000 annually; to say nothing of the large sums expended by Railroad and other Companies having lands in Illinois, Michigan and other States, which they are desirous should be settled upon; and that N. York is the focus of all the enterprise and capital, you will see that some thing more must be done by Minnesota — a part of the United States as yet unknown to the great bulk of emigrants, even by name. There has been, moreover, an enormous falling off in emigration this year. — For ten years the stream of emigration has continued unabated and being principally directed to the west, it has been the leading cause of its expansion, wealth and prosperity. The check which has now taken place will soon produce its effect upon every part of the West, and greater effort will be required to induce emigration to particular States and Territories, than was necessary before. The emigration at this port at the beginning of last month, did

not come up to 50,000, while at the same period last year, it exceeded 127,000. It is true that the emigration to Canada has increased over last year; but the surplus there is scarcely one-fifth of the deficiency here. The diminution, this year, in the opinion of the best informed, will be followed by no reaction in the next, but all appearances indicate, that emigration will continue to diminish for some years to come. For this change three causes are assigned. 1st. The war in Europe. 2d. The diminution of the population of Ireland from famine, emigration, and other causes, and the consequent increase in the value of labor; and 3d. The Know-Nothing movement in the United States; the last of which causes is believed to have had the greatest effect.

As respects the first of these causes, it is true, that the three belligerent powers, England, France and Russia, are not the nations from which the most extensive emigration was proceeding, but Austria, Prussia and other of the German States have been compelled, from the hostile state of affairs, to keep large contingents in the field, and the drawing off of so great a body of men, from the pursuits of industry, offers a more extended field and necessity for the labor of the other, while the deranged and unsettled state of affairs, renders it more difficult for those who would emigrate to get the means.—The draft made upon the population of Ireland for the war has also been considerable, and in the enhanced value of labor, the Irish laborer can now do as well at home as he could here.—But these causes are subordinate to the effects produced upon the people of Germany and Ireland, and in fact upon all the emigrating countries of Europe, by the Know-Nothing movement and the aversion and prejudice manifested towards those of foreign birth in the United States and to the indignities and violence to which they have been subject. You cannot open a German newspaper without finding it full of the details of what has taken place and is taking place here in respect to foreigners, the publication of which is encouraged and even paid for by the European governments, now anxious to check emigration, so as to bring republican institutions into disrepute among all classes of their people. In this they are aided by numbers of the liberal and popular writers of Germany, hitherto strong advocates of us and our institutions, but who in view of what has recently taken place

in this country are beginning to doubt the liberalizing tendency of American progress, and to find a contrast between our government in theory, and the illiberality, prejudice and persecution, that has marked the conduct of so many of our people toward foreigners. In Ireland, where the bulk of the population are Catholics, the clergy have united in a body to dissuade the people from emigrating to the United States, upon the ground that there their religion is persecuted by the people more than it is at home by the protestant government of Great Britain. That the intolerance shown by the tearing down of the churches, the unprovoked invasion and burning of their property,—and even where they are not subjected to actual violence their faith is regarded by those who differ with them in religious belief, with that marked feeling of hostility next akin to persecution. In the Catholic countries of Austria, Belgium and the Catholic part of Prussia, similar views are spreading, though the feeling at present manifested is much less in degree.

Throughout Germany the United States has hitherto been regarded with a feeling, that has invested it in the minds of the people, with a kind of poetical interest. Both the educated and uneducated have looked upon it as a land of freedom, where every man was equal, whatever might be his birth-place, his religion or his former condition in society. That he was so regarded and treated by virtue of his rights as a man, exercising equal political privileges, with every field of industry before him, and the certainty of a full and adequate reward for his exertions and labor—that every stranger who was honest and industrious was warmly welcomed—that land was cheap and abundant; and that in climate, fertility of soil, magnificent scenery, &c., that our country was the El Dorado of the earth. To the poetical minded people of Germany there was a charm in our vast forests, sweeping prairies, great lakes, chains of mountains, and mighty rivers, that filled their minds with insatiable longing for the enjoyment of that which in their own tongue is expressed by “the free nature,” and this was especially true of the more cultivated classes, who, when the Know Nothing excitement first began to manifest itself, were beginning largely to emigrate.

Much of the public ardor has abated by the knowledge now pretty generally disseminated over Germany, of the hardships

necessarily encountered in western life—of the decimation by disease in unhealthy localities—of the frauds and impositions practised upon their inexperience, and of the great change they experience from dwelling among a people speaking another tongue, who treat and look upon them as inferior, from the imperfect use of the language of the country, and a people whose sentiments, feelings, habits, mode of thought and life, are so distinct and different from what they have been accustomed to in their fatherland. When to this is added the effect produced upon the German mind by the Know Nothing excitement here, its consequences and tendencies, you will see that the desire for emigration will gradually become limited to those whose pecuniary condition at home, is such as to render it a necessity—a class who do not, like the other, bring capital and intelligence as well as labor.

As the principles or views of those who have combined in the Know-Nothing organization would have a tendency, if carried out, to prevent the future growth, development and prosperity of the country; as they are in direct conflict with the causes that have led to our present increase and advancement, especially as exhibited in the extending growth of the West, they can have no permanent duration, but will soon be abandoned. The excitement that produced them will speedily pass away, but the effect this hostile demonstration has produced upon the emigrating classes of Europe will be of longer duration. It has broken the charm which our institutions had in the eyes of the great masses in Europe, and under the most favorable auspices, some years must go by before we can expect a reaction. In the German mind especially, an impression once implanted is not speedily eradicated; and already advantage is being taken of the changed state of things in Germany. An extensive movement is now going on for promoting emigration to the Brazils, which is warmly and earnestly advocated by one of the leading emigrant Gazettes referred to. In addition to which, Austria, now in military occupation of the Turco Danubian provinces, is employing every means to bring about a large German emigration to those rich and fertile agricultural districts.¹⁹

¹⁹ It is a somewhat remarkable fact that at the very time the Know-nothing movement was in full swing in the East, South, and Far West,

I have already extended the letter so far, that I have not space, nor at present time, to point out, in detail, the measures which I think should be adopted by the people of Minnesota to direct emigration to that Territory. As soon as I can find leisure, I will write you again, giving you my views at length. It is a subject in which every business man in St. Paul, every man interested in land, every man in fact, who desires the increase and settlement of the Territory, has the deepest interest. At present I can but say generally, that the first and most important thing is to have a thorough knowledge of Minnesota, its soil, climate, and advantages disseminated among the emigrating classes of Europe, by means of accredited, reliable, and able organs, written in the language of the people for whom the information is designed. — This has been done most effectually for Michigan, Wisconsin, and other Western States. — From what I have seen and learned of Minnesota myself, I am satisfied that it will bear comparison with the most favored Western States, and that in point of health, it is superior to most of them. But it will not do for Minnesota to rest solely upon this assurance. Emigration, or the means by which emigration is directed to particular quarters of the United States, is now almost reduced to a system, and in the active competition that is going on, she must make use of the sound means that other States are making use of, if her people count upon an increase, at all corresponding with the sanguine views I found entertained by yourself and other leading gentlemen in my recent visit to St. Paul. The mere pittance, which is now devoted to that object will ac-

the states of the Northwest — confronted by quite different economic problems — were actively encouraging immigration. Nativism was not unknown in the northern Mississippi Valley, but the Know-nothing movement won little formal support there. That the western attitude toward immigration on the whole has been liberal is due doubtless to the fact that "cheap land, unlimited opportunities, sparse population, and an unbounded optimism have reduced friction and facilitated assimilation." See George M. Stephenson, "Nativism in the Forties and Fifties, with Special Reference to the Mississippi Valley," in the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, 9: 185-202 (December, 1922). No book has been published on the Know-nothing movement of the early fifties which brings out the relation between nativism and immigrant settlement in the Northwest; and most of the published studies of Know-nothingism deal primarily with political aspects of the subject.

compish but little. — If the government of the Territory, is at present too poor, or if it will not act in the matter, then the business men, or those whose pecuniary interests are to be advanced by its rapid growth and settlement must organize, as they have done in Wisconsin, and supply the means, when they have found out the way in which they can be used most judiciously. Having some pecuniary interests in St. Paul, though, as you know, it is but little, I should feel called upon to co-operate in any measures to be adopted there to promote this most important object, and every assistance in the way of obtaining assistance or information here, I will most cheerfully render, so far as I can find leisure, amid my weighty public duties.

I remain, as ever, Most truly yours,

CHAS. F. [P.] DALY.

COL. D. A. ROBERTSON, St. Paul.

ANNUAL REPORT TO THE LEGISLATURE OF THE COMMISSIONER OF
EMIGRATION, 1856²⁰

[*Council Journal*, 1856, p. 61-63]

MINNESOTA TERRITORY, ST. PAUL, January 14, 1856.

TO THE HONORABLE, THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY OF THE TERRITORY OF MINNESOTA :

In compliance with the first section of an Act passed by the Legislative Assembly of Minnesota, providing for the appointment of a Commissioner of Emigration for the Territory, which makes it the duty of said Commissioner to report annually to the Legislature, I beg to make the following statement.

According to the provisions of the act above mentioned, I ought to have been in New York at an early day after the 4th of March, 1855. In the absence, however, of any funds in the hands of the Territorial Treasurer, Warrants were issued to me, which remained unavailable till the 20th of May, when a part of them, amounting to three hundred and twenty-five dollars, were redeemed by certain county Treasurers. Insufficient as this sum was, I left St. Paul for New York, where I arrived on the 5th of June. It is to be regretted that so much valuable time was

²⁰ The report is printed also in the *House Journal*, 1856, p. 83-85.

irretrievably lost. As soon as it was possible, I opened and furnished an office at No. 1, Battery Place, under the Battery Hotel, near Castle Garden, where, without delay, all the preliminary measures were taken to secure the objects of my mission. The first step I took, was to cause advertisements and editorials to be inserted, not only in German papers published in this country, but also in papers published in Germany and Switzerland.

In these two latter countries, there is a special kind of newspaper exclusively devoted and addressed to the emigrant. 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. Only one of these papers, the "Colonization Emigration Gazette," published in Hamburg, advocates the interest of Brazil, Chili and other parts of South America, and makes it a point to republish anything they can find against the United States. With this exception, all the other papers seem to look upon the United States as the most favorable country to emigrate to. I have corresponded with these papers, and my advertisements now occupy a permanent place in their columns. Occasionally, editorials call the attention of the reader to these advertisements. These articles will be read and pondered over during the present winter by those intending to emigrate, and a most satisfactory result may be expected by next spring.

I would most respectfully [*sic*] suggest the propriety of employing commercial firms of Hamburg, Bremen, Rotterdam, Antwerp and Havre, as agents, with the power of receiving the passage money of emigrants, from New York to Minnesota. These Agents might give the emigrant an order on me which would entitle the bearer to a full passage to St. Paul. I have lately called upon Mr. Marsh, Secretary of the Erie Railroad Co., to whom I broached the subject, and who seemed disposed to make permanent arrangements through me with firms in European seaports in the manner suggested. It is well understood, that these Agents are compensated for their trouble by the competing Railroad companies in this country, always anxious to secure the greatest number of passengers. By the above arrangement, the danger of emigrants to Minnesota being diverted from their route, would be avoided, for, there are al-

ways interested and officious parties in New York, Chicago, and elsewhere, ready to misrepresent the State of affairs here. — Our high northern latitude particularly, has, in many instances, been made a bug bear to the emigrant and frightened him from risking his life among the alledged *mountains of ice* in this Territory.

In addition to the following European Emigration papers, viz:

“Die Sud Deutsche Auswanderung’s Zeitung,” published in Schwabisch Hall.

“Die Hansa,” Hamburg.

“Die Bremen Auswanderung’s Zeitung,” Bremen.

“Die Allgemeine Auswanderung’s Zeitung,” Rudolstadt, Saxony.

“Die Schweizer Auswanderung’s Zeitung,” Switzerland.

I have employed the following papers in this country;

“Die Neue Zeit,” New York.

“Die Handels Zeitung,” New York.

“Die New York Abendzeitung,” New York.

“Die N. Y. Demokrat,” New York.

“Der Unentgeldlicher Wegweise,” New York.

The last named paper contains a lengthy advertisement descriptive of the resources of Minnesota. Three thousand copies are sent weekly to European seaports, and there distributed among emigrants. This paper being a mere sheet of advertisements, suffers no difficulty in its distribution and circulation throughout Germany, whereas a political paper, published in this country, would 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.

Your Honorable body will at once perceive the impropriety of your Commissioner assuming the position of a mere runner,²¹ always ready to fight or grasp the emigrant by his collar, is an argument *ad rem* surely, but disgraceful and of no avail to one

²¹ “Runners” were persons employed by boarding-house keepers and transportation companies to meet the emigrant and strike a bargain with him as advantageous as possible to the agencies by whom they were employed. Richmond Mayo Smith, *Emigration and Immigration*, 118 (New York, 1890).

in my position; yet many persons seem to be impressed with the preposterous idea, that it is one of the first duties of the Commissioner to board ships, or be watching the landing of emigrants at Castle Garden.

Emigration in 1855, has dwindled down to about one third of what it was in 1854.²² The Know Nothings pretend that their political doctrines, subversive as they are of all the principles that have hitherto governed this Republic and elevated it to the unrivalled position it now occupies among nations, have nothing to do with this unprecedented diminution. They further say, that immigration into the British Provinces has proportionally decreased; but unfortunately for the solidity of their reasoning, and veracity of their statements the official returns of the English government show, that the British Provinces had in 1855, 53,183 emigrants, and 36,699 for the previous year. The diminution of emigration to this country may partially be attributed to the efforts made by several South American governments to attract German settlers. It has been said that Wisconsin at present has no Agent in New York. This is not so. The office of Commissioners of emigration for Wisconsin, after having been of immense service to that State, has been legally abolished, but *de facto* maintained. After the astonishing influx of foreign immigration, after so much wealth had been brought to and developed in that State, the office was by many no longer considered necessary; others differed from this view of the subject, and the Agency was continued and the expenses defrayed by private individuals. Mr. Schette is yet the Agent, and has his office in Greenwich street, N. Y. Canada has also thought proper to send an agent to Europe.

During the present season, I sent a number of individuals to Minnesota, more or less able, some of whom were farmers, others

²² The New York emigration commissioners report 136,233 alien arrivals at the port of New York in 1855 as compared with 319,223 in the previous year. The total alien immigration into all ports of the United States, according to the report of the secretary of state, was 427,833 in 1854 and 200,877 in 1855. *Passengers Arriving in the United States*, 1854, p. 39; 1855, p. 38 (33 Congress, 2 session, *House Executive Documents*, no. 77; 34 Congress, 1 session, *House Executive Documents*, no. 29—serials 788, 851).

mechanics. Among the latter, are blacksmiths, carpenters, shoemakers, tanners, glovemakers, painters, lock and gunsmiths, and dressmakers. I am now negotiating with three different parties who are organizing associations of individuals proposing to remove to Minnesota. Two of these are in Europe, and one in Pittsburgh. The Director of one, in Belgium, informs me that they have a capital of one million of francs. The other European association is under the guidance and direction of the Rev. Mr. Lorrington, a clergyman, of the Protestant Church. The Secretary of the association in Pittsburgh, with whom I have corresponded, informs me that it is composed of one hundred and five heads, all Germans and citizens of the U. S. In his letter to me, he states, that these persons, disgusted with the persecutions of the Know Nothings, have determined to seek a home in our Territory, where, I have assured them, Know Nothingism is hardly known. I hope and trust that I have not mistaken in so saying.²³

The affairs in my office in New York have been put in the best possible shape, and the results of my mission will, I have no doubt, meet the expectations of the most sanguine. I may add here, that I have availed myself of frequent opportunities to mention Minnesota as a most desirable place for capitalists to invest money. Several gentlemen of large means, who heretofore had no confidence in the security of our laws for the protection of creditors and of titles to property, have expressed to me their intention of visiting the Territory next spring for the purpose of making investments.

²³ This was the Pittsburgh Homestead Association, comprised of German farmers, mechanics, and storekeepers living near Pittsburgh, who had organized for purposes of emigration. A letter to Burnand from this society, dated January 10, 1856, appears in the *Pioneer and Democrat* for January 28 over the signature of L. W. Volkenbeck. The writer indicates his intention of coming to Minnesota Territory in May to choose land for the members of the association; he states that there are 120 of them, that they will want 9,840 acres, and that they have \$12,300 with which to purchase the property. "As daily new members join us," he adds, "the number of acres wanted will greatly exceed 10,000." He promises that if the land can be selected, measured, and bought before June 1, fifteen families will be sent at once and one hundred more will come in 1857. Burnand again refers to this association in his report of June 8, 1856. Undoubtedly the "Kolkanbeck" of whom he speaks and the writer of the letter cited above are the same individual. See *post*, p. 201. Information concerning the result of this project is at present unavailable.

The monies provided by the act of the last Legislature for contingencies and salary, have hardly been sufficient. The heavy discount I have been compelled to submit to on Territorial orders has reduced the amount allowed me, nearly one quarter, with the exception of \$325.00 collected from certain county Treasurers, and \$350, remitted by Messrs. Borup & Oakes, who generously accepted the orders at par. The balance of the Territorial orders issued me were sold at seventy-five and eighty cents per dollar; thus causing a deficiency of over \$250.00 in my receipts.

All of which is respectfully submitted.

E. BURNAND.

BURNAND TO GOVERNOR GORMAN, May 5, 1856

[Governor's Archives, Reports of Territorial Officers, File no. 463—L. S.]

NEW YORK May 5th 1856

TO HIS EXCELLENCY GOVERNOR W. A. GORMAN.

DEAR SIR,

Although the time has not arrived when an official report will be required by you, yet I beg to address you a few unofficial lines. My report to you, dated February 16th, in relation to the disposition of the Contingent Fund allowed me for the year beginning March 4th/55 and ending March 4th/56 does not meet the requirements of the law as it does not contain the items of the sums expended with the vouchers thereof. A full account with all the details will soon be sent you. This had been done immediately after my return to New York if unfortunately my trunk containing all my papers with part of my vouchers, had not been lost. I have not given up the hope of recovering said trunk and our friend Wm. S. Hall is instructed by me to sue Mess. Walker & Co. through whose carelessness my trunk was lost. Conscious of your unceasing Kindness and good will towards me, I trust you will excuse the delay.

Immigration to this Country has dwindled down to a small number as compared with former years. However the late conclusion of peace in Europe is expected to give a new impulse to emigration to this country but nothing is left undone in Germany to hinder emigrants to choose this Country for their future home.

With the assistance of Mr. Spelthorn, a friend of Judge Daly, I have published in the French and Flemish Languages several articles on Minnesota and also a small pamphlet in these languages to be distributed in every parish of Belgium. I was lately introduced to Chevalier Bosch Minister of Belgium in Washington who was quite pleased with my account of Minnesota and who promised to assist me as soon as he knew my official position, and that my statement could be corroborated by Judge Daly—Mr. Malli general consul in this city will also assist me to secure to Minnesota Belgian emigration, which is very important now. Belgians have hitherto gone to Green Bay, being unacquainted with the resources and unequalled advantages of our Territory. As soon as the pamphlet alluded to shall be printed in Brussels I will send you a copy of the same. Belgians who come here, have generally large means, make good citizens and although Roman Catholics, are by no means Priest-ridden.²⁴

²⁴ Guillaume Henri Bosch-Spencer was Belgian chargé at Washington and H. G. T. Mali was Belgian consul at New York, according to Adelaide R. Hasse, *Index to United States Documents Relating to Foreign Affairs, 1828-1861*, 1:104,128; 2:951 (3 vols.—Washington, 1914-21). The Robertson Papers in the possession of the Minnesota Historical Society include letters which throw additional light on the activities of Bosch-Spencer and others in the interests of Belgian immigration to Minnesota. Three letters written by Bosch-Spencer to Robertson in the spring of 1858 reveal that the former had made a visit to St. Paul during the preceding year and that with Robertson and Judge Daly of New York, he was interested in a plan for inducing Belgians of Green Bay, Wisconsin, who were dissatisfied with conditions there, to remove to Chengwatana in Pine County and to Gand, the location of which has not been ascertained. Robertson had assisted in laying out the former town site in 1856, according to William H. C. Folsom's *Fifty Years in the Northwest*, 277 (St. Paul, 1888). Mark J. Mange, Belgian consul at Philadelphia from April, 1854, to April, 1858, in a letter dated July 13, 1858, informs Robertson that he has promised Bosch-Spencer to lend assistance in getting settlers for Chengwatana and requests further information concerning its location and the terms upon which property is to be sold. Judge Daly, in writing Colonel Robertson about three weeks later, mentions the fact that Mange's services have been enlisted, states that he is influential with the Germans in Philadelphia, and urges Robertson to reply promptly to all communications from him. Apparently all efforts were wasted, however, for the census schedules give a total population for Chengwatana of only fifty-nine in 1860 and ninety-nine in 1870, and none of these in-

The Day before yesterday I mailed to my young friend Miss L. Gorman a new Polka with the pretty name of "Minnehaha Polka" just published and having a great success here

Hoping that Mrs. Gorman, to whom I beg to be remembered, is well I remain your Excellency's devoted and humble Servant

EUG. BURNAND

BURNAND TO GOVERNOR GORMAN, June 8, 1856

[Governor's Archives, File no. 573 — L. S.]

OFFICE OF THE COMMISSIONER OF EMIGRATION FOR MINNESOTA, 1 BATTERY PLACE, NEW YORK JUNE 8th. 1856.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY GOV. WILLIS A. GORMAN

Saint Paul,

SIR;

In compliance with an act to continue in force "An Act to provide for the appointment of a Commissioner of Emigration for the Territory of Minnesota and amendatory thereto" passed last February, I beg to report as follows:

Immediately after my return to New York last February I resorted to such measures that I deemed the most conducive to the successful fulfilment of my mission, such as advertising in this Country and in Europe and employing here suitable persons whose daily walks are among the class of people intending to leave for the West. It required but little foresight or judgment to understand at once the weakness of my situation, and how difficult it would be for me to neutralize adverse elements, or contend successfully against an unfortunate state of affairs concerning emigration, for which surely I can not be made responsible. It is, however, an exceedingly pleasant task for me

habitants were Belgians. Nor can Burnand's efforts to bring Belgians to Minnesota be considered a success, for in 1860 there were still but ninety-four in the state. Wisconsin apparently proved more attractive to them in spite of the difficulties encountered by the Belgians of Green Bay. In 1850 that state had only 45 Belgians; by 1860 it had 4,647, more than five times as many as any other state in the Union and over half the country's entire population of that nationality. At no time has Minnesota attracted large numbers of Belgians, the total at the last census being only 2,056. *United States Census*, 1850, 1860, 1920; Minnesota, Secretary of State's Archives, United States Census Schedules, 1860, 1870.

to be allowed to say, with truth, that no part of the United States is more highly spoken of than our Territory and that in the opinion of men residing here and acquainted with Minnesota nothing in the world can shorten the long and rapid strides this unrivalled Territory is destined to take in the development of its boundless resources. It is a well known fact that Minnesota is yet comparatively unknown in Europe, and that not one per cent of foreign immigrants land here with the idea of going to, and settling in Minnesota.²⁵ Therefore it is obvious that if foreign and able emigrants are wanted, the Sea Ports of Germany, and, above all, the Ports of Antwerp in Belgium and Havre in France ought to be visited and Agencies there established, as I proposed in the annual Report I had the honor to address to the Legislature of Minnesota in the course of their last session. With such Agencies and an Office in New York an immense number of sound, able and profitable settlers might have been and might yet be secured. Such Agencies have become imperatively necessary since the establishment of Castle Garden as an Emigrant Depot, where emigrants are morally and sometimes physically hindered from visiting the city unless provided with letters directing them to some particular persons. 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. I am far from saying that the arrangements of the Castle Garden have not protected and do not now protect the emigrants against the rapacity and villainy of a pack of thieves called "Runners", but it is not less true that the practice of hindering emigrants from leaving the Garden, the present Institution, protective as it is, becomes most injurious to my Office.

It is among the Foreign born Citizens that I have been most successful and I hope that the two Associations, with the Man-

²⁵ A table given in Appleton's *Annual Cyclopædia*, 1869, p. 352, indicates the avowed destination of foreigners landing at the port of New York from 1855 to 1868. In 1856, out of a total of 141,525 whose intended destination was known, only 427 or less than one-third of one per cent planned to come to Minnesota, while 13,327 chose Wisconsin as their future home.

agers of which I have had a long correspondence, have settled in Minnesota. One is called the "Pittsburgh Homestead Association" with a Mr. Kolkanbeck at its head, and the other the "Cincinnati German Association" composed of some Eleven hundred members under the management of Mr. Pfaender. These two Gentlemen were provided by me with letters of introduction to your Excellency and to several other Gentlemen in the Counties of Nicollet, Lesueur, Fillmore, Winona, Benton & a. I have no news from these Associations. A letter only from Mr. Pfaender published in the "New-Yorker Staats Zeitung" states that Kansas and Nebraska ought not to be considered as eligible lands for foreign settlements.²⁶

I have had several articles published in Belgium papers well calculated to attract to Minnesota numerous Citizens of the Kingdom of Belgium who now flock to Green Bay. A pamphlet in the Flemish language is now being prepared, which I hope will have a salutary influence in Belgium.

Annexed to the Report, your Excellency will find the names and avocations of such persons that lately called at my office and left for Minnesota.²⁷

²⁶ William Pfaender was at this very time in Minnesota, in charge of a committee which was making a tour of several of the western states to examine sites suitable for a German settlement based on liberalism in religion and politics. When he arrived at St. Paul he learned of the German settlement being founded at New Ulm by members of the Chicago Land Verein, another German colonization society. Pfaender, on visiting this site, was so pleased with it that he immediately entered into negotiations for merging the two companies. The German Land Association of Minnesota, incorporated in 1857, was the result. The first contingent of settlers from Cincinnati came in the fall of 1856; in the spring of the next year between fifty and sixty more arrived. By 1860 the population of New Ulm had reached 635, of whom 382 were natives of German states and 31 were children born in Ohio of German parentage. Milford, near by, had a population of 473, with about the same proportion of Germans as New Ulm. Louis A. Fritsche, *History of Brown County*, 1: 134-138 (New York, 1916); Minnesota, Secretary of State's Archives, United States Census Schedules, 1860.

²⁷ The list includes 106 names, but in reality it represents a considerably larger number than this, for to a number of them are appended the words "and family" or "and wife." About half were Germans; sixteen were Swiss; fourteen were French; and twelve were natives of New

Should this Agency be continued and renewed for another year I would not accept of the Office of Commissioner under the present conditions, which restrain my operations and compel me to reside in New York. A Clerk at my office, such as my present Assistant, who is perfectly conversant with the affairs of the Agency, and the Appointed Agent allowed to be in Europe with the present sum provided by Law would be sufficient to secure an immense number of emigrants and to, successfully, counteract the disadvantages and injurious effects of Castle Garden in relation to my Agency.

The number of Emigrants arrived in New York to May 26. [18] 56 are 37,324. to the same date 1855. 52,218. The average sum brought out by these people is \$98 — per head.²⁸ There is no doubt that at the close of this year the number of emigrants will exceed that of last year.

I have the honor to be, your Excellency's most Obedient and devoted Servant.

EUG. BURNAND

BURNAND TO GOVERNOR GORMAN, February 6, 1857

[Governor's Archives, File no. 573 — L. S.]

OFFICE OF THE COMMISSIONER OF EMIGRATION FOR MINNESOTA. 1 BATTERY PLACE NEW YORK February 6. 1857.
HIS EXCELLENCY GOVERNOR WILLIS A. GORMAN
Saint Paul

SIR

I have sent my annual report to the Legislature. I made it as concise as possible, for I can not conceal to you, that I am tired in the extreme with my present position and little encouraged to

York. Half of the emigrants were farmers; somewhat less than half pursued some one of the mechanical trades. The list contains the name of Dr. Alfred Muller, who settled first in Stillwater and later, in 1867, in New Ulm.

²⁸ The New York commissioners of emigration, who prepared statistics in 1856 showing the average amount of money brought into the country by immigrants during that year, found it to be \$68.08. This examination was afterward discontinued because of the difficulty of obtaining correct information from the immigrants, who were inclined to suspect the motives of the commissioners. Appleton's *Annual Cyclopædia*, 1869, p. 354.

do any thing required in my official capacity. This, your Excellency will easily understand, for my accounts with Mess. Marshall & Co have been received and I see that I lose not less than \$577. 34/100. This sum added to \$420.00 lost last year, make \$997. 34/100. Through such a loss I am left here with liabilities, which I am unable to meet.

I am aware that it was not in your power to remedy the evil. Mr. de Freudenreich sent me your excellent Message to the Legislature and I am glad to see that you have not forgotten the Territorial Taxes, their collection & ^a. ²⁹

Allow me to say that if I have just reasons to complain, yet I can not but express to you my deep felt gratitude for the confidence you have placed in me and for many favors received at your hands.

With the highest regard, I have the honor to be, Your Excellency's Most Obedient and devoted Servant

EUG. BURNAND

²⁹ Baron Frederick de Freudenreich accompanied Burnand to St. Paul in 1855. His diaries, covering the period from 1862 to 1870, are in the possession of the Minnesota Historical Society.



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