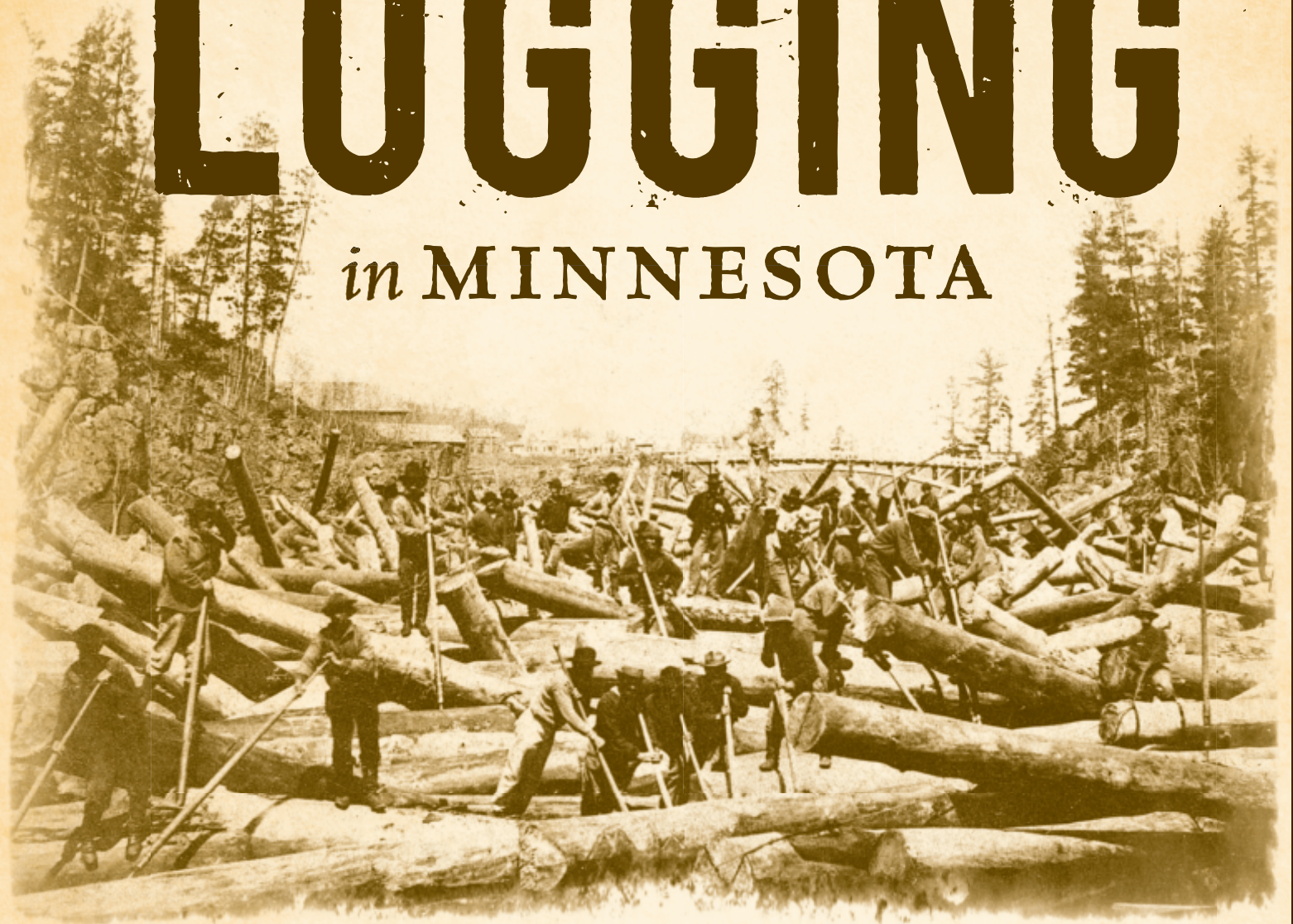


LEGACIES of
LOGGING
in MINNESOTA



MOIRA F. HARRIS

WHITE PINE REIGNED AS king of Minnesota's forests in the nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries. It was harvested in the winter months, floated downriver to booms (holding pens) in the spring, and then formed into rafts for the

last trip to the sawmills. As historian Agnes Larson wrote, white pine was used in everything from homes to ship masts, barrels to matches.¹

Lumber was one of Minnesota's two main industries in the nineteenth century (flour milling was the

other), but by 1914 the old-growth forests had given up their riches. While logging continued in the state,

Unclogging a logjam in "Dells of the St. Croix," one of B. F. Upton's stereopticon photos from his Series of Minnesota Views

the yields of the past would not be seen again. The industry moved to forests farther west but left its mark on Minnesota—not only on the landscape but also in artistic legacies. Cultural echoes from the woods still resonate in Minnesota today.

Once treaties with the region's Indian tribes had been signed, beginning in 1837, many forests were open for exploitation. Minnesota's first sawmill was built along the St. Croix River in Marine in 1839. By the 1860s, companies like Thomas B. Walker's Red River Lumber Company had established camps of log shanties to house and feed the workers who spent November to April in the woods. Logging crews included a foreman, the sawyers who cut down the trees, swampers who removed the branches, and skidders who wrapped chains around the logs piled high on sleds, so that horses or oxen could pull the cargo over iced roads to riverbanks. In camp were also clerks, cooks, and teamsters. At least one shanty housed the workers, while other log buildings served as the cookhouse and sheltered the horses and oxen in this non-mechanized world.²

While the industry was still at its peak, illustrations of the lumber-camp shanty began appearing in national magazines, including *Harper's* (both the monthly and weekly) and *Scribner's*. The building was considered so iconic that planners of the 1892 Republican National Convention in Minneapolis imitated

Moira F. Harris (PhD, University of Minnesota) has written for this magazine on Minnesota art and ephemera. Recent articles published elsewhere focused on Ponce de Leon and the Fountain of Youth and figure-skating dress.

it in the Beanery. Built outside the Minneapolis Industrial Exposition building (headquarters for the convention), the Beanery was furnished with benches, a stove, and beds like those found in many logging camps. Delegates to the convention were served meals of pork and beans, typical loggers' fare, cooked on location in outdoor pits. Not everyone found the idea appealing. A reporter for the *New York Times* even wrote, "Minneapolis is a bad restaurant city."³

IN THE OFF-SEASON, THE CAMPS closed but some loggers stayed on as river drivers. When the ice went off the rivers, the logs that had been deposited on the banks were launched on their trip downstream. River drivers had to keep the logs moving freely without piling up or causing jams. Riding along on a slippery tree trunk, they used peaveys—long, sharp, pointed poles—to poke and prod the timber, "dancing" to keep their footing.⁴

Historian James Taylor Dunn mentions a logjam on the St. Croix

River that continued for 57 days in 1883. The following year, low-water conditions meant that logs once again were not carried over the falls. River drivers and sawmill workers had no work; as Dunn wrote, "Low water makes rusty saws."⁵

In August 1889 news correspondents and sightseers arrived in Taylor's Falls to see yet another big logjam. One reporter described the scene: Heavy rain had propelled masses of logs over the rapids,

And so the jam continued to increase, and settle, and pile-up, and groan and creak, all the afternoon and night, until Wednesday morning when it blossomed out the worst tangled mass of logs the eye ever rested upon, wedged in so tight as to be almost immovable.⁶

A week later, the *Taylor's Falls Journal* updated its readers: "Large crowds from neighboring towns and the cities arrive daily by boat, rail, and team to watch the tedious work of loosening the logs, but when a

other kind. Twenty-five cents a bottle.

THERE'S A LOG JAM IN THE

Old Town Tonight.

Special Excursion to Taylor's Falls Friday, July 22nd. Leaves St. Paul 9:05 a.m. Fare, \$1.00 to Taylor's Falls and return. Log jam of twenty million feet of logs at present in the Dalles of the St. Croix. A sight of a lifetime. Don't miss it. See St. Paul & Duluth Agents for details. See Interstate Park. See the Dalles of the St. Croix. See the big log jam, all for \$1.00.

St. Paul Globe, July 21, 1898, page 3

Cultural echoes from the woods still resonate in Minnesota today.

‘haul’ is obtained [a log is freed], they are amply repaid for their patience.”

Sanford C. Sargent (1851–1914), a local photographer, had secured some excellent views and was selling photographs of all sizes and styles at the Cochecho hotel. He was just one of many entrepreneurial artists drawn to the drama of such a scene. In the Minnesota Historical Society collections alone, more than 100 photos from the 1860s through the 1930s document jams and the men trying to break them.

Logjams diminished as railroads took over the transport of logs to the mills. The work of the river drivers evolved into the sport of logrolling or birling. Two men stand, one at either end of a log, each attempting to move it so that his opponent loses footing and falls into the water. Logrolling has become a competitive sport with rules and a national organization. In Minnesota, summer festivals such as Stillwater’s Lumberjack Days have included exhibitions of the skill.⁷

Other Minnesota summer festivals have featured pole climbing and chainsaw carving to recall the days of the loggers. Chainsaws came to be used in the woods around 1920; now, carvers and their art can be found throughout Minnesota, and competitions take place at events



Evergreen trees, timber, a stack of lumber, and a log shanty, all part of Dennis Roghair’s 2001 chainsaw carving, Nurturing Nature to Prepare for the Future, near Green Hall on the University of Minnesota’s St. Paul campus

such as Grand Rapids’ Tall Timber Days. Homeowners hire carvers to transform tree trunks into sculptures. Visitors to the Minnesota State Fairgrounds can view quite a collection of carvings, including towers of animals and a silhouette of racehorse Dan Patch near the Grandstand.

MURALS WOULD SEEM TO BE the right format for the sweep and drama of the lumber industry. In former logging towns from Sebeka to



Stillwater, indoors and outside, these public works of art portray scenes from the region's past. Perhaps the state's oldest mural celebrating logging was rediscovered in storage in about 1999 at the Lake County courthouse in Two Harbors. Axel Edward Soderberg had painted three murals on canvas—*Commerce*, *Forestry*, and *Mining*—for the commissioners' boardroom in 1905. Now restored and on view again, *Forestry* shows two loggers cutting down a tree while two others perch atop what was called a brag load of timbers on a horse-drawn wagon.⁸

The post-office art program of the 1930s, directed by the treasury department's Section of Painting and Sculpture, encouraged artists to select subjects that celebrated moments in local history. For Chisholm's post office, Betty Carney painted the timber cruiser famed for accidentally discovering iron ore while checking out the woods. In Grand Rapids, James S. Watrous depicted a scene of lumberjacks and women dancing as a steamboat arrived at the dock. Lucia Wiley's *Early Logging*

at *Koochiching Falls* (1937) in the International Falls post office shows the storied Paul Bunyan and Babe the Blue Ox as well as human-scale loggers working in the woods and on the river. As her title suggests, Wiley painted logging in the past because that was what local people wanted.⁹

Established in 1935, the Works Progress Administration also commissioned artists to create paintings and sculptures for schools and other public buildings. Logging was featured in two murals: Andre Boratko's, for Milaca's town hall (1937; now home to the Milaca Area Historical Society) and Richard Haines's, for a long corridor in Sebeka High School (1938).¹⁰

Hazel Stoick, an art student at the University of Minnesota in 1945, painted a five-panel mural, *The Epic of Minnesota's Great Forests*, as part of the work for her master's degree. Located on the first floor of Green Hall at the university's St. Paul campus, the mural shows an Indian bartering away the pine lands, an avacious lumber baron, a sawmill, and forest fires—as well as Paul Bunyan

Murals would seem to be the right format for the sweep and drama of the lumber industry.

and Babe and early Minnesota conservationist Christopher C. Andrews.¹¹

Decades later, Marilyn Lindstrom, Sue McDonald, and Dane Krogman showed men at work on the Mississippi River in their *Camden Historical Logging Mural* in Minneapolis (1980). Frank Gosiak's mural for Little Falls (1991) portrays a similar scene farther north on the same river. Lindstrom and a group of community volunteers included logging in Sebeka's four-panel centennial

RUINS and RECREATIONS

From forest to mill: The Minnesota Historical Society maintains two historic sites where visitors can learn about the state's logging industry. For more information, hours, and directions, select a site at www.visitmnhistory.org.

The Forest History Center near U.S. highways 169 and 2, Grand Rapids (218-327-4482) offers a panoramic view of nineteenth-century lumberjack life as well as twentieth-century forest protection. There are interactive exhibits, displays, and films as well as living history in a recreated lumber camp—with opportunities for visitor participation. Special programs in the summer and at Christmastime impart the details of lumber-camp life.

Marine Mill on Judd Street in Marine on St. Croix (507-697-6321). All that's left are the ruins of the stone foundations of Minnesota's first commercial sawmill; when it closed in 1895, the wooden buildings were razed and its equipment sold. Interpretive signs and paths along the river bluff help recreate this once-booming site.



Logging details, part of Richard Haines's Sebeka High School mural (8.5 by 72 feet) depicting the sweep of Minnesota history

mural (1998–2001). And in 2007 Randall Raduenz painted the 1884 logjam on the St. Croix River for a Stillwater building. Gosiak's and Raduenz's murals were based on nineteenth-century photographs. While Camden's mural is no longer extant, a bronze statue, modeled on an actual sawmill worker, stands in nearby Webber Park. Artist Rodger Brodin dedicated *The Lumberman* (1990) to the memory of his grandfather, a Swedish immigrant who had found work in a lumberyard on the banks of the Mississippi.¹²

TALL TALES ARE PERHAPS the best-known survival of the lumberjacks' culture and world, as well as the most controversial. Whether or not Paul Bunyan is an authentic

folk hero, as generations of historians and folklorists have debated, he has become a Minnesota mainstay in both story and art. In 1940, while scholars argued about authenticity, an editorial in the *Bemidji Daily Pioneer* asserted: "Paul Bunyan is going to live in the memories of those who have delighted in his adventures and we hope that Bemidji will always keep him prominently in the minds of those who visit our city."¹³

Stories of Paul Bunyan had appeared in regional publications as early as 1910, but William B. Laughead (1882–1958) first gave him a face in 1914 when he created a small brochure for the Red River Lumber Company. The firm had been working in northern Minnesota but was moving its operations to northern California. Some type of communication

was needed to reach new customers. Laughead was both a former logger and an artist; he would become the firm's advertising manager. For the postcard-sized brochure, *Introducing Mr. Paul Bunyan of Westwood, Cal.*, he interspersed stories about the logger-hero with photographs of logging in northern California and price lists for the company's products. Paul's fame gradually snowballed as the pamphlet was retitled, enlarged, and reprinted 13 times, culminating with a thirtieth-anniversary edition in 1944.¹⁴ Laughead introduced Paul Bunyan to the nation, gave him an image, and named the other characters in the stories.

Laughead's drawing of Paul Bunyan became the company's trademark in 1920, but the stories were not copyrighted. Their author hoped

that others would use them, and that is exactly what happened. The advertising manager was satisfied, as he confided in a 1934 letter, that Bunyan had “earned his keep in good will alone.”¹⁵ Some writers invented new tales or added details to those Laughead had published. Other authors tried to tell the tales in what they supposed to be lumberjack slang. But every book that included illustrations of him showed a slightly different man.

Paul, in Laughead’s version, lacked a beard but sported a fine set of cat’s whiskers just below his nose. (One writer thought he looked like Little Orphan Annie in a woodsman’s cap.) He smoked a pipe and wore a short, plaid, double-breasted Mackinaw jacket, a woven sash around his waist, dark pants, and laced, spiked boots.¹⁶ Laughead’s Paul seemed a happy man in most of the drawings, content with his life and work, and usually accompanied by his large blue friend whom Laughead named Babe the Blue Ox.

Two best-selling volumes of Paul Bunyan stories, written by Esther Shephard and James Stevens, appeared in the 1920s. Both were reprinted several times. Shephard’s book carried black-and-white illustrations by Rockwell Kent. This Bunyan was hatless, short haired, and beardless—a vigorous, sometimes angry-looking young man. In contrast, Allen Lewis’s woodcuts in the Stevens volume showed a hero with a Rip van Winkle-length beard, looking at least 20 years older than Laughead’s logger. Most authors and artists seemed to prefer a bearded man wearing a hat of some kind, a checked “lumberjack shirt,” pants, and boots, and holding an axe. This was the Paul who stepped off the printed page to become the three-

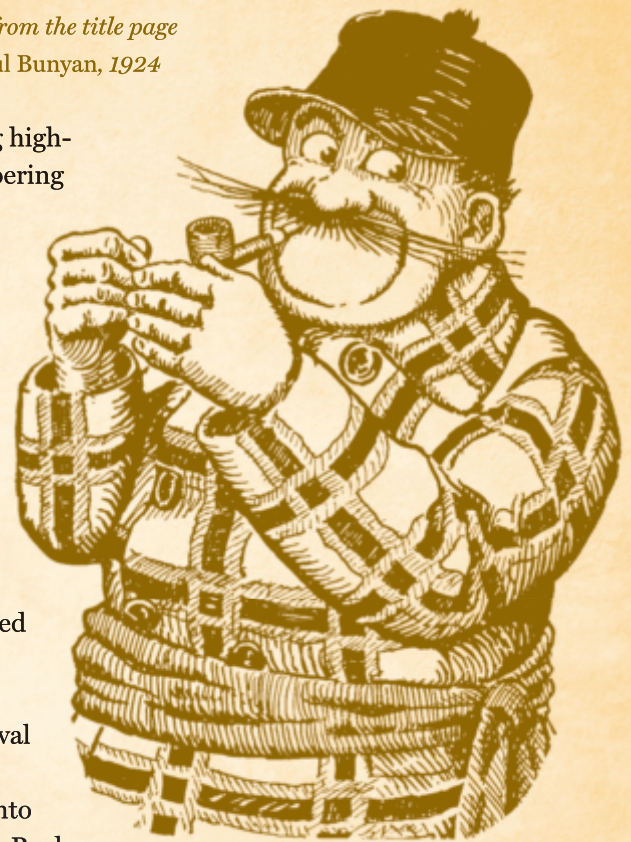
W. B. Laughead’s storied logger, from the title page of The Marvelous Exploits of Paul Bunyan, 1924

dimensional figure seen along highways in all of the former lumbering states.

Minnesota’s earliest Paul Bunyan statues were erected as festival attractions. In the 1930s Merrill K. Cragun, a Minneapolis printer, had the idea of linking various northern resorts in a Paul Bunyan Playground Association. His Queen Press printed annual brochures, postcards, and maps, illustrated by Herman and Margaret Roerig, for member resorts. Cragun then suggested a festival with a Paul Bunyan theme.¹⁷

Brainerd made its entry onto the calendar in July 1935 with Paul Bunyan Exposition Days. This carnival emphasized summer sports and activities as well as history. The first year there was a pageant with a cast of 350, a water show, and a parade that Gov. Floyd B. Olson said was the best he had ever witnessed. The second year the carnival lost money, but it managed to survive until World War II when rationing ended tourist travel. Still standing in the city (next to the historic water tower) is the joint statue of Paul Bunyan and Babe the Blue Ox, made in 1935 by an itinerant artist whose name has been forgotten. In 2008 local artist Josh Porter repaired the pair and repainted them in a matte finish so they would look their age.¹⁸

Bemidji’s winter carnival followed in 1937. A poster stamp (a small, promotional label) printed for the carnival shows Paul arriving on snowshoes, carrying an axe on his back. The town’s Bunyan statue was made that year by local contrac-



tor Cyril Dickinson and others, who fashioned him out of wire, wood, concrete, and plaster. This, by far the best-known of all Paul Bunyan statues, was given a prime location next to Lake Bemidji. Paul wears a red-and-black checked shirt, blue pants, and red socks. His black boots look tiny in proportion to his broad shoulders. Like Laughead’s image, he wears a hat, sports a mustache, and smokes a pipe. Among the many tributes to this Paul Bunyan were stories in *Life* magazine, the *New York Times*, and placement on the National Register of Historic Places.¹⁹

In 1939 Babe the Blue Ox joined his friend on the lakeshore. Babe had been built to travel so he could appear at other festivals, as carnival kings and queens often do. Shorter than Paul, he toured on a flatbed truck. The problem involved with his visits was not only wear and tear on

Whether or not Paul Bunyan is an authentic folk hero, he has become a Minnesota mainstay in both story and art.

Babe but also the damage his horns (made of tin) could do to wires as he rolled down city streets.²⁰ Thus, after a few months of ceremonial appearances, Babe took his place beside Paul, never to move again.

The Bemidji and Brainerd statues began the parade of roadside sculpture that cultural historian Karal Ann Marling dubbed *The Colossus of Roads*. The figures continued to be tourist attractions long after the festivals ended: They are year-round welcome signs and place-makers. Those built before World War II were most often locally made on an armature of wood and wire, coated with cement or plaster, and then painted. After the war ended and various types of plastic became available, large statues began to be built

of lighter materials, making it easier for them to ride on parade floats.²¹

Chambers of Commerce, Greyhound Bus (after 1936), and tourism promoters like Cragun issued publications and maps showing where Paul Bunyan and associated characters could be seen: his duck and rifle in Blackduck, his sweetheart Lucette Diana Kensack in Hackensack, his stone anchor in Ortonville, and his gravesite in Kelliher. Two more figures, Akeley's giant Paul Bunyan and the talking Paul in Brainerd, joined the list in the postwar period. The talking Paul, a 23-foot-tall figure seated in a log shed, was created for the 1948 Chicago Railroad Fair. Brainerd businessmen purchased him for their Paul Bunyan Land amusement park. In 2004 this



Preparing Babe for travel, Bemidji, about 1938; postcard, Neils L. Hakkerup photo.

Paul, another Babe, and some related characters were sold to This Old Farm Pioneer Village, east of Brainerd.²²

With its original Paul and Babe and then the talking Paul, Brainerd might seem to have fulfilled its quota of logging statues, but there were more to come. In 1991 the city's chainsaw-carving competition produced young and old examples of Paul for temporary display. And in 2008 came the Brainerd Oxtrot, another of the popular ventures into art and philanthropy (beginning in the U.S. with Chicago's cows) involving to-be-painted fiberglass statues. Josh Porter, who had repaired Brainerd's original Paul and Babe, designed the unadorned ox, and the Crossing Arts Alliance, Avalon Studios, and Brainerd Lakes Chamber of Commerce sponsored the event. At the end of the summer, businesses that had paid for the figures could keep them or offer them for auction.²³ Some painted oxen can still be seen in the city and at the Brainerd Welcome Center.

Paul Bunyan sites and tourism have always been centered in northern Minnesota, home to most of the state's logging communities. A recent addition is the Paul Bunyan Scenic Byway, which received national designation from the federal Department of Transportation in 2005. The byway—now 54 miles in Cass and Crow Wing counties with signs and kiosks explaining a spot's connection to the legend—began as a means to secure state funding for paving road shoulders in Crow Wing County. Its logo, drawn by Paula Gustafson, shows Paul and Babe.²⁴

But the Twin Cities have connections to Paul and Babe, too: the former Blue Ox restaurant with its giant outdoor mural in Minneapolis; the

Paul Bunyan motel, which once stood in Roseville; the axe trophy given to the winner of the annual football game between Minnesota's Golden Gophers and Wisconsin's Badgers; a popular ride (Paul Bunyan's Log Chute) at the Mall of America; and, for 15 years (1940–55), a Paul Bunyan figure that toured on behalf of the state tourism board. When not traveling, this figure stood in a capitol hallway near the portraits of past governors. It was eventually sent to a museum in Chisholm.²⁵

Two meccas for Bunyan researchers are located in the Twin Cities. Books, ephemera, and artifacts are among the collections of the Minnesota Historical Society, and articles about Paul and lumbering have appeared in *Minnesota History*, its quarterly journal, over the years. As part of events celebrating Minnesota's statehood sesquicentennial in 2008, the Society invited the public to nominate quintessential Minnesota people, places, or events for a spot in the top 150. Thousands of nominations poured in; the ones chosen by experts became *MN 150*, the list that generated an exhibition and a book. Paul and Babe are on the roster, having received numerous nominations citing their cultural significance.²⁶

Another comprehensive collection is found in the University of Minnesota's Elmer Andersen Library. W. W. Charters, a professor of education at Ohio State University, became interested in every aspect of Paul Bunyan in 1924. Thirty years later, his widow decided that her husband's voluminous holdings should be sent to the university in Minneapolis.

Loggers created Paul, commerce and tourism embraced him, and Minnesota's history and culture gave him longevity.

Professor Charters collected books, articles, and ephemera (including examples of many of the advertisements in which Paul appeared) and corresponded with anyone who was interested in the topic.²⁷

AS FOR PAUL'S NATIONAL presence, early in the history of Bunyaniana, Robert Frost wrote a poem, *Paul's Wife* (1921). In 1941 W. H. Auden and Benjamin Britten collaborated on an operetta (revised in 1976), which will be staged by the Twin Cities-based VocalEssence choir in 2013 with former television newsman Don Shelby speaking Paul's words.²⁸ A Disney movie came out in 1948. A set of stamps of America's folk heroes, issued in 1996, pictured Paul along with Mighty Casey, Pecos Bill, and John Henry—all now less famous than he. After the early success of Shephard's and Stevens's



For more on *MN 150*, visit www.mnhs.org/exhibits/mn150. Although the exhibit has closed, the list remains online.



One critic pointed out that the 1996 stamp pictures the wrong axe for the period: single-headed rather than the double-headed type Paul would have used.

books, more story collections appeared, most written mainly for children. Academic books, articles, and dissertations have trained a fine lens on the tales, seeking new insights.

Carl Sandburg devoted one section of his long work, *The People Yes* (1936) to Paul Bunyan. While scholars have continued to debate Paul's authenticity and examine the nature of his legend, Sandburg's often-quoted words settled the question in the popular mind.

Who made Paul Bunyan, who gave him birth as a myth, who joked him into life as the Master Lumberjack, who fashioned him forth as an apparition easing the hours of men amid axes and trees, saws and lumber? The people, they made Paul and had him alive long before he got into the books for those who read.²⁹

LOGGERS CREATED PAUL, commerce and tourism embraced him, and Minnesota's history and culture gave him longevity. Not bad for a tall man with an axe.³⁰ □

Notes

I began research in the vast field of Paul Bunyan images and stories in the 1980s while photographing outdoor sculpture for a book. Embedded in my memory from long before that time were the books about Bunyan in my father's library. More intensive study came over the last two years in the Minnesota Historical Society (MHS) and the Paul Bunyan Collection at the Children's Literature Research Collections, University of Minnesota. I thank Karen Nelson Hoyle and Meredith Gillies for their help and many courtesies.

1. Agnes Larson, "On the Trail of the Woodsman in Minnesota," *Minnesota History* 13 (Dec. 1932): 349–66. See also Larson's *History of the White Pine Industry in Minnesota* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1949).

2. Agnes Larson, "When Logs and Lumber Ruled Stillwater," *Minnesota History* 18 (June 1937): 166–68; Theodore C. Blegen, *Minnesota: A History of the State* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1963), 326; Michael Edmonds, *Out of the Northwoods: The Many Lives of Paul Bunyan* (Madison: Wisconsin Historical Society Press, 2009), 13.

3. June Drenning Holmquist, "Convention City: The Republicans in Minnesota, 1892," *Minnesota History* 35 (June 1956): 72.

4. Although he never faced a logjam, in the 1950s the Hamm's Beer bear, a well-known cartoon character and brand icon,

began appearing in advertisements doing a happy solo dance on a turning log.

5. James Taylor Dunn, *Marine on St. Croix: 150 Years of Village Life* (Marine on St. Croix, MN: Marine Restoration Society, 1989), 60–61.

6. Here and two paragraphs below, *Taylor Falls Journal*, Aug. 22, 29, 1889, both p. 4. See also *New York Times*, Aug. 19, 1889; *St. Paul Daily Globe*, July 28, 1891, 8.

7. Lumberjack Days began in the mid-1930s, stopped in 1940, resumed in 1968, and was canceled in 2012 due to fiscal problems. *St. Paul Pioneer Press*, June 1, 2012, B1; Diane Thompson, *Memories of Lumberjack Days Celebrations, 1934–1979* (Stillwater: Washington Co. Historical Society, 2011). She and her husband, Bill, revived the festival in 1968.

8. *Minnesota History Interpreter*, Aug. 2001, 1–2.

9. For Carney's *Discovery of Ore* (1941) and Watrous's *Life in Grand Rapids and the Upper Mississippi* (1940), see Karal Ann Marling, *Wall-to-Wall America: A Cultural History of Post-Office Murals in the Great Depression* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1982), 139, 189–90. For Wiley, see Barbara Melosh, *Engendering Culture: Manhood and Womanhood in New Deal Public Art and Theater* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991), 116. Some of Wiley's lumber-themed work was shown in a 2008 exhibit of New Deal art at the Weisman Art Museum, Minneapolis. Her portfolio of art re-

lated to the Bunyan stories was shown there in 2012.

10. Milaca's new town hall was dedicated in February 1937; Boratko's murals, on canvas, were to be installed in the summer. *Mille Lacs County Times*, Feb. 18, Mar. 4, 1937, both p. 1. On the Wiley, Boratko, and Haines murals, see Kathleen McCarney, "Art for a People: an Iconographic and Cultural Study of Mural Painting in Minnesota's New Deal Art Programs" (senior honors thesis, College of St. Benedict-St John's University, 1994), www.scbjsu.edu/Documents/libraries/McCarneyThesis.pdf. Their logging murals are included in "WPA Murals in Minnesota Buildings," a collection of 66 color slides compiled in 1976 by the University Art Museum, University of Minnesota, and held in MHS.

11. Preliminary drawings for the mural are in the collections of the Weisman Art Museum. Fifty years after its dedication, Hazel Stoick published a small folder on the mural's making, *The Epic of Minnesota's Great Forests: A Mural Story Unfolds*, copy in MHS.

12. For the Camden mural, see Moira F. Harris, *Museum of the Streets: Minnesota's Outdoor Contemporary Murals* (St Paul: Pogo Press, 1987), 63; for Little Falls, Moira F. Harris, "Painted History," *Minnesota History* 53 (Summer 1993): 236; for Sebeka, Steven J. Keillor, *Shaping Minnesota's Identity: 150 Years of State History* (Lakeville: Pogo Press, 2008), inside covers and copyright page; for Stillwater, *Star Tribune*,



Marking his logs by “pinching a piece out of each,” Marvelous Exploits of Paul Bunyan, page 17

Oct. 24, 2010, B6. For Camden statue, *Star Tribune*, June 7, 1990, 1Y. The city of Minneapolis presented a miniature of the sculpture to visiting Russian president Mikhail Gorbachev in 1990; *Star Tribune*, July 21, 1990, 1E.

13. *Bemidji Daily Pioneer*, Apr. 13, 1940, 4. For one of the earliest claims that the Bunyan stories were not authentic, see Carleton C. Ames, “Paul Bunyan: Myth or Hoax?” *Minnesota History* 21 (Mar. 1940): 55–58. The first examination of the controversy and detective work on the origins and proliferation of the tales is Daniel G. Hoffman’s *Paul Bunyan: Last of the Frontier Demigods* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1952). Edmonds, *Out of the Northwoods*, adds much detail on the contributions of the writers and researchers involved.

14. J. E. Rockwell, “Some Lumberjack Myths,” *The Outer’s Book* (Milwaukee), Feb. 1910, 157–60; James McGillivray, “The Round River Drive,” *Detroit News*, July 4, 1910; Max Gartenberg, “W. B. Laughead’s Great Advertisement,” *Journal of American Folklore* 63 (Oct.–Dec. 1950): 444–49. On the genesis of the Red River Lumber Company’s brochures, Archie D. Walker, the

company secretary who hired Laughead in 1914, said that he had heard the stories circa 1910; Walker to Max Gartenberg, Dec. 2, 1954, Paul Bunyan Collection, Children’s Literature Research Collections, University of Minnesota Library, Minneapolis, box 6, folder 6; *Minneapolis Tribune*, Sept. 7, 1947, C23.

15. W. B. Laughead to Charles Baldwin White, Nov. 2, 1934, Bunyan Collection, box 6, folder 3.

16. Hoffman, *Paul Bunyan*, 74. On lumberjack attire, see Robert Walls, “The Making of the American Logger: Traditional Culture and Public Imagery in the Realm of the Bunyanesque” (PhD diss., Indiana University, 1997), 1: 145–46.

17. Merrill K. Cragun, “Reminiscences,” 15–16, 18, Merrill K. Cragun Papers, MHS; playground maps, MHS; *Minneapolis Star and Tribune*, May 24, 1987, 1A, 16A.

18. Loran Knack, interview by the author, 1986. Exposition Days in *Brainerd Dispatch*, July 14–22, 1935; see also Aug. 4, 2007, online edition.

19. *Minneapolis Star and Tribune*, May 24, 1987, 1A, 16A; *Life*, Feb. 5, 1945, 58–59; *New York Times*, May 31, 1959; Mary Ann Nord, *The National Register of Historic Places in Minnesota* (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 2003), 12.

20. The Beltrami County History Center exhibit *Paul and Babe: 75 Years* opened in January 2012.

21. Karal Ann Marling, *The Colossus of Roads: Myth and Symbol along the American Highway* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1984); Moira F. Harris, *Monumental Minnesota: A Guide to Outdoor Sculpture* (St. Paul: Pogo Press, 1992), 59–74.

22. *Brainerd Dispatch*, Aug. 8, 2006, online edition, Aug. 26, 2011, 5A; *Star Tribune*, Sept. 19, 2003, B1, B5.

23. *Brainerd Dispatch*, Sept. 17, 2008, 3N.

24. Holly Slagle, Scenic Byway program administrator, email to author, Oct. 11, 2011.

25. *St. Paul Dispatch*, Apr. 4, 1955, 3.

26. Kate Roberts, *Minnesota 150: The People, Places, and Things that Shape Our State* (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 2007), 22; www.mnhs.org/exhibits/mn150 (accessed May 21, 2012).

27. *Leland Enterprise-Tribune* (MI), May 27, 1954, 3. For more about the collec-

tion, including illustrations, see John Barneson, “Paul Bunyan, Rugged Individualist,” *Ephemera Journal*, May 2012, 11–16.

28. On the revival of the operetta, see *St. Paul Pioneer Press*, Apr. 1, 2012, 9A.

29. Carl Sandburg, *The Complete Poems of Carl Sandburg* (San Diego: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1970), 497.

30. *Twin Cities Business Monthly*, June 2012, ran an article about the efforts of tourism offices in Minnesota, South Dakota, and Wisconsin. The magazine cover shows three symbols wrestling: a bison (SD), a cow in a cheesehead hat (WI), and, separating them, Minnesota’s Paul Bunyan.

The objects and photos on p. 203, 205, 209, and 211 are courtesy the author. All others, including p. 207, from the collection “WPA Murals in Minnesota Buildings” compiled in 1976 by the University Art Museum, University of Minnesota, are in MHS collections.



Paul at work, Marvelous Exploits of Paul Bunyan, page 16



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