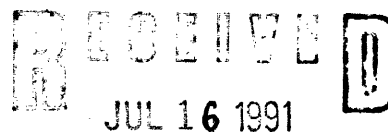


United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places
Multiple Property Documentation Form



NATIONAL
REGISTER

This form is for use in documenting multiple property groups relating to one or several historic contexts. See instructions in *Guidelines for Completing National Register Forms* (National Register Bulletin 16). Complete each item by marking "x" in the appropriate box or by entering the requested information. For additional space use continuation sheets (Form 10-900-a). Type all entries.

A. Name of Multiple Property Listing

Overland Staging Industry in Minnesota, 1849 - 1880

B. Associated Historic Contexts

Early Agriculture and River Settlement, 1840-1870

C. Geographical Data

State of Minnesota

☐ See continuation sheet

D. Certification

As the designated authority under the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, as amended, I hereby certify that this documentation form meets the National Register documentation standards and sets forth requirements for the listing of related properties consistent with the National Register criteria. This submission meets the procedural and professional requirements set forth in 36 CFR Part 60 and the Secretary of the Interior's Standards for Planning and Evaluation.

Signature of certifying official Ian R. Stewart

Date 7/3/91

Deputy State Historic Preservation Officer

State or Federal agency and bureau Minnesota Historical Society

I, hereby, certify that this multiple property documentation form has been approved by the National Register as a basis for evaluating related properties for listing in the National Register.

Signature of the Keeper of the National Register Patrick Anders

Date 8/30/91

E. Statement of Historic Contexts

Discuss each historic context listed in Section B.

See Continuation Sheet

☒ See continuation sheet

United States Department of the Interior
National Park ServiceNational Register of Historic Places
Continuation Sheet

Overland Staging Industry in Minnesota 1849-1880

Section number E Page 1OVERLAND STAGING INDUSTRY IN MINNESOTA, 1849 - 1880, AS RELATING TO THE
EARLY AGRICULTURE AND RIVER SETTLEMENT ASSOCIATED HISTORIC
CONTEXT.INTRODUCTION

Between the creation of Minnesota Territory in 1849 and the entrance of the railroads into every section of the state by 1880, Minnesota depended upon the stagecoach. Settlers needed a vehicle to carry mail, supplies, and themselves, and the stagecoach filled this need quickly and effectively. It spawned an entire industry and became intimately tied to the development of Minnesota's nineteenth-century road system. Many of these "stage roads" opened interior lands not accessible by water and helped integrate Minnesota into the surrounding states. Unfortunately, the poor quality of the roads prevented the industry from matching the comfort and cost-effectiveness of the railroads, and by 1870 most stage routes served as feeder lines to the more important railway systems. Still, in their day, the roads provided a lifeline to the outposts of western migration. Some have been incorporated into the modern road system; they are remnants of a frontier that once challenged early settlers. Their story is one of the vital elements in Minnesota history.

The term "stagecoach" is considerably more vague than it would first appear. A survey of stagecoach companies, particularly Minnesota's, shows that they used vehicles ranging from riding coaches to open air wagons and winter sleighs. One historian has felt it necessary to check Webster's, devoting several paragraphs of his article to the fine distinctions between coach, stagecoach and wagon. Another, content with the fact that the vehicle's journey divided into sections, noted, "the stagecoach got its name from the fact that it traveled by stages."¹

The ambiguous scope of stagecoach companies can present difficulty in defining a "stagecoach road." One can limit the study only to those roads traveled by a specific type of vehicle, or built by stagecoaching companies or one can open it up to include almost all mid to late nineteenth-century trails. It seems best for our purposes to favor the latter. The vehicles a stagecoach company sent into the field often depended upon extraneous factors. For example, a wagon would be used instead of a coach over muddy spring roads or a sleigh would be used in the winter. In addition, stage companies may have built and improved many Minnesota roads, but they by no means limited their travel to only these routes. The key to the industry is the concept of a segmented journey. At the end of every segment, generally about fifteen miles, the coach changed horses, thereby providing the passengers with as quick a ride as possible. As a result, the term "stagecoach industry" should be abandoned for the more precise "staging industry."

United States Department of the Interior
National Park ServiceNational Register of Historic Places
Continuation Sheet

Overland Staging Industry in Minnesota, 1849-1880

Section number E Page 2STAGING INDUSTRY IN THE UNITED STATES

The development of American staging is inseparable from issues of road construction. One often sparked changes in the other. However, in the early years of settlement, both evolved quite slowly. Many settlers undoubtedly knew of commercial transportation from their lives in Europe. As far back as the mid sixteenth-century, one Englishman wrote of "these carryers [with] . . . long covered waggons, in which they carry passengers from city to city. . . ." Until the 1760s, though, staging remained somewhat obscure in the New World, notable exceptions including the opening of a stagewagon line between Burlington and Perth Amboy, New Jersey in 1706; the opening of irregular service between Boston and Newport, Rhode Island in 1716; and the opening of a line between Philadelphia and New York in 1750.²

In the 1760s, staging expanded, with new lines opening along "the busier lanes of colonial land commerce and travel" in New Jersey, between Delaware and Maryland, and between Boston and New York. Many shorter local lines began servicing areas near the major northern cities.³

Despite advances, staging was restricted by the American landscape. Prior to the Revolution, settlers advanced no farther than 200 miles from the Atlantic. Most built their towns on the area's many inland waterways and, as a result, boats provided the cheapest and easiest means of transportation. The roads that did exist at the time tended to be in very poor condition, "improved only to the extent of having bumps and boulders removed and the worst irregularities levelled. Many were impassable for wheeled vehicles in winter or during spring thaw." Frequently, uneven ruts developed over the paths, and steps had to be taken to keep coaches from overturning. In such cases, the driver would yell, "Now, gentlemen, to the left," and the passengers would lean their bodies accordingly.⁴

In addition, many American stage companies hurt themselves by using coaches based on British designs. British coaches used steel springs as shock absorbers. While these worked fine on smooth European roads, over the more treacherous American terrain they did not have the "give" necessary to provide a soft ride. In response, many American coach builders of the mid-1770s began to experiment, aiming "to develop a vehicle that was light enough to be drawn rapidly without undue strain on the horses, rugged enough to withstand New England roads, flexible enough to spare passengers as much jolting as possible, and enclosed to protect them from inclement weather." It would be several years, however, before a major breakthrough.⁵

The staging industry went dormant during the Revolution, with the disruption of commerce and the capture of America's major cities. Afterwards, however, it entered a period of expansion. Former U.S. Postmaster General Thomas L. James called the years between 1784 and 1834 "the stage-coach era in the United States." Two factors sparked the growth. First, in 1785 Congress approved the use of stages as official mail carriers, "thereby giving them a quasi-public character as an arm of the General Post Office." The industry undoubtedly benefitted from both the visibility and the subsidies granted by the government contracts.⁶

United States Department of the Interior
National Park ServiceNational Register of Historic Places
Continuation Sheet

Overland Staging Industry in Minnesota 1849-1880

Section number E Page 3

Second, the increasing popularity of turnpikes raised the general condition of American roads, to the advantage of staging. Following the Revolution, population and road traffic increased, especially west to the Piedmont and Appalachian Valleys. Local governments, who had been caring for the roads, called for the assistance of the states. In response, the states, already burdened with debt, authorized private turnpike companies, "conferring on them authority to build roads and to charge user tolls."⁷ The policy worked splendidly. According to one source:

Any increase in cost of operation because of turnpikes and toll bridges was minor compared with the tremendous benefits these improvements brought to American staging. They lifted the stages out of mud; made journeys possible at all seasons; made lighter, higher, and better hung carriages practicable; eliminated the hazards associated with fords, ferries, and primitive bridges; shortened distances; permitted much greater speed; and made travel feasible. The turnpikes encouraged the development of stage lines and made possible many of the features that characterized American staging at its highest level of development.⁸

By 1800, most major American roads were tolls. Concurrently, staging expanded to encompass the entire territory from New England to the Potomac. More than twenty-five lines operated out of Boston, and separate services ran from Philadelphia south to Richmond, Virginia, and east to Baltimore, Maryland.⁹

The increase in the number of stage lines spawned a tavern industry specifically designed for the stage traveler. Of course, New England had a long tradition of inns extending back to the Puritan "ordinary" of the mid-seventeenth century, but the newer stage stops provided a place where "relay teams were kept and where, while horses were being changed, the travelers could leave their cramped quarters for a few minutes to stretch and refresh themselves." Located about fifteen miles apart, the stage stops fell into either the "swing station" or "home station" categories. Swing stations served only as places to change the horses. Home stations, on the other hand, served a larger function. Usually situated at every fourth stop on a route, they could be two to three times larger than the swing stations and often contained a ticket booth, post office, sleeping rooms, and a dining hall. In settled areas, home stations were usually housed in hotel buildings, while a nearby livery stable housed the animals and vehicles.¹⁰

The stage tavern became an important local gathering point. One source asserts that "during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the stagecoach tavern was to become one of the most important institutions in the life of the young nation." It served not only as a place to hear the latest news, but often was the only building in town large enough to hold public meetings.¹¹

In addition to the stage companies, many independent entrepreneurs owned taverns. The relationship between these "independents" and the line depended on the tavern's location. A man who owned a popular stop along a well-travelled route could expect excellent treatment from the line. Sometimes, in fact, he would be invited to join the line as a partner. In contrast, tavern-keepers along

United States Department of the Interior
National Park ServiceNational Register of Historic Places
Continuation SheetOverland Staging Industry in Minnesota 1849-1880
Section number E Page 4

less important roads were at the mercy of the lines, which occasionally threatened to suspend traffic if the tavern refused to give the line's passengers discounts. Stage lines opened their own taverns, especially over little traveled routes that did not attract entrepreneurs. On the other hand, tavern owners, angry over losing the business of a line, sometimes put their own stages in operation.¹²

Despite progress in New England and the Mid-Atlantic states, staging grew slowly in the deep South. Unlike the North, with its many towns and villages, the South was dominated by self-sufficient plantations with almost no need for public transportation. Southerners traveled, when they had to, by horseback, while boats carried crops to the seaports along the many inland rivers. As a result, the South in the 1700s had only a small number of stage lines, centering around Charleston, South Carolina, and Savannah, Georgia. One could not travel uninterrupted by stage from Portland, Maine to Savannah until 1803.¹³

Stage traffic moved west in 1803, with the opening of the first line in Kentucky. Soon after, separate lines ran near Pittsburgh and Chambersburg in western Pennsylvania, and in Ohio. Within a decade, a major stage road developed in the south, running parallel to the Atlantic, and connecting each of the capital cities. It came to serve as the trunk for the entire southern network.¹⁴

Also during the early nineteenth century, designers created the first uniquely American stagecoach, which apparently evolved from the wagon and an intermediate vehicle known as the "coachee." The latter, which first appeared on lines in Pennsylvania and New Jersey in 1795, looked similar to the stagewagon, but featured a shorter body, a rounded bottom, and seats for the passengers. Designers improved the vehicle's superstructure by adding leather or canvas sides and, eventually, a hard-shell body for protection against the weather. The Post Office Department developed a model, probably hardshell, for its mail route between Philadelphia and Baltimore in 1799. According to one source, "these stages were revolutionary in that the passengers in the front seat were to ride facing backwards, and the driver was to be completely outside the body. They could now properly be called stagecoaches." Similar coaches appeared in Virginia by 1805. To the south and west, the wagon continued to be the most popular vehicle, perhaps owing to poorer road conditions.¹⁵

Staging did not have a coach well-suited to the American landscape, though, until 1817. That vehicle, also developed by the Post Office Department, featured a sturdy egg-shaped carriage body, able to withstand the jostling of primitive roads and, with its low center of gravity, to maintain balance on uneven trails. In addition, the design replaced the old steel springs with strips of leather called thoroughbraces. The designers cradled the carriage body in the thoroughbraces, thereby allowing it to swing freely with each bump, providing the passengers with a smooth ride. The "Post Coach," as Americans named the vehicle, first appeared on the New York to Philadelphia route.¹⁶

Over the following years, the American staging industry began to expand further into the nation's Midwest and Deep South. Local lines began operation in St. Louis in 1818 and in Illinois the next year. In 1820, a line appeared in Alabama and another connected St. Louis to the eastern states. For the most part, though, staging still suffered from competition with waterborne transportation. As had been the case in the East, most of the new settlements tended to be near navigable rivers and for many years, particularly following the development of the steamboat, settlers found the rivers the most convenient transportation routes.¹⁷

United States Department of the Interior
National Park ServiceNational Register of Historic Places
Continuation Sheet

Overland Staging Industry in Minnesota 1849-1880

Section number E Page 5

In the 1830s, though, three factors emerged that helped establish staging along the nation's frontier. One was simply the increase in westward migration, which stimulated improvements in all types of transportation. A second factor was the Jackson administration's strong support for internal improvements in the West. Jackson used the system of awarding mail contracts to encourage the development of frontier transportation. A mail contract assured a stage company of a certain sum of money, generally enough to cover the basic costs of operation. It freed the line to carry passengers and goods to outlying areas that might never otherwise be serviced for lack of passengers and freight for the return trip. Under this program, staging followed the frontier west and by the late 1830s, both Iowa and Wisconsin had local stage lines.¹⁸

The continuing improvement in coach design, though, especially by the Concord, New Hampshire firm of Abbot-Downing, may have been the most vital factor. Abbot-Downing's famous Concord Coach used a design similar to the Post Coach, with leather thoroughbraces and a rounded body. Innovations included a flattened top to provide more headroom and a place to lay luggage. More importantly, it used a strong oak frame and ash wheels, giving it the ability "to withstand the most severe road and weather conditions imaginable." By the late 1830s, Concord Coaches ran throughout the country. Stage companies often advertised the addition of Concords to signal the line's arrival as a professional service. Eventually, similar looking vehicles, known as the Troy and Gould Coaches, also appeared on American roads.¹⁹

Even with advances in coach design, staging still had to contend with poor road conditions. Charles Dickens, during an American visit, described one road in Illinois as a "forest path, nearly knee-deep in mud and slime."²⁰ Another road in Ohio must have been as bad. He wrote of being bounced inside the coach:

At one time we were all flung together in a heap at the bottom of the coach, and at another we were crushing our heads against the roof. Now, one side was down deep in the mire, and we were holding on to the other. Now, the coach was lying on the tail of the two wheelers; and now it was rearing up in the air in a frantic state. . . .²¹

To accommodate the poor conditions, many stage lines reverted to carrying passengers in wagons. Wagons lacked leather thoroughbraces, but their oversized tires made them less likely to become stuck in the mud. In other cases, coaches carried a fence rail. When the wheels sunk into the mire, the passengers climbed out and used the rail to pry the coach free. As late as the 1870s, Iowans described the fare for one local line as "ten cents a mile and a fence rail!" Surprisingly, few passengers complained. According to one source, "stagecoach travel remained satisfactory to middle westerners as long as they could not expect anything better, or as long as they remained unacquainted with other improved systems of overland travel."²²

As staging followed the frontier west, it started to lose ground in the East to railroads. One historian stated that "by 1840 the days of the stagecoach were rapidly drawing to a close in the East." Remnants of the staging industry endured, though, as omnibus service in such growing cities as Philadelphia, New York, and Boston.²³

United States Department of the Interior
National Park ServiceNational Register of Historic Places
Continuation Sheet

Overland Staging Industry in Minnesota 1849-1880

Section number E Page 6

In 1849, sparked by the California Gold Rush, the staging industry spread to the West Coast. Many former east-coast stagemen became involved in the expansion, anticipating that the opening of the West would be a way of regaining the commerce they had lost to the railroads. Historian Ralph Moody commented that although these businessmen knew "little or nothing about the country west of the Mississippi, they formed stage line companies, gathered whatever vehicles, harnesses, and horses or mules they could get hold of, and advertised for passengers to California." Such ill-conceived ventures quickly died, proving, Moody maintained, "that successful passenger transportation across the uninhabited region west of the Missouri River could not be carried on without way stations at frequent intervals, a reasonable semblance of roads, and Government subsidy in the form of mail contracts or otherwise." Also at this time, local stage lines began to appear in California, centering around Sacramento.²⁴

The quality of roads in the Far West proved to be as low as in the rest of the nation. Moody reported that "the roads were for the most part only dirt tracks; the worst spots were graded a little with picks and shovels, sloping chutes were dug into overly steep creek banks, and unavoidable bogs were corrugated with bush or sapling." One driver, reflecting on the poor quality of the roads, asserted that "If you kin see daylight between the trees, you kin get through."²⁵

MINNESOTA STAGING INDUSTRY

Minnesota's staging era followed the first serious attempts at developing a local road system in 1849. Prior to this time, Minnesota had only a series of rough trails used by Indians, traders, and a few early settlers. For example, a series of caravan routes, called Red River Trails, led to points on the Mississippi from the Red River Valley. Other early roads include those built by the soldiers at Fort Snelling to Saint Anthony Falls and Lake Calhoun, and by the settlers of the Saint Croix Valley to Saint Paul. In 1848, a road opened between Saint Paul and Galena, Illinois, by way of Stillwater and Prairie du Chien, Wisconsin. However, the lack of settlement in the area, "the roundabout route, the lack of sufficient bridges, and the frequently impassable condition of the road," made it of little use.²⁶

Minnesota had few settlements in the late 1840s -- most of its two thousand residents lived in Saint Paul, Saint Anthony, and Stillwater -- but it still needed a more extensive road system. The Mississippi River provided the only safe connection to the outside world, but ice prohibited its use in the winter. In addition, many settlers hoped that new roads would give them access to Minnesota's interior lands. As had been the case in other states, Minnesota's first settlements appeared along the area's most important rivers even though, as historian Arthur J. Larsen pointed out, "from the agricultural standpoint, [the lands] were often inferior to those farther removed from navigable streams."²⁷

For assistance, settlers turned to Washington. Larsen argued "that the need for an adequate system of communication was an important factor in the agitation for the creation of Minnesota Territory." He may have been correct. Soon after being elected Territorial Senator in 1849, Henry Sibley began gathering support for a series of roads for the area to aid the army in frontier defense.²⁸

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places Continuation Sheet

Overland Staging Industry in Minnesota 1849-1880

Section number E Page 7

The new Territorial Legislature, however, did not depend entirely on the Federal government for new roads. To quote Larsen:

Even the most optimistic advocates of an extensive program of road building at the expense of the federal government realized, however, that most of the burden of constructing roads must rest upon the shoulders of the people themselves. They were content to have the federal government mark out the main lines of the system and to use their energy for building the trails to the land itself. . . .²⁹

During its first session, the legislature authorized five roads, all in settled areas. One ran from Stillwater through White Bear Lake to the Rum River. Another followed the Mississippi from the Rum to Crow Wing, and a third extended from Saint Paul to Little Canada. Two connected Saint Paul and Point Douglas, at the junction of the Mississippi and Saint Croix Rivers, one of which ran through Cottage Grove, the other through Red Rock.³⁰

At the same time, the first signs of a staging industry began to appear in Saint Paul. In the spring of 1849, Amherst Willoughby, a former stagecoach driver from Chicago, and his partner Simon Powers, opened a daily wagon line between Saint Paul and Saint Anthony. The wagons only traveled ten miles, however, so it is doubtful that Willoughby and Powers used stagewagons in the literal sense. Business apparently went well and by September the partners added another wagon. Later that same year, a man named Robert Kennedy opened a tri-weekly line between Saint Paul and Stillwater. Both he and Willoughby and Powers carried the mail free of charge.³¹

With the coming of winter, Willoughby and Powers closed their Saint Paul to Saint Anthony line and began running open sleighs between Saint Paul and Galena. Undoubtedly, a Captain Knowlton encouraged them when he marked the best path and bridged several of the streams along the route in November and December. In addition, the growing settlement along the road provided several stopping places for tired and hungry travelers, although in some places passengers still found it necessary to "camp out."³²

Back in Washington, Sibley won the battle for road funding. The 1850 Congress approved the construction of four Minnesota roads by the War Department. The first of these "military roads" ran from Point Douglas, north through Stillwater to Superior, Wisconsin. Another extended northwest from Point Douglas through Saint Paul to Fort Ripley. A third ran west along the Swan River near Sauk Rapids to Long Prairie, and the fourth connected Mendota with Wabasha on the Mississippi to the southeast. Sibley also obtained funds to survey a road from Mendota southwest through Mankato to the Big Sioux River in Iowa.³³

The location of the military roads served several functions. Besides acting as main thoroughfares in the territory, the roads also, "almost without exception. . . were designed to follow courses which railroad lines could later follow." They tended to follow the state's rivers and did not provide access to the interior.³⁴

United States Department of the Interior
National Park ServiceNational Register of Historic Places
Continuation Sheet

Overland Staging Industry in Minnesota 1849-1880

Section number E Page 8

The construction of the military roads reached a degree of precision never seen before in Minnesota roads. Captain James Simpson, the supervisor, specified roadbed widths of 25 feet, cleared of stumps and other obstructions, with grades of no more than ten feet in every 100. He also ordered muddy sections "corduroyed" (covered with perpendicular logs) and drainage ditches dug.³⁵

In 1851, soon after importing a Concord Coach, Willoughby and Powers faced a competing line between Saint Paul and Saint Anthony. Operated by Lyman Benson and William Pattison, two emigrants from Michigan, the new company appears to have made a strong impression on local inhabitants.³⁶ One newspaper claimed:

There is no quibbling, cheating, lying, gouging about Benson nor are his horses lank, spavined, ring-boned, foundered, half-hipped, wheezing, half-bound, knock-kneed, gambrel-legged, soreheaded, shadowy animals that look as if they had come limping out of the Apocalypse -- the progeny of the Pale horse described in the Revelations, which 'Death and Hell followed after.'³⁷

Benson and Pattison soon began running their own Concord. A price war opened between the two companies, eventually reducing fare from 75 to ten cents a trip. In one instance, Willoughby and Powers "not only furnished the ride to Saint Anthony for nothing but gave each passenger a good square drink and five cents a piece besides." The war continued for several seasons, until the combatants agreed to a division of routes, with Benson and Pattison continuing on the Saint Anthony line, and Willoughby and Powers keeping lines to Shakopee and Stillwater.³⁸

Willoughby and Powers continued to run sleighs between Saint Paul and Galena. By the winter of 1852, they had bridged all the unfordable streams, levelled hills, and built double cabins, staffed with families, at convenient intervals throughout the Wisconsin section. One traveler called the improved road "equal to any stage route through Illinois or the older portions of Wisconsin." He found all accommodations very good, except for the stop at Black River, and had particular praise for the stop near Menomonee, where he received venison, trout, rolls with fresh butter, and coffee. He admitted that the ride could be "gloomy" at moments, particularly in the densest parts of the forest, but claimed that the open sleigh never bothered him. "What is sleigh-riding worth," he wrote, "if you are enclosed in a jail, and can see nothing of the beauties of the winter scenery as you pass along?" He did warn that "those journeying over this route, however, will need, of course, to provide themselves amply with clothing. . . ."³⁹

Minnesota staging began its most expansive six-year period in 1853, following Congressional ratification of the Second Treaty of Traverse des Sioux. Land ceded by the Indians included the southeastern triangle of the state, between the Mississippi and Minnesota Rivers. Approximately 20,000 white "squatters" already lived in the area and many legal settlers from Europe and the eastern states soon joined them. Although initial "settlement occurred largely along waterways -- the Minnesota and Mississippi Rivers and their tributaries --" a few settlers also moved further inland as well. Agriculture was the primary industry of the region.⁴⁰

United States Department of the Interior
National Park ServiceNational Register of Historic Places
Continuation Sheet

Overland Staging Industry in Minnesota 1849-1880

Section number E Page 9

The increasing population brought with it a need for roads, both through the interior and to neighboring states. As early as the spring of 1852, residents of Traverse des Sioux, near Saint Peter, cleared a road to Saint Paul. A newspaper described it as "tolerable good." At about the same time, the Territorial Government, certain of impending treaty ratification, approved roads from Lake Pepin and Read's Landing on the Mississippi to points on the Minnesota River. A road soon connected Rollingstone with the Traverse des Sioux road, passing by the future sites of Rochester and Owatonna, while another proceeded from Saint Anthony up the Minnesota to Henderson, then west to Fort Ridgely. The new roads, according to Larsen, served as "a foundation for a road system. . . and in the years that followed the structure was completed, providing the means by which the greater part of the white population in the Triangle got to the land."⁴¹

The opening of the southeast provided a boost to the staging industry. "The landlocked interior had to have a means for the conveyance of travelers, and to fill this need the stagecoach appeared upon the Minnesota scene." Three new stage lines began in 1853. Two followed the Minnesota from Saint Paul to Mankato, with one continuing northwest along the river to Fort Ridgely. The third, owned by Saint Paul banker and trader Charles Borup, ran north from the capital, by military road and the Red River Trail, through Sauk Rapids and Crow Wing to Fort Ripley.⁴²

A growing number of people demanded the construction of an all-Minnesota road from Saint Paul to the Iowa line. Until this time, only the Saint Paul to Galena route connected Minnesota to its southern neighbor, compelling Iowa-bound travelers to journey first to Wisconsin. Not surprisingly, the new road found support in both states. Minnesotans hoped it would be shorter than the path to Prairie du Chien and that it would also aid settlement of the fertile interior lands. Iowans, particularly Dubuque businessmen, saw the road as a way of diverting business from Wisconsin. In 1854, the Minnesota legislature authorized the construction of two roads to Dubuque.⁴³

Neither of the legislature's roads, however, became the first to connect Minnesota to Iowa. In the spring and summer of 1854, men working for Martin O. Walker, one of the midwest's most important stage men, cleared a trail roughly between the two planned routes mentioned above. Walker's entrance into Minnesota was one of the key events in local staging history. At the time, one newspaper hailed it as "another evidence of the importance which the 'west side' [of the Mississippi] is beginning to assume." Walker operated lines in Missouri, Wisconsin, Illinois, and Iowa, making him, as one former stage driver said, "a sort of Jim Hill of stage coaching." Born in Hubbardson, Vermont, in 1809, he emigrated to Chicago in 1838 and became a partner in a stage line with a man named John Frink. Throughout his career, Walker made little accommodation for other people. A contemporary journalist described him as "pugnacious -- his appearance indicated it plainly," and claimed he "had more lawsuits than any two men in Cook County [ie., Chicago]." Walker once had a dispute with Amos Kendall, Andrew Jackson's Post Master-General, over a contractual clause and, for several years afterwards, the Post Office Department refused to grant him mail contracts. In later years, when he reacquired the contracts, Walker often sublet them for a large profit.⁴⁴

Walker's desire for profit may have led him to employ substandard employees and equipment, incurring the wrath of patrons. Referring to both Walker and Frink, one traveler cursed: "Their bitterest enemy could desire no more infernal punishment than that they might forever be driven around the gloomy bogs and swamps of Hades, by their saucy drivers, in their rickety stages, behind

United States Department of the Interior
National Park ServiceNational Register of Historic Places
Continuation Sheet

Overland Staging Industry in Minnesota 1849-1880

Section number E Page 10

their skeleton horse frames." Later, the same traveler noticed an elderly gentleman, "shaking his fist, kicking with his foot, and performing many violent gesticulations, ever and anon executing certain gyrations with his fingers and thumb being applied to his nasal protuberance whenever he saw one of. . . [Frink and Walker's] stages."⁴⁵

The Dubuque road probably entered Minnesota at or near Harmony Township in Fillmore County. It extended north into Olmsted County, running through Pleasant Grove Township and Rochester. The road then entered Goodhue County, passing near Zumbrota and through Cannon Falls, before crossing Dakota County and reaching Saint Paul in Ramsey County. By the middle of July of 1854, Walker ran a four-horse coach capable of making the trip in four days. A newspaper at the time reported the road to be in "quite good" condition and said Walker had plans to build several changing stations along the route (see Map 1 for this route as well as other selected southeastern Minnesota stage roads).⁴⁶

Despite the opening of Walker's road, the Territorial government did not forget its own routes to Iowa. The same summer, surveyors investigated the land from Faribault to Austin and down the Cedar River to the Iowa line. According to a letter in the Minnesota Democrat, they thought the area had enough settlement, timber and water to support travel, and existing trails further proved the demand. In fact, many official roads followed paths created by early settlers. For example, travelers first appeared on the road between Winona and Carimona in the fall of 1854, although the government did not approve its construction until the following year. Larsen pointed out that "the legislature often authorized the survey and construction of roads after they had been in use for months or even a year or two."⁴⁷

By 1854, Minnesota stage lines no longer carried the mail free of charge. Instead, several companies bid for the same route, with the contract usually awarded to the lowest bidder. Between 1855 and 1857, the Federal government also allowed mail carriers to build swing stations on parcels of unclaimed land twenty miles apart, giving the companies pre-emptive rights to as much as 640 acres of the surrounding land when it went on sale. In Minnesota, both Martin Walker and Marsh and Babcock, a Mankato-based stage company, filed preemptive claims under this law.⁴⁸

The federal government granted sixteen postal contracts in Minnesota in 1854, including routes from Saint Paul to Faribault and from Fort Snelling to Lac qui Parle. The latter route, probably an unimproved road, may have been familiar terrain for pioneer vehicles, which often ran on nothing more than ruts in the ground left by previous travelers. The government transferred the mail route between Saint Paul and Dubuque from its original contractor to Walker. Pattison and Benson received four routes, including one from Saint Paul to Fort Ripley. By the fall of 1854, the firm employed 47 people and owned 161 horses, 13 Concord Coaches, and 129 carriages, buggies, and sleighs.⁴⁹ Willoughby and Powers did not bid on the contracts. According to a newspaper report, the two dissolved their partnership, with Willoughby gaining control of the livery stables and Powers assuming control of the coaches. Powers continued to run passenger lines to Stillwater, Shakopee, and Taylor's Falls, while Willoughby became involved with Walker, assisting him on the Dubuque route.⁵⁰

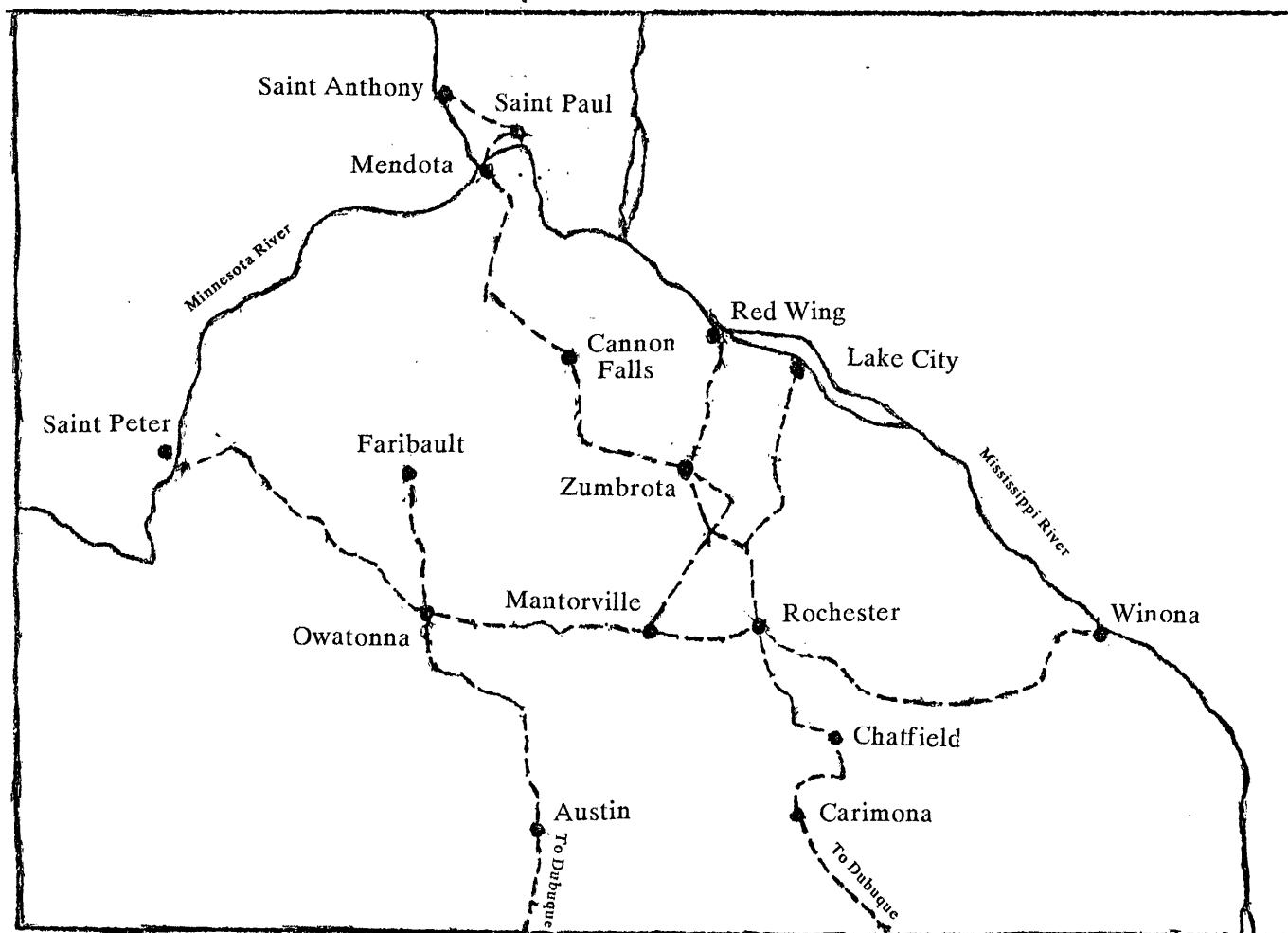
United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places Continuation Sheet

Overland Staging Industry in Minnesota 1849-1880

Section number E Page 11

Map 1
Selected Southeastern Minnesota Stage Roads
(Source: Arthur J. Larsen, "Roads and Trails in the
Minnesota Triangle," Minnesota History 11 (December 1930): 391.



United States Department of the Interior
National Park ServiceNational Register of Historic Places
Continuation Sheet

Overland Staging Industry in Minnesota 1849-1880

Section number E Page 12

By the end of 1854, many settlers recognized the need for better transportation from the Mississippi River to Lake Superior. The old system of canoe and portage proved to be impractical for the increasing amount of traffic, especially following the opening of the Sault Sainte Marie Canal in 1855. The slow work on the Point Douglas to Superior military road did not offer much hope for a quick solution. Some settlers considered building alternative routes, proceeding from such upper Mississippi towns as Saint Cloud, Little Falls, or Crow Wing. During the winter of 1854 - 1855, a group of volunteers opened a road from Superior, Wisconsin to Taylor's Falls. Soon after, a man named George Nettleton opened a line of stages from Saint Paul to Superior. A boat or sleigh would take Duluth-bound passengers across the bay.⁵¹

Staging expanded in the southeast in 1855. From Winona, lines ran to Red Wing, to Rochester, to Saint Peter, and to Chatfield. An additional line opened between Red Wing and Saint Peter. A line also briefly operated between Saint Paul and Dubuque, following the territorial road through Faribault and Austin. Both the new line and Walker's, however, provided extremely poor service. In one instance, it took fourteen days for Walker coaches to deliver the mail to St. Paul, prompting one newspaper editor to bitterly write, "We don't want a railroad, -- do we old Fogies?" Another newspaper reported winter traffic on an eastern branch of the Dubuque trail, which followed the east bank of the Mississippi to Hastings, then crossed to the west and extended south to Red Wing, probably connecting with Walker's road near the present location of Zumbrota.⁵²

The legislature authorized nineteen new roads in the southeast in 1855.⁵³ A construction contract from that year, authorizing work on a 36-mile road west of Le Sueur County, reveals the specifications and prices probably typical on the most important roads:

Grub and clear the center strip from 25 to 66 feet wide of all trees and brush, including the filling up of small holes and levelling off hillocks or small knobs for fifty-seven dollars per acre. Earthwork including haul of 100 feet for 20 cents per cubic yard; over 100 and up to 300 feet 23 cents per cubic yard. The corduroying or logging of crossways for three dollars per rod lengthwise of the road. Timber and lumber in a bridge for fifty dollars per 1,000 feet board measure, the bolts for 26 cents per pound. The pins to be of white or burr oak of the best quality and well-dressed.⁵⁴

Not all new roads received the same careful treatment. Larsen described roadbuilding as, "only removing inconvenient boulders, chopping down trees that could not be avoided, blazing trees here and there, or driving stakes into the prairie sod to indicate the tracks."⁵⁵

Although the legislature authorized 38 new roads in 1856, expanding into areas between Saint Cloud and Lac qui Parle and between Fort Ripley and Fort Ridgely, the staging industry, for the most part, remained in the southeast. Two new lines connected Hastings and Saint Peter, and Le Sueur and Saint Paul. In addition, Walker succeeded a locally-based operator on a line between Winona and Saint Peter. Marsh and Babcock carried the mail from Mankato to Sioux City, Iowa.⁵⁶

United States Department of the Interior
National Park ServiceNational Register of Historic Places
Continuation Sheet

Overland Staging Industry in Minnesota 1849-1880

Section number E Page 13

In the mean time, complaints continued to mount over Walker's Dubuque service. The Daily Minnesotian claimed: "We are convinced that the contractor on the mail route between Dubuque and Saint Paul. . . is sadly neglecting the duty he has bargained with the United States to perform." On several occasions, Walker's men removed bags of mail from the coach in order to accommodate more passengers. The service survived, though, largely because Walker had no serious competition.⁵⁷

In the winter of 1856 - 1857, Walker's good fortune began to turn. A client of the line, James C. Burbank's Northwestern Express Company, became fed up with the unreliable service and decided to carry express items on its own stage line. Northwestern's first route followed the Mississippi between Saint Paul and Prairie du Chien. Soon after, it ran a coach on Walker's Dubuque road and carried passengers. It quickly became the traveler's choice. One man commented, "When we want a comfortable ride to Prairie du Chien, we are going with Burbank." Walker, however, did nothing to improve his service. Another traveler scrawled in a Carimona hotel register, "Walker is running a hel [sic] of a line through here."⁵⁸

By the time it began staging operations, the Northwestern Express Company was already an important Minnesota business. Burbank, its principal figure, was born in Ludlow, Vermont in 1822 and first came to the Minnesota territory about 1849. He worked as a lumberjack and patent medicine salesman, before opening an express company in the summer of 1851. Over the next few years, the operation grew and Burbank moved through a series of partners, including, briefly Henry Rice. In 1855, he began a key partnership with a former steamboatman named Russell Blakely. Together, the two helped usher in the golden age of Minnesota staging. As their Saint Paul contemporary, J. Fletcher Williams, noted, Burbank and Blakely "chalked out more new roads, and built more bridges, than any other hundred or thousand men in the State."⁵⁹

Business went well for Northwestern and by the end of 1857, it operated semi-weekly lines from Saint Paul to Mankato, via Shakopee and Le Sueur, and from Saint Paul to Fort Ripley, via Anoka and Saint Cloud. Other stage companies opened lines between Red Wing and Austin, (via Albert Lea); Red Wing and Blue Earth City; Albert Lea and Mankato; Albert Lea and Mitchell, Iowa; and La Crosse, Wisconsin and Chatfield. By the end of the 1850s, roads crossed most of southeast Minnesota. One newspaper reported that Saint Peter had connections to all Mississippi River towns except Wabasha.⁶⁰

The emergence of roads and stage lines in the southeast had an enormous influence on the settlement of the region. Larsen pointed out:

Where two important roads crossed, there a town was sure to spring up. Where travelers crossed a river on a ferry, an enterprising promoter would soon found a town. Wherever facilities for communication existed, or could be made, the growth of population and the progress of settlement quickened.⁶¹

It is particularly appropriate that the city of Rochester was platted only a few days after Walker coaches first passed through on their way to Saint Paul. Zumbrota lay at the intersection of the Dubuque trail and another important trade route between Red Wing and Mantorville.⁶²

United States Department of the Interior
National Park ServiceNational Register of Historic Places
Continuation Sheet

Overland Staging Industry in Minnesota 1849-1880

Section number E Page 14

The towns along a stage route often contained a hotel or tavern. In the early years of settlement, Minnesota's stage stops, like those in Wisconsin, probably tended towards simple log or timber buildings. Later, as traffic and profits increased, more complex structures were required and built. In addition, most Minnesota stage stops, particularly in the outstate region, also functioned as family residences, a fact occasionally reflected in the design. The builder of the Rolfes stage stop in Stearns County, for example, planned his house in such a way as to allow guests to enter the dining hall and their rooms without passing through a family area. On the other hand, the Johannes Funk House in Wabasha County, although designed as a hotel, only boarded the occasional passerby who probably mixed with the family.⁶³

The Federal government let 59 mail contracts in Minnesota in 1857. As might be expected, most of the routes ran in the southeast, but the contracts also reflected the territory's moving frontier. A total of nine passed through Saint Cloud, for example, including routes to Pembina and Superior in the north and Lac qui Parle in the west. The government awarded Northwestern Express the route from Saint Paul to Prairie du Chien. Judging from records of the bids, though, most of the contracts appear to have been given to regional operators, companies generally not capable of statewide systems, but still equipped to run several nearby routes at the same time. One regional operator, John Hubbell, also owned a hotel in Mantorville. He bid on routes between Mantorville and Red Wing and Hastings, Rochester and Faribault, and Winona and Mankato.⁶⁴

In 1857, the nation fell into a deep economic depression. Larsen stated that "scores of frontier business ventures, based more on optimism than money, failed in an almost incredibly short time." The resulting decline in travel hurt the staging industry, particularly Walker. In Minnesota, local authorities seized teams of his horses when he could not pay his debts. Walker, according to a later biography, apparently downplayed his losses. In fact, he soon opened a line between Hastings and Albert Lea, via Chatfield and Austin. Walker lines continued to radiate from Rochester to Winona, Owatonna, Faribault, Chatfield, and Decorah, Iowa, and from Faribault to Hastings.⁶⁵

Northwestern suffered less during the depression. It soon initiated a line between Brownsville, in the extreme southeastern part of Minnesota, and Blue Earth, in Faribault County. In addition, Lake City residents, in an effort to increase trade with the interior, subsidized a Northwestern line from their city to Rochester, which the company extended to Owatonna and Mankato. Northwestern charged only two dollars on the route, a quarter less than Walker charged on his rival service between Winona and Rochester. A price war ensued and fares eventually dropped to twenty-five cents one way.⁶⁶

Northwestern's survival during the depression period probably owed much to its newly established Red River Valley line. In the winter of 1857, Blakely learned of the Hudson's Bay Company's desire for an American route to their Red River outposts. A Red River Ox Cart Trail existed between the Valley and Saint Cloud, but its poor condition prevented widespread use by heavy vehicles. Blakely later remarked: "this country was suffering from the great financial collapse of 1857, and any possible change for the better was hailed with the earnestness of drowning men." With the aid of Saint Paul businesses, he scouted the Red River area and, soon after, a steamboat opened on the river.⁶⁷

United States Department of the Interior
National Park ServiceNational Register of Historic Places
Continuation Sheet

Overland Staging Industry in Minnesota 1849-1880

Section number E Page 15

In the spring of 1859, as Burbank and Blakely made plans to build a road to the Valley, they strengthened their financial position by merging with the stage company of Alvaren Allen and Charles Chase, who three years before had bought out Pattison and Benson. Allen and Chase operated lines from Saint Paul to Fort Ripley and to La Crosse, and held the mail contract to Fort Abercrombie. These activities were added to Northwest's considerable postal, freight, and passenger business to become the Minnesota Stage Company. Only a few months after the merger, the new company began building a 160-mile road from Saint Cloud northwest to the Valley. According to the Saint Paul Daily Pioneer of 6 July 1859, the new road wound "spirally like a grapevine round the twisted stem of the Sauk River -- over it and under it -- and on both sides of it," passing through several embryonic towns. In more precise terms, the road ran northwest from Saint Cloud for four miles, before crossing the Sauk River and continuing to New Munich. From there, it crossed the Sauk again and continued through Melrose and Sauk Centre, crossing the Sauk again in Kandota township of Todd County, and moving by Osakis Lake and through Alexandria, to Dayton, near present-day Fergus Falls, and finally to Breckenridge and Fort Abercrombie (see Map 2).⁶⁸

Several travel accounts indicate the road's poor condition. One traveler called it "a succession of swamps, corduroy bridges, holes, and stumps." He also noted the mosquito problem: "They are larger than the usual size, they are more painful, their attack more bold and determined, and their number like the atoms in the air." Another traveler wrote, "People on railroad cars don't realize what they have to be thankful for."⁶⁹

Many also noted problems with the accommodations. In fact, many of the stopping places amounted to little more than log shacks. One traveler reported that the population of Dayton "numbers one. They live alone by himself in a breezy log-house, with a little off-shoot containing bunks and a cooking stove, and whose walls are hung with dried sturgeon and catfish, caught in the river. . . ." Travelers also reported houses at Kandota and Osakis to be similarly small, which, perhaps, indicates that they served as swing stations.⁷⁰ The house at Pomme de Terre sounds like a home station:

The Pomme de Terre station building was an unpretentious two-story structure, with walls of rough-hewn logs; the crevices were filled with mortar against rain and cold. On the ground floor was a kitchen, a dining room, and a trader's store, while overhead were sleeping quarters designed to accommodate as many as twenty people. Accounts left by early travelers indicate that these were often overcrowded, and in later years was found necessary to expand the space by erecting a lean-to.⁷¹

The arrival of stagecoaches in the Red River Valley proved to be the crowning achievement in Minnesota staging and established the Minnesota Stage Company as the state's premier carrier. With the addition of a line between Saint Paul and Superior, Minnesota Stage operated 1300 miles of routes throughout the state. As the Saint Paul Pioneer of 11 July 1867 observed, "the chief stage business of the state became centralized in the new company".⁷²

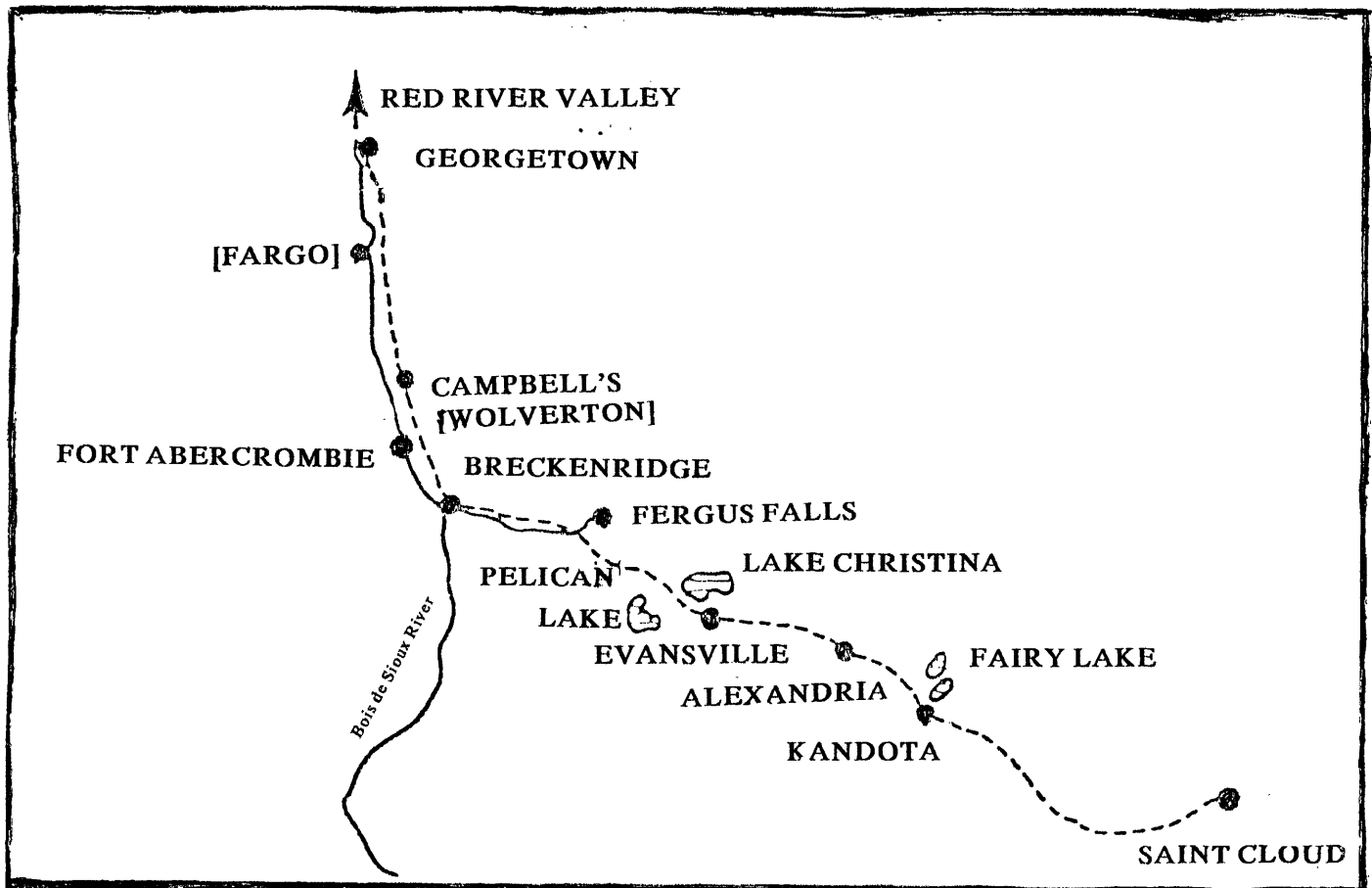
United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places Continuation Sheet

Overland Staging Industry in Minnesota 1849-1880

Section number E Page 16

Map 2
Saint Cloud and Red River Valley Stage Road
(Source: Roy Johnson, Roy Johnson's Red River Valley,
[Moorhead, Minnesota: Red River Valley Historical Society, 1982], p. 93).



United States Department of the Interior
National Park ServiceNational Register of Historic Places
Continuation Sheet

Overland Staging Industry in Minnesota 1849-1880

Section number E Page 17THE DECLINE

The staging industry slowed with the U.S. Government - Dakota Conflict of 1862 and the Civil War. Undoubtedly, the declining rate of settlement contributed to this decrease. In addition, it also became more dangerous to ride the stages. During the U.S. Government - Dakota Conflict, Dakota Indians attacked a stage on its way from Fort Abercrombie to Saint Cloud and, on another occasion, destroyed the stage stop at Breckenridge and killed a number of Minnesota Stage Company employees. The company soon closed operations to the Valley and "little if any" traffic appeared on the road. Eventually, troops accompanied travelers and the government set up military bases at Pomme de Terre, Alexandria, and Sauk Centre.⁷³

The fatal blow to staging, however, came from the railroads, which were able to overcome many of the shortcomings of the earlier means of transportation. While stage roads helped to bring settlers to the southeast and northwest, they were ineffective in transporting farm goods. The poor condition of many roads limited the size of load a farmer could safely carry, and the expense involved in traveling as far as 150 miles often ate up most of his profits. Road construction and the staging industry was particularly ineffective in opening the southwestern part of the state. Unlike the southeast, the southwest had no navigable rivers on its borders and few natural resources, such as timber, to spur settlement. As the state's principal historian of overland transportation has concluded: "Until some economical means was devised for taking building materials to the prairies and wheat from them, settlement lagged."⁷⁴

The stage lines began to change their schedules to accommodate the railroads. In 1864, the Minnesota Stage Company timed its line between Faribault and Rochester to match the departure of the train to Winona. Two years later, the "feeder service" expanded with the opening of the railroad line between Saint Paul and Saint Cloud. Horse-drawn vehicles, including stagecoaches, ferried people to and from the railroad depot. "Thus, the inland communities were brought closer to civilization, and. . . immigrants thronged in." A Minnesota Stage Company line also ran to Winona, where it connected with the Minnesota Central and Winona and Saint Peter Railroads. The company continued service on separate non-feeder lines between Saint Paul and Superior, Stillwater, Hastings and Northfield, and between Faribault and Owatonna. They also ran two daily coaches between Shakopee and Mankato and Mankato and Kasson, another terminus of the Winona and Saint Peter line.⁷⁵

The demise of the stagecoach was exemplified by James Burbank, who left the Minnesota Stage Company in 1867 and became involved in the Saint Paul and Sioux City Railroad Company, as well as in an insurance company and a bank. Rail companies extended their lines from Winona to Waseca and from Saint Paul to the Iowa line. In 1868, another rail line ran from Saint Paul to Le Seuer, ending stage service in the Minnesota Valley. The Saint Peter Tribune noted, "The daily stage has performed its mission and the champing steed, proud and tremulous with life, gives way before that inanimate power with harness of steel, lungs of iron and breath of fire." The stage line to Duluth also fell into disuse following the opening of the Lake Superior and Mississippi Railroad that summer.⁷⁶

United States Department of the Interior
National Park ServiceNational Register of Historic Places
Continuation Sheet

Overland Staging Industry in Minnesota 1849-1880

Section number E Page 18

Despite the losses, the Minnesota Stage Company still had over 1200 miles of routes in the state, although its business was increasingly tied to the railroads. A new stage line opened between Redwood Falls and Willmar, a depot of the Saint Paul and Pacific Railroad, in 1870. Another ran from Winona to Red Wing, where passengers could catch the train into Saint Paul. Staging also held its own in the western half of Minnesota. A line opened in Rock and Pipestone Counties in the fall of 1867. Three years later, a line opened from Benson, a terminus of the Saint Paul and Pacific Railroad in Swift County, north to Alexandria, Otter Tail City, and then west to Fort Abercrombie. In 1871, the Minnesota Stage Company won mail contracts and began service between Fort Abercrombie and Pembina, and from the Canadian border to Winnipeg.⁷⁷

Stagecoach travelers experienced difficult conditions in the extreme northwest. In the summer, stage companies often found it necessary to grease the eyes, ears, and noses of their horses to keep them from stampeding when the insects became too heavy. During the winter, blizzards would lower visibility, occasionally to zero. In one case, the driver let the horses go by memory, stopping every so often to clean the icicles from their nostrils and eyes.⁷⁸

These later stage stops had the primitive features of a new route. The Turtle River station was apparently typical:

It was made of logs and roofed with sod cut from the prairie. After the rains had washed most of the sod off, thatching was resorted to, long rank weeds being cut from the nearby marshes and plastered on with mud and sticky clay. There was one window and one door in the building, but no floor the first year, and no stove or other household furniture. Cooking was done in a fireplace made of clay dobies or hand made bricks, and meals were served upon an improvised table constructed from such material as could be found close by. These stations were comfortable in the coldest weather for roaring fires in the rude fireplaces radiated both heat and cheer. The travelers paid fifty cents per meal and the same amount for the privilege of sleeping on the floor.⁷⁹

Through the 1870s, the railroads continued to supplant stagecoaches on the state's most important routes. The stage line between Stillwater and Saint Paul ended in 1871, when the mail contract was transferred to the railroad. Where there was a gap in rail service, the stages continued to alter their schedules to accommodate the railroads. Mail from New Ulm to Saint Paul, for example, traveled by stage to Saint Peter, where it connected with the railroad.⁸⁰

Larsen has stated that after the railroads came, "the wagon roads were. . . looked upon simply as a means for getting to the railroads, and, for the most part, they were of local interest only." However, local interest often was quite large. In Alexandria, for instance, citizens worked to improve both the roads to Saint Cloud and Benson, the railroad terminus, and the roads to the outlying settlements. A newspaper in Wabasha made a special point in one of its editorials to state that its

United States Department of the Interior
National Park ServiceNational Register of Historic Places
Continuation Sheet

Overland Staging Industry in Minnesota 1849-1880

Section number E Page 19

support of the railroad in no way implied that it did not support the improvement of the local wagon roads.⁸¹

By 1880, the railroads ran to every settled part of Minnesota. A small number of earlier stage lines survived, such as the one between Marine on Saint Croix and Stillwater, but, in most cases, their short distance preclude their classification as actual "stage" lines. A weekly stage line continued in Marshall and Roseau counties into the first years of the twentieth century. Eventually, the owner replaced the horses with a steam engine, but even that lost out to the railroads. The end of stagecoaching in Minnesota coincided with its national decline. The Dakota stage companies, after reaching their peak in the 1870s, ended a few years after Minnesota's lines. A small number of stages continued to operate in Montana into the first years of the twentieth century, but, as an important presence, staging spent its bow by 1880.⁸²

Notes

1. The quote is from "Traveling by Stage," Gopher Historian 22 (Spring 1968): 8. See also Waddell Smith, Stage Lines and Express Companies in California, 1965.
2. The quote is from "Stagecoaches," Temple Bar 37 (January 1873): 255. For additional information on English coaching see Ralph Moody, Stagecoach West (Promontory Press, 1967): 5; Alexander Andrews, "Coaching," Gentleman's Magazine 6 (May 1871): 675 - 685.
3. The quote is from Oliver W. Holmes and Peter T. Rohrbach, Stagecoach East, (Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1983): 6-14. See also Armstrong, Ellis L. and others, eds., History of Public Works in the United States, 1776 - 1976, (Chicago: American Public Works Association, 1976), p. 56.
4. The first quote is from Armstrong, Ellis L. and others, eds., History of Public Works in the United States, 1776 - 1976 (Chicago: American Public Works Association, 1976): 55-56. The second quote is from Holmes and Rohrbach, pp. 49 - 50; see also pp. 13, 163; Moody, p. 6.
5. The quote is from Moody, p. 12, see also p. 7 and Holmes and Rohrbach, p. 163.
6. The first quote is from Thomas L. James, "Development of the Overland Mail Service," Cosmopolitan 20 (April 1896): 603. The second is from Holmes and Rohrbach, p. 2.
7. The quote is from Thomas L. James, "Development of the Overland Mail Service," Cosmopolitan 20 (April 1896): 603. See also Holmes and Rohrbach, p. 1; Armstrong, p. 57-58.

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places Continuation Sheet

Overland Staging Industry in Minnesota 1849-1880

Section number E Page 20

8. Holmes and Rohrbach, p. 76.
9. Holmes and Rohrbach, pp. 32-35.
10. The quote is from Holmes and Rohrbach, pp. 143 - 146. See also Oscar Osburn Winther, Transportation Frontier; Trans-Mississippi West; 1865 - 1890 (Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, Inc., 1964): 66 - 67.
11. Holmes and Rohrbach, p. 143.
12. J. Winston Coleman, Jr., Stagecoach Days in the Bluegrass (Louisville, Kentucky: Standard Press, 1935): 79. See also Holmes and Rohrbach, pp. 143 - 146.
13. Holmes and Rohrbach, pp. 7, 82 - 83; Coleman, p. 32.
14. Holmes and Rohrbach, pp. 84 - 88; 170 - 172.
15. Holmes and Rohrbach, pp. 40 - 44.
16. Moody, pp. 12-13; Holmes and Rohrbach, p. 45.
17. Kenneth E. Colton, "Stagecoach Travel in Iowa," Annals of Iowa 22 (January 1940): 177; Holmes and Rohrbach, pp. 176 - 177; Moody, p. 8.
18. Kenneth E. Colton, "Bringing the Stage Coach to Iowa 1837 - 1842," Annals of Iowa 22 (July 1939): 5, 7 - 8; Holmes and Rohrbach, p. 170.
19. The quote is from Moody, p. 13 - 15. See also Harry N. Scheiber, "Coach, Wagon, and Motor-Truck Manufacture, 1813 - 1928: The Abbot-Downing Company of Concord," Historical New Hampshire 20 (Autumn 1965): 5 - 6; "The Concord Coach," Gopher Historian 22 (Spring 1968): 6 - 7; Colton, "Stagecoach Travel in Iowa," p. 176; Roy P. Johnson, "Stagecoaching Days Colorful Era in Valley History," Fargo Forum 26 December 1954.
20. Colton, "Stagecoach Travel in Iowa," p. 179.
21. Colton, "Stagecoach Travel in Iowa," p. 187.
22. The first quote is from LeRoy Pratt, "Ten Cents a Mile and a Fence Rail; Stagecoaching in Iowa," Annals of Iowa 39 (Summer 1967): 600 - 601. The second quote is from Colton, "Stagecoach Travel in Iowa," p. 184 - 186.
23. The quote is from Moody, p. 9. See also George Rogers Taylor, "The Beginning of Mass Transportation in Urban America: Part I," Smithsonian Journal of History 1 (Summer 1966): 41 - 43.

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places Continuation Sheet

Overland Staging Industry in Minnesota 1849-1880

Section number E Page 21

24. The quotes are from Moody, pp. 9 - 10. See also Moody p. 39 and Richard Dunlop, Wheels West: 1590 - 1980 (New York: Rand McNally and Company, 1977): 130.

25. The first quote is from Moody, pp. 57 - 58. The second is from Dunlop, p. 145.

26. The quote is from Arthur Larsen, "Roads and Trails in the Minnesota Triangle," Minnesota History 11 (December 1930): 388. See also Arthur J. Larsen, The Development of the Minnesota Road System (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society, 1966): 1 - 89, 120 - 125; Arthur J. Larsen, "Roads and the Settlement of Minnesota," Minnesota History 21 (September 1940): 227; Luella Swenson, "Stage Coaching Days in Minnesota" (Term Paper, Hamline University): 2; Merle Potter, "Stage Coach Days in Old Minnesota," Minneapolis Journal - Journal Magazine, 18 January 1931, pp. 6 - 7; W. Turrentine Jackson, Wagon Roads West (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1952): 48. For information on the Red River Trails, see Demian Hess, Multiple Property Documentation Form for Red River Trails in Minnesota, 1835 - 1871, July 1989, State Historic Preservation Office, Minnesota Historical Society.

27. The quote is from Larsen, "Roads and the Settlement of Minnesota," pp. 225 - 227, 233. See also Jackson, p. 49.

28. Larsen, The Development of the Minnesota Road System, pp. 40 - 41.

29. Larsen, "Roads and the Settlement of Minnesota," p. 232.

30. Larsen, The Development of the Minnesota Road System, p. 130.

31. "The Stagecoach Business in Pioneer Minnesota," Gopher Historian 22 (Spring 1968): 1; Larsen, The Development of the Minnesota Road System, pp. 170 - 171; Swenson, p. 2.

32. J. Fletcher Williams, A History of the City of Saint Paul to 1875 (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 1983): 249 - 250; "The Stagecoach Business in Pioneer Minnesota," p. 2.

33. Larsen, The Development of the Minnesota Road System, pp. 51 - 52; see also Grover Singley, Tracing Minnesota's Old Government Roads (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society, 1974): 1 - 2.

34. The quote is from Larsen, The Development of the Minnesota Road System, pp. 176 - 177; see also pp. 118 - 119; Larsen, "Roads and the Settlement of Minnesota," pp. 231 - 232; Demian Hess, Multiple Property Documentation Form for Minnesota Military Roads, 1850 - 1875, July 1989, State Historic Preservation Office, Minnesota Historical Society.

35. Jackson, pp. 63 - 64.

36. "The Stagecoach Business in Pioneer Minnesota," p. 2.

37. Potter, p. 7.

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places Continuation Sheet

Overland Staging Industry in Minnesota 1849-1880

Section number E Page 22

38. The quote is from Swenson, p. 8. See also "The Stagecoach Business in Pioneer Minnesota," pp. 2 - 3.

39. "Winter Travel to Minnesota," St. Paul Weekly Minnesotan 11 December 1852.

40. The quote is from State Historic Preservation Office, Minnesota Historical Society, "Historic Context Outlines: The Post-Contact Period Contexts," p. 8. See also Jackson, p. 58.

41. The first quote is from Minnesota Weekly Democrat 18 August 1852. The second quote is from Larsen, "Roads and Trails in the Minnesota Triangle, 1849 - 1860," p. 396, see also pp. 392 - 393; and Larsen, "Roads and the Settlement of Minnesota," p. 232; Jackson, pp. 57 - 58.

42. The quote is from Larsen, The Development of the Minnesota Road System, pp. 168 - 171. See also Harold L. Fisher, The Land Called Morrison (St. Cloud, Minnesota: Volkmuth Printing Company, 1976): 52; Larsen, "The Development of the Minnesota Road System," p. 71; Larry C. Randen, ed. Le Sueur: Town on the River (Marceline, Missouri: Wallsworth Publishing Company, 1977): 82; Minnesota Pioneer 25 August 1853; Larsen, "Roads and Trails in the Minnesota Triangle," p. 402.

43. The quote is from Larsen, The Development of the Minnesota Road System, pp. 168 - 170, see also 139 - 142; Larsen, "Roads and the Settlement of Minnesota," p. 233; Larsen, "Roads and Trails in the Minnesota Triangle, 1849 - 1860," p. 393; "The Stage Coach Business in Pioneer Minnesota," p. 3.

44. The first quote is from "Frink and Walker," Daily Minnesotian 18 July 1854. The second quote is from "New Ulm Man, 83, Recalls Luxury of Early Stagecoach," New Ulm Review 10 April 1929, p. 3. the remaining quotes are from "M.O. Walker," an undated newspaper article in the Dubuque Trail file of the Olmsted County Historical Society. See also Larsen, The Development of the Minnesota Road System, p. 172.

45. "Notes of a Traveler," St. Anthony Express 10 September 1852.

46. The quote is from "Frink and Walker." See also Roy J. Dunlop, "Jeeping Down the 1854 Stagecoach Trail," St. Paul Pioneer Press - Feature Magazine 7 November 1948 p. 6 - 7; Abstract of Preemption Declaratory Statements, U.S. General Land Office Record, Root River Office, vol. 1, numbers 5326, 5327, 5328, available at Minnesota Historical Society; Kingsbury v. Walker, Case 1265, Ramsey County District Court, Civil Cases File (Territorial), available at Minnesota Historical Society; "New Stage Line," Daily Minnesotian 29 December 1854.

47. The quote is from Larsen, "Roads and Trails in the Minnesota Triangle, 1849 - 1860," pp. 395 - 396; "Territorial Road from St. Paul to the Iowa Line," Minnesota Democrat 12 July 1854.

48. Records of the Post Office Department, U.S. Territorial Papers, Roll 6, M499, Minnesota Historical Society; Appendix to the Congressional Globe, for the Second Session, 32nd Congress: Containing Speeches, Important Papers, Laws, Etc., (Washington D.C.: John C. Rivers, 1855): 398;

United States Department of the Interior
National Park ServiceNational Register of Historic Places
Continuation Sheet

Overland Staging Industry in Minnesota 1849-1880

Section number E Page 23

Abstract of Preemption Declaratory Statements, U.S. General Land Office Records, Red Wing Office, numbers 6156 and 6390, and Root River Office, numbers 5326, 5327, 5328, available at Minnesota Historical Society; Franklyn Curtiss-Wedge, ed., History of Rice and Steele Counties Minnesota vol. 2 (Chicago: H.C. Cooper, Jr. and Company, 1910): 988; Larsen, "Roads and Trails in the Minnesota in the Minnesota Triangle, 1849 - 1860," pp. 401, 403; Larsen, The Development of the Minnesota Road System, pp. 168 - 169.

49. Report of Mail Contracts, House Executive Documents (33 - 2), pp. 678 - 682; "Taken from 'The Rise and Progress of Saint Paul,'" Daily Democrat 30 October 1854.

50. Not surprisingly, Willoughby had to sue Walker in order to get paid for his services, see Ramsey County District Court Civil Cases File (Territorial), Case 1309 available at Minnesota Historical Society. The quote is from "Taken from 'The Rise and Progress of Saint Paul,'" Daily Democrat 30 October 1854.

51. George H. Primmer, "Pioneer Roads Centering at Duluth," Minnesota History 16 (September 1935): 282 - 284; Larsen, The Development of the Minnesota Road System, p. 77, 173; Larsen, "Roads and the Settlement of Minnesota," p. 234; Daily Minnesotian 16 January 1855.

52. To Walker's credit, though, the editor did admit that high waters washed away bridges and drowned horses and that settlers along the route occasionally committed, "acts of desperate meannes [sic]. . . ." The quote is from Daily Minnesotian 16 March 1855. See also Larry C. Randen, ed., Le Seuer: Town on the River (Marceline, Missouri: Wallsworth Publishing Company, 1977): 82; Franklyn Curtiss-Wedge, ed., History of Dakota and Goodhue Counties, Minnesota vol. 2 (Chicago: H.C. Cooper, Jr. and Company, 1910): 299 - 300; Franklyn Curtiss-Wedge, ed., History of Rice and Steele Counties, Minnesota (Chicago: H.C. Cooper, Jr. and Company, 1910): 988; Larsen, "Roads and Trails in the Minnesota Triangle, 1849 - 1860," pp. 396, 402, 405; Swenson, "Stage Coaching Days in Minnesota," p. 9; "The Mail Arrangements," Pioneer and Democrat 1 December 1855.

53. Larsen, "Roads and Trails in the Minnesota Triangle," p. 396.

54. Randen, p. 87.

55. Larsen, "Roads and Trails in the Minnesota Triangle," pp. 407 - 408.

56. Land office records reveal that Marsh and Babcock filed preemption claims in Dakota, Scott, and Le Seuer Counties in 1856. Perhaps the line began in Saint Paul, stopped in Mankato, and then continued on to Sioux City, see Abstract of Preemption Declaratory Statements, U.S. General Land Office, Red Wing, Volume 3, numbers 6390, 6156. See also Larsen, The Development of the Minnesota Road System, p. 162; Larsen, "Roads and Trails in the Minnesota Triangle, 1849 - 1860," p. 396, 402; Arthur P. Rose, An Illustrated History of Jackson County, Minnesota (Jackson, Minnesota: Northern History Publishing Company, 1910): 43; Franklyn Curtiss-Wedge, ed., History of Rice and Steele Counties, Minnesota vol. 2 (Chicago: H.C. Cooper, Jr. and Company, 1910): 988 - 989; Randen, p. 83.

United States Department of the Interior
National Park ServiceNational Register of Historic Places
Continuation Sheet

Overland Staging Industry in Minnesota 1849-1880

Section number E Page 24

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57. The quote is from "Our Mails," Daily Minnesotian 11 December 1856. See also Swenson, p. 10.
58. Larsen, "Northwestern Express and Transportation Company," North Dakota Historical Quarterly 6 (October 1931): 44 - 45.
59. The quote is from Williams, p. 303. Robert Orr Baker, "James C. Burbank, the Man Who Used Coach and Boat to Link the Northwest to St. Paul," Ramsey County History 9 (October 1973): 10; Larsen, "The Northwestern Express and Transportation Company," pp. 42 - 43. See also "Hon. J.C. Burbank Dead," Minneapolis Tribune 3 June 1876, p. 4; Articles of Agreement between Henry M. Rice and James C. Burbank, in Box 1 of the Henry Rice Papers, Minnesota Historical Society; "Pioneer Leaders in Minnesota Transportation," Minnesota Historical News (January 1933): 1.
60. Franklyn Curtiss-Wedge, ed., History of Freeborn County, Minnesota (Chicago: H.C. Cooper, Jr., and Company, 1911): 228 - 229; Edward D. Neill, History of Rice County (Minneapolis: Minnesota Historical Company, 1882): 321 - 322; "Stage Lines Important Link in Transportation in early History of City, Paul Thompson Finds," Winona Republican-Herald 22 April 1933, p. 2, c. 2; Curtiss-Wedge, History of Rice and Steele Counties, Minnesota, pp. 989 - 990; Larsen, "Roads and Trails in the Minnesota Triangle, 1849 - 1860," p. 402; Swenson, p. 11.
61. Larsen, The Development of the Minnesota Road System, pp. 173 - 174.
62. Fragments of the Red Wing and Mantorville road survive in Dodge County. See Mantorville Road Fragment and Milton Road Fragment survey forms, State Historic Preservation Office, Minnesota Historical Society. See also pp. 126 - 127, 165. See also Roy W. Meyer, "The Story of Forest Mills; A Midwest Milling Community," Minnesota History 35 (March 1965): 21; "The Stagecoach Business in Pioneer Minnesota," pp. 4 - 5; Larsen, "Roads and Trails in the Minnesota Triangle," pp. 397 - 398; Potter, p. 7;
63. See survey forms for Funk and Rolfes Houses, State Historic Preservation Office, Minnesota Historical Society. See also Harry Ellsworth Cole, Stagecoach and Tavern Tales of the Old Northwest (Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark Family, 1930): 87 - 88.
64. The Hubbell House, a popular local stagecoach stop in Mantorville, still stands. See survey form. Other former stage stops in the Mantorville area include the Garver Hotel and the O.B. Kidder House. See survey forms, State Historic Preservation Office, Minnesota Historical Society. See also Contracts for Carrying the Mail, House Executive Documents (35 - 1), pp. 408 - 428; Larsen, "The Northwestern Express and Transportation Company," p. 46.
65. Since many Walker coaches still carried the U.S. mail, local sheriffs had a difficult time seizing the teams: any interference with a mail coach violated federal statute. In Owatonna, the sheriff hid around the corner of the local stage stop, watching the crew, and emerging to claim the team once the men removed the mail bags. Eventually, Walker's crew countered by having another bag waiting outside, and replacing the old bag immediately after the stages arrival, see Franklyn Curtiss-Wedge, History of Rice and Steele Counties, Minnesota, pp. 988 - 989. The quote is from Larsen, "Roads and the Settlement of Minnesota," p. 235. See also "M.O. Walker," an undated newspaper article in the

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places Continuation Sheet

Overland Staging Industry in Minnesota 1849-1880

Section number E Page 25

Dubuque Trail file of the Olmsted County Historical Society; "Walker's Line of Stages," Rochester Free Press 18 August 1858, p. 3, c. 2; Ramsey County District Court, Civil Cases File, Case 2870.

66. Fragment of the Lake City road still survive. See Mount Pleasant survey forms, State Historic Preservation Office, Minnesota Historical Society. See also Larsen, "Roads and Trails in the Minnesota Triangle, 1849 - 1860," pp. 402 - 406.

67. The quote is from Russell Blakely, "Opening of the Red River of the North to Commerce and Civilization," Collections of the Minnesota Historical Society 8 (1898): 46 - 50. See also Larsen, "The Northwestern Express and Transportation Company," p. 47.

68. Larsen, "The Northwestern Express and Transportation Company," pp. 46 - 47; Swenson, p. 12; "The Frazer River Trail," Daily Pioneer and Democrat 6 July 1859; Rhoda R. Gilman, et. al., Red River Trails, (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society): 76 - 79. Fragments of the Saint Cloud and Red River Valley Stage Road still survive. See Kandota Road Section, West Union Road Section, Osakis Road Section, and Pelican Lake Road Section survey forms, State Historic Preservation Office, Minnesota Historical Society.

69. The first quote is from Roy Johnson, "Stage Driver Glamorous Figure in Valley History," Fargo Forum 2 January 1955. The second quote is from Manton Marble, "To Red River and Beyond," Harper's New Monthly Magazine 21 (August 1860): 299. See also Blakely, p. 51.

70. The first quote is from Marble, p. 305. The second quote is from Johnson, "Stage Driver Glamorous Figure in Valley History," Fargo Forum 2 January 1955. See also William Goetzinger, "Traffic on the East Plains Trail," an unpublished manuscript available at Minnesota Historical Society, p. 33; "Traveling by Stage," Gopher Historian 22 (Spring 1968): 12.

71. William Goetzinger, "Pomme de Terre; A Frontier Outpost in Grant County," Minnesota History 38 (June 1962): 64.

72. The opening of the Saint Cloud and Red River Valley Stage Road made Saint Cloud one of Minnesota's "hub" cities. The others included Saint Paul, Winona, Rochester, Owatonna, and Faribault. A number of important stage lines radiated from each of these central points. See also "The Stagecoach Business in Pioneer Minnesota," p. 3.

73. The quote is from Goetzinger, "Traffic on the East Plain Trail," 34 -36. See also Larsen, "Roads and the Settlement of Minnesota," p. 235; William M. Goetzinger, "Pomme de Terre; A Frontier Outpost in Grant County," pp. 63, 65 - 66; "New Ulm Man, 83, Recalls Luxury of Early Stage Coach," New Ulm Review 10 April 1929; Baker, p. 14.

74. The quote is from Larsen, "Roads and the Settlement of Minnesota," p. 243, see also pp. 237 - 240. See also Larsen, The Development of the Minnesota Road System, pp. 175 -178; Larsen, "Roads and Trails in the Minnesota Triangle," p. 397.

United States Department of the Interior
National Park ServiceNational Register of Historic Places
Continuation Sheet

Overland Staging Industry in Minnesota 1849-1880

Section number E Page 26

75. The quote is from Larsen, "Roads and the Settlement of Minnesota," pp. 239 - 240. See also Franklyn Curtiss-Wedge, History of Rice and Steel Counties, Minnesota, vol. 1 (Chicago: H.C. Cooper, Jr. and Company, 1910): 511 - 512; Larsen, "The Northwestern Express and Transportation Company," p. 51; "Minnesota Stage Company," St. Paul Daily Pioneer 1 June 1866.

76. The quote is from William G. Gresham, History of Nicollet and Le Sueur Counties, Minnesota vol. 1 (Indianapolis: B.F. Bowen and Company, Incorporated, 1916): 333. See also "Pioneer Leaders in Minnesota Transportation; James C. Burbank," p. 1; Primmer, pp. 292 - 293; Larsen, "Roads and the Settlement of Minnesota," p. 239; Randen, p. 83.

77. "The Firm of J.C. Burbank and Company Dissolved," Saint Paul Pioneer, 1 July 1867, p. 8, c. 1 - 2; "New Stage Line," Minneapolis Daily Tribune, 6 January 1870; Saint Paul Daily Pioneer Press, 19 November 1870; Arthur P. Rose, An Illustrated History of the Counties of Rock and Pipestone, Minnesota (Luverne, Minnesota: Northern History Publishing Company, 1911): 50; St. Paul Daily Pioneer 14 October 1870; Larsen, "The Northwestern Express and Transportation Company," p. 57.

78. Polk County Historical Society, A Bicentennial History of Polk County (Dallas: Taylor Publishing Company, 1976): 461.

79. Harold E. Briggs, "Early Freight and Stage Lines in Dakota," North Dakota Historical Quarterly 3 (July 1929): 233.

80. Stillwater Gazette 5 July 1871; New Ulm Plaindealer 14 June 1871.

81. The quote is from Larsen, The Development of the Minnesota Road System, p. 175, see also p. 191. See also Stillwater Gazette 5 July 1871; New Ulm Plaindealer 14 June 1871; Larsen, "Roads and the Settlement of Minnesota," p. 241; "Look After the Roads," Douglas County News 8 August 1878, p. 1 c. 2 -3; "The Two Roads," Wabasha Herald 23 July 1874, p. 2 c. 2.

82. The ledger for the Marine to Stillwater line is located in the Abraham Johnson Papers at the Minnesota Historical Society. See also Nancy Solum, Self-Portrait of Marshall County (Dallas: Taylor Publishing Company, 1976): 35 - 36; Kenneth M. Hammer, "Freighters and Railroads: The Growth of the Black Hills Freight and Stage Lines and the Role of the Railroads," Journal of the American West 20 (April 1981): 21 - 30; Lewis F. Crawford, The Medora - Deadwood Stage Line (Bismarck, North Dakota: Capital Book Company, 1925): 1 - 17; Briggs, pp. 232 - 261; W. Turrentine Jackson, "Wells Fargo Stagecoaching in Montana; Final Days," Montana 29 (Autumn 1979): 66.

F. Associated Property Types

I. Name of Property Type See Continuation Sheet

II. Description

See Continuation Sheet

III. Significance

See Continuation Sheet

IV. Registration Requirements

See Continuation Sheet

☒ See continuation sheet

☒ See continuation sheet for additional property types

G. Summary of Identification and Evaluation Methods

Discuss the methods used in developing the multiple property listing.

See Continuation Sheet

☒ See continuation sheet

H. Major Bibliographical References

See Continuation Sheet

☒ See continuation sheet

Primary location of additional documentation:

- ☒ State historic preservation office
☐ Other State agency
☐ Federal agency

- ☐ Local government
☐ University
☐ Other

Specify repository: _____

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United States Department of the Interior
National Park ServiceNational Register of Historic Places
Continuation Sheet

Overland Staging Industry in Minnesota 1849-1880

Section number F Page 1

F. Associated Property Types

Introduction to Discussion of Property Types

This discussion of property types is based on documentary research and, to a lesser extent, field surveys. Principal written sources include Arthur J. Larsen's The Development of the Minnesota Road System, (Minnesota Historical Society, 1966); Oscar Winther's Transportation Frontier: Trans-Mississippi West 1865 - 1890 (Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1964) and H.E. Cole's Stagecoach and Tavern Tales of the Old Northwest (Arthur H. Clark, 1930), as well as several travel accounts, either in their original form or as part of secondary materials. We also gleaned additional information from Oliver Holmes and Peter Rohrbach's Stagecoach East (Smithsonian Institution Press, 1983); J. W. Coleman's Stagecoach Days in the Bluegrass (Standard Press, 1935); and William Goetzinger's "Pomme de Terre; A Frontier Outpost in Grant County," published in Minnesota History. The field surveys supplemented the documentary research by identifying specific examples of architectural style and interior plan.

Based on research findings to date, it seems reasonable to evaluate Minnesota's staging industry in terms of two main property types. The first type is the surviving road, or segment of road. The second includes those buildings that provided stopping points for the stage vehicles. These stage stops include hotels and taverns, often known as "home stations," and smaller horse-changing stops known as "swing stations." Stage stops were an integral part of the stage road system. It was, in fact, their presence that defined a road as a "stage" route.

In addition, future research may uncover additional property types. Potential finds include stage company offices, express offices, blacksmith shops, wheelwright and wainwright workshops, carriage manufactories, livery stables, and horse corrals. Stage vehicles, such as coaches, wagons, and sleighs, may also be considered. It is important to emphasize, however, that to be included under this context, it must be demonstrated that each of the above properties owed most of its business to the staging industry. For the most part, this should mean demonstrating ownership by a stage company, although exceptions can be made. In addition, owner's and driver's residences may be considered, although in the latter case the driver should have achieved at least regional prominence for his/her work. It is anticipated that these buildings will reflect the construction design trends of their period, locale, and function.

I. Name of Property Type

Stage Road

II. Description

The design of Minnesota's nineteenth-century stage roads varied with location and amount of travel. The roads in heavily settled areas often received very careful attention, including the digging of

United States Department of the Interior
National Park ServiceNational Register of Historic Places
Continuation Sheet

Overland Staging Industry in Minnesota 1849-1880

Section number F Page 2

ditches and levelling of hills. In less populous sections of Minnesota, the roads were little more than ruts in the earth or rough, uncleared pathways over wooded and uneven terrain. Despite these variations, however, all the roads originally were dirt.

Although the staging industry built several roads, such as the one from Saint Cloud to the Red River Valley, and improved many others, it was not adverse to using roads built for other purposes. In Dodge County, for example, an early county road to Red Wing became a part of a local stage route. The territorial road from Faribault to Austin and down the Cedar River to Iowa also briefly carried stage traffic. As a result, the term "stage road" encompasses a wide range of nineteenth-century roads.

III. Significance

Period of Significance: 1849 - 1880

From the establishment of the first stage line between Saint Paul and Galena, Illinois, in 1849, to the entrance of the railroads into every section of the state by 1880, the staging industry played a dominant role in Minnesota's transportation system. It influenced both settlement and road construction, particularly in the southeastern section of the state. Historian Arthur J. Larsen, in The Development of the Minnesota Road System, pointed out:

Where two important roads crossed, there a town was sure to spring up. Where travelers crossed a river on a ferry, an enterprising promoter would soon found a town. Wherever facilities for communication existed, or could be made, the growth of population and the progress of settlement quickened.

It is particularly appropriate that the city of Rochester was platted only a few days after stagecoaches first passed through on their way from Dubuque to Saint Paul. Zumbrota lay at the intersection of the Dubuque trail and another important trade route between Red Wing and Mantorville. In addition, the staging industry built several roads, including the one between Saint Cloud and the Red River Valley, and improved many others, including roads from Saint Paul to Prairie du Chien and La Crosse, Wisconsin.

Following 1880, the railroads controlled all the major lines of travel in Minnesota. Staging existed only along a small number of less important routes, serving mainly as feeder lines to the railroad depots.

Criterion A

As a major means of transportation -- both within Minnesota and to neighboring states -- Minnesota's staging industry contributed to the broad pattern of the state's settlement and economic development. Therefore, a road will be considered significant under this criterion if it can be

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places Continuation Sheet

Overland Staging Industry in Minnesota 1849-1880

Section number F Page 3

demonstrated that it served the stage industry and was built early in a region's settlement, or functioned as an important trade or passenger route.

Criterion B

In all probability, significance under this criterion will derive from the stage road's association with a stage company owner who achieved local, regional, or state-wide prominence. To properly apply Criterion B, it is necessary to establish two basic points: (1) the road directly contributed to, or appropriately reflected, the owner's historical significance; (2) the owner was indeed historically significant. A stage company owner would be considered historically significant if, for example, his lines contributed to the economic development of an area or if they were among the first in a particular locality or region of the state.

Criterion C

Properties eligible under this criterion will contain design or construction characteristics deemed important to the development of Minnesota's road system, or demonstrative of local, regional, or statewide nineteenth-century road construction.

IV. Registration Requirements

For All Criteria

The road must have been in use during the period of significance, 1849 - 1880.

For Criterion A

A road is eligible if it served the stage industry and strongly influenced the settlement or economic development of a region or appeared early in a region's settlement.

For Criterion B

A road is eligible if it is associated with the life of a significant person. In most cases, this criterion will apply to the owner of a stage company. If the owner's identity is known, research should be conducted to determine his/her significance. He/She should have operated stage lines that were important to the development of an area, among the first in a particular locality or region, or another achievement of similar stature.

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places Continuation Sheet

Overland Staging Industry in Minnesota 1849-1880

Section number F Page 4

For Criterion C

A stage road may be considered eligible, for example, if it was one of the first in Minnesota to embody an advance in road construction or is demonstrative of such a technique. Since, it is impossible to list all possible advances, further research will have to be conducted for each potential nominee.

Integrity Requirements for Criteria A, B, and C

According to National Register guidelines, integrity is based on a combination of factors: location, design, materials, workmanship, feeling, setting, and association. By definition, all stage road fragments must have locational integrity. Since, design and workmanship differed widely, standard characteristics are difficult to formulate. We therefore recommend that determination of eligibility rest upon the following characteristics:

1. Route. It must be possible to demonstrate that the road fragment closely conforms to the original route of a stage road.
2. Physical Appearance:
 - a) Roadway is clearly distinguishable from the surrounding land
 - b) Roadway is passable
 - c) Roadway not improved with additional material since 1880
3. Sense of function or destination. The road fragment should be long enough to evoke a sense of destination. As a general rule of thumb, an observer standing at one end of the fragment should not be able to see the other end. Individual exceptions to this rule can be made depending on the lay of the surrounding land. Dead end roads may be considered if they are able to pass the above rule of thumb.
4. Setting. Although it is preferable for a road to be in a setting characteristic of the original road, such as a rural setting, it is not necessary for the fragment to be isolated. If the improvements do not dominate the area (for example, if a nearby paved road is very lightly traveled or not clearly visible from the site) then the fragment's integrity has not been compromised.
5. Other associational qualities. The road fragment may possess some other quality which serves to associate it with the historic road. One consideration may be if the fragment is called "Stagecoach Road," or some other name indicative of its historic origin.

According to these criteria, all paved and gravel roads are considered ineligible for nomination. This seems to be a legitimate choice, for these improvements are entirely incompatible with the original appearance of the roadways. Roads that are impassable or barely distinguishable from the surrounding land are also excluded because they fail to give the impression of a distinct roadway.

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places Continuation Sheet

Overland Staging Industry in Minnesota 1849-1880

Section number F Page 5

I. Name of Property Type

Stage Stop

Because of the scarcity of stage stops with a high degree of integrity, we know very little of their original designs and layouts. Documentary evidence, however, indicates that they fell into two categories:

a) Home Station

A home station contained sleeping and eating places for stage travelers. It may have also contained a ticket booth and post office.

b) Swing Station

A swing station served only as a stop where stages received new horses. It probably only contained quarters for those people necessary to operate the station.

In rural areas, it is possible that both home and swing stations also functioned as farms, with the stage traffic providing additional income for the family.

II. Description

Built at regular intervals along a stage route, the stage stops provided places for the vehicle to change horses and for passengers to eat and sleep. Ranging from hotels to taverns and farm houses, these stations widely varied in size, but generally reflected the architectural style, workmanship, and materials appropriate to their time and place.

III. Significance

Period of Significance

The stage stops formed an integral part of the stage road system. It is, therefore, not necessary for one to be nominated in association with a nearby road fragment. A stage stop can be nominated on its own merits. In all cases, it should have operated during the period of significance, 1849 - 1880.

Criterion A

As stopping points along Minnesota's roads, stage stops contributed to the broad pattern of the state's settlement and economic development. A stop should be considered eligible under this criteria if it was located along a stage route that played an instrumental role in the development of a region.

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places Continuation Sheet

Overland Staging Industry in Minnesota 1849-1880

Section number F Page 6

Criterion B

Significance under this criterion will probably derive from the stage stop's association with an owner who achieved local, regional, or national prominence in the staging industry as a consequence of his/her activities at the stage stop. To properly apply Criterion B, it is necessary to establish two basic points: (1) the stop directly contributed to, or appropriately reflected, the owner's historical significance in the stage industry; (2) the owner was indeed historically significant. In this case, historically significant will generally mean the owner and his stop exercised a large influence on the surrounding area, including, for example, playing an important role in the development of a town.

Criterion C

A stage stop is eligible under this criterion if its design and construction contributes to an understanding of its historical significance. For example, a building's surviving, original interior plan may be the basis for its identification as a home station, perhaps because there is a clear spatial separation of host-family living quarters and guest areas. It is also possible that a given stage stop may have been the first to embody a particularly efficient layout of rooms or buildings, which was subsequently adopted by other stops owned by the same company or located in the same region. In addition, because of the type's general scarcity, a stage stop should be considered eligible under this criterion, as a "representative example" if it still retains a high degree of integrity and satisfies at least one of the other evaluation criteria.

Criterion D

A stage stop is eligible under this criterion if archaeological work is likely to yield important information concerning its historic function or design. Although stage stops are among the oldest surviving buildings in Minnesota, little is known of their original day-to-day operations. Examples of potentially important finds includes objects, such as tools or personal effects, that might reveal who operated or visited the stop. Archaeological excavation might also identify the location and function of original outbuildings, such as stables and blacksmith shops, thereby increasing our understanding of the site's specific functions, as well as our knowledge of the industry's general property types. It is also conceivable that "vertical archaeology" -- the systematic removal of existing building fabric -- might reveal original design features, or historical artifacts, that permit a fuller interpretation of the site's historic function.

IV. Registration Requirements

For All Criteria

The stop must have been in operation during the period of significance, 1849 - 1880.

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places Continuation Sheet

Overland Staging Industry in Minnesota 1849-1880

Section number F Page 7

For Criterion A

A property is eligible if it was located along a stage route that strongly influenced the commercial or residential development of a community or region.

For Criterion B

A property is eligible if it is associated with the life of a person significant to the staging industry. In most cases, this criterion will apply to the owner during the period of significance. If the owner's identity is known, research should be conducted to determine his/her significance.

For Criterion C

A property is eligible if its design and construction contributes to an understanding of its historical significance. For example, if its interior plan is the basis for its identification as stage stop or if its design was subsequently adopted by other stops owned by the same company or located in the same region. In addition, because of the type's general scarcity, a stage stop should be considered eligible under this criterion, as a "representative example," if it still retains a high degree of integrity and satisfies at least one of the other criterion.

For Criterion D

A property is eligible if archaeological work is likely to yield information important to the understanding of stage stop operations. Examples of potentially important finds include objects, such as tools and personal effects, and outbuildings, such as stables and blacksmith shops. Other finds are, of course, acceptable, but like the above examples, they should contribute to our understanding of the site or of the industry's general property types. It is also conceivable that a property will be eligible if "vertical archaeology" is likely to reveal original design features, or historical artifacts, that permit a fuller interpretation of the site's historic function.

Integrity Requirements for Criteria A, B, and C

There do not appear to be any special integrity issues involved in the evaluation of stage stops. It should be emphasized, however, that a stage stop must retain locational integrity, since its location was its defining feature.

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places Continuation Sheet

Overland Staging Industry in Minnesota 1849-1880

Section number G Page 1

G. Summary of Identification and Evaluation Methods

Administration

Sponsored by the State Historic Preservation Office (SHPO) of the Minnesota Historical Society (MHS), this study of Minnesota's staging industry was initiated by a contract between MHS and the firm of Jeffrey A. Hess, Historical Consultants. During the course of the project, the contractor incorporated, assuming the new name of Hess, Roise and Company. Dennis Gimmestad, Deputy State Historic Preservation Officer, acted as Project Director, and Susan Roth and Thomas H. Hruby served as project coordinators. Jeffrey A. Hess acted as Principal Investigator, responsible for overall project conceptualization and design of research and survey components. Robert Hybben, an employee of the contractor, served as Research Historian, responsible for documentary research, field survey, and preparation of the Multiple Property Documentation form and individual nomination forms.

Objectives

The primary objective of this project was to develop a Multiple Property Documentation Form for the Minnesota Staging Industry and its related properties. As part of this objective, the consultants conducted a field survey of selected stage industry-related sites, and prepared a limited number of individual National Register Nomination Forms.

Background Research

At its height, the staging industry operated on over one thousand miles of road in Minnesota. Budgetary and time constraints made it impossible to conduct a complete survey of the state, but it was possible to inspect a sufficiently large portion to formulate typological data for the preparation of the Multiple Property Documentation Form, and to select a limited number of exemplary sites for National Register designation.

Three goals guided our initial research. First, we sought to reconstruct a history of both the national and local staging industries. Second, as an aid in locating potential survey sites, we attempted to identify the major stage routes in Minnesota. Finally, in an effort to relate the development of staging to the broader context of nineteenth century road construction, we sought a history of Minnesota's early transportation routes.

Towards these ends, we conducted a thorough literature search in the following bibliographic sources: Poole's Guide to Nineteenth-Century Periodical Literature, Reader's Guide, America: History and Life, Dissertations Abstracts International, and the card catalogs of the Minneapolis Public Library, the University of Minnesota, and the Minnesota Historical Society.

We found the work of Arthur J. Larsen, Minnesota's principal historian of overland transportation, to be invaluable in this project. His study The Development of the Minnesota Road System (Minnesota Historical Society, 1966), and related articles by the same author in Minnesota

United States Department of the Interior
National Park ServiceNational Register of Historic Places
Continuation Sheet

Overland Staging Industry in Minnesota 1849-1880

Section number G Page 2

History, provided a strong framework upon which to build the Multiple Property Documentation Form. Larsen's article, "The Northwest Express and Transportation Company," published in North Dakota Historical Quarterly, fleshed out the project with its details of James Crawford Burbank's life and career. The firm also found the government mail contracts issued during the period of significance to be valuable. The contracts listed the bidders for each route, thereby providing a list of Minnesota stage company names and personalities.

Surprisingly, the firm could not locate an adequate study of staging at the national level. In general, previous works concentrated upon one particular region, such as the East Coast or the trans-Mississippi West. As a result, we synthesized a number of sources, including Oliver Holmes and Peter Rohrbach's Stagecoach East (Smithsonian Institution Press, 1982) and Ralph Moody's Stagecoach West (Promontory Press, 1967). We also assembled a large number of journal articles, including Kenneth Colton's series on staging in Iowa in the Annals of Iowa.

Selection of Field Survey Samples

Based on background research, we identified the four areas of Minnesota that contained the heaviest staging activity. The most important, by far, was the southeastern portion of the state, between the Minnesota and Mississippi Rivers. Another important region followed the string of counties between Saint Cloud and Fort Abercrombie. A third route extended north from the Twin Cities to Lake Superior. Finally, another contained Minnesota's southernmost counties, between Faribault County and South Dakota.

We contacted the county historical societies in these areas for information concerning surviving unimproved sections of the stage roads, and associated structures, such as hotels and changing stations. Of the 45 counties contacted, the following sixteen responded with approximately 41 potential sites:

Stearns	Dodge
Wabasha	Stevens
Chippewa	Todd
Otter Tail	Goodhue
Douglas	Mower
Faribault	Wright
Dakota	Steele
Grant	Olmsted

In addition, SHPO staff asked us to investigate the Chase House in Dayton Township of Hennepin County, and gave us their file in the Bird/Nichols Farm and stage stop in Saratoga Township of Winona County.

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places Continuation Sheet

Overland Staging Industry in Minnesota 1849-1880

Section number 6 Page 3

Field Survey

At the conclusion of the initial round of data gathering, we telephoned local contacts and set up appointments to visit the sites. During the visits, it became apparent that many of the contacts had relied upon rumor and outdated information in our initial data gathering, and that fewer sites actually existed. We took field notes, 35mm black-and-white photographs, and 35 mm color slides at each. In Chippewa County, the survey led us to another site in neighboring Lac Qui Parle County. When completed, the field survey covered 37 sites with a total area of approximately 100 acres. We also examined deed records at county courthouses and files at county historical societies.

Preparation of Survey Materials and Formulation of Registration Criteria

After completing the field survey, we prepared a draft of the Minnesota Architecture-Inventory Form for each site and submitted the drafts to SHPO for review. Following that, we evaluated the potential eligibility of each site for the National Register. In the case of the road sections, we applied criteria previously developed by the principal investigator for SHPO-sponsored studies of Minnesota Territorial Military Roads and Red River Trails. For the associated structures, we adopted conventional National Register criteria for assessing the integrity of architectural properties.

Additional Research

Through the preliminary assessments, we compiled a list of those sites that seemed most likely to qualify for the National Register. In many cases, though, the relationship of the sites to the staging industry was rather vague and it was necessary to investigate original federal land survey maps, contemporary newspaper accounts, and county histories available at MHS. The firm also examined two PhD. theses, Edwin Karn's "Pre-Railroad Transportation in the Upper Mississippi Valley" (University of Wisconsin - Madison, 1986) and James T. Hathaway's "The Evolution of Drinking Places in the Twin Cities: From the Advent of White Settlement to the Present" (University of Minnesota, 1982).

We also inspected Congressional records, because research in county histories revealed that the Federal government established preemptive rights agreement with its contracted mail carriers, allowing them to buy land at set intervals along their routes. This, of course, was a great encouragement to stage companies, who needed to build horse-changing stations every fifteen to twenty miles. Following this lead, we investigated potential sites in Fillmore, Le Seuer, and Dakota Counties.

In addition, we examined the SHPO files for additional survey sites, such as hotels, livery stables, and wheelwright shops. Although we uncovered several examples of these buildings, none of them, so far as we know, had a direct relationship to the staging industry and hence fell out of the scope of our study.

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places Continuation Sheet

Overland Staging Industry in Minnesota 1849-1880

Section number G Page 4

Preparation of Draft Multiple Property Documentation Form and Nominations

In developing the historic context for Minnesota's staging industry, we identified the period of significance as 1849 to 1880. We chose 1849 as the beginning because that year the first stage line in the state began, running between Saint Paul and Galena, Illinois. As an ending date, we chose 1880 because it was roughly the time when the railroad had supplanted the stage as the state's main mode of transportation.

In light of the integrity criteria and our knowledge of Minnesota's staging industry, the firm identified three road sections as eligible for the National Register. They are: the Kandota Section of the Saint Cloud and Red River Valley Stage Road; the Mantorville Section of the Mantorville and Red Wing Stage Road; and the Mount Pleasant Section of the Lake City and Rochester Stage Road. In addition, as agreed upon by SHPO, the firm rewrote the nomination of the Dayton House in Harmony Township of Fillmore County, placing greater emphasis upon the house's significance as a stop along the Saint Paul and Dubuque Stage Road.

Preparation of Final Multiple Property Documentation Form and Nominations

Following receipt of SHPO comments, we revised the Multiple Property Documentation Form and the National Register Nominations. It is hoped that the nominations will serve as models for any future nominations under this Multiple Property Listing.

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places Continuation Sheet

Overland Staging Industry in Minnesota 1849-1880

Section number H Page 1

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National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places Continuation Sheet

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National Park Service

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National Park Service

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National Park Service

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National Park Service

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National Park Service

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National Park Service

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National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places Continuation Sheet

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National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places Continuation Sheet

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United States Department of the Interior
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National Register of Historic Places Continuation Sheet

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Section number H Page 15

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