North Country: The Making of Minnesota

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“Honey War”; the brutal Lawrence, Kansas, massacre; and Senator David Rice Atchison’s letter of 1854 to Jefferson Davis stating that Missourians planned to “shoot, burn, and hang” and “‘Mormonize’ the Abolitionists” (24).

Thomas Spencer contributes a detailed account of the Haun’s Mill Massacre of October 30, 1838, when about 200 Missourians killed 17 Mormon men and boys. Spencer condemns it but outlines some of the Missourians’ complaints leading to the action. Two articles on temples planned in the 1830s but not built complete the essays. Richard Cowan writes somewhat polemically on the Independence temple, and Alexander Baugh contributes new information on the “Far West” temple.

Although the Mormon experience in Iowa is not the focus of this anthology, the book gives background for Mormon migrations to and across Iowa and for the large number of permanent settlements in the state after 1846. It would be interesting to compare how Iowans reacted to the Mormons and why their reactions differed from those outlined in this volume.


Although its title suggests a considerably broader study, this book is actually a history of Minnesota’s Indian-white relations from the first French explorations in the mid–seventeenth century through the Dakota War of 1862 and its aftermath. Wingerd explains that her focus is “the meeting and melding of Indian and European cultures” in “a place where disparate peoples met, interdependence fostered cooperation and cultural exchange, and social and racial distinctions blurred among Dakotas, Ojibwes, and their European neighbors” (xiv). She observes that societies in which the intermarrying Europeans and Indians worked harmoniously in the fur trade existed briefly throughout North America. But she contends that “what makes the Minnesota region unique is that, because of its geographical inaccessibility, this multicultural meeting ground endured for two centuries, far longer than in any other part of the country” (xv).

During the time considered by Wingerd, Minnesota, in terms of incoming whites, had French, British, and American periods. With their emphasis on developing the fur trade and seeking a northwest passage through the continent, the French naturally partnered with
the indigenous Dakota (Sioux) and Ojibwe (Chippewa). Over several generations the French-Indian relationship, based on intermarriage and perpetuation of Indian customs, resulted in what Wingerd calls a hybrid society featuring a number of mixed-blood people.

Great Britain, which in 1763 acquired its legal claim to the part of Minnesota that was east of the Mississippi River, continued French aims. British fur traders succeeded the French at the entrepreneurial level, but French Canadians, mixed-bloods, and Indians remained as the rank and file of the fur trade. Consequently, French persisted as the fur trade language as did the emphasis on trader-Indian kinship ties. Indian societies were obviously changed by the introduction of such things as the gun, intoxicating liquor, and European diseases, but neither the French nor the British were interested in usurping Indian occupation of the land.

After the United States gained the portion of Minnesota east of the Mississippi by the Paris Peace Treaty of 1783, British traders continued to occupy the area until after the War of 1812. Until 1849, when Minnesota Territory was formed, American traders dominated the region’s economy. Although some of them adhered to the traditional kinship ties with the Indians, the fur trade was sharply declining because of external market forces and the drastic reduction of wild animals.

During Minnesota Territory’s nine-year history, the traditional Indian-trader interdependence was shattered by two major Dakota land cessions, the consignment of the Dakotas to reservations on the upper Minnesota River, and a land rush. As Wingerd relates, the policies of land-hungry Americans rapidly transformed Indian societies. Unlike the fur traders, who saw Indian cultures positively, townsite developers, merchants, and farmers regarded Indians as uncivilized savages who had to adapt to the new order. Dissatisfaction with reservation life and a coercive government assimilation policy caused some Dakota traditionalists to launch the Dakota War of 1862, a last, desperate attempt to recoup a bygone age.

Wingerd’s history is a revisionist view of the history of the upper Mississippi region, with an emphasis on the roles of Indians and what she regards as unscrupulous American promoters of white settlement. Consequently, for example, she portrays the renegade Wahpekute Dakota chief Inkpaduta of Spirit Lake Massacre fame as a victim rather than a villain.

In stressing the fur trade era, when white and Indian societies cooperated and melded, Wingerd follows the lead of Gary Clayton Anderson’s Kinsmen of Another Kind: Dakota-White Relations in the Upper Mississippi Valley, 1650–1862 (1984) and Richard White’s The Middle
Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650–1815 (1991). Unlike them, however, she is considerably more critical of the white forces and policies that devastated traditional Indian lifestyles.

In describing the central role of Indians, Wingerd presents an alternative, thought-provoking view of frontier Minnesota history. Unfortunately, her work is marred by a number of inconsistencies and factual errors. Lack of systematic editing and proofreading is evident by such things as stating first correctly that Dakota means allies (1) and then incorrectly (365) that it means the people. With respect to factual errors, for example, all of her five considerations of the Minnesota-Canada boundary contain erroneous information. In depicting Indian history, she consistently claims that the Yankton and Yanktonai Sioux were Lakota (Western Sioux); actually, they were Nakota (Middle Sioux). Despite these shortcomings, Wingerd offers a new perspective that challenges some long-standing traditions about Minnesota’s past.


Reviewer Michael Knock is assistant professor of history at Clarke University in Dubuque. His dissertation (University of Notre Dame, 1996) was “‘Alone with Sitting Bull’s People’: The Dakota Indian Mission of the Congregational Church, 1870–1937.”

A member of the Western Wahpeton peoples of west central Minnesota, Mazakutamani — or Little Paul — seemed to be present at every important event that took place in western Minnesota during the 1850s and ‘60s. His contacts during this critical period are a veritable who’s who of Minnesota history, including missionaries Stephen Riggs and Thomas Williamson, General Henry Sibley, and Little Crow, the Dakota leader typically credited (or blamed) for the U.S.-Dakota Conflict of 1862. Through it all, Little Paul represented a bridge between the policies of native assimilation and native resistance in mid–nineteenth-century Minnesota.

In Little Paul: Christian Leader of the Dakota Peace Party, Mark Diedrich works to shed some light on this interesting figure. Diedrich’s study of the Dakota people is thorough, beginning with a description of the culture and society of the Wahpeton people before moving on to the arrival of two missionaries, Thomas Williamson in 1835 and Stephen Riggs two years later. Riggs and Williamson agreed that con-