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St. Paul is in a unique sense the product of the Mississippi, yet its story actually begins before any river existed in this vicinity. Millions of years ago an ocean embayment,[1] fathoms deep, flowed over what are now the city's streets. Today, under a thin layer of glacial debris may still be found limestone and clay shale containing marine fossils. To the geologist, these fossils tell a strange story, a story ages old, of seas without ships and lands without people.

In time that prehistoric ocean retreated, and the glaciers moved down on the land. Gradually there came to be a Mississippi, and the legendary River Warren, cutting across what is now Minnesota. Then the last glacier receded, freeing the waters of that mammoth inland sea, Lake Agassiz, source of the Warren. Slowly, as its headwaters fell, the Warren shrank away until there was left only its bed, later to be taken over by the Minnesota River.

It was the Mississippi that made St. Paul. On its broad stretch, like beads on a cord, are strung the events of the city's early history. From the first early explorations to the city's golden age, it was by way of the river that entry was made for discovery of this area, its settlement and the building of its commerce.

Since ancient times there has been a Mississippi legend, with lore embracing strange lands and tracing to almost forgotten men. The Tabula Terra Nove, a map drawn by Martin Waldseemuller before 1508 pictures a large river with a three-tongued delta, suggestive of the Mississippi. This map was copied from an earlier drawing, probably the Cantino map of 1502.

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1. Clinton R. Stauffer, Professor of Geology, University of Minnesota, March 3, 1941.

From this it would seem probable that some forgotten explorer was the first white man to view the river. There, are, however, no recorded instances of Mississip i exploration until the voyages of De Pineda and De Vaca.

The narrative of Alvarez de Pineda is picturesque but doubtful. He claimed to have discovered a fabulous river which he named the Rio del Espiritu Santo. He described fantastic villages on its shores, inhabited by pygmies and giants wearing heavy ornaments of carven gold. The Spaniards were ranging the North American continent then in pursuit of gold, but De Pineda for some reason did not follow the lure.

Cabeza de Vaca's tale is more readily believable. When the survivors of the ill-fated Narvaez expedition, sent out by the Spanish Crown in 1528, escaped from their Indian captors at Apalachicola Bay, leadership fell to De Vaca. As the fugitives made their way along the Gulf Coast in small boats they passed, De Vaca tells us, the mouth of a river so great that the men were able to haul up fresh water far out at sea.[2]

De Soto's expedition followed the river for some distance in 1543. Then for almost a century, the Mississippi was left undisturbed in shadowy legend.

In the middle of the seventeenth century, with the French movement westward from the St. Lawrence River, the theatre of exploration shifted to the Northwest. Samuel de Champlain, royal geographer of France, was particularly interested in extending knowledge of the new land. In the summer of 1634 Jean Nicolet on a mission for Champlain, paddled by canoe into Lake Michigan as far as Green Bay. But with Champlain's death in the next year, official interest in exploration died.

2. Federal Writers' Project, New Orleans City Guide, Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston, 1938, pp. 7-8.

Forgotten coureurs de bois, or fur traders, however, continued to penetrate farther and farther into the unknown. They were drawn onward by the requirements of their work rather than a desire to explore. Since their travels were unrecorded, it is impossible to estimate how far westward they traveled. They did come near enough to the Mississippi to hear tales of a great mysterious river, and these stories they brought back to Montreal[3] along with their furs.

Of these traders, Medard Chouart and Pierre d'Esprit, better known as Groseilliers and Radisson, are credited with having reached Minnesota in 1660. It seems probable, from their reference to a "nation of ye beefe," or buffalo, that they met members of the Sioux tribe whose domain was Minnesota and the lands west.[4]

As a result of these reports, curiosity grew concerning the river which the native tribes called Mechassipi or Micissipi. In 1665 Jean Baptiste Talon arrived in Quebec as the newly appointed intendant of New France and became interested in the legendary stream. He wanted to sponsor intensive exploration but was unable to make a start without the consent of the governor-general. When Louis de Bunde, comte de Frontenac, succeeded as governor-general in 1671, Talon interested him in the project. Frontenac commissioned Louis Joliet, a well educated fur trader, and Jacques Marquette, a Jesuit priest, to undertake an exploring expedition.

On May 17, 1673, after a month of difficult but uneventful travel, the two explorers, accompanied by a group of voyageurs, paddled from the Wisconsin

3. Folwell, William W., History of Minnesota, Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul, 1922, vol. 1., pp. 2-7.
4. Ibid., p. 10.

River out into the great stream. At once they knew it to be the river they sought.

Joliet reported the discovery to Frontenac, who decided to encourage French exploration and trade in this region so obviously abounding in natural wealth. Quebec and Montreal merchants organized and outfitted an expedition to trade with the Sioux. This party, under Daniel Greyselon, sieur du Luth, is sometimes credited with having reached Minnesota in 1679.

The next year Michael Accault, Antoine Auguelle, and Louis Hennepin, a Franciscan father of the Recollect Order, were directed by Robert Cavelier, sieur de la Salle, to ascend and explore the Mississippi from his newly established fort on the Illinois River. On the 30th day of April, Hennepin and his two companions, in company with 120 Sioux warriors, reached the approximate site of St. Paul.[5.]

As nearly as can be determined from Hennepin's description, the group landed on the eastern side of the St. Paul site at a little cave at the mouth of Trout Brook, near a large bluff, later to be called Dayton's Bluff.[6.]

The site of St. Paul at that time probably bore some resemblance to the following early description: " . . . a terraced plateau of oak openings fringed with a chain of tree crowned hills in the rear, and terminating on the river in a steep mural front of white sandstone alternating with narrow fringes of wooded bottom . . . three brooks leaped in cascades down rocky and winding ravines . . . this was the favorite pasture of the deer . . . there was a broad lake [with] reedy banks. From the bold escarpment of sandstone, gleaming white, which

5. Folwell, William W., History of Minnesota, vol. I, pp. 15-29.
6. Pioneer & Democrat Weekly, St. Paul, April 28, 1859.

terminated the upper plateau upon the river's brink - it derived its Indian name of In-ni-ja-skn, or 'White Rock.'"[7]

Pierre Charles Le Sueur led the second expedition of white men to the future sites of St. Paul and Fort Snelling. With nineteen men, he ascended the Mississippi from Louisiana, reaching the mouth of the Minnesota River on the 19th of September, 1700.[8]

French traders pushed deeper into the region, and Montreal buzzed with word of its riches. On May 8, 1769, Nicholas Perrot in the service of the French Government declared that: ". . . we did transport ourselves to the Country of the Nadouessioux [Sioux] . . . to take possession for and in the name of the King, of the countries and rivers inhabited by said Tribes and of which they are the proprietors."[9]

This was little more than a pretentious boast. The French grasp on the territory, including the future Minnesota, was in reality so weak that it could withstand no determined challenge. The wandering trader and voyageur, despite friendly relations with the Indian tribes, made no attempt at colonization. As the Spanish found their golden empire an empty and fleeting illusion, so did the French lose the land by pursuing the easier wealth of furs and hides.

The British were next to interest themselves in the Northwest. In 1766 Captain Jonathan Carver, of Canterbury, Connecticut, secured from his military superior, Major Robert Rogers of the British Army, a permit to make "discoveries and surveys of ye interior parts of North America." Carver left Mackinac in early

7. Pioneer & Democrat Weekly, St. Paul, April 28, 1859.
8. Folwell, William W., A History of Minnesota, vol. 1, p. 40.
9. Ibid., p. 38.

September and, reaching the Mississippi, ascended it to the Falls of St. Anthony. He made a voyage up the Minnesota River and, in April of the next year, returned to St. Paul with a party of Sioux. In May of 1767 he held council with them at a large cave which yet bears Carver's name. He returned to New England in 1768. His journey was to have been only part of a more ambitious scheme of exploration, as he hoped later to make his way across the Rocky Mountains to the sea. The outbreak of the Revolution, however, prevented any such attempt.[10]

Carver's name has become best known through its attachment with the so-called Carver grant, a treaty purportedly negotiated with the Sioux giving the whites title to a large area of land. There is doubt that Carver made any such claim, but it was appended to his narrative by a Dr. Lettsom, who edited the volume. The discredit from this apparently fraudulent claim served to overshadow Carver's actual achievements.[11]

But whatever the worth of Carver's claims as an explorer, he was the first to visualize the real future of this new land. Standing at the junction of the Minnesota and Mississippi rivers, he wrote: " . . . after it has risen from its present uncultivated state . . . there is no doubt that . . . mighty kingdoms will emerge from these wildernesses . . . "[12]

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10. Folwell, William W., A History of Minnesota, vol. 1, p. 55.
11. Quaife, Milo M., "Jonathan Carver and the Carver Grant," Mississippi Valley Historical Review, vol. 7, no. 1, June 1920, p. 11.
12. Radio Speech, "Old Reserve Town," WCCO, November 24, 1933, Mother Antonia, President College of St. Catherine, St. Paul.

By the beginning of the nineteenth century the American nation, turning westward, had begun to seek the riches of the unknown lands within its borders. Men had gone far, but the land went farther. With the Louisiana Purchase in 1803 exploration of the newly-acquired area became a necessity. Thomas Jefferson outlined a plan, later approved by Congress, for the sponsorship of two western expeditions. Lewis and Clark were sent into the Missouri River country, and a young officer, Lieutenant Zebulon Montgomery Pike, was despatched up the Mississippi with a company of twenty men. This was the first American exploration of either stream.

Pike left St. Louis in August 1805 with instr ctions to "obtain permission from the Indians who claim the ground to erect military posts and trading houses at the Mouth of the river St. Pierre," as the Minnesota River was then known.[15]

With Pike's arrival at the confluence of the Minnesota and Mississippi Rivers on September 21, 1805, the history of the conquest of Minnesota begins. The group put ashore on a small island, now named in the young officer's honor, and for the first time raised the American flag in this wilderness.

The land at the joining of the rivers particularly appealed to Pike's military judgement as a site adapted to fortification. A high white cliff commanded the surrounding country and dominated the two rivers. He immediately proceeded to secure this position as one possible site for a permanent government outpost. At high noon on the 23rd of September, under a canopy of sails, he addressed the Sioux and their chieftains, La Petit Corbeau, Way-Ara Enagee, and

15. Folwell, William W., A History of Minnesota, vol. I, p. 91.

Tahamie, or Rising Moon. He told them that the United States, having acquired the territory by purchase, wished to establish a military outpost to increase and regulate trade. He then distributed "tobacco and some other trifling things," including "liquor to clear their throats."[14]

Pike's terms for a treaty were readily accepted, but it was with some difficulty that the chiefs could be persuaded to sign the document. They felt that this request for a signature was a reflection upon their integrity. The Sioux consented, however, when it was explained that the whites wished to have the agreement in writing" . . . in order to have it handed to our children." A treaty was signed and witnessed which granted the United States "full sovereignty and power . . . forever . . ." over an area nine miles square at the mouth of the St. Croix River, a similar square at the Falls of St. Anthony, and a strip of land nine miles wide on both sides of the Mississippi from the mouth of the Minnesota to the falls. Pike then distributed several hundred dollars' worth of merchandise and sixty gallons of whisky. He estimated the size and cost of the grant as " . . . 100,000 acres for a song." A more precise estimate was given by the Senate committee to which the treaty was referred: " . . . 155,520 acres at a cost of little more than a penny an acre."[15]

Deeply impressed by the land he had seen, Pike determined to go farther. Except for some additions to geographic knowledge, however, the rest of his explorations accomplished little and were accompanied by disaster. Men and supplies were plagued by treacherous ice and terrible cold. Fire in camp destroyed a badly needed tent. And while he managed to shoot down the British flag above the Leech Lake post of the Northwest Company, his action did not impress the British traders nor discourage their activities.

14. Neill, Edward D., History of Hennepin County, North Star Publishing Co., Minneapolis, 1881, p. 75.

15. Folwell, William W., A History of Minnesota, vol. 1., pp. 93, 94.

But with its major object achieved, the expedition was hailed as successful when it returned to St. Louis the following April. The validity of the treaty with the Sioux was doubtful, but it was much too valuable to be ignored. Three years later, on April 16, 1908, Pike's treaty was ratified by by the United States Senate, with a provision for further payment to the Sioux of two thousand dollars worth of goods.[16]

The British Union Jack continued to fly over the scattered posts of the Northwest Company following Pike's visit. The future territory of Minnesota remained, for all practical purposes, English, as did most of the important fur-yielding country of the Northwest. The tribes of the region were incited secretly against the United States. Nicolas Jarrot, in 1809, reported that the British were supplying the Indians with guns so that Americans might be terrorized and driven out. British traders urged the Indians to take up arms and, in some cases, painted and dressed as savages and actually led hostile expeditions against American outposts.[17]

Before preparations could be made to establish a post at the site selected by Pike, action had to be postponed because of the political strife that grew out of the French Revolution. In 1812, partially as a result of British intrigue among the Indians, America was forced to declare war on Great Britain. This action again deferred extension of the western frontier.

In 1816 Congress prohibited the granting of traders' licenses to any but American citizens. This order was relaxed in 1818 to allow American

16. Ibid, p. 94.
17. Neill, Edward D., A History of Hennepin County, pp. 80-81.

traders to emply such "foreign boatmen and interpreters" as they might need. Although this modification seemed necessary, it was generally feared that "great abuses" might follow if unscrupulous men found it possible to circumvent the law and employ "foreigners hostile to our country." "Foreigners who are odious to our citizens on account of their activity and cruelty in the late war" were not to be admitted in any capacity.[18] Such action was designed to exclude the British from American trade. John Jacob Astor had been instrumental in securing passage of the bill, and, following its approval by the president, revived the American Fur Company to take full advantage of the situation.[19]

This exclusion of the British and the virtual monopoly of the American Fur Company was to play a decisive part in the early development of the Northwest.

Measures now had to be taken to enforce this new law. In 1817, Major Stephen Long was instructed to examine and survey the land covered by Pike's treaty and return a recommendation to the War Department for putting it to use. He ascended the river from St. Louis in a six-oared skiff, accompanied by a Mr. Hempstead, seven soldiers, and an interpreter named Roque. Two grandsons of Jonathan Carver traveled with the expedition in a birch bark canoe. On the 10th of July they passed an Indian village about two miles below the present site of St. Paul. Here, Long saw wooden huts "of a better appearance than any Indian dwellings I have before met with," built in the form of a stockade.

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18. J. C. Calhoun, Secretary of War, to Governor Lewis Cass, Detroit, March 25, 1818, Taliaferro Papers, Box 2, Mss. Div. Minn. His. Soc.
19. Nute, Grace L., The Papers of the American Fur Company. A Brief Estimate of Their Significance, American Historical Review, vol. 32, April 1927, p. 521.

That evening they arrived at the Falls of St. Anthony and encamped within view of a scene which Long described as, "the most interesting and magnificent of any I have ever before witnessed."[20]

Like Pike, he was impressed by the great bluff at the convergence of the rivers. His report suggested that "a military work of considerable magnitude might be constructed on the point, and might be rendered sufficiently secure by occupying the commanding height in the rear in a suitable manner as the latter would control not only the point, but all the neighboring heights, to the full extent of a twelve pounder's range. The work on the point would be necessary to control the navigation of the two rivers."[21]

At about the same time, British traders renewed their activity in the region. Meanwhile, Thomas Douglas, Earl of Selkirk, had founded a colony in Manitoba in 1812. In 1818 about three hundred mixed-bloods and French Canadians left Selkirk's colony at St. Boniface and located at Pembina.[22] Americans became suspicious of the true purposes of the colony. Selkirk visited it in 1817 and traveled through the United States, down the Minnesota and the Mississippi to St. Louis. So great was the general distrust of all Britons that the Indian agent at Prairie du Chien wrote an alarmed letter to his superior. "He [Selkirk] is plotting with his friend, Dickson, our destruction - sharpening the savage scalping knife, and colonizing a tract of country, so remote as that of the Red River, for the purpose, no doubt, of monopolizing the fur and peltry trade of this river . . ."[23]

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20. Neill, Edward D., A History of Hennepin County, pp. 84, 85.
21. Ibid, pp. 85, 86.
22. Schaeffer, Rev. F. J., History of the Diocese of St. Paul, Acta et Dicta, Cath. Historical Society, July 1915, p. 43.
23. Neill, E. D., History of Hennepin County, p. 89.

No fears need have been entertained regarding Selkirk. His work of colonization was much disliked by the British traders and their Northwest Company. But the apprehension of the Americans, however groundless, did serve to speed action by the government for the protection of Yankee trade. Confirming the judgment of Lieutenant Pike and Major Long, the army considered the area at the mouth of the Minnesota as the strategic spot for a fort. On February 10, 1819, Major General Macomb issued an order for the establishment of a military post at the junction of the Minnesota and the Mississippi. On April 13 a supplementary order was issued: "The season having now arrived when the lakes may be navigated with safety . . . Colonel Leavenworth will, without delay, prepare his regiment to move to the post on the Mississippi . . . The Colonel will make requisition for such stores, ammunition, tools and implements as may be required . . ."[24.]

Major Thomas Forsyth, who had been assigned to pay the Sioux the additional goods due them, arrived in Prairie du Chien on July 5 and joined Colonel Leavenworth. Early on the bright Sunday morning of August 8, the expedition set out. With the Colonel's barge, fourteen batteaux, two Mackinaw boats with stores and provisions, and Forsyth's keelboat, they headed for the site selected by Major Long.

Forsyth arrived at the mouth of the Minnesota on August 24 and, a day later, Leavenworth landed with his troops.[25.] The party as a whole consisted of a hundred officers and men. Colonel Leavenworth, Captain George Gooding and

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24. Ibid., p. 90.
25. Forsyth, Major Thomas, Fort Snelling, Colonel Leavenworth's Expedition to Establish it in 1819, Minnesota Historical Collections, vol. 5, pp. 149-154.

another officer brought their wives, the first white women in Minnesota.[26]

Leavenworth decided that the Fort should be placed on the right bank of the Minnesota, just above the river's mouth, near the future site of Mendota. The men were immediately set to clearing the land of brush and timber.[27] A short road was built down to the river. Log cabins and a rude stockade were erected. In a burst of frontier optimism, the camp was then christened Cantonment New Hope.

When the bitter winter settled down upon the camp, optimism and hope died, however. The ice-locked river kept supplies down stream and those on hand were scarce and of poor quality. There were no vegetables and the flour became mouldy. An epidemic of scurvy which brought death to every crowded cabin was believed a result of the barreled pork, from which the brine had been drawn to facilitate its delivery.[28]

Philander Prescott, who arrived during the winter with supplies, was greeted with great rejoicing. " . . . They had been out of Groceries for a Month or More and the Scurvy had got amongst the troops and there had allready died about fifty men before I got there and Several died after I arrived. Their Rations was nothing but Rusty Pork and Bread. Some of them would go to bed apparently well at Night and be found dead in the Morning Others would live a Week, some 2 or three days, and so on . . . the commanding officer Col. Leavenworth sent a party of Soldiers over to the St. Croix and they found Some Spruce

26. Upham, Warren, The Women and Children of Fort St. Anthony, Later Named Fort Snelling, Magazine of History, vol. 21, July 1915, pp. 25-27.
27. Holt, John R., Historic Fort Snelling, St. Paul, 1938, p. 8.
28. Folwell, William W., A History of Minnesota, vol. 1, p. 137 and Baker, General James, Address at Fort Snelling in Celebration of the Centennial Anniversary of the Treaty of Pike with the Sioux, Minnesota Historical Collections, vol. 12, p. 239.

by Dr. E. Purcells direction the Doctor ordered a tea to be Made of the Spruce and had it well sweetened and Made them use Vinegar freely and Some Spirits and the Scurvy Soon left them but about Seventy Men fell Victim to the disease before its progress was baffled . . ."[29]

The horrible experiences of that winter made the soldiers discontented and convinced Leavenworth that the site he had chosen was both unhealthy and unlucky. In May, the river, freed of ice, rose and threatened to inundate the plagued community. A move was then made to a temporary position on the other side of the river, about a mile from the place where the fort now stands. Because of an icy spring bubbling nearby which furnished water for the garrison, it was named Camp Cold Water. As the site upon which to erect the permanent fort, which he proposed to call Fort St. Anthony, Leavenworth chose a place on the first rise, about 300 yards west of the present fort.[30] But not a stone was set on the permanent work during Leavenworth's command.

Due to the difficulty in transporting adequate supplies to the new outpost, General Gibson instructed the fort Commissary to investigate the possibility of raising wheat. In the spring the soldiers planted about ninety acres of rich prairie and bottom land. When the group led by Governor Lewis Cass of Michigan and Henry Schoolcraft, reached the fort, they were given green corn, peas, beans, cucumbers, beets, radishes and lettuce from the post garden.

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29. Prescott, Philander, "Reminiscences," p. 37, Prescott (Philander) Papers, Minnesota Historical Society, Manuscript Division. (The number of victims is a matter of some dispute. Mrs. Van Cleve, Three Score Years and Ten, p. 19, gives the definite number forty while other estimates range both higher and lower.)

30. Bromley, Edward A., Old Government Mills at the Falls of St. Anthony, Minnesota Historical Collections, vol. 10, Part 2, p. 637.

Wheat was already ripe, and there was a good stand of Indian corn and potatoes. This first experiment in the cultivation of Minnesota land raised enthusiastic hopes among members of the garrison. Farming operations by the military increased steadily over a span of years.[31]

Except for the visit of Cass the only contact with the outside world was furnished by the arrival of an exploring party from the Yellowstone expedition. This group traveled across the yet uncharted wilderness from Camp Missouri, near the present site of Omaha with the object of locating an overland route to Fort St. Anthony.

Since the major object of the fort's establishment was the protection of the American fur trade and strengthening of friendly relations with the Sioux, the post also was made an Indian agency. When Major Forsyth accompanied Leavenworth, his position was that of temporary Indian agent.

The new agency was a most important one, and President Monroe placed a highly esteemed person friend, Lieutenant Lawrence Taliaferro of Virginia, in charge.

This strong willed young man had well defined aims in his work among the Indians. He wanted to prevent hostilities between the Sioux and the Chippewa and to establish the savages in self sustaining agricultural colonies. Intolerant of anything which might hinder him, he commanded, however, the respect of his companions.

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31. Folwell, William W., History of Minnesota, vol. 1, p. 105, and: Charlotte C. Van Cleve, Three Score Years and Ten, Mpls. 1888, p. 36. J. Fletcher Williams in his section of Neill's History of Hennepin County, sets the date as 1823. This is not supported by reliable sources.

Leavenworth, whose appointment as commandant was temporary, seems to have been lax and thoughtless in his relations with the Indians. A clash immediately developed between him and Taliaferro. The agent's first move was to direct a letter to the older officer, calculated to establish his complete authority on matters concerning the tribes of the region. Taliaferro asked that all medals - then an important factor in dealing with the Indians - be turned over to him. He felt that Leavenworth's actions were not conducive of making the Indians "respect either the agent or his Government."[32]

The agent also feared that Leavenworth's gifts of whiskey to the Indians would cause trouble. His fears were soon realized. Chief Mahgeesau, or White Buzzard, was stabbed by another Indian. Taliaferro pointed out that "this was doubtless caused by an anxiety to obtain the chief's whiskey. I beg, therefore, that no whiskey whatever be given to any Indian, unless it be through their proper agent."[33]

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32. L. Taliaferro to Col. Henry Leavenworth, Camp St. Peter, July 30, 1820. Taliaferro Papers, Minnesota Historical Society, Mss. Division. (From a statement in this letter it appears that Leavenworth had already been notified of his removal.)
33. Babcock, Willoughby M. Jr., Major Lawrence Taliaferro, Miss. Valley Historical Review, vol. 2, no. 3, Dec. 1924, p. 384; Neill, E. D., Occurrences In and Around Fort Snelling, Minnesota Historical Collections, vol. 2, p. 23.

The morale of the post, which had suffered in the latter days of Leavenworth's regime, returned when Colonel Josiah Snelling took over in 1820. The new commandant, a veteran of the War of 1812, was a strong-willed soldier whose personal energy and enforcement of discipline soon brought order and hope to the outpost. He did not approve of the site which had been chosen and decided to erect the fort at its present location, at the high point of the bluff overlooking both rivers. Construction was begun on September 10, 1820.[34]

With the departure of the Leavenworth family, there remained four women in the camp. The wives of Lieutenant Clark and Captain Gooding stayed on. Colonel Snelling brought his wife, Abigail, and his children with him. A short time before Snelling's arrival, Captain Gooding's daughter, Amelia, had been married to Lieutenant Platt Rogers Green, Adjutant of the Fifth Regiment. This was the first white marriage in Minnesota.[35] Later a daughter was born to the Snellings in their new home. Elizabeth Snelling was the first white child born in Minnesota.[36]

Relations between Taliaferro and the new commandant were on a friendly basis from the beginning. One of Snelling's first official acts was the formulation of a document, which he and all other officers of the fort signed,

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34. Baker, General James H., Address at Fort Snelling, Minn., Historical Col. vol. 12, p. 294.
35. Upham, Warren, The Women and Children of Fort St. Anthony, The Magazine of History, vol. 21, July 1915, pp. 27-28. (Upham says that there were only three women after the arrival of the Snelling family. In naming them he ignores Mrs. Amelia Green. He mentions Mrs. Green and her marriage on p. 27 and gives no explanation as to why he does not include her among the women at the Fort.)
36. Josiah Snelling to L. Taliaferro, Nov. 10, 1820. Taliaferro Papers, Mss. Division, Minnesota Historical Society.

giving "entire approval of his [Taliaferro's] conduct . . . as a public agent in this quarter." Snelling in turn felt respect and liking for the young agent.[37] He shared Taliaferro's resentment of the fact that other agents, "who can know nothing of our Indian relations here," could yet grant licenses for trading among the tribes supposedly under the supervision of Fort St. Anthony.[38]

Protection of trade and maintenance of peace among the Indians were among the first problems which the military and the Indian agent faced. During the summer of 1820, a party of Sisseton Sioux killed two traders on the Dakota prairies. The Sissetons were informed that their supplies would be stopped unless those responsible for the crime were delivered to Fort St. Anthony for punishment. Pending this action two hostages were held.

In November, due to the negligence of their guard, the hostages escaped. Snelling again sent word to the Sissetons, threatening their supplies, but it was found that an agent had already furnished their needs and that "they treated the messenger with insolence." Simultaneously hostilities flared forth between the ancient enemies, the Sioux and Chippewa, despite the fact that a three-year truce had been made between the two tribes.[39]

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37. Neill, E. D., History of Hennepin County, p. 92.
38. Josiah Snelling to L. Taliaferro, November 10, 1820. Taliaferro Papers, Mss. Division, Minnesota Historical Society.
39. Ibid.

With "little hope of success," Colin Campbell was sent to demand the surrender of the murderers. The Sissetons evidently reconsidered, for Campbell returned with one of the savages, and an old chief, who offered himself as a sacrifice in place of his son. Snelling recorded the scene as follows:

"These unfortunate wretches were delivered up last evening with a great deal of ceremony, & I assure you with affecting solemnity. The guards being first put under arms, they formed a procession in the road beyond the bake house, in front marched a Sussitong [Sisseton] bearing a British flag, next came the murderer & the devoted chief, their arms pinioned & large splinters of wood thrust through them above the elbow, intended, as I understood, to show us that they did not fear pain & were not afraid to die. The murderer wore a large British medal suspended to his neck, & both prisoners bore offerings of skins &c. in their hands. Last came the chiefs of the Sussitongs, in this order they moved, the prisoners singing their death song & the Sussitongs joining in the chorus until they arrived in front of the guard house where a fire . . . was prepared; the British flag was burnt, and the medal worn by the murderer, given up. The blacksmiths then stepped forward & ironed him & he was conducted to the guard house. When the old chief offered his wrists to be ironed I told him that it was not our custom to punish the innocent for the guilty . . ."[40] The Indian was later sent to St. Louis for trial.

Snelling poured most of his energy into the task of building the Fort. He offered the soldiers an additional fifteen cents per day and drove them hard. Materials for the work were found close at hand. Trenton limestone was

40. Josiah Snelling to L. Taliaferro, November 13, 1820, Taliaferro Papers, Mss. Division, Minnesota Historical Society.

hewn out of the Mississippi bluffs in the first quarrying operations by the whites in Minnesota.[41] It was soon apparent, however, that sufficient lumber could not be cut out with whipsaw and broad-axe.

This deficiency, it was decided, would be remedied by building a small sawmill at St. Anthony Falls. During the winter of 1821, a party of soldiers were sent up the Rum River to cut timber. The logs came down with the spring thaw but, as the mill had not yet been completed, it was necessary to cut them by whipsaws and tote by team to the scene of building.[42] Despite Snelling's efforts the construction work was slow in progressing. During the following winter, the entire garrison was forced to move back across the river to the old log houses of New Hope. None of the post buildings could be occupied until the next year, consequently they were not completed until some years later.[43]

41. Upham, Warren, History of Mining and Quarrying in Minnesota, Minnesota Historical Collections, vol. 8, p. 296.
42. Bromley, Edward A., Old Government Mills at the Falls of St. Anthony, Minnesota Historical Collections, vol. 10, Part 2, pp. 636-638.
43. Van Cleve, Charlotte O., Three Score Years and Ten, Mpls. 1888, p. 32. (There is considerable disagreement as to the actual date upon which troops first occupied the fort. Neill Minnesota Historical Collections, vol. 2, p. 107, says it was during the winter of 1822-23. William Watts Folwell gives this date on Neill's authority and substantiates it by Prescott's statement, Minnesota Historical Collections, vol. 6, p. 479, that "before the autumn of 1823 nearly all the soldiers had been got into quarters, and considerable work had been done on the officer's quarters." Prescott's statement would not preclude the possibility that Mrs. Van Cleve is correct. Allowances must of course be made for the fact that pioneer reminiscences are notoriously inaccurate in regard to dates but Neill based much of his work on these reminiscences. Neill is not entirely consistent. In his History of Hennepin County (p. 93) he gives the 1821 date and does not question it.

The fort, as finally finished by Snelling, had a row of barracks of hewn pine and other buildings and dwellings of stone, all enclosed by a high stone wall. At one end was the ponderous, castellated Round Tower of solid native stone, with twenty narrow slits to allow firing in any direction. The fort was capable of resisting successfully any attack. Snelling was fully justified in his pride and satisfaction.[44]

Under the protection of the fort, a settlement began to grow on the other side of the river. Jean Baptiste Faribault returned to Pike's Island after Leavenworth had promised him protection.[45] He plowed a small plot of land, farming as an adjunct to his trading activities and lived on the island for several years. Then flood destroyed his property forcing him to move to the east bank of the river.[46]

When Alexis Bailly, the representative of the American Fur Company, returned from a trip to the Red River country in 1821, he brought five Swiss families with him. These were the first of the many refugees from the illfated Selkirk settlement. According to Barbara Ann Shadecker, a daughter of one of these families, they received considerate treatment from the officers of Fort St. Anthony.[47]

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44. Early Days at Fort Snelling, Minnesota History Collections, vol. 1, p. 429.
45. Stephen Jewett, "After Eighty-Four Years," pp. 4-9, mss. in possession of Minnesota Historical Society, Mss. Division. Sibley, H. H., "Memoir of J. B. Faribault," Minnesota Historical Collections, vol. 3, pp. 171-176. (Most accounts of Faribault's life do not agree on details. Upham Minnesota Geographic Names, p. 183, gives the date of his going up the Minnesota River for trading as 1803. The exact date upon which Faribault moved to Prairie du Chien is also in doubt. The date on which he came to Pike's Island is in dispute.
46. Sibley, H. H., Memoir of J. B. Faribault, Minnesota Historical Collections, vol. 3, p. 177.
47. Upham, Warren, The Women and Children of Fort St. Anthony, Magazine of History, vol. 21, July 1915, pp. 33-34.

These were the first settlers in Minnesota to devote themselves to agriculture as an occupation. Thirteen more families came from the Selkirk colony but most of these continued southward in search of a warmer climate.[48.]

After the garrison was moved into the new quarters, a school was established. A building near the main entrance, which served as offices for the commandant, paymaster, quartermaster and commissary, served as a schoolhouse. John Marsh was employed as tutor at an annual salary of $75; an income which he supplemented by carrying the mails between the fort and Prairie du Chien at $40 per annum. If Marsh's work was made difficult by the small salary and inadequate school room these were petty annoyances compared to the bedlam caused by the varied ages of his pupils. The class was composed of Henry, Josiah Jr., Mary and William Joseph Snelling; Charlotte and Malcom Clark; John and Andrew Tully, and James Hamilton. The youngest student, Charlotte Clark, was only four years of age, while the eldest, William Joseph Snelling, was about twenty and had probably seen more of life than his teacher.[49.]

Marsh stood the job for two years. After his departure the task of instructing the children fell upon the officers' wives. The ladies themselves studied French under the tutelage of a former officer in the service of a former officer in the service of Napoleon Bonaparte.[50.]

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48. Williams, J. Fletcher, Reminiscences of Mrs. Ann Adams, Minnesota Historical Collections, vol. 6, p. 94.
49. Lyman, George D., John Marsh, A Pioneer of Six Borders, New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1930. (Lyman confuses William Joseph Snelling with Josiah Jr., and speaks only of a "Joe." There were two "Joe" Snellings.)
50. Van Cleve, Charlotte O., Three Score Years and Ten, p. 43.

Until this time only canoes and keelboats had passed through the waters of the upper Mississippi. It was widely believed that the river was not navigable above St. Louis. When, in 1823, the owners of the steamboat, Virginia, decided to send the ship from St. Louis to Fort St. Anthony there was "great speculation as to whether it would ever return." Supplies, which the government wished to send regularly to the fort, promised sufficient revenue for shippers however.[51]

Greeted with booming cannon, the Virginia reached its destination to meet a garrison settlement overjoyed. The establishment of this connection with the outside world meant the end of many hardships. Amazed by this "monster of the waters" the Indians fled in terror. The arrival of the first steamboat marked the beginning of a new era. It provided an easier outlet for trade and gradually effaced the natural restrictions to immigration.

During July, Major Stephen Long reached the fort with an expedition which proposed to explore the Red River country. On a trip east, Major Taliaferro had met a dashing Italian exile, Giacomo Beltrami. The young Italian, for whom Beltrami County was named, had become greatly interested in the northwest and accompanied the Indian agent back to Fort St. Anthony on the Virginia. Beltrami now secured permission to accompany Long to Pembina. For the journey, Taliaferro presented him with provisions and a "noble steed, Cadmus." But Beltrami was temperamental and did not fit well into the army expedition. He returned to the Fort September 15, with some Indians and minus Cadmus. Later he wrote several books describing his adventures in North America.[53]

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51. Peterson, William J., Steamboating on the Mississippi, The Water Way to Iowa, Iowa Historical Society, Iowa City, 1937, pp. 91, 162-165.
52. Neill, Edward D., History of Hennepin County, p. 93.
53. Auto-Biography of Major Lawrence Taliaferro, Minnesota Historical Collections, vol. 6, p. 241.

The wives and sisters of officers, who arrived on the Virginia, raised the female society of the Fort to ten. This number soon increased. There were 18 or 20 officers, and nearly all of them now brought their wives to the fort or were married while there. These women formed an aristocratic and cultured group. Mrs. Plympton, "considered a belle in her day," brought the first piano to Minnesota. Weddings and other social events were made into gay and festive occasions.[54] Nor did they allow the religious life to be neglected. In the latter part of 1823, Mrs. Snelling and Mrs. Nathan Clark organized a Sunday school for the soldiers and their wives in the basement of the Colonel's quarters. A Bible class for officers and their families aroused a great deal of interest and "furnished topics of conversation for the week."[55]

But the polite society of the Fort must have been shocked by the traders nearby. If, even in the wilderness, the Fort observed the proper conventions, it was not so outside the gates. Philander Prescott tells of his marriage in the following manner:

"I began to think about getting Married after the Indian Manner. So I took ten Blankets one gun and 5 gallons of whiskey and a horse and went to the old chiefs lodge and laid them down and told the old people My Errant and went off home the third day I received word that My gifts had been accepted but the girl was bashful and did not like the Idea of Marrying and I Must wait until they could get the girl reconciled to their wishes for her to Marry me . . .

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54. Upham, Warren, Women and Children of Fort St. Anthony, The Magazine of History, vol. 21, July 1915, pp. 32, 35-37.
55. Neill, E. D., History of Hennepin County, p. 95.

in a few days they Moved their tent up and camped Near My house and it was ten days . . . before I could get My wife . . . she came to be My wife or companion for as long as I choosed to live with her . . . little did I think at that time I Should [live] with her until old age . . . ."[56]

The success of the wheat growing experiment encouraged the commissary department to attempt flour milling that the fort might be more completely self-sufficient. Equipment for such milling, a pair of burr millstones, plaster of paris and two dozen sickles, was sent up from St. Louis and installed in a new building near the sawmill at the Falls.[57] The first fruits of this effort did not receive an enthusiastic welcome from the troops. The bread produced from the flour was sour and black. When it was issued, the men took it to the parade and threw it to the ground in view of the Colonel. The partial failure resulted in a shortage during the ensuing winter.[58]

First official inspection of the fort took place in the spring of 1824. General Winfield Scott, arrived to be treated to every honor and entertainment which the post could give. Scott stayed a week, visiting the Falls of St. Anthony and the chain of lakes nearby. Mrs. Snelling named one of the lakes, probably the present Cedar Lake in Minneapolis, Scott Lake in his honor.[59]

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56. Prescott, Philander, "Reminiscences," Prescott (Philander) Papers, p. 67, Minnesota Historical Society, Mss. Division, p. 67.
57. Bromley, Edward A., Old Government Mills at the Falls of St. Anthony, Minnesota Historical Collections, vol. 10, Part 2, p. 636; Van Cleve, Charlotte O., Three Score Years and Ten, p. 36.
58. Williams, J. Fletcher, Reminiscences of Mrs. Ann Adams, Minnesota Historical Collections, vol. 6, p. 95.
59. Upham, Warren, Women and Children of Fort St. Anthony, The Magazine of History, vol. 21, July 1915, p. 32.

General Scott was so impressed and gratified by the apparent efficiency and discipline which Snelling had introduced that he wrote the War Department suggesting the post's name be changed to Fort Snelling in honor of his "old comrade," its commanding officer.[60] A general order to that effect was issued and Fort St. Anthony thereafter became Fort Snelling.[61]

A traveler in 1823 reported that there were "3 or 4 log houses on the banks of the river, in which some subaltern agents of the Southwest Company live among the frogs." These were probably the buildings of J. B. Faribault. In the spring of 1826 the ice jammed above the fort and the river rose to an unprecedented height. The ice went out suddenly, and despite a warning sent by Colonel Snelling, Faribault suffered considerable loss, including cattle and horses. He managed to save himself, his wife and children, and a valuable stock of furs, in a Mackinac boat provided by the fort.

After this second disaster he moved again, this time to the present site of Mendota.[62] Soon other buildings began to cluster near his location. This settlement, then known as St. Peters and later called Mendota, became the center of the fur trade west and north to the Canadian border.

Late in 1823 Philander Prescott, assistant sutler at the Fort, went into trading partnership with his brother. They erected a log trading house and began trading in furs.

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60. Blegen, Theodore C., Note, Minnesota History, vol. 10, no. 4, p. 450.
61. Anonymous, Centennial History of Fort Snelling, 1820-1920, published by Post Exchange, 49th Infantry, Fort Snelling, 1920, p. 6.
62. Ibid., p. 10; also Sibley, H. H., Memoir of J. B. Faribault, Minnesota Historical Collections, vol. 5, p. 177.

It was Taliaferro's job to examine those who desire licenses to enter the Indian trade, issue licenses, and check the trader's conduct. In 1826 he issued 25 licenses to trade.[63] Since such licenses were valid only for a year,[64] the variance in number would indicate that the population of traders fluctuated.

Taliaferro's most serious difficulty with the traders arose from their violation of the rule against introduction of whiskey and intoxicating liquor into Indian country. The agent issued a circular letter to all traders stating that "no ardent spirits of any kind" would be permitted.[65] One Alexis Bailly, agent of the American Fur Company, was a repeated offender in this matter, and it became necessary for Taliaferro to ask Colonel Snelling for aid in enforcing the law.[66]

Snelling did not find the peaceful years which followed the completion of the fort to his liking. There were few outlets for men who had expected a frontier assignment to provide movement and action. The Indian troubles were minor, and discontent became the order of the day.

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63. Holt, Major John R., Historic Fort Snelling, St. Paul, 1938, p. 17.
64. Interview with Grace Lee Nute, Director, Mss. Division, Minn. Historical Society, January, 1940.
65. L. Taliaferro to Colonel J. Snelling, July 14, 1826, Taliaferro Papers.
66. Note, Colonel Snelling, July 13, 1826 and I. B. Russell to Mr. A. Bailly, July 14, 1826. Bailly (Alexis) Papers, Mss. Division, Minnesota Historical Society.

For this reason some were driven to desert, although such an act was highly dangerous, since the Indians had been offered a reward of twenty dollars for every deserter they returned.[67] The number of deserters grew from three in 1823 to twenty-nine in 1825.[68] Snelling thereupon tightened discipline. The close confinement of quarters during the winter months and the highly restricted social life served only to increase the tension.

Nerves became raw.[69] Morale was shattered. Snelling became quarrelsome and turned more and more to drinking for escape. Dissension gradually spread among the officers. Snelling's eldest son, William Joseph, accepted a duel which his father had refused, lost a finger and was subsequently court-martialed.[70] Snelling himself accepted a duel with Lieutenant Baxby, "to be fought at four paces with pistols . . . firing to continue until one of the parties is killed or disabled." But there is no record of this duel having been actually fought.[71]

In 1827, some supply boats, bound for the fort, were fired on near Prairie du Chien and several whites were killed. Snelling led an expedition downriver to suppress the uprising. The foray furnished but little action however.

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67. Bliss, Col. John, Reminiscences of Fort Snelling, Minnesota Historical Collections, vol. 6, p. 245.
68. Neill, E. D., History of Hennepin County, p. 101.
69. Woodhall, Allen E., William Joseph Snelling, Minnesota History, Sept. 1926, vol. 7, no. 3, pp. 371-372.
70. Neill, Edward D., History of Hennepin County, p. 97.
71. Dick, Helen Dunlap, A Newly Discovered Diary of Colonel Snelling, Minnesota History, vol. 18, no. 4, p. 405.

The Indians could not be found and the troopers returned without firing. Disgusted, Snelling remarked that "Men of Straw with Wooden Guns and Swords" would serve the purposes of the fort as well as a regiment.[72]

The Indians continued to quarrel among themselves. Efforts to bring peace between the Sioux and Chippewa were never successful; each attempt seemed to precipitate new hostilities. On May 27, 1827, representatives of the two tribes met at the fort and solemnly smoked the peace pipe. The very next evening the Sioux fired on the Chippewas at the gates of the fort. Two Indians were killed and many wounded. Snelling was enraged at this turn of events, and when four Sioux warriors were captured he turned them over to the Chippewas for punishment according to the savage code. The warriors were given a running start in a race with death. If they could escape they were free, but Chippewa bullets ended the matter quickly. The bodies were then scalped and desecrated with knives.

The Sioux did not object until it was revealed that two of the four executed had been innocent. Snelling was widely criticized, and open warfare between the white and the Indians was averted only with difficulty. The Sioux took secret revenge. Several soldiers disappeared and were considered deserters until their mangled bodies were discovered.[73]

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72. Holt, Major John R., Historic Fort Snelling, p. 18.
73. Sibley, Henry H., Reminiscences, Personal and Historical, Minnesota Historical Collections, vol. 1, pp. 475-476.

Snelling's achievements at Fort Snelling cannot be measured by the difficulties which he experienced during the last years he spent at the post. To his family and friends he was kind and considerate, and Taliaferro found him a consistent supporter.

On October 2, 1827, Snelling, with his wife, three children and a "female servant Olympia," sailed on the steamboat Josephine to take over new duties at Jefferson Barracks, near St. Louis. In departing from the fort that bore his name, he left behind his greatest achievement. A year later, at the age of forty-six, he died.[74]

As the number of traders increased, Taliaferro's troubles multiplied. It became almost impossible to allow trade and at the same time keep liquor from the Indians. He was forced to consider desperate measures and, finally wrote General William Clark asking that the trading location at St. Peter's be abolished. He said simply, "My reasons are good."[75] They seem to have been good, for only nine days later, the Council house of the agency was burned down, presumably fired by a drunken Indian.[76]

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74. Dick, Helen Dunlap, A Newly Discovered Diary of Colonel Snelling, Minnesota History, vol. 18, no. 4, p. 405.
75. Lawrence Taliaferro to General William Clark, August 5, 1830, Clark (Wm.) Papers, Abstract in Mss. Division, Minnesota Historical Society.
76. Lawrence Taliaferro to General Clark, August 17, 1830; Clark (Wm.) Papers.

Taliaferro's plea for closing the trading location was refused. He again barred all whiskey and this time extended the ban to high wines.[77]

Large quantities of high wines from the traders were seized. The American Fur Company fought back. They charged that the Mississippi river was a highway and not Indian country.[78]

Bailly, as representative of the Fur Company, was the key to most of Taliaferro's trouble. The other traders worked under his direction and bought their supplies from him.

He constantly disregarded Taliaferro's warnings in regard to his conduct of the Indian trade. The agent came to regard the trader as an incorrigible and at length ordered his trading license voided.[79]

After 1832 steamboats ascended the river to the fort at more frequent intervals. Besides supplies most of them carried passengers and excursionists.

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77. Lawrence Taliaferro to Joseph Rolette, Alexis Bailly, Alex. Culbertson, etc., August 16, 1830; Clark (Wm.) Papers.
78. Jos. M. Street, Prairie du Chien, to Lewis Cass, October 1832. Abstract from Street Papers in Iowa Historical Soc., Mss. Division, Minnesota Historical Society.
79. John Bliss to Alexis Bailly, Sept. 20, 1834, Bailly (Alexis) Papers, Mss. Division, Minnesota Historical Society.

Samuel and Gideon Pond, who arrived on the steamboat Warrior the spring of 1834, were not among those who came to enjoy the beauty of the region. They came to give the Indians the word of God. Major Bliss, then in command, was not certain that these two men should be allowed to remain, but Taliaferro, who saw them as worthy helpers in his work among the Indians, desired them to stay.

Taliaferro meanwhile had established Eatonville, an Indian agricultural colony near Lake Calhoun. The Indians were enjoying some success there in raising corn but they did not know how to plow. Samuel Pond was sent to Kaposia and Gideon to Eatonville. It was not long before the young Presbyterians had won the respect of the Indians. Eventually they established near Lake Calhoun, a mission station and school.[80]

The arrival of Henry Hastings Sibley in St. Peter's settlement on November 7, 1834, as chief of all the affairs of the American Fur Company was significant of the increasing trade of the northwest area. Sibley realized the strategic value of the location.[81]

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80. Blegen, Theodore C., The Pond Brothers, Minnesota History, vol. 15, no. 4, September 1934, pp. 273-275.
81. H. H. Sibley to Ramsay Crooks, November 1, 1834, Sibley (H. H.) Papers, Mss. Division, Minn. Historical Society.

Sibley soon put the affairs of his company in good order and turned his attention to the little settlement which was populated by company clerks, agents, fur traders, interpreters and renegades. Notwithstanding that it was semi-savage country, Sibley established himself as a country gentleman.[82] He had a large and dignified stone house built and like a grand seigneur rode about the rolling countryside on a great black horse, accompanied by a bodyguard of two French-Canadians.[83]

On May 16, 1835, under the leadership of the Reverend Thomas S. Williamson, a missionary group under the auspices of the American Board of Foreign Missions arrived at the fort. Shortly after his arrival, Williamson officiated at the first marriage in Minnesota performed by a clergyman, uniting the daughter of Colonel Loomis and Lieutenant E. A. Ogden.

Loomis, an extremely devout man, encouraged Williamson to organize a Presbyterian church. A group assembled in one of the company rooms of the fort. When the sermon closed, G. Loomis, H. H. Sibley, Samuel W. Pond and A. G. Huggins, "were solemnly set apart to the office of Ruling Elders by ordination."[84] The pastor perfectly expressed the sentiments of Colonel Loomis when he chose as his text, "For ye were as sheep going astray, but are now returned to the Shepherd and Bishop of your souls."[85] These were the first services to be held by an organized Protestant church in the upper Mississippi valley.

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82. Agreement between H. H. Sibley and John (or Peter) Muller, February 1836. Sibley (H. H.) Papers, Mss. Division, Minn. Historical Society.
83. Gordon (Hanford Lennox) Papers, Newspaper clippings, vol. 2, p. 114, dated May 9, 1892, Mss. Div., Minn. Hist. Society.
84. Chronicle and Register, St. Paul, April 20, 1850.
85. Neill, Edward D., History of Hennepin County, p. 108.

It had taken three centuries for the legend to become river; for the Mississippi to be explored and taken. Its conquest was marked by no clash of swords and armor but was as slow and lazy and inexorable as the placid stream itself. Men sweated and died looking for the hoped-for El Dorado. What they found was a gate swinging wide into a rich and fertile wilderness.

St. Paul The City
Harlan Crippen,
Robert Cary
July 28, 1941

CHAPTER TWO

Piety; Its Uses.

Exploration advances, ambition fires blood stirred before only by adventure. Infecting with selfishness or infusing with some ideal, the fresh urge takes possession. Some man envisions greatly the future; a treaty is broken or a river crossed; formidable obstacles are overcome. A year unfolds with new significance, a forceful personality helps to shape the careless movement of decades, and one day the subtle magnet of a land's promise charges and quickens the purposes of men. Events gather momentum.

That was 1837 and Fort Snelling. That was 1837 and the yet undreamed city of St. Paul. For Fort Snelling welcomed a new and ambitious commandant - a man who saw, even if narrowly, beyond the immediate frontier. In far-off France, a newly appointed bishop from America pleaded with tears in his eyes for men who would leave their homeland to bring the discipline and consolation of religion to the American northwest. In France, too, a tall lonely priest made a decision and saw a land unknown opened to his faith. Two of these men, strangers to each other and all unwittingly, set in motion events which were to found a great city. The third, the humble priest, was to build a chapel of logs - a chapel which would stamp the city's character through many generations.

Since Pike's treaty there had been no exact definition of the military reserve of Fort Snelling, and those who had settled within its environs had, before 1837, no reason to believe that they could not permanently dwell upon the farms which they had made. They had been "welcomed and aided by the officers,"[1] and were allowed to build homes and cultivate the fertile bottoms near the river.

1. Hansen, Marcus L., Old Fort Snelling, 1819-1858, State Historical Society of Iowa, Iowa City, 1918, pp. 189-191.

Major Joseph Plympton, appointed commandant of Fort Snelling during the summer of 1837, at once attempted to determine the limit of the reserve and the number of settlers within this limit. A survey, made by Lieutenant E. K. Smith, revealed that there were 82 white inhabitants at the nearby Baker's Settlement, a cluster of cabins around the large stone trading house of Benjamin F. Baker, and others to make up a total of 157 persons in no way connected with the garrison.[2] For reasons which cannot be easily determined, Plympton felt it necessary that these people be removed. A letter which he sent to the adjutant general in Washington complained that the squatters were responsible for the scarcity of fire-wood. He received no orders for the removal, which he so earnestly desired, but in November he was instructed to mark off the reservation according to his ideas. On March 26, 1838, he despatched a map to Washington outlining the land which he wished to have considered as the military reserve.

Without awaiting further instruction, Plympton, on July 26, 1838, issued an order prohibiting the erection of buildings or fences upon the reservation, and restricted the cutting of timber to members of the garrison. At that point the matter was again allowed to rest.

Some of the settlers sought to protect themselves by taking land beyond the supposed lines of the reserve. Sometime during 1838 Abraham Perry and his family, formerly of the Selkirk colony, moved across the river. In August of the previous year the Perrys had been listed as residents of the west river settlement, while in October 1838 Mrs. Perry complained that Indians had slaughtered three of her cattle near Fountain Cave, which was on the east side of the river.[3]

2. Hansen, Marcus L., Old Fort Snelling, pp. 189-191.
3. Neill, Edward D., "Occurrences In and Around Fort Snelling," Minnesota Historical Collections, Vol. 2, St. Paul, Reprint 1889, pp. 48-51.

Pierre Parrant, a French-Canadian voyageur, while employed by the American Fur Company, had erected, some time before, a makeshift shanty at the mouth of the little stream which issued from Fountain Cave. Returning from the Missouri river country he had been attracted by the possibility of settling down and trading without the formality of government license and regulation. Parrant, and, for that matter, Perry both considered themselves safely outside the limits of the military reserve.[4.]

Until this time the land between the Fort and the St. Croix river had been closed due to the Indian claim upon it. This last barrier to settlement was in process of removal. A treaty with the Chippewa had been negotiated at Fort Snelling by Governor Henry Dodge of Wisconsin, on July 29, 1837. Two months later, Taliaferro had led a group of Sioux chieftains to Washington where a similar treaty was entered into with that tribe. Stripped of detail, the major provision of both agreements was the opening of the land between the St. Croix and the Mississippi.[5.] These treaties were ratified by the U. S. Senate on June 15, 1838, and the news reached the Fort in July, with the arrival of the steamboat Palmyra.

There was the scent of speculation in the wind, and it caught the nostrils of certain men who were not interested in such a humble occupation as farming. The ratification of the Indian treaties precipitated an excited scramble for claims on tracts of land then considered strategic. Major Plympton, notwithstanding his strict attitude towards unauthorized settlement, attempted to claim land near St. Anthony's Falls; but Franklin Steele, a sharp-witted newcomer with powerful connections, invoked the law prohibiting the taking of land by officers and secured control of the waterpower for himself.[6.] Joseph R. Brown, one of

4. Pioneer and Democrat Weekly, St. Paul, April 28, 1859.
5. A History of Minnesota, Vol. 1, Folwell, William W., Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul, 1921, pp. 159-160.
6. Pioneer and Democrat Weekly, St. Paul, April 28, 1859.

INSERT #1.

"No chamber of commerce welcomed Pierre Parrant," says a writer in Extension Magazine, "when, evicted from the Fort Snelling reservation, he came to the site of what is now downtown St. Paul, took up a claim, and put up, in 1838, the city's first building, a rude log hut. Here Parrant, unkempt, unwashed, uncombed, was mayor, city council and police force; and here, in his hut, he opened up the city's first tavern, from which to dispense whiskey to the soldiers, traders and Indians." [Edward A. Harrigan, The Eucharistic Congress, EXTENSION MAGAZINE: The National Catholic Monthly, June 1941].

the pioneer Indian traders, made a claim near the upper end of the future city of Stillwater.[7] Jesse B. Taylor, a stonemason at the Fort, went to the place now known as Taylor's Falls. He later formed a partnership with Benjamin F. Baker, the trader,[8] for the exploitation of this area. These properties were considered to be the only available sites of any significance. The future location of St. Paul appears to have been considered valueless.

Parrant lost the property at Fountain Cave through his inability to pay a ninety dollar note held by Guillaume Beaumette and moved, in 1838, to a bluff above the river near the present Robert street.

INSERT #1.

A wag of the day thus commented on Parrant's entry into St. Paul: "Upon this spot he laid the egg from which the city of St. Paul was hatched. He cut down the first tree, built the first house, and sold the first whiskey in the present capital of Minnesota . . . His devotion to the wonderful science of numismatics has won him imperishable glory."[9]

All levity aside, the structure which Parrant built at this location, is conceded to be the first structure of the future St. Paul.

First settlers are usually honored but Parrant is remembered generally only for the abuse heaped upon him. As a frontier whiskey dealer his trade brought him into mild disrepute with some members of the community; in addition to that, his personal appearance was little calculated to inspire confidence. One of his eyes bulged out in marbly blue-white blindness; from this he received the unpleasant name of "Pig's Eye." Colorful villains are rare in

7. Neill, Edward D., and Williams, J. Fletcher, History of Hennepin County and The City of Minneapolis, North Star Pub. Co., Minneapolis, 1881, p. 113.
8. Upham, Warren and Dunlap, Rose Barteau, "Minnesota Biographies, 1655-1912," Minnesota History Collections, Vol. 14, St. Paul, 1912, p. 769.
9. Pioneer and Democrat Weekly, St. Paul, April 28, 1859.

Minnesota history and, since his occupation and appearance lend themselves to the role, writers have colored Parrant darkly. In tales twisted and enlarged in the telling, the fat, half-blind, old trader has become a legendary horror. One writer of the 1870's garbled accounts to claim that Parrant's face "so much resembled that of a pig as to suggest the name. He was a low fellow . . . ."[10] Another reported that Parrant's whiskey was "a horrible liquid, which, by its virulent concitation of the mucous membrane inflamed all the passions," and that "shrieks of Women and Children, mingled with yells of demons, and the howling of dogs, added the terrors of hearing to the appalling sights enacted in Pig's Eye Pandemonium! "[11] The whiskey may have been bad, but its strength was usually diluted by generous additions of river water; the "appalling sights," unhappily for writers overdoing the picturesque, were probably fictitous. A. L. Larpenteur, one of St. Paul's earliest settlers, takes issue with the defamers of Parrant. "I knew him well; he was no worse than any of the pioneers at that time, and if his only crime was selling to the Indians, they all did it; and the American Fur Company, under another name, sold ten barrels where the other poor fellow sold one."[12]

10. Andreas, A. T. (Editor), An Illustrated Historical Atlas of the State of Minnesota, A. T. Andreas, Chicago, Ill., 1874, p. 225.
11. Hankins, Col., Dakota Land or the Beauty of St. Paul, Hankins & Son, New York, 1868, p. 33.
12. Elfelt, Charles D., "Early Trade and Traders in St. Paul," Minnesota Collections, Vol. 9, St. Paul, 1901, p. 164.

Other settlers soon followed Parrant to the site of St. Paul. The Gervais brothers, Benjamin and Pierre and three discharged soldiers, Evans, Hays and Phalen, took up claims. James R. Clewett, who later married a daughter of Abraham Perry, erected a cabin. A mysterious stranger, who called himself Johnson, came up the river and remained until a rumor that the Fort authorities were considering his arrest on charges of counterfeiting caused him to disappear.[13] Ben Gervais purchased Parrant's second claim for ten dollars, and the whiskey-seller moved near the river on the lower landing, a point more accessible to his customers.[14]

The settlers who remained near the Fort were not undisturbed for long. In April 1839, John Emerson, post surgeon, reported to Washington that the Fort was "completely inundated with ardent spirits . . . I feel grieved to witness such scenes of drunkenness and dissipation . . ."[15] Emerson did not exaggerate the condition. Taliaferro notes in his journal that on a single day, June 3, 1839, forty-seven soldiers were held in the guardhouse on charges of drunkenness. Some of the Soldiers remained away from quarters for several days causing "much annoyance to the commanding officer."[16]

A huddle of trader's shacks, a few miles below the Fort was the source of most of the illicit whiskey. Boats coming up stream would stop and unload their cargoes of liquor before proceeding to the Fort. The prospect grew more menacing when it was reported that a "citizen named Brown" was "actually building . . . within gunshot distance of the Fort, a very expensive whiskey

13. Newson, T. M., Pen Pictures of St. Paul and Biographical Sketches of Settlers. Published by the Author, St. Paul, 1886. Page 16.
14. Fairchild, Henry S., "Sketches of the Early History of Real Estate in St. Paul," Minnesota History Collections, Vol. 10, Part One, St. Paul, p. 411.
15. Anonymous, Centennial History of Fort Snelling, 1820-1920, The Post Exchange, 49th Infantry, Fort Snelling, Minn., 1920, p. 13.
16. "Rev. L. Galtier to Rt. Rev. Thomas L. Grace, January 14, 1864." Acta Et Dicta, Vol. 1, No. 2, July 1918, p. 186.

DAVID FARIBAULT (R. Carg).

INSERT #2. Paragraph #1.

[redacted], CHAPTER TWO, PAGE 7.

A Canadian by birth, like so many other early settlers, David Faribault had come to the budding St. Paul village with one eye on farming and the other on selling, including liquor. His claim fronted on Third street, at the intersection of Jackson, extending through to Fourth--the frontage bing one hundred and forty feet. He was a sort of David Harum--in reverse. On one occasion he traded the south half of his property, plus $17.50, and took in exchange a horse worth $80.00. A. L. Larpenteur, with whom he made the deal, said of this transaction, "Faribault would undoubtedly have given the entire one hundred and forty feet for the horse and called it an even trade, but I was poor, seventeen and a half dollars was an object, and he did not want so much land.'" [Edward D. Neill, History of Ramsey County and the City of St. Paul, p. 185].

Mr. Larpenteur, within the year, built on this newly acquired property what he claimed ~~to have been~~ was the first ~~house~~ frame house in St. Paul. [Ibid, p. 186].

shop." On April 14, 1839, the Ariel, first boat up the river that season, unloaded twenty barrels of whiskey at Brown's new groggery. On May 21, the Glaucus delivered six barrels of whiskey to David Faribault.[17] Among other whiskey traders were Henry C. Menck, Donald McDonald and Jim Thompson. Pierre Parrant dealt principally in liquor, though he also carried a small stock of powder, shot and other necessities for traders.[18] With the excuse of a fight against the liquor traffic, Plympton renewed his efforts to secure permission from the War Department in Washington for the limitation of the reserve. Apparently his view impressed others; officials at the Fort agreed with him, and Brigadier General John E. Wood, who inspected the post in June 1839, despatched a letter to Washington on the 28th of that month concurring with Plympton.[19] Even this effort resulted in no immediate action.

In the meantime events set the stage for another important character who was, in the course of his duty, to aid in the making of the city. Mathias Loras, pastor of Cathedral Church at Mobile, Alabama, had been appointed first Bishop of Dubuque in 1837. The new diocese included the present state of Iowa and the untamed stretch of land lying northward between the Mississippi and Missouri rivers. Upon appointment Loras had journeyed to France in the hope of securing missionaries to aid in his difficult task. He visited the Grand Seminaire of Puy and, stirred by the great need, delivered an effective plea to the seminarians. His appeal found a ready response. Loras returned to the United States during the winter of 1838, accompanied by a group of young Frenchmen who had chosen to forego comfortable posts in their native land for the hardships which, they

17. Neill, E. D., History of Hennepin County, p. 103.
18. Holcombe, R. L., Minnesota In Three Centuries, 1655-1908, Free Press Printing Co., Mankato, Minn., 1908, pp. 82-84.
19. Anonymous, Centennial History of Fort Snelling, 1820-1920, p. 13.

JEAN BAPTISTE FARIBAULT (R. Cary)

INSERT #3

INSERT, CHAPTER TWO, Page 8.

Perhaps no native of Canada has left a ~~better~~ finer impress on Minnesota than Jean Baptiste Faribault. "Among the pioneers of Minnesota," writes one authority, " there is none whose memory and whose name deserves better to be respected and perpetuated." [Minnesota Historical Collections, Minnesota Historical Society, p. 179].

To the Indians Faribault was known as "Beaver's Tail," or in their untranslated appellation "Cha-pah-sin-tay." It is a matter of record that, to quote ~~another~~ from another tribute, "by his influence with the Sioux he maintained peace for many years between them and the pioneers." [Dictionary of American Biography; under the auspices of the American Council of Learned Societies. Edited by Allen Johnson and Dumas Malone. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1931, p. 272].

Franklyn Curtiss-Wedge, compiler of the History of Rice and Steele Counties, says "It is pleasant to compare the conduct of Faribault with that of other traders who, far from trying to exercise an elevating influence over the Indians, taught them the vices of a pretended civilization." [History of Rice and Steele Counties, Compiled by Franklyn Curtiss-Wedge, Vol. 1, p. 84].

believed, awaited them in the American Northwest. Among them were Joseph Cretin, A. Pelamourgues, Augustin Ravoux and Lucian Galtier.[20] Ravoux and Galtier completed their studies at Emmitsburg College in Maryland and, on January 5, 1849, were ordained to the priesthood in Dubuque.[21] 1839 (?)

To acquaint himself with the wild and sparsely-settled diocese, Bishop Loras, accompanied by Father Pelamourgues and a young interpreter, visited Fort Snelling and St. Peter's in late June of 1839.

It isn't difficult to visualize St. Peters and environs in 1839, from descriptions easily available. Here is one bird's-eye view: "Around the large new storehouses of the Fur Company, and Mr. Sibley's handsome stone dwelling which had just been built, a group of log huts and a neat white cottage, swarming with population make quite an imposing picture of civilization . . . along the bottom and back in the shadows of the adjacent hills, lodges of Sioux were huddled in tawny cones . . ." Inferentially the rest of the population were half breeds, the source quoted continuing with another vivid background: "On the opposite side of the river, the bold outline of Fort Snelling crowned the crest of the white bluff, and outside the walls at a little distance stood . . . the stone houses of the Indian Agent and Interpreter."[22]

Two years later the significant event occurred for which struggling decades seemed a fitting prelude - presentation to the mission, by J. B. Faribault, of a log house for a place of worship, the edifice which was consecrated as St. Peter's, the first church in Minnesota.[23]

// INSERT #3.

20. Ravoux, Augustin, Reminiscences, Memoirs and Lectures of Msgr. A. Ravoux, V. G., Brown, Treacy and Company, St. Paul, 1890, pp. 86-88.
21. Ireland, Rev. John "Memoir of Lucian Galtier," Minnesota History Collections, Vol. 3, St. Paul, 1880, p. 223.
22. Weekly Pioneer and Democrat, Feb. 17, 1859.
23. Weekly Pioneer and Democrat, Feb. 17, 1859.

Still extant, and in the handwriting of General Sibley, who at the time was agent of the Fur Company at St. Peter's (now Mendota) and also a Justice of the Peace, is the historical document whereby Pierre Parrant agreed to transfer to Guilliume Beaumette, for a consideration of $90, his claim - in case he defaulted:

The St. Paul Pioneer, in referring to this document many years later, reproduced it in its entirely: "A Historical Relic. - We have had placed in our hands, by David Guerin, Esq., the original of a paper or instruments, which is the oldest legal paper relating to land in the city of St. Paul, in existence. For antiquarian purposes, it is even more valuable than Carver's mythological 'deed' - as the original of that paper is said not to be in existence now. The instrument we speak of may perhaps be called a mortgage. It is as follows:

'St. Peters, 12th November, 1838

On the first day of May next, I promise to pay to Guillaume Beaumette, Ninety Dollars, for value received, without defalcation,

Witness:
A. M. Anderson
H. H. Sibley

Pierre His X Mark Parrant

'Know all men by these presents, that I, Pierre Parrant, residing near the Entry of the St. Peters River, and Wisconsin Territory do hereby make over, transfer, and Quit Claim to Guillaume Beaumette, of St. Peters, all my right, title and interest in and to all that tract or portion of Land which I, the said Parrant, now reside upon and occupy, at the Cave, so called, about four miles below Fort Snelling, to have and to hold the same to said Guillaume Beaumette, his heirs and assigns forever.

"Provided always - and it is hereby expressly understood between the parties, that if the said Pierre Parrant shall pay or cause to be paid on or before the first day of May next to the said Beaumette the sum of Ninety Dollars, amount of a certain note of hand by me, the said Parrant to the said Beaumette, then this transfer to be null, and of no effect, otherwise to remain in full force and virtue.

Signed, Sealed and delivered
in presence of
H. H. Sibley
A. M. Anderson

Pierre His X Mark.'" Parrant 24.

24. St. Paul Pioneer, Sunday, June 3, 1866.

How narrowly St. Paul escaped the ignominy of being named Pig's Eye, after the unfortunate Parrant optic, has been enumerated not a few times and still seems to engross historians.

The origin of the name "Pig's Eye" in connection with St. Paul, is believed to have taken shape in the odiferous recesses of the Fountain Cave groggery. "Edmund Brisette, a clerkly Frenchman," so the story goes, "was one day seated at a table in Parrant's cabin, writing a letter for the voyageur for Parrant could not write. The question of geography puzzled Brisette. Where should he date a letter from a place without a name? He looked up inquiringly at Parrant, and met the cold dead glare of the Pig's Eye fixed upon him, with an irresistable suggestiveness that was inspiration to Brisette."[25]

However a future event of no small significance was to shatter the distilled mirage of Edmund Brisette. Not Parrant's cabin, but a log house topped by a cross, held inspiration and hope for the future.

Since the population in and near the Fort included so many Catholics and there had not been a priest among them for years, a number of marriages were to be celebrated and baptisms to be performed. Loras wrote that the "Catholics of St. Peter's amounted to 185, fifty-six of whom we baptized, administered confirmation to eight, and gave nuptial benediction to four couples." This number must have included refugees from the Selkirk colony, traders settled around St. Peter's and soldiers of the garrison, as well as traders from widely scattered areas on their annual visit to headquarters.

During Loras' stay at St. Peter's another small group of immigrants arrived from the Selkirk colony. It was said that "their intention was to look for land and above all for a Catholic Church." The land near the Fort appealed to them and when Loras promised that a priest would be stationed in the area before the year had passed, they decided to remain and build themselves

25. Pioneer and Democrat Weekly, St. Paul, April 28, 1859.

homes.[26]

As steamboats were not frequent on the upper river, the Bishop found it necessary to return to Dubuque in a dugout "made of a single tree." His hands were blistered and sore when the trip was over, but he felt more than rewarded by the knowledge of what he had achieved.[27]

Shortly after Loras' visit a major change took place in the life of the Fort. Indian Agent Taliaferro, so long a leader at the post, resigned. The Indians, the Sioux at least, were never again to have, at this place, so sincere a defender and advocate. Taliaferro, like many idealists who gravitated towards the frontier along with the men of action, saw his plans fail and his dreams crumble. Ordinary hardship meant little to him, but the frustration of his work was a burden he could not bear.

Taliaferro's stern incorruptibility had made him the target of trader and politician alike. The American Fur Company, perhaps the most powerful single factor in affairs of the Northwest frontier, considered him a dangerous man. He in turn disliked the Fur Company, and felt that the Indian Office in Washington was "bending a listening ear to the agents" of the corporation. In any case he found his relations with the Indians undermined above and below and his work subtly nullified.

Taliaferro's efforts to instruct the Indians in farming had been brought to an untimely end by the renewal of Sioux-Chippewa hostilities.

His despair may be judged from his belief that "the time would come when all my efforts to do good would pass into oblivion and the nationality of the noble Sioux be completely destroyed."[28]

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26. Note, Minnesota History, Vol. VIII, No. , 1927, p. 39.
27. Hoffman, M. M., The Church Founders of the Northwest, Bruce Publishing Company, Milwaukee, Wis. 1937, pp. 117-127.
28. Taliaferro, Lawrence, "Auto-biography of Major Lawrence Taliaferro," Minnesota History Collections, Vol. 6, St. Paul, 1894, p. 227.

Little was required to bring about Taliaferro's decision to resign. An incident in the autumn of 1839 furnished the final impetus. On September 9 the grog shop of Henry C. Menck was entered by Indians. On the 23rd of that month Bad Hail, a Sioux brave, charged that Taliaferro had incited the Indians and had instructed them to enter Menck's establishment "with a view to take by force from said house a quantity of Spiritous liquor therein contained."[29] Shortly afterwards Taliaferro fell ill. On October 5, Menck, in possession of an illegal appointment as a special deputy sheriff of Clayton County, Iowa, broke in the door of Taliaferro's house and placed the Indian Agent under arrest. Menck threw the sick man to the floor and, nudging a pistol in his ribs, said that he would be taken to the Clayton County jail despite his condition. The fact that Taliaferro had found Menck guilty, on more than one occasion, of violation of the liquor laws, probably had left a rankling wound in the latter and increased his malignancy. Taliaferro apparently acquiesced, but asked Menck if he might send a note to the commandant, informing the officer of his sudden departure. Menck, for some reason, allowed Taliaferro's message to be sent. Menck was thus tgeneraled. The note brought soldiers, who expelled the whiskey trader from the reservation.[30]

Taliaferro soon resigned. "I am disgusted with the life of an agent among such bad materials and bad management on the part of Congress . . . the Indian office, etc., etc.," he wrote. He derived some consolation from the fact that he was leaving "the public service as poor as when I first entered it . . . the only evidence of my integrity."[31]

29. Deposition before H. H. Sibley by Angus Anderson and Alexander Faribault, undated; Sibley, H. H., Papers, Mss. Div., Minnesota Historical Society.
30. Neill, E. D., "Occurrence In and Around Fort Snelling," pp. 54-55.
31. Folwell, W. W., A History of Minnesota, Vol. 1, p. 142.

In the autumn of 1839 the crude little settlement that was to be St. Paul became the scene of a mysterious slaying. Three soldiers, Edward Phalen, John Hays and William Evans, had decided to settle below Fountain Cave, upon their discharge from the army. Phalen, a hulking six-footer of "not the most enviable character," was discharged on June 8, 1838. He agreed to hold a claim next to his own for Sergeant Hays, who was expecting his discharge in April 1839. Phalen selected a claim in a lonely spot fronting on the river, and when Hays left the army he moved in with Phalen until such time as he could build a cabin of his own. For some time the two men lived together. Both were Irish and must have found life lonely in a settlement where French was almost the only language. Phalen was regarded with distrust by the other settlers but Hays was well liked. A persistent rumor was soon afoot that the two men did not live together on a completely friendly basis.[32]

In September Hays disappeared and was never again seen alive. Taliaferro but recorded prevailing opinion when he wrote in his diary, "I incline to the opinion that his neighbor, Phalen, knows something, Hays lived with him and had money . . . ." On September 27th, Wabsheedah, an Indian, reported that his sons had located a body in the river near Carver's cave. Soldiers were led to the spot and there, the head horribly battered, was the half-submerged body of Hays. Henry H. Sibley, as Justice of the Peace, issued a warrant for the arrest of Phalen, charging him with murder in the first degree. The surly prisoner was sent to Crawford County prison in Prairie du Chien, where he awaited trial.[33]

Although opinion at St. Peter's and Fort Snelling was much prejudiced against Phalen, the authorities at Prairie du Chien did not feel that there

32. Williams, J. Fletcher, "A History of the City of St. Paul and of the County of Ramsey," Minnesota History Collections, Vol. 4, St. Paul, 1876, pp. 68-72.
33. Williams, J. Fletcher, "A History of the City of St. Paul and of the County of Ramsey," p. 91; also Neill, "Occurrence in and Around Fort Snelling," pp. 140-141.

was sufficient evidence of guilt. The case was dismissed by the grand jury at the spring assizes.

When Phalen returned he found Vital Guerin in possession of the Hays claim which he had hoped to add to his own holdings. He blustered against the little Frenchman and threatened to remove him by force if necessary. Guerin rounded up some husky voyageurs who threatened to throw Phalen over the bluff into the river if he persisted in his threats. Phalen calmed down after this unexpected show of strength, and later took another claim on the creek which now bears his name.

The riddle of St. Paul's first murder remains unsolved. A mass of conflicting evidence, opinion and personal bias remains. An early historian of the city held the opinion that "there is then, no alternative left, but to record Phalen as the murderer of Hays."[34] On the other hand a respected early citizen, A. L. Larpenteur, who knew Phalen personally, stated emphatically, "He never killed Hays; the Indians have told me since that Hays was not killed by Phalen. They spoke to me as though they knew who did kill him . . . Old Phalen was human. He took his toddy, too, but he would not injure a hair of your head . . ."[35]

The letters and official reports which had been more or less regularly aimed at his desk for a period of two years finally caused Secretary of War J. R. Poinsett to order expulsion of all settlers on the reserve. Instructions for the removal were forwarded on October 1, 1839, to Marshall Edward James of Wisconsin Territory, who was advised to act with "as much forbearance, and

34. Williams, J. Fletcher, "History of the City of St. Paul and of the County of Ramsey," pp. 92-104.
35. Larpenteur, August L., "Recollections of St. Paul, 1843-1898," Minnesota History Collections, Vol. 9, St. Paul, 1901, p. 391.

consideration, and delicacy as may be consistent with the prompt and faithful performance of the duties assigned to you." James delegated the authority to his deputy at Prairie du Chien, Ira B. Brunson.[36]

Plympton was happy at the order which now permitted his wishes to be carried out. His attitude towards the settlers, which cannot be fully explained, seemed always unreasonably severe. The liquor sellers had unquestionably been responsible for weakening the discipline of the garrison, and had caused trouble among the Indians. The situation might easily have become dangerous, but there is reason to believe that it was not this problem alone which prompted the unrelenting attitude of the military. Samuel C. Stambaugh, sutler at the Fort hinted that a desire for control of certain lands may have been a most important motive. It is a fact that only a small minority of the settlers sold whiskey, and it appears that this menace might have been summarily dealt with by destroying the grog shops and expelling those guilty of keeping them. No such attempt was made. On the other hand Plympton did cause the arrest and confinement of certain settlers who allowed cattle to stray on the parade grounds.

Marshall Brunson arrived in April 1840, and ordered the settlers to remove themselves and their possessions from the reservation. The decree met with indifference, possibly because the settlers did not feel that the matter was serious, or because they were unwilling to leave homes and farms which had been built with great labor. The married women of the garrison pleaded with Plympton to exempt Abraham Perry and his family from the expulsion order, since "Aunt Mary Ann," wife of Abraham, was the only expert midwife in the region. This request was rejected.

36. Anonymous, Centennial History of Fort Snelling, p. 14.

On May 6 soldiers were sent out and, under the direction of Brunson and a lieutenant from the Fort, the little cabins were emptied of goods and burned before their bewildered and helpless owners. There is some disagreement regarding the details of the expulsion. A memorial presented to Congress in 1849 stated that "the soldiery fell upon them without warning, treated them with unjustifiable rudeness, broke and destroyed furniture wantonly, insulted the women, and, in one or two instances, fired at and killed cattle." A witness of the scene makes no mention of personal violence.[37] Regardless of the details the eviction was thorough. Even Perry and some others who had moved to the eastern shore in a vain attempt to escape the military restrictions found themselves made homeless. Most of those evicted moved down the river a short distance to the small cluster of cabins which marked the site of the future St. Paul.[38]

Thus, for the misconduct of the four settlers who, so far as the record shows, were liquor dealers, namely Menck, Pierre Parrant, Donald Mc Donald, and Jim Thompson, the negro, some forty or fifty innocent men like Abraham Perry, Benjamin and Pierre Gervais, and Vital Guerin, and their families, were driven from their homes and put to the necessity of building new ones east of the river. Some of the settlers left the country entirely. As for the whiskey sellers they "merely went down the river a little farther * * * still within the reservation."[39]

Due to the lack of available men Bishop Loras had been obliged to delay sending a priest to the Fort for almost a year. He was reminded of his promise on April 20, 1840, by the shrill whistle of the first boat to

37. Hansen, Marcus L., Old Fort Snelling, pp. 194-196, 246.
38. Newson, T. M., Pen Pictures of St. Paul, p. 19; also see Pioneer of St. Paul, p. 19.
39. Holcombe, R. K., Minnesota In Three Centuries, pp. 82-84.

arrive in Dubuque bound up-river in that year. Within the hour Father Lucian Galtier, ordained to the priesthood in Dubuque but three months before, had packed and sailed to take up duties near the military post. Six days later he arrived at the Fort.

"The steamboat landed at the foot of Fort Snelling, then occupied by some few companies of regular soldiers . . .," the young priest wrote: "The sight of the fort commanding from an elevated promontory the two rivers, Mississippi and St. Peter, now Minnesota, highly pleased me; but the few houses to be seen on the St. Peter side, and two only on the fort side & no fields but a compleet wilderness, made me, all at once to understand, that my mission and life must hence-forth be one of privation, hard trial & suffering, and thus required of me patience, labor and resignation. I had a small field before me, or rather a large one, but almost without souls . . ."[40]

This was a first melancholy impression and one which was later considerably magnified. Galtier found hardships and difficulty - but most of all was tried by the apparent lack of discipline and purpose among his parishioners. Galtier, however, seems to have been equal to his undertaking. His "remarkable personality" impressed all who came near him and won him the respect of both Catholic and Protestant. He was said to have had the "face of a Caesar," and was described as a "man of great decision of character, with a strong cast of countenance, large mouth and overshadowing eyebrows. His head sat upon his shoulders like a military chieftain . . . He was well chosen to mould and control a heterogenous mass of men whose lives had been spent almost exclusively upon the frontier."[41]

40. Rev. L. Galtier to Rt. Rev. Thomas L. Grace, Acta Et Dicta Vol. 1, No. 2, July 1918, p. 185.
41. Mc Nulty, Ambrose, "The Chapel of St. Paul and the Beginning of the Catholic Church in Minnesota," Minnesota History Collections, Vol. 10, Part 1, St. Paul, 1905, p. 235.

For a month Galtier lived with Scott Campbell, an interpreter, until, not feeling "sufficiently free to discharge . . . pastoral duties," he secured a separate room which was in turn a kitchen, parlor and chapel. He built a little altar of rough boards which was closed when not in use by a white canopy and drapery.[42] Under these trying conditions he continued for over a year, ministering to his flock. Although Galtier, chivalrously enough, depicts Mrs. Campbell as a "good Christian wife," it is probable that she provided one of the reasons for his leaving the household. An entry in Taliaferro's journal notes that Campbell "drinks at times more than he ought * * * Mrs. Campbell . . . [has a temper which] is violent when roused." It is recorded that on at least one occasion she gave her husband "a blow which felled him."[43] This atmosphere could hardly have been conducive to priestly meditation.

Galtier attempted to serve all of his far-flung congregation as ably as time and limited travel facilities would permit. In August 1840 he visited a number of families who had recently settled near St. Croix Lake. Upon his return he became desperately ill with "bilious fever and the ague." He relates that he "could not have recovered, if it had not been for the skill of Doctor Turner, and the continued and kind attention of his good lady . . . If my body was truly prostrated by sickness, my spirit was still more depressed. I was panting after a priest, but none was around me, the nearest being 300 miles distant! In that trying distress, God, in his infinite mercy, send [sic] me a visitor, one like that of an angel, the Rt. Rd. Bishop Deforbin Janson of Nancy F[rance] heard of my sickness, as soon as he alighted from the boat . . . he came, heard my confession, gave me words of consolation and comfort, and soon after departed leaving me with his blessings . . ."[44]

42. Rev. L. Galtier, Vol. 1, No. 2, July 1918, p. 185.
43. Taliaferro, Journal, July 29, 1839, Taliaferro (Lawrence) Papers, Mss. Division, Minnesota Historical Society.
44. L. Galtier to Rt. Rev. Thomas L. Grace, Acta Et Dicta, July 1918, p. 186.

During his illness Galtier devoted his thoughts to the location of a much needed permanent chapel. Eventually, with considerable foresight, he chose the little, nameless downriver community which had been formed by what he termed the "painful circumstance" of the expulsion. It was easy to reach from St. Peter's and was the nearest point, outside the reservation, to the head of transportation on the Mississippi.[45.]

Benjamin Gervais and Vital Guerin, both devout men, donated sufficient land for a church, a garden and a small graveyard.[46.] Isaac La Bissonniere also offered a plot of ground but, since it was inconveniently located, his donation was declined with thanks.[47.]

Construction of the chapel began in October 1841. The site selected was thinly covered with red and white oak and was backed by tamarack swamp. Logs were cut on the spot. The tamarack furnished rafters and roof pieces. Bark-covered slabs, donated by a Stillwater lumberman, brought by steamboat and drawn up from the river by ropes, were used for roofing, flooring and benches.

The work, done by volunteer labor, was completed within a few days, and the estimated total cost was less than sixty-five dollars. The finishing was rough due to lack of tools; logs were poorly cut, having been hewn with no more precise instrument than a broad axe, and the whole structure was fitted

45. Hoffman, M. M., Church Founders of the Northwest, p. 158.
46. Ireland, Rev. John, "Memoir of Lucian Galtier," p. 227.
47. Gauthier, George W., "Reminiscences of Early Days," Gauthier (George W.) Papers, Mss. Division, Minnesota Historical Society.

together with wooden pins. The completed chapel was approximately twenty-five feet long and eighteen feet wide. There was a single window on each side and an entrance facing the river. A simple wooden cross was raised over the whole.[48.]

On November 1, 1841, a congregation of about a dozen, most of whom had helped in the construction, gathered to witness the consecration of the rude, new "basilica," which reminded Galtier of the "stables of Bethlehem . . . as well adapted to the uses of piety as any church in the world."[49.] In serving the uses of piety the tiny chapel became the rock upon which gathered the beginnings of a city.

St. Peter's had not yet been renamed Mendota and, since the "name of Paul is generally connected with that of Peter," and the gentiles were well represented in the new place in the persons of the Indians," Galtier dedicated the new chapel to the Apostle Paul. "Henceforth we could call him our protector and for apostolic life could I desire for a better pattern? Cum infirmor tum potent! (Now I am weak, then I am strong). St. Paul, as applied to a town or city, was well appreciated, the monosyllable in short, sounds good, it is understood by all christian denominations," Galtier added. In a vein of philosophy, not without humor, he refers to the "new basilica" as "smaller indeed than that of St. Paul at Rome * * * but in this, as well as in the other, good hearts could expand without limits."[50.] The log building with the cross was almost the only landmark of the community, and people in the traffic began to call the place St. Paul's Landing. It soon became known simply as St. Paul's.

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48. McNulty, Ambrose, "The Chapel of St. Paul and the Beginnings of the Catholic Church in Minnesota," p. 235.
49. Ireland, Rev. John, "Memoir of Lucian Galtier," p. 227.
50. Rev. L. Galtier, to Rt. Rev. Thomas L. Grace, Bishop of St. Paul, Prairie du Chien, Jan. 14, 1864.

Father Augustin Ravoux, who had accompanied Galtier from France, arrived at St. Peter's in 1841 and remained a few days with his friend. He visited some small settlements in the region and spent some time among the Indians at Chaska, a small trading station. He came to St. Peter's again a year later, and this time remained in charge of the mission while Galtier visited Catholics at Lake Pepin and on the Chippewa river.[51] Ravoux's services to his church were nearly brought to a tragic conclusion when, one evening, he was awakened from a sound sleep by an alarming crash. The main beam of Galtier's little house had cracked. Although the building collapsed Ravoux managed to escape without serious injury. Upon Galtier's return Ravoux departed for Chaska, where he planned to establish a permanent mission among the Indians.

Galtier now found it necessary to move from the fort side, where he had taken up residence, to St. Peter's. J. B. Faribault offered him a small house which he arranged to use temporarily as living quarters and a makeshift chapel. Using this as a headquarters he visited St. Paul regularly and made more frequent trips to the settlements along the St. Croix river. He soon found it inappropriate that the smaller, and at that time less important, community of St. Paul should have a chapel while St. Peter's had none. Lumber was secured in Chippewa Falls and, on the second of October, 1842, work began on the first church to be built in St. Peter's. On the 29th of the same month the bell of the new chapel was blessed.[52]

51. Sibley, H. H., "Reminiscences of Early Days in Minnesota," Minnesota History Collections, Vol. 2, St. Paul, 1880, p. 242.
52. Hoffman, M. M., Church Founders of the Northwest, pp. 156-159.

It is apparent from Galtier's description of a Christmas celebration in 1843 that he felt his work was bearing fruit. "As usual I celebrated mass . . . before the Holy Sacrifice began, all seats were taken, and it was with difficulty that one could make his way through the midst of the crowd. Officers, soldiers, Protestant gentlemen of the vicinity, and a great number of Catholic Canadians from St. Croix, Lake Pepin, St. Paul, and the Falls of St. Anthony were present at the ceremony. Some musicians had come from the Falls of St. Croix, about sixty miles from St. Peter's, to add to the festive spirit of the celebration. The sanctuary was lighted with a great number of candles, which gave a charmingly radiant light; it was heightened by the draperies . . . and a garland of greens, in the form of a triumphal arch, which extended from the entrance of the sanctuary to the communion table. In the center hung a chandelier surmounted by twelve tapers representing the twelve apostles. On one side in the front row were the musicians with their instruments; on the other the children who were making their first communion, each holding a lighted candle and wearing a white veil. Everyone paid good attention and derived much benefit. The singing began at half past eleven and did not stop . . . the number of communicants was very satisfactory. I had three who came thirty miles in order to have the blessing of approaching the holy banquet. The feast was beautiful and made us forget the many difficulties, setbacks, and sorrows experienced everywhere."[53]

A goodly number of settlers had, by this time, taken up residence on the site of St. Paul. Michel LeClaire was among the first. Mousseau settled on the point of the bluff. Among others whom Edmund Brisette recalls in early

53. "Some Early Galtier Letters," Minnesota History, Vol. 19, No. 2, June 1938, p. 191.

(Next Page).

A goodly number of settlers had, by this time, taken up residence on the site of St. Paul. Michel LeClaire was among the first. Mousseau settled on the point of the bluff. Among others whom Edmund Brisette recalls in early St. Paul are Antoine LeCount and his wife, Francis Battiset (who has the unsavory distinction of being the first in St. Paul to be arrested for rape), Joseph and Isaac LaBissoniere, Charetto, Cornoyer, Gammel and Bazille. There were usually fewer women than men on the frontier and because of this it is probable that the Perry family of six daughters was made welcome in St. Paul by the eligible bachelors. Fanny married Mousseau, Rose married James R. Clewett, Adele married Guerin, Josephine married Cornoyer, and Anne Jane, at the age of fifteen, was wed to Bazille.

The French-Canadians, who made up the larger share of St. Paul's early population, burdened by over-much hardship in the past, now tried to recreate the life which they remembered from their native land. When Vital Guerin married Adele Perry, a party of friends accompanied them to St. Peter's for the ceremony and on their return Benjamin Gervais opened his cottage to the whole settlement. There was dancing, music and, one suspects, a plentitude of refreshments.[54] Denny Cherrier "fiddled that night until he was exhausted." The flavor of the settlers' lives is almost completely summed up in a few sentences written by Edmund Brisette. "In the year 1843 Indian Summer lasted until Christmas - I dug potatoes until near Jan. 1. Wolves and foxes plenty. Dances frequent. Pork $8 a barrel."[55]

54. William J. Fletcher, "A History of the City of St. Paul, and County of Ramsey," p. 105.
55. "Reminiscences of Edmund Brisette," Williams (John Fletcher) Papers, Mss. Division, Minnesota Historical Society.

Galtier was never in full sympathy with the settlers' attempts to relieve the drabness of their lives. During his last months at St. Peter's he was in despair - believing that his work promised no permanent result. He wrote to Bishop Loras on January 6, 1844: "A large number of soldiers have become members of the temperance society; but to offset that good, since a few days before Christmas there have been saturnalian orgies, or drinking bouts, almost continuously, particularly on the St. Paul side. Tomorrow I expect to threaten them with God's anger, if they do not return to their duty. A priest is absolutely necessary at that place. Monseigneur can assure himself of that by the details already given." Galtier even declared himself as not anxious to have charge of these men any longer. "Otherwise I must always be among them," he reasoned, "studying them and altering them by the grace of God. But the work is hard - it would be easier to work a miracle and raise the dead than to convert drunkards. But one cannot always choose, and one must endure opposition."[56] Soon after writing this letter Galtier traveled to take up his new appointment.

Father Augustin Ravoux now returned. He states his duties very simply. "After the departure of Father Galtier from Mendota (St. Peter's), I had under my charge his mission; viz: Mendota, St. Paul, Lake Pepin, Lake St. Croix and the surrounding districts."[57] Ravoux at first planned to remain at this mission temporarily, only until Loras might send another priest from Dubuque. Loras, as always, had more demands made upon him than he could fill, and Ravoux found it necessary to remain on indefinitely.[58]

56. Rev. Lucian Galtier to Bishop Mathias Loras, January 6, 1844, Galtier Rev. Lucian Papers, Mss. Division, Minnesota Historical Society.
57. Rev. A. Ravoux, V. G. to H. H. Sibley, Dec. 15, 1866, Sibley (H. H.) Papers, Mss. Division, Minnesota Historical Society.
58. Williams, J. Fletcher, "A History of the City of St. Paul, and the County of Ramsey," p. 115.

When Galtier departed on the 25th of May, 1844, he felt that his mission at St. Peter's and St. Paul was a "yet barren field" but he noted that he left it "neither without regret nor without friends."[59] His devotion and sacrifice had opened the "barren field" to the seeds of civilization. If that result was not immediately apparent, it became so during his lifetime.

59. Lucian Galtier to Rev. Thomas Grace, Acta Et Dicta, Vol. 1, No. 2, July 1918, p. 159.

end of chapter two

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ST. PAUL'S HUNDRED YEARS

the biography of a city

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chapter three

"FATHER LOVED A NEW COUNTRY"

beginnings of social organization.

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harlan R. crippen

august 1940

chapter three

"FATHER LOVED A NEW COUNTRY"

Beginnings of Social Organization

There was nothing exciting about the slow gathering of settlers on the bluffs above the Mississippi, the gradual making of a road from the river by ox-hooves and sledge, the imperceptible increase in number of boats bound up and stopping more often. There were few grave or momentous events - nothing but the children noisy in the first school, nothing but a few men celebrating the opening of Henry Jackson's tavern by drinking whiskey from the three spigots in the kitchen, nothing but the sound of axes shaping out the logs. They came and settled down, they measured and marked the land, claimed it and named it. They said they had a town and they thought it might go.

In 1840 the irregular steamboats simply passed the little huddle of shacks on the way to Fort Snelling with military supplies. Idly the inhabitants would watch the brightly painted vessels as they passed around the bend and out of sight. Once in a while a boat stopped, unloaded a few barrels and went on, but not often. Usually the full-throated whistles only sounded a greeting to the watchers on the oak-covered plateau and fringe of hills rising away from the river.

On the evening of June 9, 1842, a steamboat pulled up at the foot of what is now Jackson Street and a ghostly plume of smoke rose from the opened whistle. Henry Jackson and his wife Angeline alighted on the

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darkening shore. Above them, on the rise of hills, lights flickered in a few windows. In one of these lighted cabins, the always hospitable Perry home, the couple found shelter for the night.

supply first name

In the next few days Jackson rented a cabin near the water-front, where he remained until his own cabin was built on a two-acre plot purchased from Ben Gervais. Here he put in a stock of goods and opened a combination store and tavern which was soon much favored by voyageurs[1] and fur traders. Jackson had failed as a merchant in Galena, Illinois, but this new venture, in partnership with an Indian trader, William Hartshorn, who remained down river until the next year, seemed to have more promise of success.[2]

full name

There were only two other settlers of record during that year. It cannot be said that they arrived; rather they drifted in from the Fort. The first was Sergeant Richard W. Mortimer, who purchased eighty acres from Joseph Rondeau and built a fine house for his wife, finishing the structure just in time to die in it of delirium tremens in January, 1843.[3] Stanislaus Belanski, the second, purchased a claim and cabin between Phalen's Creek and Trout Brook. Belanski's only claim upon history is that his fourth wife, Anne, poisoned him on March 12, 1859.[4]

His name is usually spelled Bilanski.

In 1843 nearly twenty settlers came, among them Alexander Mege, James W. Simpson, William Hartshorn, A. L. Larpenteur and Scott Campbell.[5] John R. Irvine, his wife Nancy and their children, came up the river from Prairie du Chien on the steamer Otter, arriving in St.

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1. Moss, Henry L., "Biographic Notes of Old Settlers," Minn. History Collections, Vol. 9, St. Paul, 1901, Page 144.
2. Andreas, A.T., Illustrated Historical Atlas of the State of Minnesota, published by the author, Chicago, 1874, Page 264.
3. Neill, E.D., History of Ramsey County, North Star Publishing Company, Minneapolis, 1881. Page 84.
4. Daily Pioneer and Democrat, March 24, 1860

Paul on August 3, 1843.[5] Irvine's daughter Mary afterwards described the settlement which they found. "There was only one street in St. Paul, if street it could be called... now known as Third Street. There were but few buildings on the street. In one of them lived a man by the name of Scott Campbell - who was a frenchman from Paris, in spite of his Scotch name - He spoke excellent French and was extremely gentlemanly in appearance. He had an Indian wife and a family of half-breed children."[6]

James Simpson opened a store, as did Irvine in partnership with Alexander Mege. Supplies for the stores, which now numbered three, were brought up from the river landing on a rough, steep road. A forked tree with a board across the end served as a sledge, which was drawn by Vital Guerin's team of oxen. A barrel of either whiskey or flour, the two leading commodities, was the load limit for this conveyance.[7] Whiskey was considered a staple by all storekeepers of the period.[8]

The Jackson store was so exceedingly short of supplies by the first part of September that it could not fill the needs of the Indians who came to trade. By the middle of the month several hundred Indians had gathered to wait for the shipment which was said to be coming up the river. Auguste Larpenteur, acting as a clerk for Mr. Hartshorn, arrived on the Otter on September 15, 1843, and was greeted by a whoop of welcome from the assembled Sioux and Chippewa. With him on the steamer were a large shipment of merchandise and a number of

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5. Neill, History of Ramsey County, Page 185.
6. "Reminiscene of Mrs. Mary Irvine Fuller," Fuller (Abby Abbe, and Family) Papers, Mss. Division, Minn. Historical Society.
7. Larpenteur, Auguste L., "Recollections of the City and People of St. Paul, 1843-1848," Minn. History Collections, Vol.9, St.Paul, 1901, Page 378.
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horses.[8] Days of brisk business followed. The trade with the Indians was, no doubt, more important to the early merchants than was the yet limited local trade.[9]

One of the 1843 settlers has left a detailed description of the village and its life. "When Mother saw ... St. Paul ... she did not like it at all. She thought it was much more lonesome than the pineries. She begged to go back, but father loved a new country. On landing, we climbed a steep path. We found only six houses there. One was Jackson's. He kept a store in part of it. In the kitchen he had 3 barrels of liquor with spigots in them. The Jackson's were very kind and allowed us to live in their warehouse which was about half way down the bluff. We only slept there nights for we were afraid to cook in a place with powder stored in it.... so we coooked outside... Our house was made of logs hewed flat with a broadaxe. My father was a wonder at hewing... Some men marked where they were to hew but father had such a good eye that he could hew straight without a mark. The cracks were filled with blue clay. For windows, we had 'chinkins' of wood. Our bark roof was made by laying one piece of bark over another, kind of like shingles. Our floor was of puncheons. [Heavy wooden slabs] This was much better than the bark floors, which many people had ... We had splint bottom chairs made out of hickory and brooms made by splitting it fine... Bears and wolves were very plentiful. We had a summer outdoor kitchen where we kept a barrel of pork. One night a bear got in there and made such an awful noise that we thought the Indians were on a rampage. We often saw timber wolves about the house... In the spring when the wheat was

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8. Hartsough, Mildred, The Twin Cities as a Metropolitan Market, University of Minn. Press, Minneapolis, 1925, pp. 28-29
9. Andreas, A. T., Illustrated Historical Atlas of the State of Minnesota, Page 259.

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sprouting, the wild ducks and geese would light in the field and pull it all up. They would seize the little sprouts and jerk the seed up. They came by battalions. I have seen the fields covered with them. They made a terrible noise when rising in the air. I have seen the sun darkened by countless myriads of pigeons coming in the spring. We had one wild pair of unbroken steers and a yoke of old staid oxen. The only way father could drive the steers was to tie ropes on their horns and then jump in the wagon and let them run."[10.]

During the winter of 1843, Henry Jackson received an appointment from Governor Dodge of Wisconsin as Justice of the Peace, thus becoming the first officer of the law within the village. Until that time Henry H. Sibley of the American Fur Company had had jurisdiction over land west of the Mississippi; while Joseph R. Brown, a trader on Grey Cloud Island, twelve miles below St. Paul, had exercised authority east of the river.[11.] Although Brown had legal jurisdiction over St. Paul, actually he had shared the responsibility with Sibley until Jackson's appointment. Jackson was notified of his appointment, but the actual authorization was delayed. In the meantime a young couple appeared before the Justice of Peace to be married. The problem was solved in a way typical of the man and the settlement. Jackson performed the ceremony, telling the newlyweds to "go their way and be happy" and to come back for the legal ceremony when he received his papers.[12.]

Another wedding was performed during that winter. A Mr. Furnell, who had come from the pineries of Wisconsin, was married to a

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10. Morris, Lucy L. W., Old Rail Fence Corners, Page 16 - 21.
11. Muller, Alix J., History of the Police and Fire Departments Of The Twin Cities, American Land & Title Association, St. Paul and Minneapolis, 1889, pp 19-24.
12. Moss, Henry L., "Biographic Notes of Old Settlers," Page 146.

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girl named Caroline on January 1, 1844. The day was exceptionally cold. None of the wedding guests arrived except Jackson who managed to make the short journey on horseback. The wedding dinner was, by necessity, restricted to Minnesota products - fish, cranberry sauce, bread and butter.

Jackson's task of enforcing the law was relatively simple. The settlers, for all their roughness and occasional drinking sprees, were a peaceable lot. The Indians usually confined themselves to attacks upon one another. Attacks on whites were usually unplanned, drunken outbursts and in no case had serious effect. At one time an intoxicated squaw, having been refused food, broke a window of Vital Guerin's cabin. Her screams when Guerin removed her from the property brought some warriors to her aid. Two arrows followed Guerin's retreat into the house. While his wife and children scrambled under the bed, he seized an axe with which to defend himself. Fortunately a sober Indian called his fellows off and enabled the Guerin family to escape. The Indians returned later and shot a few arrows at the cows. The incident was closed.

The only major outbreak among the Indians nearby was a Chippewa attack on the Sioux village of Kaposia, below St. Paul, in 1842. At least twenty-eight lives were lost in this encounter, and the sound of firearms was plainly heard in the St. Paul settlement. It was rumored that the Sioux chief, Little Crow, was angry with the whites because of their failure to warn him of the impending attack, and as a result fifteen families took refuge on one of the islands in the Mississippi and spent a night "in great alarm."[13] But there was no serious trouble afterwards. One man was fired on for refusing to ferry a party of Indians across the river. For the most part the Indians got along well with the

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13. Neill, E. D., History of Ramsey County, pp. 183-184.

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white settlers. The occasional "hostile" was kept in check by the soldiers from the Fort, important looking in dark blue uniforms with "lots of brass buttons," who were usually in or near the settlement. Wandering Indians, the ones who caused trouble, feared soldiers and would run from them.[14.]

Although the obligations of his office were light, Jackson does not seem to have convinced everyone of his ability as a guardian of the law. William R. Brown, on November 11, 1845, recorded in his journal the following comment: "Today the people begin to talk openly of resisting the administration of Justice by Henry Jackson of St. Paul; he seems to pay no regard whatever to the Sanctity of Oaths or the obligation of his Office. So much so that the people talk of declareing [sic] that we in St. Croix have worse than no law." As an example of Jackson's delinquencies, Brown cited, on November 29, a case which suggests that he may have had reason for personel feeling against Jackson. "Haskell and myself called up to St. Pauls to Council Jacob Faulstrom [Falstrom] in suit of Forcible Entry & Detainer brot against him by Edward Worth. This case was tryed by a jury of 12 men as the Law directs, & I believe had Justice Jackson not so mystified the subject & showed the grossest partiality by misconctruing the Law & over ruling every motion made by the defendant we should have got a verdict in favor of Falstrom. In this case the jury gave a verdict for Worth...."[15.]

The steamboats coming upriver increased in number each year and by 1844 there were enough so that Philander Prescott at Fort Snelling began to record their comings and goings. Most of these boats did not

14. Morris, Old Rail Fence Corners, Page 19.
15. Journal 1845-1846, Brown (William R.) Papers, Mss. Division, Minnesota Historical Society, Paged not numbered.

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stop at the settlement below the Fort.

"1844 - 41 arrivals. Otter, Harris, first boat, April 6th. Geese and ducks flying March 6th. Mississippi opened March 20th; closed November 23rd.

"1845 - 48 arrivals. Otter, Harris, first boat, April 6th... Mississippi closed 26th November. Coldest day Feb. 19th, 18 degrees below zero."[16.]

Charles Bazille and Captain Louis Robert were the most important of the five or six additions to the population in 1844. Bazille, a carpenter, erected the first frame dwelling. He also built a small grist and lumber mill, which failed because the "logs did not come down and the wheat did not come up."[17.]

In 1845 Charles Rouleau, a cooper, and Joseph Monteur, a blacksmith, came to St. Paul. L. H. La Roche erected a log tavern which was later known as the St. Paul House.[18.]

By general consent Jackson acted as postmaster of the village. Since Jackson's store was the center of social life, steamboat captains found it a logical place to drop the mail. Upon demand for a more regular and satisfactory service, in the form of a petition from the settlers, the U. S. Post Office Department on April 7, 1846 raised St. Paul to the dignity of a postoffice town. William R. Brown reports that "H. Jackson Esq." was sworn in by him on May 20, 1846.[19.] Jackson outfitted his store with a crude box with initialed pigeon-holes to mark the official status of his new office. St. Paul's Post Office was the

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16. Minnesota Pioneer (St. Paul) December 19, 1850 also see Chronicle & Register (St. Paul) January 26, 1850
17. Newson, T.M., Pen Pictures of St. Paul and Biographical Sketched of Old Settlers, Pub. by the author, St. Paul, 1886. pp. 43-45.
18. Ibid., pp. 47-48
19. Journal 1845-1846, Brown (William R.?) Papers.

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This is not true. It was the 4th P.O. within the present area of Minnesota.

fourth in the entire Territory of Wisconsin, which at that time included St. Paul, and receipts for the first year reached the magnificent total of $14.70.[20] Jackson's place of business was described at this time as "a log building, one story high with store and postoffice in the east end, a dining room in the west end, with small, low sleeping rooms in the rear." The building was of tamarack poles and roofed with birch-bark. On the outside of one wall was a chimney "a la Virginia." The whole occupied a "romantic elevation, on top of a precipitous bluff and commanded a magnificent view of the Mississippi River and valley."[21]

In 1846 the first boat to come up the river was the Lynx, under Captain Atkinson. The Lynx arrived on March 31, the earliest ascent on record to that time. This early arrival seemed to presage a good year, but low water cut the total arrivals for the year to twenty-four - a fifty percent decrease from the previous year.[22] St. Paul's settlers were not unduly depressed, however; for the first time, incoming boats made St. Paul their most important stopping place on the upper river. This was the first acknowledgement of St. Paul's overwhelmingly favorable position for river transportation.[23] The boats brought about eleven additions to the population during the year, among them James McBoal, Thomas S. Odell, William H. Randall and Joel Cruttenden.[24]

His name was James McClellan Boal

The Reverend Thomas Smith Williamson, "a man of intense but simple piety," was assigned to missionary work among the Indians

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20. Moss, Henry L., "Biographic Notes of Old Settlers," Page 145.
21. Obituary Record of Mrs. Henry Jackson, St. Croix Valley Old Settlers Association, Mss. Division, Minnesota Historical Society.
22. Chronicle and Register, (St. Paul), January 26, 1850.
23. Hartsough, Mildred L., Twin Cities as a Metropolitan Market, pp.22-23
24. Neill, E.D., History of Ramsey County, Page 186.

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of Kaposia in 1846. He had arrived at Fort Snelling in 1835 and since that time had been in charge of a mission at Lac qui Parle.[25] On occasionel Sundays Williamson was called upon to preach a sermon for the benefit of the Protestants of St. Paul. These services were held at Henry Jackson's establishment, where Reverend Hurlburt, an itinerant Methodist missionary, had conducted the first Protestant religious service in the village two years before.[25a]

Name?

Williamson was shocked at the lack of educational facilities in St. Paul and made inquiries as to the prospect of organizing a school.[26] He then addressed a letter to ex-Governor William Slade of Vermont, corresponding secretary and general agent for the National Popular Education Society. "This village has five stores, as they call them, at all of which intixocating drinks constitute a part, and I suppose a principal part of what they sell... I have been grieved to see so many children growing up entirely ignorant of God, and unable to read His Word, with no one to teach them. Unless your Society can send them a teacher, there seems to be little prospect of their having one for several years... I suppose a good female teacher can do more to promote the cause of education and true religion, than a man... I suppose she might have twelve or fifteen scholars to begin with, and, if she should have good talent for winning the affections of children, (and one who has not should not come,) after a few months, she would have as many as she could attend to. One woman told me she had four children she wished to send to school, and that she would give boarding and a room in her house to a good female teacher, for the tuition of her children. A

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25. Folwell, W.W., A History of Minnesota, Vol. 1, pp.189,192,199-202.
25a. Williams, J. Fletcher, "History of St. Paul", Page 148.
26. Pioneer & Democrat (St. Paul,) May 1, 1856.

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teacher for this place should love the Saviour, and for His sake be willing to forego, not only many of the privileges and elegances of New England towns, but some of the neatness also. She should be entirely free from prejudice on account of color, for among her scholars she might find not only English, French and Swiss, but Sioux and Chippewa... A teacher coming should bring books with her sufficient to begin a school, as there is no bookstore within three hundred miles."[27]

Through the influence of a sister of Harriet Beecher Stowe, Miss Harriet E. Bishop of Albany, N. Y. was secured for the post. Miss Bishop was described as "an ardent member of the Baptist Church... with considerable missionary spirit."[28] On July 16, 1847 she arrived at Kaposia, a few miles below St. Paul, on the steamer Argo.[29] After remaining at the Sioux village for two days, consulting Dr. Williamson, she proceeded to St. Paul in a canoe. "A cheerless prospect" summed up Miss Bishop's first impression of her new home. "Scattered here and there, were some half dozen decayed and decaying log hovels, chinked with mud, and in every way of the meanest appearance, evincing the lack of tests and ambition of the occupants. They were low French and half-breeds, and repudiated the forms and conventionalities of the world, of which they knew comparatively nothing." This is an unfair and inaccurate description of the settlement, but it is possible that it seemed all too true to this New Angland woman, fresh from the sheltered life of a young ladies' Finishing school.[30] The fact that she was a strong advocate of temperance and held an unfortunate bias against Catholics served to increase her apprehensions as to the moral tone of her surroundings.

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27. Williams, J. Fletcher, "A History of the City of St.Paul and The County of Ramsey, Minn. History Collections, Vol.IV, St.Paul,1876,-pp.162-163
28. Ibid. Page 169.
29. Moss, Henry L., "Biographic Notes of Old Settlers." Page 157.
30. Bishop, Harriet E., Floral Home or First Years of Minnesota, S. C. Griggs & Co., Chicago, 1857, Page 47.

Mrs. J. R. Irvine took the new teacher into her home, which was the only dwelling "of respectable size, composed of three rooms and an attic."[31] Miss Bishop immediately arranged to hold Sunday school classes in the vacant log cabin which had been previously occupied by Scott Campbell. The response to the school was not immediate; the first weekly session on July 25 was attended by only seven scholars, of which four were mixed-bloods. However, three weeks later, the number of pupils in weekly attendance had risen to twenty-five.

Whatever may have been Miss Bishop's temperamental shortcomings, it must be said that only her perseverance and willingness to endure difficulty continued the school in operation. Not the least of her troubles was the school building itself, "a little log hovel, covered with bark, and chinked with mud... On three sides of the interior... pegs were driven into the logs, upon which boards were laid for seats... A rickety cross-legged table in the center, and a hen's nest in one corner ...."[32] As soon as the autumn chill came into the air the teacher walked nearly a mile to make a fire before the scholars arrived. During the winter it became an impossible task to keep the place warm. The energetic and irrepressible Miss Bishop accordingly decided that a new schoolhouse was needed, and she organized for that purpose a ladies sewing society, The St. Paul Circle of Industry. The group of eight, including Mrs. Jacob Bass, a newcomer, Mrs. Jackson and Mrs. Irvine, raised money through needlework to make the first payment on lumber for the building.[33] The new school, designed to be used for all public purposes, was completed in August 1848. By 1849 two other Protestant denominations, the Presbyterians and Methodists, had set up Sunday schools, and another teacher, also

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31. Pioneer Democrat Weekly, St. Paul, April 28, 1859.
32. Bishop, Harriet E., Floral Home, Pages 87-88.
33. St Paul Daily News, September 21, 1919.

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under the sponsorship of the National Popular Education Society, arrived to assist Miss Bishop, who by that time had some seventy-five pupils.[34.] The year 1847 brought substantial and needed citizens to the community. Simon P. Folsom arrived in July and bought the small building owned by LaRoche.[35.] Jacob W. Bass, who arrived a month later, leased the building for ten dollars and made some improvements before opening it as the St. Paul House. Dr. John J. Dewey took up residence in the village in July. Until that time the settlement had been entirely dependent upon Fort Snelling for medical services. Dewey opened a drug store in the building used by Charles ~~Cavalier~~ Cavileer as a harness shop. Shortly afterwards the two entered partnership as the firm of Dewey and ~~Cavalier~~ Cavileer, druggists. This was the first drugstore, not only in the town but in the future Territory of Minnesota.

Some important changes were made. Jackson and Hartshorn dissolved their partnership and Hartshorn went into business for himself until he relinquished his stock of merchandise in the spring of 1848 to a new firm, Freeman, Larpenteur and Company.[36.] St. Paul's increasing strategic importance was recognised by the American Fur Company when it located a store there under the name of the St. Paul Outfit. William H. Forbes, formerly Sibley's clerk at Mendota, was placed in charge.[37.]

The first boat up the river in 1848, the always welcome sign that the isolating winter was over, arrived on April 7. By the close of the season 63 boats had docked at St. Paul, the highest mark recorded to that time.[38.] The organization of the Galena and Minnesota Packet Company

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34. Baker, D.A.J., "Early Schools of Minnesota," Minnesota History Collections, St. Paul, 1872, Page 82.
35. Note, Minnesota History Bulletin, V.2, No. 6, May 1918, Page 378.
36. Elfelt, Charles D., "Early Trade and Traders in St. Paul," Minnesota History Collections, Vol. 9, St. Paul, 1901, P. 165.
37. Moss, "Biographic Notes of Old Settlers," pp. 146-149.
38. Minnesota Pioneer, (St. Paul), December 19, 1850.

the year before, with H. H. Sibley as one of its prime movers, had brought the first semblance of system and regularity into the river trade above Dubuque.[39] The entire equipment of this company at first consisted of the steamer Argo, designed to run once a week between St. Paul and Galena. The Argo sank near Wabasha in the autumn of 1847 but was soon replaced. As trade and immigration grew more brisk, more sidewheelers were drawn to the upper river. Rivalry increased and presently a competing line, the Dubuque and St. Paul Packet Company, began operations.[40]

An overland route, connecting St. Paul with the outside world by land, was opened in 1848. This trail crossed into Wisconsin at Stillwater and curved down, paralleling the river, to Galena. It took travelers far out of their way and had more than the usual discomforts; bridges were few and the road was rough and almost impassable. It was a step forward, however; the ice gathering on the river did not after this mean that the city was completely cut off.[41]

Meanwhile, Father Augustin Ravoux, "revered by all," had quietly continued the work of his church. His congregation in St.Paul was constantly growing and he found it necessary to devote more time to the chapel in the village. His own people were welded more firmly together by his humble and sympathetic manner. He had won the respect of the Protestants due to his tolerance of their faith, a tolerance which extended the use of the chapel to The Reverend E. G. Gear, Chaplain of Fort Snelling, at a time when no Protestant church structure existed.[42]

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39. Baker, James H., "History of Transportation in Minnesota," Minnesota History Collections, Vol.9, St.Paul, 1910, p. 17.
40. Blakeley, Russell, "History of the Discovery of the Mississippi River and the Advent of Commerce in Minnesota," Minnesota History Collections, Vol.8, St.Paul, 1898, Page 381.
41. Larsen, Arthur E., "Roads and Trails in the Minnesota Triangle, 1849-1860," Minnesota History, Vol.II, No.4, Dec.1930, P. 388.
42. Edsall, Samuel Cook, "Rev. Ezekiel G. Gear, Chaplain at Fort Snalling," Minnesota History Collections, Vol.12, St.Paul, 1908, P. 695.

It had been Ravoux's practice to give two Sunday services in St. Peter's, which was then becoming known as Mendota, to one in St. Paul. In 1847 it was found necessary to make an addition to the chapel which Father Galtier had built. The old chapel was shingled to match the addition. The bell of the ill-fated steamer Argo was presented to Ravoux to be hung in the new belfry. As Mendota continued to decline in importance, Ravoux reversed his practice and gave St. Paul two Sundays to Mendota's one.[43]

The settlers were by now thinking in terms of permanent homes. It was first necessary to get title to the land which they occupied. Auguste L. Larpenteur relates that "In 1847 a few of us clubbed together and raised a purse and sent to Prairie du Chien for Ira Brunson to come up here and lay out a town for us. He, with his brother Benjamin and Simon P. Folsom came up, and on July 24, 1847 he started to survey. I stuck the first pin at the river's edge, - the beginning of Jackson Street, and carried the chain and pins to the top of the hill where Third Street begins. Thus began the first survey for the City of St. Paul...."[44]

A government land office had been opened the year before at the Falls of the St. Croix, and the public sale had been announced for 1848. As in other early Minnesota communities, the prospect of an open sale, where speculators might have equal status with those who had settled the land, caused some consternation. Three men, Henry Hastings Sibley, Captain Louis Robert and Larpenteur, were chosen to represent the settlers at the sale to be held on August 26. The delegation was

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43. McNulty, Rev. Ambrose, "The Chapel of St. Paul and the Beginnings of the Catholic Church in Minnesota," Minnesota History Coll., Vol. 10, Part I, St. Paul, _____ pp 240-241.
44. Larpenteur to Jerard & others, undated, Larpenteur (Augusta L. and Family, Mss. Division, Minnesota Historical Society.

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accompanied by a dozen husky trappers and traders armed with "huge bludgeons." Sibley said later that he did not know what might be meant by this display of force, but that he would not have "envied the fate of any individual" who dared to bid in opposition to St.Paul's representatives.[45] Evidently the guard served its purpose well, for Larpenteur reported that "everything went smoothly."[46]

Ninety acres of the now legally acquired land were divided into lots and the whole was entered and recorded as the town of St.Paul in 1848.[47]

Up to this time there had been only thirteen transactions involving the ownership of land, but legal acquisition in 1848 brought 35 land transfers in that year alone. The earlier land deals had been of a primitive character due to the uncertainty of ownership. Donald McDonald had sold his claim near St. Paul to Stephen Desnoyer for a barrel of whiskey and two guns. One man traded his first claim for a team, took another claim and again gave it up for a team. With few exceptions the earliest settlers relinquished valuable land for paltry sums offered by more money-conscious and less naive newcomers. Some of the later arrivals, aware of potential values, realized fortunes from cheaply acquired tracts.[48]

More important for the future than any other development was the fact that Wisconsin Territory was becoming Wisconsin state,

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45. Greenbie, Marjorie Barstow, American Saga, Whittlesey House, New York, 1939, Page 363.
46. Larpenteur, Auguste L., "Recollections of the City and the People of St. Paul," Minn. History Collections, Vol. 9, St. Paul, 1901, pp. 378-379.
47. Barton, E. E., City of St. Paul, Published by the Author, St.Paul, 1888, Page 6.
48. Fairchild, Henry S., "Sketches of the Early History of Real Estate in St. Paul," Minnesota History Collections, Vol. 10, Part I, St. Paul, _____, Page 418.

This is an odd reference for the material in the text - something not so far afield and closer to the source should be used -

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leaving the land from the St. Croix to the Mississippi without organized government. There was some hope that the land thus abandoned might be organized at Minnesota Territory. The settlers felt that it was important enough, and they were aware of the advantages it would bring in immigration and development. Outside interest in Minnesota was becoming more and more evident. Sibley received a letter from a friend informing him that a Mr. Randall of Cincinnati, member of a geological survey crew, had press and type and wished to know what opportunities for a newspaper were.[49] It was believed that new enterprise would rush to the place if territorial government was secured.

A meeting of sixty-one leading citizens was held in the little court house at Stillwater on August 26, 1848 to consider the matter. It was resolved that a delegate should be elected to go to Washington to press the claim.[50] A memorial asking for the organization of a separate territory and signed by all attending the "convention" was sent to James Polk, president of the United States.[51]

The scheme for the election of a territorial delegate to Congress was simple, if not precisely legal. The advocates of the new territory maintained that the Territory of Wisconsin continued to exist in the region excluded from the state of Wisconsin, and that since most public offices had been vacated by the procedure it was up to the "Territory" to elect new ones. Judge John Catlin, who had been secretary of Wisconsin territory, encougaged this belief. Catlin wrote on August

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49. David Lambert to H. H. Sibley, August 23, 1848, Sibley (H. H.) Papers, Mss. Division, Minn. Historical Society.
50. Minutes of Stillwater Meeting, August 26, 1848. Sibley (H. H.) Papers, Mss. Division, Minnesota Historical Society.
51. David Lambert to Sibley, August 28, 1848, Sibley (H. H.) Papers, Mss. Division, Minnesota Historical Society.

22, "It is the opinion of most all this way, that the government of the territory of Wisconsin still continues, although it is nearly inoperative for want of a court and legislature." Secretary of State Buchanan, when consulted on the matter, wrote that "The question is, whether the laws of the territory of Wisconsin still remain in force in that portion now beyond the limits of Wisconsin I am clearly of the opinion that these laws are still in force over the territory not embraced within the limits of the state.[52]

Catlin, in his authority as acting governor of the "Territory of Wisconsin," issued a proclamation on October 9 calling for the election of a territorial delegate on October 30. Stillwater, Marine, St. Paul, Prescott, Sauk Rapids, Crow Wing and Pokegama were designated as polling places.[53]

A great deal of official influence was brought to bear in Sibley's interests, although it was taken for granted that he would win the election. Former Governor Doty of Wisconsin Territory and other notables advocated the election of Sibley.[54] The late entrance of Henry M. Rice, a partner of Sibley, into the race appeared at first to offer dangerous opposition, but Rice's vote-getting power was not strong. On November 4, 1848 Catlin forwarded the certificate of election to Sibley.[55]

The first step towards independent territorial status for Minnesota had been taken. What the future might be, the settlers did not know. They hoped ~~[illegible]~~ for slow and steady progress. It is doubtful if even the most optimistic anticipated the fantastic burgeoning that the next decade was to bring.

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52. Neill, E. D., History of Ramsey County, Page 189.
53. Folwell, W. W., A History of Minnesota, Volume One, Page 239.
54. J D. Doty to H. H. Sibley, Sept. 4, 1848; T. R. Potts to Sibley, Sept. 14, 1848; D.G.Fenton to Sibley, October 4, 1848, Sibley (H.H.) Papers, Mss. Division, Minn. Historical Society.
55. John Catlin to Sibley, November 4, 1848, Sibley (H.H.) Papers.

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Harlan Crippen and
Robert Cary
August 5, 1941

Village Into Capital

It is quite probable that Rev. Father Galtier, who was not a man to dwell on thoughts of frustration, did not overlook the ~~lesser~~ triumphs of his work in St. Paul, notwithstanding the "barren fields" to which he referred on his departure for Prairie du Chien. In the evaluation certain satisfactions must have been his - some small but some of larger import. A certain memory, one feels, must have remained long with him, the memory of an act which was merely a matter of priestly routine: publication of the marriage banns of Vital Guerin as "those of a resident of St. Paul." It was no slight distinction to found a city, and in the eyes of a devout churchman it must have been an inward solacement to save that city from such an odious name as Pig's Eye, and the circumstances surrounding it - a solacement to compensate for the hardships peculiar to a wilderness. Proud of being St. Paul's founder Father Galtier undoubtedly was.[1]

That Galtier did not fail to appreciate Vital Guerin's generous property donation, or that of Benjamin Gervais, his letters reveal.

The original Guerin claim, bounded as near as possible by the present streets, was as follows: Beginning at the Mississippi river at the foot of Minnesota street, and running northwesterly in a straight line to the intersection of Cedar street and Central avenue ("to a basswood stump at the foot of the bluff," the records say); thence in a straight line in front of the new capitol to a point on Rice street, directly in front of the house at 353 Rice street, where Mrs. Guerin lives; thence in a straight line to the foot of St. Peter, "to the yellow sapling on the river bank."[2]

1. M. M. Hoffman, The Church Founders of the Northwest, p. 158.
2. St. Paul Pioneer Press, Dec. 4, 1910.

In addition to his gifts to the church and county, Guerin gave many lots outright to friends, but of these there is no definite record. When, however, "the new city began to look of necessity" * * * to the building of a courthouse" * * * "as usual Guerin came forward with an offer of assistance. He gave the county, on that occasion, the block for the Court House site, which was bounded by Wabasha, Fourth, Fifth, and Cedar streets.[3]"

He remodeled a new frame house of his own on Wabasha street, and under the firm name of Guerin & Co., opened the first abstract office in Ramsey county. "Here," to quote the Pioneer Press of the same date, "are made the first title entries in the county in the books which are now the property of Ramsey county, of which his nephew, W. J. Bazille, is abstract clerk. Every subscription for any public enterprise started from this abstract office headed by the name of Vital Guerin.[4]

Guerin has been credited frequently with the ability to "look ahead." He seemed to "have a knowledge of what the future would bring when he settled on his claim, and he stuck to it - that part of it that escaped his lavish generosity, while his neighbors were selling theirs for what they considered fabulous prices. Peter Gervais sold the land that Guerin had given him, for $50.00, and thought he had made a good bargain."[5]

Some well-known St. Paul buildings which stood on the land owned by Guerin are - under the 1910 date: the Court House and City Hall, the St. Paul Hotel, the Y. M. C. A., the old capitol, St. Agatha's Conservatory,

3. St. Paul Pioneer Press, Dec. 4, 1910.
4. St. Paul Pioneer Press, Dec. 4, 1910.
5. St. Paul Pioneer Press, Dec. 4, 1910.

the Shubert Theater (now the World), the Cathedral, St. Louis church and school, the Globe Bldg., the Orpheum theater, the New York Life office building, the Dispatch building, the Frederic Hotel, the First National bank, the Central Presbyterian church, St. Joseph's hospital, and the public library.[6]

St. Paul's population at this time was made up of French, mixed breeds, a few ex-soldiers and some merchants most of whom had come from the eastern states. French was the accepted language of the amalgam.[7] The first decade was a rather backward one, and the free habits of the voyageurs and traders, developed through years in the wilderness made it an uninhibited one.[8] The site, which was described as a "mixture of forest, hills, running brooks, ravines, bogs, lakes, whiskey, mosquitoes, snakes and Indians," could not have been extremely attractive, and additions to the population were slow in coming.[9]

In July, 1848, Lott Moffett a man of "strong, sterling principles," even if, as he has sometimes been called, an eccentric, came to St. Paul from New York City, where he was born in 1803. Although his early education was somewhat neglected, he could usually rise equal to an emergency. A millwright by trade he transferred his activities to the business of woolen manufacturer. After learning the necessary details he operated a mill in the East. On coming to St. Paul he bought some land on the old St. Anthony road - known as Larpenteur farm.

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6. From Louis H. Guerin Interview, Feb. 8, 1941. Louis and George Guerin are the only surviving sons of Vital and Adele.
7. Grace Flandrau, St. Paul, The Untamable Twin, in The Taming of the Frontier (Minton, Balch Co., N. Y., 1925) p. 129.
8. William P. Murray, Recollections of Early Territorial Days and Legislation (Minnesota History Coll., Vol. 12) p. 104.
9. T. M. Newson, Pen Pictures of St. Paul, Minnesota, pp. 39-40.

Disposing of this property he decided to change his locale, with Arkansas the destination. There he evinced his business versatility in the mercantile field, in bridge building and in lead mining.

The following year, however, Lot Moffet returned to St. Paul, where he built and managed a hotel which was destined to become famous with the years - Lott Moffett's "Castle," a unique structure.[10.]

A few moments after the opening of the second session of the Thirtieth Congress of the United States, on December 4, 1848, Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois gave notice to the Senate of his intention to introduce a "bill to establish the Territory of Minnesota." James Wilson of New Hampshire placed the question before the House of Representatives by asking that Henry Hastings Sibley be recognized and seated as delegate from the Territory of Wisconsin.

Such immediate interest seemed to favor the successful conclusion of Sibley's mission - the establishment of territorial status for Minnesota. But the area which had been set adrift by the admission of Wisconsin to the Union had enemies as well as friends. The ambition of the almost unknown region was the butt of jokes and ridicule in eastern newspapers. Some members of Congress criticized the idea of forming a government "in a hyperborean region where . . . no white man would go, unless to cut pine logs." It was considered quite possible that the proposed delegate would arrive in Washington "in full Indian costume . . . characteristic of the rude and semi-civilized people who had sent him to the capitol."[11.]

10. Newson, T. M., Pen Pictures of St. Paul and Biographical Sketches. Vol. 1 1886, p. 75.
11. West, Nathaniel, The Ancestry, Life, and Times of Hon. Henry Hastings Sibley, Pioneer Press Pub. Co., St. Paul, 1889, pp. 104-106.

Even Congressmen otherwise favorable to westward expansion must have had some slight twinge of doubt in the matter. The proposed territory had little population and was poorly developed. If the Indian frontier was to be considered permanent, and it was generally considered so, there was little room for either population or development. Most of the new Territory would consist of unceded Sioux lands, leaving only the narrow wedge between the St. Croix and Mississippi rivers for the white man's purposes.[12]

Sibley's plea for recognition of the legality of his election was referred to the Committee on Elections. Then came delay. Sibley haunted the legislators, pressing his case tactfully but persistently. On December 22 he addressed the committee. "These people have emigrated to the remote region they now inhabit under many disadvantages . . . . They have elected a delegate with the full assurance that they have a right so to do, and he presents himself here for admission." More delay. It was not until January 2, 1849, that a majority report of the Committee on Elections was submitted, recommending "That Henry H. Sibley be admitted to a seat on the floor of the house of representatives, as a delegate from the Territory of Wisconsin." On January 15 this report was approved by the house.[13]

Sibley now turned his entire attention to the passage of the measure providing for the establishment of Minnesota Territory. The Senate passed the bill without controversy, but in the House it became entangled

12. Paxson, Frederic L., History of the American Frontier, 1763-1893, Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston, 1924, p. 424.
13. West, Nathaniel, The Ancestry, Life and Times of Hon. Henry Hastings Sibley, pp. 106-112, 441.

with the slavery issue. Sibley had, after changing the proposed name from Itasca to Minnesota and locating the capital in St. Paul instead of Mendota, approved the text of Senator Douglas' bill. The House, however, weighted the measure with amendments which, had not Sibley secured their deletion, would have resulted in long delay or defeat.[14]

St. Paul waited anxiously for news. The winter months had locked the river in ice and the town's only means of communication with the outside world was cut off.

The difficulty of communication and travel can be judged from an account of William P. Murray's journey to St. Paul. Murray arrived in Dubuque in late November, 1848. " . . . upon the morning of Nov. 29 I bid adieu to the city of Dubuque . . . The first day we traveled about 30 miles and put up for the night at an emigrant's cabin where notwithstanding the rough appearance of things we found the inmates to be an intelligent family of Yankees who gave us a good supper of hot coffee, cornbread and venison, and the kindly permission of sleeping on the floor, which was not so bad considering that we were somewhat tired. Nov. 30 we travelled some 20 miles up the Mississippi and crossed over to Prairie du Chien . . . From this place to Black River distance 104 miles - where we arrived Dec. 4 . . . here to our sorrow, we realized the painful truth that we had been lied to for here the road ceased. This far had teams been and no further. We would have been in a dilemma here past redemption had it not been for the fact that almost simultaneous with our arrival, Capt. Knowlton arrived with a company to survey, cut out, and bridge, a road from this point to St. Paul . . . We made an arrangement with Capt. Knowlton for and in

14. West, Nathaniel, The Ancestry, Life, and Times of Hon. Henry Hastings Sibley, pp. 128-129.

consideration of our chaining on the road - he was to board us through . . . We were from Dec. 5 until Dec. 22 going 105 miles camped out nearly every night. The thermometer some mornings 20 degrees below Zero - about twice a week a snow storm . . . On Saturday Dec. 22 we arrived at Stillwater, twenty miles distant from St. Paul . . . The day following we arrived at our destination St. Paul, in good health and spirits . . . I have been here nine days - and like the appearance of things very much."[15.]

As the months passed, St. Paulites waited with more anxiety and less patience. On the night of April 9 a steamboat whistle, heard over the booming thunder of a spring storm, aroused the settlement. The first boat of the season would surely bring news which might determine the future of the settlement. A crowd gathered at the landing. A flare of lightning revealed the outline of the Dr. Franklin II, and as soon as it could be boarded St. Paul learned from Captain Blakeley that Minnesota had been a territory since March 3.[16.] The news spread like wildfire.

The barrier which had made settlement so slow during the first decade was out of the way. Those who had already made their homes in the new land felt renewed confidence; west-bound homeseekers marked the new territory on their maps. Before the year ended there was sufficient reason for St. Paulites to speak of the "Wonderful Events of the Year 1849."[17.]

15. William Murray to ~~_____~~ Murray, January 1, 1849, Murray (William Pitt and Family) Papers, Mss. Div., Minn. Historical Society.
16. Shortridge, Wilson Porter, The Transition of a Typical Frontier, George Banta Pub. Company, Menasha, Wis. 1922, pp. 59-60; also see Murray, William P., "Recollections of Early Territorial Days and Legislation, Minnesota History Collections, vol. 12, St. Paul, 1908, p. 105.
17. Newson, T. M., Pen Pictures and Biographical Sketches of Old Settlers of St. Paul, St. Paul, Brown, Treacy and Co., 1886, p. 99.

Gold excitement on the California coast during the same year drew the adventurers. The gamblers and gunmen and miners passed Minnesota by, and as a result St. Paul had less roughness and lawlessness than might have been expected in a frontier town.

The crooks who ventured to the river town were polite ones, with methods unlike those of the highwaymen who crossed trails with the 49'ers. St. Paul had land "sharks," lawyers with land business as a side-line; money lenders who asked five per cent interest a month, with ten per cent after maturity, and other "disciples of the devil."[18]

The rising number of incoming settlers brought a building and land boom, and the land speculators and money lenders, despite the unpopularity of their practices, were much in demand. Soon buildings were springing up with such rapidity that it looked as if "the seed for a multitude of tenements had been scattered yesterday upon a bed of guano, and had sprouted up into cabins and stores and sheds and warehouses, fresh from the sawmill since the last sun shone."[19]

Newspaper men were among those most strongly attracted by the westward movement. Even when they did not themselves go to the newly opened land, they gave support to and sought to profit by the western booms. Such were two enterprising Ohio men, Dr. A. Randall and John P. Owens, who issued a paper in Ohio to serve Minnesota. Its only actual connection with the

18. Murray, William P., "Recollections of Early Territorial Days and Legislation," Minnesota History Collections, vol. 12, p. 107.
19. Johnston, Daniel S. B., "Minnesota Journalism in the Territorial Period," Minnesota History Collections, vol. 10, Part 1, St. Paul, 1905, p. 250.

territory was the name Minnesota Register,[20] some Minnesota items written by H. H. Sibley and Henry M. Rice, and several columns of St. Paul, Stillwater, and St. Anthony advertisements.[21] The first issue of this newspaper was dated April 27, 1849, and was sent by steamboat for distribution in St. Paul.

James M. Goodhue, the first journalist to establish actual residence in the territory, arrived in St. Paul on the steamboat Senator on April 18, 1849. He brought a press, type, printing apparatus and plans for a paper. Despite St. Paul's need for a newspaper, the only location that could be offered for the print shop was "open as a corn rick." Goodhue was forced to accept; it was only with difficulty that he secured lodgings for himself.

Although wind and rain caused some discomfort, the first issue of the Minnesota Pioneer came off the press ten days after Goodhue's arrival. It had first been planned to christen the paper The Epistle of St. Paul,[21] but after due consideration this title was rejected.

Goodhue was representative of the crusading frontier journalist. He slated his editorial credo in no uncertain words. "Let an editor slash away, anything but salve, salve, salve, when the dissecting knife is needed. The journal that does nothing but paddle along with popular opinion, without breasting the current of popular errors, is of no value - none whatever." Goodhue's paper was valuable - by his own standard as well as by that of others.[22]

From its first issue the Pioneer was consistent in boosting Minnesota Territory and St. Paul. Remembering his own experience, the

20. Johnston, Daniel S. B., "Minnesota Journalism in the Territorial Period," p. 247.
21. Weekly Pioneer and Democrat, March 31, 1859, Johnston, Daniel S. B., "Minnesota Journalism in the Territorial Period," pp. 248-249.
22. Johnson, Daniel S. B., "Minnesota Journalism in the Territorial Period," p. 250.

editor tempered his praise with a warning; "We advise settlers who are swarming into St. Paul in such multitudes, to bring along tents and bedding, to provide for their comfort until they can build houses; as it is utterly impossible to hire a building in any part of the village; although builders are at work in every direction, completing houses."[23.]

Goodhue was soon joined by other journalists. The Minnesota Chronicle, of Whig inclination, appeared on May 31 with Col. James Hughes as "editor and proprietor."

The Minnesota Register, first issue of which had been published in Ohio, began publication in St. Paul on the 14th of July. It had been undertaken by John P. Owens and Dr. A. Randall in partnership, but a letter in the first issue, signed by Randall, announced that his "insatiate and unconquerable desire to see new sights" had triumphed over his plan to reside in St. Paul and that "I am consequently on my way to California."[24.] Nathaniel MacLean, another Ohioan, took Randall's place.

The Pioneer was generally Democratic while the other papers were Whig. There was hardly room for two Whig Journals in a territory of which it could be said that Governor Ramsey "was the only Whig . . . except the few federal officers who came up with him."[25.] On August 14, 1849, Owens and MacLean absorbed their Whig rival and began publication of the Minnesota Chronicle and Register on August 25 of that year.

Alexander Ramsey, a Pennsylvanian who had received the appointment as first territorial governor, arrived in St. Paul on Sunday morning, May 27.[26.] Since he had received an invitation to become the guest of Henry

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23. Minnesota Pioneer, April 28, 1849.
24. Minnesota Register, July 14, 1849.
25. Folwell, W. W., "Minnesota in 1849: An Imaginary Letter," Minnesota History, vol. 6, no. 1, 1925, p. 37.
26. Minnesota Pioneer, May 31, 1849.

H. Sibley until he could find suitable quarters for himself and his wife, the party traveled on to Mendota. He remained there for nearly a month, acquainting himself with some of the most influential men in the territory.

Although only 34 years old, Ramsey was not a great deal younger than most of the men who were actively building the new land. The men in charge of fur company affairs at Mendota had, until this time, provided the wisest and most stable leadership for the development of the future state. They were as far-seeing a group as Ramsey was to meet, and, although at times fur trading was not a highly ethical business, their services to the territory were usually beneficial and often entirely unselfish. From these men Ramsey received his first impressions of the problems facing his domain.[27.]

Ramsey had no sooner received his appointment than he was made aware of the widespread interest in Minnesota Territory. Inquiries began to come concerning "favorable opportunities," although there was some question regarding "Cholera . . . on the river from Galena to St. Paul."[28.] A letter from a Boston minister reported conditions which were increasing eastern interest in the territory. "There are a considerable number of Germans in Boston who are desirous to emigrate to the West. They were employed in the different factories and workshops in our neighborhood where their labour was well remunerated. The general stagnation of business however . . . has induced many to think that a settlement in the West is preferable to hope deferred in the East . . . Their attention has been

27. Dean, William B., "A History of the Capitol Buildings of Minnesota, With Some Account of the Struggles For Their Location," Minnesota History Collection, vol. 12, St. Paul, 1908, p. 2.

28. J. H. Reed, Carlisle, Pa., to Alexander Ramsey, Ramsey (Alexander) Papers, Mss. Division, Minnesota Historical Society, June 25, 1849.

directed to Minnesota and it is in their behalf that I take the liberty to address you . . . I feel the more anxious to get proper information from a reliable source, as it is not altogether improbable that I may be found one day one of its citizens."[29]

In late June, Ramsey, accompanied by a secretary and his wife and child, returned to St. Paul, occupying a new house on St. Charles Street. It was significant that on the trip from Mendota to St. Paul, made in two large "bark canoes," he was joined by Henry M. Rice, who also planned to live in St. Paul. Rice was one of the most important citizens of Mendota, and his decision to move to St. Paul was a sign of the latter city's rising importance and the continued decline of Mendota.[30]

The first issue of the second newspaper in the territory, The Minnesota Chronicle, had greeted Ramsey on May 31 with the jubilant statement that "We are now organized. The wheels of government have commenced rolling on, may they cease only when time shall be no more," The Chronicle's announcement was premature. It was not until the next day, June 1, that Ramsey issued a proclamation announcing the passage of the organic act of the territory and establishing territorial government.[31]

Startling changes were wrought in both the size and appearance of the city in the months following Ramsey's proclamation. Steamboats so increased the frequency of their visits that sixteen were counted in the port at one time. Sixty much-needed carpenters entered the city in a single day. Trade with the white settlers, as apart from the commerce with the Indians, began to assume importance, and a demand for new types of merchandise[32]

29. Rev. F. Schmidt, Boston, to Alexander Ramsey, April 6, 1849, Ramsey (Alexander) Papers, Mss. Division, Minnesota Historical Society.
30. Minnesota Chronicle, June 28, 1849.
31. Folwell, W. W., A History of Minnesota, vol. 1, p. 252.
32. Larpenteur, Auguste L., "Recollections of the City and People of St. Paul, 1843-1848," Minnesota History Collections, vol. 9, St. Paul, 1901, p. 379.

was felt.[32] The number of merchants increased so rapidly that the Minnesota Pioneer complained editorially, expressing the wish that farmers come instead.[33]

New enterprises offered the citizenry articles and services which would have been considered effete luxuries only a year before. Snow and Bryant, two doors above the American House, sold wines, cigars, oysters and sardines. Earlier inhabitants had been satisfied with anything labelled as whiskey but newcomers were now offered liquors described as choice and old.[34] J. W. Simpson added playing cards, candies and almonds to his usual stock.[35] One of the general stores listed many varieties of fabric in addition to the usual calicoes and gingham - among them Paris Lustres, Paramettas, Orientals, Merinos, Chameleon silks and satins.[36] By the end of the year the women of the settlement could attend the St. Paul Hair Dressing Saloon which had been opened by A. F. Dogard, "formerly of New Orleans."[37]

On the morning of July Fourth the people of St. Paul were roused by the roar of several cannon borrowed for the purpose from Fort Snelling. After breakfast the American flag was raised on a new pine pole. During the afternoon a crowd gathered in the shade of Ramsey's Grove where Judge B. B. Meeker delivered an address and the Declaration of Independence was "tastefully and audibly executed" by W. B. Phillips. A procession then marched to the American House where a splendid banquet was served. After the ladies had retired from the banquet hall the gentlemen gave toasts to the day. One praised "Minnesota - yet in her swaddling clothes, but destined,

33. Minnesota Pioneer, August 16, 1849.
34. Minnesota Chronicle, June 7, 1849.
35. Minnesota Chronicle, May 31, 1849.
36. Minnesota Chronicle, May 31, 1849.
37. Chronicle and Register, December 22, 1849.

like her own Aurora Borealis, to be the northern light of the confederacy." This was followed by a toast to "The best gold mine - we are willing to leave it to posterity to decide, whether it be found imbedded in the yellow sands of California or the black soil of Minnesota."[38] The holiday reached its climax with a display of fireworks and a ball at the American House.[39]

The banquet and ball had been designed to mark the formal opening of the town's most imposing hotel, the American House, although it had actually opened for business a few days before.[40] Henry M. Rice was the principal owner of the hostelry, and he brought a Mrs. Parker from Lowell, Massachusetts, to take charge of operations. Mrs. Parker was a formidable woman, said to have been "well adapted to conduct the business of a frontier hotel." For some obscure reason she became incensed against the proprietor and "practiced at a mark for weeks, declaring her intention of shooting Mr. Rice." Eventually she became more calm and had revenge for her injury by changing the name of the hotel from Rice House to the American House.[41]

Postmastership of the booming town passed to Jacob W. Bass on July 5. He moved the post office to the ground floor of a log building in which he conducted a hotel and tavern. A front room on the ground floor served as post office as well as office of the hotel and tavern. A front room on the ground floor served as post office as well as office of the hotel.[42]

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38. Minnesota Register, July 14, 1849.
39. New York Evangelist, New York, August 2, 1849, Vol. XX, p. 123. Typed extracts in possession of Mss. Division, Minn. Hist. Soc.
40. Minnesota Chronicle, June 28, 1849.
41. Cathcart, Rebecca Marshall, "A Sheaf of Remembrances," Minnesota History Collections, vol. 15, St. Paul, 1915, pp. 523-524.
42. St. Paul Globe, April 17, 1898.

Another important arrival in 1849, coming on the same steamer that brought news of the passage of the Territorial enabling act, was the Reverend E. D. Neill, a Presbyterian and the first Protestant clergyman to settle permanently in St. Paul. His first sermons in the village were to audiences gathered in a little brown building "recently occupied as a groggery."[43]

Neill remained in the city for a short time and then traveled east for his wife. Together they returned in July and took up residence at the American House, then the best hotel in the city. Their quarters had splintery unplaned floors and were furnished with a bed and washstand, the latter used by Neill as a desk on which to prepare his sermons. Mrs. Neill wished to bring in some of her own furniture to make the place more habitable, but the landlady refused to allow it, saying that there was "no knowing where it would stop, if one was allowed to do the like." Construction of a Presbyterian church was under way as soon as Neill could make necessary arrangements. In the fall of 1849 the Neill family moved into the partially completed church. A bed was placed on one side of the pulpit and a stove on the other. It was said that the only flaw in this arrangement was that "the bed had to be taken down every Sunday."[44]

On July 7, Governor Ramsey issued a proclamation dividing the Territory into seven council districts and calling for the election of legislators. Two days later an unsigned notice called a meeting for the purpose of making nominations from the St. Paul district. However, when the citizens met, it was decided on the motion of Henry M. Rice that the time had been too short and that a delay of nominations until July 14 would be advisable.[45]

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43. "The Rise and Progress of St. Paul," St. Paul Daily Democrat, Oct. 22, 1854.
44. Morris, Lucy L. K., Old Rail Fence Corners, F. H. McCulloch Printing Co., Austin, Minnesota, 1914, pp. 157-158.
45. Minnesota Register, August 4, 1849.

INSERT--Organization of the First Masonic Lodge in St. Paul.

A

The need was felt, in 1849, by fraternal-minded citizens, for the organization of a Masonic Lodge in St. Paul. Those most interested in the movement made application to the Grand Lodge of Ohio for a dispensation. This was granted on August 8, 1849. In the office of C. K. Smith, ~~the men~~ who had been designated in the warrant as first Master , the local Lodge was duly organized on September 8th.

Officers elected were announced as follows: W. M., C. K. Smith; S. W., James Hughes; J. W., Daniel F. Brawley; Treas., J. C. Ramsey., Sec., J. A. Aitkenside; S. D., Lot Moffet; J. D., Taylor Dudley; Tyler, W. C. Wright.

The membership roll, exclusive of officers, consisted of a score of citizens: Aaron Goodrich, John Condon, Albert Titlow, John Holland, Levi Sloan, C. P. V. Lull, George Egbert, Samuel H. Dent, D. B. Loomis, M. S. Wilkinson, John Lumley, H. N. Setzer, James M. Boal, Charles P. Scott, O. H. Kelley, Charles M. Berg, William H. Randall, Hugh Taylor, Luther B. Bruin, Am. Mitchell.

The first meeting was held in a room in the Merchants' Hotel. The first Mason "made in St. Paul," according to J. Fletcher Williams, was C. P. Scott. [J. Fletcher Williams, The Historryof the City of St. Paul and of the County of Ramsey, Minnesota, p. 235]. Subsequent meetings, it was voted, were to take place in the same building.

The meeting, which was called for the American House on the decided day, was the largest ever held in St. Paul to that time.[46] W. H. Forbes and James McBoal were nominated for the council, while B. W. Brunson, Henry Jackson, P. K. Johnson and Dr. J. J. Dewey were nominated for the house of representatives.[47] At first it appeared that these nominees would have the field to themselves, but about a week later a number of French citizens met in the home of Louis Cheaubert and endorsed a partial opposition slate led by David Lambert.[48] The Minnesota Chronicle was prompt with an accusation that the French were being misled. The editor displayed considerable feeling in the matter. "Oh! That we could address the French population among us, in their own language. We would say to them . . . These assumed masters of yours want you to vote for Mr. Lambert, for the Council, against James McBoal, the mechanics', the workingmens' and people's candidate."[49]

Election returns were announced on August 1, and the Register reported "the jollification of the supporters of the People's Ticket, after the announcement of its entire election . . . Forbes, McBoal, Bronson, Dewey, Jackson and Johnson, were successively placed in a small sized 'go-cart' . . . and hauled through the streets by the enthusiastic crowd, at a speed rather prejudicial to whole necks. The vehicle finally broke down near our office . . . But the Boys were not to be stopped in their rejoicings; so they carried their successful friends to the American House . . . such cheering took place as we scarcely ever heard before . . ."[50]

INSERT A

46. Minnesota Register, August 4, 1849.
47. Minnesota Register, July 21, 1849.
48. Minnesota Pioneer, July 26, 1849.
49. Minnesota Chronicle, July 26, 1849.
50. Minnesota Register, August 4, 1849.

The swelling population seemed to assure the future of St. Paul, but at the same time the town was faced with many new problems of varying degrees of seriousness. The urgent need for additional land communication with the outside world resulted in widespread agitation for government roads and acid criticism of existing postal facilities.

During the year the government had only provided for a weekly mail to Stillwater. However, a passenger coach was in service to Stillwater every other day and the driver complained of the "great rush of letters" which he was forced to carry without compensation.[51] In early August the Pioneer petitioned the Federal government for tri-weekly mails from Galena and twice a week service to Stillwater.[52] The post office department rejected the petition, pointing out that service had been increased from once to twice a week between Prairie du Chien and St. Paul in April, and that further increases could only be given on the basis of increased revenue.[53] The question of additional roads was later taken up by the legislature, and Congress was petitioned to construct a military post road to the Iowa line. Congress approved such action but construction on the road did not begin until the following year.[54]

Respect for territorial authority was not easily established. Mob action, resulting in two lynchings, forced the newspapers to remind the people that "We have laws, Judges of the law - and the law of the savage must and shall be made in the future to give place to the law of civilization. We will pay attention to the head officers of Judge Lynch in a way they won't like if they don't take heed of their steps in the future.[55] Be warned."

51. Minnesota Chronicle, July 26, 1849.
52. Minnesota Pioneer, August 2, 1849.
53. Minnesota Pioneer, August 16, 1849.
54. Larsen, Arthur J., "Roads and Trails in the Minnesota Triangle, 1849-1860," Minnesota History, vol. 11, No. 4, December 1930, pp. 388-389.
55. Minnesota Chronicle, July 26, 1849; also see Minnesota Register, July 28, 1849.

The new Territorial government was forced to lean heavily on Fort Snelling to uphold its authority. In July, 1849, it was reported that the Winnebagoes were "committing depredations upon property on numerous occasions." The newspapers pointed out that the infantry at the post was insufficient protection, as the Indians "care about as much for an infantry soldier as they do for a musketo . . . The mere presence of the 'horse soldiers' is all that should be required."[56] The jail at the Fort was used for punishment of those few unregenerate characters which the region had attracted. Among those who suffered imprisonment there were James Higby, who sold a promissory note which had already been paid; John B. McGregor, who pushed his wife against a cook stove, and Jacob Shipler, found guilty of assault and battery.[57]

A lavish supply of intoxicants made law enforcement even more difficult. A drunken quarrel between Indians was said to have been fatal to two. A gentleman who imbibed too freely became lost and was frozen to death. Harriet Bishop, the teacher, relates that "a dry goods merchant in a drunken fit crushed an infant by dashing it to the floor."[58] This atrocity seems to lack factual basis, but the evil was sufficiently in evidence to arouse some of the citizenry. Even the newspapers, not ordinarily given to quibbling in such matters, admitted that the "number of retail liquor establishments in St. Paul . . . is a LEETLE too great for a sound and healthy state of public morals."[59] In 1849 the St. Paul Division of the Sons of Temperance was organized to agitate for legal curbs on the consumption and sale of liquors.[60]

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56. Minnesota Register, July 14, 1849.
57. Hansen, Marcus L., Old Fort Snelling, 1819-1858, Iowa Historical Society, Iowa City, 1918, pp. 196-198.
58. Bishop, Harriet E., Floral Homes or First Years in Minnesota, S. C. Griggs and Co., Chicago, 1857, pp. 106-110.
59. Minnesota Register, August 4, 1849.
60. Minnesota Chronicle, May 31, 1849.

Governmental problems were not the only ones which faced the settlers. For the earliest traders and explorers the American Fur Company had acted as a bank and financial agent. In addition to buying furs it made loans, cashed drafts on eastern cities and St. Louis, sold exchanges on New York offices and acted as collector for notes held by eastern creditors.[61] The American Fur Company was not equipped to meet the larger needs of 1849 and succeeding years.[62] Consequently loans for finance improvements had to be made outside the Territory. Interest rates on such loans were as high as five per cent monthly. This situation was worsened by the fact that most of the borrowed money was used, not for permanent improvements, but for speculative investment in land.

The first attempt at banking made the situation even more complicated. In September, 1849, a stranger by the name of Isaac Young induced a thoughtless St. Paulite to "sign a large number of handsomely engraved pieces of paper" which bore the imprint of the "Bank of St. Croix, St. Paul, Minnesota." These notes were circulated in down river cities to the amount of $700, on the strength of an eastern quotation which was probably furnished by an accomplice. Publicity concerning this fraud put an end to wildcat schemes for a time, and delayed organization of legitimate enterprise for a number of years.[63]

The first Territorial Legislature convened on Monday, September 3, 1849, in St. Paul's white frame, green-shuttered Central House. For some months this building was known as "the Capitol."

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61. Galvin, Sister Eucharista, Influence and Conditions Affecting the Settlement of Minnesota, Typed Ph. D. thesis, University of Chicago, 1929, pp. 77-78.
62. Eliason, Adolph O., "The Beginning of Banking in Minnesota," Minnesota History Collections, vol. 12, St. Paul, 1908, p. 675.
63. Patchin, Sydney A., "The Development of Banking in Minnesota," Minnesota History Bulletin, Vol. 2, No. 3, August 1917, p. 120-121.

All possible rooms in the hotel were pressed into extra service. The lower house of the legislature met in the dining room on the ground floor and at noon business was suspended while tables were set and meals served.[64] The council chamber on the second floor was used as a sleeping room at night, when the floor was covered with straw ticks and Indian blankets to accommodate the men who debated legislative matters during the day.[65] An American flag floating on a pole in front of the hotel was the only sign of the building's official character. Governor Ramsey kept the executive office in his residence, and the Supreme Court met in rented chambers in various buildings.[66]

Delay in transmittal of the funds provided by Congress further handicapped Territorial organization. Eventually Governor Ramsey and Secretary C. K. Smith were forced to borrow four thousand dollars on personal drafts to meet the most pressing demands and assist legislators who were in genuine need.[67]

On Tuesday, September 3, both houses, nine council members and eighteen representatives, assembled in the dining room. Prayer was offered by the Reverend E. D. Neill. Following this, Governor Ramsey delivered his first message.[68] The message revealed a genuine grasp of the problems confronting the Territory. He requested the legislature to make laws which would keep "Steadily in view the truth, that this Territory is destined to be a great State, rivaling in population, wealth and energy, her sisters

64. Newson, T. M., Pen Pictures of St. Paul and Biographical Sketches Of Old Settlers, Pub. By the Author, St. Paul, 1886, p. 108.
65. Murray, William P., "Recollections of Early Territorial Days and Legislation," Minn. History Collections, vol. 12, St. Paul, 1908, p. 110.
66. Folsom, W. H. C., Fifty Years in The Northwest, St. Paul, p. 710.
67. Chronicle and Register, St. Paul, December 22, 1849.
68. Flandrau, Charles E., The History of Minnesota and Tales of the Frontier, Pub. by E. W. Porter, St. Paul, 1900, p. 58.

of the Union . . . yours is a most interesting and responsible position . . . in your hands, more than in that of any future Legislative Assembly, will be the destinies of Minnesota." As future Territories were organized in the westward advance other politicians were to make such statements, based on the common delusion that the frontier was always a promise. In Minnesota and St. Paul the promise was kept.

The legislature was, for the most part, made up of rough and uncouth men; they were not less capable for that, and had qualities of honesty and conscience which served better than the niceties. It was typical of the time and place that when William R. Marshall was called a liar by one of the members, Marshall knocked the offender down and calmly proceeded with his speech. Of another member it was said that "spit was by far the most eloquent part of his speeches . . . it was sure to hit somebody every time." A number of the members were later to become distinguished as political leaders; Marshall became governor, Morton S. Wilkinson served as United States Senator from Minnesota and David Olmsted became prominent in St. Paul public life.[69]

Substantial division of opinion was found only on the problem of location of the Territorial capital and division of Territorial institutions. The United States Congress had provided that the legislature should meet first at St. Paul, locate a temporary seat of government and provide for a vote of the people on the permanent location. The question of permanent location was to agitate politicians, land speculators and town boomers for the next decade. As soon as it had been announced that no funds would be expended on a temporary capital site, St. Paul was per-

69. Murray, William P., "Recollections of Early Territorial Days and Legislation," p. 110-112.

mitted to have the honor.[70]

Of the laws passed by the first legislature, only one, that providing for imprisonment for debt, proved to have a detrimental effect. Debtors were jailed on little evidence and "reckless swearing," and no provision was made for release when the debt was paid. The St. Paul jail, built during the next year, was often filled by men committed by their creditors.[71] One debtor died while being held. The effect on immigration and community life was such that the law was repealed in 1856 as a "relic of barbarism."[72]

INSERT MINN. HISTORICAL SOCIETY

On October 22, 1849, a bill was introduced "to incorporate the Town of St. Paul in the county of Ramsey." On November 1 the bill received final approval. The town was to be governed by a president, a recorder and five trustees. The regular town election was not held until May 6 of the following year.[73]

Additional settlers came in rapidly all through the summer and autumn of 1849. Due credit for these numbers must be given to the newspapers. Local editors, of course, considered that the main business at hand was boosting the territory. They were not alone, however, in spreading the message of Minnesota. Local efforts were supplemented by editors in the east who welcomed letters and correspondence with which to fill their columns. Typical of such correspondence was a letter published in an Ohio newspaper, the Eaton Register, during the summer of 1849. It

70. Dean, William B., "A History of the Capitol Buildings of Minnesota, and Some account of the Struggle for Their Location," Minnesota History Collections, vol. 12, St. Paul, 1908, pp. 1-5.
71. Muller, Alix J., History of the Police and Fire Departments Of The Twin Cities, American Land & Title Register Association, Minneapolis & St. Paul, 1899, p. 29.
72. Murray, William P., "Recollections of Early Territorial Days and Legislation," p. 127.
73. Minnesota Writers' Project, The Mayors of St. Paul, Office of the Mayor, St. Paul, 1940, pp. 5-9.

described St. Paul as "entirely new; two-thirds of the houses have been built this year. They have sprung up, as it were, by magic, or it looks as though Aladin [sic] was here with his wonderful lamp - the sound of many hammers are constantly heard. In ST. PAUL are two good hotels, one near what is termed the lower, and the other at the upper landing, distant from each other about half a mile. These two points are the only places where the bluff can be ascended by wagons. We have any quantity of commission houses, stores, groceries &c. Then we have bowling saloons, billiard rooms and all that - gaming is quite prevalent."[74.]

In 1848 the population of the settlement had been 113; a little over one-third of this number had been French and French-Canadian and the largest group of forty-two consisted of settlers from other sections of the United States, mainly from the east and New England.[75.] By April 1849 total population had grown to 200 and by June it was estimated at 840.[76.] On July 4 the census taken in the city by John Morgan revealed that another jump had been made; to 910.[77.] By the latter part of July it was estimated that 1,200 people had settled in the river community.[78.] By this time the newspapers were able to view the spectacular growth with something approaching

74. "Impressions of Minnesota in 1849," Minnesota History Bulletin, vol. 5, no. 4, 1923, pp. 286-287.
75. Galvin, Sister Eucharista, Influences and Conditions Affecting the Settlement of Minnesota, Typed Ph. D. Thesis, University of Chicago, 1929, pp. 104-105.
76. Folsom, W. H. C., Fifty Years in the Northwest, p. 542.
77. Folsom, W. W., A History of Minnesota, Vol. 1, p. 352.
78. "Impressions of Minnesota in 1849," Minnesota History Bulletin, vol. 5, no. 4, 1923, p. 287.

complacency. The Minnesota Register remarked in July that "Notwithstanding the check to immigration into Minnesota which the cholera in the cities . . . has had . . . we have no reason to complain of the numbers daily arriving. It is impossible to build houses sufficiently fast to accommodate those who are coming among us."[79.]

St. Paul's attraction for settlers lay in two facts; it had received much attention as the capital of the new Minnesota Territory and, of more importance to the future, it was situated at the head of navigation on the Mississippi. It was significant of the current of local history that the American Fur Company removed its headquarters from Mendota to St. Paul in 1849.[80.] This was important notwithstanding the fact that the heyday of the fur trade had passed and the fortunes of the monoply established by Astor were in decline.[81.]

The general glow of optimism was reflected in a report of the celebration welcoming the New Year. "Indians of both sexes, with unusual pleasure beaming from their tawny visages . . . are thronging our village . . . with the expectation of 'waukon,' something good . . . This P. M. the better class of our gentlemen have been - 'making calls'; the remainder idling their time at the grog shops. At the 'Centre House,' the most popular hotel in town, an immense crowd is gathered, from this and other towns, and engaged in threading the mazes of the giddy dance . . ."[82.]

The "giddy dance" had just begun. It was to go on for nearly a decade.

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79. Minnesota Register, July 14, 1849.
80. Gras, Norman S. B., "Significance of the Twin Cities," Minnesota History, vol. 7, no. 1, 1926, pp. 8-9.
81. Ruckman, J. Ward, "Ramsey Crooks and the Fur Trade, "Minnesota History, vol. 7, no. 1, 1926, pp. 29-30.
82. Chronicle and Register, February 23, 1850.

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Second Correction by Mr. Macy

ST.

PAUL,

THE

CITY

CHAPTER FIVE

FRONTIER TOWN

R. Cary
W. Mattson.

New Year gayeties at the American and Central Houses and at Stillwater's new hotel introduced St. Paul's decade of the Fifties. Although not aware of it at the time, the town stood at the threshold of a period of dormancy. Five years were to elapse without any major development. Five years were to meander past while the settlement on the bluffs mellowed and made ready for the rocking events of the coming era. Meanwhile St. Paul waited for the ice to go out, for the arrival of the first steamboat of the season, for the complete cession of Indian lands, for the mail, for news from Washington.[1]

During those comparatively uneventful early Fifties, St. Paul had its lively moments. On Christmas Eve of 1850 there was a ball at Lott Moffett's Castle, a new hotel destined to become famous for its cotillions. Christmas Day, there were "religious exercises at the Catholic and the Episcopal church," and that night at Stillwater, a ball at Mr. Brewster's new hotel, "attended by more than one hundred gentlemen and ladies, eight cotillions occupying the floor at once."[2]

But the Chronicle and Register of March 30, 1850 found it difficult to be optimistic over the general outlook. "Business is . . . wretchedly dull in all our town. The populace . . . stand about the streets in isolated groups . . . whittling and occasionally casting an anxious eye upon the . . . river, as though they expected to see the ice smash or the mail wending its way upwards. The goods are all sold . . . the teams have finished their hauling to the North . . . the sleighing is over . . . the building season cannot actively commence just yet . . . "

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1. Adams, James T., The March of Democracy, Chas. Scribner's Sons, New York and London, p. 378.
2. Minnesota Pioneer, January 2, 1861.

In April the ice began to break. A week later the water rose rapidly, flooding bottom lands near Mendota and Fort Snelling, and it was said that " . . . a steamboat to make a landing would have to stick her nose a considerable distance up Jackson Street."[3] Flood danger, however, soon passed. On April 19, the Highland Mary docked at St. Paul, and once again the city resumed its routine.

The Highland Mary brought 500 passengers. These newcomers found St. Paul a primitive spot, not greatly improved over the site John R. Irvine had looked upon when he arrived in 1843. "The land was covered with heavy timber and underbrush," according to Irvine; "Upper Third Street from what is now Seven Corners to the Bluff was a quagmire almost without bottom."[4.5] Captain John Bell, arriving in 1850, said, "There was not a house north of Third Street, except a few on Robert Street. . . All boats landed at the Upper Levee at the foot of Eagle Street."[6]

> . . . the mercantile business consisted of Louis Robert's store at the lower landing; Freeman, Larpenteur & Company's, same place; Henry Jackson, just closing out, in his old house on top of the bluff; J.W. Simpson next door, and the large trading establishment of Olmstead & Rhodes, on Third Street, in the old cabin . . . recently removed to give place to the handsome new store of Mr. Chamberlain This completed the lower town.
>
> Then you traveled overaan extensive corn and potato field to a little clump of shanties and balloon frames in the neighborhood of the American House. Here was Levi Sloan; upon his present site, with a small stock; and next above the American were the Messrs. Fullers, with somewhat larger assortment. This was all . . . 5a.

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3. Chronicle and Register, April 6-13, 1850
4. Newson, T.M., Pen Pictures, (Sketch of Simeon P. Folsom) published by the author, St. Paul, 1888, p.68.
5. Williams, J. Fletcher, A History of the City of St. Paul and of the County of Ramsey, Minnesota State Historical Society, St. Paul, 1876, p. 128.

Vital Guerin and Ben Gervais now had neighbors more congenial than the drunken Sioux who staggered out of Parrant's groggery under the bluff, but St. Paul as yet gave little promise of becoming a metropolis.[7]

Expansion came as new professional and trades-people sought quarters. The Cathcart brothers, Alexander H. and John W., and Bartlett Presley, all prominent builders, arrived in 1850. Presley opened a log cabin confectionery, which later developed into an extensive wholesale fruit business.

Dr. David Day, physician and civic leader, arrived in this period. The new capital now had a total of 25 lawyers. The Pioneer of March 13, 1850 reported 15 stores doing business. Pine lumber, originating at Minnesota Mills, "and worth ten or eleven dollars a thousand feet in St. Louis, sold readily at St. Paul for 17 dollars per thousand." But in spite of these facts, trade lagged during the summer of 1850.

St. Paulites were growing critical of political appointees. There was general satisfaction with Governor Ramsey's official acts, but other territorial appointees did not meet with the same unanimous approval. "I at least," Judge David Cooper wrote, "stand somewhat higher than my brethern of the Bench. But even this . . is no compliment to me, as I am rated by fools."[9]

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7. Newson, Pen Pictures, p. 90.
8. Minnesota Pioneer, August 15, 1850.
9. D. Cooper to Ramsey, Nov. 2, 1849.

Exasperated at Cooper's frequent absences from his post, the people finally took action, not overlooking another official who was frequently a target of Editor Goodhue's invectives, U. S. Marshal Alexander M. Mitchell.

Dissatisfaction with Cooper and Mitchell was brought to the attention of officials in Washington. Both were said to have neglected their duties. In July Sibley reported: "Mitchell will have to . . . resign or be removed. So the President told me in so many words." Mitchell resigned shortly afterward.[10.]

Political rivalries became extremely bitter, and the city divided into "cliques, factions, and clans."[11.] Goodhue's editorial thrusts never ceased. And a citizen of that day wrote: "Every man [on the street] was armed with something.[12.] A man had better not show himself without his pockets full of rocks."

In June of 1850 an event occurred which brought to the foreground an issue that had concerned the settlers for some time --the opening of Sioux lands to white settlement. That year high water from the spring freshets swelled the Minnesota River, and steamers were able to ascend farther upstream than ever before. On June 28, the Anthony Wayne under Captain Daniel Able, sailed on an excursion "up the unknown waters of the St. Peter River, now called the Minnesota."[13.] The Wayne reached the rapids near Carver. The rolling, fertile shores impressed the excursionists, and they brought back reports which increased the avarice of land-seekers.

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10. "Sibley, H. H., Washington to John H. Stevens, July 1, 1851," Stevens Papers, vol. 12, p. 113.
11. "Sibley to Stevens," p. 113.
12. "David Fuller, St. Paul to George R. Fuller, Scotland, Connecticut, January 19, 1851."
13. Cathcart, Rebecca Marshall, "A Sheaf of Reminiscences," Minnesota Historical Collections, vol. 15, p. 529.

Competition stimulated further navigation of the Minnesota. The Nominee passed the farthest point reached by the Wayne excursion, but the Wayne, on its second voyage a few days later, reached a point a few miles below the present site of Mankato, and in midsummer the Yankee, not to be outdone, reached Judson (above Mankato) in Blue Earth County.[14] These excursions into Sioux county hastened the drive for empire. Through its position as capital of the Northwest trade area, St. Paul became focal point of the campaign. Prior to 1852 the town was the center of an inverted triangle of white territory, bounded on the north by a line extending east from the Mississippi River, at a point just below Princeton, to the St. Croix River, and stretching southward to Point Douglas. The rest of Minnesota, aside from the Pembina colony, was legally Indian country.

In his message to the second legislature on January 1, 1851, Ramsey broached the issue of Sioux lands. As long as the Indians held legal title to trans-Mississippi territory, settlement and development by whites were stalemated. The situation had grown steadily more acute since 1849. Ramsey admitted that newcomers were trespassing. He praised their enterprise, however, suggesting that settlement be made legal and the land opened as soon as possible.[15] Negotiations to secure a treaty were begun.

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14. Hughes, Thom., "A History of Steamboating on the Minnesota River," Minnesota Historical Collections, part 1, pp. 131-136.
15. Baker, Gen. James H., "Alexander Ramsey, A Memorial Eulogy," Minnesota Historical Collections, St. Paul 1905, vol. 10, part 2, pp. 723-743.

The Governor and Luke Lea, commissioner of Indian affairs, were appointed to treat with the Sioux, and their efforts soon bore fruit. During the last days of June 1851, a large crowd gathered at Traverse des Sioux "on a lovely prairie which rises gently from the Minnesota River." The Sioux assembled in "full costumes with eagle plumes, turkey beards, deer tails & horse tails." Also present were "Indian traders, men of French, half breed and American blood."[16] The momentous treaty was signed on July 23, 1851.[17]

Opening of the western lands was a matter of great moment to St. Paul. Since Minnesota River navigation would have to clear through the St. Paul port, the city could now expect new settlers and increased commerce. On June 26, 1852 the treaty was ratified by the United States Senate, making 23,000,000 acres of new land available for settlement, and St. Paul duly celebrated the event:

> At sunset . . . our people piled up fire barrels which kindled up blazing illuminations, along the bluff, notwithstanding the moon took all the shine out of the bon-fires; . . . In fact, it was one of the nights we read of, but such as few if any three-year-old towns have experienced. Nothing was wanting but the ringing of our half dozen bells.[18]

The chiefs at Traverse des Sioux upon signing the quit claim deed to their domain were ". . . [given another] . . . document to be signed."[19] The "traders' paper" was thus validated, and traders' claims against individual Indians had to be satisfied out of the treaty funds before distribution. Ramsey, of all the whites at Traverse des Sioux, is said to have been the only

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16. Mayer, Frank Blackwell, With Pen and Pencil on the Frontier in 1851, Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul, 1932, pp. 145-149.
17. Baker, Alexander Ramsey, A Memorial Eulogy, p. 729.
18. Minnesota Pioneer, July 1, 1852.
19. Murray, Hon. Wm. P., "Recollection of Early Territorial Days and Legislation," Minnesota Historical Collections, St. Paul, December 1908, vol. 12, p. 120.

one who had "no sordid motives." Yet the traders, in serving their own interests so wholeheartedly, were at the same time facilitating the settlement of a tremendously important area. Their part is thus described by William Pitt Murray:

> It may be said, that while Governor Ramsey and Luke Lea, United States commissioners, have always been credited with the making of the Indian treaties of Traverse des Sioux, Mendota, and Pembina . . . yet had it not been for such men as Henry H. Sibley, Martin McLeod, Norman W. Kittson, William H. Forbes, and Alexis Bailly, these treaties would never have been made. They were the power behind the throne, since they were all Indian traders, had been in the country for many years, spoke the languages of the Dakotas and Ojibways, and enjoyed the confidence of the Red Men. It was to their interest that these treaties should be consummated as the Indians were largely in debt to them; hence they used all their influence to assist in the making of the treaty. The commissioners did not do much more than feed the Indians and indicated what they wanted; the traders did the rest. 20.

Between the encroachments of white men and the retreat of game, the Indian often knew want. Chief Hole-In-The-Day of the Ojibways came to St. Paul and St. Anthony in mid-January of the treaty year to plead for food for his starving people. St. Paulites responded, but scores of Ojibways perished from disease and want. The Indians, of course, were traditionally improvident, and their seasonal sufferings were traceable in considerable degree to their own want of foresight. Quite characteristic was the spectacle presented after the breakup of a big pow-wow on Pilot Knob early in August of 1851. The Sioux bands of Little Crow, Wabasha, and minor chiefs came to St. Paul to buy horses. E. D. Neill in his History of St. Paul relates:

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20. Murray, Early Territorial Days, p. 120.

> . . . an Indian always purchases a horse on a different principle from a white man. If he desires a white horse, all other considerations are secondary . . . The week subsequent to the treaty there was a general clearing out of worn-out nags from the livery stables of the Capital: and, when the cavalcade started . . . it was a scene to excite the laughter of a stoic. A few weeks later, the same Indians were in want for provisions. 21.

The town now began to divide itself into two social groups. The New Englanders clung to their Yankee culture, and were intolerant of what they regarded as "foreign" traditions. Whiskey became a prominent issue. New Englanders drank sarsaparilla cider,[22.] while the earlier settlers --the half-bloods and the French element --found "whiskey hoe-downs" more to their liking. Even the most respected of the early settlers were addicted to hard liquor.[23.]

A Sons of Temperance chapter had been organized in St. Paul May 8, 1849; the following year a St. Anthony chapter was formed. These two groups, together with the newly-organized Temperance Watchmen, brought the issue of liquor quickly to a head. A liquor control law was put to vote April 5, 1852. Since the villages of St. Anthony Falls and Stillwater were settled almost exclusively by people from Maine, the law was adopted. St. Paul and Little Canada showed majorities against it.

The vote in Ramsey county was close; 528 ayes, 497 nays. The newspapers commented that "church bells ring, and so do the glasses. Everybody celebrates the advent of the Temperance Millenium by getting gloriously drunk."[24.]

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21. Neill, E. D., History of St. Paul, p. 561.
22. Minnesota Democrat, St. Paul, July 15, 1851.
23. Morris, Lucy L. W., Old Rail Fence Corners, F. H. McCulloch Printing Co., Austin, Minnesota, p. 17.
24. Pioneer and Democrat Weekly, April 28, 1858.

On May 1, 1852, the restrictions went into effect. The dry victory, however, was short-lived.[25]

At the next general election opponents of liquor regulations rallied to elect a majority in the state legislature and the dry laws were repealed. That night, "a large steamboat bell was mounted upon wheels . . . and went booming through the streets . . . proclaiming death to the temperance principles . . ."[26]

The Easterners did not surrender so easily on other matters. It was the New England women who took the lead in nurturing the beginnings of education and culture.

Catholic parishioners meanwhile saw the city become the center of a bishopric. Newly consecrated Bishop Right Reverend Joseph Cretin arrived in July 1851, to inaugurate an intensive building and educational program. Vicar General Augustine Ravoux had prepared the way for Bishop Cretin by arranging the purchase of suitable ground for a new cathedral, a school, and a bishop's residence. Wrote Ravoux:

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25. Murray, Margaret, The Prohibition Movement In Minnesota from 1849 to 1856, unpublished, Hamline University, St. Paul.
26. Bishop, Harriet, E., Floral Homes or First Years In Minnesota, S.C. Griggs and Company, Chicago, 1887, pp. 106-110.

> I considered the purchase of the twenty-two lots (for $900) a very good bargain for the church, as also a good one for Mr. Vetal Guerin, because it was understood that the cathedral and other buildings would be erected on block seven, and such improvement would increase the value of Mr. Vetal Guerin's property.
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> . . . Five months after Bishop J. Cretin's arrival in Saint Paul, he had erected on block seven in Saint Paul Proper, a brick building 84 feet long by 44 wide, three stories and a half high, including the basement. That building became immediately the second cathedral of Saint Paul, and also the second residence of the Rt. Reverend Bishop, of his priests and seminarians . . . 27.

The roots of Protestant denominations had been well established even before the organization of the Catholic parish. E.D. Neill was preaching to his Presbyterian congregation in a new brick church, the first building having been destroyed by fire. The Baptists, Methodists, and Episcopalians had places of worship and well defined congregations by the summer of 1850. James Breck, John A. Merrick, and Timothy Wilcoxson, coming in 1850, had set up the Episcopal faith in a tent. This trio roamed St. Paul, St. Anthony and environs in missionary activities. The cornerstone for a new church, "Christ's Church of the City of St. Paul," was laid by the Reverend E. G. Gear, chaplain of Fort Snelling, September 5, 1850.[28]

The Baptists also boasted a small but dignified white church. An early resident recalls:

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27. Ravoux, Rev. Fr. Augustine - From an article in the Northwestern Chronicle, excerpt from a "History of St. Paul and the County of Ramsey," by J. Fletcher Williams, Collections of Minnesota Historical Society, vol. 4., St. Paul, 1876.
28. "The Rise and Progress of St. Paul," St. Paul Daily Democrat, October 28, 1854.

> On Jackson Street between Fourth and Seventh streets, . . . about where the new Hill Building now stands, was a steep hill some fifty feet high. On its summit, reached by a wooden stairway from Jackson street, stood a small church edifice belonging to the Baptists, and one or two other buildings. This hill sloped down to the east, and finally disappeared in a morass called Baptist hell [sic]. 29.

White painted churches early became a landmark to river travelers. More appeared with the coming of Germans and Scandinavians. The Roman Catholic, Episcopal and First Presbyterian churches all acquired organs at about this time.

Schools too were beginning to make their appearance. To Thomas Smith Williamson, who with the Pond brothers pioneered Presbyterianism in Minnesota, must go credit for giving the public school system its start in St. Paul. In November 1846 Williamson had opened a school for Indian and half breeds at Kaposia village. Later, concerned over St. Paul's lack of educational facilities, he wrote ex-Governor Slade of Vermont, president of the National Popular Educational Society, asking him to send a teacher to the settlement.[29a.] Early in 1850 a school house for Lower Town was erected on Jackson street above Fifth. Here Miss Scofield taught. Harriet Bishop who had come in 1848, resumed duties at the Bench street school, and Reverend C. H. Hebart taught a school for boys in the Methodist church.

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29. "Leaves From the Tablets of My Memory Concerning Early Days of Minnesota," Dunn, (Andrew C.) Papers, published by the author, Winnebago, Minnesota, Minnesota Historical Society, Mss. Division.

29a. Williams, J. Fletcher, "A History of the City of St. Paul and the County of Ramsey," Minnesota Historical Collections, published by the society, St. Paul, 1876, vol. 4, pp. 162-169.

In 1851 Upper Town had two schools, conducted by B. B. Ford and Miss E. Brewster, and two in Lower Town were supervised by G. H. Spencer and Miss Bass.

Parochial schools had a prominent place in the picture of early education. The Episcopalians established the first in St. Paul in 1851. A school was also conducted by Maria Ogden in the basement of the Second Presbyterian church, and Thomas Murray, an ecclesiastical student, held a school for boys in the basement of the Catholic cathedral.

Under Bishop Cretin, teaching members of several Catholic orders were brought to St. Paul. The Sisters of St. Joseph came from the Mother House in Carendolet, St. Louis in 1851, and opened a boarding and day school near Bench Street. The four members of the party --Mother St. John Fournier and Sister M. Philomene, both of France; Sister M. Scholastica Velasquez, a French and Spanish Creole, of St. Louis; and Sister Frances Joseph Ivory, of Loretto, Pennsylvania --boarded the steamer St. Paul for the trip upriver on October 28. Spending one night at Galena, they stopped for a time at Prairie du Chien, where they were the guests of Father Galtier.[30.]

In mid-July 1851, workmen began excavating the cellar for a new Catholic College, a structure 48 by 80 feet, two stories high. The site was the block bounded by Wabashaw, St. Peter, Fifth and Sixth streets. Bishop

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30. Cox, Sister Ignatious Loyola; notes on the Early History of the Sisters of St. Joseph in Minnesota, July 1914, Acta Et Dicta, vol. 3, no. 2.

Cretin was elated over this new undertaking, towards the cost of which St. Paul Catholics had subscribed $800. It was felt that the college "in a very short time" would be "among the wealthy Catholics of the Mississippi valley, the most popular institution of learning in the United States." Volunteers without pay worked on the foundation of the building.[31]

On November 15, the Minnesota Democrat reported:

> The Preparatory Department building of the Minnesota University has been erected, thanks to the persevering efforts of J. W. North, Esq., and it is now ready for the reception of Students . . . We do not doubt that the University to be erected in St. Anthony is destined to become one of the most popular and successful institutions of learning in the United States.

Baldwin School, which later became Macalester College, was established in January 1853. To launch this institution for advanced students, E. D. Neill obtained a donation from M. W. Baldwin of Philadelphia. A year later, the school was chartered as the College of St. Paul, and "a handsome stone edifice, three stories in height . . ." was built.

St. Paul's first business college also was organized at this time "for the study of Double and Single Entry Book-keeping at Comb's Bookstore . . . Terms for a final course of instruction, $15.00."[32]

Civic improvements multiplied in 1851. Editor Goodhue wrote in the Minnesota Pioneer:

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31. Minnesota Democrat Weekly, July 15, 1851.
32. Minnesota Pioneer, Nov. 27, 1851.

> . . . The large brick Catholic building is now enclosed, the Court House is daily growing, and the Capitol is in progress. A noble work of rock excavation is nearly completed on Bench street --the opening and grading of Fourth Street is in the way of being done, and a new bridge built on Jackson street --Third street is thronged with people, and our town is full of animation, hope and energy.

Another writer of the day noted:

> Messrs. Rey and Carlioz have commenced building in the upper town, a short distance back of the American Hotel, a large four-story stone building for a Hospital. It will be under the superintendence of Dr. Carlioz, a French Physician of distinguished eminence in his profession . . . 33. The managers were able to provide spacious grounds through the . . . donation of our . . . fellow-citizen, H. M. Rice, Esq.

Sioux lounged daily about the new bridge being built across the ravine to upper Jackson street. They were amazed at the white man's magic which held the structure together.[34] Despite the fact that the town was growing and property values were on the rise, Vital Guerin continued to sell lots to settlers at low prices.[35] He made an outright gift to the city of the square on which the old court house was built.

Perhaps no more colorful figures were ever seen on a city's streets than those of this period: river captains and voyageurs, trappers, innkeepers, ferrymen, politicians, Indian braves, squaws, as well as half breeds and quarter breeds. Among them, T. D. Newson recalls:

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33. Minnesota Democrat Weekly, March 10, 1852.
34. Newson, Pen Pictures, p. 305.
35. St. Paul Pioneer Press, July 1, 1941.

> Lott Moffett, the kindly innkeeper; Louis Robert, river captain and merchant; C. P. Lull, Charlie Cave, Joe Rolette, irrespressible bon-vivant from Pembina; Ike Markley, John P. Owens, Jim Vincent; Col. McKenty, of "Broad Acres," Col. Goodhue, Sam Sargent, Col. Burton of the Central House; Henry Jackson, postmaster; Bill Taylor, the colored barber and cotillion caller; Jim Thompson, ferryman; Tom Odell with a squaw wife; Parson Willoughby, of the Aeolian church; Old Bets and Wooden-legged Jim, her brother; Hock-Washta, "who always wore a plug hat full of ribbons and pieces of calico;" Julia, the pretty squaw, and "Popcorn Johnson," the popcorn vendor. 36.

During this period Norman W. Kittson, Sr. became identified with the town through the platting of Kittson's Addition. James M. Winslow, builder of hotels in St. Peter, St. Anthony, and St. Paul; Charles Fillmore, brother of the late President; H. A. Schliek, merchant, and the O'Gormans were among arrivals the same year, as was also Joseph R. Brown, who followed Rice and Sibley. Sibley purchased the Minnesota Pioneer.

In 1852 two men came to St. Paul, each destined to wield a great influence, not only on history of the city, but upon Minnesota and the entire Northwest. John Ireland, later an archbishop, came from County Kilkenny, Ireland; James J. Hill, born near Guelph, Ontario, of Scotch-Irish descent, arrived in 1856. Hill, as a farsighted railroad promoter and builder was to become a leading figure in the social and economic development of the region. Ireland's influence as a religious leader had an equally important part in the growth of St. Paul.

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36. Newson, Pen Pictures, p. 305.

The year 1852 also marked the death of James M. Goodhue, editor and publisher of the town's first newspaper. A year before he had engaged in a street battle with Joseph Cooper and during the struggle had been severely stabbed. With Goodhue's death, St. Paul lost an able leader. His crusades for civic improvements were many; a public waterworks, the replanning of city streets and the establishment of parks. He was buried near Lake Como, but the location of his grave is unknown.

In the spring of 1853, Willis A. Gorman, appointee of President Pierce, arrived to succeed Governor Ramsey. His arrival marked a new storm center in territorial politics. Gorman and his adherents attempted to discredit Ramsey by bringing charges against him in connection with the payment of Indian treaty funds. Governor Gorman made many enemies in Minnesota, and a movement to impeach him was under way when his term expired in 1857.

St. Paul had commerce and a steady inflow of immigrants, but rapid growth was impossible without ready access to the interior. There, a lack of transportation facilities blocked the way. The river alone furnished ready entrance to the St. Paul areas. Only a few stage lines were in existence as roads had to be hewn laboriously through the forests.

Major Isaac I. Stevens, of the U. S. Army, assigned to explore a survey route for a Pacific railroad, arrived in St. Paul May 27, 1853 to outfit the expedition. But the town was to wait nine years for its first sight of a locomotive. In the meantime, Norwegian immigrants

were introducing a novel method of travel, Lapland snow skating. The Minnesota Pioneer reported that " . . . one of these snow skaters arrived in town last week from Lake Superior, having traveled at the rate of eight miles or less, a day."

Dr. Charles W. Borup, a Danish trader, opened the first banking house in St. Paul on May 1, 1851. June 1, of the following year, Dr. Borup joined forces with Charles H. Oakes to establish the banking firm of Borup & Oakes at Third and Jackson streets. This company was one of the few banking firms in St. Paul to withstand the hard times that lay ahead. By 1853 eight other banks were in operation.[36a] Dr. Borup should not be dismissed without mention of his earlier activities before coming to St. Paul. Arriving at Mackinaw, Lake Superior, in 1831, he became a trader with the Chippewa in the Rainy Lake region. He probably was the first physician in that section of the country. Later, he became chief agent of the American Fur Company, then controlled by P. Chouteau, Jr. and Company of St. Louis. He lived at Fort Snelling and Leech Lake before coming to St. Paul in 1849.[37]

Federal money brought in to satisfy Indian claims and to support military and governmental activity was the city's life blood of trade. The only major addition to this capital was the money that settlers brought with them. St. Paul's trade with settlers was estimated at $390,000 during 1853; government trade the same year amounted to $400,000. Following one

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36a.
37. Newson, Pen Pictures, p. 170.

large payment to the Indians, it was observed that " . . . the merchants are reaping a rich harvest. The Indians are as plentiful in town as mosquitoes in summer; but they are more welcome."[38] Any delay in the arrival of government funds usually resulted in "distressing financial paroxysms."[39]

Since Minnesota imported practically everything it used, and exports as yet were meagre, money drained away almost as fast as it came in. In 1852, Governor Ramsey resorted to the extraordinary procedure of delaying Indian payments "until he was sure the River had closed so the money might remain in the Country."[40]

Marks of a maturing civic consciousness were the organization of a militia company in St. Paul, the acquisition of a separate building to house the postoffice, and the founding of Oakland Cemetery, all in 1859. That year, too, a state agricultural association was formed to plan for the first Minnesota fair at Fort Snelling, and on July 28, a group of physicians met in St. Paul to organize the Minnesota Medical Society.

A new bell was mounted in the belfry of the first Presbyterian Church, at the corner of Bench and St. Peter streets, on October 31, 1854. Excepting for the small steamboat bell presented by Captain Louis Robert to the log chapel of St. Paul, this was the first church bell in the city.

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38. Peterson, William J., "The Early History of Steamboating on the Minnesota River," Minnesota History, June 1930, vol. II, no. 2, pp. 130-131.
39. Eliason, Adolph, "The Beginnings of Banking in Minnesota," Minnesota Historical Collections, St. Paul, vol. 12, p. 685.
40. "A. F. Fuller to George Fuller, Nov. 21, 1852," Fuller Papers, Minnesota Historical Society, Mss. collections.

The editor of the Daily Democrat wrote:

> By dint of labor, and pressing blacksmiths and ropes into the service, it was in a few hours swinging in the unfinished belfry, and at nine o'clock that night, remarkable in its calmness, and its beautiful moonlight, its great iron heart began to throb. Its solemn pulsations were joyous to every man, woman and child in St. Paul, but productive of trembling astonishment to the painted Dakotas encamped on the opposite bank of the river. 42.

Later, the bell was transferred to the belfry of the Methodist church, having been purchased by that congregation.

Perhaps the proudest forward step of all was thus noted in the Minnesota Weekly: "The first house-numbering of an establishment in St. Paul was perpetrated yesterday on Robert Street. Cathcart, Kern & Co.'s Crystal Palace stands No. 20 in bold figures, upon that popular thoroughfare. The City is coming along!"

City? Coming along? Well, St. Paul had banks and stores, and schools and churches, even one with a bell --and only 25 bears were killed that year in the environs of the village. It had college foundations and a militia company and a cemetery, and the promise of a railroad --and there was possibly some slackening in the boom of muskets down Third Street, where hunters shot prairie chickens at the margin of the slough near the postoffice. 41.

The City indeed was "coming along," though a stranger might have had his doubts, one fine spring day in 1853, when the Chippewa carried one of their forays against the Sioux into the very heart of the community.

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42. The Daily Democrat, Oct. 31, 1854.
41. Williams, The History of St. Paul, p. 336.

A party of Chippewa braves, hidden in an unfinished building of Lower Town, lay in ambush that morning for three Sioux, "Old Bets," her brother, "Wooden-legged Jim," and a sister. The three were well up Jackson Street when sighted by the enemy. The Chippewa skirted the marsh at Fifth Street, dog-trotted over Baptist Hill, and attacked near the Merchants' Hotel. Old Bets, with her brother and sister, found shelter in the Minnesota Outfit, but not until after the sister was fatally wounded.

CHAPTER VII OX CART AND STAGECOACH

R. Cary
W. Mattson

It had now become evident that, despite her thousand miles of navigable streams, Minnesota needed overland roads and stages for adequate development of her resources. The day of the railroad had not yet arrived. Up to this time settlement had jumped large areas by way of river travel, while all-too-frequent barriers, such as the "Big Woods" of southern Minnesota temporarily kept the pioneers out of more valuable nearby districts.

The frontiersman looked upon the midwest as the poor man's land of opportunity. Ragged and unkempt, accustomed to living in log hut or sod house, sometimes only a few rods from a camp of stone-age savages, he feared neither distance nor loneliness and could satisfy his simple needs with a semi-annual trip to the nearest settlement to exchange his produce for store goods.[1.]

Thus it was that long before the first ox cart lurched across Minnesota, a trade route was already in use between St. Paul and Pembina, the Selkirk settlement on the west bank of the Red River, near the Canadian border, more than 400 miles from St. Paul. This settlement had sprung up in a hostile country and had been saved from disaster by its patron, Thomas Douglas, Fifth Earl of Selkirk, who bought control of the Hudson's Bay trading company when that organization threatened to disperse the colonists.[2.]

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1. Ross, Edward Alsworth, Ph.D., LL.D., Changing America, The Century Company, New York 1912, p. 163.
2. Pritchett, John Perry, "Red River Fur Trade," Minnesota History Bulletin, May 1924, vol. 5, pp. 401-423.

In 1821 the half-breed trader, Alexis Bailly, drove a herd of cattle from Mendota to Pembina. Two summers later when the first steamboat landed supplies at Fort Snelling, a party of Pembina farmers made the long journey overland to obtain seed grain. As the country began to open up, Pembina became the starting point for twice-a-year hunting parties which saw in the buffalo an easy source of food and profit. Rivalry between the American Fur Company and the monopolistic Hudson's Bay Company gave rise to a growing trade in illicit furs across the Canadian boundary. John Perry Pritchett described the conditions at the settlement in his Red River Trade:

> Quantities of furs . . . were secretly carried over the boundary and exchanged for American produce. Usually the interlopers departed in the darkness of night and avoided accustomed trails so as to keep clear of the Fort Garry constabulary force. Pembina, on the American side, was the smugglers' rendezvous. Merchandise obtained from Galena or St. Paul was left at Pembina until there was an opportunity to mingle it into the settlement. 3.

In 1844 Norman W. Kittson was sent to Pembina by the American Fur Company as agent in charge of all company business along the Dominion boundary. Kittson had come to the Northwest from Sorel, Lower Canada at the age of 16. After operating various American Fur Company trading posts, he had served for a time as sutler at Fort Snelling.

At Pembina, Kittson fought a 10-year trade duel with the Canadian monopoly. St. Paul aided him at every turn. Governor Christie at Fort Garry (near Winnipeg) undertook to deal with the smugglers by banning use of the company ships by any persons or interests "interfering with . . . Hudson's Bay services." Later he clamped censorship on the mail by ordering that "every

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3. Pritchett, "Red River Fur Trade," pp. 401-423.

letter must have the writer's name written by himself in the left hand corner below." Thus, if a person were suspected of trading in furs, his letter could be opened and examined.

This order, however, resulted only in a general re-routing of mail. Traders sent their letters by Kittson express to Fort Snelling and thence to St. Paul. Still another attempt to coerce the bordermen into dropping Pembina and St. Paul patronage failed when rules prescribed by the Governor for the acquisition of land were quietly disregarded. Nobody ever questioned the rights of squatters in the border country anyhow, and legal instruments of title were not yet regarded as important.

Meanwhile Kittson had organized the fur trade in the Red River valley and was shipping his furs from Pembina to Mendota in curious vehicles known as Red River carts.[5] These carts were two-wheeled affairs, made of wood and leather with no metal parts. They carried a load of 600 to 700 pounds, were never greased and creaked so loudly a caravan could be heard from far off on a still day. Pembina was 448 miles from Mendota or St. Paul, and the trip took 30 to 40 days. Picked men were assigned as drivers. Many of them were half or quarter breeds, called bois brules. They wore coarse blue cloth with large brass buttons, red sashes, beaded caps, and moccasins.[6]

In the years following 1844 cart traffic multiplied and St. Paul became the eastern terminus for the trains. Through the summer months they

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5. St. Paul Pioneer Press, January 1, 1922.
6. St. Paul Pioneer Press, January 1, 1922.

were a common sight on St. Anthony Road. The St. Paul Pioneer for July 26, 1849 described one:

> The van of the Red River train, numbering from one hundred to two hundred carts, made entirely of wood and green hides and drawn by oxen and ponies . . reached St. Paul on Sunday with furs, hides, dried buffalo tongues, buffalo robes, pemmican &c. They had been forty days on the route.

Often these caravans furnished convoy for parties wishing safe travel between Fort Garry, Pembina and St. Paul. Mrs. C. A. Burdick, whose husband had charge of a Kittson fur store at Fort Garry, often traveled with the carts to reach her parents' home at St. Cloud.

> The tracks . . . [of the carts] . . were wide and deep and could be plainly seen ahead of us, going straight through the prairie. It took twenty-one days to go from St. Cloud to Pembina. We used to go through Sauk Center, just a hotel or roadhouse, then through what is now Alexandria. A family by the name of Wright, used to keep a stopping place for travelers. I don't know just where it would be now, but I have stayed there often. We went by way of Georgetown, Swan River too, I remember. There used to be one tree on the prairie that we could see for two days. We called it the Lone Tree. 13.

Trade between St. Paul and the Pembina country followed two routes: the Plains trail and the Woods trail. The Plains trail branched westward from the Mississippi at St. Cloud and struck the Red River at Breckenridge, following down the west bank of the river. The Woods trail passed through Crow Wing, up the Crow Wing and Leaf River valleys, then along the northeast point of Otter Tail Lake to Detroit Lake and, following the right bank of the Red River, to Pembina. A third route, which utilized water transportation from Traverse des Sioux to St. Paul, swung farther south. Establishment of Fort Gaines in the vicinity of the present Little Falls added security to travel on the Woods trail. The Plains Trail was described by William A. Rice in 1858:

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13. Morris, Lucy Leavenworth Wilder, Old Rail Fence Corners, Daughters of American Revolution, St. Paul 1914, p. 104.

> From St. Paul to the crossing of the Mississippi River at St. Cloud, a distance of seventy-seven miles, the country is so well known that a description is not necessary. From St. Cloud to Richmond (twenty-five miles) the road passes through prairie . . . At Richmond we make the second and last crossing of the Sauk River. Fifty-three miles from Richmond carries us through a fine rolling prairie of a rich soil, to White Bear Lake, passing meanwhile Lakes Henry and George, Como River, Groves and Chippewa Rivers.
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> . . . we adopted what is known as the Plain Trail to the crossing of Otter Tail river -- thence to the Red River. The Red River was 200 feet wide and three feet deep at this point. From the Red River to the Cheyenne river was twenty-six miles, and . . . from there to Pembina 196 miles. This country is all flat, abounding in plenty of grass but not so much timber . . . Total distance from St. Paul 466 miles. We reached Pembina in eighteen and a half days . . . averaging twenty-five and a half miles a day.

The year 1850 marked the ascendency of St. Paul as a fur mart. Norman Kittson established a partnership there with William Henry Forbes; another fur dealer was the firm of Culver and Farrington. Agents of these two concerns continued to operate at Pembina. In 1856 the value of furs received at St. Paul from this source was nearly $75,000, while the total value of all furs which passed through St. Paul that year for exportation was $180,000. By this date, the monopoly of the Hudson's Bay Company had practically ceased to exist, and the Pioneer and Democrat wrote:

> The competition in the fur trade which before that was put down by the most vigorous measures, now proves too formidable and is backed by too powerful a public opinion in Canada, to be suppressed by the usual policy of restriction. In addition to the American posts on this side of the line, there are some hundred independent traders in the territories of the colony itself, of which there are at least seventy in the Selkirk settlement alone. Though rigidly prohibited from dealing in the contraband articles of furs and rum, both branches of trade are prosecuted to a considerable extent and the product smuggled across the border. 15.

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15. Pioneer and Democrat, August 5, 1858.

A network of primitive trails and roads had now grown up to accommodate the growing army of migrant land-seekers and farmers. St. Paul no longer depended alone on the eastern trail, cut through the woods to Prairie du Chien. The Dubuque trail through Cannon Falls was growing in importance. Settlers' canvas-covered wagons dotted the Indian trail from the Iowa border, and traffic swelled on the trail south of the Minnesota River which passed through Henderson to Traverse des Sioux, St. Peter and Mankato.

Extending westward from these roads were the Pipestone trail and the Old Military Road. Flanking the Minnesota River were the old Garry trail and the Lac qui Parle trail which generations of Sioux and voyageurs had used to enter and leave the Red River region. To the north the Red River, Breckenridge, Fort Abercrombie, Georgetown and Pembina trails joined together at St. Cloud to form a common road to St. Paul. North of St. Cloud were trails linking Crow Wing, Leech Lake and other Indian camps and trade centers. Mille Lacs, Duluth, and Fond du Lac also enjoyed communication with St. Paul and St. Anthony.

By 1856 freight traffic to St. Paul had far outgrown the carrying capacity of the Mississippi fleet. Two months after the ice went out that spring, 200 steamboats had already docked there to unload their cargoes. That was as many as had arrived during the entire previous shipping season, yet great stacks of merchandise still cluttered the wharves at Dubuque and Dunleith, awaiting transhipment to consignees at St. Paul.

Meanwhile the immediate need for better overland transportation led to the introduction of the stagecoach. In October, 1851 the Minnesota Pioneer had described the traffic on the road between St. Paul and St. Anthony:

> The immense amount of travel on that road warrants the belief that a railroad or perhaps better a plank road is required to be immediately constructed between the two towns. The amount of teaming on that road is great beyond belief; not only in the summer, but through all the winter there is a continual stream of waggens (sic) upon it loaded with merchandize (sic) to supply all the trade north of us. 15a.

To meet this transportation need the firm of Willoughby and Powers opened a stage line between the two towns. The first coach was merely a two-seated open wagon drawn by a span of horses, with none of the fancy equipment ensuing years were to add. By the end of the first season, however, mounting business justified the addition of four-horse open spring wagons, each accommodating 14 passengers. A line to Prairie du Chien by way of Stillwater was inaugurated.

The first Concord coach to make its appearance in Minnesota became a part of the Willoughby and Powers' fleet in 1852. The company adopted "Red Line" as a name and painted all its coaches a brilliant scarlet. A rival concern, "the Yellow Line," was organized by Pattison and Benson the same year and immediately began to run coaches to St. Anthony in direct competition. This company at one time employed 47 men, 161 horses, 13 Concord coaches, 79 carriages and 50 sleighs and cutters, and on an investment of $62,000, it did an annual business of $68,000.

The bitter commercial battle which followed resulted in a series of drastic fare reductions. Cutting their rate from 75 cents to 10 cents,

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15a. Minnesota Pioneer, Oct. 16, 1851.

15b. Bliss, Frank C., St. Paul: Its Past and Present, F. C. Bliss Publishing Company St. Paul, 1888, p. 65.

Willoughby and Powers sought to hold their established trade, but the "Yellow Line" met each cut with one of their own. The St. Anthony Express recorded:

> Messrs. Willoughby & Powers, determined not to be outdone by their enterprising neighbors, have recently received from the east, one of the most beautifully firnished (sic) coaches that we have ever examined. The rich velvet plush covering of the soft seats and backs; the silk lining and exquisite finish of the paintings are far superior to eastern coaches. They will run daily between St. Paul and St. Anthony, and in connection with the excellent carriages of Messrs. Pattison & Benson furnish the very best accommodations for the increasing travel between the villages, and yet frequently cannot accommodate all the travelers. 15c.

Another line of Willoughby and Powers featured a daily round trip to Stillwater. A coach left St. Paul daily at 7 a. m., reaching Stillwater at noon. At 2 p. m. it started the return trip, arriving back in St. Paul at 6 p. m. Other services were advertised in newspapers of the day: "Burbank & Person will have a mail stage from St. Paul to Galena, to run as soon as steamboating is closed . . . [on account of] the ice." 15d.

Early in 1852 Burbank, W. L. Faucette, and Henry M. Rice organized the Minnesota Express Passenger and Mail Line. Later Burbank joined with Captain Russell Blakely to form the Minnesota Stage Company. Again in 1854 Burbank went into partnership with Charles Whitney, organizing the Northwestern Express Company. At one time this last concern worked more than 700 horses and employed 200 men.

15c. St. Anthony Express, July 12, 1851.
15d. Democrat Weekly, February 11, 1851.

The stagecoach may have been a picturesque vehicle, but travelers of the day were not enthusiastic about its traveling qualities. A letter to the editor of the St. Paul Pioneer complained bitterly:

> No more unhappy infliction could be imposed upon one's worst enemy than a general shaking up over one hundred and sixty miles . . in a cramped, screaching, lumbering wagon, called now-a-days a stage coach. The stage coach remains the curse of every traveler and stage operators will stick most persistently to the old adage -- "Never too full to take on another passenger." . . On the trip to LaCrosse there were nine passengers inside and one on the outside. Tangled up thus like a skein of yarn, they were jolted up and down for thirty long weary hours . . . I would suggest to the stage owners that they prohibit some of their drivers from using such outrageous profanity in the presence of ladies . . . Is there any necessity for ladies traveling with a dry goods store and two or three millinery shops about their person? How about their adopting some neat warm and close fitting travelling dress so that masculines may not be 16. smothered to death in the stage coach . . with hoop skirts . .

Conditions had been good for a long time, and a few expected a setback in 1857. Even when the spring brought ominous rumors and eastern papers began to carry stories of collapsing western land values, hope still ran high. Then eastern capitalists became panicky about their investments. In the later summer of 1857 several large companies dealing in western lands collapsed, and banks began to fail. On October 1, the St. Paul Pioneer Democrat reported that there was "nothing special to note in this city, except that money is scarce and scarcely any loans are being made . . . There is no excitement 16a. here, and no danger apprehended."

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16. St. Paul Pioneer, Jan. 31, 1863: Letter to Editor, signed "Alva."
16a. St. Paul Pioneer Democrat, Oct. 1, 1857.

But on October 3 the St. Paul Advertiser changed its tone of hopefulness to one of despair: "The 'grand crash' is fairly upon us. St. Paul has stood the shock nobly, but the inevitable result has finally reached us."[17] On the 8th there was considerable excitement because of the "general suspension of banks and bankers" in the east. Early that day Marshall and Company in St. Paul announced suspension. Later the same day the firm of Truman Smith closed its doors. The list of local failures lengthened, and on the 21st a final blow was dealt by the closing of Borup and Oakes.[28]

Measures taken to alleviate the effects of the panic were fruitless. The closing of the banks made it extremely difficult to carry on business, and real estate values collapsed. State laws regulating banking were passed, but these were ineffectual, and no general improvement in the banking system was apparent until after the passage of national regulatory legislation in 1865.

As late as 1858 some optimists were yet speaking of the continued stagnation in business as "merely a temporary embarrassment."[29] But by this time most people expected conditions to grow worse rather than better, and one commentator guessed that "probably time will demonstrate the unwelcome fact that the depths are not yet unsounded. Everything indicates it."[30]

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17. St. Paul Advertiser, October 3, 1857.
28. St. Paul Pioneer and Democrat, October 8-22, 1857.
29. St. Paul Pioneer and Democrat, September 23, 1858.
30. St. Paul Pioneer and Democrat, June 1, 1861.

Some time elapsed following the bank crashes, however, before bad business was reflected in the number of steamboat arrivals at St. Paul. The year 1857 brought 965 boats and the following season 1,090 arrived. But the next year saw the beginning of a decline that was never to be overcome. Traffic on the Minnesota River also reached its height and then dropped sharply.

In the depths of the panic a pronounced quickening in the fur trade brought some relief. During the winter of 1857-58 arrangements were made with the Secretary of the Treasury, permitting the Hudson's Bay Company to ship its goods in bond through St. Paul, abandoning the long established York Factory route, for the Red River carts.[48] This action occurred simultaneously with the British Government's decision to terminate the exclusive jurisdiction of the Hudson's Bay Company in northwestern Canada. Additional fur shipments began to flow through St. Paul as St. Paul traders for the first time were able to participate legally in the Canadian trade.

From the time of its first merchandise store, St. Paul's development into a jobbing center had been steady. A great stimulus to trade was the state's surplus of agriculture. Large quantities of oats, potatoes, and cranberries were sent out. Although, due to the price decline, the business was not profitable. Potatoes which had sold for $1.25 a bushel two years before sold in 1857 for 25 cents a bushel.

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48. Schmid, Calvin, Social Saga of Two Cities, Minneapolis Council of Social Agencies, Minneapolis 1937, p. 22.

New enterprises now began to cause basic changes in St. Paul's economic life. In the towns and villages over the state, St. Paul found a rich source of business and trade. Retail merchants discovered it was profitable to handle the trade of small town storekeepers at prices slightly lower than retail, and this combination of wholesale and retail merchandising continued for some time.

The panic had a stimulating influence on wholesale trade. Many small merchants during the boom period had enjoyed liberal credit from eastern wholesalers. After 1857 the local merchant found himself restricted to St. Paul and St. Anthony for supplies. And as trade grew, the agrarian situation became steadily better. One authority reported:

> Perhaps the most singular change was the increase in wheat production from 1,401 to over 2,000,000 bushels. Corn . . . from 15,725 to 2,941,952 bushels; potatoes from 21,145 to 2,515,485 bushels; and the yield of oats from 30,582 to 2,176,000 bushels. The home market had grown too. There were 64 counties where before there had been only nine and the population had grown from 6,077 for the entire territory to 172,123 for the new state. 53.

With the announcement of a big gold strike on the Frazier and Thompson Rivers in British Columbia, plans were hurriedly made to expand transportation facilities on the Red River in order that St. Paul might receive its share of the trade. Captain Russell Blakely was sent to investigate, and he reported that the river was navigable three or four months a year. Anson Northup was given $2,000 by the St. Paul Chamber of Commerce to transport a boat to the Red River and place it in operation on that stream.

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53. Blegen, Theo. C., "New Buildings Went Up Almost Over Night," Building Minnesota, D. C. Heath and Company, New York, 1938, p. 2.

Machinery for this ship was taken from the old Governor Ramsey, and the lumber came from the St. Croix region. The boat, christened the Anson Northup, was launched in the spring of 1859. Rapids and low water made navigation unsatisfactory, however, and Northup finally refused to continue.

As the panic waned, promoters sought to resume railroad construction. Although railroad laws made free land available on the completion of 20 miles of trackage, funds could not be found. The "Five Million Dollar Loan Bill" was a scheme to laon the credit of the state to the railroad companies. The dangers inherent in such legislation were obscured by the general clamor for railroads, and only a few members of either major party opposed it. The bill was approved at a special election and passed by the legislature,[35] whereupon the promoters began a great show of activity. Scarcely a year later, however, the value of state bonds had fallen so low that they were no longer accepted as collateral, so work had to be abandoned again in July 1859. The state itself was now in serious financial difficulties.[36]

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35. Daily Minnesotian, St. Paul, March 11, 1858.
36. Folwell, W. W., History of Minnesota, Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul, 1924, vol. 2, pp. 44-52.

In the spring of 1858 Ignatius Donnelly, who was to become the region's most unpredictable politician, arrived from Philadelphia. His first Minnesota venture was an attempt to found a new city, Niniger. But the place was never to become the metropolis of Donnelly's dreams. He did obtain a post office, but the stage drivers refused to stop at the settlement, and its few residents had to walk three miles to Hastings for their mail.[18]

The first capitol building was occupied by the legislature in January 1854. Though the location of the capitol at St. Paul was supposedly a closed issue, plans were brewing behind the scenes to rob St. Paul of the honor. In 1857 a company was formed at St. Peter which promised to erect legislative buildings superior to those in St. Paul, and a bill to remove the capital to St. Peter was introduced into the legislature. In February the measure passed the House by a vote of 20 to 17 and the Council in turn approved it by a vote of 8 to 7.

St. Paul was panic stricken. Suddenly it was discovered that Joe Rolette, chairman of the Committee on Enrolled Bills had disappeared, taking the bill with him. Great excitement attended this unexpected development. Almost everybody was suspected of complicity, and there were heated recriminations. A special police force had to be detailed to keep order in the legislature. Each member remained at his desk, a cot and a basket of food beside him. As the deadline for the session's end approached, a duplicate copy of the bill

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18. Patchin, Sydney A., "Development of Banking in Minnesota," Minnesota History Bulletin, St. Paul, 1918, vol. 17, pp. 262-275.

was offered for authentication, but the President of the Council and the Speaker of the House refused to sign the substitute.

Rolette's interest in the matter, as described later, was an amusingly superficial one. As representative of the Pembina district, he had had to make the long journey to St. Paul by dog sled, and he did not relish the idea of having the capital moved still farther away from his home. During the uproar, he was hidden away in his room at the Fuller House, while the sergeant-at-arms, a St. Paul supporter, looked for him "in all places where he surely would not be found." Eventually the Governor signed the substitute copy, but the courts ruled that the action was void.[22.]

Other attempts were made to change the capital's location. Even Minneapolis and St. Anthony cooperated with the smaller towns in these efforts. Among the various proposals made were removal to Nicollet Island, to "some western point," or to Winona. Stillwater, Minneapolis and St. Anthony favored Kandiyohi County. This last proposal passed the legislature but was vetoed by Governor Marshal.[25.] Marshall said in rejecting the bill:

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22. Dean, Wm. A., "A History of the Capital Buildings of Minnesota and Some Account of the Struggle for the Location," Minnesota Historical Collections, St. Paul, 1908, vol. 12, pp. 9-15.
25. Dean, "A History of the Capital Buildings of Minnesota," vol. 12, p. 17.

> I am informed by competent and reliable engineers who have made a careful estimate that the geographical centre of state is within a radium of five miles of the junction of the Crow Wing and Mississippi rivers . . . . The proposed location is ninety miles south southwest, only twenty miles nearer the true geographical center than the present temporary seat of government.

Supporters of the measure became indignant, and the Minneapolis Tribune recklessly wrote:

> The St. Paul papers are responsible for shamefully misleading the public in regard to the location of Kandiyohi. Most people outside the state have got the idea from their descriptions, that it is some sort of a mysterious and impenetrable wilderness out beyond the farthest frontier . . . . but in spite of St. Paul influence and vetoes, Kandiyohi is certain some day to be the center of the population of Minnesota. 26.

Concerned as the people of St. Paul were with the rapid growth, trade and development of their city, they still found time for recreation. Since the city was in many respects a frontier post with indefinite contact with the east, social life was of a necessity restricted. Entertainment had developed, however, from the period of the forties, and the theatre, concert and music halls all were popular.

"Tonight will be performed Shakespeare's great tragedy of Macbeth," announced a newspaper. "Mr. C. W. Couldock as Macbeth and Miss H. Irvine as Lady Macbeth." A change of bill for the next night offered "Mr. Couldock as Richelieu and Miss Irvine as Julie DeMortimer." At the conclusion of this engagement the violinist, Ole Bull, was heard in a concert. Following that, 55. "Hough and Meyers presented the Merchant of Venice and Dance in the Dark."

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26. Minneapolis Tribune, July 1, 1869.
55. Pioneer and Democrat, July 14, 15, 17, 21, 1856.

Among the entertainers of the decade were the Peak family of bell ringers and Antonio and Carroll's Great World Circus. Two plays that were seasonal favorites were Ingomar and The Marble Heart.[56.] Popular theatres were Scott's and the People's.[57.]

It was not until 1861 that St. Paul organized a volunteer fire department. No horses were used; the firemen themselves pulled the carts, and water was pumped from cisterns. The apparatus consisted of several hose-carts and one hook and ladder company. Christian Hoffman, 95-year-old pioneer, still remembers the department of that time. "At every fire Mrs. Bartlett Presley, wife of the fruit merchant but better known as mother of the fire department, would come and serve us sandwiches. Our worst fire was the old Concert Hall, where two brothers, Charles and August Mueller, were forced to jump from the eighth floor."[61.]

Meanwhile the abolitionist movement steadily gathered force. The issue of slavery grew daily more acute. Copies of Harriet Beecher Stowe's new book, Uncle Tom's Cabin, were passed around from family to family in St. Paul until the books were worn out. Readers were equally vehement in praising or damning the novel, according to their personal convictions. Another woman,

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56. Daily Pioneer and Democrat, August 29, 1867.
57. Daily Pioneer and Democrat, August 29, 1867.
61. Interview: Hoffman, Christian, last living member of St. Paul's Volunteer Fire Department, September 27, 1941.

Jane Grey Swisshelm, was also prominent in the anti-slavery movement in the Northwest. Her lectures, given from 1857 to 1865 throughout Minnesota, provoked a great deal of controversy. In St. Paul, as in other northern settlements along the Mississippi, the influence of river trade and travel had a profound effect upon slavery sentiment. Immigrants and visitors from below the Mason and Dixon line were zealous evangelists, and through them the river communities had a more sympathetic understanding of the South's economic plight than was prevalent elsewhere in the North. St. Paul, before the secession, was semi-hostile territory for abolitionist missionaries.

So the period of the ox cart and stagecoach drew to an end. Perhaps no year ever closed with darker forebodings than 1860. To the South, the skies were growing blacker day by day. Rumblings of rebellion troubled the North. The national situation was reflected in St. Paul where business was depressed, banks were failing, currency was depreciated, and investments were on the downgrade. Secession from the Union by intractible cotton-producers, states' rights upholders and slave holders seemed inevitable.

The River, Artery to Empire

Water travel contributed materially to the growth of St. Louis, Galena, then Chicago, and finally St. Paul. Its importance could hardly be overestimated. Inseparably identified with early St. Paul, the Mississippi river invited and hastened development. The voyageur and the packet captain were to hold sway for a brief but picturesque period, ~~yet this period,~~ yet this period served to establish the trade supremacy of the Capital.

Without water travel the lead mines of Galena could never have been so rapidly exploited; without egress to world markets by Fever River and the Mississippi, Galena could never have become the great entrepot for the lead traffic with St. Louis 400 miles downstream and Fort Snelling nearly 300 miles above. Galena, by the time of the Civil War a decadent, forgotten city, could actually, thanks to water, boast a newspaper in 1828, five whole years before Chicago was born.[1.]

Chicago, because of its lake trade, had made giant strides before it secured its first rail connection with the East in 1852. What was destined to become its "loop" was a fenced-in cow pasture in 1828. Incorporated as a town five years later, Chicago was already playing with destiny when in 1843 it passed an ordinance barring pigs from running in its streets.

Similarly, St. Paul had nebulous beginnings. Perhaps St. Paul's first citizen may never be definitely determined. Should this prove to be the case, old "Pig's Eye" Parrant, logical claimant, might have sweet reprisal upon the earlier and successive "first citizens" who have scorned his memory.

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1. Peterson, Wm. - Steamboating on the Upper Mississippi, p. 216.

Dominated by the river, St. Paul underwent numerous christenings and re-christenings before Rev. Fr. Galtier's naming survived. Michel LeClaire from Canada and Grand Marais, is thought by some to have been St. Paul's first resident. A carpenter and fur company employe who built Alexander Faribault's house in 1836, he settled in the vicinity, if not on the site of modern St. Paul and the locality became known along the river as Pointe LeClaire. Americans later dubbed it "LeClaire's."[2.]

Long before the mid-Fifties brought the great rush of settlers, the river had determined St. Paul future. Unlike the Rock Island Rapids that for a time halted upriver traffic, the St. Anthony Falls was an insurmountable barrier and influenced the decision that fixed St. Paul as the head of navigation. The Falls, however, made St. Anthony and later Minneapolis the terminus for river trade to the north.

As with all river towns, the character of the three villages that were to spring up about the Falls was peculiarly influenced by the Mississippi. Perhaps no better example of the river's dominating hold upon earlyriver towns can be found than John Stevens' explanation and apology for the laying out of the Minneapolis townsite. The latter was the only village of the three that enjoyed a rational program of city planning.

" . . . As no one expected at this time," wrote Stevens of the year 1854," that much of the land back of the first plateau would ever be used for any other than agricultural purposes, after consulting with all claimants up and down

2. Hoffman, M. M., New Lights on Old St. Peters & Early St. Paul, p. 45.

the river immediately adjoining my land, we concluded there should be one avenue laid out running parrallel with the river, which should be the basis for laying out the town; that the name of this avenue should be Washington. This decision with regard to laying out the principal avenue in such a manner as to run parallel with the river as the foundation for laying out all the other land into streets, avenues, lots and blocks was a great error, an error that, had my foresight been as good as my present sight, would never have occurred. What I should have done, was to have paid no attention to the windings of the river, but ran the streets directly east and west, and the avenues directly north and south. As all the land subsequently laid out and plotted in Minneapolis had for a starting point my first survey, it made me responsible for all time for this unfortunate early mistake . . . ."

"Most if not all the cities on the banks of the Mississippi and its tributaries, at this time, had the principal part of the business confined to pretty near the steamboat landings. The idea was general that the stores and shops would be close to the banks of the river; and so they were at first, none could be prevailed upon to invest very far back from the river."[3]

St. Paul, the first of the Twin Cities to be settled and by men lacking Stevens' sense of public interest, was to suffer greatly from its helter-skelter and myriad plattings. Peculiarly, there was great inter-city rivalry between the section dominated by the Upper Landing on Water street and the section which looked to the Jackson street or lower Landing for its steamboat arrivals. St. Anthony and St. Cloud also experienced the rivalry inherent in having two landings. Minneapolis somewhat similarly split upon locating the site of its first courthouse because of property development influenced by the river.

3. Stevens, John H., Personal Recollections - p. 233.

The American Fur Company and its Minnesota territorial subsidiary, the Northern Outfit, played a significant part in developing early steamboat traffic. Without the subsidizing effect of the shipment of government supplies and of the transport of troops to and from frontier posts, river traffic would have been insignificant. No better proof of this is necessary than the fact that, as late as 1853, St. Paul's traffic in government supplies exceeded the volume done in supplying settlers.[4]

It should be noted, however, that the transcontinental railroad survey party came up river that year. Isaac I. Stevens, commandant of the party and newly appointed governor of Washington territory, arrived with a cargo of mules May 27, 1853, and began organizing the overland party at St. Paul. With the upsurge of immigration in 1854 and later years, passenger travel shared prominence with freight traffic.

Steamboating in early days, like fur trading, centered about a few personalities. Henry H. Sibley and Hercules L. Dousman were the respective grandees of the fur trade in Minnesota territory and Wisconsin. Each played a part in encouraging river traffic . . . The river too had its dominant personalities in Captains David G. Bates, Daniel Smith Harris, Joseph Throckmorton, John and George W. Atchison, and others.

Dousman, Sibley, and other officers of the American Fur company, gave financial support as well as trade to the river captains. The Fur company was part-owner of the Burlington, built in 1837, and captained by Throckmorton, a favorite of Dousman and the Fur company. Henry Sibley, Franklin Steele, B. W. Brisbois, and Captain William H. Hooper owned each an eighth interest in the Lynx,

4. Peterson, Wm. Steamboating on Upper Mississippi, p. 203.

and Dousman held the remaining half interest in 1844. Again in 1850, Brisbois, Dousman, and Henry M. Rice of St. Paul, held part interest in Captain Orrin Smith's Nominee.[5]

The Galena Packet company was organized in 1847, with Messrs. Campbell, Smith, Brisbois, H. M. Rice, Colonel Dousman, H. H. Sibley, and M. W. Lodwick as the incorporators. The firm's first packet was the Argo and it was in the trade until October when it snagged and sank at Wabasha. The next summer, the Argo was replaced by the Dr. Franklin, rival to the Senator, running out of St. Louis. Up to this period and the golden days that were to follow, steamboating had been an individual venture. Such river corporations as the Galena Packet company, the Minnesota Packet company, the Keokuk, the Northern Line, the White Collar Line, and others could not submerge the personalities of the river captains.

Captain Russell Blakely, clerk on the "Argo" during her brief career, lived not only to enjoy a career as captain of the Nominee in 1853 and the Galena in 1854, but branched into the express business, stage coach, railroad, and banking business. He became a political power in St. Paul. A story of his launching a steamboat upon the Red River is told. The legend goes that Indians wrote Blakely to complain that the "water fowl" disturbed the bones of their ancestors and asked atonement in the way of "four kegs of yellow money." Needless to say, the spirits of the Indians' ancestors went unrequited.

Captain Louis Robert, one of St. Paul's founders and civic leaders, earned wide fame on the river before settling permanently in St. Paul. "Louie Robair" was beloved for his quaint dialect, generous deeds and chivalry. On one occasion, he was the unwitting donor of a new bell to the Catholic parish when Bishop Cretin, knowing his man, had Captain Robert purchase the bell in St. Louis.

5. Peterson, Wm. Steamboating on The Upper Mississippi, p. 157.

Robert's entry into steamboating resulted from observing St. Paul's need for better service, particularly at the opening and closing of navigation. He went to St. Louis and purchased the Greek Slave for $20,000, and captained her himself. He came to own a fleet of five packets.

Newson in his Pen Pictures describes Robert as a " . . . tall, muscular man, with strong features; decided convictions; great energy; excellent business qualities; and . . . a born leader of men." During the years 1853-55, he controlled the French vote in St. Paul and in alliance with the Irish leader, William Pitt Murray, contrived Democratic victories in the local political arena.

To Murray also must go much credit for helping organize St. Paul as a civic entity in the Fifties. In the words of Archbishop Ireland, years later, "There was in the atmosphere a scent of the prophet when on wintry nights, in the old frame-built City Hall, William P. Murray and his fellow councilmen would gather close to the reddened stove and William would say, 'Boys, let us think wisely; we are legislating for a village which will soon be a great city.'"[6.]

The Nominee, which replaced the Senator in trade, became the nucleus of a fleet that rivaled the Galena Packet company. This was the Minnesota Packet company, formally organized in 1852.

The fiery pair of brothers, Captain Daniel Smith Harris and Meeker, the engineer, furnished the Packet company hot competition in 1852 with their new steamer, The St. Paul.

"By this time everybody on the river from Galena to St. Paul had taken sides in this fight," wrote Captain Blakeley, "and after the close of navigation

6. St. Paul Pioneer Press - Address of Ireland, at Dedication of St. Paul hotel, April 19, 1910.

the friends of both parties insisted that there was enough for all in the trade." The Galena and Minnesota Packet company was founded with Captain Orren Smith as president. The building of new boats by the two interests virtually forced the two factions to merge to avoid ruinous competition in the face of fabulous prosperity.

On May 11, 1854, the first daily newspaper, the Minnesotian, began publication. In June it was announced that a daily mail service was not entirely fulfilled, however, for in November there were still complaints, and the voicing of a hope that perhaps the winter service by stage might be better.[7]

Settlers flocked northward with the eagerness of migrating ducks. The tragic colony of Rollingstone came in 1852-53, and despite the pleadings and warnings of Captain Blakeley and others settled roofless upon the Indians' prairies above Wabasha Landing. Sickness and privation caused many needless deaths.

"We estimate that during the present season," wrote the Daily Democrat editor, October 30, 1854," the arriving steamboats have landed here upwards of forty-five thousand passengers. It is entirely safe to estimate also that each of these persons has left with us, in necessary expenses, the sum of ten dollars, and this will give us a result of $450,000 being added to the currency of the place . . . ."

On November 1, the Daily Minnesotian recorded: " . . . We learn that a new town [St. Lawrence] is to be laid out on the Minnesota river, some 15 miles above Shakopee . . . . A friend of ours from that section, says we in St. Paul can have no real conception of the rapidity with which this whole upper country is being filled up with emigrants. He estimated that no less than six thousand settlers have gone in above Shakopee since the opening of navigation last spring."

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7. Daily Minnesotian, St. Paul, June 19, and November 11, 1854 (Minnesota Annals).

The parade of nations was underway. Such press announcements as: "November 19, the first issue of the Minnesota Deutsche Zeitung appeared," "Three hundred Swedes debarked at Stillwater last evening from the Steamer Galena. They will settle in the vicinity of Chisago Lake, where a large number of their countrymen have already found comfortable homes;" and again: ". . . A large colony of Norwegians have settled on the North Fork of Root River . . ." or the item: "Father MCMANUS, on Sunday, pronounced the first sermon in the Irish language ever delivered in Minnesota, at the Catholic chapel . . ." bespoke a future well-realized in Minnesota.[8]

Rivermen were not left alone to foster settlement. In an effort to arouse interest in the Territory's possibilities, William G. LeDuc was sent to New York in 1853, with an exhibit of Minnesota products for the Crystal Palace World's Fair. The St. Paul stationer and bookstore man was allotted $300 by the legislature and, as planned, a shaggy bison bull, transported to New York with herculean labor, was to feature an imposing exhibit, but the governors of the exposition refused to be "buffaloed," flatly turning down the beast. The rest of the display, however, comprising wheat, rye, oats, corn, furs and Indian articles, including a birch bark canoe, a really meritorious exhibit, agriculturally and otherwise, shared a better fate. People of the Eastern states had been interested in the more spectacular development of the far west, but the flattering comments which this exhibit recieved from Horace Greeley and other eastern editors and leaders, served to bring Minnesota favorably to their attention, but the immigrants came usually out of the impelling desire for free land.[9]

8. Daily Minnesotian, Nov. 20, 1855; Daily Democrat, October 3, 1854; Daily Minnesota Pioneer, November 14, 1854; Daily Minnesota Pioneer, November 21, 1854.
9. William G. Le Duc, Minnesota at the Crystal Palace Exhibition, New York, 1853; Minnesota History Bulletin, Vol. 1, No. 7, August 1916, pp. 352-368; also see W. G. LeDuc to Martin McLeod, April 8, 1853.

On his return, Le Duc submitted a report to the Governor pointing out the possibility of attracting foreign immigrants to Minnesota and suggested that official action should be taken toward that end. Governor Gorman in his message to the legislature of 1855 asked that official agency be established. Such a measure was approved and Eugene Burnand was placed in charge of the bureau in New York. Le Duc had suggested that the greatest possibilities for securing settlers lay among the Scandinavians but Burnand concentrated his efforts among Germans, Swiss, Belgians and French. Most of those who came to the Territory as a result of his work were Germans.[10]

Traffic on the river increased with the expanding needs of the Territory, the steady numbers of incoming settlers, the development of trade. New boat lines, including the St. Louis and St. Paul Company, the Diamond Jo Packet Company and many others, were attracted by the extraordinary profits in northern Mississippi navigation.[11] The War Eagle, which had cost $20,000, cleared $44,000 profits in one year alone and the City Belle, which had cost $11,000, brought in $30,000 in profits during the same period.[12]

10. Livia Appel and Theodore Blegen, Official Encouragement of Immigration to Minnesota during the Territorial Period; Minnesota History Bulletin during the Territorial Period, Minn. History Bulletin, Vol. 5, No. 3, August 1923, pp. 169-170.
11. Gen. James H. Baker, History of Transportation in Minnesota, Minnesota History Collections, Vo. 9, 1910, p. 17.
12. J. Fletcher Williams, A History of the City of St. Paul, Minnesota History Collections, Vol. 4, 1876, p. 360.

In the same year, the energetic LeDuc was to build the first brick house "on the bluff," on the south side of Third street. Occupied first as the post office, it in turn became a saloon, the home of several newspapers, and finally settled back in its old career of tavern to become the famed landmark, the Tivoli, that survived until the tornado of 1904 reduced it to wreckage. It was not rebuilt.

The river paced the commercial life of the city in this period. Perhaps no year has proved more eventful in St. Paul history than 1854. St. Paul formally became a city. On March 4, 1854, the legislature passed an act incorporating St. Paul. A few months later the city was visited by the "Grand Excursion" which marked the completion of the railroad as far west as Rock Island, Illinois, thus connecting the river traffic of Minnesota directly with the east. River Captain Russell Blakeley wrote of it that, "Bells were rung and whistles sounded and the curling waters of the Great River opened to receive the keels of vessels freighted with hundreds of the most distinguished men and women of the nation, who had never before set eyes upon the rich beauties which nature has distributed profusely over our mighty valley.[13]

Thousands of guests rode over the newly completed rail line and embarked on river packets to St. Paul. When they had to be conveyed to St. Anthony in carriages, wagons and coaches, St. Paul hooted their derision of the rival city's pretensions of being head of navigation on the river. It was a triumphal day for St. Paul. They spoke of the "Great River." They did not foresee, in the approach of the railroads, the river's decline.

13. Russell Blakely, History of the Discovery of the Mississippi and The Advent of Commerce in Minnesota, Minnesota History Collections, Vol. 8, St. Paul, 1898, p. 395.

The gay visitors were not for the most part prospective settlers, but stories of the excursion in many papers and magazines had an effect upon immigration. It was estimated that forty-five thousand settlers were landed in St. Paul by the end of the year. A newspaper recorded that, "They do not tarry here long but scatter themselves over the Territory in search of claims."[14] Though eastern states continued to send the majority of newcomers, the first groups of foreign immigrants began to appear.[15] It was the year of the Grant tour. The first wheat, 2,000 bushels, " . . . A small lot of very good white wheat . . ." selling at $1.55 in St. Louis was shipped out of the territory. Sawmills and grist mills burgeoned. Settlers trampled over one another. Four daily newspapers clarioned the prosperity. Five railroads, though stillborn, were nevertheless incorporated that year by the state legislature.

"Five hundred dollars per foot has been offered for improved business property at the lower landing, and refused," stated the Daily Minnesotian June 27, 1854. That fall, the same daily could report: "The people in the lower part of town are moving in the business of erecting a new and capacious first class hotel. They must carry through the work, if they expect to succeed in holding their present position." The week before Norman Kittson's Sintomine House, newly completed hostelry in lower town, had mysteriously caught fire and for lack of a fire department was a total loss.

Lumber could not be supplied fast enough for the extensive building. It was reported in July that twenty buildings were being delayed due to lack of building material.[16]

14. Daily Democrat, Sept. 19, 1854, St. Paul (Minnesota Annals).
15. Daily Democrat, St. Paul, The Rise and Progress of St. Paul, October 28, 1854 (Minnesota Annals).
16. Daily Minnesotian, July 18, 1854 (Minnesota Annals).

When in 1841 Count Haraszthy, a Hungarian nobleman and master of the small steamer, St. Anthony, had brought the logs for Rev. Fr. Galtier's chapel from Marine mill and around Point Douglas to the future St. Paul, he filled the first order for timber in St. Paul. Paradoxically, the city, throughout the Fifties, felt a lumber shortage despite the fact of its location near a great timber belt!

To offset this shortage, Capt. William B. Dodd had erected the first steam sawmill below the lower landing in the late fall of 1851. The rotary saws were not satisfactory and the next fall he erected a larger mill near the same site. This mill ran night and day and employed 32 hands. Ames and Hoyt had a mill on Trout Run and Alpheus Fuller another on the edge of the bluff in Upper town, during 1854. John R. Irvine's old mill near Fuller's was not operating. Two grist mills also were in existence. Foundries managed by F. & J. B. Gilman and O. S. Locke & Co. were already anticipating the need for agricultural implements, and W. Spencer and Company operated a sash and door factory employing thirty men.

Despite sawmill development, the Daily Democrat of November 15 declared: "On every side there is a pressing demand for lumber which it is impossible to meet. St. Paul with its steam-mills is destitute; and St. Anthony with its eight saws driven by water-power, is almost equally so . . . . It is said that there is to be an unequalled formidable invasion of the pineries this winter and we hope that instead of sending their logs below for market the timber cutters will trust them to a home market."[17.]

The prediction proved to be quite correct for in 1856, the surveyor-general reported scaling 6,000,000 feet of logs for Borup and Oakes alone. The

17. Daily Democrat, October 25, 1854 and November 15, 1854.

logs were caught in the St. Paul boom as they came over the Falls and were then floated to the mills down stream. A large number went to St. Louis. In time, the bulk of Minnesota's timber, as its wheat, came to be milled in the Twin Cities.

A prominent figure in the rafting phase of the Mississippi river trade was Captain Stephen B. Hanks, whose father's only sister was the immortal Nancy Hanks, mother of Abraham Lincoln. Captain Hanks also served as a pilot for the Galena and Minnesota Packet company.

The shortage of lumber as well as other supplies in the years 1854-55, illustrates the needs of St. Paul for added transportation and development.

"There were at least 15 steamboats at the lower levee when we arrived there, all busy . . . unloading," recalled Judge Loren C. Collins of his arrival in 1852. "They were packed with passengers and freight coming up the river, but going down they carried very little, for there was nothing to ship. The first shipment of any consequence were potatoes in the spring of 1855. For 2 or 3 years after that nearly all the flour and grain used in the territory was brought from Galena."[18] While Minnesota abounded in hay and grass, baled hay and feed was being shipped from down-river ports even after 1855.

The river then was virtually the line of communication and supply for the invading army of settlers. A letter writer to the Boston Atlas in July, 1855, wrote: "The emigration hither has doubled this year and besides a regular line of 6 large mail steamers from Galena, and some 30 or 40 others on the Mississippi employed this season in bringing emigrants, a large number are coming with teams from neighboring states. For three weeks past at LaCrosse, on the Mississippi, an average of 30 teams have crossed the ferry daily bound for this territory with large numbers of cattle.

18. Morris, Lucy L. W. Old Rail Fence Corners, p. 276.

"The emigrants, also the Germans, Norwegians, Swedes, and other foreigners who came up the river, mostly settle, or technically speaking 'squat' upon the unsurveyed and unoccupied lands in order to get them by pre-emption when surveyed by the Government at $1.25 per acre . . . . There is yet to the north of this city land already surveyed that can be entered or bought at government prices but none of good quality within 30 miles." [19] . . .

The river boats brought things other than settlers and freight to St. Paul. The Royal Arch pulled up to St. Paul in May, 1853, with its passengers scourged by Asiatic cholera. A child, the first case, had taken ill at Galena, and at the boat's arrival in St. Paul thirteen corpses lay under a canvas on the lower deck.

"Notwithstanding the ghastly freight . . .," wrote a commentator, "kind hearts sympathized and kind hands were extended to help; and the dead were buried and everything possible was done for the sick and suffering survivors, many of whom died after being carried ashore at St. Paul . . . . Henry P. Pratt, editor of the St. Paul Minnesotian, sickened and died from infection caught by ministering to the stricken ones." [20]

Incorporation of the city by the state legislature, at its session in 1854, led to the election of David Olmstad, shaggy-browed editor of the Democrat, as mayor. The act of March 4 set off St. Paul, as an area of 2,400 acres, into three wards and provided for election of officers.

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19. Daily Minnesotian, July 10, 1855.
20. Folsom, W. H. C. - Fifty Years in the Northwest, p. 721-22.

Arrival of Earle S. Goodrich on the same day St. Paul became a "city" inaugurated a new era in journalism. Goodrich, a New Yorker of fine derivations, had put down stakes at Green Bay in 1850. Joseph R. Brown, who succeeded Goodhue as publisher of the Pioneer, wished to sell. Goodrich purchased the newspaper and the next day left for New York to get equipment for launching a daily on May 1. The rival publications, Democrat and Minnesotian, could not brook such zeal. The Democrat emerged as a daily on the same day as Goodrich's Pioneer and the Minnesotian changed over on May 12.

A fourth daily newspaper appeared three days later in the Daily Times. T. M. Newson, able writer on the Pioneer staff, was the publisher-editor of the new daily until 1861. St. Paul in consequence could boast unusual enterprise with four dailies; yet the city received only three mails a week.

The epic event on the river during 1854 was the Grand Excursion sponsored by the Chicago and Rock Island railroad upon completion of its line to the latter terminal. The road connecting the Mississippi was completed on Washington's birthday anniversary, and at a Chicago meeting of rail officials the summer tour to St. Paul and the Falls was planned. Services of the Galena and Minnesota Packet company were enlisted and five packets were at dockside in Rock Island when the East's royalty of finance, journalism, and culture embarked.

"About five hundred persons were on board - the noble men and fair women of the land - come for the first time to behold the goodly land, and some to inherit it," wrote a contemporary and of the party's arrival at St. Paul continued: "These splendid packets, on coming to town, were arranged and managed with great tact and skill, considering the rapidity of the current at this point, and after performing various evolutions, came up to the landing five abreast. The drums beat, the bells rung, the cannon roared, the whistles screamed . . . ."

More than a score of newspapermen were in the entourage to help publicize the new West. Ex-president Millard Fillmore, Charles A. Dana, George Bancroft, Governor Mattison of Illinois, Professor Stilliman, Yale geologist , Edward Bates, and bevies of politicians, financiers, and socialites were there.

The flotilla had arrived a day earlier than scheduled and St. Paul officials were hard put to provide transportation and complete arrangements. As one observer noted: "Everything from the nicest buggies and chaises down to the meanest drag, was engaged" to transport the guests to St. Anthony Falls. Returning by way of Fort Snelling, the visitors made gay at a grand ball at the capitol before hastening aboard the packets for the return trip. Many such excursions were to follow in the wake of this epochal one, before lowering war clouds halted the sightseeing tours that the versatile George Catlin had years before popularized as the "fashionable tour."

Departure of the eastern excursionists left St. Paul in a flux of optimism and excitement. It was with high exultancy that the Daily Minnesotian announced the passage of the Minnesota Railroad bill granting lands to the Minnesota and Northwestern railroad.

". . . to HENRY M. RICE, as Minnesota's delegate, belongs the honor of leaving upon the pages of the nation's history, the record of the first act of this kind that has ever transpired. No Territory, until this, had ever received a grant of lands for railroad purposes; and it is probable that Minnesota will be the first territory whose soil will tremble beneath the tread of the Iron Horse . . ."[21] wrote the editor.

The ink of President Pierce's signature was scarcely dry on the bill when ugly rumor and fraud eclipsed the florescent hopes of Minnesota speculators.

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21. The Daily Minnesotian, July 13, 1854.

". . . The 'agitators' . . ." bitterly chronicled the Minnesotian," wanted no railroad unless they and their friends could 'make money' directly out of the lands granted." The language of the bill appeared to have been altered by the Clerk of the House, John W. Forney, and both chambers repealed the measure on August 3. An investigating committee found room for "severe censure" but not fraud.

The Congressional repeal not only annulled the charter but wiped out the much-desired land grant to the state. Speculative-minded and under popular pressure and demands for a railroad, the majority faction of the legislature and its Washington partisans had "granted" away the state's entire federal land grant for a non-existant and speculatively conceived railroad. Delegate H. M. Rice and others were accused of having control of property at the mouth of the St. Louis river and the western extremity of Lake Superior, which was to be a terminal point of the proposed railroad.

The legislative minority of the 1855 session sent a memorial to Congress that "saved to Minnesota the land grant, and sundered all ties between it and the Minnesota & Northwestern Railroad." Henry H. Sibley, S. B. Olmstead, Council president; Norman W. Kittson, council member; and J. S. Norris, house speaker, were leaders of the minority's move which restored the grant on August 27, 1855.[22.]

Mail routes, stage lines, and road development continued to be objects of earnest promotion throughout the summer. Real estate developed rapidly and the face value of bills of exchange and bank issues became more and more a subject of scrutiny. W. W. Hickcox, soon to be a victim of a murderous assault, advertised "Erie and Kalamazoo Railroad Money TAKEN in exchange for Drugs . . ."

22. Ancestry Life and Times of H. H. Sibley - West, Nathaniel, p. 220.

"In these times of uncertainty in paper money operations," wrote the Minnesotian's editor, "we would advise holders in Minnesota to drive home Atlanta money as rapidly as possible. It is one of the most uncertain of the uncertain."[23]

A new type began to make itself known in St. Paul - a harder, more aggressive and less slow-moving group of men. There had been a land boom before, but following the "Great Excursion" conditions became "perfectly wild" and values on land a mile from the business center soared as high as a thousand dollars an acre.[24]

That cults were existent at this early date, is shown by the Daily Democrat's report: "The Millerites have fixed the end of the world for the next time, on the 10th of May next. This is about the fourth or fifth fixing of the same sort."[25]

Property development continued at a rapid pace in the city. Messrs. A. Vance Brown, Stinson and Ramsey platted a new addition at the upper end of St. Paul. Messrs. Trader, Kinney and Bond had also laid out another addition on the river's bank. "A sale of real estate brought $275 per acre for land about 2 miles from St. Paul which a year ago might have sold for $30 per acre," the Minnesotian informed its readers.[26]

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23. Daily Minnesotian, Nov. 8, 1854.
24. Note - Minnesota History, March 1930, Vol. XI, No. 1, p. 109.
25. Daily Democrat, Oct. 31, 1854.
26. Daily Minnesotian, May 12, 1854.

The year marked advance in religious fields also. Rev. Fr. Michael Wuerzfeld arrived in St. Paul to lay the beginnings of the Assumption parish and to serve the ever-growing German element of St. Paul. Father Augustine Ravoux returned in mid-year from a visit to France and brought seven seminarians to man the church's understaffed clergy. Protestant congregations also were being swelled by the new settlers from Wisconsin, Iowa, and eastern states as well as by hardy land-seekers from Northern Europe. Rev. Edward Neill established a new church, "The House of Hope."

Symbolic perhaps of the Indians' retreat from the city was the hanging of Yu-ha-zee on December 29, 1854. The Sioux had murdered a white woman two years before and the white man's justice, with its usual contempt of urgency, had reached out for its red victim - the first to hang in Minnesota. Alone, unbefriended, the miserable Yu-ha-zee was gibbeted upon St. Anthony hill with cries of scorn and protest ringing in his ears.

Governor Gorman was not his hospitable self when Auctioneer Frank E. Collins called on a January evening, 1855, in reference to an account. In the language of the Minnesotian editor" . . . some words passed between them, when the Governor suddenly knocked Mr. Collins down . . . the Governor, after pledging the Marshal of the city that he would obey the warrant failed to appear. It is to be hoped that the Marshal will do his duty this morning."[27]

The explosive Governor, who during his career had at least one other assault on his escutcheon, escaped punishment when the jury trying the assault case disagreed. His faction was further piqued when the State Legislature did

27. Daily Minnesotian, Jan. 12, 1855.

not give the Territorial printing to the Minnesota Pioneer, the Gorman-Sibley paper.[28]

Governor Gorman created a ludicrous situation by refusing to deliver his message opening the legislature. The Governor thought thereby to forestall that body from taking up the first order of business, the allotting of the state printing. When the Governor had changed his mind, the legislature had already dispensed with a desire to hear the Governor.[29]

St. Paul joined hands January 23, 1855, with St. Anthony and Minneapolis in celebrating the opening of the first bridge across the Mississippi, at St. Anthony.

"At an early hour, St. Anthony was alive with people," stated the Pioneer. "Gay equipages came dashing in one after another, and before the hour appointed for the procession to form, there was a notable assemblage at the St. Charles, composed of the elite of St. Anthony, Minneapolis, Saint Paul and other places . . . . and although the FROST KING had exercised a very depressing influence on the thermometer . . . the 'turnout' was magnificent. - We counted 62 sleighs and cutters in the line, ... when the first sleigh arrived at the Bridge . . . cannon thundered forth the announcement of the inauguration of the bridge, the gates of which were then thrown wide open."[30]

In the same week of the opening of the 620 foot span across the Mississippi, the Sioux and Chippewa had another clash. Governor Gorman had given the Sioux permission to hunt on the east side of the river. Flushed with the "take"

28. Daily Minnesotian, Jan. 18, 1855.
29. Daily Minnesotian, Feb. 10, 1855.
30. Minnesota Pioneer, January 25, 1855.

of 500 deer, six members of the hunting party came upon more prized game on Rice creek, 20 miles from St. Paul. The six came suddenly upon a lone Chippewa who did not perceive the enemy until too late to escape. The Ojibway fired, and wounded two of the Sioux. "The remaining Sioux," noted the Democrat, "easily disposed of the Chippewa, and this morning we noticed the scalp of the Chippewa attached to the 'rig' of one of the numerous Sioux who arrived in the city . . . . ."[31]

Alexander Ramsey became the second mayor of the city, at the April 3 elections. Organization that spring of the city's fire department, and its Pioneer Hook and Ladder company, marked another metropolitan advance.

The year 1855 was to see an even greater influx of settlers, and expansion and speculation drove interest rates up to five per cent a month. Notwithstanding this fever for gain, the cities and Territory were fortunate in the calibre of settlers. Many of these Minnesotans were young men and young women come to hew new homes and bringing with them unusual standards of industry and culture. While less articulate, foreigners from Northern Europe were equally well equipped.

The legislature of 1855 had a membership that averaged less than 35 years of age, individually. Minnesota could also boast a higher ratio of families in its population than in the nation at large.

St. Paul had long since attained the dignity of a social set. The homes of the financial and political leaders of the city, as well as those of the military at Fort Snelling, were focal points of gaiety.

"Abby wrote you, she says, of our party at Major Sherman's Quarters . . . ." ran a letter of Sarah Fuller's to her kinswoman, Lizzie. "I have a

31. Daily Democrat, Jan. 27, 1855.

a bouquet that General Shields gave me at the party, pressed in remembrance of it. We had a charming time, got home about four in the morning. Gen. Shields came home in the carriage with us . . ."[32]

The General Shields to whom reference is made was the future senator and founder of Shieldsville who had once challenged A. Lincoln to a duel, but recanted when the latter chose cavalry sabers. Major Sherman, a decade later, was to become the scourge of the South and his fellow officer, Braxton Bragg, at the Post was to become his opponent. Fort Snelling, since the time of Zebulon Pike and Col. Zachary Taylor, had become a clearing house of illustrous names in military annals.

In this period, brother Alph Fuller wrote: " . . . Gov. Gorman has a good deal of 'I am' about him, his wife is nothing like Mrs. Ramsey . . . ., not very popular I believe." and later: " . . . We were at Gov. Gormans to a dinner party a short time since, had a pleasant time; think they improve on acquaintance."

The swift economic growth led to an early blossoming of "high society" among the wealthier bankers and traders. The mingling of Yankee, European and French-Canadian cultures gave it an air of cosmopolitanism. The frontier, too, added its touch, as is testified by the male fashion which was "fox skin caps, with a tail sticking out gracefully behind, and a moustache covering the whole face."[33]

The easterners, dominant economically, attempted to superimpose the pattern of social life in their former homes upon the yet raw settlement. The effect was not entirely happy for it produced a snobbishness and striving for "social tone" which fitted the crude town badly. It produced sentiments such as those expressed by one young lady of fashion, "I called on Mr. R----'s bride. Felt I must. 'Tis said her father was a mechanic in Hartford and that she has been a

32. Fuller, Abbie Abbe and Family, papers - 1848-63. M. H. S. MSS.
33. Minnesota Democrat, St. Paul, Jan. 12, 1853 (Minnesota Annals).

governess. Too bad to let such a rumor get about,"[34] and give rise to such conceits as, "St. Paul was favored with an exceptionally intelligent population in its infancy."[35]

The Ramsey, Gorman, Borup, Oakes, Cox, and Rice homes were favored by the wealthier set. The spacious Borup mansion was the scene of musicales, with two grand pianos, and with the banker himself playing the violin. At the home of William S. Cox, a retired navy officer, there were "grand dinners and petits soupers that would have made the habitues of Washington green with envy." The effort to achieve culture was so strenuous that at times it became ridiculous, as in the case of Miss Hitty Cox, who "was such an accomplished musician that she never played anything but music of her own composition."[36]

New Year's day was the high point of the social season. The young men would press every fancy buggy or carriage into service while the ladies remained at home, serving elaborate refreshments to callers and receiving the signature of guests. The belle with the longest list of callers scored a triumph and, as it is recorded that one group of "frisky fellows" made 150 calls by midnight, the lists must have been long.[37]

Despite editor Goodhue's rememberable boast that "our blood is red," the craving for excitement was not easy to satisfy in the calm town. Not many things happened, so occasions for celebrations had to be invented. National holidays, civic anniversaries and even steamboat landings served as excuses for elaborate festivals, in which the common folk participated as well as those who had set out to rival the "habitues of Washington and Newport."[38]

34. Grace Flandrau, St. Paul, The Untamable Twin, in (The Taming of the Frontier, Duncan Aikman, Editor - Minton Balch, New York, 1925, p. 142.
35. Charles E. Flandrau, Reminiscences of Minnesota During the Territorial Period, Minn. History Collections, Vol. 9, p. 202.
36. Charles E. Flandrau, Reminiscences of Minnesota during the Territorial Period, Minnesota History Collections, Vol. 9, 202.
37. Ibid - pp. 199-200.
38. Richard N. Eide, Minnesota Pioneer Life as Reflected in the Press, Minn. History, Vol. 12, No. 4, Dec. 1931, p. 392.

The cultural pattern for the community was set by New England and the East generally. The newspapers read by the settlers indicate this. In 1856 the New York Tribune had more subscribers in Minnesota than any paper within the state. Moreover, the Minnesota press was itself almost an eastern influence, carrying reprints of articles, editorials and news items from eastern papers and magazines.[39]

The growth of the city fostered an early development of educational and social welfare institutions. In 1853 the Presbyterians officially opened the Baldwin School. The next year they established the Baldwin College for young men. The Rev. E. D. Neill was interested in both institutions and under his guidance they made continuous and rapid progress until the panic of 1857, followed by the Civil War.[40]

The earliest instance of organized welfare work was the establishment of St. Joseph's Hospital by the Catholics in 1854. The next year the St. Vincent de Paul Society was organized by Bishop Cretin. In 1857 St. Luke's Hospital was opened and in ~~the same year~~ 1856 the Young Men's Christian Association began its existence with eleven members.[41]

Women's organizations played a leading role in community life, especially in the encouragement of education and religion. Their efforts were largely responsible for financing many of the early churches. It was said by the Pioneer that these women's groups also performed a major service "in making our people acquainted with each other, exchanging opinions, improving manners and elevating the standards of morality, sobriety and civilization."[42]

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39. Charles M. Gates, Bridges Facing East, Minnesota History, Vol. 16, No. 1, March 1935, p. 32.
40. David L. Kiehle, History of Education in Minnesota, Minnesota History Collections, Vol. 10, part 1, p. 355.
41. Daniel R. Noyes, Charities in Minnesota, Minnesota History Collections, Vol. 12, p. 169.
42. St. Paul Pioneer, October 9, 1851,(Minnesota Annals).

The summer of 1854 saw the cholera at its height in St. Paul and it played no favorites. Charles Fillmore, brother of the ex-President and a shoe merchant, succumbed and others fell victim to cholera, dysentery and typhoid. An ordinance providing for fines against steamboat officials landing sick persons, and the institution of garbage collection twice weekly, were steps toward improved sanitation.

Minneapolitans in February, 1855, were winning their first bill of rights in the Congress at Washington, with passage of the Reserve bill. Joyously, A. E. Ames wrote Colonel Stevens on February 28, 1855; "The Reserve bill passed this morning without amendment - We are safe - all is well - rejoice! . . . Mr. Rice has worked hard for us - Don't forget him . . . ."

The last note again emphasizes the existence of two camps in the scramble for power and opulence, of leading citizens! H. M. Rice, spearhead of one faction, wrote acridly of his opponent, Sibley:" . . . Eastman withdrew his opposition, but not until the bill had virtually passed . . . . It is supposed here that Sibley looks upon Minneapolis as a rival to Mendota - hence his opposition . . . . No one here doubts but Sibley has secretly opposed the interests of the settlers upon the reservation. He is a double dealing hypocrite . . . ."[43.]

Validation of Minneapolis as a townsite for homesteaders only heightened the emigrant tide coursing northward along the Mississippi. Steamboat arrivals had been 256 at St. Paul, in 1854. These figures mounted to 560 in 1855, 837 for 1856, and reached all-time "highs" of 1,026 in 1857, and 1,090 in 1858. Not only were the packets loaded to the gunwales with landseekers, but they pushed or towed barges of supplies up and down stream.

43. Stevens Papers - Letter H. M. Rice to Col. J. H. Stevens, Feb. 4th, 1855.

Because of the importance of the river to the community, river captains were envied by adults and idolized by children. They were privileged characters and even their practical jokes were to be taken with a smile. One, Captain Montfort, had an "Indian flute, about a foot long, decorated with mystic symbols, which unsuspecting passengers were invited to play. The resulting "music" was a puff of flour in the face."[44]

The journey from St. Louis to St. Paul required four days; the fare, including meals, was ten dollars.[45] Although economical and the most comfortable form of transportation then available, river journeys on the average boat were not altogether pleasure trips. Meals were often poor and at times the boats were crowded that passengers were forced to sleep on tables and floors. One traveler, contemplating a trip from St. Louis to St. Paul, was shown a series of pictures to dissuade him. In the first cartoon a dapper young man stepped on to a finely decorated boat. Later he was shown as much older and the boat had dwindled to half size. At last he was pictured as old man and the boat, hardly large enough to hold him, floated on a stream which emanated from a sprinkling pail. If factually inaccurate, the picture no doubt portrayed the mental state to which a river journey often reduced the traveler.[46]

"For many years before and after 1860," wrote Captain Hanks in his diary, "the cabin fare from St. Louis to St. Paul was twelve dollars." (A discrepancy will be noted between this figure and that of Mr. Larpenteur). "The deck passage was usually about half the cabin rate. In the Fifties the Minnesota

44. August L. Larpenteur, Recollections of the City and People, 1843-1848, Minn. History Coll., Vol. 9, p. 389.
45. Ibid - pp. 389-390.
46. Mary Thayer Hale, Early Minneapolis, Personal Reminiscences (Privately printed, Minneapolis, 1937), pp.2-4.

Packet Company cabin fare from Galena, Dunleith, or Dubuque to St. Paul was six dollars; deck passage was two dollars. Competition brought the rate much lower . . .(1852), the Galena-St. Paul fare fell to a dollar and lower, even including meals and berth . . ."

Profits were variable, however; and the stage of water also influenced rates. Captains could fix their own rates. However, with the advent of railroads, lack of tariff regulation was indirectly to lead to the decline of river traffic.

"Beef slough bar is fast becoming a dangerous impediment to navigation, and boats are now frequently detained there a day or two," noted the Pioneer & Democrat of July 7, 1856, during that season of low water. Boats were then getting 50 cents per hundred pounds from Galena, and 85 cents per hundred from St. Louis, a rate the editor thought not exorbitant.[47]

River traffic was heavy upon tributaries in the state as well as on the main artery. The Minnesota river had a particularly profitable trade. Trade between St. Anthony and Sauk Rapids was also heavy. Although the H. M. Rice, originally costing $18,000, was sold at a constable's sale for $120 in St. Anthony in the fall of 1855, there were plenteous days ahead for inter-state river trade. The St. Croix, the Chippewa, and the Red River were other avenues of commerce.

Light draft steamers were built especially for the short haul trade. The North Star, built for use above the Falls, in 1856, drew only 11 inches.

River life was not without its episodes. Strikes were not uncommon.

"Our city was disgraced, on Sunday afternoon, by a bloody fight between some of the officers and a portion of the crew of the steamers Golden Era and Conewago. Capt. Ward, of the latter boat, and one of the mates of the Golden Era,

47. Pioneer & Democrat, July 7, 1856; Sept. 2, 1856.

were badly hurt," noted the Minnesotian, September 30, 1856.

Deck hands of the steamers Itasca, Northern Light, and Gray Eagle went on strike during the depression year of 1857. They sought an increase from $30 to $40 a month.[48]

Lake Como bowed for recognition in this period. A name poignantly identified with Lake Como is that of Col. Henry McKenty, who came to St. Paul before the lake in question bore that name. "The present Lake Como," declared the Pioneer, "was called the Sand Lake and had not a fish in it." Its inaccessability kept many persons away from the district. It was "reached by tortuous windings through swamps and over hills, trespassing upon private ground nearby all the way . . .St. Paul was a new town - no streets graded, no roads or avenues as outlets to the country."[49]

Col. McKenty was engaged in the real estate business at the time; always an active "booster" in a day not redolent of boosting, he used every means in his power to advance the interests of his city and State, and to all objects he regarded as worthy he subscribed liberally himself. Sandy Lake he rechristened "Como," the name whereby it is known today. Col. McKenty is credited with having been the first to stock the lake with fish, having "brought fish of several varieties from a distance . . . from which start thousands are now taken daily."[50]

Appreciating the beauty of the region even before Como was a park, Col. McKenty bought, in Baltimore, two handsome full-rigged sailboats. Probably his most useful act was to construct, out of his own funds, the Como road, "from near Rice street, at the head of Wabashaw street, to the north end of Como, a distance of three miles, and bridging a full third of a mile. On this road and bridges he expended over six thousand dollars in gold."[51] It is dismal to record that this public spirited citizen was to die by his own hand later on.

48. Pioneer & Democrat, Oct. 29, 1857.
49. Daily Pioneer, August 24, 1869.
50. Ibid, August 25, 1869.
51. Ibid, August 25, 1869.

Although the years 1855, 1856, and part of 1857 were notably prosperous, St. Paul had also its indigent and unemployed. Protestant congregations, particularly those under the Presbyterian pastors, Rev. Mr. Neill and Rev. Mr. Riheldaffer, led in organization of a relief society for the city.

And the lot of the Indian hardly appeared to be improving in his retreat to the west. An Hon. G. D. Williams sent to pay annuities to seven hundred Chippewa near Grand Portage, reported dire conditions there.

"The last winter was a particularly hard one," observed the Detroit Advertiser anent the incident," and in the course of it this tribe was reduced to the horrible strait of eating their own children, which they did to the extent of almost extermination. He [Williams] saw and conversed with two women of the tribe one of whom had given up two and the other three children, successively, to be slain and eaten."[52.]

The white man, however, appalled he must have been at such news, was on the march. The inaugural span of the Mississippi at St. Anthony during the summer of 1855 showed tolls averaging $60 a day. Enterprise quite eclipsed crime as the new state penitentiary at Stillwater was virtually, for the time being at least, a private institution.

". . . At the present writing there is but one convict in the penitentiary," reported the St. Croix Union, "and he seemed to do his work more leisurely than any other operative whom we saw employed. Had not one side of his head been shaved we should not have known that he was a convict . . . "[53.]

52. Pioneer & Democrat, Dec. 6, 1855
53. St. Croix Union, Dec. 8, 1855.

Joyfully optimistic, the elite of St. Paul sat down to a festal board at the anniversary dinner commemmorating the Pilgrims' landing in December, 1620. One hundred men and fifty ladies were present at this Thanksgiving party given by the New England Society, in the Winslow House, that blustery winter evening in 1855.