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MATTSON-
CARY

SAINT PAUL THE CITY

CHAPTER SEVEN
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 ~~its~~ development. The voyageur and the packet captain were to hold sway for a brief but picturesque 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 entrepôt for the lead traffic with St. Louis 460 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. [Peterson, Wm.--Steamboating on the Upper Mississippi, p. 216].

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.

Dominated by the river, St. Paul underwent numerous christenings and rechristenings 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 of, 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) (Hoffman, M.M., New Lights on Old St. Peters & Early St. Paul, p. 45).

St.Paul, as its significance on river captain's maps grew, became variously a "Point" then a "Landing". Accidentally dubbed "Pig's Eye", its first formal name was "Saint Paul's Landing". This was shortened to Saint Paul's, and later Saint Paul or St.Paul.

At one time, "Jacksonville" was a rival of the saintly cognomen. "Mr. Jackson is about the earliest settler of St. Paul," remarked the Minnesota Chronicle, July 12, 1849. "Indeed, the place in its beginning was called Jacksonville, after his name. He is a bluff, hearty, whole souled man,..." "Weldsville" was still another offering.

Quint X.

The troops to garrison the newly built Fort Snelling in 1819 came from Green Bay by way of the Wisconsin river. Keel boats were used chiefly up to 1823, to bring supplies to the garrison. The first steamer arriving May 10, 1823, marked the beginning of a dominant river traffic. This trade gained ascendency as the civilizing encroachments of federal and private interests upon the wilderness grew. The Indian treaties of 1837 greatly increased the import of government monies and supplies. The fortuitous severing of civil and military interests that led to St.Paul's founding also gave impetus.

Long before the mid-Fifties brought the great rush of settlers, the river had determined St. Paul's 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. Although Count Beltrami who came up with Major Taliaferro, Indian agent, on the first steamer Virginia explored the upper reaches of the Mississippi, 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 domineering dominating hold upon early river 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 ~~in~~ 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 the river immediately adjoining my land, we concluded there should be one avenue laid out running parallel 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 ~~xxxxx~~ 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 ~~xxx~~ unfortunate early mistake...."

"~~xx~~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) (Stevens, John H., Personal Recollections - p233).

St. Paul, ~~being the first city and being~~ the first of the Twin Cities to be and settled by men lacking Stevens' sense of public interest, was to suffer greatly from its helter-skelter and myriad plattings. Peculiarly, there was great ~~intra~~ 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.

No regular steamboat traffic to Mendota, the first head of navigation, was enjoyed until 1847. Traffic already was considerable, however. Prescott, the interpreter at Fort Snelling, in 1844 recorded 41 steamboat arrivals. The Fort and Mendota, rather than St. Paul's Landing, were the boat terminals in this period. The barrels of pork and flour, and the kegs of lard and liquor put off at St. Paul's, were of little pecuniary interest to the river captains. Furs, Indian, trader, and government supplies were the big items in the Thirties and Forties. Passenger lists occasionally swelled into significance when the Government transported entire tribes of Indians to distant treaty grounds.

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. (Peterson, Wm. Steamboating on Upper Mississippi, p. 203).

It should be noted, however, that the transcontinental railroad survey party came up river that year. Isaac I. Stevens, newly commandant of the party and 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.

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THE RIVER

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. As the wealthiest individual in his domain, each played a part in encouraging river traffic..The river too had its dominant personalities in Captains Daniel Smith Harris, Joseph Throckmorton, David G. Bates, 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, 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. (Peterson, Wm Steamboating on The Upper Mississippi, p. 157).

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 ~~several kegs filled with $10 gold pieces~~ "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. "Louis 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 the Bishop Cretin, knowing his man, had Captain Robert purchase the bell in St. Louis.

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 ~~on the Mississippi~~.

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.'" (St.Paul Pioneer Press-Address of Ireland, at Dedication of St. Paul hotel, April 19, 1910.)

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.

1854

INSERT 1 On May 11, 1854, the first daily newspaper, the Minnesotian, began publication. In June it was announced that a daily mail service to the community was being established, via the river. This hope for an efficient 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. Daily Minnesotian, St. Paul, June 19, and November 11, 1854 (Minnesota Annals).

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THE RIVER

~~The surge of settlers in the spring of 1854~~

The ~~fir~~ 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 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 ~~six~~ new boats by the two interests virtually forced the two factions to merge to avoid ruinous competition in the face of fabulous prosperity.

= INSERT 1 -

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 ~~s~~ettled 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 ~~state~~ 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 is to be laid out on the Minnesota river, some 15 miles above Shakopee .... St.Lawrence

~~Six~~ 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."

The parade of nations was underway. ~~The Daily Minnesotian, November 20,~~ Such press announcements as: "November 19, the first issue of the Minnesota Deutsche Zeitung appeared."

INSERT 3 On March 4, 1854 the legislature passed an act incorporating St. Paul ~~as a city~~. 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 ofMinnesota directly with the east. River Captain Russell Blakely 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 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].

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.

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 Daily Democrat, Sept. 19, 1854, St. Paul (Minnesota Annals). Though eastern states continued to send the majority of newcomers, the first groups of foreign immigrants began to appear. (15 Daily Democrat, St. Paul, The Rise and Progress of St. Paul, October 28, 1854 (Minnesota Annals).

INSERT #2

On his return, Le Duc submitted a report to the Governor pointing out the possibility of attracting foreign immigrants to Min esota 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. (14) [Livia Appel and Theodore Blegen, Official Encouragement of Immigrattion 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].

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) [Gen. James H. Baker, History of Transportation in Minnesota (Minnesota History Collections , Vol. 9, 1910) p. 17]. The War Eagle, which had cost

INSERT--SAINT PAUL THE CITY. (2)

$20,000, cleared $44,000 profit in one year alone and the City Belle, which had cost $11,000, brought in $30,000 in profits during the same period. (12) [J. Fletcher Williams, A History of the City of St. Paul (Minnesota History Collections, Vol. 4, 1876), p. 360].

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Zeitung:" "Three hundred Swedes debarked at Stillwater last evening from the

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 received from Horace Greeley and others, served to bring Minnesota favorably to their attention, but the immigrants came usually out of the impelling desire for free land.

(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].

INSERT #2

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, and that survived until a tornado in 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. (3) 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.

appeared,
Zeitung;" "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 ~~country-men~~ 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...." (Daily Minnesotian, Nov. 20, 1855; Daily Democrat, October 3, 1854; Daily Minnesota Pioneer, November 14, 1854; Daily Minnesota Pioneer, November 21, 1854).

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4 INSERT-- ST. PAUL THE CITY.

1854

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 Daily Minnesotian, July 18, 1854 (Minnesota Annals)].

Five railroads, though still-born, 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," wrote 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. INSERT 4

When Count Haraszthy, a Hungarian nobleman and master of the small steamer, St. Anthony, 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. The city, throughout the Fifties, felt a lumber shortage despite the fact of its location near a great timber belt!

INSERT

To offset this shortage, Capt. William B. Dodd had erected the first steam saw mill 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 boasted, although Winslow's mill was not operating in 1854 because of needed repairs on the Trout Brook dam. Foundries, operated 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 saw mill development, the Daily Democrat of November 15 declared: " On every side there is a pressing demand for lumber which it is impossible to meet.

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p 10A- CHAP. VI
THE RIVER

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 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.

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) [Daily Democrat, October 25,1854 and November 15,1854].

Insert 10A > 5

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) [Morris, Lucy L.W. Old Rail Fence Corners , p.276.]. 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.

"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 Govern-ment 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) [Daily Minnesotian, July 10,1855.].

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) (Folsom,W.H.C. - Fifty Years in the Northwest, p.721-22).

Incorporation of the city by the state legislature, at its session in 1854, led to the election of David Olmsted, shaggy-browed editor of the Democrat, as mayor. The act of March 4 set off St. Paul, as an area of 2400 acres, into three wards and provided for election of officers.

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 ~~Minnesot~~ 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 ~~and their parties~~ 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 ~~arose~~ screamed...."

~~While the trip upstream~~ More than a score of newspapermen were in the entourage to help publicize the new West. ~~and Ex-President Millard Fillmore; Historian George Bancroft, Governor~~

~~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 ~~day reached a climax with~~ made gay at a grand ball at the capitol ~~and a~~ before hastening aboard ~~ing of~~ 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 ~~traffic~~ tours that the versatile George Catlin had years before popularized as the "fashionable tour".

INSERT 6

p. 13A CHAP VII.
THE RIVER

Insert paragraph:

The Congressional repeal not only annulled the charter but wiped out the much-desired ~~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 speculative-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.

[Ancestry Life and Times of H.H. Sibley - West, Nathaniel, p220].

INSERT

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. [Note (Minnesota History, March 1930, Vol. XI, No. 1), p. 109].

THE RIVER

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..." wrote the editor. [The Daily Minnesotian, July 13,1854].

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

"...The 'agitators'..." bitterly wrote 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.

INSERT 13-A

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 ..."

"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." [Daily Minnesotian, Nov. 8,1854].

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." (Daily Democrat, oct. 31, 1854).

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 could report. informed its readers. (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) [Daily Minnesotian, Jan. 12, 1855].

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 not give the Territorial printing to the Minnesota Pioneer, the Gorman-Sibley paper. (28) [Daily Minnesotian, Jan. 18, 1855].

THE RIVER

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." (Minnesota Pioneer, January 25,1855).

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" 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...." (Daily Democrat, Ja. 27).

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. (Daily Minnesotian, Feb. 10,1855).

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

INSERT C

in Minnesota (Minnesota History Collections, Vol. 12), p. 169].

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." [St. Paul Pioneer, October 9, 1851 (Minnesota Annals).]

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) [Ibid--pp. 199-200].

Despite editor Goodhue's rememberable ~~line~~ 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) [Richard N. Eide, Minnesota Pioneer Life as Reflected in the Press (Minnesota 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) [Charles M. Gates, Bridges Facing East (Minnesota History, Vol. 16, No. 1, March 1935), p. 32].

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. [David L. Kiehle, (40) History of Education in Minnesota (Minnesota History Collections, Vol. 10, part 1), p. 355].

1853

The earliest instance of organized ~~skullduggery -- some dell itrascality~~ 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 the Young Men's Christian Association began its existence with eleven members. (41) [Daniel R. Noyes, Charities

1854

INSERT A

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." (Minnesota Democrat, St. Paul, Jan. 12, 1853 (Minnesota Annals).

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 governess. Too bad to let such a rumor get about," [Grace Flandrau, St. Paul, The Untamable Twin, in (The Taming of the Frontier, Duncan Aikman, Editor -- Minton Balch, New York, 1925), p. 142]. and give rise to such conceits as , "St. Paul was favored with an exceptionally intelligent population in its infancy." [Charles E. Flandrau, Reminiscences of Minnesota During the Territorial Period (Minn. History Collections, Vol. 9), p. 202].

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." [Charles E. Flandrau, Reminiscences of Minnesota during the Territorial Period (Minnesota History Collections, Vol. 9), p. 202].

New Year's day was the high point of the social season. The young men would

speculation drove interest rates up to five per cent a month. Notwithstanding this fever for gain, the ~~city~~ 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.

~~Youth and the remarkable number of families was a feature territorial settlement.~~

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 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..." (Fuller, Abbie Abbe and Family, papers- 1848-63. M.H.S. MSS).

The General Shields to whom reference is made was the future senator and founder of Shieldsville and 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, ~~Brax~~ Braxton Bragg, at the Post was to become his opponent. ~~Fax~~ 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."

INSERT B

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,

INSERT 9

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." [August L. Larpenteur, Recollections of the City and People, 1843-1848 (Minn. History Coll., Vol. 9), p. 389].

The journey from St. Louis to St. Paul required four days; the fare, including meals, was ten dollars. [Ibid--pp. 389-390]. 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 so 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. [Mary Thayer Hale, Early Minneapolis, Personal Reminiscences (Privately printed, Minneapolis, 1937), pp. 2-4].

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 leading citizens' scramble for power and oppulence. 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...." (Stevens Papers - Letter H.M.Rice to Col. J.H.Stevens, Feb. 4th, 1855).

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 1026 in 1857, and 1090 in 1858. Not only were the packets loaded to the gunnels with landseekers, but they pushed or towed barges of supplies up and down stream.

INSERT

"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." The deck passage was usually about half the cabin rate. In the Fifties the Minnesota Packet Company cabin fare was 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.

INSERT 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." [Daily Pioneer, August 24, 1869].

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 thousands are now taken daily." [Ibid, August 25, 1869].

Appreciating the beauty of the region even before Como was a park, Col. Henty 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." [Ibid, August 25, 1869].

However, with the advent of railroads,
Captains could fix their own rates. Lack of tariff regulation was indirectly to lead to the decline of river traffic ~~along with advent of railroads~~.

"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. (Pioneer & Democrat, July 7,1856; Sept. 2,1856). (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 ~~intra~~ inter-state river trade. The St.Croix, the Chippewa, and the Red River were other avenues of commerce.

~~St. Paul~~ 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. ~~Our city was~~ 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, were badly hurt," noted the Minnesotian, September 30,1856.

~~Strikes were not~~ 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. (Pioneer & Democrat, Oct. 29,1857). (48)

INSERT 1-13

Although the years 1855,56, 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 appeared ~~hardly improving~~ hardly to be improving in his retreat to the west. An Hon. G.D.Williams sent to pay annuities to seven hundred Chippewas near Grand Portage, reported dire conditions there.

THE RIVER

"The last winter was a particularly hard one," ~~reported~~ observed the Detroit Advertiser ~~upon~~ 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) (Pioneer & Democrat. Dec. 6,1855).

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 ~~could report a receipt of~~ showed tolls averaging $60 a day. Enterprise quite ~~eclipsed~~ eclipsed crime as the new state penitentiary ~~at~~ 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 ~~si~~de of his head been shaved we should not have known that he was a convict...." (53) (St.Croix Union. Dec. 8,1855).

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

It had now become evident that, despite her thousand miles of navigable streams, Minnesota needed overland roads and stages to develop 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; and all-too-frequent barriers, such as the "Big Woods" of Southern Minnesota, prevented the pioneers from penetrating into valuable new districts.

The frontiersman was in all respects an individualist who looked upon the midwest as the poor man's opportunity. Ragged, living in log huts or sod houses a few yards from stone-age savages, he did not let poverty deter him in his fight to overcome natural obstacles.[1.]

Thus it was that long before the first ox cart lurched across Minnesota, a trade route came into existence between St. Paul and the Pembina or Selkirk settlement, north near the Canadian border. This settlement had sprung up in a hostile country, and had been kept from disaster by the aid of Thomas Douglas, fifth Earl of Selkirk who bought control of the Hudson Bay trading company to help the colony prosper.[2.]

In 1821 Alexis Bailly, American half-breed trader, drove a herd of cattle from Mendota to Pembina. During the summer of 1823 when the

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1. Ross, Edward Alsworth, Ph.D., LL.D., Changing America, p. 163
2. Pritchett, John Perry, Red River Fur Trade, MHB, vol. 5, May 1924, pp 401-423.

first steamboat reached Minnesota, a party of Pembina farmers traveled to the landing to bring seed grain.

As the country began to open up, Pembina became the starting point for the twice-a-year hunting parties which saw in the buffalo an easy source of food and profit. Rivalry of the American Fur Company and the monopolistic Hudson Bay Company gave rise to a growing trade in illicit furs and goods across the Canadian boundary at Pembina. John Perry Pritchett, in his Red River Fur Trade, wrote:

> 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 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 smuggle it into the settlement. 3.

Joseph Rolette (the second) brought the first train of six ox carts to St. Paul in the summer of 1843. The next year Norman W. Kittson, agent of the American Fur Company, moved his headquarters from the Fort Abercrombie country, north to Pembina. Illustrative of the hardships of overland travel is the following description of Kittson's journey ~~from Pembina to St. Paul~~, as recorded in the St. Anthony Express Weekly, ~~for~~ January 3, 1852:

> We notice the arrival of the Hon. Norman W. Kittson, J. Rolette, and . . . J. Grignon in sixteen days from Pembina per dog train of eight fine dogs and sledge. Very good time for a journey of six hundred miles, with only such a road as nature has afforded . . . These dogs . . . will travel from 40 to 70 miles a day without fatigue. How long will it be before we have daily communication with Pembina by railroad . . . ? 4.

? 3.

4. St. Anthony Express Weekly, Jan. 3, 1852.

Kittson was typical of the early pioneer traders. Genteel, yet primed to the roughness of the frontier, he possessed the necessary qualities to rise above the obstacles that confronted him. At the age of sixteen he came to the Northwest from Sorel, Lower Canada, as an employee of the American Fur Company. After two years' service, first at a trading post between the Fox and the Wisconsin Rivers, then for a brief period at Red Cedar, Iowa, he arrived at Fort Snelling in 1834. Here he served in the sutler department until the autumn of 1838 when he returned to Canada.

The United States, however, seemed to him the more lucrative field. Accordingly in the spring of 1839 he made his first independent venture as a fur trader, locating at Cold Spring, near Fort Snelling. In 1843 the American Fur Company took Kittson in as a special partner, and he was placed in charge of all their business along the Minnesota headwaters and along the Dominion boundary. Organizing the fur trade in the Red River valley, he shipped 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, entirely without iron. They carried a load of 600 to 700 pounds, were never greased and creaked so loudly that a good sized caravan could be heard from far off on a still day. Pembina was 448 miles from Mendota or St. Paul, and the trip took thirty to forty days. Picked men were assigned to handle these carts. A great number of them were half or quarter breeds (called Bois Brules) who ~~with barbaric costumes~~. They wore coarse blue cloth with large brass buttons, red sash about the waist, beaded caps and moccasins.[6]

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5. St. Paul Pioneer Press, Jan. 1, 1922.
6. Ibid.

In 1854 Kittson and William H. Forbes formed a partnership for trade with the Indians and settlers. This was the origin of the St. Paul Outfit, as the firm came to be known. Kittson later branched out into other fields. One of these, Kittson's Addition, laid out from a claim purchased in 1851 was soon to justify the pioneer's belief that the plot would develop into a valuable piece of property. Kittsondale became a magnet for the sporting blood of the time. Chief Deputy Sheriff Frank Robert recalls:

> The race track at Kittsondale was a half mile when I knew it. Norman Kittson put plenty of money into the venture. He had some fast horses in his stable, among them: Gem, Johnston, Little Brown Jug, Lady Rolfe, Sannie, etc. 7.

In 1852 it was stated that "the whole product of the territory was furs, the collection of which gave employment to some few thousands of Half breeds, Canadians, and others, dependents and agents of the American Fur Company, whose principal depots were at Mendota and St. Paul, and whose subordinate outposts stretched in all directions through the adjacent Northwest region."

That only a small proportion of the furs which passed annually through St. Paul were Minnesota-trapped, was equally clear. "They come for the most part from the regions west of the James and Red Rivers, and from the far North in the British possessions. Three-fourths of the entire region between the Mississippi and the Missouri passes through St. Paul, the larger portion through the two houses of Culver & Farrington and Forbes & Kittson." 8.

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7. Robert, Frank, Jr., Chief Deputy, Sheriff's Office, Ramsey County. Interviewed by Robert Cary.
8. Ibid., Dec. 16, 1858.

Further hardships followed Kittson's election to the Council of the Minnesota Legislature from the Pembina District. In mid-winter the trip from Pembina to St. Paul was fraught with great hardship and danger. Severe weather conditions necessitated the journey being made on snowshoes or by dog sledge.

For ten years after locating at Pembina Kittson fought a trade duel with the British controlled fur monopoly. St. Paul aided the American Fur Company's agent at every turn. Higher fur prices, better trade values on the Pembina side, drew passels of Indians and half-breeds as well as their furs. But the Canada Monopoly and its constabulary fought back.

On December 7, 1844, Governor Christie at Fort Garry (Winnipeg) banned use of the Company's ships for importing purposes to all parties "interfering with or not patronizing Hudson's Bay services." Two weeks later, he clamped virtual censorship on mails by ordering that "every 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. But the Governor only succeeded in re-routing mail. The free traders merely 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 was to fail. This time a long encyclical stipulated certain rules in acquiring land deeds. The "illicit" traders and half-breeds passed up the deeds and squatted on their property.

Trade between St. Paul and the Pembina country generally followed two routes, the "Plains" trail or the "Woods" trail. The "Plains"

Although the routes led entirely through Indian country, there were few instances of attack. Indian hatred for the white man did not flame up until late in the 1850's. But in 1843 Sioux clashes with Pembina breeds and traders had caused Kittson to defer his establishment of a trading post at Pembina.

By 1855 the monopoly of the Hudson Bay Company had practically ceased. 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]

By the mid-fifties a network of primitive trails and roads were established. Land-seekers, farmers poured into Minnesota in increasing numbers. 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. Mendota, St. Anthony, and Minneapolis were to the west of the Dubuque stage road. Settler's canvas-covered wagons dotted the Indian trail from the Iowa border. Traffic swelled on the trail south of the Minnesota river which passed through Henderson to Traverse des Sioux, St. Peter and Mankato.

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15. Pioneer &Democrat, Aug. 5, 1858.

Although the routes led entirely through Indian country, there were few instances of attack. Indian hatred for the white man did not flame up until late in the 1850's. But in 1843 Sioux clashes with Pembina breeds and traders had caused Kittson to defer his establishment of a trading post at Pembina.

By 1855 the monopoly of the Hudson Bay Company had practically ceased. 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 supressed 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]

Enterprising leaders of St. Paul were quick to see the riches of the Red River. Staggered by the panic of 1857, abandoned by the money interests of the East, St. Paul turned to the Pembina trade. The Red River cart drivers were always welcome, for they jingle English silver in their buckskin trousers.

By the mid-fifties a network of primitive trails and roads were established. Land-seekers, farmers poured into Minnesota in increasing numbers. 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. Mendota, St. Anthony, and Minneapolis were to the west of the Dubuque stage road. Settler's canvas-covered wagons dotted the Indian trail from the Iowa border. Traffic swelled on the trail south of the Minnesota river which passed through Henderson to Traverse des Sioux, St. Peter and Mankato.

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15. Pioneer & Democrat, Aug. 5, 1858.

trail branched westward from the Mississippi at St. Cloud, and struck the Red River at Breckenridge to follow down the west bank of the river. The "Woods" trail passed through Crow Wing, up the Crow Wing and Leaf River valleys, along the northeast point of Otter Tail Lake, Detroit Lake, and followed the right bank of the Red River to Pembina. A third route which utilized water transportation from Traverse des Sioux to St. Paul, swung further south. Establishment of Fort Gaines, in the vicinity of the present Little Falls, added security to travel of the "Woods" trail, which was the more difficult but more protected route. 9.

William A. Rice in a trip to the Frazee River, via Pembina, in 1858, describes the "Plains" trail:

> 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, Grove Lakes and Chippewa River.
>
> . . . 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.

? 9.

Extending westward from these roads were the Pipestone trail and the Old Military road. Flanking the Minnesota river on either side 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 were the Red River, the Breckenridge, the Fort Abercrombie, Georgetown and Pembina trails which joined together at St. Cloud to form a common road to St. Paul. North of St. Cloud were the trails linking Crow-Wing, Leech Lake, and other Indian and trade centers. Mille Lacs, Duluth and Fond du lac also enjoyed communication with St. Paul and St. Anthony.

Ignatius Donnelly, who was to become the region's most unpredictable politician, arrived from Philadelphia in the spring of 1856 and launched all his efforts in the founding of a new city, Ninager. This town was never to become Donnelly's dream of a metropolis. After its youthful founder had obtained a post office, the stage drivers refused to stop at the settlement, and the citizens were forced to walk three miles to Hastings for their mail.[18.]

The first capital building was occupied by the legislature in January 1854. Though the location of territorial institutions had been decided upon, behind-the-scenes were being made to the disadvantage of St. Paul.

In 1857 a company in St. Peter was formed which promised to erect legislative buildings superior to those in St. Paul, and a bill removing the capital to St. Peter was introduced in the legislature. In February the measure passed the House by a vote of 20 to 17 and a short time later the Council also approved by a vote of 8 to 7.

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18. Minnesota History Bulletin vol. 17, pp. 262-275.

Although the routes led entirely through Indian country, there were few instances of attacks. Indian hatred for the white intruder did not flame up violently until late in the 1850's. But in 1843 Sioux clashes with the Pembina breeds and traders had caused Norman Kittson to hesitate and to defer his establishment of a trading post at Pembina.

The number of carts increased in the years following 1844. The St. Paul Pioneer of July 26, 1849, wrote:

> 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, buffalo robes, dried buffalo tongues, pemmican, &c. They had been forty days on the route . . .

This train brought, also, news of an outbreak of the French half-breeds against the authorities at the Pembina settlement. The "authorities" were virtually the Hudson Bay company officials. Guillaume Sayer and three other half-breeds, had been arrested for illicit traffic in furs. A mob of 500 angry breeds and traders stormed the courthouse and put Judge Poleson to flight. The prisoners were acquitted. The Daily Minnesotian of July 8, 1857 wrote:

> Quite a number of those fantastic and rude carts of the Pembina Half-breeds, are now wandering through our streets. They are encamped in considerable numbers just outside of town. They bring down pemmican, moccasins, and skins and furs, and take back with them various groceries, commodities, tools and other things useful to them in their northern home.

Another account stated:

St. Paul was panic stricken. Then suddenly Joe Rolette, Chairman of the Committee on Enrolled Bills, disappeared, taking the bill with him. A special police force was required to keep order in the legislature. Each member remained at his post, a cot and a basket of food beside his desk. As the deadline for the end of the session approached, a copy of the bill was made in an attempt to break the deadlock, but the President of the Council and the Speaker of the House refused to sign the substitute.

During the uproar, Rolette, who had the bill hidden in a safe, remained 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 capital remained in St. Paul. St. Peter supporters appealed to the courts, but it was ruled that no law had been passed.[22.]

In the same year a bitter partisan struggle raged around the formulating of the state constitution. South of the Minnesota River and west of the Mississippi, "radical Republicanism," had been spreading among the farmers. Long outstanding grudges against St. Paul, Minneapolis and St. Anthony led these men to advocate an agricultural state, the capital located at St. Peter ~~and the three cities cut off~~. Again the effort failed. The constitution was adopted and Minnesota was admitted to statehood May 24, 1858.[24.]

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22. Dean, Wm. B., A History of the Capitol Buildings of Minnesota and Some Account of the Struggle for Their Location, Minnesota History Collections 1908, vol. 12, pp. 9-15.

24. The 1921 Annual Meeting of the Minnesota Historical Society, Minnesota History Bulletin, vol. 4, nos. 1 & 2 February and May 1921, p. 27.

> A train of carts, fifty in number, arrived this week from Pembina and St. Jo., loaded with fine furs and robes, amounting in value to about $30,000. The train is encamped on the usual camping ground outside the city in the St. Anthony road; and is the property of Joseph Gingras and Paschal Boerland . . . [10]

The St. Paul Daily Press for June 24, 1866 continued:

> One thousand carts on the way. Over one hundred dollars worth of furs, clarioned a St. Paul headline in 1866. We had the pleasure of meeting yesterday [Dr. J. Schultz] editor of the Fort Gary Nor'wester, who came down from the Red River settlement in eight days. Dr. [W. R. Brown] a former citizen of St. Paul, also arrived home yesterday. These gentlemen are the avant-carriers of the Red River Ox Brigade, which is composed of over one thousand carts, loaded with more than one hundred thousand dollars worth of furs, now on the way to St. Paul. Mr. [Schultz] estimated the amount of furs to be more than usual, and thinks they will net at least one hundred thousand dollars, not including those sold by the Hudson Bay Company. Some of the carts came down to Georgetown, loaded, and returned back. Nearly all the carts will stop this season at Big Lake, the present terminus of the Pacific Railroad . . . [11]

Often in the 50's and 60's, the cart 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.

She recalled:

> Their carts had two wheels, all wood, and a cross-piece to rest the platform on . . . The tracks were wide and deep and could be plainly seen ahead of us, going straight through

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10. St. Paul Pioneer, June 19, 1863.
11. St. Paul Daily Press, June 24, 1866.
12. Old Fence Corners, p. 34.

> 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 Lone Tree. [13].

Until well into the 60's St. Paul was the eastern terminus for the cart trains. Through the summer months they were a common sight on St. Anthony Road, as they passed the homesteaders' cabins in St. Anthony and continued by Cheevers' Landing, to St. Paul. For years Larpenteur's lake and farm was a favorite rendezvous of the cart-voyageurs. Adventure has cloaked these rough men. They came roaring and raucous into town.

"Is it Joe Rolette or a fire?" asked a St. Paul resident, as this son of a great voyageur passed by. Rolette drew a throng of followers down the street with hom. This was the Joe Rolette who, with Kittson and Gingras, would mush his dogs over snowy trails to sit in the early legislatures.

Larpenteur lake, was a "fine body of clear water," at that time. It extended from Dale street to a little beyond St. Albans street. Like that chain of three lakes which began in the vicinity at Dayton avenue and Dale street, it completely disappeared.

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13. "Old Fence Corners," Mrs. C. A. Burdick, 1855, p. 104.

Still more unsuccessful attempts were made to change the capital's location. Even Minneapolis and St. Anthony cooperated with the smaller towns in these efforts. Various proposals were made: that the capital be moved to Nicollet Island, to "some western point," and finally, to Winona. Stillwater, Minneapolis and St. Anthony were in favor of Kandiyohi County. This last proposal was passed by the legislature, but vetoed by Governor Marshall.[25.] 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 centre of population of Minnesota.[26.]

The St. Paul papers disdainfully referred to the furor about capital removal as "an annual farce."[27.]

By 1856 St. Paul's volume of trade was so great the Mississippi boats could not keep up with it. Great piles of freight, destined for St. Paul, accululated in Dubuque and Dunleith despite the fact that 200 steamboats arrived at St. Paul the first two months of open water that year. This record equalled that of the entire previous season.

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25. Dean, Wm. A., History of the Capital City of Minnesota and Some Account of the Location, Minnesota Historical Collections, 1908, vol. 12, p. 17.
26. Minneapolis Tribune, July 1, 1869.
27. Pioneer & Democrat, St. Paul, Feb. 20, 1861.

An account of the time reads:

> Quite a curious and animated scene was presented last Saturday on Robert Street, in front of Forbes & Kittson's store. The street was literally blocked up with . . . carts of the train from the Selkirk settlement; horses and cattle, with all sorts of non-descript harnesses upon them, were tethered round about, buffalo robes lay piled upon the ground, and a busy crowd of the dark skinned strangers were moving busily to and fro, earnestly engaged in the work of loading up the carts from the warehouse . . . . This detachment numbers ninety-eight carts, and is altogether from the English settlement at Selkirk . . . . The American portion of the train, under charge of Messrs. Rolette and Cavileer, is expected . . . sometime between the 5th and 10th inst. [July]. 14.

By this date, the monopoly of the Hudson Bay Company had practically ceased to exist. Wrote the Pioneer and Democrat:

> 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 company 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.

In December of the same year, the Pioneer and Democrat correspondent wrote:

> But a small proportion of the furs which annually pass through St. Paul, are made in Minnesota. They come for the most part from the regions west of the James and Red Rivers, and from the far north in the British possessions . . . . Three-fourths of the entire fur product of the region between the Mississippi and the Missouri, passes through St. Paul - the larger proportion through the two houses of Culver & Farrington and Forbes & Kittson . . . .

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14. Daily Minnesota Pioneer, July 2, 1855.
15. Pioneer and Democrat, August 5, 1858.

Two years later, the firm of Forbes and Kittson, having been dissolved, Kittson concentrated on his Red River trade which continued until 1860. He then was made agent for the Hudson Bay Company and with James J. Hill established a line of steamers and barges in the Red River. Under the name of the Red River Transportation Company, this firm grew into a large corporation with headquarters in St. Paul.

From the time of the first merchandise store, St. Paul's development into a jobbing center had been steady. A great stimulus to trade was the fact that Minnesota in 1856 had a surplus of agricultural products. Large quantities of oats, potatoes and cranberries were sent out, although, due to a price decline, the business was not profitable. Potatoes which had sold for $1.25 a bushel two years before, now sold for 25 cents a bushel.[21.]

Conditions had been good in these years and few expected less from 1857. Even when the spring brought ominous rumors and Eastern papers began to carry stories of collapsing western land values, hope still ran high. And then Eastern money became panicky about its investments. In the late summer of 1857 several large companies dealing with 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 here, and no danger apprehended."

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21. Weekly Pioneer & Democrat, St. Paul, Nov. 18, 1856 (

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." 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.]

Every measure taken to alleviate the effects of the panic failed. The closing of the banks made it extremely difficult to carry on business, and real estate values, which had been the chief mainstay of the boom, collapsed. State laws regulating banking were passed, but these were not efficient and no general improvement in the banking system was apparent until after the passage of the national regulatory legislation in 1863.

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 worse times instead of better, and it was said that "probably time will demonstrate the unwelcome fact that the depts are not yet unsounded. Everything indicates it."[30.]

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28. Pioneer & Democrat Weekly, St. Paul, Oct. 8-22, 1857.
29. Pioneer & Democrat Weekly, St. Paul, Sept. 23, 1858.
30. Ibid., June 1, 1861.

And again:

> . . . We have by no means reached the limits of this trade . . . . The superiority of the outlet at St. Paul for this region, over the multitudinous portages of Nelson's River, has been abundantly proved. Establish a Railroad communication with the Red River Valley, and the whole trade of the Hudson Bay Company would fall into our hands, or at least seek this avenue of exportation. What the fur trade of that immense region would be worth to us, may be estimated from the fact that the average value of the annual export of furs by the Hudson Bay Company, is about $1,800,000. [16]

Enterprising leaders of St. Paul were quick to see the riches of the Red River. Staggered by the Panic of 1857, abandoned by the moneyed interests of the east, St. Paul turned readily to the Pembina trade. The Red River cart drivers were particularly welcome, for they always jingled English silver in their buckskin trousers.

While St. Paul welcomed the fur carts from Pembina, there were other forces aiding and threatening the trade growth of St. Paul. By the mid-fifties, a network of primitive trails and roads were established. Land-seekers, farmers, were pouring into Minnesota.

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. Mendota, St. Anthony, and Minneapolis were to the west of the Dubuque stage road. Settlers' canvas-covered wagons dotted the Indian trail from the Iowa border. Traffic swelled on the trail south of the Minnesota river, that passed through Henderson to Traverse des Sioux, St. Peter, and Mankato. Territorial Road formed the base of a triangle as it provided

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16. The Weekly Pioneer & Democrat, Dec. 16, 1858.

Mankato a direct route to Reed's Landing and the Mississippi. Still another trail from Traverse to Red Wing paralleled Territorial Road.

Extending westward from these roads were the Pipestone trail and the Old Military road, while flanking the Minnesota river on either side, were the old Gary [sic] 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 were the Red River, the Breckenridge, the Fort Abercrombie, Georgetown, and Pembina trails that tied together at St. Cloud to form a common road to St. Paul. North of St. Cloud were the trails tying up Crow Wing, Leech Lake, Red Lake, and other Indian and trader centers. Mille Lacs, Duluth and Fond du lac also enjoyed communication with St. Paul and St. Anthony.

The agricultural future of Minnesota was early assured. The Rev. Sela G. Wright, at the Red Lake Mission, had established a farm in the wilderness. In 1848 he could report a crop of 3,000 bushels of corn and 2,000 bushels of potatoes and other vegetables. The Pembina settlers in 1820-21 had obtained seed grain from Wisconsin. In the mid-fifties, scarcely a Pembina train turned homeward from St. Paul without heavy cargoes of agricultural implements.

Minnesota's first crops was cranberries, maple sugar, and wild rice. So plentiful were the thousands of buffalo that only the tongue and "buffalo boss," the hump of the animal were salvaged. One season, 400 Indians were engaged in cranberry harvesting at Rice Lake, near St. Paul, and in the same period slew 25 bears for meat.[17.]

17. Newson - Pen Pictures, p. 294.

Some time elapsed following the bank crashes, however, 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 slight relief did come, brought about by the fur trade. During the winter of 1857-58 arrangements were made with the Secretary of the Treasury, permitting the Hudson Bay Company to ship its goods in bond through St. Paul, abandoning the long established York Factory canoe route for the Red River Carts.[38] This action occurred simultaneously with the British Government's decision to terminate the exclusive jurisdiction of the Hudson Bay Company in Northwestern Canada. Thus additional commerce would flow through St. Paul and St. Paul traders for the first time were able to participate legally in the Canadian trade.

Then gold was discovered on the Frazier and Thompson Rivers in British Columbia. Plans were hurriedly made for the development of transportation 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 Northrup 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.

Machinery for this ship was taken from the old Governor Ramsey and the lumber came from the St. Croix region. Rechristened the Anson Northrup

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38. Paterson, Wm. J., Steamboating on the Upper Mississippi, the Waterway to Iowa, Iowa Historical Society, Iowa City, Iowa, 1837, p. 165.

Ignatius Donnelly, who was to become the region's most unpredictable politician, came out from Philadelphia in the spring of 1856. Turning all of his gifts into the launching of a new city, Nininger, Donnelly enacted a role in one of the most bizarre chapters of state history. Nininger, defying slights of the riverboat captains and the rivalries of nearby Hastings and St. Paul, was never to become Donnelly's dream - a metropolis. Even after its youthful founder had obtained a post office, the stage drivers refused to honor the settlement with a stop, and the citizens were forced to walk three miles to Hastings for their mail.[18]

The fertile Minnesota River valley and its watershed was filling with homesteaders in the pre-panic fifties. Townsites almost outnumbered farm sites, and plat maps and real estate booms were plentiful.

John C. Laird staged a ludicrous land fight with H. C. Gere, for a land claim that later was to lie in the heart of Winona's business district. Laird, a LaCrosse official, jumped an eighty acre portion of an earlier claim, and Gere applied to the town's Claim club for the property. The LaCrosse man had built a shack to establish his rights, but on a Sunday traveled to his sister's cabin to attend the Sabbath. Elder Hamilton conveniently preached a long sermon at Mrs. Goddard's. When Laird returned to his shack, he found the Gere furniture inside his shack. Mrs. Gere sat in a rocker and refused to ~~budge~~ move. Aided by a companion, Laird proceeded to dismantle the shack. Both men settled down to a cold vigil in the open, to outsit his opponent when a compromise was finally reached.[19]

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18. MHB, vol. 17, pp. 262-275.
19. History of Winona, Olmsted and Dodge Counties, p. 310.

it was launched in the spring of 1859. But navigation conditions were not satisfactory, and Northrup finally refused to continue running the boat.

As railroads from the East pushed nearer, lively interests centered upon the securing of local connections. Each scheme failed, but this did not lessen the desire of the public for railroads, nor of the promoters for profits. The people seemed ready to support any plan that would insure railway construction. But the necessary capital was difficult to secure in the East where Minnesota had been the subject of much misunderstanding.[33.]

The St. Paul and Sioux City Railroad and the Minnesota and Pacific Railroad had been planned previous to the panic. In 1858 the Minnesota and Pacific and 62 miles of grading completed north of St. Paul. Work had then halted because of financial complications.[34.] After the panic railroad promoters began to look for means of continuing construction. Free land had been offered them whenever twenty miles of trackage was completed, but there were not sufficient funds to do even that.

At this time the "Five Million Loan Bill," a scheme to loan the credit of the state to the railroad companies was devised. The evil which would result from such a bill was obscured by the general clamor for railroads, and only a few people in either major party opposed it. The bill was approved at a special election and passed by the legislature.[35.] Following

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33. Blegen, Theodore, Sketch of James W. Taylor, Minnesota History Bulletin, vol. 1, no. 4, Nov. 1915, p. 164.
34. Crooks, Col. William, The First Railroad in Minnesota, Minnesota History Collections, vol. 10, part 1, p. 466.
35. Daily Minnesotian, St. Paul, March 11, 1856.

The Minnesota Democrat of August 19, 1851 noted:

> The Minnesota wheat crop has been harvested, and a better crop of spring wheat in quality or quantity cannot be quoted in the West . . . Every experiment in winter wheat has succeeded so well, that spring wheat will probably be abandoned hereafter in favor of this superior species. Mr. Larpenteur and several other farmers near St. Paul, employed a horse reaper to cut their grain, for which they paid 75 cents per acre, and were well pleased with its work.

Meanwhile, Minneapolis, just released from the restrictions of the military reservation, was bounding ahead in growth. Although its ascendancy in the flour milling industry was not yet so apparent, its business district was expanding and its population was steadily mounting.

Several years after Norman Kittson's four terms in the legislature, he was elected Mayor of St. Paul. In this office he served one term only.

In 1858 the firm of Forbes and Kittson having been dissolved, Kittson concentrated upon his Red River trade which continued until 1860. Made agent for the Hudson Bay Company, he established, with James J. Hill, a line of steamers and barges on the Red River. This firm, under the name of the Red River Transportation Company grew into a large corporation with headquarters in St. Paul. Because of his activities in steamboat transportation he became known as Commodore Kittson.

From the time of the first merchandise store, St. Paul's development into a jobbing center had been steady. Oxcarts, loaded with clothing, nails, and flour, leaving the city to return with buffalo and similar commodities were but a passing phase.

this approval the companies made a great show of activity. Scarcely a year later, however, the value of state bonds fell so low they were of no value as collateral, and work was again abandoned in July 1859. The state had been placed in a difficult financial position.[36]

Since the "Five Million Loan" plan had come to nothing, Edmund Rice and Ramsey, the latter of whom had been elected governor in 1849 were sent East to secure new capital for the continuation of work on the Minnesota and Pacific Railroad. The road had been renamed the St. Paul and Pacific.

Again new backers had to be secured. This time, however, the work was completed as far as St. Anthony and was opened to travel in July 1862. Later this road became a part of the St. Paul, Minneapolis,

By 1856 St. Paul's volume of trade was so great that the Mississippi boats could not keep up with it. Great piles of freight, destined for St. Paul, accumulated in Dubuque and Dunleith despite the fact that in the first two months of open water that year, 200 steamboats had arrived at St. Paul. This equalled the record of the entire previous season. The lands west and north were being settled so fast that almost overnight the city found itself the centre of a populous area.[20.]

An additional stimulus to trade was the fact that for the first time Minnesota had a surplus of agricultural products. Large quantities of oats, potatoes and cranberries were sent out, although the business was not very profitable due to a price decline. Potatoes, which had sold for $1.25 a bushel two years earlier, now sold for 25¢ per bushel.[21.]

The earliest capitol building, a structure with a four pillared "Greek Porch" was first occupied by the legislature in January 1854. Though the question of location of territorial institutions had apparently been settled, behind-the-scenes plans were being made against St. Paul.

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20. Patchin, Sydney A., The Development of Banking in Minnesota, Minnesota History Bulletin, vol. 2, no. 3, Aug. 1917, p. 132.
21. Weekly Pioneer and Democrat, St. Paul, Nov. 18, 1856, Minnesota Annals.

St. Paul was panic stricken. Then suddenly Joe Rolette, Chairman of the Committee on Enrolled Bills, disappeared, taking the bill with him. A special police force was required to keep order in the legislature. Each member remained, with a basket of food and a cot beside his desk. As the deadline for the end of the session approached, a copy of the bill was made in an attempt to break the deadlock, but the President of the Council and the Speaker of the House refused to sign this substitute.

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Eventually the Governor signed the substitute copy, but the capital remained in St. Paul. St. Peter supporters appealed to the courts, but the justices ruled that no law had been passed.[22] Although the historian, Folwell, later referred to the act as "disreputable, if not criminal," Rolette at the time was idolized for his actions.[23]

During the same year a bitter partisan struggle raged around the formulating of the state constitution. South of the Minnesota River and west of the Mississippi "radical Republicanism," had been spreading among the farmers. Long outstanding grudges against St. Paul, Minneapolis and St. Anthony led them

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22. Dean, William B., A History of the Capitol Buildings of Minnesota, With Some Account of the Struggle for their Location, Minnesota History Collections, vol. 12, 1908, pp. 9-15.
23. Folwell, W. W., A History of Minnesota, vol. 3, p. 9, Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul, 1926.

to advocate an agricultural state, of which St. Peter would be the capital and which would leave the three cities off by themselves.[24] But the effort failed. The constitution adopted, Minnesota was admitted to statehood, May 24, 1858.

Later more unsuccessful attempts were made to remove the capital. Even Minneapolis and St. Anthony, dissatisfied with their share of the comprise agreement of 1851, cooperated with the smaller cities in these efforts. Various proposals were made; that the capital be removed to Nicollet Island, to some "western point," and finally to Winona. Stillwater, Minneapolis and St. Anthony combined in favor of Kandiyohi County. This last proposal was passed by the legislature but vetoed by Governor Marshall.[25] 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 centre of population of Minnesota.[26]

The St. Paul papers disdainfully referred to the furor about capital removal as an "annual farce."[27]

Times had been so good in the preceding years, that a few expected less from 1857. Even when the spring brought ominous rumors, and eastern papers began to carry stories of collapsing western land values, Then hopes still ran high, Then eastern money became panicky about its investments.

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24. "The 1921 Annual Meeting of the Minnesota Historical Society," Minnesota History Bulletin, vol. 4, nos. 1-2, Feb. and May 1921, p. 27.
25. Dean, William B., "A History of the Capitol Buildings of Minnesota, With Some Account of the Struggle for their Location, Minnesota History Collections, vol. 12, 1908, p. 17.
26. Minneapolis Tribune, July 1, 1869, Minnesota Annals.
27. Pioneer and Democrat, St. Paul, Feb. 20, 1861, Minnesota Annals.

The 1857 trade continued, and the number of steamboat arrivals reached a new peak, although news from the East was becoming more alarming. In late summer several large companies dealing with western lands collapsed and the weaker banks began to go under. On October 1, the St. Paul Pioneer Democrat remarked 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 here, and no danger apprehended."

But on October 3, the St. Paul Advertiser changed the tone of hopefulness to an acknowledgement of despair . . . "The 'grand crash' is fairly upon us . . . St. Paul has stood the shock nobly, but the inevitable result has finally reached us." On the eighth there was considerable excitement caused by 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 twenty-first a final blow was dealt by the closing of Borup and Oakes.[28]

Every measure taken to alleviate the effects of the panic failed, for business did not notably improve until after the Civil War. The closing of the banks made it extremely difficult to carry on business, and real estate values, which had been the chief mainstay of the boom, collapsed. State laws were passed regulating banking, but these were not efficient and no general improvement in the banking system was apparent until after the passage of the national regulatory legislation in 1863.

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28. Pioneer and Democrat Weekly, St. Paul, Oct. 8-22, 1857, Minnesota Annals.

As late as 1858 some optimists were yet speaking of the continued stagnation in business as "a merely temporary embarrassment."[29] By this date people were accepting the belief that worse might be expected instead of better, and it was said that "probably time will demonstrate the unwelcome fact that the depths are not yet sounded. Everything indicates it."[30]

Some time elapsed following the bank crashes, however, before the effects of the business depression were reflected in the diminishing number of boats arriving at St. Paul. The year 1857 brought 965 boats, and 1,090 arrived the following season. The next year saw the beginning of a decline that was never to be overcome. Traffic on the Minnesota also reached its height of 394 trips up the river and then dropped sharply. Civil War commerce did not appreciably revive the river trade, despite a temporary increase in 1862.[31]

The panic and the beginning of the decline in the river traffic marked the end of a decade of great expansion. From 1849 to 1860, however, the number of Minnesota inhabitants had increased from less than 5,000 to 172,000 and St. Paul had grown from a straggling hamlet to a city of over ten thousand.[32]

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29. Pioneer and Democrat Weekly, St. Paul, Sept. 23, 1858, Minnesota Annals.
30. Pioneer and Democrat, St. Paul, June 1, 1861, Minnesota Annals.
31. Shippee, Lester B., Social and Economic Effects of the Civil War With Special Reference to Minnesota, Minnesota History Bulletin, vol. 2, no. 6, May 1918, p. 394.
32. Appel, Livia and Theo. Blegen, Official Encouragement of Immigration to Minnesota During the Territorial Period, Minnesota History Bulletin, vol. 5, no. 3, August 1923, p. 167.

As railroads from the East pushed nearer, lively interest centered upon securing local connections. Each scheme failed; but this did not lessen the desire of the public for railroads, nor of the promoters for profits. The people seemed ready to support any scheme that would insure railway construction. But the necessary capital was difficult to secure in the East where Minnesota had been the subject of much misunderstanding.[33.]

The St. Paul and Sioux City Railroad and the Minnesota and Pacific Railroad had been planned previous to the panic. In 1858 the Minnesota and Pacific had sixty-two and a half miles of grading completed, north of St. Paul. Work had then been halted because of financial complications.[34.] After the panic railroad promoters began to look for means of continuing construction. Free land had been offered them whenever twenty miles of trackage was completed, but there were not sufficient funds to do even that.

At this time the "Five Million Loan Bill," a scheme to loan the credit of the state to the railroad companies, was devised. The evil which might result from such a bill was obscured by the general clamor for railroads, and only a few people in either major party opposed it. The bill was approved at a special election on April 15, 1858, by a vote of 25,023 to 6,733, and was passed by the legislature.[35.] Following this approval the companies made a great show of activity but scarcely more than a year later the value of state bonds had fallen so low that they were of no value as collateral and work was again

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33. Blegen, Theodore, Sketch of James W. Taylor, Minnesota History Bulletin, vol. 1, no. 4, Nov. 1915, p. 164.
34. Crooks, Col. William, The First Railroad in Minnesota, Minnesota History Collections, vol. 10, part 1, p. 455.
35. Daily Minnesotian, St. Paul, March 11, 1858, Minnesota Annals.

abandoned in July 1859. The state had been placed in a difficult financial position.[36]

As tension increased, the city became more and more incensed against St. Anthony, its growing rival up the river. At first St. Anthony's pretensions had been laughed at, but now the matter grew serious and St. Paul accused its rival of being founded "by Eastern capitalists."[37]

In the depths of the panic a slight relief did come, brought about by the fur trade. 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 canoe route for the Red River carts.[38] This action occurred simultaneously with the British Government's decision to terminate the exclusive jurisdiction of the Hudson Bay Company in Northwestern Canada. Thus additional commerce would flow through St. Paul and that St. Paul traders might, for the first time, participate legally in the Canadian trade.

Then gold was discovered on the Frazier and Thompson Rivers in British Columbia. News of the discovery was received with jubilation, and plans were hurriedly made for the development of transportation on the Red River in order that St. Paul might receive its share of the resulting trade. Captain Russell Blakeley was sent to investigate, and he reported that the river was navigable for three or four months a year. Anson Northup was given $2,000

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36. Folwell, W. W., History of Minnesota, vol. 2, pp. 44-52, 1924, Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul.
37. Barton, Dr. E. E., City of St. Paul, published by the author, St. Paul, 1888, p. 8.
38. Petersen, William J., Steamboating on the Upper Mississippi, the Water Way to Iowa, Iowa Historical Society, Iowa City, Iowa, 1937, p. 165.

by the St. Paul Chamber of Commerce to transport a boat to the Red River and put it into operation.

Machinery for this ship was taken from the old Governor Ramsey, and the lumber came from the St. Croix region. Six weeks after its arrival, the boat was assembled and christened the Anson Northup. With thirty-four teams and sixty men, the caravan, carrying all needed material, set out across the prairie toward the Red River.[39] It was launched in the spring of 1859. A stage line was extended to Abercrombie from St. Cloud and this link helped St. Paul acquire the much desired monopoly of Red River trade.[40]

Apparently navigation conditions were not satisfactory, and Northup finally refused to continue running the boat. It was purchased by J. C. Burbank, operator of a stage coach line, renamed the Pioneer, and received fair patronage. Several other boats were built on the Red River and the traffic continued for some years.[41] Although by 1860 the Red River trade was valued at $200,000 it never reached the level which St. Paul had anticipated and was not sufficient to offset the decline in other fields.[42]

On January 1, 1860, Alexander Ramsey was inaugurated Governor. This was good fortune for the young state. Ramsey was equipped by experience and suited by temperament to meet the trying times which followed the opening of the Civil War.

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39. Blakeley, Russell, Opening of the Red River of the North to Commerce Civilization, Minnesota History Collections, vol. 8, 1898, pp. 46-48.
40. Blegen, Theo., Sketch of James W. Taylor, Minnesota History Bulletin, vol. 1, no. 4, November 1915, pp. 166-169.
41. Bell, Edwin, Early Steamboating on the Minnesota and Red Rivers, Minnesota History Collections, vol. 10, part 1, pp. 94-95.
42. Schmid, Calvin, A Social Saga of Two Cities, Minneapolis Council of Social Agencies, Minneapolis, 1937, p. 21.

The governor was a firm anti-slavery Republican and believed wholeheartedly in the Union cause. The treasury was empty but that did not prevent his offering the first troops to the President.[43]

For many years St. Paul had been able to ignore the existence of the Indians, but in 1862, in a last hopeless struggle for liberation, the Sioux rose in rebellion. Ramsey found himself fighting on two fronts. The outbreak only confirmed the queer twisted hatred which he felt for the Indians. It required all his leadership to carry the state through this perilous period.[44]

Since the "Five Million Loan" plan had come to nothing, Edmund Rice and Governor Ramsey were sent East to secure new capital for the continuation of work on the Minnesota and Pacific Railroad. The road had been renamed the St. Paul and Pacific and work was scheduled to get under way, but was delayed by the outbreak of the Civil War.

Again new backers had to be secured. This time, however, the work was completed as far as St. Anthony and was opened to travel in July 1862. This road later became part of the St. Paul, Minneapolis and Manitoba Railroad, which was eventually absorbed by the Great Northern.[45]

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43. Baker, Gen. James H., Alexander Ramsey, A Memorial Eulogy, Minnesota History Collections, vol. 10, part 2, Feb. 1905, p. 733.
44. Ibid., pp. 733-735.
45. Crooks, Col. William, The First Railroad in Minnesota, Minnesota History Collections, vol. 10, part 1, pp. 446-448.

The St. Paul and Sioux City Railroad had been planned in 1857 but was abandoned with the others. Some work had been done between Mendota and Shakopee, under the operation of the Five Million Loan Amendment, but this had collapsed before construction of any part of the line was complete.

In April 1861 a local paper commented on, "preparations for building all over town. Hard times, conflagrations, bursting of banks and the d . . . l to pay generally, are unable to stop the growth of the metropolis of the Northwest . . . ."[46] Another reason for optimism was touched upon in June of that year, "The Milwaukee (a steamboat) arrived yesterday morning, having on board two hundred and fifty Norwegians . . . Most of them are practical farmers . . . and . . . 'have got money' - real, hard, glittering gold pieces . . . ."[47] If they had but known it, the "glittering gold" was to be of lesser importance than the coming of "practical farmers" to settle in the state.

New enterprise now began to cause basic changes in St. Paul's social and economic life. In the towns and villages over the state enterprising men of St. Paul found a rich source of business and trade. Retail merchants discovered that 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. As early as 1856, St. Paul merchants had gone to eastern market centers to do their buying, thus establishing their independence of St. Louis and Chicago, and also laying a base for St. Paul's dominance of the jobbing trade of the Northwest.

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46. Pioneer and Democrat, St. Paul, April 3, 1861, Minnesota Annals.
47. Pioneer and Democrat, St. Paul, June 30, 1861.

In 1860 the first retail and wholesale firm in St. Paul left the retail field, to devote itself exclusively to the more profitable one of jobbing for St. Paul and Minnesota merchants.[48]

Paradoxically, the panic of 1857 had a stimulating influence on the wholesale trade of the Twin Cities. The reason was not hard to guess. Many small merchants, during the boom period, had enjoyed the privilege of liberal credit from big eastern wholesalers, but after the panic the latter became exceedingly cautious. The result was the local merchant was restricted for supplies to St. Paul and St. Anthony. With recovery from the panic, gradual though it was, a number of business houses in both cities instituted a new program to carry on a combined wholesale and retail trade.[49]

In the summer of 1856, like a returned ghost, Taliaferro, the former Indian agent at Fort Snelling, was again heard from. He mailed to a newspaper two letters written from a place designated as "aceldema." Old maps fail to show the location of this place, but it was given as near Fort Snelling. The letters ran:

> It may not be deemed out of place at this period, in the rapid and unprecedented growths of cities, towns, and hamlets, and population in Minnesota, to refer to the present data in reference to some of the historical reminiscences of the past.
>
> Some are curious to learn how certain locations received designated names. Minnehaha was first indicated as the Little Falls - then as Brown's Falls, in honor of Major General Brown. Lake Calhoun for the distinguished Secretary at the head of the War Department, and other smaller lakes, Harriet, Eliza, Abigail, Lucy, etc., after the ladies of the civil and military officers of the Post.

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48. Schmid, Calvin, Social Saga of Two Cities, Minneapolis Council of Social Service Agencies, Minneapolis, 1937, p. 22.
49. Press, H. B., The Marketing of Farm Products, Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 1927, pp. 23-24.

> The first measured distance from Fort Snelling to Fort Crawford (Prairie du Chien) was measured in February 1822 by Quarter Master Sergeant Heckle, with a pre amulator on a wheel which reported the distance by a sharp crackling every few hundred yards; it was invented by this good old German soldier. The distance was 204 miles.
>
> Could we write without the use of the personal pronoun, a more connected history of former years might be noted, but . . . it is /to the credit of/ the Sioux of your territory . . . /that/ . . . our frontier pioneers were never . . . molested in their homes, nor /was/ one drop of American blood /shed/ while the Chippewas, Winnebagoes, and Sacs and Foxes, were in the yearly habit of the most revolting and foul murders on all who unfortunately fell in their war path.
>
> We were in St. Paul on the 24th of June, . . . After a nap of fifteen years, we awoke in the midst of fast times. . . . We truly felt bewildered when we found all the haunts and resting-places of the once noble sons of the forest, covered by cities, towns and hamlets. We asked but few questions - being to our mind received as a strange animal, if nothing worse. 50.

In view of the treatment accorded Major Taliaferro while Indian agent, the last sentence of this letter is significant goes far deeper than irony. Here was a man who dealt fairly with his Indian charges on all occasions, and who had ever hoped to see them in a position to work out their own destiny, only to find himself thwarted in his work and allowed to face into an obscurity.

According to Webster's Dictionary, Aceldama, Taliaferro's writing address, is "the potters' field mentioned in Matt. 27-8, bought for a burial place for strangers with the money taken by Judas for betraying Christ; and Acts 1--18 as the scene of the suicide of Judas; afterward called the 'Field of Blood.' Also in the words of De Quincey it is "the system of war . . . which had already converted immense tracts into one universal aceldama."

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50. Pioneer and Democrat, Reminisinces (sic) of an Indian Agent, July 1, 1856 - date of letter; Minnesota Annals, July 11, 1856.

Meanwhile, the agrarian situation was bad. "Agricultural America . . . was a decentralized world, individualistic, and suspicious. Industrial America, behind which lay only half a dozen decades of experiment, was a centralizing world, capitalistic, feudal, ambitious. The one was a decaying order, the other a rising, and between them would be friction till one or the other had become master."[51]

The lesson that there can be no prosperity in the city without prosperity on the farm, was yet to be learned. "Continental America was still half frontier and half settled country. A thin line of homesteads had been thrust westward until they reached well into the Middle Border, an uncertain thread running through eastern Minnesota, Nebraska, Kansas, bridging the Indian Territory and then running west into Texas, approximately halfway between the Atlantic and the Pacific. Behind these outposts was still much unoccupied land, while beyond were prairies, gray and waste, that stretched to the foothills of the Rocky Mountains."[52] During the 1850-60 decade sweeping changes were made in Minnesota agriculture. An authority states:

> Perhaps the most singular change, was the increase in wheat production from 1,401 to over 2,000,000 bushels. Corn . . . from 16,725 to 2,941,952 bushels; potatoes from 21,145 to 2,516,485 bushels; and the yield of oats from 30,582 to 2,176,002 bushels. Next came potatoes, and wheat and oats were not far behind. The home market had grown, too. There were 64 counties where before there had been only 9, and the population had jumped from 6,077 for the entire territory to 172,123 for the new state.[53]

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51. Parrington, Vernon Louis, The Beginnings of Critical Realism in America, Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1930, pp. 7-8.
52. Ibid., pp. 7-8.
53. Blegen, Theodore C., New Buildings Went Up Almost Over Night, p. 2.

Relaxation held a place with the pioneers as well as work. They had their theatre and their concert and music halls. "They liked the theatre, supported dramatic associations of their own, and welcomed visiting troupes. Music lovers on the frontier heard Ole Bull in 1856 and Adelina Patti the next year, and welcomed the Hutchinson Brothers whenever they gave a concert. The Turners were early on the Minnesota scene and their gymnastic exhibitions were popular."[54] The Turnverein, with professors of physical culture, was to become an increasing part of the life of athletic St. Paul.

Entertainment was varied. "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 was Ole Bull's Concert, and following that "Hough and Myers presented the "Merchant of Venice" and "Dance in the Dark."[55]

Among the entertainers of this decade were the Peak Family of Bell Ringers, and Antonio & Carroll's Great World Circus.[56] Two favorite plays of the pioneers were "Ingomar" and "The Marble Heart."[57] Two theaters were known as Scott's Theatre and Peoples Theatre.

St. Paul " . . . supported an opera company . . . and in one season, at the German Theater, presented such operas as Rossini's

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54. Ibid., p. 2.
55. Pioneer & Democrat, July 14, 15, 17 and 21, 1856.
56. Daily Pioneer & Democrat, Aug. 29, 1857.
57. Ibid., Aug. 29, 1857.

And again:

> The territorial government under Buchananx was a mere tool of slavery. Every federal officer was a Southerner, or a Northern man with southern principles. Government gold flowed freely in that channel.

In her advocacy of abolition Mrs. Swisshelm crossed swords verbally with Sylvanus B. Lowry who even in that day was called a dictator. Lowry had established a trading post ten miles above St. Cloud. A Tennessean by birth and a Democrat, he was "tolerant of slavery . . . exercised great power in the matter of political patronage. It was inevitable that he and Mrs. Swisshelm should clash."[64.]

Despite the long crusade of William Lloyd Garrison, Wendell Phillips, Henry Sumner, Mrs. Swisshelm, and the rest of the abilitionists, stubborn forces contested every inch of ground. St. Paul and Minneapolis were not immune to slavery's taint. Mrs. Swisshelm writes:

> So thoroughly was Minnesota under the feet of slavery, that, in September 1860, after we thought the state redeemed — the house of William D. Babbitt, in Minneapolis, was surrounded often from night until morning by a howling mob, stoning it, firing guns and pistols, attempting to force doors and windows, and only prevented gaining entrance by the solidity of the building and the bravery of its defense. It was thus besieged because its owner and occupant had dared interfere to execute the common law in favor of freedom.
>
> Minneapolis and its twin city, St. Anthony each had a large first class hotel to which Southern people resorted in summer, bringing their slaves, holding them for months, and taking them back to the South, no one daring to make objection until one woman, Eliza Winston, appealed to Mr. Babbitt who took her into court, where Judge Vanderbilt decreed her freedom, on the ground that her claimant had forfeited his title by bringing her into a free State.

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64. Upham, Warren and Rose B. Dunlap, Minnesota Biographies, 1655-1912, 452, Minnesota Historical Collections, vol. 14, St. Paul, 1912; Swisshelm, Half a Century, p. 171.

The abolitionist movement was rapidly growing stronger at this time. Slavery was an evil clearly seen. John Jay Chapman in his William Lloyd Garrison wrote:

> That slavery was wrong everyone knew in his heart . . . but the light by which we today seen the Anti-slavery period was first shed on it by one man — William Lloyd Garrison . . . whose power of arousing uncontrollable disgust was a gift, like magic. Not Andrew Jackson, nor John Quincy Adams, nor Webster, nor Clay or Benton, nor Calhoun, who dance like shadows . . . but William Lloyd Garrison becomes the central figure in American life.

In addition to influence wrought by Harriet Beecher Stowe's "Uncle Tom's Cabin," the zealous work of another woman, Jane Grey Swisshelm, in the anti-slavery cause was outstanding. Mrs. Swisshelm for ten years was editor of one of the leading liberal newspapers of the nation, the Pittsburgh Saturday Visitor. But her chief claims to distinction were her flaming antislavery crusading and championing of woman's rights. Arthur J. Larsen in his Crusader and Feminist describes her:

> A small, delicately built woman in her early forties," she disembarked from a Mississippi River steamboat at St. Paul on June 22, 1857.

From 1857 to 1865 Mrs. Swisshelm's lectures in Minnesota and elsewhere attracted much attention of a trip from Pittsburgh to Louisville, she wrote:

> On the boat all the way down the river the general topic of conversation was the contrast between the desolate slave-cursed shores of Kentucky, and the smiling plenty of the opposite bank, but Louisville was largely settled by Northern people and was to prove an oasis in the desert of slavery.

Although the routes led entirely through Indian country, there were few instances of attacks. Indian hatred for the white intruder did not flame up violently until late in the 1850's. But in 1843 Sioux clashes with the Pembina breeds and traders had caused Norman Kittson to hesitate and to defer his establishment of a trading post at Pembina.

The number of carts increased in the years following 1844. The St. Paul Pioneer of July 26, 1849, wrote:

> 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, buffalo robes, dried buffalo tongues, pemmican, &c. They had been forty days on the route . . .

This train brought, also, news of an outbreak of the French half-breeds against the authorities at the Pembina settlement. The "authorities" were virtually the Hudson Bay company officials. Guillaume Sayer and three other half-breeds, had been arrested for illicit traffic in furs. A mob of 500 angry breeds and traders stormed the courthouse and put Judge Poleson to flight. The prisoners were acquitted. The Daily Minnesotian of July 8, 1857 wrote:

> Quite a number of those fantastic and rude carts of the Pembina Half-breeds, are now wandering through our streets. They are encamped in considerable numbers just outside of town. They bring down pemmican, moccasins, and skins and furs, and take back with them various groceries, commodities, tools and other things useful to them in their northern home.

Another account stated:

St. Paul was panic stricken. Then suddenly Joe Rolette, Chairman of the Committee on Enrolled Bills, disappeared, taking the bill with him. A special police force was required to keep order in the legislature. Each member remained at his post, a cot and a basket of food beside his desk. As the deadline for the end of the session approached, a copy of the bill was made in an attempt to break the deadlock, but the President of the Council and the Speaker of the House refused to sign the substitute.

During the uproar, Rolette, who had the bill hidden in a safe, remained 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 capital remained in St. Paul. St. Peter supporters appealed to the courts, but it was ruled that no law had been passed.[22.]

In the same year a bitter partisan struggle raged around the formulating of the state constitution. South of the Minnesota River and west of the Mississippi, "radical Republicanism," had been spreading among the farmers. Long outstanding grudges against St. Paul, Minneapolis and St. Anthony led these men to advocate an agricultural state, the capital located at St. Peter ~~and the three cities cut off~~. Again the effort failed. The constitution was adopted and Minnesota was admitted to statehood May 24, 1858.[24.]

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22. Dean, Wm. B., A History of the Capitol Buildings of Minnesota and Some Account of the Struggle for Their Location, Minnesota History Collections 1908, vol. 12, pp. 9-15.

24. The 1921 Annual Meeting of the Minnesota Historical Society, Minnesota History Bulletin, vol. 4, nos. 1 & 2 February and May 1921, p. 27.

A train of carts, fifty in number, arrived this week from Pembina and St. Jo., loaded with fine furs and robes, amounting in value to about $30,000. The train is encamped on the usual camping ground outside the city in the St. Anthony road; and is the property of Joseph Gingras and Paschal Boerland . . . [10]

The St. Paul Daily Press for June 24, 1866 continued:

One thousand carts on the way. Over one hundred dollars worth of furs, clarioned a St. Paul headline in 1866. We had the pleasure of meeting yesterday [Dr. J. Schultz] editor of the Fort Gary Nor'wester, who came down from the Red River settlement in eight days. Dr. [W. R. Brown] a former citizen of St. Paul, also arrived home yesterday. These gentlemen are the avant-carriers of the Red River Ox Brigade, which is composed of over one thousand carts, loaded with more than one hundred thousand dollars worth of furs, now on the way to St. Paul. Mr. [Schultz] estimated the amount of furs to be more than usual, and thinks they will net at least one hundred thousand dollars, not including those sold by the Hudson Bay Company. Some of the carts came down to Georgetown, loaded, and returned back. Nearly all the carts will stop this season at Big Lake, the present terminus of the Pacific Railroad . . . [11]

Often in the 50's and 60's, the cart 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.

She recalled:

Their carts had two wheels, all wood, and a cross-piece to rest the platform on . . . The tracks were wide and deep and could be plainly seen ahead of us, going straight through

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10. St. Paul Pioneer, June 19, 1863.
11. St. Paul Daily Press, June 24, 1866.
12. Old Fence Corners, p. 34.

> 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 Lone Tree. [13]

Until well into the 60's St. Paul was the eastern terminus for the cart trains. Through the summer months they were a common sight on St. Anthony Road, as they passed the homesteaders' cabins in St. Anthony and continued by Cheevers' Landing, to St. Paul. For years Larpenteur's lake and farm was a favorite rendezvous of the voyageurs. Adventure has cloaked these rough men. They came roaring and raucous into town.

"Is it Joe Rolette or a fire?" asked a St. Paul resident, as this son of a great voyageur passed by. Rolette drew a throng of followers down the street with hom. This was the Joe Rolette who, with Kittson and Gingras, would mush his dogs over snowy trails to sit in the early legislatures.

Larpenteur lake, was a "fine body of clear water," at that time. It extended from Dale street to a little beyond St. Albans street. Like that chain of three lakes which began in the vicinity at Dayton avenue and Dale street, it completely disappeared.

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13. "Old Fence Corners," Mrs. C. A. Burdick, 1855, p. 104.

Still more unsuccessful attempts were made to change the capital's location. Even Minneapolis and St. Anthony cooperated with the smaller towns in these efforts. Various proposals were made: that the capital be moved to Nicollet Island, to "some western point," and finally, to Winona. Stillwater, Minneapolis and St. Anthony were in favor of Kandiyohi County. This last proposal was passed by the legislature, but vetoed by Governor Marshall.[25] 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 centre of population of Minnesota.[26]

The St. Paul papers disdainfully referred to the furor about capital removal as "an annual farce."[27]

By 1856 St. Paul's volume of trade was so great the Mississippi boats could not keep up with it. Great piles of freight, destined for St. Paul, accululated in Dubuque and Dunleith despite the fact that 200 steamboats arrived at St. Paul the first two months of open water that year. This record equalled that of the entire previous season.

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25. Dean, Wm. A., History of the Capital City of Minnesota and Some Account of the Location, Minnesota Historical Collections, 1908, vol. 12, p. 17.
26. Minneapolis Tribune, July 1, 1869.
27. Pioneer & Democrat, St. Paul, Feb. 20, 1861.

An account of the time reads:

> Quite a curious and animated scene was presented last Saturday on Robert Street, in front of Forbes & Kittson's store. The street was literally blocked up with . . . carts of the train from the Selkirk settlement; horses and cattle, with all sorts of non-descript harnesses upon them, were tethered round about, buffalo robes lay piled upon the ground, and a busy crowd of the dark skinned strangers were moving busily to and fro, earnestly engaged in the work of loading up the carts from the warehouse . . . . This detachment numbers ninety-eight carts, and is altogether from the English settlement at Selkirk . . . . The American portion of the train, under charge of Messrs. Rolette and Cavileer, is expected . . . sometime between the 5th and 10th inst. [July]. 14.

By this date, the monopoly of the Hudson Bay Company had practically ceased to exist. Wrote the Pioneer and Democrat:

> 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 company 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.

In December of the same year, the Pioneer and Democrat correspondent wrote:

> But a small proportion of the furs which annually pass through St. Paul, are made in Minnesota. They come for the most part from the regions west of the James and Red Rivers, and from the far north in the British possessions . . . . Three-fourths of the entire fur product of the region between the Mississippi and the Missouri, passes through St. Paul - the larger proportion through the two houses of Culver & Farrington and Forbes & Kittson . . . .

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14. Daily Minnesota Pioneer, July 2, 1855.
15. Pioneer and Democrat, August 5, 1858.

Two years later, the firm of Forbes and Kittson, having been dissolved, Kittson concentrated on his Red River trade which continued until 1860. He then was made agent for the Hudson Bay Company and with James J. Hill established a line of steamers and barges in the Red River. Under the name of the Red River Transportation Company, this firm grew into a large corporation with headquarters in St. Paul.

From the time of the first merchandise store, St. Paul's development into a jobbing center had been steady. A great stimulus to trade was the fact that Minnesota in 1856 had a surplus of agricultural products. Large quantities of oats, potatoes and cranberries were sent out, although, due to a price decline, the business was not profitable. Potatoes which had sold for $1.25 a bushel two years before, now sold for 25 cents a bushel.[21.]

Conditions had been good in these years and few expected less from 1857. Even when the spring brought ominous rumors and Eastern papers began to carry stories of collapsing western land values, hope still ran high. And then Eastern money became panicky about its investments. In the late summer of 1857 several large companies dealing with 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 here, and no danger apprehended."

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21. Weekly Pioneer & Democrat, St. Paul, Nov. 18, 1856 .

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." 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]

Every measure taken to alleviate the effects of the panic failed. The closing of the banks made it extremely difficult to carry on business, and real estate values, which had been the chief mainstay of the boom, collapsed. State laws regulating banking were passed, but these were not efficient and no general improvement in the banking system was apparent until after the passage of the national regulatory legislation in 1863.

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 worse times instead of better, and it was said that "probably time will demonstrate the unwelcome fact that the depts are not yet unsounded. Everything indicates it."[30]

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28. Pioneer & Democrat Weekly, St. Paul, Oct. 8-22, 1857.
29. Pioneer & Democrat Weekly, St. Paul, Sept. 23, 1858.
30. Ibid., June 1, 1861.

And again:

> . . . We have by no means reached the limits of this trade . . . . The superiority of the outlet at St. Paul for this region, over the multitudinous portages of Nelson's River, has been abundantly proved. Establish a Railroad communication with the Red River Valley, and the whole trade of the Hudson Bay Company would fall into our hands, or at least seek this avenue of exportation. What the fur trade of that immense region would be worth to us, may be estimated from the fact that the average value of the annual export of furs by the Hudson Bay Company, is about $1,800,000. [16.]

Enterprising leaders of St. Paul were quick to see the riches of the Red River. Staggered by the Panic of 1857, abandoned by the moneyed interests of the east, St. Paul turned readily to the Pembina trade. The Red River cart drivers were particularly welcome, for they always jingled English silver in their buckskin trousers.

While St. Paul welcomed the fur carts from Pembina, there were other forces aiding and threatening the trade growth of St. Paul. By the mid-fifties, a network of primitive trails and roads were established. Land-seekers, farmers, were pouring into Minnesota.

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. Mendota, St. Anthony, and Minneapolis were to the west of the Dubuque stage road. Settlers' canvas-covered wagons dotted the Indian trail from the Iowa border. Traffic swelled on the trail south of the Minnesota river, that passed through Henderson to Traverse des Sioux, St. Peter, and Mankato. Territorial Road formed the base of a triangle as it provided

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16. The Weekly Pioneer & Democrat, Dec. 16, 1858.

Mankato a direct route to Reed's Landing and the Mississippi. Still another trail from Traverse to Red Wing paralleled Territorial Road.

Extending westward from these roads were the Pipestone trail and the Old Military road, while flanking the Minnesota river on either side, were the old Gary [sic] 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 were the Red River, the Breckenridge, the Fort Abercrombie, Georgetown, and Pembina trails that tied together at St. Cloud to form a common road to St. Paul. North of St. Cloud were the trails tying up Crow Wing, Leech Lake, Red Lake, and other Indian and trader centers. Mille Lacs, Duluth and Fond du lac also enjoyed communication with St. Paul and St. Anthony.

The agricultural future of Minnesota was early assured. The Rev. Sela G. Wright, at the Red Lake Mission, had established a farm in the wilderness. In 1848 he could report a crop of 3,000 bushels of corn and 2,000 bushels of potatoes and other vegetables. The Pembina settlers in 1820-21 had obtained seed grain from Wisconsin. In the mid-fifties, scarcely a Pembina train turned homeward from St. Paul without heavy cargoes of agricultural implements.

Minnesota's first crops was cranberries, maple sugar, and wild rice. So plentiful were the thousands of buffalo that only the tongue and "buffalo boss," the hump of the animal were salvaged. One season, 400 Indians were engaged in cranberry harvesting at Rice Lake, near St. Paul, and in the same period slew 25 bears for meat.[17.]

17. Newson - Pen Pictures, p. 294.

Some time elapsed following the bank crashes, however, 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 slight relief did come, brought about by the fur trade. During the winter of 1857-58 arrangements were made with the Secretary of the Treasury, permitting the Hudson Bay Company to ship its goods in bond through St. Paul, abandoning the long established York Factory canoe route for the Red River Carts.[38] This action occurred simultaneously with the British Government's decision to terminate the exclusive jurisdiction of the Hudson Bay Company in Northwestern Canada. Thus additional commerce would flow through St. Paul and St. Paul traders for the first time were able to participate legally in the Canadian trade.

Then gold was discovered on the Frazier and Thompson Rivers in British Columbia. Plans were hurriedly made for the development of transportation 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 Northrup 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.

Machinery for this ship was taken from the old Governor Ramsey and the lumber came from the St. Croix region. Rechristened the Anson Northrup

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38. Paterson, Wm. J., Steamboating on the Upper Mississippi, the Waterway to Iowa, Iowa Historical Society, Iowa City, Iowa, 1837, p. 165.

Ignatius Donnelly, who was to become the region's most unpredictable politician, came out from Philadelphia in the spring of 1856. Turning all of his gifts into the launching of a new city, Nininger, Donnelly enacted a role in one of the most bizarre chapters of state history. Nininger, defying slights of the riverboat captains and the rivalries of nearby Hastings and St. Paul, was never to become Donnelly's dream - a metropolis. Even after its youthful founder had obtained a post office, the stage drivers refused to honor the settlement with a stop, and the citizens were forced to walk three miles to Hastings for their mail.[18]

The fertile Minnesota River valley and its watershed was filling with homesteaders in the pre-panic fifties. Townsites almost outnumbered farm sites, and plat maps and real estate booms were plentiful.

John C. Laird staged a ludicrous land fight with H. C. Gere, for a land claim that later was to lie in the heart of Winona's business district. Laird, a LaCrosse official, jumped an eighty acre portion of an earlier claim, and Gere applied to the town's Claim club for the property. The LaCrosse man had built a shack to establish his rights, but on a Sunday traveled to his sister's cabin to attend the Sabbath. Elder Hamilton conveniently preached a long sermon at Mrs. Goddard's. When Laird returned to his shack, he found the Gere furniture inside his shack. Mrs. Gere sat in a rocker and refused to ~~budge~~ move. Aided by a companion, Laird proceeded to dismantle the shack. Both men settled down to a cold vigil in the open, to outsit his opponent when a compromise was finally reached.[19]

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18. MHB, vol. 17, pp. 262-275.
19. History of Winona, Olmsted and Dodge Counties, p. 310.

it was launched in the spring of 1859. But navigation conditions were not satisfactory, and Northrup finally refused to continue running the boat.

As railroads from the East pushed nearer, lively interests centered upon the securing of local connections. Each scheme failed, but this did not lessen the desire of the public for railroads, nor of the promoters for profits. The people seemed ready to support any plan that would insure railway construction. But the necessary capital was difficult to secure in the East where Minnesota had been the subject of much misunderstanding.[33.]

The St. Paul and Sioux City Railroad and the Minnesota and Pacific Railroad had been planned previous to the panic. In 1858 the Minnesota and Pacific and 62 miles of grading completed north of St. Paul. Work had then halted because of financial complications.[34.] After the panic railroad promoters began to look for means of continuing construction. Free land had been offered them whenever twenty miles of trackage was completed, but there were not sufficient funds to do even that.

At this time the "Five Million Loan Bill," a scheme to loan the credit of the state to the railroad companies was devised. The evil which would result from such a bill was obscured by the general clamor for railroads, and only a few people in either major party opposed it. The bill was approved at a special election and passed by the legislature.[35.] Following

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33. Blegen, Theodore, Sketch of James W. Taylor, Minnesota History Bulletin, vol. 1, no. 4, Nov. 1915, p. 164.
34. Crooks, Col. William, The First Railroad in Minnesota, Minnesota History Collections, vol. 10, part 1, p. 466.
35. Daily Minnesotian, St. Paul, March 11, 1856.

The Minnesota Democrat of August 19, 1851 noted:

> The Minnesota wheat crop has been harvested, and a better crop of spring wheat in quality or quantity cannot be quoted in the West . . . Every experiment in winter wheat has succeeded so well, that spring wheat will probably be abandoned hereafter in favor of this superior species. Mr. Larpenteur and several other farmers near St. Paul, employed a horse reaper to cut their grain, for which they paid 75 cents per acre, and were well pleased with its work.

Meanwhile, Minneapolis, just released from the restrictions of the military reservation, was bounding ahead in growth. Although its ascendancy in the flour milling industry was not yet so apparent, its business district was expanding and its population was steadily mounting.

Several years after Norman Kittson's four terms in the legislature, he was elected Mayor of St. Paul. In this office he served one term only.

In 1858 the firm of Forbes and Kittson having been dissolved, Kittson concentrated upon his Red River trade which continued until 1860. Made agent for the Hudson Bay Company, he established, with James J. Hill, a line of steamers and barges on the Red River. This firm, under the name of the Red River Transportation Company grew into a large corporation with headquarters in St. Paul. Because of his activities in steamboat transportation he became known as Commodore Kittson.

From the time of the first merchandise store, St. Paul's development into a jobbing center had been steady. Oxcarts, loaded with clothing, nails, and flour, leaving the city to return with buffalo and similar commodities were but a passing phase.

this approval the companies made a great show of activity. Scarcely a year later, however, the value of state bonds fell so low they were of no value as collateral, and work was again abandoned in July 1859. The state had been placed in a difficult financial position.[36.]

Since the "Five Million Loan" plan had come to nothing, Edmund Rice and Ramsey, the latter of whom had been elected governor in 1849 were sent East to secure new capital for the continuation of work on the Minnesota and Pacific Railroad. The road had been renamed the St. Paul and Pacific.

Again new backers had to be secured. This time, however, the work was completed as far as St. Anthony and was opened to travel in July 1862. Later this road became a part of the St. Paul, Minneapolis,

By 1856 St. Paul's volume of trade was so great that the Mississippi boats could not keep up with it. Great piles of freight, destined for St. Paul, accumulated in Dubuque and Dunleith despite the fact that in the first two months of open water that year, 200 steamboats had arrived at St. Paul. This equalled the record of the entire previous season. The lands west and north were being settled so fast that almost overnight the city found itself the centre of a populous area.[20]

An additional stimulus to trade was the fact that for the first time Minnesota had a surplus of agricultural products. Large quantities of oats, potatoes and cranberries were sent out, although the business was not very profitable due to a price decline. Potatoes, which had sold for $1.25 a bushel two years earlier, now sold for 25¢ per bushel.[21]

The earliest capitol building, a structure with a four pillared "Greek Porch" was first occupied by the legislature in January 1854. Though the question of location of territorial institutions had apparently been settled, behind-the-scenes plans were being made against St. Paul.

In 1857 a St. Peter Company was formed which promised to erect in that town buildings superior to those in St. Paul, and a bill removing the capital to St. Peter was introduced in the legislature. In February the measure passed the House by a vote of 20 to 17 and a short time later the Council also approved by a vote of 8 to 7.

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20. Patchin, Sydney A., The Development of Banking in Minnesota, Minnesota History Bulletin, vol. 2, no. 3, Aug. 1917, p. 132.
21. Weekly Pioneer and Democrat, St. Paul, Nov. 18, 1856, Minnesota Annals.

St. Paul was panic stricken. Then suddenly Joe Rolette, Chairman of the Committee on Enrolled Bills, disappeared, taking the bill with him. A special police force was required to keep order in the legislature. Each member remained, with a basket of food and a cot beside his desk. As the deadline for the end of the session approached, a copy of the bill was made in an attempt to break the deadlock, but the President of the Council and the Speaker of the House refused to sign this substitute.

During the uproar, Rolette, who had the measure hidden in a safe, remained in his room at the Fuller House while the sergeant at arms, a St. Paul supporter, looked for him with "blinded eyes in all the places where he surely would not be found."

Eventually the Governor signed the substitute copy, but the capital remained in St. Paul. St. Peter supporters appealed to the courts, but the justices ruled that no law had been passed.[22] Although the historian, Folwell, later referred to the act as "disreputable, if not criminal," Rolette at the time was idolized for his actions.[23]

During the same year a bitter partisan struggle raged around the formulating of the state constitution. South of the Minnesota River and west of the Mississippi "radical Republicanism," had been spreading among the farmers. Long outstanding grudges against St. Paul, Minneapolis and St. Anthony led them

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22. Dean, William B., A History of the Capitol Buildings of Minnesota, With Some Account of the Struggle for their Location, Minnesota History Collections, vol. 12, 1908, pp. 9-15.
23. Folwell, W. W., A History of Minnesota, vol. 3, p. 9, Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul, 1926.

to advocate an agricultural state, of which St. Peter would be the capital and which would leave the three cities off by themselves.[24] But the effort failed. The constitution adopted, Minnesota was admitted to statehood, May 24, 1858.

Later more unsuccessful attempts were made to remove the capital. Even Minneapolis and St. Anthony, dissatisfied with their share of the comprise agreement of 1851, cooperated with the smaller cities in these efforts. Various proposals were made; that the capital be removed to Nicollet Island, to some "western point," and finally to Winona. Stillwater, Minneapolis and St. Anthony combined in favor of Kandiyohi County. This last proposal was passed by the legislature but vetoed by Governor Marshall.[25] 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 centre of population of Minnesota.[26]

The St. Paul papers disdainfully referred to the furor about capital removal as an "annual farce."[27]

Times had been so good in the preceding years, that a few expected less from 1857. Even when the spring brought ominous rumors, and eastern papers began to carry stories of collapsing western land values, Then hopes still ran high, Then eastern money became panicky about its investments.

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24. "The 1921 Annual Meeting of the Minnesota Historical Society," Minnesota History Bulletin, vol. 4, nos. 1-2, Feb. and May 1921, p. 27.
25. Dean, William B., "A History of the Capitol Buildings of Minnesota, With Some Account of the Struggle for their Location, Minnesota History Collections, vol. 12, 1908, p. 17.
26. Minneapolis Tribune, July 1, 1869, Minnesota Annals.
27. Pioneer and Democrat, St. Paul, Feb. 20, 1861, Minnesota Annals.

The 1857 trade continued, and the number of steamboat arrivals reached a new peak, although news from the East was becoming more alarming. In late summer several large companies dealing with western lands collapsed and the weaker banks began to go under. On October 1, the St. Paul Pioneer Democrat remarked 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 here, and no danger apprehended."

But on October 3, the St. Paul Advertiser changed the tone of hopefulness to an acknowledgement of despair . . . "The 'grand crash' is fairly upon us . . . St. Paul has stood the shock nobly, but the inevitable result has finally reached us." On the eighth there was considerable excitement caused by 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 twenty-first a final blow was dealt by the closing of Borup and Oakes.[28]

Every measure taken to alleviate the effects of the panic failed, for business did not notably improve until after the Civil War. The closing of the banks made it extremely difficult to carry on business, and real estate values, which had been the chief mainstay of the boom, collapsed. State laws were passed regulating banking, but these were not efficient and no general improvement in the banking system was apparent until after the passage of the national regulatory legislation in 1863.

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28. Pioneer and Democrat Weekly, St. Paul, Oct. 8-22, 1857, Minnesota Annals.

As late as 1858 some optimists were yet speaking of the continued stagnation in business as "a merely temporary embarrassment."[29] By this date people were accepting the belief that worse might be expected instead of better, and it was said that "probably time will demonstrate the unwelcome fact that the depths are not yet sounded. Everything indicates it."[30]

Some time elapsed following the bank crashes, however, before the effects of the business depression were reflected in the diminishing number of boats arriving at St. Paul. The year 1857 brought 965 boats, and 1,090 arrived the following season. The next year saw the beginning of a decline that has never been overcome. Traffic on the Minnesota also reached its height of 394 trips up the river and then dropped sharply. Civil War commerce did not appreciably revive the river trade, despite a temporary increase in 1862.[31]

The panic and the beginning of the decline in the river traffic marked the end of a decade of great expansion. From 1849 to 1860, however, the number of Minnesota inhabitants had increased from less than 5,000 to 172,000 and St. Paul had grown from a straggling hamlet to a city of over ten thousand.[32]

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29. Pioneer and Democrat Weekly, St. Paul, Sept. 23, 1858, Minnesota Annals.
30. Pioneer and Democrat, St. Paul, June 1, 1861, Minnesota Annals.
31. Shippee, Lester B., Social and Economic Effects of the Civil War With Special Reference to Minnesota, Minnesota History Bulletin, vol. 2, no. 6, May 1918, p. 394.
32. Appel, Livia and Theo. Blegen, Official Encouragement of Immigration to Minnesota During the Territorial Period, Minnesota History Bulletin, vol. 5, no. 3, August 1923, p. 167.

As railroads from the East pushed nearer, lively interest centered upon securing local connections. Each scheme failed; but this did not lessen the desire of the public for railroads, nor of the promoters for profits. The people seemed ready to support any scheme that would insure railway construction. But the necessary capital was difficult to secure in the East where Minnesota had been the subject of much misunderstanding.[33.]

The St. Paul and Sioux City Railroad and the Minnesota and Pacific Railroad had been planned previous to the panic. In 1858 the Minnesota and Pacific had sixty-two and a half miles of grading completed, north of St. Paul. Work had then been halted because of financial complications.[34.] After the panic railroad promoters began to look for means of continuing construction. Free land had been offered them whenever twenty miles of trackage was completed, but there were not sufficient funds to do even that.

At this time the "Five Million Loan Bill," a scheme to loan the credit of the state to the railroad companies, was devised. The evil which might result from such a bill was obscured by the general clamor for railroads, and only a few people in either major party opposed it. The bill was approved at a special election on April 15, 1858, by a vote of 25,023 to 6,733, and was passed by the legislature.[35.] Following this approval the companies made a great show of activity but scarcely more than a year later the value of state bonds had fallen so low that they were of no value as collateral and work was again

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33. Blegen, Theodore, Sketch of James W. Taylor, Minnesota History Bulletin, vol. 1, no. 4, Nov. 1915, p. 164.
34. Crooks, Col. William, The First Railroad in Minnesota, Minnesota History Collections, vol. 10, part 1, p. 455.
35. Daily Minnesotian, St. Paul, March 11, 1858, Minnesota Annals.

abandoned in July 1859. The state had been placed in a difficult financial position.[36]

As tension increased, the city became more and more incensed against St. Anthony, its growing rival up the river. At first St. Anthony's pretensions had been laughed at, but now the matter grew serious and St. Paul accused its rival of being founded "by Eastern capitalists."[37]

In the depths of the panic a slight relief did come, brought about by the fur trade. 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 canoe route for the Red River carts.[38] This action occurred simultaneously with the British Government's decision to terminate the exclusive jurisdiction of the Hudson Bay Company in Northwestern Canada. Thus additional commerce would flow through St. Paul and that St. Paul traders might, for the first time, participate legally in the Canadian trade.

Then gold was discovered on the Frazier and Thompson Rivers in British Columbia. News of the discovery was received with jubilation, and plans were hurriedly made for the development of transportation on the Red River in order that St. Paul might receive its share of the resulting trade. Captain Russell Blakeley was sent to investigate, and he reported that the river was navigable for three or four months a year. Anson Northup was given $2,000

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36. Folwell, W. W., History of Minnesota, vol. 2, pp. 44-52, 1924, Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul.
37. Barton, Dr. E. E., City of St. Paul, published by the author, St. Paul, 1888, p. 8.
38. Petersen, William J., Steamboating on the Upper Mississippi, the Water Way to Iowa, Iowa Historical Society, Iowa City, Iowa, 1937, p. 165.

by the St. Paul Chamber of Commerce to transport a boat to the Red River and put it into operation.

Machinery for this ship was taken from the old Governor Ramsey, and the lumber came from the St. Croix region. Six weeks after its arrival, the boat was assembled and christened the Anson Northup. With thirty-four teams and sixty men, the caravan, carrying all needed material, set out across the prairie toward the Red River.[39] It was launched in the spring of 1859. A stage line was extended to Abercrombie from St. Cloud and this link helped St. Paul acquire the much desired monopoly of Red River trade.[40]

Apparently navigation conditions were not satisfactory, and Northup finally refused to continue running the boat. It was purchased by J. C. Burbank, operator of a stage coach line, renamed the Pioneer, and received fair patronage. Several other boats were built on the Red River and the traffic continued for some years.[41] Although by 1860 the Red River trade was valued at $200,000 it never reached the level which St. Paul had anticipated and was not sufficient to offset the decline in other fields.[42]

On January 1, 1860, Alexander Ramsey was inaugurated Governor. This was good fortune for the young state. Ramsey was equipped by experience and suited by temperament to meet the trying times which followed the opening of the Civil War.

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39. Blakeley, Russell, Opening of the Red River of the North to Commerce Civilization, Minnesota History Collections, vol. 8, 1898, pp. 46-48.
40. Blegen, Theo., Sketch of James W. Taylor, Minnesota History Bulletin, vol. 1, no. 4, November 1915, pp. 166-169.
41. Bell, Edwin, Early Steamboating on the Minnesota and Red Rivers, Minnesota History Collections, vol. 10, part 1, pp. 94-95.
42. Schmid, Calvin, A Social Saga of Two Cities, Minneapolis Council of Social Agencies, Minneapolis, 1937, p. 21.

The governor was a firm anti-slavery Republican and believed wholeheartedly in the Union cause. The treasury was empty but that did not prevent his offering the first troops to the President.[43]

For many years St. Paul had been able to ignore the existence of the Indians, but in 1862, in a last hopeless struggle for liberation, the Sioux rose in rebellion. Ramsey found himself fighting on two fronts. The outbreak only confirmed the queer twisted hatred which he felt for the Indians. It required all his leadership to carry the state through this perilous period.[44]

Since the "Five Million Loan" plan had come to nothing, Edmund Rice and Governor Ramsey were sent East to secure new capital for the continuation of work on the Minnesota and Pacific Railroad. The road had been renamed the St. Paul and Pacific and work was scheduled to get under way, but was delayed by the outbreak of the Civil War.

Again new backers had to be secured. This time, however, the work was completed as far as St. Anthony and was opened to travel in July 1862. This road later became part of the St. Paul, Minneapolis and Manitoba Railroad, which was eventually absorbed by the Great Northern.[45]

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43. Baker, Gen. James H., Alexander Ramsey, A Memorial Eulogy, Minnesota History Collections, vol. 10, part 2, Feb. 1905, p. 733.
44. Ibid., pp. 733-735.
45. Crooks, Col. William, The First Railroad in Minnesota, Minnesota History Collections, vol. 10, part 1, pp. 446-448.

The St. Paul and Sioux City Railroad had been planned in 1857 but was abandoned with the others. Some work had been done between Mendota and Shakopee, under the operation of the Five Million Loan Amendment, but this had collapsed before construction of any part of the line was complete.

In April 1861 a local paper commented on, "preparations for building all over town. Hard times, conflagrations, bursting of banks and the d . . . l to pay generally, are unable to stop the growth of the metropolis of the Northwest . . . "[46] Another reason for optimism was touched upon in June of that year, "The Milwaukee (a steamboat) arrived yesterday morning, having on board two hundred and fifty Norwegians . . . Most of them are practical farmers . . . and . . . 'have got money' - real, hard, glittering gold pieces . . . "[47] If they had but known it, the "glittering gold" was to be of lesser importance than the coming of "practical farmers" to settle in the state.

New enterprise now began to cause basic changes in St. Paul's social and economic life. In the towns and villages over the state enterprising men of St. Paul found a rich source of business and trade. Retail merchants discovered that 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. As early as 1856, St. Paul merchants had gone to eastern market centers to do their buying, thus establishing their independence of St. Louis and Chicago, and also laying a base for St. Paul's dominance of the jobbing trade of the Northwest.

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46. Pioneer and Democrat, St. Paul, April 3, 1861, Minnesota Annals.
47. Pioneer and Democrat, St. Paul, June 30, 1861.

In 1860 the first retail and wholesale firm in St. Paul left the retail field, to devote itself exclusively to the more profitable one of jobbing for St. Paul and Minnesota merchants.[48]

Paradoxically, the panic of 1857 had a stimulating influence on the wholesale trade of the Twin Cities. The reason was not hard to guess. Many small merchants, during the boom period, had enjoyed the privilege of liberal credit from big eastern wholesalers, but after the panic the latter became exceedingly cautious. The result was the local merchant was restricted for supplies to St. Paul and St. Anthony. With recovery from the panic, gradual though it was, a number of business houses in both cities instituted a new program to carry on a combined wholesale and retail trade.[49]

In the summer of 1856, like a returned ghost, Taliaferro, the former Indian agent at Fort Snelling, was again heard from. He mailed to a newspaper two letters written from a place designated as "aceldema." Old maps fail to show the location of this place, but it was given as near Fort Snelling. The letters ran:

> It may not be deemed out of place at this period, in the rapid and unprecedented growths of cities, towns, and hamlets, and population in Minnesota, to refer to the present data in reference to some of the historical reminiscences of the past.
>
> Some are curious to learn how certain locations received designated names. Minnehaha was first indicated as the Little Falls - then as Brown's Falls, in honor of Major General Brown. Lake Calhoun for the distinguished Secretary at the head of the War Department, and other smaller lakes, Harriet, Eliza, Abigail, Lucy, etc., after the ladies of the civil and military officers of the Post.

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48. Schmid, Calvin, Social Saga of Two Cities, Minneapolis Council of Social Service Agencies, Minneapolis, 1937, p. 22.
49. Press, H. B., The Marketing of Farm Products, Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 1927, pp. 23-24.

> The first measured distance from Fort Snelling to Fort Crawford (Prairie du Chien) was measured in February 1822 by Quarter Master Sergeant Heckle, with a pre amulator on a wheel which reported the distance by a sharp crackling every few hundred yards; it was invented by this good old German soldier. The distance was 204 miles.
>
> Could we write without the use of the personal pronoun, a more connected history of former years might be noted, but . . . it is /to the credit of/ the Sioux of your territory . . . /that/ . . . our frontier pioneers were never . . . molested in their homes, nor /was/ one drop of American blood /shed/ while the Chippewas, Winnebagoes, and Sacs and Foxes, were in the yearly habit of the most revolting and foul murders on all who unfortunately fell in their war path.
>
> We were in St. Paul on the 24th of June, . . . After a nap of fifteen years, we awoke in the midst of fast times. . . . We truly felt bewildered when we found all the haunts and resting-places of the once noble sons of the forest, covered by cities, towns and hamlets. We asked but few questions - being to our mind received as a strange animal, if nothing worse. 50.

In view of the treatment accorded Major Taliaferro while Indian agent, the last sentence of this letter is significant goes far deeper than irony. Here was a man who dealt fairly with his Indian charges on all occasions, and who had ever hoped to see them in a position to work out their own destiny, only to find himself thwarted in his work and allowed to face into an obscurity.

According to Webster's Dictionary, Aceldama, Taliaferro's writing address, is "the potters' field mentioned in Matt. 27-8, bought for a burial place for strangers with the money taken by Judas for betraying Christ; and Acts 1--18 as the scene of the suicide of Judas; afterward called the 'Field of Blood.' Also in the words of De Quincey it is "the system of war . . . which had already converted immense tracts into one universal aceldama."

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50. Pioneer and Democrat, Reminisinces (sic) of an Indian Agent, July 1, 1856 - date of letter; Minnesota Annals, July 11, 1856.

Meanwhile, the agrarian situation was bad. "Agricultural America . . . was a decentralized world, individualistic, and suspicious. Industrial America, behind which lay only half a dozen decades of experiment, was a centralizing world, capitalistic, feudal, ambitious. The one was a decaying order, the other a rising, and between them would be friction till one or the other had become master."[51]

The lesson that there can be no prosperity in the city without prosperity on the farm, was yet to be learned. "Continental America was still half frontier and half settled country. A thin line of homesteads had been thrust westward until they reached well into the Middle Border, an uncertain thread running through eastern Minnesota, Nebraska, Kansas, bridging the Indian Territory and then running west into Texas, approximately halfway between the Atlantic and the Pacific. Behind these outposts was still much unoccupied land, while beyond were prairies, gray and waste, that stretched to the foothills of the Rocky Mountains."[52] During the 1850-60 decade sweeping changes were made in Minnesota agriculture. An authority states:

> Perhaps the most singular change, was the increase in wheat production from 1,401 to over 2,000,000 bushels. Corn . . . from 16,725 to 2,941,952 bushels; potatoes from 21,145 to 2,516,485 bushels; and the yield of oats from 30,582 to 2,176,002 bushels. Next came potatoes, and wheat and oats were not far behind. The home market had grown, too. There were 64 counties where before there had been only 9, and the population had jumped from 6,077 for the entire territory to 172,123 for the new state.[53]

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51. Parrington, Vernon Louis, The Beginnings of Critical Realism in America, Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1930, pp. 7-8.
52. Ibid., pp. 7-8.
53. Blegen, Theodore C., New Buildings Went Up Almost Over Night, p. 2.

Relaxation held a place with the pioneers as well as work. They had their theatre and their concert and music halls. "They liked the theatre, supported dramatic associations of their own, and welcomed visiting troupes. Music lovers on the frontier heard Ole Bull in 1856 and Adelina Patti the next year, and welcomed the Hutchinson Brothers whenever they gave a concert. The Turners were early on the Minnesota scene and their gymnastic exhibitions were popular."[54] The Turnverein, with professors of physical culture, was to become an increasing part of the life of athletic St. Paul.

Entertainment was varied. "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 was Ole Bull's Concert, and following that "Hough and Myers presented the "Merchant of Venice" and "Dance in the Dark."[55]

Among the entertainers of this decade were the Peak Family of Bell Ringers, and Antonio & Carroll's Great World Circus. Two favorite plays of the pioneers were "Ingomar" and "The Marble Heart."[56] Two theaters were known as Scott's Theatre and Peoples Theatre.[57]

St. Paul " . . . supported an opera company . . . and in one season, at the German Theater, presented such operas as Rossini's

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54. Ibid., p. 2.
55. Pioneer & Democrat, July 14, 15, 17 and 21, 1856.
56. Daily Pioneer & Democrat, Aug. 29, 1857.
57. Ibid., Aug. 29, 1857.

'Cinderella,' Donizetti's 'Elixir of Love,' 'Bohemian Girl' and 'Il Trovatore.' Some creative writing was also produced in frontier Minnesota. Harriet Bishop, the Vermont school teacher, wrote a book 'Floral Home' in 1857. A periodical was published at Hastings in 1859, entitled 'The Frontier Monthly.' 58.

Cotillion parties at Lot Moffet's Castle continued. 59.

No dance floor in town was more popular, nor was any settler more esteemed. On September 15, 1859, the newspapermen had some innocent fun at the expense of Lot Moffet. They wrote:

> Old Settler Moffat has almost completed another of his yearly additions to the Temperance House, on Jackson St. It is of the Saracenic-caravansera bizarre style of architecture. The whole structure offers a fine field for architectural study. He has combined the characteristics of all the schools, although it is evident that the labyrinthian predominates. The clothes-line attachment on the top of the north wing, presents a fine appearance (particularly on Mondays) and its light and airy convolutions contrast well with the Gothic peculiarities of the adjoining wing. The whole establishment is an institution among us, and long may it wave! 60.

It was not until 1861 that St. Paul organized a volunteer fire department. No horses were used; the carts were pulled by the firemen themselves. Water was pumped from cisterns. The apparatus consisted of several hose-carts and one hook and ladder company. Henry Jackson, Bartlett Presley, and other well known citizens were members of Company Three. Mrs. B. Presley, wife of the fruit merchant, was called "mother of the fire department." Christian Hoffman, a ninety-five year old survivor, the last of the organization, states in an interview:

> At every fire Mrs. Presley would come and serve us sandwiches. We had many hardships. Our worst fire was the old Concert Hall, where two brothers, Charles and August Mueller, were forced to jump from the eighth floor. One became a cripple for life. If they'd only had presence of mind; they were tailors and could have unrolled a bolt of cloth and come down that way. It would have held their weight, at least broke their fall. 61.

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58. Blegen, Theodore C., New Buildings Went Up Almost Over Night, Minnesota History Magazine, p. 2.
59. Daily Pioneer & Democrat, Dec. 18, 1851.
60. Daily Pioneer & Democrat, Sept. 15, 1859.
61. Hoffman, Christian, last living member of St. Paul's Volunteer Fire Dept.; interviewed Sat., Sept. 27, 1941.

A cultural survey, contrasting the West with the East at this time would have revealed the frontier laggard in the cultural arts. A professor of sociology at the University of Wisconsin wrote:

> Family intercourse, money-making, religion and politics summed up the strong interests of life in the Middle West, while music, art, literature, and science were neglected. Outside a few university centers, easy popular standards of excellence prevailed, and there was little spur to high achievement in any line.[62]

> If we note the birthplace of the first thousands of living Americans, we find that . . . of living Americans listed in Who's Who in America, the Middle West contributes 44 for every 100,000 inhabitants it had in 1860, while the East contributes 82, or nearly twice as many. Comparison of the two regions in literacy, in public instruction, in state aid to schools, in library extension, in penal systems, in state care of defectives, in anti-tuberculosis activities, in city-park systems, and in the beauty of public buildings, shows little or no difference.[63]

When in 1861 the rebellious guns of the South were muttering, and it was rumored that Lot Moffet intended to go military and mount cannon on his Castle, the city waited with interest for details.

Allen and Chase, two familiar names in the development of the stagecoach business, retired from business in 1860, and John L. Merriam and J. C. Burbank, previously identified with the forwarding business, took over their interest. La Crosse was the nearest railroad terminus, and regular trips were made by these stagecoaches carrying passengers, mail and express matter to and from that point. Newspapers which had found much to exult over in the comings and goings of the Pembina ox carts now waxed enthusiastic over stagecoaches.

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62. Ross, Edward Alsworth, Changing America, Studies in Contemporary Society, The Century Co., 1912, p. 226.
63. Ibid., p. 227.

The abolitionist movement was rapidly growing stronger at this time. Slavery was an evil clearly seen. John Jay Chapman in his William Lloyd Garrison wrote:

> That slavery was wrong everyone knew in his heart . . . but the light by which we today seen the Anti-slavery period was first shed on it by one man — William Lloyd Garrison . . . whose power of arousing uncontrollable disgust was a gift, like magic. Not Andrew Jackson, nor John Quincy Adams, nor Webster, nor Clay or Benton, nor Calhoun, who dance like shadows . . . but William Lloyd Garrison becomes the central figure in American life.

In addition to influence wrought by Harriet Beecher Stowe's "Uncle Tom's Cabin," the zealous work of another woman, Jane Grey Swisshelm, in the anti-slavery cause was outstanding. Mrs. Swisshelm for ten years was editor of one of the leading liberal newspapers of the nation, the Pittsburgh Saturday Visitor. But her chief claims to distinction were her flaming antislavery crusading and championing of woman's rights. Arthur J. Larsen in his Crusader and Feminist describes her:

> A small, delicately built woman in her early forties," she disembarked from a Mississippi River steamboat at St. Paul on June 22, 1857.

From 1857 to 1865 Mrs. Swisshelm's lectures in Minnesota and elsewhere attracted much attention of a trip from Pittsburgh to Louisville, she wrote:

> On the boat all the way down the river the general topic of conversation was the contrast between the desolate slave-cursed shores of Kentucky, and the smiling plenty of the opposite bank, but Louisville was largely settled by Northern people and was to prove an oasis in the desert of slavery.

And again:

> The territorial government under Buchananx was a mere tool of slavery. Every federal officer was a Southerner, or a Northern man with southern principles. Government gold flowed freely in that channel.

In her advocacy of abolition Mrs. Swisshelm crossed swords verbally with Sylvanus B. Lowry who even in that day was called a dictator. Lowry had established a trading post ten miles above St. Cloud. A Tennessean by birth and a Democrat, he was "tolerant of slavery . . . exercised great power in the matter of political patronage. It was inevitable that he and Mrs. Swisshelm should clash."[64.]

Despite the long crusade of William Lloyd Garrison, Wendell Phillips, Henry Sumner, Mrs. Swisshelm, and the rest of the abilitionists, stubborn forces contested every inch of ground. St. Paul and Minneapolis were not immune to slavery's taint. Mrs. Swisshelm writes:

> So thoroughly was Minnesota under the feet of slavery, that, in September 1860, after we thought the state redeemed — the house of William D. Babbitt, in Minneapolis, was surrounded often from night until morning by a howling mob, stoning it, firing guns and pistols, attempting to force doors and windows, and only prevented gaining entrance by the solidity of the building and the bravery of its defense. It was thus besieged because its owner and occupant had dared interfere to execute the common law in favor of freedom.
>
> Minneapolis and its twin city, St. Anthony each had a large first class hotel to which Southern people resorted in summer, bringing their slaves, holding them for months, and taking them back to the South, no one daring to make objection until one woman, Eliza Winston, appealed to Mr. Babbitt who took her into court, where Judge Vanderbilt decreed her freedom, on the ground that her claimant had forfeited his title by bringing her into a free State.

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64. Upham, Warren and Rose B. Dunlap, Minnesota Biographies, 1655-1912, 452, Minnesota Historical Collections, vol. 14, St. Paul, 1912; Swisshelm, Half a Century, p. 171.

When Babbitt offered Eliza Winston the refuge of his home, Miss Swisshelm thus describes the ensuing scene:

> A rush was made to burst in the door, but it was of solid walnut and would not yield, when the assailants brought fence-posts to batter it in and were driven back by a shot from a revolver in the hall. The mob retired to a safer distance, and the leader-minded host of a first class hotel, mounted the carriage-block and harranged his followers on the sacred duty of securing the financial prosperity of the two cities by restoring Eliza Winston to her owners, and made this distinct declaration of principles: ' I came to this State worth $5,000, have but $500 left, but will spend the last cent to see 'Bill Babbitt's Heart's blood.
>
> After which heroic utterance a fresh volley of stones and shots were fired, and a fresh rush made for doors and windows. The side-lights of the front door had been shattered and one burly ruffian thrust himself half-way in, but stuck when a defender leveled a revolver at this head, and said to Mrs. Babbitt, who was then in command of the hall, while her husband defended the parlor windows: 'Shall I shoot him?' 'Yes, shoot him like a dog!'
>
> But Mrs. Edward Messer, her sister, who knew Mrs. Babbitt's dread of taking life, knocked the pistol up and struck the ruffian's head with a stick, when it was withdrawn, and again the mob fell back and resorted to stones and sticks, and oaths, and howlings, and gunshots and threats of firing the house.

Eventually Eliza Winston, was sent "by underground railroad to Canada, because Minnesota, in the year of grace, 1860, could not, or would not, defend the freedom of one declared free by decision of her own courts."[65.]

And so the period of the ox cart and stagecoach drew to an end. But perhaps no year ever closed with darker forbodings than 1860. Across the Mason and Dixon line southern skies grew blacker day by day. Rumblings of rebellion electrified the North. The National situation was reflected in St. Paul where business was depressed, banks were failing, currency was depreciating, and investments were on the downgrade. Secession from the Union by intractible cotton-producers and slave-holders seemed inevitable.

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65. Swisshelm Grey, Jane, Half a Century, pp. 171-177.

Harlan Crippen-Robert Cary

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Chapter VIII

Rebellion Down the River

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CHAPTER VIII

"The clouds are thick . . . It looks to me as though the Government would be dismembered," wrote Minnesota's Senator Morton Wilkinson to Governor Ramsey on January 16, 1861. An even gloomier prediction came from ~~the state's senior senator~~, Henry M. Rice. "Within thirty days," he wrote, "there will not be a dollar in the Treasury & perhaps no government!"[1.]

The clouds were indeed thick. As 1861 opened, dark omens presaged the storm that was to come. The conflict between the states was changing slowly from a struggle for power to open rebellion.

A famous legal dispute which was to end any possibility of peace occurred at this time. In 1838, Dr. John Emerson, surgeon at Fort Snelling, had taken with him his two slaves, Dred and Harriet Scott, when he was transferred to Jefferson Barracks, Missouri. In 1852, after Emerson's death, Scott sued for his freedom. He contended that his residence in free territory for four years made him a free man. But the United States Supreme Court ruled that a slave was not a citizen and had no standing in a court of law. By this decision the Missouri Compromise, which for some years had maintained an illusory peace between the North and the South, was rendered void.[2.]

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1. Folwell, W. W., A History of Minnesota, vol. 2, Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul, 1924, pp. 70-71.
2. Holcombe, R. I. and Lucius F. Hubbard, Minnesota In Three Centuries, vol. 1, Publishing Society of Minnesota, Mankato, 1908, pp. 66-67.

The "radical" doctrines of the Republican party had found growing favor among the farmers of southern Minnesota. Since the panic of 1857, they had found competition with the slave economy of the South all but intolerable.[3] The election of 1859 placed the Republican party securely in control of the state government. Alexander Ramsey, who had been elected governor, was a strong anti-slavery Republican who believed whole-heartedly in preservation of the Union.[4]

In April 1861, St. Paul re-elected John S. Prince, a Democrat, for his second term as mayor.[5] The city, in marked contrast to St. Anthony and Minneapolis, remained staunchly Democratic and sympathetic to the Southern cause.

On April 12, Confederate troops opened fire on Fort Sumter. Two days later word was received in Washington that the Fort had been occupied by the Southern army. Governor Ramsey, in the national capital at the time, called on the Secretary of War and offered a thousand Minnesota men for the defense of the Union.[7]

Two days later, Lieutenant Governor Ignatius Donnelly, acting in the absence of Ramsey, issued a lurid proclamation in St. Paul calling for volunteers. "Minnesota is is called upon to do her duty in protecting the

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3. The 1921 Annual Meeting of the Minnesota Historical Society, Minnesota History Bulletin, vol. 4, no. 1-2, February, May 1921, p. 27.
4. Baker, Gen. James H., Alexander Ramsey, A Memorial Eulogy, Minnesota History Collections, vol. 10, part 2, February 1905, St. Paul, pp. 733-735.
5. Minnesota Writers' Project, The Mayors of St. Paul, 1850-1940, Office of the Mayor, St. Paul, p. 27.
6. (omitted).
7. Folwell, W. W., History of Minnesota, vol. 2, pp. 76-77.

National Flag, and the National Capital from the assaults of invading traitors. Let her respond as becomes a State attached to the Union. That she will do so, we have no doubt. In twenty days our regiment will be ready for the field."[8.]

The response to the call was immediate. At a meeting of the Pioneer Guards in the Armory on the same evening, men desiring to volunteer were registered for enlistment. Josias R. King was the first volunteer from the state of Minnesota.[9.] While enlistments proceeded, arrangements were made to train recruits. Fort Snelling, which had been abandoned as a military post some years before, was the only place available. It was hastily renovated and made ready to receive the first men from Minnesota destined to fight a bloody war outside the state's borders.

On Monday, April 29, ten companies assembled at the fort for training. Two of the companies, the Pioneer Guards, under Captain Alexander Wilkin, and the St. Paul Volunteers, under Captain H. Acker, were composed entirely of St. Paul men. St. Paul citizens were also represented among the other companies. On the day the troops assembled, Governor Ramsey appointed the necessary field and staff officers, including Colonel[10.] Willis A. Gorman, Lieutenant Colonel Stephen Miller and Major William H. Dike.

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8. St. Paul Daily Press, April 17, 1861.
9. Minnesota in the Civil and Indian Wars, 1861-1865, Board of Commissioners, State of Minnesota, St. Paul, 1893, vol. 1, p. 2.
10. Minnesota in the Civil and Indian Wars, vol. 1, p. 3.

Ibid -

When training began, the troops were without rifles, ammunition, field equipment and uniforms. Most of these materials were requisitioned nationally, but for a time the matter of uniforms was left to be dealt with locally. A firm of clothing contractors furnished outfits consisting of red flannel shirts, blue trousers and slouch hats of black felt. When the troops later engaged in battle it was found that these uniforms provided excellent targets for Southern fire, and they were accordingly replaced by something less conspicuous.[11.]

St. Paul's citizenry, although for the most part disapproving of Lincoln and abolitionism, supported the war effort. The St. Paul Lyceum, a literary society, provided an example of the public feeling. The club, which two months before had held open academic debates on the issue of slavery,[12.] adjourned on the evening of April 25 "for the purpose of volunteering for the defense of its Country."[13.]

The actions of Lott Moffet, also show the height to which popular sentiment rose. At the beginning of hostilities, Moffet enclosed his Temperance House with thick stone walls. Curious rumors circulated:

> The Fourth and Jackson street angles are to be provided with two rows of casemate batteries, with embrasures sufficiently large to accommodate ten-inch Columbiades. Down in the extreme depths of the castle will be furnaces for heating shot, which shot when needed for active use, will be elevated to their place in the batteries by a patent contrivance in military engineering art.[14.]

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11. Folwell, W. W., A History of Minnesota, vol. 2, pp. 79-80.
12. St. Paul Daily Press, March 22, 1861.
13. St. Paul Daily Press, April 25, 1861.
14. St. Paul Daily Press, May 24, 1861.

Several of the newly organized companies were ordered to relieve the regular troops for a short time at Forts Ridgely, Ripley and Abercrombie. On June 14, 1861, the First Regiment received orders to proceed east immediately. Colonel Gorman recalled the men from the outlying forts, and, early on the morning of June 22, the regiment embarked on steamers at the fort. They left the boats at the upper levee in St. Paul, marched through the city, and then sailed on the first lap of the long journey to the Potomac.[15] Many were to return maimed or not at all.

Shortly after the regiment's arrival in the East, Chaplain Neill, appealed to the citizens of Minnesota for a hospital fund. Out of a total of $1,917.72 collected in the state, St. Paul contributed $573.83, gathered from varied sources: "Hope Engine Co., $20.00 . . . Germans, per Chas. Leinau, $47.60 . . . Mrs. W. L. Banning's domestics, $0.50 . . . St. Paul Female Seminary, $7.00."

The response to the appeal was so gratifying that Neill wrote Governor Ramsey on August 13, 1861, "Don't kill us with kindness. Tell liberal men and noble women to send no more money and clothing. God bless them."

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15. Minnesota in the Civil and Indian Wars, 1861-1865, vol. 1, pp. 4-5.

On August 8, 1861, the St. Paul Daily Press reported:

> The Battle Flag of our gallant First Regiment, all tattered and torn by rebel bullets at Bull's Run, arrived last night by the Northern Belle. The next day the flag was "visited and examined by hundreds of our citizens . . . There is a tremendous rent through the union near the staff corner, made as we understand, by a piece of shell. Then there are fifteen bullet holes through different parts of the flag . . . 18.

Doubtless few in St. Paul realized fully the horror that lay behind these bullet holes. Towards the end of September the Second Minnesota Regiment was assembled at Fort Snelling preparatory to its departure for the battle fields. A contemporary related:

> The day being calm and bright, there was a great rush of people towards the Fort . . . Almost every vehicle in town was there, and about 1,000 people went up on the City Belle . . . Some of the parting scenes were very touching. 19.

On the next morning:

> Tents were struck and everything packed and put on board the steamers Northern Belle and Keokuk . . . The people of St. Paul turned out en masse into Third Street . . . in a short time the boats arrived at the Upper Levee. The soldiers went up Eagle Street to Winslow House, and then made a sharp turn into Third Street, heading towards the Lower Levee. Sidewalks and windows were crowded. Little cheering but many tears . . . Soon back on board and the boats embarked. The soldiers waved their hats and cheered loudly — but there was little response from the shore. 20.

If the town was saddened by the departure of its young men, it was also shadowed / by other difficulties resulting from the war. The currencies of several neighboring states, including Wisconsin and Illinois, had suffered a serious depreciation due to the fact that they were largely secured by bonds of seceding states. This situation caused financial confusion in St. Paul. 21.

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18. St. Paul Daily Press, August 8, 9, 1861.
19. Pioneer and Democrat, St. Paul, October 13, 1861.
20. Pioneer and Democrat, St. Paul, October 14, 1861.
21. Patchin, Sydney, "The Development of Banking in Minnesota," Minnesota History Bulletin, vol. 2, no. 3, August 1917, p. 159.

The distrust of the inummerable varieties of paper money then in circulation was such that "an infrequent dollar finding its way into one's possession was of doubtful value until the arrival of the next steamer with the latest issue of the Bank Note Reporter."[22.]

A meeting of the principal business men of the city was held in the hall of the Mercantile Library Association on June 11, 1861, to determine action in regard to the ruinous rates of exchange resulting from the worthless and doubtful currency in circulation. For the protection of business it was decided "not to accept any currency that would not be redeemed promptly in U. S. coin, by owners or agents of said bank in St. Paul at a rate not exceeding 1 per cent discount."[23.] Perhaps as a result of this decision the Central Bank closed its doors two weeks later. There was great excitement and some threats of violence but, as one newspaper commented, "the mass of the people have become so used to being swindled that a repetition of the game was taken quite philosophically."[24.]

Despite the financial chaos it could be said that the business outlook was "brighter than any time since 1857." The Hudsons Bay Company continued to receive immense quantities of goods through Burbank and Company, thus maintaining the commercial importance of the city.[25.] Prospects for railroad construction also began to improve.

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22. Moore, Frank, Reminiscences of Pioneer Days in St. Paul, Pioneer Press Publishing Company, St. Paul, 1908, p. 7.
23. St. Paul Daily Press, June 12, 1861.
24. Pioneer and Democrat, St. Paul, June 27, 1861.
25. St. Paul Daily Press, July 6, 1861.

In June 1861, The Minnesota and Pacific Railroad organized to complete the trackage between St. Paul and St. Anthony. The road bed had been very little injured by the elements, although it had been neglected for [redacted] three years and was overgrown with weeds. A sale and reorganization of the company cleared up all legal difficulties, and construction was ready to begin.[26.]

> Early in September 1861, the steamer Alhambra came to port with unusual demonstrations, in the shape of ringing of bells, screaming of whistles . . . quite a number of persons were drawn to the levee, in spite of the drizzling rain. It was soon discovered that she had on board, . . . a fine locomotive called the William Crooks, in honor of the chief engineer of the Minnesota and Pacific Railroad; two platforms and one box car, two hand cars and fifty tons of track iron . . . It was said that the rest of the rails and cars would soon arrive, and that by December first "we can visit our St. Anthony friends in the cars."[27.]

Chief Engineer Crooks [redacted] intended to have the road completed by October, but low water held the rest of the rails down river and disheartening delays were followed.[28.] In October 1861, financial difficulties mounted and the road was again forced to suspend activities.[29.] On September 18, 1861, almost a month after the departure of the Second Regiment, Governor Ramsey [redacted] issued orders for the organization of two or more additional regiments. The Third Regiment was sent to Kentucky where it passed the winter guarding railroads, and the Fourth was ordered to join Halleck's army in northern Mississippi.[30.]

Recruiting for the Fifth Regiment went forward more slowly. Men were no longer so ready to volunteer. The St. Paul Pioneer and Democrat reported:

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26. St. Paul Daily Press, August 16, 1861. Also see Pioneer and Democrat, July 12, 1861.
27. Pioneer and Democrat, St. Paul, September 10, 1861.
28. Pioneer and Democrat, September 13, 1861.
29. Pioneer and Democrat, October 30, 1861.
30. Folwell, W. W., A History of Minnesota, vol. 2, pp. 92-95.

> There was a lively time in the city Sunday afternoon while the dress parade was going forward at the Fort, in catching deserters from the regiment. It appears that the soldiers were all paid off last week, and many of them not liking the idea of marching at once into active service, concluded to desert; and on Sunday, the plans were put into operation, and out of it two companies, nearly one-half escaped from the Fort. The alarm was given, and in the afternoon most of them were captured and returned to the Fort, where we presume they are now doing penance . . . The steamer Hawkeye State will go up this morning for the purpose of embarking the Fifth Regiment. [31]

Continued reverses suffered by the Union armed forces brought enlistments almost to a halt. The quotas assigned to Ramsey County by the state government became more and more difficult to fill. Measures were necessary to answer the demand for more soldiers. As an inducement to enlistment for regiments already in the field, the government offered "a premium of $3.00, upon enlistment $25.00, upon joining regiment, one months's pay in advance $13.00. Total $41.00." [32] Individuals who were not in a position to serve were asked to "take over and guarantee support of the family of some brave man who is willing to go." [33] A citizens' meeting raised five thousand dollars for the payment of bounties to volunteers and for the support of soldiers' families. The sentiment of the meeting was said to have been that "Ramsey County must raise her quota without drafting . . . " [34]

German citizens were particularly aroused by the peril to the Union. Many of them, participants in the German revolution of 1848, were exiles from their native land. [35]

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31. Pioneer and Democrat, St. Paul, May 13, 1862.
32. Pioneer and Democrat, July 16, 1862.
33. Pioneer and Democrat, July 16, 1862.
34. Pioneer and Democrat, August 12, 1862.
35. St. Paul Daily Press, April 23, 1861, and Stillwater Messenger, Sept. 24, 1861.

As the quota of men was not filled by any of the measures taken, the War Department, on August 4, 1862, ordered a draft from the various state militia bodies. This order, a virtual declaration of martial law, caused considerable alarm. It was reported that "a number . . . immediately took alarm and fled the city. Colonel Robertson, with Mayor Prince, took measures, on Sunday morning last, to insure the arrest of these deserters."[36]

As in other wars, clergymen exhorted their followers to join the army. One appeal in particular was commended by the Daily Press:

> We take great pleasure in calling general attention to the manly, patriotic and Christian admonitions addressed, at the request of Bishop Grace, by the Rev. Mr. Ireland, at the Cathedral last Sunday, to the Irish Catholics . . . .[37]

The Eighth Regiment, to be "composed of citizens of Irish birth," had begun organization some time before.[38]

The newspapers were bitter in dealing with those who had managed to escape the army enlistment. An editorial in the Pioneer and Democrat of August 9, 1862 noted:

> Several bright eyed youths . . . sadly disfigured by spectacles and goggles, also quite a number who hobbled along with canes in their hands. Come boys, it's useless to play those old dodges. Spectacles, canes and we may add, trusses are played out about this time, and you can't humbug the inspecting surgeon.[39]

And so the hysteria grew. The Ninth, Tenth and Eleventh Regiments were skeletonized and accepted recruits, but the number still fell short of the need. Governor Ramsey therefore issued a call for cavalry regiment.

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36. Pioneer and Democrat, August 12, 1862.
37. St. Paul Daily Press, July 28, 1863.
38. Pioneer and Democrat, August 9, 1862.
39. Pioneer and Democrat, St. Paul, August 8, 1862.

This appeal was better received and resulted in the formation of the First Regiment of Minnesota Mounted Rangers. With this unit Minnesota furnished all the troops immediately required of her, with an excess of 320 men, and averted "the dishonor of a conscription."[40.]

The lack of money and men as a result of the war had a profound effect on social and civic life. There were a number of professional entertainments during the first year of the war, including an opera company which performed in Maritana, and a "perfect inundation of circuses."[41.] Restriction of non-war travel on the Mississippi made it almost impossible for professional theatrical companies to reach St. Paul after this time. The populace found a substitute in amateur theatricals given to raise money for the soldiers, "Charades, and simple Tableaux, sometimes extending into Patomimes."[42.] The People's Theatre, the only real stage in the city, was dark for most of the period. The Athenaeum of the German Reading Society was used for a number of musical and dramatic benefits, as was a hall on the third floor of the Ingersoll Block. In this Ingersoll hall, the ladies of the various Protestant churches gave a social and supper to raise a library fund. The effort resulted in the purchase of 350 books, forming the nucleus of the present St. Paul Public Library.[43.]

Skating parties were popular during the winter. The ladies did not lack escorts, said one newspaper, for, "during the moonlight evenings the soldiers from the fort skate down to see their friends and go back before roll call next morning, and 'nobody knows nothing about it.'"[44.]

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40. Folwell, W. W., A History of Minnesota, vol. 2, pp. 103-105.
41. Pioneer and Democrat, July 31, 1861.
42. St. Paul Daily Press, January 20, 1862.
43. Moore, Frank, Reminiscences of Pioneer Days in St. Paul, pp. 68-83.
44. St. Paul Daily Press, January 1, 1863.

The problems of municipal government were increased by the decline in tax returns and the lack of men to carry on certain municipal services. The city was forced to reduce the police force to seven men in 1862. During that year three were lost by enlistment in the Army, and Mayor Prince recommended that the force be abolished and replaced by a volunteer group. The volunteers were to enroll sixty citizens in each ward designating two persons to serve each night of the month. This force served during the following winter. On the insistence of the new Democratic mayor, John E. Warren, the first council meeting of 1863, re-established a regular paid police force and made the wearing of uniforms compulsory.[45.]

The St. Paul Fire Department, which had been incorporated by the legislature in 1862, lost half of its members because of enlistments. Citizens were requested to lend a hand since "it is almost impossible to muster men enough to handle their machines."[46.]

The spring of 1862 brought another attempt to complete the railroad to St. Anthony. New capital was obtained and the properties of the defunct Minnesota and Pacific Railroad were assigned to the newly organized

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45. Muller, Alix J., History of the Police and Fire Departments of the Twin Cities, Am. Land and Title Register Association, St. Paul and Minneapolis, 1899, p. 48.
46. St. Paul Pioneer, December 17, 1862.
47. Muller, Alix J., History of the Police and Fire Departments of the Twin Cities, pp. 186-187.

St. Paul and Pacific Railroad. The incorporators of this company met in March at the International Hotel and elected Edmund Rice president and William Crooks, chief engineer. The new company entered into a contract with the firm of Winters, Harshman and Drake for the construction of the line, stipulating that the work should be completed by August 1, 1862. By the middle of March, teams were drawing ties along the road bed.[48] Newspapers reported on April 2 that " . . . the laying of the tracks . . . was commenced yesterday. It will not be many days ere we will hear the whistle of the iron horse along the valley of Trout Brook, and so on towards St. Anthony."[49]

When at last the first train traveled over the road, the occasion was described by the Daily Press as follows:

> Let it be recorded . . . that on the 28th day of June, 1862, the first link of the great chain of railroads which will, in the course of a few years spread all over this state from the Valley of the Mississippi to the Red River of the North, and from Lake Superior to the Iowa boundary line, was completed, and a passenger train started from St. Paul in the direction of Puget Sound! . . . Yesterday morning the first installment of passenger cars arrived from below by steamer, and were placed upon the track. Invitations for an excursion trip were immediately issued by the contractors . . . and by half past two o'clock a sufficient number of excursionists . . . had assembled at the terminus of the road to fill the two sumptuous carriages, and after a brief delay, the locomotive steamed down from the station house, attached itself to the train, and, with a shriek, started on its trip towards the setting sun . . . After a stroll through the suburbs of the Falls City, the passengers again took their seats on the train . . . Burbank stages will be withdrawn from the line, after which the railroad will have a monopoly of trade between the two points.[50]

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48. St. Paul Pioneer and Democrat, March 13, 1862.
49. St. Paul Daily Press, April 2, 1862.
50. St. Paul Daily Press, June 29, 1862.

Early in July the railroad "commenced to run three trains a day between this city and St. Anthony."

> From St. Paul at 5:30 A. M., 9 A. M. and 6 P. M. On Sunday there will be but two trains . . . the road commenced carrying the mails yesterday . . . Fare to Minneapolis or St. Anthony, including omnibus tickets at both ends of the railroad, 60 cents. [51]

One month later the railroad was able to announce that its receipts had exceeded operating expenses, the number of passengers averaging eighty and ninety per day. Citizens were asked to patronize the road as "it is no easy matter to build railroads in war times."

It had been planned to extend the rails to St. Cloud during the winter of 1862, but scarcity of labor and lack of rails and other supplies permitted only two miles of this extension to be laid by the following spring.[52] In May 1863, two engines were seized by the government for use in the war. After this incident, plans for further construction were abandoned until the end of the hostilities.[53]

The war went on, but aside from the arrival and departure of troops, reports of battles and casualty lists, most of the military activity was too distant to cause anxiety in St. Paul. But in the summer of 1862, word came of a menace so immediate as to cause intense alarm. A story in the Mankato Independent, reprinted in the St. Paul Pioneer and Democrat on August 13, reported:

> A rumor . . . current that a large body of Sioux Indians had attacked and disarmed the Military at the Upper Sioux Agency, broken open the Government Warehouses and helped themselves to the goods. The report was brought from New Ulm and we fear is founded on truth. The unavoidable delay in making the payment has probably proved too much for the patience of the Indians . . .

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51. St. Paul Pioneer and Democrat, July 3, 1862.
52. St. Paul Daily Press, April 18, 1863.
53. St. Paul Daily Press, May 28, 1863.

The incident at the Upper Agency was found to have been exaggerated; the Indian Agent, missionaries and troops had pacified the impatient and starving Indians and caused them to disperse. Some of the soldiers were recalled to Fort Ripley and the settlers believed that there was nothing more to fear.[54]

On August 18, 1862 a few pitiful refugees from the Lower Agency in Redwood County straggled into Fort Ridgley. They informed the officers of this post that all the white inhabitants had been killed or forced to flee for their lives; the Indians were looting traders' stores and the government warehouse. Captain John F. Marsh, commandant at Ridgley marched forth with forty-five men to subdue the Indians. As the soldiers proceeded, they came upon more fugitives and a number of mutilated bodies. The interpreter for the group, one Peter Quinn, warned Marsh that his force was in an extremely perilous position, but the Captain did not see any great danger.[55] The force was ambushed at Redwood Ferry on the Minnesota River and two-thirds of them men were killed. Marsh was drowned attempting to ford the river. By nightfall the entire frontier was ablaze.

Word of the uprising was received by Governor Ramsey on the next day. As additional couriers arrived the extent of the trouble began to be realized. Henry H. Sibley was appointed colonel and given orders to put down the insurrection.[56]

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54. Folwell, W. W., A History of Minnesota, vol. 2, pp. 229-230.
55. Holcombe and Hubbard, Minnesota in Three Centuries, vol. 3, p. 316.
56. Minnesota in the Civil and Indian Wars, vol. 1, pp. 727-753.

A series of panics swept St. Paul. A baseless report circulated through the town that Indians were approaching. Another report told of the attack and almost complete annihilation of a group of soldiers and civilian volunteers. Fear-crazed refugees straggled into the town. There was no emergency, but St. Paul remained nervous and uneasy.[57]

Lieutenant Governor Ignatius Donnelly traveled into the threatened territory to learn the extent of the outbreak. He wrote a report from Belle Plaine on August 25, 1862:

> I reached here a few moments since and propose to drive to St. Peter tonight. Along the road we met fifteen teams with refugees from the scene of the disturbance. In this town there are 600 people crowded into stores, houses and hotels, living upon the bounty of the people. The people themselves are poor, and I am informed the supply of provisions in town is short. . . . The country is in a high state of excitement, although there is less panic here than there is nearer St. Paul. The people here have more active ideas of distances and localities, and do not, therefore, so readily believe everything told them.[58]

Even the publication of this letter did not allay the fears of St. Paul. One of the newspapers reported that at twelve o'clock one night "a ridiculous panic occurred among some of the people in the north part of the city, by a report that Indians were in the neighborhood. We saw men, armed with guns, and followed by women and children, making their way towards Third Street. Those who get up such ridiculous and senseless panics should be severely punished."[59]

Throughout the latter part of August and early September, some refugees, almost completely destitute, continued to flock towards St. Paul. To cope with this emergency a committee was appointed to "call upon the citizens . . . for old clothing, bedding, blankets, household goods,

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57. Moore, Frank, Reminiscences of Pioneer Days in St. Paul, pp. 38-40.
58. St. Paul Pioneer & Democrat, August 27, 1862.
59. St. Paul Pioneer & Democrat, August 29, 1862.

provisions, etc. to be distributed among the families who have been driven from their homes in consequence of the Indian hostilities."[60.]

Opposition papers sought to make a political issue of the uprising, attributing the cause which led to the outbreak to Governor Ramsey. The Governor was charged with "criminal negligence and . . . inhuman disregard of his duty."[61.] But the trouble had been long brewing. Since the treaties of 1851, the U. S. Senate had delayed payments until accumulated trader's claims had absorbed almost the entire payment. The Indians' legitimate grievances, therefore were in many cases legitimate and long smouldering, required little to burst into flame.[62.]

Colonel Sibley postponed a major encounter with the Sioux until he was thoroughly prepared. In the latter part of August he wrote to Ramsey, promising the governor that he would "hear of stirring events very soon."[63.] On September 23, 1862, Sibley led troops against the Sioux under Chief Little Crow at Wood Lake and broke the backbone of the insurrection. On October 10, Major General Jonathan Pope submitted a report which declared, "The Sioux War is at an end . . . The example of hanging many of the perpetrators of the late outrages is necessary and will have a crushing effect."[64.] This report calmed the fears of St. Paul, but did not impress the settlers on the frontier. In the settler's behalf, Charles E. Flandrau protested that, "the idea of peace being restored to

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60. St. Paul Pioneer and Democrat, August 30, 1862.
61. St. Paul Pioneer and Democrat, September 10, 1862.
62. Paxson, Frederic L., History of the American Frontier, 1763-1893, Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston, 1924, p. 486.
63. Minnesota in the Civil and Indian Wars, vol. 2, p. 198.
64. Minnesota in the Civil and Indian Wars, vol. 2, p. 272.

the frontier . . . is a fatally mistaken one . . . There is no peace."[65] Flandrau was at least partially justified in his fears -- sporadic outbreak continued for another year.

The uprising, horrible as it was, had been exaggerated by misinformation and there was now a demand for complete extermination of the Sioux. Three hundred and three of the Sioux captives were sentenced to death. There was even a demand for speedier action when the necessary confirmation of the execution order in Washington caused a delay.[66] The feeling in St. Paul may be judged from a public notice:

> Captain I. C. George, agent for the Milwaukee and Chicago Railroad, and E. B. Ames, agent for the Grand Haven Steamship Line, of this city, each offer twenty-five dollars for five Sioux Indian scalps, taken after this date. . . Dr. William Caine also offers $25 for five Sioux scalps.[67]

President Lincoln signed death warrants for forty of the condemned and, on December 26, 1862, thirty-eight were hanged at Mankato. The remaining captives were removed to Davenport, Iowa,[68] where unaccustomed to confinement, smallpox decimated their ranks. The Chicago Record commented:

> . . . at this rate the government will soon be relieved of them, and the St. Paul papers will probably stop howling for their blood.

A St. Paul editor differed however:

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65. Minnesota in the Civil and Indian Wars, vol. 2, p. 289.

66. West, Nathaniel, Ancestry, Life & Times of H. H. Sibley, pp. 275-291.

67. St. Paul Pioneer and Democrat, September 9, 1862.

68. West, Nathaniel, Ancestry, Life & Times of H. H. Sibley, pp. 280-291.

The St. Paul papers don't want the blood of these wretches -- they will be satisfied with a large and commodious lock of hair from each head -- and a pound of flesh nearest each heart. [redacted] don't want their blood -- we don't." [69.] It was some time before memories of the uprising gave way to a saner attitude.

The crowded condition of the city stimulated business during the latter months of 1862. Immigrants continued to arrive, and many of the refugees from the frontier, settled in St. Paul, instead of returning to the frontier communities. Increasing trade with other sections of the state and large military expenditures resulted in an abundance of money in the city.[70.]

Simultaneously the labor shortage grew more acute, particularly in the skilled trades. The lack of carpenters and building tradesmen caused a housing crisis, and development of retail business was curtailed because of a lack of store structures. A large number of women were employed in agriculture, raking and binding grain.[71.]

The abundance of money, however, did not help the laboring classes. Commodity prices rose almost a hundred per cent, but wages made no general increase. Soon married men were reported to be "fortunate to receive a four or five dollar grocery order for a week's work, while two or three dollars cash was fairly representative of a single man's weekly income.[72.]

69. St. Paul Daily Pioneer March 19 1864
70. St. Paul Daily Press April 19 1863
71. Ibid August 16 1862
72. Moore, Frank, Reminiscences of Pioneer Days in St P P 7

It was inevitable that protests should follow these conditions. The first trade unions had been formed a few years before.[73] New organizations were formed now in a number of trades, and demands for wage increases were made.[74] On November 2, 1861, the river pilots resolved not to work for less than one hundred and fifty dollars a month, a fifty-dollar-a-month increase. The Minnesota Packet Company and the Davidson Line, the two largest companies, acceded to the demand immediately.[75]

Stevedores, dock laborers and deck hands were not so fortunate in their demands and in 1862 they went on a strike.

The St. Paul Pioneer reported the opposition which followed:

> A serious riot took place . . . on the Levee, between the 'roustabouts' employed on the Fred Lorenz and a party of 'wharfrats'. It appears that a strike for higher wages occurred on that boat, and the Captain refusing to agree to the terms proposed, engaged a new set of hands. This raised the ire of the aforesaid roustabouts, and they pitched in neck and crop to the levee rats, who defended themselves manfully . . . Mashed heads, bunged eyes and beet root noses were the order of the day, and the poor 'rats' found themselves in a trap from which they were fortunately rescued by the opportune arrival of the police.[76]

On April 10, 1864, the Daily Pioneer published comparative figures of commodity prices covering a four year period. Beans which had sold at sixty cents a bushel in 1860, were selling for $2.75 a bushel. Coffee had almost tripled in price, and potatoes had more than doubled. Prices on other staples had also increased. The Pioneer editor commented:

> . . . that if great distress is to be avoided among the working classes of our city and state, it will only be by prompt and liberal action of capitalists and employers in equalizing the cost of articles of consumption and use . . . and readily advancing the compensation of the working classes, without waiting for strikes or resisting their just demands for increased pay.

73. Asher, Helen The Labor Movement in Minnesota 1850-1890 mimeographed, St. Paul, 1925 p 3

74. St. Paul. Pioneer Nov. 15, 1862
75. St. Paul Pioneer and Democrat Nov. 2 1861.
76 St. Paul Pioneer Nov. 8, 1862

But even the management of the Pioneer disregarded the editor's advice about avoiding strikes. Several months later, they found it necessary to print the following notice: ". . . the publicity, unavoidably given, to the demand of our compositors for an advance in wages to which we were unable to accede, and their consequent withdrawal from our office renders the statement necessary that the difficulty has been amicably . . . arranged . . . They will receive a material advance, larger than any heretofore made in this city."

Price increases of the period can be attributed to other causes than the [redacted] war. A decline in the number of steamboat arrivals and the setback suffered by agriculture as a consequence of the Sioux uprising resulted in serious shortages. Substitutes had to be found for a number of items. Coffee was partially replaced by "ordinary barley . . . soaked in water until a little softened, then dried and roasted as we roast a coffee kernel. [redacted]"[78] The shortages were used to advantage by speculators, many of whom reaped fortunes.

Despite business improvement, the financial situation remained almost as chaotic as it had been during the panic of a few years before the war. There were only six banks operating in the state at the beginning of 1862. When two of these failed, Governor Ramsey had denounced the whole system of western banking as "false in principle and ruinous in operation." He proposed a national system to give "a final relief from the enormous losses which are now suffered by our people." In 1863, the National Banking Act

78 St. Paul Daily Press Feb 9/1862

was enacted, and on December 8, the First National Bank of St. Paul was organized under its provisions. Not until the spring of 1864, however, was the flow of questionable currency stemmed; only national currency or issues redeemable in treasury notes were accepted by St. Paul firms.[79.]

The war seemed interminable. Minnesota troops lost heavily in the Battle of Gettysburg. They participated in engagements at Vicksburg, Chickamauga, Bristoe Station, Mission Ridge and Mine Run -- distant and tragic names to St. Paul citizens. Again recruiting lagged and once again there was the threat of a draft. An editorial reflected the painful conditions which existed in the city, "there has been suffering for want of proper clothing, food and fire among some of the families deriving bounty from the city [soldiers' families] We know there are hundreds of working men, heads of families, in our city, who do not feel at liberty now to volunteer, and who, for the sake of their wives and children, have the utmost dread of the coming draft . . ."[80.]

But men were drafted in 1864. Rules were changed so that minors over 18 years of age could be enlisted without their parents' consent, under 18 with their parents' consent.[81.] News came of the battles of Richmond, Guntown, Tupelo, Allatoona, and Nashville. Only gradually did the clouds brighten with reports of increasing Union victories.

A cleavage existed in St. Paul between support of the war and support of the Union cause, as exemplified by Lincoln. In 1863, despite the gathering influence of Republicanism, the Democrats had returned to power again in the city administration. The Daily Press minimized the victory:

79. Patchin, Sidney, Developments of Banking in Minnesota pp 160-165
80. St. Paul Daily Pioneer Feb. 7 1864
81. Stillwater Messenger May 04, 1864 and St. Paul Daily Pioneer July 29, 1864

"It is true that the Democrats have succeeded in electing their candidates, but with such a startling diminution of their average majority as to leave the Union cause the moral effect, if not the material fruits, of a substantial victory."[82.]

The Democratic newspapers continued to disavow President Lincoln throughout the war. Reporting Sherman's victory at Atlanta, the Daily Pioneer wrote:

> Flags were hoisted on many public and private buildings, cannon roared and reverberated through the streets . . . The only drawback to the general rejoicing was occasioned by a few black-hearted abolitionists, who never drew a loyal breath in their lives, but deemed the occasion a fitting one to make a little capital for the negro and 'Old Abe'. These vultures attempted to mingle their discordant screams with the shouts of victory, but did not disturb materially the general good feeling which everywhere prevailed.[83.]

On the occasion of the presidential election in 1864 the same paper, pointed out that "a box of matches that sells for twenty-five cents has a ten cent stamp on it. This is what poor people have to pay to help 'free the Negro.'" The editor then advised his readers to "elect McClellan and taxes will be reduced."[84.]

St. Paul retained this prejudice against the Negro people even after the war, despite the fact that thousands of her citizens had fought supposedly to free the Negro from bondage. Colonel D. A. Robertson, in August 1865, submitted a resolution to the Board of Education stating,

> Whereas the mingling of the children of African descent with those of white parentage . . . is obnoxious to the views and feelings of a large portion of our citizens . . . Resolved: That the Superintendent of Public Schools provide . . . a suitable teacher and accommodations for the colored children of the city, and that no children of African descent be thereafter admitted into any public school.[85.]

83. St. Paul Daily Pioneer Sept 4 1864
84. Ibid Sept 28, 1864
85 Ibid Aug 9 1865

82 St. Paul Daily Press April 8 1865

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The resolution was passed, and the segregation was carried out a few months later with the opening of the School for Colored Children in Morrison's Building on Jackson Street.[86]

On April 4, the Pioneer announced that "by a streak of luck . . . the telegraph line was repaired just in season to transmit . . . the official dispatches announcing the evacuation of Richmond . . . Mr. Squire / of the Northwestern Telegraph Company / is entitled to some credit for . . . keeping sober when all of the United States and New Jersey are on a spree."[87] Six days later it was headlined that "The Year of Jubilee Has Come" : the Union was victorious.[88]

The joy occasioned by victory was not long to last. On April 16, 1865, the Pioneer, which had bitterly opposed President Lincoln, reported black news:

> Like a clap of thunder from a clear sky, burst yesterday morn upon this community the intelligence that Abraham Lincoln had been assassinated. Every man stopped, staggered and turned pale, as though some overwhelming personal clamity had suddenly overtaken him.

It was not until July that large numbers of troops returned to the city. For some there were banquets and ovations, but the First and Second Minnesota Regiments, who had suffered a terrible toll, mustering out solemnly one evening at Fort Snelling. There was a "subdued expression on every face at the parting with comrades of the march and battle for four long years."[89]

The war had passed, the years of hardship and despair were at an end. Once again St. Paul could look to the future.

86 St. Paul Daily Pioneer Oct 15 1865
88 Ibid April 10 1865
87 Ibid April 4 1865
89 Ibid July 6-20 1865

ST. PAUL, THE CITY

Chapter VIII

"The clouds are thick . . . It looks to me as though the Government would be dismembered," wrote Minnesota's Senator Martin Wilkinson to Governor Ramsey on Jany 16, 1861 An even gloomier prediction came from Henry M. Rice. "Within thirty days," he wrote, "there will not be a dollar in the Treasury & perhaps no government. "[1]

The clouds were indeed thick. As 1861 opened, the conflict between the states was slowly developing into an open rebellion. By the middle of January, it was realized that there was little prospect of a reconciliation between the two factions, and in some quarters an attack upon the capitol was feared. Inexorably the country was drifting into civil war.

Senator Rice, however, continued to pleade for peace. Visualizing the horrors that war would bring, he said in Congress:

> If the seceded States are determined to remain out, I am in favor of their going in pace. I would go farther than this. I would give them the forts and arsenals within their limits. If they ask more, I would divide the Navy with them. If they wanted more than that, I would release them from public debt. I would give them more than that -- anything for peace. *

Rice believed that the Northwest would consent to secession rather than go to war. On March 2 he declared that he did not believe that any one of the four Northwestern states would vote a dollar or a man for "coercion." But his belief received a sharp blow when Minnesota went on record as the first state to offer manpower to the Union cause. Later, however, he supported the war issue and rendered valuable service as a member of the Senate military committee.

Actually the doctrines of the Republican party had found growing favor among the farmers of southern Minnesota. Since the panic of 1857 these farmers had

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* Pioneer and Democrat, February 28, 1861

Meanwhile St. Paul was for the most part disapproved of Lincoln and abolitionism. In contrast to St. Anthony and Minneapolis, the town remained Democratic and sympathetic to the Southern cause. In April 1861 John S. Prince, a Democrat, was elected mayor for the second term.

Democratic in policy too was the newspaper, Pioneer and Democrat, and although Editor Goodrich at the risk of public condemnation chose a middle course though he was inclined to favor the South. He voiced his own opinions, however, and did not hesitated to condemn the Minnesota legislature for refusing to denounce John Brown and the Harper's Ferry incident. While the Republican press was denoucning Stephen A. Douglas as an unscrupulous rascal and owner of African slaves, the Pioneer and Democrat termed him the "distinguished son of the west." Goodrich had little confidence in Lincoln's ability and prophesied on April 6, 1861 that the first drop of blood would inaugrate war.

On the 12th of April, 1861 Confederate troops opened fire on Fort Sumter. Two days later word was received in Washington that the fort had been occupied by the Southern army.

During the winter of 1861 that year the slaveholders' and states' rights rebellion of defenders rapidly reached a crisis. Eight states formed a confederacy and at once proceeded to confiscate arsenals, accoutrement and fortifications of the federal government. But not until the 12th of April, 1861 was the powderkeg ignited, when the Confederate troops opened fire on Fort Sumter. Two days later word was received in Washington that the fort had been occupied by the Southern army. Governor Ramsey who was in the national capital at the time went at once to the Secretary of War and offered a thousand Minnesota men for the defense of the Union. Thus did a northwestern state find itself plunged in a conflict in the basic causes of of which it felt only little concern.

among the farmers of southern Minnesota, since the panic competition with the slave economy of the South all but intolerable.[3] The election of 1859 placed the Republican party securely in control of the state government. Governor Ramsex Alexander Ramsey was a strong anti-slavery Republican who believed wholeheartedly in the preservation of the Union.[4]

But St. Paul for the most part disapproved of Lincoln and abolitionism. In contrast to St. Anthony and Minneapolis, the town remained Democratic and sympathetic to the Southern cause. In April 1861 John S. Prince, a Democrat, was elected mayor for the second term. So strong was the sentiment over this matter that an attempt to introduce slavery into x the state had been made a year before

> Yesterday the Democratic movement to establish Slavery in Minnesota, was openly commenced in the State Senate. Senator Mackubin (Democrat) of St. Paul, inaugurated it by presenting to the body a a petition, purporting to be signed by 600 of the citizens of St. Paul, St. Anthony and Stillwater, asking the passage of a law to legalize Slavery in Minnesota, upon certain pretexts and for certain purposes, and for a certain length of time.* *

The newspaper, Pioneer and Democrat was also democratic in policy, and although Editor Goodrich avowedly followed a middle course he was inclined to favor the South. He voiced his own opinions, however, and did not hesitate to condemn the Minnesota legislature for refusing to denoucnce the John Brown Harper's Ferry incident. While the Republican press was denouncing Stephen A. Douglas as an unscrupulous rascal and owner of African slaves, the Pioneer and Democrat termed him the"distinguished son of the west." Goodrich

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* State Atlas, Minneapolis, March 10, 1860

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~~T~~ On April 16 Lieutenant Governor Ignatius Donnelly, acting as governor in the ~~xxxxxxxxxxf~~ absence of Ramsey, issued a proclamation in St. Paul, calling for volunteers. "Minessota is called upon to do her duty in protecting the National Flag and the National Captital from the assaults of invading traitors. Let her respond as becomes a State attached to the Union. . . . In twenty days our regiment will be ready for the field." 8.

The response to the call was immediate. At a meeting of the Pioneer Guards in the Armory on the same evening, men desiring to volunteer were registed for enlistment. Josias R. King was the first volunteer from the state.[9] While enlistments proceeded, arrangements were made to train recruits. Fort Snelling, which had been abandoned as a military post some years before, was the only place available It was hastily renovated and made ready to receive the first men from Minnesota destined to fight a bloody war outside the state's borders.

On April 29 ten companies assembled at the fort for training. Two of the companies, the Pioneer Guards under Captain Alexander Wilkin, and the St. Paul volunteers under Captain H. Acker, were compsed entirely of St. Paul men/ St. Paul citizens were also represented among the other companies. On the day the troops assembled, Governor Ramsey appointed the necessary field and staff officers, including Colonel Willis A. Gorman, Lieutenant Colonel Stephen Miller and Major William H. Dike.[10]

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7. Folwell, W.W. History of Minnesota, vol. 2, pp. 76-77.
8. St. Paul Daily Press, April 17, 1861
9. Minnesota in the Civil and Indian Wars, 1861-1865, Board of Commissioners, State of Minnesota, St. Paul, 1893, vol. 1, p. 2.
10. Minnesota in the Civil and Indian Wars, vol. 1. p. 3

In the meantime the First Regiment was going through black days. Less than a month from the day of its departure it participated in the bloody and disastrous battle of Bull Run. Forty-nine Minnesotans were killed, and Colonel Gorman commented that it was"more of a slaughterthanan equal combat."

The arrival of the first battle flag from the seene of the war served to bring St. Paul somewhat nearer the conflict which until then had been vaguely remote. On August 8th the St. Paul Daily Press reported:

> The Battle Flag of our gallant First Regiment, all tattered and torn by rebel bullets at Bull's Run, arrived last night by the Northern Belle. The next day the flag was "visited and examined by hundreds of our citizens . . . There is a tremendous rent through the union near the staff corner, made, as we understand, by a piece of shell. Then there are fifteen bullet holes through different parts of the flag . . . 18.

Doubtless few in St. Paul realized fully the horror that lay behind those bullet holes. Toward the end of September the Second Minnesota Regiment was assembled at Fort Snelling prepartatorryryry to its departure for the battle fields. A contemporary related:

> Tents were struck and everything packed and put on board the steamers Northern Belle and Keokuk . . . The people of St. Paul turned out en masse into Third Street . . . in a short time the boats arrived at the Upper Levee. The soldiers went up Eagle Street to to Winslow House, and then made a sharp turn into Third Street, heading towards the Lower Levee. Sidewalks and windows were crowded. Little cheering but many tears . . . Soon back on board and the boats embarked. The soldiers waved their hats and cheered loudly -- but there was little response from the shore. 20

ROCHELLE. CHECK WITH CARY ON THIS QUUOTE. "SOON BACK ON BOARD AND THE BOATS EMBARKED." BOATS DON'T EMBARK.

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18 St. Paul Daily Press, August 8-9, 1861

20 Pioneer and Democart, St. Paul October 14, 1861.

"The clouds are thick . . . It looks tome as though the Government would be dismembered," wrote Minnesota's Senator Morton Wilkinson to Governor Ramsey on January 16, 1861

Quotes from Folwell:

Page 73. The Eve F The Rebellion.

Firm in the conviction that his constituents were so much devoted to peace that they would consent to secession rather than go to war, Senator Rice on two notable occasions solemnly expressed his intention to represent what he believed to be their wish and sentiment. On Mrch 2, he xxxx said: "We will do all that we honorably can do to keep the southern States with us; but if they are determined to leave us, they must go in peace . . . I do not believe either one of them (four northwestern states) will vote a dollar or a man for coercion.

On the 27th of the month he was even more ardent in his advocacy of peace:

I am in favor of peace. If the seceded States are determined to remain out I am in favor of their going in paace. I would go further than this: I would give them the forst and arsenals within their limits. If they ask more, I would divide the Navy with them. If they wanted more than that, I would release fhem from the public debt. I would even given them more than that -- anything for peace." Pioneer and Democrat February 28, 1861

On July 21, less than a month from the day of its departure, the First had its baptism of blood and fire at Bull Run. Its position was on the extreme right of Heintzelman's turning column which, moving from Centreville by way of Sudley Springs, encountered not the exposed left flank of the enemy but the left wing of Beauregard's army . The First Minnesota was one of the last regiments to be led xxx forward to sacrifice. In thirty two minutes forty two officers and men were killed and one hundred and eight were wounded. (Folwell.

"The clouds are thick . . . It looks to me as though the Government would be dismembered," wrote Minnesota's Senator Martin Wilkinson to Governor Ramsey on January 16, 1861. An even gloomier prediction came from Henry M. Rice. "Within thirty days," he wrote, "there will not be a dollar in the Treasury & perhaps no government."[1]

The clouds were indeed thick. As 1861 opened, dark omens presaged the storm that was to come. The conflict between the states was slowly changing from a states' rights struggle to open rebellion. An attack upon the capitol was feared, and by the middle of January of that year it was realized that there was little prospect of a reconciliation between the two factions. Inexorably the country was heading toward civil war.

Senator Rice, however, continued to champion the cause of peace. Visualizing the horrors that open rebellion would bring, he said in Congress:

> If the seceded States are determined to remain out I am in favor of of their going in peace. I would go farther than this. I would give them the forts and arsenals within their limits. If they ask more, I would divide the Navy with them. If they wanted more than that, I would release them from public debt. I would even give them more than that -- anything for peace." **

Rice believed that the Northwest was devoted to peace and would consent to secession rather than go to war. On March 2 he declared that he did not believe any one of the four northwestern states would vote a dollar or a man for coercion. But his belief received a sharp blow when Minnesota went on record as the first state to offer manpower to the Union cause. Later, however, he supported the war issue and rendered valuable service as member of the Senate's military committee.

**Pioneer and Democrat, February 28, 1861

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Rice believed that the Northwest would consent to secession rather than go to war. On March 2 he declared that he did not believe that any one of the four Northwestern states would vote a dollor or a man for coercion. But his belief

found competition with the slave economy of the South all but intolerable.[3] The election of 1859 placed the Republican party securely in control of the state government. Governor Alexander Ramsey was a strong anti-slavery Republican who believed wholeheartedly in the preservation of the Union.[4]

But St. Paul for the most part disapproved of Lincoln and abolitionism. In contrast to St. Anthony and Minneapolis, the twon remained Democratic and sympethetic to the Southern cause. So strong was this sentiment that an attmept to introduce slavery into the state had been made a year before.

> Yesterday the Democratic movement to establish Slavery in Minnesota was openly commended in the State Senate. Senator Mackubin(Democrat) of St. Paul, inaugurated it by presenting to the body a petition purporting to be signed by 600 of the citizens of St. Paul, St. Anthony and Stillwater, asking the passage of a law to legalize Slavery in Minnesota, upon certain pretexts and for a certain purposes, and for a certain length of time.*

The newspaper, Pioneer and Democrat was also democratic in policy. and although Editor Goodrich avowedly followed a middle course, he was inclined to favor the South. He voiced his own opinions, however, and did not hesitate to condemn the Minnesota legislature for refusing to denounce the Harper's Ferry incident. While the Republican press was denouncing Stephen A. Douglas as an unscrupulous rascal and owner of African slaves, the Pioneer and Democrat termed him the "distinguished son of the west."

During the winter of that year the rebellion of the slaveholders and states' rights defenders rapidly reached a climax. Eight states formed a confederacy and proceded to confiscate arsenals, accoutrement and fortifications of the federal government On the 12th of April, 1861 Confederate troops opened fire on Fort Sumter.

State Atlas, Minneapolis, March 1-, 1869

PEOPLE HAVE BECOME SO USED TO BEING SWINDLED THAT A REPETITION OF THE GAME WAS TAKEN QUITE PHILOSOPHICALLY." [24] (ROCHELLE PUT THIS IN L.C.)

Despite the financial chaos it could be said that the business outlook was "brighter than any time since 1857." The Hudson Bay Company continued to receive immense quantities of goods ~~through their bank and company~~ thus maintaining the commercial importance of the city. 25.

The lack of money and men as a result of the war had a profound effect on social and civic life. There were a number of professional entertainments during the first year of the war, including an opera company ~~which~~ and a "perfect inundation of circuses." 41. Restriction of non-war travel on the Mississippi made it almost impossible for professional theatrical companies to reach St. Paul after this time. The populace found a substitute in amateur theatricals given to raise money for the soldiers. The People's Theatre was dark for most of the period. The Athenaeum of the German Reading Society was used for a number of musical and dramatic benefits, as was a hall on the third floor of the Ingersoll Block. In this Ingersoll hall the ladies of the various Protestant churches gave a social and supper to raise a library fund. The effort resulted in the purchase of 350 books, forming the nucleus of the present St. Paul Public Library. 43.

Skating parties were popular during the winter. The ladies did not lack escorts, said one newspaper, for, "during the moonlight evenings the soldiers from the fort skate down to see their friends and go back before roll call next morning, and 'nobody knows nothing about it.'" 44.

The problems of mun

R. Cary

Cary's Copy

(Cary's Copy)

The close of the Civil War ushered in a period of great prosperity in St. Paul. Railroad construction which had been curtailed during the long years of the rebellion was given new impetus, and money derived from bountiful crops, soldiers' pay and ~~restitutions~~ indemnities from Indian uprisings flowed freely. Peace had reopened the door to immigration, and new influx of settlers, some of them agriculture-minded, increased the town's trade.

With large areas of the South devasted and impoverished by the war, the East now turned to the lands of the western frontier to find new opportunity for exploitation. The border country was thus described by Edward Alsworth Ross in Changing America:

> Up till then the potential resources of the continent had not even been surveyed. Earlier pioneers had only scratched the surface -- felling trees, making crops, building pigmy water-mills, smelting a little iron. Mineral wealth had been scarcely touched . . . In all this immense territory there were only scattered settlements . . . tiny outposts in the wilderness with scattered hamlets, mining camps and isolated homesteads lost in the great expanse. On the prairies . . . roved powerful tribes of hostile Indians who fretted against the forward thrust of settlement. 1.

The west was an area rich in raw materials: gold, silver, copper, oil, and it was soon realized that not only were these materials necessary for a rising industrialism, but there was also a vital need for transportation facilities to move them to New England manufacturing centers.

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1. Ross, Edward Alsworth, Changing America, Century Company, New York, 1912.

As early as 1857 the St. Paul and Sioux City Railroad had been planned, and under the Five Million Dollar Loan Amendment some work had been done between Mendota and Shakopee. But the panic of that year caused the enterprise to collapse. It lay dormant until 1864 when the company was reorganized as the Minnesota Valley Railroad Company, and the rails reached Belle Plaine in November 1866.[2] Despite many deterrents, railroad mileage mounted slowly each year until by 1869 there were 750 miles in operation in the state, and St. Paul had been brought within 30 hours of Chicago.

A decade before an effort had been made to connect St. Paul with the outside world by telegraph. Subscriptions were sold to build a line from Galena to St. Paul at an estimated cost of $27,000. That project failed for lack of support, but by 1856 communication needs had become urgent. The Minnesota Telegraph Company was organized with a board of directors including Alexander Ramsey, J.C. Burbank, and Joseph C. Cook. But it was not until 1860 that James M. Winslow, a prominent capitalist, took over the enterprise, and began the actual building of a line to LaCrosse. The line was completed and the first message sent on August 9, 1860. On August 17 the Pioneer and Democrat reported:

> The telegraph office over Mr. Prince's store, on the corner of Wabashaw street, has been very neatly fitted up, and the instruments made ready for use. Mr. Gallup, the operator, perfectly understands his business, and the manner in which he writes from sound is exceedingly interesting. Mr. Young will soon give the line a thorough inspection as far as Winona, even if the Wisconsin portion of the line is not completed. [3]

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2. Pioneer and Democrat, October 7, 1858
3. Daily Pioneer and Democrat, August 17, 1860.

Wires in those days were subject to frequent breaks, and as there was no railroad, the spots where breaks occurred were often difficult of access. During those intervals when the circuit was broken, the operator was usually absent from his post enjoying himself in the town. Citizens with important messages to send sometimes had to make the rounds of the taverns to find him.[4]

Winslow finally sold out to the Wisconsin Telegraph Company, and later a new concern, the Northwestern Telegraph Company, was organized. By 1867 two more lines were in operation, one to St. Cloud and another to Faribault.

Plans for a street railway in St. Paul were first made in 1865 when an ordinance was presented to the city council granting the right of way to a New York Company. Horse-drawn carriages, moving on tracks, were reported to be enjoying large profits in eastern cities. The St. Paul venture failed to materialize, and a year later a charter for the construction of a street railway "in and along all the streets and bridges of the city, except on Jackson street between Third and the Levee . . " was granted to the St. Paul Horse Railroad Company. It was not until the early seventies, however, that this form of transportation was put into operation.[5]

In 1863 Norman Kittson, finding it necessary to leave the city for a year had to entrust his flourishing business to a temporary manager. For this responsible office he selected James J. Hill, the young newcomer who was to become a power in St. Paul and Minnesota affairs. Hill handled the work so efficiently that two years later Kittson placed him in permanent charge of the entire agency.[6]

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4. Neill, Rev. Edward D., History of Ramsey County and the City of St. Paul, North Star Publishing Company, Minneapolis 1881, pp. 435-436.
5. Castle, H.A., History of St. Paul, 1912, vol. 1.
6. Pyle, Joseph Gilpin, The Life of James J. Hill, Doubleday, Page and Company, New York, 1927, vol. 1, p. 75.

Hill later became a junior partner in the Blanchard and Willington steamboat line. After that he operated independently, with a contract to supply fuel for the St. Paul and Pacific Railroad. The fuel situation in St. Paulwas described thus by a contemporary:

> . . . the supply of cord wood brought into St. Paul was of the most wretched character. The farmers used to bring in a load on their wagons, dump it and then pile it up scientifically so as to make a cord and a half out of a cord. They used all the knotty stuff they could get hold of, because it made the pile measure more. The result was that the citizens got wretched fuel and were robbed besides. 7.

When Hill obtained the wood contract with the railroad, he immediately corrected this condition. From the Big Woods he shipped to St. Paul the best and straightest wood he could procure, selling the light and soft pieces to the railroad for use on its locomotives.

Man of vision that he was, Hill foresaw the day when coal would supplant all other products as the principle fuel. Accordingly he lost no time in acquiring options on coal reserves. Years later when Iowa industrialists investigated the status of coal deposits in that state, they were amazed to discover that more than 2,000 acres in a single county were under lease to Hill.

Meanwhile the city was growing by leaps and bounds. In the summer of 1861 the Pioneer and Democrat voiced optimism over the steady growth:

> Immigrants are pouring in like a flood. The train last night brought about two hundred in our city. When the river opens this will be increased to a thousand a day. We will need a dozen more hotels at this rate. 8.

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7. Pyle, The Life of James J. Hill, p. 25.
8. Pioneer and Democrat, April 1861

So great was the problem of handling immigration that a member of the council in 1869 urged the establishment of an immigrant depot where incoming settlers could be temporarily quartered. It was pointed out that hygienic conditions were not of the best in the accommodations available to new arrivals, and that while large sums of money were being spent on the railroad, practically no funds were allotted to the city's health department.

Of great influence in the immigration movement was the church leader, John Ireland who was helping Irish Catholics in crowded eastern cities to obtain low-priced farm land in the west. In the spring of 1864 he was made president of a small group of Irish patriots, the Irish Immigration Society, organized in St. Paul to promote Irish settlement of the northwest. At the second annual meeting of this society another worker for the Irish cause, Dillon O'Brien reported that as a result of his activities in New York the organization had become known in every northern state and in every parish in Ireland.

INSERT — "OLD BETS."

By the end of June 1865 the population of St. Paul had swollen to more than 13,000, almost three times that of any other city in the state.[9] Nationalities represented were these:

Americans -- from various states	3509
British Isles:	
Irish	2878
English	492
Scotch	81
Welch	8
Germans	2818
Prussians	127
French	591
Canadians	154
Scandinavians:	
Swedes	171

9. Daily Press, November 28, 1865

INSERT - "OLD BETS"

In 1865 after a long absence the familiar figure of "Old Bets," the Indian woman again appeared in the streets of St. Paul. Her presence was of no importance save as a reminder of earlier more colorful days which had now gone forever. Still wearing the moccasins and costume of her people she greeted friends and proceeded to cast her vote for the Democrat candidates.

Norwegians	84	
Danes	28	
Negroes	166	
Bohemians	52	
Hollanders	10	
Italians	5	10.
Hungarians	12	

The list reveals the fact that Irish and German populations were now competing for numerical supremacy. The French element which earlier had left such a strong impress on the town was dwindling in importance. A more graphic illustration of St. Paul's rapid expansion is shown in this table 7/

1847	50	
1859	400	
1850	840	
1855	4400	
1857	9975	
1860	10000	
1865	13210	
1869	20118	11/

A growing self-awareness kept pace with the increase in population, and many groups shared in the evident determination that cultural development should not be allowed to lag. A German literary society, the Deutscher Verein, was organized. Active also were the Amateur Dramatic Club, the St. Paul Musical Society, the Choral Union Vocal Society, the Great Western and the Cathedral brass bands, the St. Paul Library Association, and the Young Men's Catholic Literary Association.

New business firms sprang up overnight, and thoroughfares devoted to certain trades saw one new building follow another in construction. Bench Street, St. Charles Street, and Fort Street, all were booming. Jobbing firms established during the early Sixties, multiplied rapidly, until by 1869 the chamber

10. McClung's St. Paul Directory and Statistical Record, 1866, p. 273.
11. ~~McClung's Directory~~. Rice and Bell's First Annual Directory of St. Paul for 1869-70 - P. 48.

of commerce reported 62 concerns of this type doing an annual business of a million dollars.

The retail section of Robert Street and environs in 1867 presented a sharp contrast to that same section two decades before. The street in 1849 was thus pictured in the introduction to the St. Paul City Directory for 1856-57. 12/

> Imprimis, a log grocery kept by La Roche; Nobles' red blacksmith's shop, and on the other side, Ben Brunson's house; and about three other buildings. This took you through to Mr. H.F. Hoyt's house, where Mr. Oakes' large, elegant house is now built. 13.

In 1867 nearly a dozen dealers in groceries and provisions were doing business on that street. Frank Robert, 83-year-old St. Paul resident recalls several of them:

> There was F.F. Simpson, the grocer; who supplied the river boats with provisions. Cook and Webb had an office on Third Street, and this was the start of the well-known St. Paul Omnibus Line. Then there was the firm of Cariveau and Fontaine, later Cariveau and Priedmann.
>
> Other provision dealers included: J. and M. Butler, Flanagan and Dunnegan, F.F. Simpson, A. Arban and Company, H.M. Wilson, F. Kaiser, and Joseph T. Pannan, and Edward Langevin. 14.

Also on Robert Street in 1867 there was a meat market, while a baker and several blacksmith shops, and adjacent thoroughfares saw cigar manufacturers, hack services, a brewery and drug dealers open their doors. Building activities for 1869 included 509 structures erected at a cost of almost a million and a half dollars. The Daily Press revealed the steady growth of the city:

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12. McClung's St. Paul Directory and Statistical Record, 1866, p. 275.
13. St. Paul City Directory, 1856 -67
14. Interview: Frank Robert, March 5, 1942

Year	Cost of Improvements
1867	$ 712,860
1868	$ 1,005,050
1869	$ 1,395,728 15.
1870	$ 1,735,200

Real estate values increased sharply in the late sixties in business and residential districts alike. A structure known as Brown's Block, previously sold for $20,000, was repurchased for $30,000. For 50 feet on the corner of Jackson and Third Streets, Colonel Shaw, the owner, was offered $700 a front foot. Dwelling houses doubled in number, as recorded in Rice and Bell's First Annual Directory of St. Paul.[16]

"Another Old Landmark Gone!" This was a frequent newspaper headline of the day. Carefully noted was the removal of a machine shop near the levee and near the Robert Street depot "torn down yesterday to make room for the railroad switches."[17] The same issue reported that "shanties are being removed .. . from Fourth street, between Jackson and Rosabel, by instruction of the council."[18]

Manufacturing began to set new records. Old companies were revived and new firms caught the spirit of expansion. The industrial growth of the

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15. Daily Press, January 1, 1871.
16. Rice and Bell's First Annual Directory of St. Paul, 1869-70, p. 48.
17. Daily Press, January 7, 1871.
18. Daily Press, January 7, 1871.

Watch page

city was reflected in the wagon manufacturing business. Three hundred and fifty wagons were turned out in 1858, and 60 wheelwrights were employed.

Naturally with all this expansion in general business activity there was a rapid and striking increase both in the number and size of banks. A further contributing factor was heavy post war expenditures by the Federal Government. State and private banks, however, did not share in the new prosperity. Instead they were the target of burdensome tax levies designed to force them into the national banking system. Except in this one respect, the National Bank Act adopted in 1863 was a stabilizing influence.

The banking house of Thompsom Brothers was established at this time, later to be chartered as the Bank of Minnesota. First bank in the state to receive a charter under the National Banking Act was the First National of St. Paul; a year later the Second National was founded.

Meanwhile Minneapolis had grown until it began to menace St. Paul's dominance. The friendly feeling which earlier had existed between the two cities was now submerged in jealous rivalry, and Minneapolis papers referred to the town across the river as "a way station" or "The City of Empty Elevators." In 1869 the Minneapolis Tribune accused St. Paul of a complete lack of civic virtue:

> St. Paul received $300 from keepers of disorderly houses and $415 from commercial travelers or guerillas who sell goods to the merchants of that city by sample . . . Guerillas and disorderly houses give St. Paul almost a thousand dollars a month. Let a few more such be established and St. Paul would have enough money to pay a big salary to her mayor. 20.

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20. Minneapolis Tribune, August 24, 1869

Watch page

The vice charge was not exactly unheralded news. More than a decade before John Ireland had already perceived the need for an institution to rehabilitate delinquent young women in the community, and in 1858 the House of Good Shepherd for wayward girls received ecclesiastical approval from Pope Gregory XVI. At Ireland's suggestion Reverend Thomas L. Grace had obtained help of sisters from the Provincial House of St. Louis. The four who came -- Mother Mary of St. Bernard Flinn, Sister Mary of St. Francis de Sales Carey, Sister Dorothea Hayes and Sister Mary of St. Gabriel Corrigan -- were established in a building at the corner of ~~of~~ Fort and Smith Streets.

While St. Paul was thus mushrooming into a city, not all divisions of its civic structure were progressing evenly. Fire protection, for one thing, had lagged behind. On the morning of the 23rd of July fire broke out in the St. Paul and Pacific round-house, the largest and most disastrous blaze that had occurred in the city up to that time. The fire department was helpless, and five machine-shops and the car-works were completely destroyed. A particularly regrettable incident was the loss of the William Crooks, the oldest locomotive in the town. Later the wreckage was salvaged, and the engine was reconstructed for posterity.

This lesson led to more liberal appropriations for the fire deparment and aroused citizens saw to it that equipment was kept as modern and as complete as possible. A newspaper recorded:

> The new steam fire engine and hose cart arrived yesterday on the eleven o'clock train from the East . . . It is named the Minnehaha No. 2 . . . and will be kept at the Minnehaha Engine house for the present . . . She is one of the popular rotary engines and cost $6,000 . . . This new engine can throw five hundred gallons of water a minute. 21.

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21. St. Paul Daily Press. October 9, 1869.

Fire hazards of those days, however, were not always attributable to the lack of men or equipment. The deficiencies of the city water supply were an ever handy editorial target. Said one editor in 1869:

> Yesterday afternoon fire destroyed the dwelling house of Mr. C.M. Boyle on Goodrich street . . . As soon as the alarm was given the fire department started for the conflagration and reached it in abundance of time to stand by and see the building burn before their eyes without being able to do anything to put out the flames. No water was to be had, and of course the engines and whole department was perfectly useless. 22.

The water company, spurred on by such comments, hastened to improve its service. On November 18, 1869 the Daily Pioneer reported progress. "We were informed yesterday by Hon. C.D. Gilfillian, President of St. Paul Water Company that water will be let into eight miles of pipe on the first of December." Finally on December 4, 1869, following an address by Judge Goodrich, the water was solemnly turned into the pipes of the Jackson Street line.

There was a touch of trouble on the upper levee in August of that year. Slow erosion at that point , it was claimed, had washed away all the city-owned shore-land, leaving only private property at the river's edge. Riparian lot owners, declaring that St. Paul no longer owned a levee, refused to permit barges to unload at that point. Apparently the disagreement was amicably adjusted, however, for in November the Daily Press announced new boat arrivals with a tone of complete serenity.

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22. St. Paul Daily Pioneer, November 14, 1869.
23. Deep in the Heart of Texas, Rose O'Day, Chow Mein.

And so St. Paul rolled luxuriously from the sixties into the seventies. The city was now a far cry from the collection of ugly hovels of a generation before. The restrictions and hardships of a bloody war which had taken many of her sons had been forgotten, and with industry and trade flourishing, and money flowing from many sources, the town overnight saw itself transformed into a booming capital. Opened now was the way for the empire-builders, men of the type personified by James J. Hill, who were to lead the city full into the opulence and extravagance of its golden age.