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RIVER (AND) LEGEND

St. Paul may be termed the product of the Mississippi, yet its story actually begins before the river existed. Millions of years ago an ocean embayment, ^{1.} fathoms deep, covered much of the area over ^{what} which are now city streets. Today, under a thin layer of glacial debris, may still be found limestone and clay shale containing marine fossils. To the geologist, these fossils tell a story, ages old, of seas without ships and lands without people.

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

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

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

1. Stouffer, Clinton R., Professor of Geology, University of Minnesota, March 3, 1941. (Interview.)

seem probable that some forgotten explorer was the first white man to view the river. There are, however, no recorded instances of Mississippi explorations until the voyages of De Pineda and De Vaca.

Alvarez de Pineda claimed to have discovered a fabulous river, which he named the Rio del Espiritu Santo. Cabeza de Vaca's tale is more readily believable. Escaping from the Indians, his party made its way along the Gulf coast in small boats and passed the mouth of a river so great the men were able to haul up fresh water far out at sea.^{2.} De Soto's expedition followed the Mississippi for some distance in 1543. Then for almost a century the river was left undisturbed in shadowy legend.

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

Forgotten coureurs de bois, or fur traders, however, continued to penetrate farther and farther into the unknown. They were drawn onward by

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

the requirements of their work rather than a desire to explore. Since their travels were unrecorded, it is impossible to estimate how far to the west they went. They did come near enough to the Mississippi to hear tales of a great mysterious river, stories they brought back to Montreal along with their furs.^{3.}

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

Out of such reports grew a great curiosity about the river which the native tribes called Mechassipi or Micissippi. In 1685 Jean Baptiste Talon arrived in Quebec as the newly appointed intendant of New France. Soon he became interested in the legendary stream. He wanted to sponsor intensive exploration but was unable to make a start without the consent of the governor-general. When Louis de Buade, Comte de Frontenac, succeeded as governor-general in 1671, Talon interested him in the project. Frontenac commissioned Louis Joliet, a well educated fur trader, and Jacques Marquette, a Jesuit priest, to undertake an exploring expedition.

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

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

4. Folwell, A History of Minnesota, p. 10.

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

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

The next year Michael Accault, Antoine Auguelle, and Louis Hennepin, a Franciscan father of the Recollect Order, were directed by Robert Cavelier, Sieur de la Salle, to ascend and explore the Mississippi from his newly established fort on the Illinois River. On the 30th day of April, Hennepin and his two companions, in company with 120 Sioux warriors, reached the approximate site of St. Paul.⁵ As nearly as can be determined from Hennepin's description, the group landed at a little cave at the mouth of Trout Brook, not far from the bluff, now called Dayton's Bluff, in east St. Paul.

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

5. Folwell, William W., History of Minnesota, vol. 1, pp. 15-29.

6. Pioneer & Democrat Weekly, St. Paul, April 28, 1859.

white, which terminated the upper plateau upon the river's brink --it derived its Indian name of Im-ni-ja-ska, or 'White Rock.'⁷

Pierre Charles Le Sueur led the second expedition of white men to the future sites of St. Paul and Fort Snelling. With nineteen men, he ascended the Mississippi from Louisiana, reaching the mouth of the Minnesota River on the 19th of September, 1700.⁸

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

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

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

7. Pioneer & Democrat Weekly, St. Paul, April 28, 1859.

8. Folwell, William W., A History of Minnesota, vol. 1, p. 40.

9. Folwell, A History of Minnesota, p. 38.

left Mackinac in early September and, reaching the Mississippi, ascended it to the Falls of St. Anthony. He made a voyage up the Minnesota River and in April of the next year returned to St. Paul with a party of Sioux. In May of 1787 he held council with them at a large cave which yet bears Carver's name. He returned to New England in 1768. His journey was to have been only part of a more ambitious scheme of exploration, as he hoped later to make his way across the Rocky Mountains to the sea. The outbreak of the Revolution, however, prevented any such attempt.^{10.}

Carver's name has become best known through its association with the Carver grant, a treaty purportedly negotiated with the Sioux giving the whites title to a large area of land. There is some doubt that Carver made any such claim --it was appended to his narrative by the man, who edited the travel notes for publication. In any event, its palpably fraudulent character^{11.} has overshadowed the explorer's actual achievements.

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

10. Folwell, William W., A History of Minnesota, vol. 1, p. 55.

11. Quaife, Milo M., "Jonathan Carver and the Carver Grant," Mississippi Valley Historical Review, vol. 7, no. 1, June 1920, p. 11.

12. Radio Speech "Old Reserve Town," WCCO, November 24, 1933, Mother Antonia, President College of St. Catherine, St. Paul.

By the beginning of the nineteenth century the American nation, turning westward, had begun to seek the riches of the unknown lands within its borders. Men had gone far, but the land went farther. With the Louisiana Purchase, in 1803, exploration of the newly-acquired area became a necessity. Thomas Jefferson outlined a plan, later approved by Congress, for sponsorship of two western expeditions. Lewis and Clark were sent into the Missouri River country, and a young officer, Lieutenant Zebulon Montgomery Pike, was despatched up the Mississippi with a company of twenty men. Pike left St. Louis in August 1805 with instructions to "obtain permission from the Indians who claim the ground to erect military posts and trading houses at the Mouth of the River St. Pierre," as the Minnesota River was then known.^{13.}

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

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

13. Folwell, William W., A History of Minnesota, vol. 1, p. 91.

Way-Aga Enagee, and Tahamie, or Rising Moon. He told them that the United States, having acquired the territory by purchase, wished to establish a military outpost to increase and regulate trade. He then distributed "tobacco and some other trifling things."^{14.}

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

Pike determined to go farther. Except for some additions to geographic knowledge, however, his further explorations on the Mississippi accomplished little, and they were accompanied by disaster. Men and supplies were plagued by treacherous ice and terrible cold. Fire in camp destroyed a

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

15. Folwell, Wm. W., History of Minnesota, vol. 1, pp. 93-94.

badly needed tent. And while he managed to shoot down the British flag above the Leech Lake post of the Northwest Company, his action did not impress the British traders nor discourage their activities.

But the expedition, its major object achieved, was hailed as successful when it returned to St. Louis the following April. The validity of the treaty with the Sioux was doubtful, but it was much too valuable to be ignored. Three years later, on April 16, 1808, Pike's treaty was ratified by the United States Senate, with a provision for further payment to the Sioux of two thousand dollars worth of goods.^{16.}

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

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

16. Folwell, History of Minnesota, vol. 1, pp.93-94.

17. Neill, Edward D., A History of Hennepin County, pp. 80-81.

In 1816 Congress prohibited the granting of traders' licenses to any but American citizens. This order was relaxed in 1818 to allow American traders to employ such "foreign boatmen and interpreters" as they might need. Although this modification seemed necessary, it was generally feared that "great abuses" might follow if unscrupulous men found it possible to circumvent the law and employ "foreigners hostile to our country." "Foreigners who are odious to our citizens on account of their activity and cruelty in the late war" were not to be admitted in any capacity. Such action was designed to exclude the British from American trade. John Jacob Astor had been instrumental in securing passage of the bill and, following its approval by the President,^{18.} he advised the American Fur Company to take full advantage of the situation.^{19.}

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

Measures now had to be taken to enforce the new law. In 1817, Major Stephen Long was instructed to examine and survey the land covered by Pike's treaty and return a recommendation to the War Department for putting it to use. He ascended the river from St. Louis in a six-oared skiff, accompanied by a Mr. Hempstead, seven soldiers, and an interpreter named Roque. Two grandsons of Jonathan Carver traveled with the expedition in a birch bark canoe. On

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

the 16th of July they passed an Indian village about two miles below the present site of St. Paul. Here Long saw wooden huts "of a better appearance than any Indian dwellings I have before met with," built in the form of a stockade. That evening they arrived at the Falls of St. Anthony and encamped within view of a scene which Long described as, "the most interesting and magnificent of any I have ever before witnessed."^{20.}

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

At about the same time, British traders renewed their activity in the region. Meanwhile, Thomas Douglas, Earl of Selkirk, had founded a colony in Manitoba in 1812. In 1818 about three hundred mixed-bloods and French Canadians left Selkirk's colony at St. Boniface and located at Pembina on the border of the Red River.^{22.} Americans became suspicious of the true purposes of this colony. Selkirk visited it in 1817 and traveled thence down the Minnesota and the Mississippi to St. Louis. So great was the general distrust of all Britons that the Indian agent at Prairie du Chien wrote a letter of alarm to his superior: "He [Selkirk] is plotting with his friend, Dickson, our

20. Neill, Edward D., A History of Hennepin County, pp. 84-85.

21. Neill, History of Hennepin County, pp. 85-86.

22. Schaeffer, Rev. F. J., History of the Diocese of St. Paul, Acta et Dicta, Catholic Historical Society, July 1915, p. 43.

destruction --sharpening the savage scalping knife, and colonizing a tract of country, so remote as that of the Red River, for the purpose, no doubt, of monopolizing the fur and peltry trade of this river . . . "

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

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

23. Neill, E. D., History of Hennepin County, p. 89.

24. Neill, History of Hennepin County, p. 89.

Forsyth arrived at the mouth of the Minnesota on August 24 and, 25.
a day later, Leavenworth landed with his troops. The party as a whole consisted of a hundred officers and men. Colonel Leavenworth, Captain George Gooding and another officer brought their wives, the first white women to enter what is now 26.
Minnesota.

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

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

Philander Prescott, who arrived during the winter with supplies, was greeted with great rejoicing. " . . . They had been out of Groceries

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25. Forsyth, Major Thomas, Fort Snelling, Colonel Leavenworth's Expedition to Establish it in 1819, Minnesota Historical Collections, vol. 3, pp. 149-154.
26. Upham, Warren, "The Women and Children of Fort St. Anthony, Later Named Fort Snelling," Magazine of History, vol. 21, July 1915, pp. 25-27.
27. Hansen, Marcus L., Old Fort Snelling, Published at Iowa City in 1918 by the State Historical Society of Iowa, 1918, p. 24.
28. Folwell, William W., A History of Minnesota, vol. 1, p. 137; and Baker, General James, "Address at Fort Snelling in Celebration of the Centennial Anniversary of the Treaty of Pike with the Sioux," Minnesota Historical Collections, vol. 12, p. 239.

for a Month or More and the Scurvy had got amongst the troops and there had allready died about fifty men before I got there and Several died after I arrived. Their Rations was nothing but Rusty Pork and Bread. Some of them would go to bed apparently well at Night and be found dead in the Morning Others would live a Week, some 2 or three days, and so on . . . the commanding officer Col. Leavenworth sent a party of Soldiers over to the St. Croix and they found Some Spruce by Dr. E. Purcells direction the Doctor ordered a tea to be Made of the Spruce and had it well sweetened and Made them use Vinegar freely and Some Spirits and the Scurvy Soon left them but after Seventy Men fell Victim to the disease before its progress was baffled . . . " ^{29.}

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

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

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

Due to the difficulty of transporting adequate supplies to the new outpost, General Gibson instructed the fort commissary to investigate the possibility of raising wheat. In the spring the soldiers planted about ninety acres of rich prairie and bottom land. When a group led by Governor Lewis Cass of Michigan and Henry Schoolcraft reached the fort, they were given green corn, peas, beans, cucumbers, beets, radishes and lettuce from the post garden. Wheat was already ripe, and there was a good stand of Indian corn and potatoes. This first experiment in the cultivation of Minnesota land raised enthusiastic hopes among members of the garrison. Farming operations by the military increased steadily over a span of years.^{31.}

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

Since the major object of the fort's establishment was to protect the American fur trade and strengthen friendly relations with the Sioux, the post also was made an Indian agency. Major Forsyth had accompanied Leavenworth in the capacity of temporary Indian agent. Regarding the new agency, a most important one, President Monroe now placed a highly esteemed personal friend, Lieutenant Lawrence Taliaferro of Virginia, in charge.

31. Folwell, W. W., History of Minnesota, Minnesota Historical Society, 1921, vol. 1, p. 105; and Charlotte C. Van Cleve, Three Score Years and Ten, Mpls. 1888, p. 36. (J. Fletcher Williams in his section of Neill's History of Hennepin County, sets the date as 1823. This is not supported by reliable sources.)

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

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

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

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32. "L. Taliaferro to Col. Henry Leavenworth, Camp St. Peter, July 30, 1820." Taliaferro Papers, Minnesota Historical Society, Mss. Div. (From a statement in this letter it appears that Leavenworth had already been notified of his removal.)
33. Babcock, Willoughby M. Jr., "Major Lawrence Taliaferro," Mississippi Valley Historical Review, vol. 2, no. 3, December 1924, p. 364; and Neill, E. D., "Occurrences in and Around Fort Snelling," Minnesota Historical Collections, vol. 2, p. 23.

The morale of the post, which had suffered in the latter days of Leavenworth's regime, was restored when Colonel Josiah Snelling took over in 1820. The new commandant, a veteran of the War of 1812, was a strong-willed soldier whose personal energy and enforcement of discipline soon brought order and hope to the outpost. Nicknamed the "Prairie Hen" because of his reddish hair and partly bald head, he performed his duties at the garrison with diligence and foresight. A frank, outspoken man he had his periods of crankiness and was addicted to whiskey on occasion but permitted nothing to interfere with his work.

Snelling did not approve of the site which had been chosen and decided to erect the permanent fort at its present location, on the high point of the bluff overlooking both rivers. Construction was begun September 34.
10, 1820.

With the departure of the Leavenworth family, there remained four women in the camp. The wives of Lieutenant Clark and Captain Gooding stayed on. Colonel Snelling had brought his wife, Abigail, and his children with him. A short time before Snelling's arrival, Captain Gooding's daughter, Amelia, had been married to Lieutenant Platt Rogers Green, Adjutant of the Fifth Regiment. This was the first white marriage in Minnesota. 35. In November 1820 a daughter was born to the Snellings in their new home. The girl, Elizabeth Snelling, was the first white child born in Minnesota. 36.

34. Baker, General James H., "Address at Fort Snelling," Minnesota Historical Collections, vol. 12, p. 294.

35. Upham, Warren, "The Women and Children of Fort St. Anthony," The Magazine of History, vol. 21, July 1915, pp. 27-28. (Upham says that there were only three women after the arrival of the Snelling family. In naming them, he ignores Amelia Green. He mentions Mrs. Green and her marriage on p. 27 and gives no explanation as to why he does not include her among the women at the fort.)

36. "Josiah Snelling to L. Taliaferro, Nov. 10, 1820;" Taliaferro Papers, Mss. Div., Minnesota Historical Society.

Relations between Taliaferro and the new commandant were on a friendly basis from the beginning. One of Snelling's first official acts was the formulation of a document, which he and all other officers of the fort signed, giving "entire approval of his [Taliaferro's] conduct . . . as a public agent in this quarter." Snelling respected and liked the young agent.^{37.} He shared Taliaferro's resentment of the fact that other agents, "who can know nothing of our Indian relations here," could yet grant licenses for trading among the tribes supposedly under the supervision of Fort St. Anthony.^{38.}

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

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

37. Neill, E. D., History of Hennepin County, p. 92.

38. "Josiah Snelling to L. Taliaferro, November 10, 1820," Taliaferro Papers, Mss. Div. Minnesota Historical Society.

39. "Snelling to Taliaferro," Papers, Nov. 10, 1820.

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

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

Snelling poured most of his energy into the task of building the fort. He offered the soldiers an additional fifteen cents per day and drove them hard. Materials for the work were found close at hand. Trenton limestone was hewn out of the Mississippi bluffs in the first quarrying operations by whites in Minnesota. 41.

It was soon apparent that sufficient lumber could not be cut with whipsaw and broad-axe, and Snelling decided to build a small sawmill at St. Anthony Falls. During the winter of 1821, a party of soldiers were sent up the Rum River

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

41. Upham, Warren, "History of Mining and Quarrying in Minnesota," Minnesota Historical Collections, vol. 8, p. 296.

to cut timber. The logs came down with the spring thaw but, as the mill had not yet been completed, it was necessary to cut them with whipsaws and tote by team

42.

to the scene of building. Despite Snelling's efforts, construction was slow.

During the following winter, the entire garrison was forced to move back across the river to the old log houses of New Hope. None of the post buildings could be occupied until the next year with the consequence that they were not fully

43.

completed until some years later.

The fort, as finally finished by Snelling, had a row of barracks of hewn pine and other buildings and dwellings of stone, all enclosed by a high stone wall. At one end was the ponderous, castellated round tower of solid native stone, with twenty narrow slits to allow firing in any direction. The fort was

44.

believed capable of resisting successfully any attack.

42. Bromley, Edward A., "Old Government Mills at the Falls of St. Anthony," Minnesota Historical Collections, vol. 10, part 2, pp. 636-638.

43. Van Cleve, Charlotte O., Three Score Years and Ten, Mpls. 1888, p. 32. (There is considerable disagreement as to the actual date when troops first occupied the fort. Neill, (Minnesota Historical Collections, vol. 2, p. 107,) states it was during the winter of 1822-23. William Watts Folwell, on Neill's authority, gives this date and substantiates it by Prescott's statement, (Minnesota Historical Collections, vol. 6, p. 479,) that "before the autumn of 1823 nearly all the soldiers had been got into quarters, and considerable work had been done on the officer's quarters." Prescott's statement would not preclude the possibility that Mrs. Van Cleve is correct. Pioneer reminiscences were often inaccurate and Neill based much of his work on these reminiscences.

44. "Early Days at Fort Snelling," Minnesota Historical Collections, vol. 1, p. 429.

? Under protection of the fort, a settlement grew up on the other side of the Minnesota River. Jean Baptiste Faribault, one of the early Indian traders of the Northwest, settled on Pike's Island, where he farmed a small plot of land, as an adjunct to his trading activities. Faribault was born in Canada, the son of a French lawyer. At the age of twenty-four he had entered the service of the Northwest Company and for ten years had carried on trade at various western posts. In 1809 he had established himself as an independent trader at Prairie du Chien. After two years on Pike's Island, flood destroyed his property forcing him to move to the east bank of the Minnesota River.

45.
45a.
46.

When Alexis Bailly, a half breed Indian trader and representative of the American Fur Company, returned from a trip to the Red River country in 1823, he brought five Swiss families with him. These people were the first of many refugees from the illfated Selkirk settlement. According to Barbara Ann Shadecker, a daughter of one of these families, they received considerate treatment from the officers at Fort St. Anthony.

47.

45. Jewett, Stephen, "After Eighty-Four Years," pp. 4-9, mss, in possession of Minnesota Historical Society, Mss. Div. Sibley H. H., "Memoir of J. B. Faribault," Minnesota Historical Collections, vol. 3, pp. 171-176. (Most accounts of Faribault's life do not agree on details. Upham, Minnesota Geographic Names, p. 183, gives the date of his going up the Minnesota River for trading as 1803. The exact date when Faribault moved to Prairie du Chien is also in doubt, as is the date when he came to Pike's Island.)
- 45a. Folwell, William W., A History of Minnesota, vol. 1, appendix, p. 437.
46. Sibley, H. H., "Memoir of J. B. Faribault," Minnesota Historical Collections, vol. 3, p. 177.
47. Upham, Warren, "The Women and Children of Fort St. Anthony," Magazine of History, vol. 21, July 1915, pp. 33-34.

Shadecker family came to Ft Snelling 1823

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

After the garrison was moved into the new quarters, a school was established. A building near the main entrance used as offices for the commandant, paymaster, quartermaster and commissary, served also as schoolhouse. John Marsh was employed as tutor at an annual salary of \$75, an income which he supplemented by carrying the mail between the fort and Prairie du Chien at \$40 per annum. If Marsh was dissatisfied with his small salary and the inadequate school room, these were but petty annoyances as compared with those arising out of the disparity in age of his pupils. The youngest was Charlotte Clark, four years of age, while the eldest, William Joseph Snelling, was about twenty and^{49.} had probably seen more of life than his teacher. Besides these two, the class included Henry Josiah Jr. and Mary Snelling, Malcom Clark, John and Andrew Tully, and James Hamilton.

Marsh hung on for two years. After his departure, the task of instructing the children fell to the officers' wives. The ladies of the post had classes of their own, studying French under the tutelage of an officer^{50.} formerly in the service of Napoleon Bonaparte.

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

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

The venture was successful. Reaching its destination on May 10, the Virginia was greeted with booming cannon, as crowds of visiting Indians fled in terror at sight of the forbidding "monster of the waters." The safe arrival of the Virginia was an event of outstanding importance in the development of the Northwest. It opened an easier avenue of trade, and removed the greatest natural obstacle to immigration.
52.

In the east, Major Taliaferro had met a dashing young Italian exile, Giacomo Beltrami. Beltrami County later was named after him. The young Italian, having developed a deep interest in the new Northwest, decided to accompany the Indian agent back to Fort St. Anthony on the Virginia. When Major Stephen Long reached the fort in July with an expedition sent to explore the Red River country, Beltrami secured permission to go with him to Pembina. Taliaferro gave his young friend provisions for the journey and a "noble steed, Cadmus," to ride. Beltrami, though, was tempermental. Falling out with Major Long, he left the party and returned to the fort, arriving on September 15 with several Indians but minus Cadmus.
53.

51. Peterson, William J., Steamboating on the Mississippi, The Water Way to Iowa, Iowa Historical Society, Iowa City, 1937, pp. 91, 162-163.

52. Neill, History of Hennepin County, p. 93.

53. "Auto-biography of Major Lawrence Taliaferro," Minnesota Historical Collections, vol. 6, p. 241.

Wives and sisters of officers, coming in on the Virginia, had raised the feminine contingent at the fort to a total of ten. This number soon increased. There were eighteen or twenty officers, and nearly all of them now brought their wives to the fort or married while there. The women formed an aristocratic and cultured group. Mrs. Plympton, "considered a belle in her day," brought the first piano to Minnesota. Weddings and other social events were made gay and festive occasions. Nor was religious life neglected. In the latter part of 1823, Mrs. Snelling and Mrs. Nathan Clark organized a Sunday school for the soldiers and their wives in the basement of the colonel's quarters. A Bible class for officers and their families aroused a great deal of interest and "furnished topics of conversation for the week." 54.

But polite society at the fort must have been shocked by the traders nearby. If, even in the wilderness, the fort observed proper conventions, those outside the gates did not always do so. Philander Prescott tells of his marriage in the following manner:

I began to think about getting Married after the Indian Manner. So I took ten Blankets one gun and 5 gallons of whiskey and a horse and went to the old chiefs lodge and laid them down and told the old people My Errand and went off home the third day I received word that My gifts had been accepted but the girl was bashful and did not like the idea of Marrying and I Must wait until they could get the girl reconciled to their wishes for her to Marry me . . . In a few days they Moved their tent up and camped Near My House and it was ten days . . . before I could get my wife . . . she came to be My wife or companion for as long as I choosed to live with her . . . little did I think at that time I Should [live] with her until old age . . . 56.

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54. Upham, Warren, "Women and Children of Fort St. Anthony," The Magazine of History, vol. 21, July 1915, pp. 32, 35-37.
55. Neill, F. P., History of Hennepin County, p. 95.
56. Prescott, Philander, Reminiscence of Prescott (Philander) Papers, p. 67, Minnesota Historical Society, Mss. Division, p. 67.

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

First official inspection of the fort was conducted by General Winfield Scott in the spring of 1824. Scott was treated to every honor and entertainment which the post could give. He stayed a week, visiting the Falls of St. Anthony and the chain of lakes nearby. Mrs. Snelling named one of the lakes, probably the present Cedar Lake in Minneapolis, Scott Lake in his honor.^{59.}

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57. Bromley, Edward A., "Old Government Mills at the Falls of St. Anthony," Minnesota Historical Collections, vol. 10, part 2, p. 636; Van Cleve, Charlotte, O., Three Score Years and Ten, p. 36. *Published by Carey Press*
58. Williams, J. Fletcher, "Reminiscences of Mrs. Ann Adams," Minnesota Historical Collections, vol. 6, p. 95.
59. Upham, Warren, "Women and Children of Fort St. Anthony," The Magazine of History, vol. 21, July 1915, p. 32.

General Scott was so impressed and gratified by the apparent efficiency and discipline which Snelling had introduced that he wrote the War Department suggesting the post be renamed in honor of his "old comrade," its

60. commanding officer. A general order to that effect was issued, and Fort St. Anthony became Fort Snelling.

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

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

Late in 1823 Philander Prescott, assistant sutler at the fort, entered a trading partnership with his brother. They erected a log trading house and began to deal in furs. Prescott remained in the trade for several years but was not successful.

60. Blegan, Theodore C., Minnesota History, vol. 18, no. 4, (footnote) p. 450.

61. Anonymous, Centennial History of Fort Snelling, 1820-1920, published by Post Exchange, 49th Infantry, Fort Snelling 1920, p. 6.

62. Anonymous "History of Fort Snelling, p. 10;" also Sibley, H. H., "Memoir of J. B. Faribault," Minnesota Historical Collections, vol. 3, p. 177.

Snelling grew restless in the peaceful years which followed completion of the fort. It was a dull time for men who had expected a frontier assignment to provide movement and action. Even the Indian troubles were unexciting, and discontent spread through the garrison.

Through boredom, some were driven to desert, although such an act was highly dangerous, since the Indians had been offered a reward of 20 dollars for every deserter they returned.^{63.} The number of deserters grew from ~~three~~³ in 1823 to twenty-nine in 1825.^{64.} Snelling adopted tighter discipline, but close confinement to quarters during the winter months and the highly restricted social life served only to increase the tension.

^{65.} Nerves were raw. Snelling grew quarrelsome and turned more and more to drinking, while dissension spread among the officers. Snelling's eldest son, William Joseph, accepting a challenge to a duel which his father had refused, lost a finger and was subsequently court-martialed.^{66.} Snelling himself agreed to fight a duel with Lieutenant Baxby, "to be fought at four paces with pistols . . . firing to continue until one of the parties is killed or disabled."^{67.} There is no record that this duel actually took place.

In 1827, supply boats bound for the fort were fired on by Indians near Prairie du Chien and several whites were killed. Snelling led an expedition downriver to suppress the uprising. But the foray furnished little excitement, as the Indians could not be found and the troopers returned

63. Bliss, Col. John, "Reminiscences of Fort Snelling," Minnesota Historical Collections, vol. 6, p. 245.

64. Neill, E. D., History of Hennepin County, p. 101.

65. Woodhall, Allen E., "William Joseph Snelling," Minnesota History, Sept. 1926, vol. 7, no. 3, pp. 371-372.

66. Neill, Edward D., History of Hennepin County, p. 97.

67. Dick, Helen Dunlap, "A Newly Discovered Diary of Colonel Snelling," Minnesota History, vol. 18, no. 4, p. 405.

without firing a shot. Disgusted, Snelling remarked that "Men of Straw with Wooden Guns and Swords" would serve the purposes of the fort as well as a
68.
regiment.

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

The Sioux did not object until it was revealed that two of the four executed had been innocent. Snelling was widely criticized, and open warfare between the whites and the Indians was averted only with difficulty. The Sioux took secret revenge. Several soldiers who disappeared were considered
69.
deserters until their mangled bodies were discovered.

68. Holt, Major John R., Historic Fort Snelling, p. 18.

69. Sibley, Henry H., "Reminiscences, Personal and Historical," Minnesota Historical Collections, vol. 1, pp. 475-478.

Published by the author 1938

old

Snelling's achievements at Fort Snelling are not to be overshadowed by the difficulties he experienced during the last years he experienced during the last years he spent there. To his family and friends he was kind and considerate, and Taliaferro found him a consistent supporter. On October 2, 1827, Snelling, with his wife, three children and a "female servant, Olympia," sailed on the steamboat Josephine to take over new duties at Jefferson Barracks, near St. Louis. In departing from the fort that bore his name, he was leaving his greatest achievement behind. A year later, at the age of 46, he died.^{70.}

As the number of traders increased, Taliaferro's troubles multiplied. It became almost impossible to allow trade and at the same time to keep liquor from the Indians. He was forced to consider desperate measures and finally wrote General William Clark asking that the trading location at St. Peter's be abolished. He said simply, "My reasons are good."^{71.} And apparently they were good, for only nine days later the council house of the agency was burned down, presumably fired by a drunken Indian.^{72.} Taliaferro's plea for closing the trading post was refused. He again barred all sales of whiskey and this time extended the ban to high wines.^{73.}

70. Dick, ~~Helen Dunlap~~, "A Newly Discovered Diary of Colonel Snelling," Minnesota History, vol. 18, no. 4, p. 405.

71. "Lawrence Taliaferro to General William Clark," August 5, 1830, Clark (Wm.) Papers, Abstract in Mss. Div., Minnesota Historical Society.

72. "Lawrence Taliaferro to General Clark," August 17, 1830; Clark (Wm.) Papers.

73. "Lawrence Taliaferro to Joseph Rolette, Alexis Bailly, Alex Culbertson, etc.," August 16, 1830; Clark (Wm.) Papers.

Large quantities of such wines were seized from traders. The American Fur Company fought back, asserting that the Mississippi River was a highway and not Indian country.⁷⁴ Alexis Bailly, a fur company representative, was responsible for most of Taliaferro's trouble. The other traders worked under his direction and bought their supplies from him. He constantly disregarded Taliaferro's warnings, until at last, the agent had to declare his trading license void.⁷⁵

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

Samuel and Gideon Pond, who arrived on the steamboat Warrior in the spring of 1834, were not among those who came to enjoy the beauty of the region. Their mission was to bring religion to the Indians. Major Bliss, then commandant at the fort, was not certain that the Ponds should be allowed to remain, but Taliaferro, who saw them as worthy helpers in his work among the Indians, desired them to stay.

Taliaferro meanwhile had established Eatonville, an Indian agricultural colony near Lake Calhoun. The Indians were enjoying some success there in raising corn, but they did not know how to plow. Samuel Pond was sent to Kaposia and Gideon to Eatonville. It was not long before the young Presbyterians had won the respect of the Indians. Eventually they established a mission station and school near Lake Calhoun.⁷⁶

74. "Jos. M. Street, Prairie du Chien, to Lewis Cass," October 1832; abstract from Street Papers in Iowa Historical Society, Mss. Div., Minn. Hist. Soc.

75. "John Bliss to Alexis Bailly," Sept. 20, 1834, Bailly (Alexis) Papers, Mss. Div., Minn. Hist. Soc.

76. Blegen, Theodore C., "The Pond Brothers," Minnesota History, vol. 15, no. 4, September 1934, pp. 273-275.

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The arrival of Henry Hastings Sibley in ^{the} St. Peter ^{is} settlement on November 7, 1834, as chief of all the affairs of the American Fur Company, was significant of the increasing trade of the northwest area. Sibley, impressed with the strategic value of the location, immediately assumed a position of leadership in the little settlement, populated by company clerks, agents, fur traders, interpreters and renegades. ^{77.} Although it was still semi-savage ^{78.} territory, Sibley established himself as a country gentleman. He had a large, dignified stone house built, and rode about the countryside on a great black horse, ^{79.} accompanied by a bodyguard of two French-Canadians.

On May 16, 1835, led by the Reverend Thomas S. Williamson, a missionary group under the auspices of the American Board of Foreign Missions arrived at the fort. Shortly after his arrival, Williamson officiated at the first wedding ceremony to be performed in Minnesota by a clergyman, joining Lieutenant E.A. Ogden in marriage to the daughter of Major Gustavus Loomis, an officer at the post.

Loomis, an extremely devout man, encouraged Williamson to organize a Presbyterian church. A group assembled for the first meeting in one of the company rooms of the fort. When the sermon was over, Loomis, Henry H. Sibley, Samuel W. Pond, and Alexander G. Huggins "were solemnly set apart to the office of Ruling Elders by ordination." ^{80.} The pastor ^{chose as his} text, was "For ye were as sheep going astray, but are ^{81.} now returned to the Shepherd and Bishop of your souls." These were the first services to be held by an organized Protestant church in the upper Mississippi valley.

77. "H.H. Sibley to Ramsey Crooks," Nov. 1, 1834, Sibley (H.H.) Papers, Mss. Div. Minnesota Historical Society.

78. "Agreement between H.H. Sibley and John Muller," Feb. 1836, Sibley (H.H.) Papers, Mss. Div., Minnesota Historical Society.

79. "Newspaper Clippings," Gordon (Hanford Lennox) Papers, May 9, 1892, Mss. Div. Minnesota Historical Society, vol. 2, p. 114.

80. Chronicle and Register, St. Paul, April 20, 1850

81. Neill, History of Hennepin County, p. 108.

Corrected by Mr. Macy
Read by Mr. O'Connell

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CHAPTER TWO

"The Uses of Piety . . ."

*Map of Snelling military reserve
see Folwell I, p. 424*



2

Chapter II

The Uses of Piety

CHAPTER II "THE USES OF PIETY . ."

By 1837 exploration in the great northwest was well advanced, and Fort Snelling, commanding the upper reaches of the Mississippi, was recognized as the established outpost of a steadily advancing frontier. Although the city of St. Paul was not yet dreamed of, ~~settlers, fixed with the thought of~~ ^{but newcomers who hoped to find} permanent home ~~building, rather than wilderness adventure,~~ ^{in the area} were filtering up the big stream. ^{already}

Since Pike's treaty there had been no exact definition of the military reserve of Fort Snelling. ~~These who had not settled within its environs~~ ^{Settlers had built homes near the fort} believed they could live permanently upon the farms they ~~had made,~~ ^{there} They had been "welcomed and aided" by the officers ^{in their plan to} and were permitted to build homes and

1. cultivate the fertile bottoms near the river.

Major Joseph Plympton, newly appointed commandant of Fort Snelling, attempted to determine the limit of ~~his reserve and the number of settlers.~~ ^{The} A survey revealed there were eighty-two whites at Baker's Settlement, and a cluster ^{near old Camp Cold Water,} and 75 others at various ^{fur trading stations in the military area,} of cabins around the large stone trading house of Benjamin F. Baker, a total of

2. 157 persons in no way connected with the garrison.

For military reasons Plympton decided these people must be removed. ^{In} He sent a letter to the adjutant general in Washington, ^{he} complaining that the squatters were responsible for the scarcity of fire wood. He received no orders for the ^{iv} removal, but was instructed to mark off the reservation according to his plans. ^{Later} He despatched a map to Washington, outlining the land which he considered strictly military reserve, ^{and then, without}

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

ing
~~Plympton~~ did not wait for further instructions. He issued an order prohibiting the erection of buildings or fences upon the reservation and restricted the cutting of timber to members of the garrison.

Some of the settlers sought to protect themselves by taking land beyond the established line of the reserve. During 1838 Abraham Perry and his family, formerly of the Selkirk colony, moved from the west river settlement *to the other side of the Mississippi* across the river. A short time earlier Pierre Parrant, a French-Canadian voyageur, *had* while employed by the American Fur Company, erected a makeshift shanty at the mouth of the little stream which issued from Fountain Cave. Fresh from the Missouri River country, he was attracted by the possibility of trading without the formality of government license or regulation. Both Parrant and Perry considered themselves ^{3.} outside the limits of the military reserve.

Until then, the land between the fort and the St. Croix River *had been* closed because it was Indian country. *now about* But this last barrier to settlement was *to be removed* in process of removal. A treaty with the Chippewa had been negotiated at Fort Snelling by Governor Henry Dodge of Wisconsin ⁱⁿ on July 29, 1837. Two months later Taliaferro led a group of Sioux chieftains to Washington where a similar treaty was signed. The major provision of both agreements was the opening of the land between the St. Croix and the Mississippi. ^{4.} *of their final ratification by the Senate* Ratified by the United States Senate, the news reached the fort in July of 1838, with the arrival of the steamboat, Palmyra.

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

4. A History of Minnesota, vol. 1, Folwell, William W., Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul, 1929, pp. 159-160.

Insert p 3

Speculators who had little interest in farming took due note of these events. Ratification of the Indian treaties was the signal for an excited scramble to appropriate strategic tracts of the newly opened land. Even Major Plympton, forgetting his strict attitude toward unauthorized settlement by other people, tried to lay personal claim to the power site at St. Anthony Falls. He was headed off by a sharpwitted newcomer, Franklin Steele, who invoked a law prohibiting the taking of land by officers.

Parrant lost ^{his} the property at Fountain Cave through ~~his~~ inability to pay a \$90 note held by Guillaume Beaumette. He moved to a bluff above the river near the present site of Robert Street. ^{But} Still extant and in the handwriting of General Sibley, who at that time was agent of the fur company at St. Peters, is the ~~historical~~ document wherein Parrant agreed to transfer to Beaumette his claim in case he defaulted. This ^{is} the oldest legal paper in existence relating to land in the city of St. Paul *reads as follows:*

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5. Pioneer & Democrat Weekly, St. Paul, April 28, 1859
 6. Neill, Edward D., and J. Fletcher Williams, History of Hennepin County and the City of Minneapolis, North Star Pub. Co., Minneapolis, 1881, p. 113.

Speculators with little interest in farming took due note of these events. Ratification of the ~~There was speculation in the wind, and it attracted men not interested in farming.~~ ^{was the signal for} The new Indian treaties began an excited scramble for ~~to appropriate~~ ^{to appropriate} ~~land considered strategic.~~ ^{land} Despite his strict attitude toward unauthorized settlement, Major Plympton attempted to claim ~~property near St. Anthony Falls,~~ ^{property near St. Anthony Falls,} until Franklin Steele, ~~a~~ ^{the} sharp-witted newcomer, invoked a law prohibiting ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~land-taking by officers.~~ ^{land-taking by officers.}

During this period (Joseph R. Brown, ~~one of~~ the pioneer Indian traders), made a claim near the upper end of Stillwater's future site, and Jesse B. Taylor, a stone mason at the fort, took over the ^{tract} ~~place~~ which later ~~became known~~ as Taylor's Falls. These properties were considered the only locations of any importance. ^{Nobody was interested in} (6) The future site of St. Paul, ~~apparently was thought to be of no value~~

Parrant lost ^{the} the property at Fountain Cave through ~~his~~ inability to pay a \$90 note held by Guillaume Beaumette. He moved to a bluff above the river near the present site of Robert Street. ^{But} Still extant and in the handwriting of General Sibley, who at that time was agent of the fur company at St. Peters, is the ~~historical~~ document wherein Parrant agreed to transfer to Beaumette his claim in case he defaulted. ~~This is~~ the oldest legal paper in existence, relating to land in the city of St. Paul. *reads as follows:*

5. Pioneer & Democrat Weekly, St. Paul, April 28, 1859
6. Neill, Edward D., and J. Fletcher Williams, History of Hennepin County and the City of Minneapolis, North Star Pub. Co., Minneapolis, 1881, p. 113.

St. Peters, 12th November, 1839

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

Witness:

A. M. Anderson
H. H. Sibley

His
Pierre X Parrant
Mark

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

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

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

His 7.
Pierre X Parrant
Mark

A wag of a later day has commented on Parrant's entry into St. Paul. "Upon this spot he laid the egg from which the city of St. Paul was hatched. He cut down the first tree, built the first house, and sold the first whiskey in the present capital of Minnesota . . . " 8

First settlers are usually honored, but Parrant is generally remembered ^{rather} for the abuse heaped upon him. As a frontier whiskey dealer, his trade brought him into ill repute with some members of the community. ^{Further than that,} In addition, his

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

8. Pioneer & Democrat Weekly, St Paul, April 28, 1859

personal appearance did not inspire confidence. One of ~~his~~ eyes bulged in white blindness, ^{which} From ~~this~~ he received the name, "Pig's Eye." Historians have painted Parrant darkly. One writer of the 1870's ^{asserted} ~~claimed~~ that his face " . . . so much resembled that of a pig as to suggest the name. He

was a low fellow . . . " ^{9. A landing place on the riverbank near his shanty took its name from him, and was known up and down the Mississippi as Pig's Eye Landing long before anyone even thought of calling it St. Paul.}

Other settlers followed Parrant ~~to the site of St. Paul.~~ ^{there}

The Gervais brothers, Benjamin and Pierre took up claims. A mysterious stranger who called himself Johnson paddled upstream and remained until rumor spread that the fort authorities were considering his arrest on charges of counterfeiting.

(Insert #1, starting on p. 8, here)

The settlers who remained near the fort were not undisturbed for long. ^{Persistent trafficking in liquor by a few of them was leading up to a ruthless general muster.} In April of 1839 John Emerson, post surgeon, reported to Washington that the fort was "completely inundated with ardent spirits." Emerson did not exaggerate the condition. Taliaferro noted in his journal that on a single day " . . . 47 soldiers were held in the guardhouse on charges of drunkenness.")

^{WIV} A huddle of traders' shacks a ^{short distance} ~~few miles~~ below the fort was the source of most of this illicit whiskey. Boats coming upstream would stop and unload cargoes of liquor there before proceeding to the fort. The situation grew more menacing when it was reported that a "citizen named Brown . . . was . . . actually building a very expensive whiskey shop within gunshot distance of the Fort . . ."

9. Andreas, A. T. (Editor) An Illustrated Historical Atlas of the State of Minnesota, Chicago, Ill., 1874, p. 225.

With the liquor traffic as ^{his principal argument} ~~an excuse~~, Plympton renewed his efforts to secure permission from the War Department to ^{expel the settlers from} ~~limit~~ the reserve. When Brigadier General John E. Wood inspected the post in June 1839, he despatched a letter to Washington, concurring with Plympton. ^{10.} Even this ~~effort~~, however, ^{did not} result in ~~no~~ immediate action. (*Resume at top of next page (7)*)

In the meantime another character came on the scene. Mathias Loras, pastor of Cathedral Church of Mobile, Alabama, was appointed first bishop of Dubuque. The new diocese included the present state of Iowa and that untamed stretch of land lying northward between the Mississippi and the Missouri Rivers.

Loras journeyed to France in the hope of securing missionaries to aid him in his difficult task. His appeal found a ready response. He returned to the United States accompanied by a group of young Frenchmen who had chosen to forego comfortable posts in their native land for the hardships ^{of} the American Northwest. Among them were Joseph Cretin, A. Pelamourgues, August Ravoux, and Lucien Galtier.

No H. To acquaint himself with the wild and sparsely settled diocese, Bishop Loras, with Father Pelamourgues and a young interpreter, visited Fort Snelling and St. Peters, ^{in late June of 1839}. As steamboats were not frequent on the upper river, the bishop found it necessary to return to Dubuque in a dugout "made of a single tree."^{11.}

10. Anonymous, Centennial History of Fort Snelling, 1820-1930, p. 13.

11. Hoffman, M.M. The Church Founders of the Northwest, Bruce Publishing Co., Milwaukee, Wis., 1937, pp. 117-127.

Chapt II 2
 Chapt II follows next & last 4 m.p. 10

the liquor issue became still more acute with the sudden resignation of Taliaferro. While the Indian agent had long been weary of bickering with traders and rum-sellers, and his decision to quit was the outcome of an outrageous life of the fort. Indian Agent Taliaferro resigned. A lone incident furnished attack by Henry Menck. A Sioux brave, charged with burglarizing Menck's the final impetus to his decision. The grog shop of Henry Menck was entered by grog shop, testified Indians. A Sioux brave charged that Taliaferro had incited the Indians and had instructed them to ^{break into} enter the tavern.

A short time afterwards
Later Taliaferro fell ill, and Menck, armed with an illegal sheriff's appointment, broke in the door of the ^{Taliaferro's} agent's house and placed the agent under arrest. Taliaferro asked ^{permission to} if he might not send a note to the commandant, informing the officer of his departure. For some reason Menck agreed ^{and} to this procedure and was thus outgeneraled. The note brought soldiers who expelled the whiskey trader from the reservation.

had had enough
But Taliaferro resigned. "I am disgusted with the life of an agent among such bad materials and bad management on the part of Congress" he wrote. The agent's stern incorruptibility had made him the target of trader and politician alike. The American Fur Company, perhaps the most powerful single factor in affairs of the Northwest frontier, considered him a dangerous man. He in turn disliked the fur company and felt that the Indian Office in Washington was "bending a listening ear to the agents" of the corporation. In any case he *had* found his relations with the Indians undermined and his work thwarted.

Resume with md # on p. 9.
Never again were the Indians to have so sincere a defender. Like many idealists who gravitated toward the frontier with men of action, Taliaferro saw his plans fail and his dreams crumble. Ordinary hardship meant little to him, but the frustration of his work was a disappointment he could not stand.

*Insert #1 -
shift to p. 5*

In the autumn of 1839 the little settlement that was to be St. Paul ~~was the scene of~~ ^{occurred in} a mysterious slaying. Three soldiers, Edward Phalen, John Hays and William Evans, decided to settle below Fountain Cave upon their discharge from the army. Phalen ^{the first to receive his discharge,} was discharged first. He agreed to hold a claim next to his own for Hays, who ^{expected} was expecting to return to civilian life the ^{following} next spring. Phalen selected a claim in a lonely spot fronting the river, and Hays ^{moved in with him} on leaving the army. A persistent rumor was soon afoot that the two men were not on a completely friendly ^{terms} basis. ^{13.}

In September Hays disappeared. A few days later, an Indian reported that his sons had located a body in the river near Carver's Cave. Soldiers ^{recovered the body} were led to the spot, and Henry H. Sibley, justice of the peace, issued a warrant for the arrest of Phalen, charging him with murder in the first degree. The surly prisoner was sent to Crawford County prison in Prairie du Chien to await trial. ^{14.}

Opinion at St. Peters and Fort Snelling was prejudiced against Phalen, but authorities at Prairie du Chien ^{found the evidence} did not feel there was sufficient ^{to establish} evidence of guilt. The case was dismissed.

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

Continued - Insert #1

When Phalen returned, he found Vital Guerin in possession of Hays' claim. He ^{undertook} ~~threatened~~ to remove the little Frenchman by force. Guerin, however, ^{enlisted the support of several} ~~rounded up some~~ husky voyageurs who threatened to throw Phalen over the bluff into the river.

(Resume here from p. 7)

The letters and official reports, which had come to his desk during a period of two years, finally prompted Secretary of War, J. R. Poinsett to order expulsion of all settlers on the reserve. Instructions ^{to that effect} were sent Marshall Edward James of Wisconsin Territory who delegated the authority to his deputy at Prairie du Chien, Ira B. Brunson.

Plympton was ^{highly gratified} ~~pleased by the~~ order. ^{Liquor had} ~~His attitude toward the~~ settlers had always been severe. The liquor traders had been responsible for weakening the discipline of the garrison and ^{at the fort} ~~had~~ caused ^{much} trouble among the Indians. The situation might easily have become dangerous, but it was not this problem. ^{There is evidence, though, that the whiskey menace was not wholly responsible for} ~~which prompted the attitude of the military.~~ Samuel C. Stambaugh, sutler at the fort, suggested that a desire for land control may have been a ^{more} ~~more~~ important factor. ^{Only a} ~~But few of the settlers~~ ^{was selling liquor} ~~sold whiskey,~~ and the ^{traffic} ~~menace~~ could have been easily controlled by destroying the grog shops and expelling those who kept them.

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

~~Deputy Marshall~~ Brunson, the Prairie du Chien deputy, arrived in April 1840 and immediately ordered the settlers to remove themselves and their possessions from the reservation. ^{when} ~~The decree was met with indifference.~~ ^{went unheeded,}

~~Soldiers~~ were sent out and the cabins were emptied of goods and burned before their bewildered and helpless owners.

are conflicting stories
There is ~~some disagreement~~ regarding the details of the

expulsion. A memorial presented to Congress stated that " . . . the soldiery fell upon them without warning, treated them with unjustifiable rudeness, broke and destroyed furniture wantonly, insulted the women, and in one or two instances, fired at and killed cattle." ^{on the other hand,}

^{16. any event,} ^{17.} ~~But the eviction was thorough.~~ ^{A witness of the scene makes no mention of personal violence.} ^{The boundaries of the military reserve, as defined by Plympton, embraced several square miles north and east of the Mississippi, so that moved to the eastern shore to escape military restrictions, found themselves homeless.} ^{across the river}

Thus, because of the misconduct of ^{a few} ~~four~~ settlers, some forty or fifty families were forced to build new homes ^{on the northeasterly side of the Mississippi} ~~east of the river on the~~ ^{and outside the Plympton boundary} St. Paul site. Upon such thin strands ^{hung} ~~rest~~ the beginnings of ^{the} city of St. Paul.

(Insert #2 - p. 6 - here) → Due to the lack of available men, Bishop Loras was unable

to send a priest to the fort for almost a year. He was reminded of his promise in the ^{Spring of 1840 when the} ^{upriver} ^{of the season arrived at Dubuque,} ~~finally by the arrival of the first boat in Dubuque bound up river in that year.~~

16. Hansen, Marcus L., Old Fort Snelling, pp. 194-196, 246.

17. Newson, T. M., Pen Pictures of St. Paul, p. 19; also see Pioneer of St. Paul, p. 19.

On less than an hour's notice,

the boat and departed

On less than an hour's notice, Father Lucien Galtier took passage on the boat and departed up the river to found a mission in the Fort Snelling area.

A Catholic historian describes Galtier as "a man of great decision of character, with a strong cast of countenance, large mouth and overshadowing eyebrows. His head sat upon his shoulders like a military chieftain's." ⁽¹⁸⁾ These qualities were to stand the new priest in good stead, as he was destined to meet hardship and discouragement during his stay. For a month he lived with an interpreter, Scott Campbell. Then he secured a separate room, which served in turn as kitchen, parlor and chapel. He built a little altar of rough boards, which was closed by a white canopy when not in use. ⁽¹⁹⁾ He continued here for more than a year, giving his farflung congregation such service as limited travel facilities would permit. Returning from a visit to a number of families who had settled near St. Croix Lake, he fell desperately ill of "billious fever and ague".

During his illness Galtier gave much thought to the location of a permanent chapel. Eventually he chose the nameless little downriver community which had been formed by the settlers expelled from the Snelling reserve. Situated within easy reach of St. Peters, it was the nearest point, outside the reservation, to the head of transportation on the Mississippi. ⁽²⁰⁾ Benjamin Gervais and Vital Guerin donated land for a church and a small graveyard, and ⁽²¹⁾

18. McNulty, Ambrose, The Chapel of St. Paul and the Beginnings of the Catholic Church in Minnesota, Minnesota History Collections, vol. 10, Part 1, St. Paul, 1906, p. 235.

19. Rev. L. Galtier, vol. 1, no. 2, July 1918, p. 185.

less than an hour's notice, took passage on the boat and departed
~~within the hour~~ Father Lucien Galtier was despatched to take up duties near the post.
the river to found a mission near Fort Snelling

The priest found hardships and difficulty, but he was equal to his undertaking. "His "remarkable personality" impressed all who came near him and won the respect of both Catholic and Protestant. He was described as a man of great decision of character, with a strong cast of countenance, large mouth and overshadowing eyebrows. His head sat upon his shoulders like a military chieftain's . . ."

18.

For a month Galtier lived with an interpreter, Scott Campbell. When he secured a separate room, which was in turn a kitchen, a parlor and chapel. He built a little altar of rough boards which was closed by a white canopy when not in use. Under these trying conditions he continued for more than a year, ministering to his flock.

19.

Galtier attempted to serve all of his far-flung congregation as ably as time and limited travel facilities would permit. He visited a number of families who had recently settled near St. Croix Lake. Upon his return he became desperately ill, with "billious fever and the ague."

During his illness Galtier devoted his thoughts to the location of a permanent chapel. Eventually he chose the little nameless downriver community which had been formed by the expulsion. It was within easy reach of

18. McNulty, Ambrose, The Chapel of St. Paul and the Beginnings of the Catholic Church in Minnesota, Minnesota History Collections, vol. 10, Part 1, St. Paul, 1906, p. 236.

19. Rev. L. Galtier, vol. 1, no. 2, July 1918, p. 185.

St. Peters and was the nearest point, outside the reservation, to the head of transportation on the Mississippi. ^{20.} Benjamin Gervais and Vital Guerin donated ^{21.} sufficient land for a church and a small graveyard.

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

The work, done by volunteer labor, was completed within a few days at a cost of sixty-five dollars. ^{Only the rudest of tools were available.} The finishing was rough due to a lack of tools. Logs were ^{roughly finished} ~~poorly~~ out, having been hewn out with a broad axe, and the whole structure was fitted together with wooden pins. The completed chapel was twenty-five feet long and eighteen feet wide. There was a single window on each side and an entrance facing the river. A simple wooden cross topped the roof. ^{22.}

On November 1, 1841, a congregation of about a dozen, most of whom had helped in the construction, gathered to witness the consecration of the rude new "basilica," which reminded Galtier of the "stables of Bethlehem . . . as well adapted to the uses of piety as any church in the world." ^{23.}

29. Hoffman, M.M. Church Founders of the Northwest, p. 158.

21. Ireland, Rev. John, Memoir of Lucien Galtier, p. 227.

22. McNulty, Ambrose, The Chapel of St. Paul and the Beginnings of the Catholic Church in Minnesota, p. 235.

23. Ireland, Rev. John, Memoir of Lucien Galtier, p. 227.

St. Peters had not yet been renamed Mendota, and since the
" . . . name of Paul is generally connected with that of Peter," Galtier
dedicated the new chapel to the Apostle Paul. "St. Paul, as applied to a
town or city, was well appreciated," Galtier declared. "The monosyllable
24.
 . . . sounds good, it is understood by all Christian denominations."
The log building with the cross was almost the only landmark of the community,
and the place began to be called St. Paul's landing. Soon this was shortened
to St. Paul's, and then to St. Paul.

Father Augustin Ravoux, who had accompanied Galtier from
France, arrived at St. Peters in 1841 and remained a few days with his friend.
He visited ^{several} ~~some~~ small settlements in the region and spent some time among the
Indians of Chaska, a small trading station. He came to St. Peters again a
year later, and this time remained in charge of the mission while Galtier
25.
visited Catholics at Lake Pepin and on the Chippewa River.

end *W.H.*
Ravoux's services were nearly brought to a tragic
~~conclusion~~ one evening when he was awakened by an alarming crash. The main
beam of Galtier's house had cracked. Although the building collapsed, Ravoux
managed to escape without serious injury. Upon Galtier's return Ravoux departed
for Chaska, where he planned to establish a permanent mission among the Indians.

24. Rev. L. Galtier, to Rt. Rev. Thomas L. Grace, Bishop of St. Paul, Prairie
du Chien, Jan. 14, 1864.

25. Sibley, H. H., Reminiscences of Early Days in Minnesota, Minnesota History
Collections, vol. 2, St. Paul, 1880, p. 242.

When Galtier decided to move out of the military reservation and make his home in
Galtier now found it necessary to move from the fort side to St. Peters. J. B. Faribault offered him a small house which he arranged as temporary living quarters, *with up* and a makeshift chapel. *from here* With this as headquarters, he visited St. Paul regularly and made frequent trips to the settlements along the St. Croix. He soon found it inappropriate that the smaller and less important community of St. Paul should have a chapel while St. Peters had none. Lumber was secured in Chippewa Falls, and work began on the first church in St. Peters.

Galtier describes a Christmas celebration which took place about this time:

"As usual I celebrated mass . . . before the Holy Sacrifice began, all seats were taken, and it was with difficulty that one could make his way through the midst of the crowd. Officers, soldiers, Protestant gentlemen of the vicinity, and a great number of Catholic Canadians from St. Croix, Lake Pepin, St. Paul, and the Falls of St. Anthony were present at the ceremony. Some musicians had come from the Falls of St. Croix, about sixty miles from St. Peters, to add to the festive spirit of the celebration. The sanctuary was lighted with a great number of candles, which gave a charmingly radiant light; it was heightened by the draperies . . . and a garland of greens, in the form of a triumphal arch, which extended from the entrance of the sanctuary to the communion table. In the center hung a chandelier surmounted by twelve tapers, representing the twelve apostles. On one side in the front row were the musicians with their instruments; on the other the children who were making their first communion, each holding a lighted candle and wearing a white veil. Everyone paid good attention and derived much benefit. The singing began at half past eleven and . . . the number of communicants was very satisfactory. I had three who came 30 miles in order to have the blessing of approaching the holy banquet. The feast was beautiful and made us forget the many difficulties, setbacks and sorrows experienced. 26.

By 1843 quite a number of settlers had taken up residence at the site of St. Paul. Michel LeClaire was *there and* among the first. Mousseau *who had* settled on the point of the bluff. *where?* Among others whom Edmund Brisette recalls are: *was:*

26. Some Early Galtier Letters, Minnesota History, vol. 19, no. 2, June 1938, p. 191.

Antoine LeCount and his wife, Francis Battiset, Joseph and Isaac LaBissoniere,

Charetto, Cornoyer, Gammel and Bazille. There were ^{not many white} fewer women than men on the frontier and because of this it is probable that the Perry family of ^{the bachelors of St. Paul saw to it that the} Abraham Perry ^{as yet} did not pine away for six daughters ^{of Abraham Perry} was made welcome in St. Paul by the eligible bachelors. ^{lack of company}

The French-Canadians ^{Hoping no doubt to forget the hardships of the immediate past, they} who made up the larger share of St. Paul's early population, ^{burdened by over-much hardship in the past, now} revived some of the ^{gay} ways of the life they had known in ^{revived some of the gay ways of the life they had known in} tried to recreate the life which they remembered from their native land. When

Vital Guerin married Adele Perry, a party of friends accompanied them to St.

Peters for the ceremony. On their return Benjamin Gervais opened his cottage

to the whole settlement. There was dancing and music. Denny Cherrier "fiddled

that night until he was exhausted." ^{28.} The party was a typical one of many. ^{To stage a feast or celebration, the settlers seized eagerly upon every pretext. Earlier privations were only a memory, and for a time even the} weather man smiled, ^{The life of a typical settler was summed up in a few words} according to the recollections of

Edmund Brisette: "In the year 1843 Indian Summer lasted until Christmas.

I dug potatoes until near Jan. 1. Wolves and foxes plenty. Dances frequent.

29.

Pork \$8 a barrel."

^{stern and unbending} Galtier was never in full sympathy with the ^{settlers} ^{of his neighbors} attempts to relieve the drabness of their lives. During his last months at St. Peters he was in despair, believing that his work promised no permanent result.

He wrote Bishop Loras on January 6, 1844:

A large number of soldiers have become members of the temperance society; but to offset that good, since a few days before Christmas there have been saturnalian orgies, or drinking bouts, almost continuously, particularly on the St. Paul side. Tomorrow I expect to threaten them with God's anger, if they do not return to their duty. A priest is absolutely necessary at that place. Monseigneur can assure himself of that by the details already given.

28. William J. Fletcher, A History of the City of St. Paul, and County of Ramsey, p. 105.

29. "Reminiscences of Edmund Brisette," Williams (John Fletcher) Papers, Mss. Division, Minnesota Historical Society.

Galtier ^{confessed he was} ~~even declared himself as~~ not anxious to have charge of these men any longer. "Otherwise I must always be among them," he reasoned, "studying them and altering them by the grace of God. But the work is hard, it would be easier to work a miracle and raise the dead than to convert drunkards." 30. Soon after writing this letter Galtier left to take up his new appointment. *What new appointment?*

Father Augustin Ravoux now took over Galtier's work. He states his duties simply. "After the departure of Father Galtier from Mendota, I had under my charge his mission; viz: Mendota, St. Paul, Lake Pepin, Lake St. Croix and the surrounding districts." 31. Ravoux at first planned to remain at this mission only temporarily, until Loras might send another priest from Dubuque. But Loras, as always, had more demands made upon him than he could fill, and 32. Ravoux found it necessary to stay on indefinitely.

When Galtier departed on the 25th of May, 1844, he felt ^{the} that his mission at St. Peters and St. Paul was a "yet barren field" but he ^{found himself leaving} ~~noted that he left it~~ "neither without regret nor without friends." 33. ~~His devotion~~

~~But~~ Lucien Galtier was a perfectionist. To call the St. Paul parish still a barren field, after four years of devoted service, was unduly pessimistic. He greatly undervalued his own influence, for we know today that the rough-hewn sills of the little chapel Galtier built in 1841 were in a very real sense the foundations of ~~the St. Paul Bishopric~~ a bishopric.

ST. PAUL'S HUNDRED YEARS

the biography of a city

chapter two

"THE USES OF PIETY"

Harlan R. Crippen

JULY 1940

chapter two

THE USES OF PIETY

Bad

Exploration advances with labored hesitation until one day the subtle magnet of the land's promise charges and quickens the purposes of men. Ambition fires blood stirred before by adventure - infecting with selfishness or infusing with ^{an} ~~some~~ ideal. Some men visions the future or hopes greatly, a treaty is broken or a river crossed, and the thing is done. A year enlarges with new significance, and meaning informs the careless movement of decades. Events gather momentum.

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

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

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

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

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

Some of the settlers sought to protect themselves by taking land beyond the supposed lines of the reserve. Sometime during 1838 Abraham Perry and his family, formerly of the Selkirk colony, moved across the river. In August of the previous year the Perrys had been listed as residents of the west river settlement, while in October 1838¹ Mrs. Perry complained that Indians had slaughtered three of her cattle near Fountain Cave, which was on the east side of the river.^{3.}

Pierre Parrant, a French-Canadian voyageur, formerly employed

2. Hansen, Marcus L., Old Fort Snelling, pp. 189-191

3. Neill, Edward D., "Occurrences in and Around Fort Snelling," Minnesota Historical Collections, Volume 2, St. Paul, Reprint 1889. pp. 48-51

Construction had.

By the American Fur Company, some time before, had^x erected a make-shift shanty at the mouth of the little stream which issued from Fountain Cave. Returning from the Missouri river country he had been attracted by the possibility of settling down and trading without the formality of government licence and regulation. Perry and Parrant both considered themselves safely outside the limits of the

4.

military reserve.

Until this time the land between the Fort and the St. Croix river had been closed due to the Indian claim upon it. This last barrier to settlement was in process of removal. A treaty with the Chippewa had been negotiated at Fort Snelling by Governor Henry Dodge of Wisconsin on July 29, 1837. Two months later, Taliaferro had led a group of Sioux chieftains to Washington where a similar treaty was entered into with that tribe. Stripped of detail, the major provision of both agreements was the opening of the land between the St. Croix

5.

and the Mississippi. These treaties were ratified by the U. S. Senate on June 15, 1838, and the news reached the Fort in July, with the arrival of the steamboat Palmyra.

There was the ^{and it}scant of speculation in the wind, which caught the nostrils of certain men who were not interested in such a humble occupation as farming. The ratification of the Indian treaties precipitated an excited scramble for claims on tracts of land then considered strategic. Major Plympton, strangely enough in view of his strict attitude towards unauthorized settlement, attempted to claim land near St. Anthony's Falls; but Franklin Steele, a sharp-witted newcomer with powerful connections, invoked the law prohibiting the taking of land by

6.

officers and secured control of the waterpower for himself. Joseph R.

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

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

Parrant lost the property at Fountain Cave through his in-
 ability to pay a ninety dollar note held by Guillaume Beaumette and
 moved, in 1838, to a bluff above the river near the present Robert Street.
 The cabin which he built at that place was the first structure of the
 future St. Paul.

First settlers are usually honored but Parrant is remembered
 only for the abuse heaped upon him. As a frontier whiskey dealer his
 trade brought him into ^mwild disrepute with some members of the community;
 in addition to that, his personal appearance was little calculated to
 inspire confidence. One of his eyes ^{bulged} blugged out in marbly blue-white
 blindness; from this he received the unpleasant name of "Pig's Eye."
 Colorful villains are rare in Minnesota history and, since his occupation
 and appearance lend themselves to the role, writers have colored Parrant
 darkly. In tales twisted and enlarged in the telling the fat, half-blind,
 old trader has become a legendary horror. One writer of the 1870's
 garbled accounts to claim that Parrant's face "so much resembled that of
 a pig as to suggest the name. He was a low fellow"^{9.} Another
 reported that Parrant's whiskey was "a horrible liquid, which, by its
 virulent concitation of the mucous membrane inflamed all the passions,"
 and that "shrieks of Women and Children, mingled with yells of demons,
 and the howling of dogs, added the terrors of hearing to the appalling

7. Neill, Edward D., and Williams, J. Fletcher, History of Hennepin
 County and The City of Minneapolis, North Star Pub. Co. Minneapolis, 1881

sights enacted in Pig's Eye Pandemonium'.^{10.} The whiskey may have been bad, but its strength was usually diluted by generous additions of river water; the "appalling sights," unhappily for writers overdoing the picturesque, were probably fictitious. A. L. Larpenteur, one of St. Paul's earliest settlers, takes issue with the defamers of Parrant. "I knew him well; he was no worse than any of the pioneers at that time, and if his only crime was selling whiskey to the Indians, they all did it; and the American Fur Company, under another name, sold ten barrels^{11.} where the other poor fellow sold one."

Other settlers soon followed Parrant to the site of St. Paul. The Gervais brothers, Benjamin and Pierre, and three discharged soldiers, Evans, Hays and Phalen, took up claims. James R. Clewett, who later married a daughter of Abraham Perry, erected a cabin. A mysterious stranger, who called himself Johnson, came up the river and remained until a rumor that the Fort authorities were considering his arrest on charges of counterfeiting caused him to disappear.^{12.} Ben Gervais purchased Parrant's second claim for ten dollars, and the whiskey seller moved near the river on the lower landing, a point more accessible to his customers.^{13.}

The settlers who remained near the Fort were not undisturbed for long. In April 1839, John Emerson, post surgeon, reported to Washington that the Fort was "completely inundated with ardent spirits... I feel^{14.} grieved to witness such scenes of drunkenness and dissipation..." Emerson did not exaggerate the condition. Taliaferro notes in his journal that on a single day, June 3, 1839, forty-seven soldiers were

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8. Upham, Warren and Dunlap, Rose Barteau, "Minnesota Biographies, 1855-1912," Minnesota History Collections, Vol. 14, St. Paul, 1912. Page 769.
 9. Andreas, A. T. (Editor), An Illustrated Historical Atlas of the State of Minnesota, A. T. Andreas, Chicago, Ill., 1874 Page 225.
 10. Hankins, Col., Dakota Land or the Beauty of St. Paul, Hankins and Son N. Y. 1868, Page 33.
 11. Elfelt, Charles D., "Early Trade and Traders in St. Paul," Minnesota Collections, Vol. 9, St. Paul, 1901. Page 164.
 12. Newson, T. M., Pen Pictures of St. Paul and Biographical Sketches of Settlers. Published by the Author, St. Paul, 1886. Page 16.

held in the guardhouse on charges of drunkenness. Some of the Soldiers remained away from quarters for several days causing "much annoyance to the commanding officer."^{15.}

A huddle of trader's shacks, a few miles below the Fort, was the source of most of the illicit whiskey. Boats coming up stream would stop and unload their cargoes of liquor before proceeding to the Fort. The prospect grew more menacing when it was reported that a "citizen named Brown" was "actually building ... within gunshot distance of the Fort, a very expensive whiskey shop." On April 14, 1839, the Ariel, first boat up the river that season, unloaded twenty barrels of whiskey at Brown's new groggery. On May 21, the Glaucus delivered six barrels of whiskey to David Faribault.^{16.} Among other whiskey traders were Henry C. Menck, Donald McDonald and Jim Thompson. Pierre Parrant dealt principally in liquor, though he also carried a small stock of powder, shot^{17.} and other necessities for traders.

With the excuse of a fight against the liquor traffic, Plymton renewed his efforts to secure permission from the War Department in Washington for the limitation of the reserve. Apparently his view impressed others; officials at the Fort agreed with him, and Brigadier General John E. Wood, who inspected the post in June 1839, despatched a letter to Washington on the 28th of that month concurring with Plymton.^{18.} Even this effort resulted in no immediate action.

In the meantime events prepared entry for another who was, in the course of his duty, to aid in the making of the city. Mathias Loras, pastor of Cathedral Church at Mobile, Alabama, had been appointed first Bishop of Dubuque in 1837. The new diocese included the present state of Iowa and the untamed stretch of land lying northward between the Mississippi and Missouri rivers. Upon appointment Loras had journeyed

13. Fairchild, Henry S., "Sketches of the Early History of Real Estate in St. Paul," Minnesota History Collections, Vol.10, Part one, St. Paul, Page 411

play words!

to France in hope of securing missionaries to aid in his difficult task. He visited the Grand Seminaire of Puy and, stirred by the great need, delivered an effective plea to the assembled seminarians. His appeal found a ready response. Loras returned to the United States during the early winter of 1838, accompanied by ^a ~~the~~ group of young Frenchmen who had chosen to forego comfortable posts in their native land for the hardships which, they believed, awaited them in the American Northwest. Among them were Joseph Cretin, A. Pelamourgues, Augustin Ravoux and Lucian Galtier. ^{19.} Ravoux and Galtier completed their studies at Emmitsburg College in Maryland and, on January 5, 1840, were ordained ^{20.} to the priesthood in Dubuque.

To acquaint himself with the wild and sparsely-settled diocese, Bishop Loras, accompanied by Father Pelamourgues and a young interpreter, visited Fort Snelling and St. Peter's in late June of 1839. The population in and near the Fort included many Catholics, and since they had ^{there had not} ~~been~~ ^{among them} not seen a priest for many years, ~~much less a bishop~~, there were a number of marriages to be celebrated and baptisms to be performed. Loras wrote that the "Catholics of St. Peter's amounted to 185, fifty six of whom we baptized, administered confirmation to eight, and gave nuptial benediction to four couples." This number must have included refugees from the Selkirk colony, traders settled around St. Peter's and soldiers of the garrison, as well as traders from widely scattered areas on their annual visit to headquarters.

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14. Anonymous, Centennial History of Fort Snelling, 1820-1920, The Post Exchange, 49th Infantry, Fort Snelling, Minn., 1920. Page 13.
 15. "Rev. L. Galtier to Rt. Rev. Thomas L. Grace, January 14, 1864." Acta Et Dicta, Vol. 1, No. 2, July 1918, Page 186.
 16. Neill, E. D., History of Hennepin County, Page 103
 17. Holcombe, R. L., Minnesota In Three Centuries, 1655 -1908, Free Press Printing Co., Mankato, Minn. 1908. pp. 82-84
 18. Anonymous, Centennial History of Fort Snelling, 1820-1920, Page 13
 19. Ravoux, Augustin, Reminiscences, Memoirs and Lectures of Msgr. A. Ravoux, V. G., Brown, Tracy and Company, St. Paul, 1890. pp. 86-88.
 20. Ireland, Rev. John "Memoir of Lucian Galtier," Minnesota History Collections, Volume 3, St. Paul, 1880, Page 223.
 21. Note, Minnesota History, Vol. VIII, No. , 1927, Page 39.

During Loras' stay at St. Peter's another small group of immigrants arrived from the Selkirk colony. It was said that "their intention was to look for land and above all for a Catholic Church." The land near the Fort appealed to them and when Loras promised that a priest would be stationed in the area before a year had passed, they decided to remain and build themselves homes. As steamboats were not frequent on the upper river, the Bishop found it necessary to return to Dubuque in a dugout "made of a single tree." His hands were blistered and sore when the trip was over - but he felt more than rewarded by the knowledge of ^{what he had} ~~of his achievement~~. 22.

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

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

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

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22. Hoffman, M. M., The Church Founders of the Northwest, Bruce Publishing Company, Milwaukee, Wis. 1937. pp. 117-127.
 23. Taliaferro, Lawrence, "Auto-biography of Major Lawrence Taliaferro," Minnesota History Collections, Vol. 6, St. Paul, 1894. Page 227.

His despair may be judged from his belief that "the time would come when all my efforts to do good would pass into oblivion and the nationality of the noble Sioux be completely destroyed."^{23.}

Little was required to ^{bring about} ~~determine~~ Taliaferro's decision to resign. An incident in the autumn of 1839 furnished the final impetus. On September 9th the grog shop of Henry C. Menck was entered by Indians. On the 23rd of that month Bad Hail, a Sioux brave, charged that Taliaferro had incited the Indians and had instructed them to enter Menck's establishment "with a view to take by force from said house a quantity of Spiritous liquor therein contained."^{24.}

Soon after, Taliaferro fell ill. On October 5, Menck, in possession of an illegal appointment as a special deputy sheriff of Clayton County, Iowa, broke in the door of Taliaferro's house and placed the Indian Agent under arrest. Menck threw the sick man to the floor and, nudging a pistol in his ribs, said that he would be taken to the Clayton County jail despite his condition. Taliaferro apparently acquiesced, but asked if he might send a note to the ^acommandant, informing the officer of his sudden departure. Menck, for some reason, allowed Taliaferro's message to be sent. The note brought soldiers, who expelled the whiskey trader from the reservation.^{25.}

Taliaferro soon resigned. "I am disgusted with the life of an agent among such bad materials and bad management on the part of Congress - - The Indian Office &c&c," he wrote. He found some consolation in the fact that he was leaving "the public service as poor as when I first entered it ... the only evidence of my integrity."^{26.}

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In the autumn of 1839, the crude little settlement that was to be St. Paul became the scene of a mysterious slaying. Three soldiers, Edward Phalen, John Hays and William Evans, had decided to settle below Fountain Cave

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24. Deposition before H. H. Sibley by Angus Anderson and Alexander Faribault, undated, Sibley, H. H., Papers, Mss. Div., Minn. Historical Society.
 25. Neill, E. D., "Occurrence In and Around Fort Snelling," pp. 54-55.

upon their discharge from the army. Phalen, a hulking six-footer of "not the most enviable character," was discharged on June 8, 1838. He agreed to hold a claim next to his own for Sergeant Hays, who was expecting his discharge in April 1839. Phalen selected a claim in a lonely spot fronting on the river, and when Hays left the army he moved in with Phalen until such time as he could build a cabin of his own. For some time the two men lived together. Both were Irish and must have found life lonely in a settlement where French was almost the only language. Phalen was regarded with distrust by the other settlers but Hays was well liked. A persistent rumor was soon afoot that the two men did not live together on a completely friendly basis.^{27.}

In September Hays disappeared and was never again seen alive. Taliaferro but recorded prevailing opinion when he wrote in his diary, "I incline to the opinion that his neighbor, Phalen, knows something, Hays lived with him and had money...." On September 27th, Wabsheedah, an Indian, reported that his sons had located a body in the river near Carver's cave. Soldiers were led to the spot and there, the head horribly battered, was the half-submerged body of Hays. Henry H. Sibley, as Justice of Peace, issued a warrant for the arrest of Phalen, charging him with murder in the first degree. The surly prisoner was sent to Crawford County prison in Prairie du Chien,^{28.} where he awaited trial.

Although opinion at St. Peter's and Fort Snelling was much prejudiced against Phalen, the authorities at Prairie du Chien did not feel that there was sufficient evidence of guilt. The case was discharged by the grand jury at the spring assizes.

When Phalen returned he found Vital Guerin in possession of the Hays claim which he had hoped to add to his own holdings. He blustered

26. Folwell, W. W., A History of Minnesota, Volume One, Page 142.

27. Williams, J. Fletcher, "A History of the City of St. Paul and of the County of Ramsey," Minnesota History Collections, Vol. 4, St. Paul, 1876. p p. 68-72.

28. Williams, J. Fletcher, "A History of the City of St. Paul etc. ", Page 91. also Neill, "Occurrence in And Around Fort Snelling." pp. 140-141.

against the little Frenchman and threatened to remove him by force if necessary. Guerin rounded up some husky voyageurs who threatened to throw Phalen over the bluff into the river if he persisted in his threats. Phalen calmed down after this unexpected show of strength, and later took another claim on the creek which now bears his name.

The riddle of St. Paul's first murder remains unsolved. A mass of conflicting evidence, opinion and personal bias remains. An early historian of the city held the opinion that "here is then, no alternative left, but to record Phalen as the murderer of Hays."^{29.} On the other hand a respected early citizen, A. L. Larpenteur, who knew Phalen personally, stated emphatically, "He never killed Hays; the Indians have told me since that Hays was not killed by Phalen. They spoke to me as though they knew who did kill him ... Old Phalen was human. He took his toddy, too, but he would not injure a hair of your head..."^{30.}

The letters and official reports which had been more or less regularly aimed at his desk for a period of two years finally caused Secretary of War J. R. Poinsett to order expulsion of all settlers on the reserve. Instructions for the removal were forwarded on October 1, 1839 to Marshall Edward James of Wisconsin Territory, who was instructed to act with "as much forbearance, and consideration, and delicacy as may be consistent with the prompt and faithful performance of the duties hereby assigned to you." James delegated the authority to his deputy at Prairie du Chien, Ira B. Brunson .^{31.}

Plympton was happy at the order which now permitted his wishes to be carried out. His attitude towards the settlers, which cannot be fully explained, seemed always unreasonably severe. The liquor sellers had unquestionably been responsible for weakening the discipline of the garrison, and had caused trouble among the Indians. The situation might easily have become dangerous, but there is reason to believe that it was not this problem alone which prompted the unrelenting attitude of the military. Samuel C. Stambaugh, sutler at the Fort, hinted that a desire for control of certain

lands may have been a most important motive. It is a fact that only a small minority of the settlers sold whiskey, and it appears that this menace might have been summarily dealt with by destroying the grog shops and expelling those guilty of keeping them. No such attempt was made. On the other hand Plympton did cause the arrest and confinement of certain settlers who allowed cattle to stray on the parade grounds.^{32.}

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

On May 6 soldiers were sent out and, under the direction of Brunson and a lieutenant from the Fort, the little cabins were emptied of goods and burned before their bewildered and helpless owners. There is some disagreement regarding the details of the expulsion. A memorial presented to Congress in 1849 stated that "the soldiery fell upon them without warning, treated them with unjustifiable rudeness, broke and destroyed furniture wantonly, insulted the women, and, in one or two instances, fired at and killed cattle."^{33.} A witness of the scene makes no mention of personal violence. Regardless of the details the eviction was thorough. Even Perry and some others who had moved to the eastern shore in a vain attempt to escape the military restrictions found themselves made homeless. Most of those evicted moved down the river a short distance to the small cluster of cabins which marked the site of the future St. Paul.^{34.}

29. Williams, J. Fletcher, "History of the City of St. Paul etc." pp. 92-104

30. Larpenteur, August L., "Recollections of St. Paul, 1843-1898."

Minnesota History Collections, Vol. 9, St. Paul, 1901, Page 391.

31. Anonymous, Centennial History of Fort Snelling, Page 14.

32. Holcombe, R. T. Minnesota in Three Centuries, p p. 82-84.

33. Hansen, Marcus L., Old Fort Snelling, pp. 194-196, 246.

Due to the lack of available men Bishop Loras had been obliged to delay sending a priest to the Fort for almost a year. He was reminded of his promise on April 20, 1840 by the shrill whistle of the first boat to arrive in Dubuque bound up-river in that year. Within the hour Father Lucian Galtier, ordained to the priesthood in Dubuque but three months before, had packed and sailed to take up duties near the military post. Six days later he arrived at the Fort.

"The steamboat landed at the foot of Fort Snelling, then occupied by some few companies of regular soldiers ...," the young priest wrote.

"The sight of the fort commanding from an elevated promontory the two rivers, Mississippi and St. Peter, now Minnesota, highly pleased me; but the few houses to be seen on the St. Peter side, and two only on the fort side & no fields but a compleet wilderness, made me, all at once to understand, that my mission and life must henceforth be one of privation, hard trial & suffering, and thus required of me patience, labour and resignation. I had a small field before me, or rather a large one, but almost without souls..."^{35.}

This was a first melancholy impression and one which was later considerably modified. Galtier found hardships and difficulty - but most of all he was tried by the apparent lack of discipline and purpose among his parishioners. Galtier, however, seems to have been equal to his undertaking. His "remarkable personality" impressed all who came near him and won him the respect of both Catholic and Protestant. He was said to have had the "face of a Caesar," and was described as "a man of great decision of Character, with a strong cast of countenance, large mouth and overshadowing eyebrows. His head sat upon his shoulders like a military

34. Newson, T. M., Pen Pictures of St. Paul, Page 19
also see Pioneer of St. Paul, Page 19

35. Rev. L. Galtier to Rt. Rev. Thomas L. Grace, Acta Et Dicta Vol. 1, No. 2, July 1918. Page 185.

chieftain... He was well chosen to mould and control a heterogenous mass of men whose lives had been spent almost exclusively upon the frontier." ^{36.}

For a month Galtier lived with Scott Campbell, an interpreter, until, not feeling "sufficiently free to discharge...pastoral duties," he secured a separate room which was in turn a kitchen, parlor and chapel. He built a little altar of rough boards which was closed when not in use by a white canopy and drapery. ^{37.} Under these trying conditions he continued for over a year, ministering to his flock. Although Galtier, chivalrously enough, depicts Mrs. Campbell as a "good Christian wife," it is probable that she provided one of the reasons for leaving the household. An entry in Taliaferro's journal notes that Campbell "drinks at times more than he ought ...Mrs. Campbell ... [has a temper which] is violent when roused." It is recorded that on at least one occasion she gave her husband "a blow which felled him." This atmosphere could hardly have been conducive to ^{38.} priestly meditation.

Galtier attempted to serve all of his far-flung congregation as ably as time and limited travel facilities would permit. In August 1840 he visited a number of families who had recently settled near St. Croix Lake. Upon his return he became desperately ill with "bilious fever and the ague." He relates that he "could not have recovered, if it had not been for the skill of Doctor Turner, and the continued and kind attention of his good lady... If my body was truly prostrated by sickness, my spirit was still more depressed. I was panting after a priest, but none was around me, the nearest being 300 miles distant! In that trying distress, God, in his infinite

36. McNulty, Ambrose, "The Chapel of St. Paul and the Beginning of the Catholic Church in Minnesota," Minnesota History Collections, Vol. 10, Part 1, St. Paul, 1905. Page 235.

also see, Newson, T. M., Pen Pictures of St. Paul, Page 25.

37. Rev. L. Galtier, to Rt. Rev. Thomas L. Grace, Acta Et Dicta, Vol. 1 No. 2, July 1918. Page 185.

38. Taliaferro, Journal, July 29, 1839, Taliaferro (Lawrence) Papers, Mss. Division, Minn. Historical Society.

mercy, send [sic] me a visitor, one like that of an angel, the Rt. Rd. Bishop Deforbin Janson of Nancy F. [France] heard of my sickness, as soon as he alighted from the boat ... he came, heard my confession, gave me words of consolation and comfort, and soon after departed leaving me with his blessings..."^{39.}

During his illness Galtier devoted his thoughts to the location of a much needed permanent chapel. Eventually, with considerable foresight, he chose the little, nameless down-river community which had been formed by what he termed the "painful circumstance" of the expulsion. It was easy to reach from St. Peter's and was the nearest point, outside the reservation, to the head of transportation on the Mississippi.^{40.}

Benjamin Gervais and Vital Guertin, both devout men, donated sufficient land for a church, a garden and a small graveyard.^{41.} Isaac LaBissonniere also offered a plot of ground but, since it was ~~an~~ inconvenient^{42.} location, his donation was refused with thanks.

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

The work, done by volunteer labor, was completed within a few days, and the estimated total cost was less than sixty-five dollars. The

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39. L. Galtier to Rt. Rev. Thomas L. Grace, Acta Et Dicta, July 1918, p.186.
 40. Hoffman, M. M., Church Founders of the Northwest, Page 158.
 41. Ireland, Rev. John, "Memoir of Lucian Galtier," Page 227.
 42. Gauthier, George W., "Reminiscences of Early Days," Gauthier (George W.) Papers, Mss. Division, Minnesota Historical Society.

finishing was rough due to lack of tools; logs were poorly cut, having been hewn with no more precise instrument than a broad axe, and the whole structure was fitted together with wooden pins. The completed chapel was approximately twenty-five feet long and eighteen feet wide. There was a single window on each side and an entrance facing the river. A simple wooden cross was raised over the whole. ^{43.}

On November 1, 1841 a congregation of about a dozen, most of whom had helped in the construction, gathered to witness the consecration of the rude, new "basilica," which reminded Galtier of the "stables of Bethlehem^e.. as well adapted to the uses of piety as any church in the world." ^{44.} In serving the uses of piety the tiny chapel became the rock upon which gathered the beginnings of a city.

St. Peter's had not yet been renamed Mendota and, since the "name of Paul is generally connected with that of Peter," Galtier dedicated the new chapel to the Apostle Paul. The log building was almost the only landmark of the community, and people in the river traffic began to call the place St. Paul's Landing. It soon became known simply as St. Paul's.

Father Augustin Ravoux, who had accompanied Galtier from France, visited St. Peter's in 1841 and remained a few days with his friend. He visited some small settlements in the region and spent some time among the Indians at Chaska, a small trading station. He came to St. Peter's again a year later, and this time remained in charge of the mission while Galtier visited Catholics at Lake Pepin and on the Chippewa river. ^{45.} Ravoux's services to his church were nearly brought to tragic conclusion when, one evening, he was awakened from a sound sleep by an alarming crash. The main

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43. McNulty, Ambrose, "The Chapel of St. Paul and the Beginnings of the Catholic Church in Minnesota." Page 235.
 44. Ireland, Rev. John, "Memoir of Lucian Galtier," Page 227.
 45. Sibley, H. H., "Reminiscences of Early Days in Minnesota," Minnesota History Collections, Vol. 2, St. Paul, 1880, Page 242.

*citation for
this statement?*

beam of Galtier's little house had cracked. Although the building collapsed Ravoux managed to escape without serious injury. Upon Galtier's return he departed for Chaska, where he planned to establish a permanent mission among the Indians.

Galtier now found it necessary to move from the fort side, where he had taken up residence, to St. Peter's. J. B. Faribault offered him a small house which he arranged to use temporarily as living quarters and a makeshift chapel. Using this as a headquarters he visited St. Paul regularly and made more frequent trips to the settlements along the St. Croix river. He soon found it inappropriate that the smaller, and at that time less important, community of St. Paul should have a chapel while St. Peter's had none. Lumber was secured in Chippewa Falls and, on the second of October, 1842, work began on the first church to be built in St. Peter's. On the 29th of the same month the bell of the new chapel was blessed.^{46.}

It is apparent from Galtier's description of a Christmas celebration in 1843 that he felt his work was bearing fruit. "As usual I celebrated midnight mass... before the Holy Sacrifice began, all seats were taken, and it was with difficulty that one could make his way through the midst of the crowd. Officers, soldiers, Protestant gentlemen of the vicinity, and a great number of Catholic Canadians from St. Croix, Lake Pepin, St. Paul and the Falls of St. Anthony were present at the ceremony. Some musicians had come from the Falls of the St. Croix, about sixty miles from St. Peter's, to add to the festive spirit of the celebration. The sanctuary was lighted with a great number of candles, which gave a charmingly radiant light; it was heightened by the draperies... and a garland of greens,

46. Hoffman, M. M., Church Founders of the Northwest, pp. 156-159.

in the form of a triumphal arch, which extended from the entrance of the sanctuary to the communion table. In the center hung a chandelier surmounted by twelve tapers representing the twelve apostles. On one side in the front row were the musicians with their instruments; on the other the children who were making their first communion, each holding a lighted candle and wearing a white veil. Everyone paid good attention and derived much benefit. The singing began at half past eleven and did not stop ... the number of ^Dcommunicants was very satisfactory. I had three who came thirty miles in order to have the blessing of approaching the holy banquet. The feast was beautiful and made us forget the many difficulties, setbacks, and sorrows experienced everywhere."^{47.}

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

The French-Canadians, who made up the larger share of St. Paul's early population, burdened by over-much hardship, in the past, now tried to recreate the life which they remembered from their native land. When

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

Vital Guérin married Adele Perry, a party of friends accompanied them to St. Peter's for the ceremony and on their return Benjamin Gervais opened his cottage to the whole settlement. There was dancing, music and, one suspects, a plentitude of refreshments. Denny Cherrier^{48.} "fiddled that night until he was exhausted." The flavor of the settlers lives is almost completely summed up in a few sentences written by Edmund Brisette. "In the year 1843 Indian Summer lasted until Christmas - - I dug potatoes until near Jan. 1. Wolves and foxes plenty. Dances^{49.} frequent. Pork \$8 a barrel."

Galtier was never in full sympathy with the settlers' attempts to relieve the drabness of their lives. During his last months at St. Peter's he was in despair - believing that his work promised no permanent result. He wrote to Bishop Loras on January 6, 1844, ~~that,~~ "A large number of soldiers have become members of the temperance society; but to offset that good, since a few days before Christmas, there have been saturnalian orgies, or drinking bouts, almost continuously, particularly on the St. Paul side. Tomorrow I expect to threaten them with God's anger, if they do not return to their duty. A priest is absolutely necessary at that place. Monseigneur can assure himself of that by the details already given... I am anxious to no longer have charge of these men... Otherwise I must always be among them, studying them and altering them by the grace of God. But the work is hard - - it would be easier to work a miracle and raise the dead than to convert drunkards. But one^{50.} cannot always choose, and one must endure opposition." Soon after

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48. William J. Fletcher, "History of the City of St. Paul, etc", Page 105
 49. "Reminiscences of Edmund Brisette," Williams (John Fletcher) Papers, Mss. Division, Minnesota Historical Society.
 50. Rev. Lucian Galtier to Bishop Mathias Loras, Jan. 6, 1844, Galtier Rev. Lucian Papers, Mss. Division, Minnesota Historical Society.

Is this a translation? If so, the infinitive should not be split.

writing this letter Galtier traveled to take up his new appointment.

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

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

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51. Rev. A. Ravoux, V. G. to H. H. Sibley, Dec. 15, 1866, Sibley (H. H.) Papers, Mss. Division, Minnesota Historical Society.
52. Williams, J. Fletcher, "History of the City of St. Paul etc.," Page 115
53. Lucian Galtier to Rt. Rev. Thomas Grace, Acta Et Dicta, Vol. 1, No. 2, July 1918, Page 159.

ST. PAUL'S HUNDRED YEARS

the biography of a city

chapter three

"FATHER LOVED A NEW COUNTRY"

beginnings of social organization.

harlan R. crippe

august 1940

chapter three

"FATHER LOVED A NEW COUNTRY"

beginnings of social organization

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

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

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

I liked "Cosmic Seletypse" best - especially the reaching into mythology for the Trojan horse - and the Otherworld Helen - the whole very clever. Next best "The Face In The Wind" for much the same reason - re-creating the hampies!

I thought "Spawn Of Blackness" contained a delightfully intricate plot - also "The House Of Ravens" with its shrewd deducing. "Flight Of The Flame Friend" was extremely interesting and tense, also. These were my favorites, although they are all good - fine plotting - excellent craftsmanship - highly enjoyable reading.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

7. Whiskey was considered a staple by all storekeepers of the period.

8.

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

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5. Neill, History of Ramsey County, Page 185. *p. 185.*
6. "Reminiscence of Mrs. Mary Irvine Fuller," Fuller (Abby Abbe, and Family) Papers, Mss. Division, Minn. Historical Society.
7. Larpenteur, Auguste L., "Recollections of the City and People of St. Paul, 1843-1848," Minn. History Collections, Vol. 9, St. Paul, 1901, Page 378. *p. 378.*
- 8.

8. horses. Days of brisk business followed. The trade with the Indians was, no doubt, more important to the early merchants than was the yet limited local trade.

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

8. Hartsough, Mildred, The Twin Cities as a Metropolitan Market, University of Minn. Press, Minneapolis, 1925, pp. 28-29

9. Andreas, A. T., Illustrated Historical Atlas of the State of Minnesota,

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

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

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

10. Morris, Lucy L. W., Old Rail Fence Corners, Page 16 - 21.

11. Muller, Alix J., History of the Police and Fire Departments Of The Twin Cities, American Land & Title Association, St. Paul and Minneapolis, 1889, pp 19-24.

12. Moss, Henry L., "Biographic Notes of Old Settlers," Page 146. p. 146.

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

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

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

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

*Inaccurate.
David - instead of children.
David only died of measles at this
time, Louis Guerin, son of Vital
died in infancy.*

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

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

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

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

Pages

stop at the settlement below the Fort.

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

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

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

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

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

16. Minnesota Pioneer (St. Paul) December 19, 1850; also see Chronicle & Register (St. Paul) January 26, 1850

17. Newson, T.M., Pen Pictures of St. Paul and Biographical Sketches of Old Settlers, Pub. by the author, St. Paul, 1886. pp. 43-45.

18. Ibid., pp. 47-48.

19. Journal 1845-1846, Brown (William R.) Papers.

fourth in the entire Territory of Wisconsin, which at that time included St. Paul, and receipts for the first year reached the magnificent total of \$14.70.^{20.} Jackson's place of business was described at this time as

"a log building, one story high with store and postoffice in the east end, a dining room in the west end, with small, low sleeping rooms in the rear." The building was of tamarack poles and roofed with birch-bark. On the outside of one wall was a chimney "a la Virginia." The whole occupied a "romantic elevation, on top of a precipitous bluff and commanded a magnificent view of the Mississippi River and valley."^{21.}

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

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

20. Moss, Henry L., "Biographic Notes of Old Settlers," Page 145.

21. Obituary Record of Mrs. Henry Jackson, St. Croix Valley Old Settlers Association, Mss. Division, Minnesota Historical Society.

22. Chronicle and Register, (St. Paul), January 26, 1850.

23. Hartsough, Mildred L., Twin Cities as a Metropolitan Market, pp. 22-23

24. Neill, E.D., History of Ramsey County, Page 186.

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

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

25. Folwell, W.W., A History of Minnesota, Vol. 1, pp.189,192,199-202.

25a. Williams, J. Fletcher, "History of St. Paul", Page 148.

26. Pioneer & Democrat (St. Paul,) May 1, 1856.

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

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

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

Mrs. J. R. Irvine took the new teacher into her home, which was the only dwelling "of respectable size, composed of three rooms and

31. an attic." Miss Bishop immediately arranged to hold Sunday school classes in the vacant log cabin which had been previously occupied by Scott Campbell. The response to the school was not immediate; the first weekly session on July 25 was attended by only seven scholars, of which four were mixed-bloods. However, three weeks later, the number of pupils in weekly attendance had risen to twenty-five.

Whatever may have been Miss Bishop's temperamental shortcomings, it must be said that only her perseverance and willingness to endure difficulty continued the school in operation. Not the least of her troubles was the school building itself, "a little log hovel, covered with bark, and chinked with mud... On three sides of the interior... pegs were driven into the logs, upon which boards were laid for seats... A rickety cross-legged table in the center, and a hen's nest in one corner

32." As soon as the autumn chill came into the air the teacher walked nearly a mile to make a fire before the scholars arrived. During the winter it became an impossible task to keep the place warm. The energetic and irrepressible Miss Bishop accordingly decided that a new schoolhouse was needed, and she organized/a ladies sewing society, The St. Paul Circle of Industry. The group of eight, including Mrs. Jacob Bass, a newcomer, Mrs. Jackson and Mrs. Irvine, raised money through needlework

33. to make the first payment on lumber for the building. The new school, designed to be used for all public purposes, was completed in August 1848. By 1849 two other Protestant denominations, the Presbyterians and Methodists, had set up Sunday schools, and another teacher, also

31. Pioneer Democrat Weekly, St. Paul, April 28, 1859.

32. Bishop, Harriet E.; Floral Home, ~~Pages 87-88.~~ p. 87-88.

33. St. Paul Daily News, September 21, 1919.

under the sponsorship of the National Popular Education Society, arrived
34.
to assist Miss Bishop, who by that time had some seventy-five pupils.

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

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

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

34. Baker, D.A.J., "Early Schools of Minnesota," Minnesota History Collec-
tions, St. Paul, 1872, ~~Page 82~~ *pp. 82.*

35. Note, Minnesota History Bulletin, V.2, No. 6, May 1918, ~~Page 378~~ *p. 378.*

36. Elfelt, Charles D., "Early Trade and Traders in St. Paul," Minnesota
History Collections, Vol. 9, St. Paul, 1901, P. 165.

37. Moss, "Biographic Notes of Old Settlers," pp. 146-149.

38. Minnesota Pioneer, (St. Paul), December 19, 1850.

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

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

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

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

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

The settlers were by now thinking in terms of permanent homes. It was first necessary to get title to the land which they occupied. Auguste L. Larpenteur relates that "In 1847 a few of us clubbed together and raised a purse and sent to Prairie du Chien for Ira Brunson to come up here and lay out a town for us. He, with his brother Benjamin and ^SSimon P. Folsom came up, and on July 24, 1847 he started to survey. I stuck the first pin at the river's edge, - the beginning of Jackson Street, and carried the chain and pins to the top of the hill where Third⁴⁴ Street begins. Thus began the first survey for the City of St. Paul...."

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

43. McNulty, Rev. Ambrose, "The Chapel of St. Paul and the Beginnings of the Catholic Church in Minnesota," Minnesota History Coll., Vol. 10, Part I, St. Paul, pp 240-241.

44. Larpenteur to Jerard & others, undated, Larpenteur (Augusta L. and Family, Mss. Division, Minnesota Historical Society.

accompanied by a dozen husky trappers and traders armed with "huge bludgeons." Sibley said later that he did not know what might be meant by this display of force, but that he would not have "envied the fate of any individual" who dared to bid in opposition to St. Paul's representatives. Evidently the guard served its purpose well, for Larpen⁴⁵teur reported that "everything went smoothly."⁴⁶

Ninety acres of the now legally acquired land was divided into lots and the whole was entered and recorded as the town of St. Paul in 1848.⁴⁷

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

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

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- ✓ 45. Greenbie, Marjorie Barstow, American Saga, Whittlesey House, New York, 1939, ~~Page 363.~~ *p. 363.*
 - ✓ 46. Larpen⁴⁵teur, Auguste L., "Recollections of the City and the People of St. Paul," Minn. History Collections, Vol. 9, St. Paul, 1901, pp. 378-379.
 - ✓ 47. Barton, E. E., City of St. Paul, Published by ~~the~~ ^{Author}, St. Paul, 1888, ~~Page 6.~~ *p. 6.*
 - ✓ 48. Fairchild, Henry S., "Sketches of the Early History of Real Estate in St. Paul," Minnesota History Collections, Vol. 10, Part I, St. Paul, _____, ~~Page 418.~~ *p. 418.*

undated.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

52. Neill, E. D., History of Ramsey County, Page 189.

53. Folwell, W. W., A History of Minnesota, Volume One, Page 239.

54. J. D. Doty to H. H. Sibley, Sept. 4, 1848; T. R. Potts to Sibley, Sept. 14, 1848; D. G. Fenton to Sibley, October 4, 1848, Sibley (H. H.) Papers, Mss. Division, Minn. Historical Society.

55. John Catlin to Sibley, November 4, 1848, Sibley (H. H.) Papers.

In the middle of 1840's St. Paul was a rough, undeveloped frontier town, still drowsing in the heart of an almost primeval wilderness. Frenchmen, "breeds" and ex-soldiers trod its dusty street, rubbing shoulders with Indians and Easterners who had drifted in from the Atlantic coast. ^{1.} Saloons roared wide open. Frowsy voyageurs and drunken fur traders sauntered in and out again, doing very much as they pleased. In the words of one writer, the place was " . . . a mixture of forest, hills, running brooks, ravines, bogs, lakes, whiskey, mosquitoes, and snakes." ^{2.}

It was probably fortunate that few, if any, of his associates had ever seen that backwoods community on the day Congressmen
~~It was with such a scene in the background that~~ Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois rose one morning in Congress and introduced a "bill to establish the Territory of Minnesota." *At the same time,* Almost simultaneously James Wilson of New Hampshire asked the House that Henry Hastings Sibley be recognized and seated as a delegate from the Territory of Wisconsin.

These powerful endorsements
~~Such immediate interest seemed to favor~~ the successful conclusion of Sibley's mission, *with an early grant* ~~the establishment of the~~ territorial status ^{to} his home land. But the area which had been adrift by the admission of Wisconsin to the Union had enemies as well as friends. The *cast* ~~unknown~~ ^{obscure} region became the target for jokes and ridicule by the Eastern press. Congressmen refused to take seriously the forming of a government. " . . . in a hyperborean

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1. Flandrau, Grace, St. Paul. *The Untamable Twin* ~~in~~ *The Taming of the Frontier*, Minton, Balch Co., N. Y., 1925, p. 129.
 2. Newson, T. M., Pen Pictures of St. Paul, Minnesota, pp. 39-40.

region where . . no white man would go . . unless to cut pine logs." It was said the proposed delegate would doubtless arrive in Washington "in full Indian costume."^{3.}

NOA Even ~~those~~ ^{who generally favored} legislators ~~favorable to westward expansion~~ ^{remained unchanged} ~~were~~ inclined to be dubious about the ~~proposal~~ ^{proposal} of the Indian frontier ~~was to be considered permanent~~, there ~~was~~ ^{would be} little room for white population, ~~civilization~~ or development; Most of the ~~area~~ ^{proposed territory} would consist of unceded Sioux lands, with only a narrow wedge between the Mississippi and the St. Croix open to whites.^{4.}

Sibley's plea for recognition was referred to the Committee on Elections. ~~The committee, at first somewhat doubtful, was induced by Sibley's tactful arguments to render a favorable report, and but it was not until January 2, 1848, that a majority report of the committee was submitted, recommending his admission to a seat on the floor of the House of Representatives.~~ ¹⁸⁴⁹ On January 15 this report was approved by the House.

With this grant of power, Sibley turned his entire attention to ^{Securing} ~~the~~ ^{law to} passage of the ~~measure providing for the establishment of~~ Minnesota territory. The Senate ^{nevertheless} passed the bill without controversy; ~~but~~ ^{however} in the House it became entangled with the slavery issue. After changing the proposed name from Itasca to Minnesota and locating the capital in St. Paul instead of Mendota, Sibley approved the text of Senator Douglas' bill. The House, however, weighted the measure with amendments which, had not Sibley secured their deletion, would have resulted ^{further} in long delay or defeat.^{5.}

3. West, Nathaniel, The Ancestry, Life, and Times of Hon. Henry Hastings Sibley, Pioneer Press Pub. Co., St. Paul, 1889, pp. 104-106.

4. Paxson, Frederic L., History of the American Frontier, 1763-1893, Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston, 1924, p. 424.

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

Meanwhile St. Paul waited anxiously for news. Difficulty of communication and travel prevented word from reaching the town for a long time. ^{typical} Road conditions of the time are described in an account of William P. Murray's journey to St. Paul in 1848:

By just using this as footnote.
ident?

... upon the morning of Nov. 29, I bid adieu to the city of Dubuque The first day we traveled about 30 miles and put up for the night at an emigrant's cabin (where notwithstanding the rough appearance of things we found the inmates to be an intelligent family of Yankees who gave us a good supper of hot coffee, cornbread and venison, and the kindly permission of sleeping on the floor. Which was not so bad, considering that we were somewhat tired.) Nov. 30 we traveled some 20 miles up the Mississippi and crossed over to Prairie du Chien . . . From this place to Black River distance 104 miles - where we arrived Dec. 4 . . . here (to our sorrow, we realized the painful truth that we had been lied to for here) the road ceased. This far had teams been and no further. We would have been in a dilemma here (past redemption). . . . had it not been for the fact that almost simultaneous with our arrival, Capt. Knowlton arrived with a company to survey, cut out, and bridge, a road from this point to St. Paul . . . (We made an arrangement with Capt. for and in consideration of our chaining on the road - he was to board us through .) . . We were from Dec. 5 until Dec. 22 going 105 miles camped out nearly every night. The thermometer some mornings 20 degrees below Zero - about twice a week a snow storm . . . On Saturday Dec. 22 we arrived at Stillwater, twenty miles distant from St. Paul . . . (The day following we arrived at our destination St. Paul, in good health and spirits . . . 6. I have been here nine days - and like the appearance of things very much.)

As ~~the~~ months passed, St. Paul ^{few more and more} ~~became~~ impatient, ~~for news.~~

But ^F Finally, on the night of April 9 a steamboat whistle, heard over the growling thunder of a spring storm, aroused the settlement. A crowd gathered at the landing. Lightning revealed the dim outlines of the Dr. Franklin II, and as soon as it could be boarded St. Paul learned from Captain Blakeley that ^{7.} Minnesota had been a territory since March 3. The news spread like wildfire.

6. William Murray to Murray, January 1, 1849, Murray (William Pitt and Family) Papers, Mss. Div., Minn. Historical Society.
7. Shortridge, Wilson Porter, The Transition of a Typical Frontier, George Banta Pub. Company, Menasha, Wis., 1922, pp. 59-60; also see Murray, William P., "Recollections of Early Territorial Days and Legislation," Minnesota History Collections, vol. 12, St. Paul, 1908, p. 105.

Another barrier ^{to} ~~in the~~ development of the settlement was thus ~~now~~ ^{removed} out of the way. Those who ~~had~~ already made their homes in the new land felt a renewed confidence; ~~west-bound frontiersmen~~ ^{and it was noted there by} ~~and~~ cartographers marked the new territory on their maps. ^{8.} Before the year had ended St. Paul could proudly speak of the "wonderful events of the year 1849."

Gold excitement on the California coast during the same year drew its share of adventurers. Gamblers, gunmen and miners, attracted by lure of easy wealth, passed Minnesota by, leaving St. Paul to progress without much of the lawlessness commonly expected in a frontier town.

Shady characters who wandered upriver to the settlement, were in most cases "genteel ^{operators} ~~ones~~" with methods more polished than the highwaymen who crossed trails with the ^{Forty-niners} ~~40'ers~~. On a wave of prosperity came land "sharks," lawyers with land business as a sideline; money lenders who asked ⁵ ~~five~~ percent interest a month with ¹⁰ ~~ten~~ per cent after maturity, and a liberal assortment ^{9.} of other renegades.

The rising ^{tide} ~~number~~ of incoming settlers brought a building and land boom, and the services of land speculators and money lenders, despite the unpopularity of their practices, were increasingly in demand. Buildings sprang up with ^{great} ~~such~~ rapidity. ~~that it seemed "the seed for a multitude of tenements had been~~

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8. Newson, T. M., Pen Pictures and Biographical Sketches of Old Settlers of St. Paul, St. Paul, Brown, Treacy and Co., 1886, p. 99.
9. Murray, William P., "Recollections of Early Territorial Days and Legislation," Minnesota History Collections, vol. 12, p. 107.

Newspaper men were among those most strongly attracted by the westward movement. Even when they did not venture into the newly opened land, they gave support to ^{its} ~~the~~ western booms. Representative of this group were two enterprising Ohio men, Dr. A. Randall and John P. Owens, who issued a paper in Ohio to serve Minnesota. Actually the only connection with the territory was the name, Minnesota Register.^{11.} A few Minnesota items were written by H. H. Sibley and Henry M. Rice, and several columns of St. Paul, Stillwater,^{12.} and St. Anthony advertisements were included. The first issue, dated April 27, 1849, was sent to St. Paul by steamboat for distribution.

James M. Goodhue, the first journalist to establish actual residence in the territory, arrived in St. Paul on the steamboat Senator ~~on~~ April 18, 1849. He brought a press, and type, and plans for a paper. The only location he could find for a print shop was ~~to~~ use his own words, "open as a corn rick."

Although wind and rain caused him some discomfort, the first issue of the Minnesota Pioneer came off the press ten days after Goodhue's arrival. It had first been planned to christen the paper The Epistle of St. Paul but after due consideration this title was rejected.^{13.}

10. (omitted).

11. Johnston, Daniel S. B., "Minnesota Journalism in the Territorial Period," p. 247.

12. Weekly Pioneer and Democrat, March 31, 1859.

13. Johnston, Daniel S. B., "Minnesota Journalism in the Territorial Period," pp. 248-249.

CHAPTER IV VILLAGE INTO CAPITAL

Goodhue was typical of the frontier crusading journalist. He stated his editorial credo in no uncertain words. "The journal that does nothing but paddle along with popular opinion, without breasting the current of popular errors, is of no value --none whatever."^{14.}

From its first issue the Pioneer promoted Minnesota Territory and St. Paul. Remembering his own experience, however, the editor tempered his enthusiasm with a warning: "We advise settlers who are swarming into St. Paul in such multitudes, to bring along tents and bedding, to provide for their comfort until they can build houses; as it is utterly impossible to hire a building in any part of the village; although builders are at work in every direction."^{15.}

Other journalists joined Goodhue. The Minnesota Chronicle, a Whig paper, appeared on May 31 with Col. James Hughes as "editor and proprietor." The Minnesota Register, *following publication of its first issue* *moved to* *St. Paul and began there July 14, with* first issue of which had been published in Ohio, *began* publication on the 14th of July. Nathaniel MacLean and John P. Owens ~~were~~ at its helm.

The Pioneer was generally Democratic while the other papers were Whig. There was hardly room for two Whig journals in a territory *where* ~~of which~~ Governor Ramsey "was the only Whig . . . except the few federal officers who

14. Johnston, Daniel S. B., "Minnesota Journalism in the Territorial Period," p. 250.

15. Minnesota Pioneer, April 28, 1849.

16. came up with him." Owens and MacLean absorbed the Whig rival and began publication of the Minnesota Chronicle and Register on August 25, 1849.

Alexander Ramsey, a Pennsylvanian appointed first territorial governor, ^{had} arrived in St. Paul on Sunday morning, May 27. 17. Invited to be the guest of Henry H. Sibley until he could find suitable quarters, he remained in Mendota for nearly a month, acquainting himself with the influential men in the territory.

Ramsey, ^{though} ~~was~~ only thirty-four, ^{was} yet no younger than most of the men who were building the new land. ^{Up to then, Galena} ~~The men~~ in charge of fur company affairs at Mendota ~~until this time~~ had provided the wisest and most stable leadership for ~~the~~ development of the ^{region} ~~future~~ state. They were a far-seeing group and, ^{they always} although ~~at times~~ fur trading was not a highly ethical business, their services to the territory were usually beneficial and unselfish. From these men Ramsey 18. received his first impressions of the problems facing him.

^{The new executive was soon} Ramsey had no sooner received his appointment than he was made aware of ^{a nationwide} ~~the widespread~~ interest in Minnesota Territory. Inquiries began to flow in asking about ~~the~~ "favorable opportunities" and the danger of contracting cholera on a river trip from Galena, Illinois. 19.

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16. Folwell, W. W., "Minnesota in 1849: An Imaginary Letter," Minnesota History vol. 6, no. 1, 1925, p. 37.
 17. Minnesota Pioneer, May 31, 1849.
 18. Dean, William B., "A History of the Capitol Buildings of Minnesota, With Some Account of the Struggles for their Location," Minnesota History Collections, vol. 12, St. Paul, 1908, p. 2.
 19. J. H. Reed, Carlisle, Pa., to Alexander Ramsey, "Ramsey (Alexander) Papers," Mss. Division, Minnesota Historical Society, June 25, 1849.

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No. 11
A letter from a Boston minister reported *the growing interest of Easterners* increasing interest in the territory.

Indent
There are a considerable number of Germans in Boston who are desirous to emigrate to the West. They were employed in the different factories and workshops in our neighborhood where their labour was well remunerated. The general stagnation of business however . . . has induced many to think that a settlement in the West is preferable to hope deferred in the East . . . Their attention has been directed to Minnesota and it is in their behalf that I take the liberty to address you . . . I feel the more anxious to get proper information from a reliable source, as it is not altogether improbable that I may be found one day one of its citizens. 20.

from where?
In late June, Ramsey, accompanied by a secretary and his wife and child, returned to St. Paul, *from Mendota and moved into* occupying a new house on St. Charles Street. On the trip, *from Mendota to St. Paul,* made in two large "bark canoes," he was joined by Henry M. Rice, who also planned to live in the growing upriver town. Rice was one of the most important citizens of Mendota, and his decision to move was a sign of St. Paul's rising importance and the decline of Mendota. 21.

The first issue of the second newspaper in the territory, *for May 30,* The Minnesota Chronicle, had greeted Ramsey with the jubilant statement that ". . . we are now organized. The wheels of government have commenced rolling on, may they cease only when time shall be no more." The Chronicle's announcement was *in fact* premature, *as* it was not until the *following day* next day, June 1, that Ramsey *formally* issued a proclamation announcing the passage of the organic act of the territory and *proclaimed the establishment of* establishing territorial government. 22.

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20. Rev. F. Schmidt, Boston, to Alexander Ramsey, April 6, 1849, Ramsey (Alexander) Papers, Mss. Division, Minn. Hist. Society.
21. Minnesota Chronicle, June 28, 1849.
22. Folwell, W. W., A History of Minnesota, vol. 1, p. 252.

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Startling changes were made in the size and appearance of St. Paul in the months following Ramsey's proclamation. Steamboats ^{docked there with} increasing ~~the frequency of their visits~~ until sixteen were counted in the port at one time. Sixty much-needed carpenters entered the city in a single day. Trade with ~~the~~ white settlers, as apart from the commerce with ~~the~~ Indians, began ^{23.} to assume importance, and a demand for new types of merchandise was felt. The number of merchants increased so rapidly that the Minnesota Pioneer complained editorially, expressing ^a ~~the~~ wish that farmers would come instead. ^{24.}

^{a year earlier} New enterprises offered the citizenry ^{articles and services} which would have been considered great luxuries ~~only a year before~~. Snow and Bryant, two doors above the American House, sold wines, cigars, oysters and sardines. Earlier inhabitants had been satisfied with anything labelled ^{do} whiskey but newcomers were now offered liquors described as "choice and old." J. W. Simpson added playing cards, candies and almonds to his stock. ^{26.}

In addition to the usual calicoes and gingham, one of the general stores listed many varieties of fabric ^{27.} Paris Lustres, Paramettas, Orientals, Merinos, Chameleon silks and satins. By the end of the year the

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23. Larpenteur, Auguste L., "Recollections of the City and People of St. Paul, 1843-1848," Minnesota History Collections, vol. 9, St. Paul, 1901, p. 379.
24. Minnesota Pioneer, August 16, 1849.
25. Minnesota Chronicle, June 7, 1849.
26. Minnesota Chronicle, May 31, 1849.
27. Minnesota Chronicle, May 31, 1849.

CHAPTER IV VILLAGE INTO CAPITAL

women of the settlement could ^{visit} attend the St. Paul Hair Dressing Saloon which
had been opened by A. F. Dogard, "formerly of New Orleans." 28.

On the morning of July 4 the residents of St. Paul were roused by the roar of several cannon borrowed from Fort Snelling. The American flag was raised on a new pine pole, and a crowd gathered in the shade of Ramsey's Grove where Judge B. B. Meeker delivered an address; the Declaration of Independence was also "tastefully and audibly executed" by W. B. Phillips. A procession then marched to the American House where a splendid banquet was served. After the ladies had retired from the banquet hall the gentlemen gave toasts to the day. One praised "Minnesota - yet in her swaddling clothes" This was followed by a toast to "the best gold mine - we are willing to leave it to posterity to decide whether it be found imbedded in the yellow sands of California or the black soil of Minnesota." 29. The holiday reached a climax with a display of fireworks and a banquet and ball, designed to mark the formal opening of the town's most imposing hotel, the American House. 30. 31.

28. Chronicle and Register, December 22, 1849.

29. Minnesota Register, July 14, 1849.

30. New York Evangelist, New York, August 2, 1849, vol. XX, p. 123; typed extracts in possession of Mss. Division, Minn. Hist. Soc.

31. Minnesota Chronicle, June 28, 1849.

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Henry M. Rice, ^{of this inn,} ~~the~~ principal owner, had brought a Mrs. Parker from Lowell, Massachusetts, to take charge of operations. Mrs. Parker was a formidable woman, "well adapted to conduct the business of a frontier hotel." ~~But~~ ^{later} for some obscure reason she became angered at the proprietor and declared her intention of shooting him. Eventually she ^{her partner?} ~~became calm and~~ ^{calmed down, but} obtained revenge by changing the name of the hotel from the Rice House to the American House. How?

Postmastership of the booming town passed to Jacob W. Bass on July 5. He moved the post office to the ground floor of a log building in which he conducted a hotel and tavern. A front room, ^{used as the hotel office,} ~~on the ground floor~~ served also as post office ~~as well as office of the hotel.~~

Another important arrival in 1849 was the Reverend E. D. Neill, a Presbyterian and the first Protestant clergyman to settle permanently in St. Paul. His first sermons in the village were ^{delivered} to audiences gathered in a little brown building "recently occupied as a groggery." ^{34. Neill family} ~~The~~ quarters at the American House had splintery unplanned floors and were furnished with a bed and washstand, the latter used by Neill as a desk on which to prepare his sermons.

32. Cathcart, Rebecca Marshall, "A Sheaf of Remembrances," Minnesota History Collections, vol. 15, St. Paul, 1915, pp. 523-524.

33. St. Paul Globe, April 17, 1898.

34. "The Rise and Progress of St. Paul," St. Paul Daily Democrat, Oct. 22, 1854.

NOTE Construction of a Presbyterian church began as soon as Neill could make necessary arrangements. In the fall of 1849 the family moved into the partially completed structure. A bed was placed on one side of the pulpit and a stove on the other.

On July 7 Governor Ramsey issued a proclamation dividing the territory into seven council districts and calling for the election of legislators. Two days later an unsigned notice called a meeting for nominations from the St. Paul district. The meeting, at the American House ~~on the decided day~~, was the largest ever held in St. Paul ^{up to} ~~at~~ that time. 35. W. H. Forbes and James McBoal were nominated for the council, while B. W. Brunson, Henry Jackson, P. K. Johnson and Dr. J. J. Dewey were nominated for the House of Representatives. 36. At first it appeared that these nominees would have the field to themselves. A week later, however, a number of Frenchmen gathered in the home of Louis Cheaubert and endorsed a partial opposition slate, led by David Lambert. 37. The Minnesota Chronicle was prompt with an accusation that the French ^{in this opinion the People's Ticket} were being misled.

Election returns were announced on August 1, and the Register reported "the jollification of the supporters of the People's Ticket, after the announcement of its entire election . . . Forbes, McBoal, Bronson, Dewey, Jackson and Johnson, were successively placed in a small sized 'go-cart' . . .

35. Minnesota Register, August 4, 1849.

36. Minnesota Register, July 21, 1849.

37. Minnesota Pioneer, July 26, 1849.

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and hauled through the streets by the enthusiastic crowd, . . . The vehicle finally broke down near our office . . . But the Boys were not to be stopped in their rejoicings; so they carried their successful friends to the American House . . . such cheering took place as we scarcely ever heard before . . .

38.
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While its
The swelling population seemed to assure the future of St. Paul, ~~but at the same time~~ the town was faced with many new problems. The urgent need for ~~additional~~ *better over* land communication with the outside world resulted in widespread agitation for government roads and criticism of existing postal facilities. During the year the government had only provided for a weekly mail to Stillwater. ~~However,~~ *line drawn* a passenger coach was in service to Stillwater every other day and the driver complained of the "great rush of letters" which he was forced to carry without compensation. In early August the Pioneer petitioned the Federal government for tri-weekly mails from Galena and twice-a-week service to Stillwater. ^{40.} The post office department rejected the petition, pointing out that service had been increased from once a week to twice a week between Prairie du Chien and St. Paul in April and that further increases could only be given ^{41.} on the basis of increased revenue.

The question of additional roads was later taken up by the legislature, and construction of a military post road to the Iowa line ^{42.} began the following year.

38. Minnesota Register, August 4, 1849.

39. Minnesota Chronicle, July 26, 1849.

40. Minnesota Pioneer, August 2, 1849.

41. Minnesota Pioneer, August 16, 1849.

42. Larsen, Arthur J., "Roads and Trails in the Minnesota Triangle, 1849-1860," Minnesota History, vol. 11, no. 4, December 1930, pp. 288-389.

Respect for territorial authority was not easily established. Mob action, resulting in two lynchings, forced the newspapers to remind the people that " . . . we have laws, Judges of the law - and the law of the savage must and shall be made in the future to give place to the law of civilization."^{43.}

The new territorial government was forced to lean heavily on Fort Snelling to uphold its authority. In July 1849 it was reported that the Winnebagoes were "committing depredations upon property on numerous occasions." The newspapers pointed out that the infantry at the post was insufficient protection,^{44.} " . . . the mere presence of the ' horse soldiers ' is all that should be required." The jail at the fort was used for punishment of ~~the~~ lawless characters ~~which~~ the region ~~had~~ attracted^{45.}

The sale of intoxicants made law enforcement even more difficult. A drunken quarrel was said to have been fatal to two Indians. One man who imbibed too freely became lost and was frozen to death. Harriet Bishop, the teacher, relates that " a dry goods merchant in a drunken fit crushed an infant by dashing it to the floor."^{46.} The newspapers, not ordinarily given to quibbling on such matters, admitted that the " number of retail liquor establishments in St. Paul . . . is a LITTLE too great for a sound and healthy state

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43. Minnesota Chronicle, July 26, 1849; also see Minnesota Register, July 28, 1849
44. Minnesota Register, July 14, 1849
45. Hansen, Marcus L., Old Fort Snelling, 1819-1858, Iowa Historical Society, Iowa City, 1918, pp. 196-198.
46. Bishop, Harriet E., Floral Homes or First Years In Minnesota, S.C. Griggs and Company., Chicago, 1857, pp. 106-110.

47. of public morals." In 1849 the St. Paul Division of the Sons of Temperance
48. was organized to agitate for legal curbs on the consumption and sale of liquors.

But problems of ^{law and order} government were not the only ones that faced the
settlers. For the earliest traders and explorers the American Fur
Company had acted as banker and financial agent. In addition to buying furs,
it made loans, cashed drafts on Eastern cities and St. Louis, sold exchange on
49. New York offices and acted as collector for notes held by Eastern creditors.
This company was not equipped to meet the larger needs of 1849 and succeeding
50. years. Loans to finance improvements accordingly had to be ^{obtained} made outside the
territory. Interest rates on such loans ranged as high as five percent monthly.
^{To make the situation still more difficult}
~~The situation was made worse by the fact that~~ most of the borrowed money
was used, not for permanent improvements, but for speculative investments in
land.

Insert it on next page
A need was felt by fraternal-minded citizens in 1849 for the
organization of a Masonic Lodge in St. Paul. Application was made to the
Grand Lodge of Ohio for a dispensation. This was granted on August 8, and the
local lodge was duly organized a month later.

47. Minnesota Register, August 4, 1849.

48. Minnesota Chronicle, May 31, 1849

49. Galvin, Sister Eucharista, Influences and Conditions Affecting the Settlement of Minnesota, typed PH.D. thesis, University of Chicago, 1929. pp. 77-78.

50. Eliason, Adolph O., "The Beginning of Banking in Minnesota," Minnesota History Collections, vol. 12, St. Paul, 1908, p. 675.

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

The first meeting was held in a room in the Merchants' Hotel.

The first Mason "made in St. Paul," according to J. Fletcher Williams, the
51.

Historian, was C.P. Scott.

With the first attempt at banking, ^{local} ~~the situation grew more~~ ^{did not improve matters}

~~complicated~~. In September 1849 a stranger by the name of Issac Young induced a thoughtless St. Paulite to "sign a large number of handsomely engraved pieces of paper" which bore the imprint of the "Bank of St. Croix, St. Paul."

These notes were circulated in down river cities on the strength of an eastern quotation, which was probably furnished by an accomplice. ^{Disclosure that the scheme was a hoax} ~~Publicity concerning~~

~~the~~ fraud put an end to wildcat schemes for a time; it also delayed promotion
52.
of legitimate enterprises for a number of years.

51. Williams, J. Fletcher, The History of the City of St. Paul and of the County of Ramsey, Minnesota, p. 235.

52. Patchin, Sydney A., "The Development of Banking in Minnesota," Minnesota History Bulletin, col. 2, no. 3, August 1917, pp. 120-121.

Insert 3 Hooked-in line on next page - Same #)
~~In 1849 also,~~ ^{in 1849} the first Territorial Legislature convened in St. Paul's green-shuttered Central House. ^{the Central House} For some months ~~this building~~ was known as "the Capitol." All possible rooms in the hotel were pressed into ~~extra~~ service.

The lower house of the legislature met in the dining room on the ground floor and at noon business was suspended while tables were set and meals served. ^{53.} The council chamber on the second floor was used as a sleeping room at night, with the floor covered with straw ticks and Indian blankets. ^{54.}

Governor Ramsey kept ~~the~~ executive offices in his residence, and the Supreme Court ^{occupied} met in rented chambers in various buildings. ^{55.} ~~An American flag on a~~

~~pole in front of the hotel was the only sign of the building's official character.~~

^{in receipt of} Delay of ~~the~~ funds voted by Congress ^{was a source of much} ~~further handicapped~~ territorial ^{inconvenience at first} ~~organization.~~ ^{finally had} Eventually Governor Ramsey and Secretary C. K. Smith were forced to borrow \$4,000 on personal drafts to meet the most pressing demands and ^{56.} assist legislators who were in genuine need.

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53. Newson, T. M., Pen Pictures of St. Paul and Biographical Sketches of Old Settlers; published by the author, St. Paul, 1886, p. 108.
54. Murray, William P., "Recollections of Early Territorial Days and Legislation," Minnesota History Collections, vol. 12, St. Paul, 1908, p. 110.
55. Folsom, W. H. C., Fifty Years in the Northwest, St. Paul, p. 710.
56. Chronicle and Register, St. Paul, December 22, 1849.

chambers, consisting of
 On Tuesday, September 3, both ~~houses~~, nine council members and
 eighteen representatives, assembled in the dining room. Prayer was offered
 by E. D. Neill. Following this, Governor Ramsey delivered his first message. 57.

The legislature, for the most part, was made up of rough but
 capable men. When William R. Marshall was called a liar by one of the members,
 Marshall knocked the offender down and calmly proceeded with his speech. A
 number of the members were later to become distinguished as political leaders;
 Marshall became governor, Morton S. Wilkinson served as United States Senator.
 from Minnesota and David Olmsted became prominent in St. Paul public life. 58.

Substantial division of opinion was found only on the problem
 of location of the territorial capital and ~~division~~ of territorial institutions.
 The United States Congress had provided that the legislature should meet first
 at St. Paul, locate a temporary seat of government and provide for a vote of
 the people on the permanent location. This question of permanent location
 was to agitate politicians, land speculators and town boomers for the next
 decade. 59.

of the
 Only one measure passed by the first legislature, *was actually detrimental*
in its effect. Authorizing ~~providing~~ *it became an instrument of abuse.*
~~for~~ imprisonment for debt, ~~proved to have a detrimental effect.~~ Debtors were
 jailed on little evidence and "reckless swearing," and no provision was made

57. Flandrau, Charles E., The History of Minnesota and Tales of the Frontier,
 published by E. W. Porter, St. Paul, 1900, p. 58.

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

59. Dean, William B., "A History of the Capitol Buildings of Minnesota, and
 Some Account of the Struggle for their Location," Minnesota History
 Collections, vol. 12, St. Paul, 1908, pp. 1-5.

St. Paul, locate a temporary seat of government and provide for a vote of the people on the permanent location. This question of permanent location was to agitate politicians, land speculators and town boomers for the next decade.^{59.}

Only one of the measures passed by the first legislature was actually detrimental in its effect. Authorizing imprisonment for debt, it became an instrument of abuse. Debtors were jailed on little evidence and "reckless swearing," and no provision was made for release when the debt was paid. The St. Paul jail, built the next year in 1851 was often filled with men committed by their creditors. One man died while being held. So adverse was the effect on immigration and community life that the law was repealed in 1856 as a "relic of barbarism."^{60.}^{61.}

October 22, 1849 a bill was introduced "to incorporate the Town of St. Paul in the county of Ramsey." The bill received final approval on November 1. The town was to be governed by a president, a recorder and 5 trustees. The first regular town election, however, was not held until May 6 of the following year.^{52.}

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All through the summer and autumn of 1849 settlers continued to pour in. The newspapers were responsible for a great portion of this influx. They were not alone, however, in boosting Minnesota. Editors in the East welcomed correspondence with which to fill their columns.

Typical of such correspondence was a letter published in an Ohio newspaper, the Eaton Register, during the summer of 1849. It described St. Paul as an "... entirely new; two-thirds of the houses have been built this year. They have sprung up ... by magic ... it looks as though Aladin /sic/ ... was here with his wonderful lamp ...

60. Muller, Alix J., History of the Police and Fire Departments of the Twin Cities, American Land & Title Register Association, Minneapolis & St. Paul, 1899, p. 29.
61. Murray, William P., Recollections of Early Territorial Days and Legislation, p. 127.
62. Minnesota Writers' Project, The Mayors of St. Paul, Office of the Mayor, St. Paul, 1940, pp. 5-9.

Indent? and single Sp. without quote?

CHAPTER IV VILLAGE INTO CAPITAL

lamp . . . the sound of many hammers are constantly heard. In St. Paul are two good hotels, one near . . . the lower, and the other at the upper landing, distant from each other about half a mile. These two points are the only places where the bluff can be ascended by wagons. We have any quantity of commission houses, stores, groceries &c. Then we have bowling saloons, billiard rooms and all that - gaming is quite prevalent."^{63.}

In 1848 the population of the settlement had been 113⁶⁴. *Something* ~~little~~ over one-third ~~of this number~~ ^{but} were French and French-Canadian, and the ~~largest group consisted of~~ ^{majority were} settlers from other sections of the United States, mainly from the East and New England. ^{64.} ~~But by~~ ^{In} April 1849 total population ^{65.} had grown to 200 and by June to an estimated 840. On July 4 ^{the} census taken ^{total} in the city by John Morgan ^{66.} revealed that the population had risen to 910. By the latter part of July it was estimated that 1,200 people had settled in the river community.^{67.}

not By this time the newspapers ~~were able to view~~ ^{of} the spectacular growth with something approaching complacency. The Minnesota Register remarked in July that "notwithstanding the check to immigration into Minnesota which the cholera in the cities . . . has had . . . we have no reason to complain

63. "Impressions of Minnesota in 1849," Minnesota History Bulletin, vd. 5, no. 4, Nov. 1923, pp. 286-287.

64. Galvin, Sister Eucharista, Influences and Conditions Affecting the Settlement of Minnesota; typed Ph. D. Thesis, University of Chicago, 1929, pp. 104-105.

65. Folsom, W. H. C., Fifty Years in the Northwest, p. 542.

66. Folwell, W. W., A History of Minnesota, vol. 1, p. 352.

67. "Impressions of Minnesota in 1849," Minn. History Bulletin, vol. 5, no. 4, Nov. 1923, p. 287.

CHAPTER IV VILLAGE INTO CAPITAL

of the numbers daily arriving. It is impossible to build houses sufficiently fast to ^{68.}acomodate those who are coming among us."

St. Paul's attraction for settlers lay in the attention it had received as capital of the new Minnesota Territory and its site as head of transportation on the Mississippi. Significant was the removal of the American Fur Company headquarters from Mendota to St. Paul in 1849. ^{69.} The heyday of the fur trade, however, had passed, and the fortunes of the monopoly established by Astor were already ^{70.}declining.

~~The~~ ^A general glow of optimism was reflected in a report of the celebration welcoming the New Year. "Indians of both sexes, with unusual pleasure beaming from their tawny visages . . . are thronging our village . . . with the expectation of 'waukon,' something good . . . This P.M. the better class of our gentlemen have been 'making calls'; the remainder ~~idling~~ their time at the grog shops. At the Centre House, the most popular hotel in town, an immense crowd is gathered, from this and other towns, and engaged in ^{71.}threading the mazes of the giddy dance . . ."

The "giddy dance" had just begun. It was to ^tcontinue for nearly a decade.

68. Minnesota Register, July 14, 1849

69. Gras, Norman S.B., "Significance of the Twin Cities," Minnesota History vol. 7, no. 1, March 1926, pp. 8-9.

70. Ruckman, J. Ward, "Ramsey Crooks and the Fur Trade," Minnesota History vol. 7, no. 1, March 1926, pp. 29-30.

71. Chronicle and Register, February 23, 1850

Corrected by Mr. Macy.
Read by Mr. O'Connell.

CHAPTER

FIVE

FINAL

COPY

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New Year gayeties at the American and Central Houses and at Stillwater's new hotel introduced St. Paul's decade of the fifties. Although not aware of it at the time, the town stood at the threshold of a period of dormancy. Five years were to elapse without any major development. Five years were to meander past while the city on the bluffs mellowed and made ready for the rocking events of the coming era.

St. Paul waited for the ice to go out, for the arrival of the first steamboat of the season, for the complete cession of Indian lands,^{1.} for the mail, and for news from Washington.

Yet during these comparatively uneventful fifties St. Paul did not lack recreation. There was a ball at Lott Moffett's Castle on Christmas Eve of 1850. This hotel was famous for cotillions. Christmas Day, there were "religious exercises at the Catholic and the Episcopal church," and that night at Stillwater, a ball at Mr. Brewster's new hotel, "attended by more than one hundred gentlemen and ladies, eight cotillions occupying the floor at once."^{2.}

But the Chronicle and Register of March 30, 1850 found it difficult to be optimistic over the general outlook. "Business is . . . wretchedly dull in all our town. The populace . . . stand about the streets

1. Adams, James T., The March of Democracy, p. 378.

2. Minnesota Pioneer, Jan. 2, 1851.

in isolated groups . . . whittling and occasionally casting an anxious eye upon the . . . river, as though they expected to see the ice smash or the mail wending its way upwards. The goods are all sold . . . the teams have finished their hauling to the North . . . the sleighing is over . . .
"the building season cannot actively commence just yet . . .

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

The Highland Mary brought five hundred passengers. These newcomers found St. Paul a primitive spot, not greatly improved over the site John R. Irvine had looked upon when he arrived in 1843. "The land was covered with heavy timber and underbrush," according to Irvine, "Upper Third Street from what is now Seven Corners to the Bluff was a quagmire almost without bottom."^{4. 5.} Captain John Bell, arriving in 1850, said, "There was not a house north of Third Street, except a few on Robert Street . . . All boats landed at the Upper^{6.} Levee at the foot of Eagle Street.

3. Chronicle and Register, April 6, 13, 1850.

4. Newson, T. M., Pen Pictures (Sketch of Simeon P. Folsom) p. 68.

5. Williams, J. Fletcher, A History of the City of St. Paul and of the County of Ramsey, p. 128.

6. Newson, T. M., Pen Pictures, p. 229.

A more detailed description of the town comes from the writings of a contemporary of the time.

. . . the mercantile business consisted of Louis Robert's store at the lower landing; Freeman, Larpeur & Company's, same place; Henry Jackson, just closing out, in his old house on top of the bluff; W. H. Forbes, St. Paul Outfit, Bench, between Jackson and Robert streets; J. W. Simpson, next door, and the large trading establishment of Olmstead & Rhodes, on Third street, in the old cabin . . . recently removed to give place to the handsome new store of Mr. Chamberlain. This completed the lower town.

Then you traveled over an extensive corn and potato field to a little clump of shanties and balloon frames in the neighborhood of the American House. Here was Levi Sloan; upon his present site, with a small stock; and next above the American were the Messrs. Fullers, with somewhat larger assortment. This was all . . .

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

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

Dr. David Day, physician and civic leader, arrived in this period. The new capital now had a total of twenty-five lawyers. The Pioneer of March 13, 1850 reported fifteen stores doing business. Pine lumber, originating at Minnesota Mills "and worth ten or eleven dollars a thousand feet in St. Louis,⁸ sold readily at St. Paul for 17 dollars per thousand." But in spite of these facts, trade lagged during the summer of 1850.

7. Newson, T. M., Pen Pictures, p. 90.

8. Minnesota Pioneer, August 15, 1850.

During this period St. Paulites grew critical of political appointees. There was general satisfaction with Governor Ramsey's official acts, but other territorial appointments did not meet with the same unanimous approval. "I at least," Judge David Cooper wrote, "stand somewhat higher than my brethren of the Bench. But even this . . . is no compliment to me, as I am rated by fools." ^{9.} Exasperated at Cooper's frequent absences from his post, the people finally took action. Nor did they overlook that other object of Editor Goodhue's invectives, Alexander M. Mitchell, U. S. marshal of Minnesota.

Dissatisfaction with Cooper and Mitchell at last reached the ears of officials in Washington. Both were said to have neglected their duties. At last in July, Sibley reported: "Mitchell will have to . . . resign or be removed. So the President told me in so many words." Mitchell resigned ^{10.} shortly afterward.

Political rivalries became extremely bitter, and the city ^{11.} divided into "cliques, factions, and clans." Goodhue's editorial thrusts continued. And a citizen of that day wrote: "Every man [on the street] was armed with something. A man had better not show himself without his ^{12.} pockets full of rocks."

9. D. Cooper to Ramsey, Nov. 2, 1849.

10. Sibley, H. H., Washington to John H. Stevens, July 1, 1851, Stevens Papers.

11. Ibid., vol. 12, p. 113.

12. David Fuller, St. Paul, to George R. Fuller, Scotland, Conn., Jan. 19, 1851; Fuller-Abbie, Abbe & Family Papers.

In June of 1850, an event occurred which brought to the foreground an issue that had concerned the settlers for some time -- the opening of Sioux lands to white settlement. That year high water from the spring freshets swelled the Minnesota River, and steamers were able to ascend farther upstream than ever before.

On June 28, the Anthony Wayne under Captain Daniel Able, sailed on an excursion " . . . up the unknown waters of the St. Peter river now called the Minnesota." ^{13.} The Wayne reached the rapids near Carver. The rolling, fertile shores impressed the excursionists, and they brought back reports which increased the avarice of land-seekers.

Steamboat competition stimulated further navigation of the Minnesota. The Nominee went farther than the Wayne, but later on July 20 the Wayne reached a point a few miles below the present site of Mankato. The ^{14.} Yankee reached Judson (above Mankato) in Blue Earth county in midsummer.

These excursions into Sioux country hastened the drive for empire. Because of its position as capital of a trade area, St. Paul became the focal point of the campaign. Prior to 1852 the town was the center of an inverted triangle of white territory, bounded on the north by a line extending east from the Mississippi river, at a point just below Princeton, to the St. Croix River, and stretching southward to Point Douglas. Aside from the Pembina colony, the rest of Minnesota was legally Indian country.

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13. Cathcart, Rebecca Marshall, A Sheaf of Reminiscences, MHC., vol. 15, p. 529.
14. Hughes, Thomas, A History of Steamboating on the Minnesota River, MHC., vol. 10, part 1, pp. 131-136.

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

The Governor and Luke Lea, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, were appointed to treat with the Sioux. During the last days of June 1851, a large crowd gathered at Traverse des Sioux "on a lovely prairie which rises gently from the Minnesota River." The Sioux assembled "in full costumes with eagle plumes, turkey beards, deer tails & horse tails." Also present were "Indian traders, men of French, half breed and American blood."^{16.}

Of the entire body of whites at this important conference, Ramsey is said to have been the only one who worked "from no sordid motives." The traders insisted that the arrangement would give the Indians money with which to pay for goods advanced to them. Thus the treaty was signed on July 23, 1851.^{17.}

15. Baker, Gen. James H., Alexander Ramsey, A Memorial Eulogy, p. 728.

16. Mayer, Frank Blackwell, With Pen and Pencil on the Frontier in 1851, MHS, St. Paul, 1932, pp. 145-149.

17. Baker, Gen. James H., Alexander Ramsey, A Memorial Eulogy, p. 729.

The opening of the western lands was a matter of great moment to St. Paul. Since it would now be necessary for Minnesota river navigation to clear through the St. Paul port, the city could expect new settlers and commerce. On June 26, 1852, the treaty was ratified by the United States Senate, making twenty-three million acres of new land available for settlement.

The significance of this occasion was not overlooked in St.

Paul:

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

The chiefs at Traverse des Sioux upon signing the quit claim deed to their domain were " . . . [given another] . . . document to be signed." 19. The "traders' paper" was thus validated, and the traders' claims against individual Indians had to be satisfied out of the treaty funds before distribution. While the rapacity of the white men may be deplored, the treaties uprooting the Indians were necessary if the nation were to advance. The debt of the incoming settlers to the traders, however, may be best expressed in the words of William Pitt Murray:

It may be said, that while Governor Ramsey and Luke Lea, United States commissioners, have always been credited with the making of the Indian treaties of Traverse des Sioux, Mendota, and Pembina . . . yet had it not been for such men as Henry H. Sibley, Martin McLeod, Norman W. Kittson, William H. Forbes, and Alexis Bailly, these treaties would never have been made. They were the power behind the throne, since they were all Indian traders,

18. Minnesota Pioneer, July 1, 1852.

19. Folwell, W. W., History of Minnesota, vol. 1, p. 282.

had been in the country for many years, spoke the languages of the Dakotas and Ojibways, and enjoyed the confidence of the Red Men. It was to their interest that these treaties should be consummated as the Indians were largely in debt to them; hence they used all their influence to assist in the making of the treaty. The commissioners did not do much more than feed the Indians and indicate what they wanted; the traders did the rest. 20.

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

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

20. Murray, Hon. Wm. P., Recollection of Early Territorial Days and Legislation, p. 120.

21. Neill, E. D., History of St. Paul, p. 561.

The town now began to divide itself into two social groups.

The New Englanders preserved their culture, and attempted to transplant intact their native traditions. Whiskey was the line of division. These New Englanders^{22.} drank sarsaparilla cider, while the earlier settlers --the half-bloods and the French element --found "whiskey hoo-downs" more to their liking. Even the most^{23.} respected of these early settlers were addicted to hard liquor.

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

The vote in Ramsey county was close; 528 ayes, 497 nays. The newspapers commented that "church bells ring, and so do the glasses. Everybody celebrates the advent of the Temperance Millenium by getting gloriously^{24.} drunk." On May 1, 1852, the restrictions went into effect. The dry victory,^{25.} however, was short-lived.

22. Minnesota Democrat, St. Paul, July 15, 1851.

23. Rail Fence Corners, p. 17.

24. Pioneer and Democrat Weekly, April 28, 1858.

25. Murray, Margaret, The Prohibition Movement in Minnesota from 1849 to 1856, term paper, Hamline University, St. Paul, . ?

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

26.

The Easterners did not surrender as easily on other matters. The ladies maintained their gentility and nurtured the beginnings of education and culture. From the east they brought house plants and made their windows bright with fuchsia, geraniums, roses, and heliotrope.

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

I considered the purchase of the twenty-two lots (for \$900) a very good bargain for the church, as also a good one for Mr. Vetal Guerin, because it was understood that the cathedral and other buildings would be erected on block seven, and such improvement would increase the value of Mr. Vetal Guerin's property, wrote Rev. Fr. Ravoux.

. . . Five months after Bishop J. Cretin's arrival in Saint Paul, continues Ravoux, "he had erected on block seven in Saint Paul Proper, a brick building 84 feet long by 44 wide, three stories and a half high, including the basement. That building became immediately the second cathedral of Saint Paul, and also the second residence of the Rt. Rev. Bishop, of his priests and seminarians . . . "

27.

26. Floral Homes, pp. 110-111.

27. Ravoux, Rev. Fr. Augustine - From an article in Northwestern Chronicle - excerpt from A History of the City of St. Paul and the County of Ramsey, by J. Fletcher Williams - Collections of Minnesota Historical Society, vol. 4; published by the Society, St. Paul, 1876.

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

The Baptists also boasted a small but dignified white church.

An early resident recalls:

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

The white painted churches and houses early became a landmark to river travelers. With the coming of Germans and Scandinavians, the churches increased in numbers. The Roman Catholic, Episcopal and First Presbyterian churches acquired organs at this time.

28. St. Paul Daily Democrat, Oct. 28, 1854, "The Rise and Progress of St. Paul."

29. Dunn, Andrew C. Papers, "Leaves From the Tablets of My Memory Concerning Early Days of Minnesota," by Andrew C. Dunn of Winnebago, Minnesota, HSM Mss. Div'n.

Schools were another need the citizens had to consider. To Thomas Smith Williamson, who with the Pond brothers pioneered Presbyterianism in Minnesota, must go credit for giving the public school system its start in St. Paul. Early in 1850, a school house for Lower Town was erected on Jackson street above Fifth. Here Miss Scofield taught. Harriet Bishop who had come in 1848, resumed duties at the Bench Street school and Reverend C. H. Hobart taught a school for boys in the Methodist church. In 1851 Upper Town had two schools mastered by B. B. Ford and Miss E. Brewster, and Lower Town, two schools supervised by G. H. Spencer and Miss Bass.

Parochial schools played a prominent part in early education. The Episcopalians established the first in St. Paul in 1851. A school was also conducted by Maria Ogden in the basement of the Second Presbyterian church.

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

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

Bishop Cretin listed ten villages and trading posts in the diocese. The pupils at the mission schools were all of poor families. Thomas Murray, an ecclesiastical student, also conducted a boys' school in the basement of the Cathedral.

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

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

On November 15, the Minnesota Democrat reported:

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

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

31. Minnesota Democrat Weekly, July 15, 1851.

St. Paul's first business college also was organized at this time
"for the study of Double and Single Entry Book-keeping at Comb's Bookstore . .
. Terms for a final course of instruction, \$15.00. W. S. Combs, cor. St.
32.
Anthony and Capital st."

Civic improvements also came during 1851. Editor Goodhue wrote
in the Minnesota Pioneer:

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

Another writer of the day noted:

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

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

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32. Minnesota Pioneer, Nov. 27, 1851.
33. Minnesota Democrat Weekly, Mar. 10, 1852.
34. Nowson, T. M., Pen Pictures.
35. Saint Paul Pioneer Press, July 1, 1941.

When the local government was organized during this period, many virile and colorful characters were to be seen on St. Paul's streets. Some of them, as recalled later by T. M. Newson were:

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

Immigration during the steamboat season daily added to St. Paul's population. German immigrants in 1852 were already eclipsing the early French stock and constituted the first large foreign element.

It was during these years that two men, strangers to each other, each with a flair for colonization, came to St. Paul, where they were destined to wield a great influence, not only on history of the city, but upon Minnesota and the entire Northwest. John Ireland, later an archbishop, came from County Kilkenny, Ireland in 1852; James J. Hill, born near Guelph, Ontario, of Scotch-Irish descent, arrived four years later. John Ireland was fourteen years old when he came to St. Paul with his parents.

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

A tragedy of this year was the death of James M. Goodhue, editor and publisher of the town's first newspaper. Goodhue died at his residence, Third and St. Peter streets, after a brief illness. His street battle with Joseph Cooper, the previous year, during which he was stabbed in the abdomen, was believed to have been a contributing cause. With Goodhue's death, St. Paul lost one of its ablest leaders. His crusades for civic improvements were many: a public waterworks, the replanning of city streets and establishment of parks. He had neither asked for nor given quarter in his battles for any project he considered worthy. Goodhue was buried near Lake Como, but the location of his grave is unknown.

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

One factor still blocking expansion was the lack of good transportation. St. Paul had both commerce and a steady flow of immigrants, but rapid growth was impossible without ready access to the interior. The river furnished entrance to the country. Roads hewn through forests had made possible only a few stage lines.

Major Isaac I. Stevens, of the U. S. Army, was assigned the duty of exploring a survey route for a Pacific railroad from St. Paul. He arrived in St. Paul May 27 to outfit the expedition. But St. Paul was to wait many months before this preliminary work bore fruit. Meanwhile, she struggled with bad roads and with rivers.

On July 28, 1853, physicians met in St. Paul to organize the Minnesota Medical society. A state agricultural society earlier had been established to make plans for the first fair at Fort Snelling.

About this time, the Minnesota Weekly noted that " . . . the first house-numbering of an establishment in St. Paul, was perpetrated yesterday upon Robert street. Cathcart, Kern & Co.'s Crystal Palace stands No. 20 in bold figures, upon that popular thoroughfare. The City is coming along!"

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

Dr. Charles W. Borup, a Danish trader, established the first banking firm in St. Paul. On June 1 of the following year, Dr. Borup joined forces with Charles H. Oakes to establish the banking firm of Borup & Oakes at Third and Jackson streets. This company was one of the few banking firms in St. Paul which withstood the hard times that followed. By 1853 eight additional banking firms were in operation. Dr. Borup should not be dismissed without

mention of earlier activities before coming to St. Paul. Arriving at Mackinaw, Lake Superior, in 1831, he became a trader with the Chippewa in the Rainy Lake region. He probably was the first physician in that section of the country. Later, he became chief agent of the American Fur Company, then controlled by P. Chouteau, Jr. and Company of St. Louis. He lived at Fort Snelling and Leech Lake before coming to St. Paul in 1849.^{37.}

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

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

Since Minnesota imported practically everything it used, and since exports were meagre, this money drained away almost as fast as it came in. In 1852, Governor Ramsey resorted to the extraordinary procedure of delaying Indian payments "until he was sure the River had closed so the money might remain in the Country." Development of St. Paul was seriously retarded by the lack of capital.^{40.}

37. Newson, T. M., Pen Pictures, p. 170.

38. Peterson, William J., "The Early History of Steamboating on the Minnesota River," Minnesota History, vol. 11, no. 2, June 1930, pp. 130-131.

39. Eliason, Adolph, "The Beginning of Banking in Minnesota," Minnesota History Collections, vol. 12, St. Paul, p. 685.

40. A. F. Fuller to George Fuller, Nov. 21, 1852, Fuller Papers.

Such civic marks of maturity as a militia company, a separate post office building and the Oakland Cemetery were acquired by 1853. The wilderness still crowded close to the new capital, however. Ojibway carried one of their forays against the Sioux into the heart of the village. On a spring morning, the Chippewa braves lay in ambush in an unfinished building of Lower Town, waiting for a Sioux party which included "Old Bets," her brother, "Wooden-legged Jim," and her sister. The three Sioux were well up Jackson street before the Chippewa sighted them. The Chippewa skirted the marsh at Fifth street, dog-trotted over Baptist Hill, and attacked near the Merchants' hotel. Old Bets and her brother and sister sought shelter in the Minnesota Outfit, and Bets' sister was fatally wounded.

In this same season, twenty-five bears were killed a short distance^{41.} from St. Paul, and prairie chickens were shot near the post office on Third street.

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

By dint of labor, and pressing blacksmiths and ropes into the service, it was in a few hours swinging in the unfinished belfry, and at nine o'clock that night, remarkable in its calmness, and its beautiful moonlight, its great iron heart began to throb. Its solemn

41. Williams, J. Fletcher, The History of St. Paul, p. 336.

pulsations were joyous to every man, woman and child in St. Paul, but productive of trembling astonishment to the painted Dakotas encamped on the opposite bank of the river. Many on that bright summer eve and on the bright, mild, and glorious Sabbath morn which succeeded, wished what Schiller has so well express in the 'Lay of the Bell.' 42.

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

The restless tide of landseekers was not to be denied. While the city waited for removal of the obstacles to progress, the energy and foresight of its residents were evident everywhere. By the end of 1853, Indian treaties had assured settlers of their land titles. Some headway had been made in the building of roads and river trade was booming. St. Paul real estate values had doubled for the fourth successive year. The gestative period was at an end and a new era was in the offing.

42. The Daily Democrat, Oct. 31, 1854.

MATTSON
CARY

SAINT PAUL THE CITY
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(2) The Growth of Civic Spirit

CHAPTER SIX

The City That Waited

The up-building of St. Paul had, to some extent, its source in divergent views. Out of a heterogeneous population one could hardly expect hearty accord in solving problems. Tender love-feasts or mutual admiration societies were the exception rather than the rule. Along with other ^{troubles} ~~sick headaches~~ was a shortage of ready cash to enable well-meaning settlers to put their ideas into execution. This didn't predispose to unruffled reactions. If you multiply group complexities by individual attributes you get, if not a city, at least a step forward...perhaps. And then, too, dissenting opinions vanish in moments of contagious hilarity.

New Year gayeties at St. Paul's American and Central houses, and at Stillwater's new hotel, introduced the decade of the fifties. The lock of winter sealed river and town. St. Paul, capital without territory, waited for "the ice to go out," for the arrival of the first steamboat of the season, for the cession of Indian lands, for the mail and news from Washington. Crusaders were needed and badly. Sibley's crusade was only a beginning. But the ring of pioneer axes and hammers was muted in the bedlam on far-away Capitol hill that required 63 ballots to name a house speaker. [Adams, James T.- The March of Democracy, p. 378].

INSERT #1 & #2
The Chronicle and Register of March 30, 1850, found it difficult to be optimistic over the general outlook. "Business...is wretchedly dull in all our town. The populace...stand about the streets in isolated groups practicing the

pastime of the universal Yankee nation--whittling and occasionally casting an anxious eye upon the surface of the river, as though they expected to see the ice smash to pieces, or the mail wending its way upwards...The goods are all sold...the teams have finished their hauling to the North...the sleighing is over...the building season cannot actively commence just yet; and we are all waiting for something that is going to happen...we hope before many days, viz: the opening of navigation;..save the eternal clatter of the sawmills at St. Anthony and along the St. Croix, the Territory is asleep."

In April the ice began to break, and by the second week of the month the water rose rapidly; bottom lands near Mendota and Fort Snelling were flooded and it was remarked at St. Paul that a "steamboat, to make a landing, would have to stick her nose a considerable distance up Jackson street." ⁽⁴⁾ [Chronicle and Register, April 6, 13, 1850]. Flood danger, however, soon passed. On April 19, the Highland Mary docked in St. Paul and once more the city went about the strenuous business of growing up. ⁽⁵⁾ [Minnesota Pioneer, Dec. 19, 1850].

The Highland Mary had brought five hundred passengers and the press noted: "...the hotels and boarding houses are about filled already." ⁽⁶⁾ [Chronicle and Register, April 27].

Many changes greeted newcomers. Whereas, hardly a decade before, a bleak warehouse bearing the legend "P. Choteau, Jr. & Company" was the chief symbol of life on the St. Paul side, ^{now} a snug citadel, Fort Snelling and its Round Tower, ~~now~~ bastioned the west bank. Midway, from Fort to Falls, and on the grassy swales of Minneapolis' future site, a sentry might have been seen eating his lunch beneath a lone oak." ⁽⁷⁾ [Newson, T. M. -- Pen Pictures (Sketch of Simeon P. Folsom) p. 68].

St. Paul was a primitive spot through most of the 1850's--not much improved over what it was when John R. Irvine, who arrived in June, 1843, found "the main land covered with heavy timber and underbrush." ^{had occurred} Little indeed to fore- shadow a city's future. "Upper Third street, from what is now Seven Corners to

the Bluff," Mr. Irvine recalled, "was a quagmire, almost without bottom, and was a source of great trouble for years to the owners of cows that would get fast in its mirey depths."

Captain John Bell, arriving in 1850, said: "There was not a house north of Third street, except a few on Robert street... All boats landed at the Upper levee at the foot of Eagle street."

In the summer of 1849, a contemporary had written, "the mercantile business consisted of Louis Robert's store at the lower landing; Freeman, Lar-penteur & Company's, same place; Henry Jackson, just closing out, in his old house on top of the bluff; W. H. Forbes, 'St. Paul Outfit,' Bench, between Jackson and Robert streets; J. W. Simpson, next door, and the large trading establishment of Olmstead & Rhodes, on Third street, in the old cabin...recently removed to give place to the handsome new store of Mr. Chamberlain. This completed the lower town.

"Then you traveled over an extensive corn and potato field to a little clump of shanties and balloon frames in the neighborhood of the 'American House.' Here was Levi Sloan, upon his present site, with a small stock; and next above the American were Messrs. Fuller, with a somewhat larger assortment. This was all..."

Vetal Guerin and Ben Gervais at last had neighbors more congenial than the drunken Sioux who staggered out of Parrant's groggery under the bluff. Yet, fringed as it was by dense clumps of cedar and tamarack, sprinkled generously with hazel brush and native grass, and gullied at Jackson and Eagle streets, St. Paul gave little promise of becoming a metropolis. A marsh in the present vicinity of Eighth and Robert streets provided excellent duck shooting.

Expansion came as new professional and trades people sought quarters. Rapid growth did not really set in until 1854, but the capital saw many new faces before that. The Cathcart brothers, Alexander H. and John W., and Bartley^{tt} Presley were prominent ~~merchants and~~ builders and merchants to arrive in 1850. Bart Presley ran a log cabin confectionery into an extensive wholesale fruit business

and a fortune. Trucks bearing the name "B. Presley" are familiar today. Commonly of a Sunday morning a group of Sioux could be seen setting up a din outside Bart's log store. They could only be placated by a "choice" basket of Presley's rottenest apples.

~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~

mond Dr. David Day, physician and talented civic leader, arrived in this period. The new capital was now bursting with legal talent--25 lawyers. The Pioneer on March 13, 1850, reported 15 stores doing business. Trade, however, was inclined to lag during the summer of 1850. Poor crops down valley were blamed. St. Paul, though, went on growing. Pine lumber originating at Minnesota mills and worth ten or eleven dollars a thousand feet in St. Louis, "sold readily at St. Paul for 17 dollars per thousand." ⁽¹²⁾ [Minnesota Pioneer, August 15, 1850].

In the midsummer of 1851, Thomas Curran opened the "World's Fair" store on the corner of Third and Robert streets. Constituting the chief attraction of Curran's emporium were his two comely daughters who waited on trade.

Sturdy St. Paulites of the Fifties were less tolerant of ~~unfortunate~~ political appointees than they had been before. There was general satisfaction with Governor Ramsey's official acts, but other Territorial appointments did not meet with the same unanimous approval. ^{St. Paulites} They naturally resented a contemptuous attitude toward the people of the Territory. "I at least," Judge Cooper had written, "stand somewhat higher than my brethren of the Bench. But even this...is no compliment to me, as I am rated by fools." ⁽¹²⁾ [D. Cooper to Ramsey, Nov. 2, 1849]. Although such an utterance might be expected from a man who had been appointed Associate Justice of the Territory because he was brother of a senator, it could not be overlooked any more than his ridiculous vanity. Exasperated at Cooper's frequent absences from his post and other ^{shortcomings} ~~derelictions~~ the people decided to do something. Nor did they overlook the other notable object of Editor Goodhue's choice invectives, ~~Mr. Mitchell~~ Alexander M. Mitchell, another appointee, even more frequently a truant from duty than Cooper, ^{had} evoked the dislike of the settlers, ⁽¹⁴⁾ [Murray, William Pitt, "Recollections of Early Territorial Days and Legislation," MHC, vol. 12, pp. 107-108].

Political rivalries had become extremely bitter and the city was divided into "cliques, factions, and clans." [Ibid., vol. 12, pp. 113]. Goodhue's fine allotment of epithets never ran thin, his editorial rapier-thrusts not only struck ~~home but~~ fire but blazed with contagious heat. "Every man was armed with ~~with~~ something," ^{"wrote a citizen,"} "A man had better not show himself without his pockets full of rocks which was my situation exactly and I made them count, too. You would have laughed to see me spread myself. Our party came off victorious." [David Fuller, St. Paul, to George R. Fuller, Scotland, Conn., January 19, 1851; Fuller- Abbie, Abbe & Family Papers].

Dissatisfaction with Cooper and Mitchell at last reached the ears of high officials in Washington, D. C., and Sibley reported in July that "Mitchell will have to go to M(innesota) forthwith, resign, or be removed. So the President told me in so many words. I told him M (itchell) was here endeavoring to have better men than himself removed from office, simply because they would not degrade themselves or the Territory by voting for him. I have just ^{rec'd} ~~received~~ a letter from the ~~department~~ Dept. of State, inquiring of me whether Judge Cooper & Marshall M(itchell) are here at home 'in discharge of their duties.' This looks ominous for these two gentlemen..." [H. H. Sibley, Washington, to John H. Stevens, July 1, 1851, Stevens Papers]. Mitchell resigned shortly thereafter.

An event of June, 1850, of high moment in the annals of steamboat travel, accentuated the issue that claimed first place in the settlers' minds--the matter of opening the Sioux lands to white settlement. High water from the spring freshets of 1850 had swollen the Minnesota river until steamers were able to ascend far upstream.

The Minnesota river, known by the Indians as Ashkibogi-Sibi or the "river of the

green leaf," because of the contrast between the bright foliage along its banks and the somber pines of the northern rivers, had not received much attention up to this time, ^{although} a steamer had ascended this stream as far as the Indian village of Shakopee in 1842.

On June 28, 1850, the Anthony Wayne under Captain Daniel Able, with the incentive of a \$225 purse, sailed on an excursion "up the unknown waters of the St. Peter river now called the Minnesota." (Gathcart, Rebecca Marshall, "A Sheaf of Reminiscences," MHC, Vol. 15, ^{p. 18} page 529). The Wayne reached the foot of the rapids near Carver. The brimming, fresh river and the rolling, tree-covered land impressed the excursionists, and the reports which they brought back to St. Paul whetted the ^{appetites} appetites of land-seekers.

Steamboat competition stimulated further navigation of the Minnesota. The Nominee surpassed the mark of the Wayne, but on July 20 the latter boat recaptured honors by reaching a point a few miles below the present city of Mankato. The Yankee reached Judson (above Mankato) in Blue Earth county, in midsummer. ¹⁹ (Hughes, Thomas, "A History of Steamboating on the Minnesota River," MHC, Vol. 10, Part 1, pp. 131-136).

The ^{only} excursions into the promised land held by the Sioux hastened the drive to acquire the empire overdue. St. Paul with ~~commercial~~ ^{only} instinct headed this campaign. The anomalous position of St. Paul, prior to the Sioux treaty of 1852, can only be realized ^{only by} upon a study of its trade area. It was the capital of ^{an inverted} ~~an~~ territory triangle of territory, bounded on the north by a line running due east from the Mississippi river just below Princeton, to the St. Croix and extending southward to Point Douglas, within the angle of those two rivers. Aside from the Pembina colony, the remainder of Minnesota was ^{legally} ~~virtual~~ Indian domain.

Another group of growing impatience carried on the ~~same~~ campaign for the Indian land cessions from St. Anthony. Messrs. Steele and Stevens headed ~~this~~ this delegation, ^{which} that practically camped in Washington, D.C., through ^{much} ~~most~~ of 185² and 185³. Few Minnesotans at ~~this late date may realize~~ ^{today that} but the establishment of the young metropolis, Minneapolis, ^{for years} ~~practically~~ waited upon Congress and the War Department officials to release the Reservation territory ~~wast~~ across from St. Anthony for pre-emption and settlement.

In his message to the second legislature on January 1, 1851, Ramsey dealt with ~~this matter~~, the Sioux lands, ^{matter} and which had been uppermost in his mind since his arrival as Governor. So long as the Sioux held legal title and dominance of the ~~western~~ trans-Mississippi lands, ^{settlement and} ~~immigration and agricultural as well as trade de-~~ velopment ^{were} ~~would be~~ stalemated. Since 1849 the question had become acute, ^{because} ~~due to~~ ^{by then} ~~the fact that~~ newcomers were already pressing into the forbidden land.

Ramsey, moved largely by his concern for the future of the Territory, ^{but partially also} ~~and partly~~ by his prejudice against Indians, admitted that the newcomers were trespassing but went on to praise their enterprise. (Gen. James H. Baker, Alexander Ramsey, A Memorial Eulogy, ^{p.} page 728). His only suggestion was that settlement be made legal and the land opened as soon as possible. His suggestions approved, negotiations were ~~immediately~~ immediately begun for a treaty, ^{Securing that end} ~~which would secure that purpose.~~

The Governor and Luke Lea were designated as commissioners to treat with the Sioux. During the last days of June, 1851, a vast crowd gathered at Traverse des Sioux "on a lovely prairie which rises gently from the Minnesota river." The Sioux assembled "in full costumes with eagle plumes & turkey beards, deer tails & horse tails &c." ^{along with} Indian traders, & men of French, half breed & American blood" ^{all, in short,} ~~in fact any~~ who had financial interest in the Indian trade/ came to witness the deliberations. (Mayer, Frank Blackwell, "With Pen and Pencil on The Frontier in 1851", MHS, St. Paul, 1932, pp.145-149.).

Of the entire body of whites in attendance at the conference, Ramsey is said to have been the only one who worked "from no sordid motives." The traders present exerted a strong influence ^{in favor of} ~~for~~ the treaty, since it would give the Indians money which the traders might claim in payment for goods advanced. The treaty was signed on July 23, 1851. (Baker, Gen. James H., Alexander Ramsey, A Memorial Eulogy, ^{p.} ~~pag~~ 729).

The opening of the western lands was a matter of great moment to St. Paul. It would undoubtedly attract many ^{new} settlers and commerce would be extended ^{because} ~~due to the~~ ~~fact that~~ Minnesota river navigation would ^{have to clear through the local ports} ~~have its terminus in that city.~~ The treaty opening the land was ratified by the United States Senate on June 26, 1852, thus opening 23 million acres of new land.

The significance of the occasion was not missed in St. Paul: "At sunset ... our people piled up fire barrels and kindled up blazing illuminations, along the bluff, notwithstanding the moon took all the shine out of the bon-fires; and speeches were made by Mr. Baker and Mr. Phillips and we know not by whom besides. In fact, it was one of the nights we read of, but such as few if any three year old towns have experienced. Nothing was wanting but the ringing of our half dozen bells; ..." (Minnesota Pioneer, July 1, 1852).

While in the cold light of intervening decades, the rapacity of the White Father may be deplored; the three treaties that uprooted the Redmen were necessary. — *even imperative, if the nation were to advance, in the advancement of a nation.*

The chiefs at Traverse des Sioux upon signing the quit claim deed to their ancestral domain, were ~~in~~ "pulled by the blanket" and directed to a place a few feet distant where on the head of a barrel ... lay another document to be signed. Joseph R. Brown held the pen and all the chiefs signed but two." (Folwell, W.W. — History of Minnesota, Vol. 1 p.282). Thereby, the "traders' paper" was validated and the traders' claims against individual Indians had to be satisfied out of the treaty funds before their distribution.

The oncoming settlers' debt to the traders, however, may be best expressed in the words of William Pitt Murray:

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

more than feed the Indians and ~~individuals~~ indicate what they wanted; the traders did the rest." (Murray, Hon. Wm. P - Recollection of Early Territorial Days and Legislation, p.120).

^{However, between}
~~Between~~ the derelictions of the Great White Father and the trader, and the retreat of game and other bounties of nature, the Indian often knew want. Chief Hole-In-The-Day of the Ojibways was in St. Paul and St. Anthony in mid-January of the Treaty year, and made an eloquent and pitiable plea for food for his starving people. St. Paulites responded, but scores ^{of Red Men} perished from disease and want.

In contrast, St. Paul was offered a ludicrous ^{spectacle} after the signing of the Mendota Treaty and the break-up of the big pow-wow on Pilot Knob early in August of 1851. The Sioux bands of Little Crow, Wabasha, and minor chiefs the week after the Treaty pay-off, went shopping for horses in St. Paul.

"... an Indian always purchases a horse on a different principle from a white man," ^{states} wrote Neill, "If he desires a white horse, all other considerations are secondary.... The week subsequent to the treaty there was a general clearing out of worn-out nags from the livery stables of the Capital; and, when the cavalcade started... it was a ~~xxx~~ scene to excite the laughter of a stoic." (Neill. ^{E. D.} ~~History of St. Paul.~~ p. 561). A few weeks later, the same Indians were in want for provisions.

INSERT #2
Despite St. Paul's pioneer cast of Indians, traders, and Frenchmen, a new company had moved upon its ⁱprémeval stage. The town very soon divided into two distinct social groups. The New Englanders, particularly the women, attempted to transplant their native tradition intact in the harsher soil of their new homes. ^{Notwithstanding} Despite the odds against them they preserved the amenities, the caste lines, morality and culture of "the Rock-bound coast." Whiskey was, for all practical purposes, the line of division. The New Englanders gave their allegiance to sarsaparilla cider; (Minnesota Democrat, St. Paul, July 15, 1851) while the earlier settlers, the half-bloods, and the French element,

found "whiskey hoe-downs" more to their liking. (Bishop, ²⁹Harriet, Floral Home, ^{p.}p. 101). Even the most respected of the very early settlers were addicted to hard liquor in embarrassing quantities. (Rail Fence Corners, ^{p.}Page 17).

A Sons of Temperance chapter had been organized May 8, 1849. The following year a St. Anthony group had been organized. These with the newly-formed Temperance Watchmen regarding the strict temperance regulations of Maine as model ordinances brought the issue quickly to head. The liquor control law was put to a vote April 5, 1852, and with the villages of St. Anthony Falls and Stillwater almost exclusively settled by people from Maine, it passed easily. St. Paul and Little Canada showed majorities against the law. St. Paul Temperance advocates had,

~~*The great majority of citizens in Minnesota~~
on the day of election, opened a hall and provided free entertainment and a banquet. Those ~~attended~~ attending had been asked to take the pledge.

The vote ⁱⁿ for Ramsey county was close, 528 aye, 497 nay. The newspapers commented that "church bells ring, and so do the glasses. Everybody celebrates the advent of the Temperance Millenium by getting gloriously drunk." (Pioneer and Democrat Weekly, April 28, 1858). On May 1, 1852, the restrictions went into effect. The dry victory, however, was short-lived. (Murray, Margaret, ³¹The Prohibition Movement in Minnesota From 1849 to 1856, term paper, Hamline University, St. Paul.),

^{at} The next general election, opponents of liquor regulation rallied to elect a majority in the state legislature and the dry laws were repealed. On the night of the repeal, "a large steamboat bell was mounted upon wheels, and attended by scores of miserable beings, went booming through the streets ... proclaiming death to the temperance principles, and loud hurrahs for the movers of repeal." (33) (Floral Homes, pp. 110-111),

The Yankee did not surrender as easily on other matters. ^{As for the} The ladies maintained their gentility, ^{and although in} In some of it they were snobbish ^{nevertheless} but in many matters they made the city conscious of some responsibility beyond the moment. They nurtured the struggling beginnings of education and culture. If they were all too conscious of social position, they were also conscious of a need for people

like themselves.

From the east they brought houseplants with which they made the windows bright ^{and delighted in making the windows bright} with fuchsia, geraniums, roses, and heliotrope. New settlers were welcomed by being presented with slips started under inverted tumblers. They wrote "back east" of the little things in their lives: of the visit to Fountain Cave which was "really worth going to see; the swallows were flying out of the sides of the cave and such a beautiful stream of water. They are building a saloon near the cave, it will be finished in about a week, think we may happen up there about that time and have some ice creams" (Sarah Cummins Fuller, St. Paul, to Elizabeth Kingsley Fuller, June 12, 1852.) ⁵⁴ of birth and death and trivia, "Mrs. Neill has a young son two days old - Hurrah for these ministers. Mrs. Simms has a daughter. Mrs. Selby a Canary bird & 160 chickens in their new house which is one and half story high the lower half being underground, and the upper being in the early pointed style... Mrs. ~~Tilden~~ Tilden is back again under the name of Babcock -- Isn't it a shame for her to be married so soon after making such a fuss? I have not been to see her at all, maybe I shall when her first ~~husband has been~~ husband has been dead a year The Ladies keep up their sewing Society, meet every week, have got me in as Secretary & Treasurer so as to make me go regularly, you see I attended poor young Tracy's funeral ... sorrowing that one so worthy and industrious should ... suffer unto death, while worthless loafers and idle drunkards live to curse and shame humanity." ⁵⁵ (Stella Selby to Elizabeth Fuller, December 12, 1852, Fuller Papers).

While St. Paul early felt the influence of this nucleus of high social and cultural attributes, the institution of the Church, Protestant and Catholic, served to consolidate these spiritual and material gains. Ecclesiastic even in name, St. Paul ~~made~~ made rapid strides in the early fifties.

Catholic parishioners saw the city become the center of a bishopric. Newly consecrated Bishop Rt. Rev. Joseph Cretin arrived in July, 1851, to inaugurate an intensive building and educational program. Vicar-General Augustine Ravoux, the

ever-faithful and energetic ^{shepherd} ~~seiner~~ of souls, had prepared the way for Bishop Cretin by arranging for the purchase of suitable ground for a new cathedral, school, and bishop's residence.

"I considered the purchase of the twenty-two lots (for \$900) a very good bargain for the church, as also a good one for Mr. Vetal Guerin, because it was understood that the cathedral and other buildings would be erected on block seven, and such improvement would increase the value of Mr. Vetal Guerin's property," wrote ~~Mr~~ Rev. Fr. Ravoux.

~~".... Before the lapse of five months," continues the pioneer priest "after his (Bishop J. Cretin's) arrival in Saint Paul, he had erected on block 7, in~~

".... Before the lapse of five months after his (Bishop J. Cretin's) arrival in Saint Paul," continued the pioneer priest, "he had erected on block 7, in Saint Paul Proper, a brick building 84 feet long by 44 wide, three stories and a half high, including the basement. That building became immediately the second cathedral of Saint Paul, and also the second residence of the Rt. Rev. Bishop, of his priests and seminarians; and in a few months after, some apartments of the basement were used as school-rooms for boys. The young girls were also to be provided with Catholic schools, and, in 1852, the Sisters of Saint Joseph devoted themselves in Saint Paul to the holy work of their institute, and they opened their schools on the property of the church, on Third street." (Ravoux, Rev. Fr. Augustine- From an article in Northwestern Chronicle - excerpt from A History of the City of St. Paul and the County of Ramsey, by J. Fletcher Williams - Collections of Minn. Hist. Soc., Vol. IV - Published by the Society - St. Paul, 1876).

The roots of Protestant denominations as well as Catholic had been well established ^{before} ~~ere~~ the decentennial of the Catholic parish, however. Rev. E.D. Neill was exhorting his Presbyterian flock in a fine brick church, successor to the one destroyed in St. Paul's first fire. The Baptists, Methodists, and Episcopalians had places of worship and well defined congregations by the summer of 1850.

The trio, the Rev. Messrs., Breck, Merrick, and Wilcoxson, coming in 1850, had set up the ^{EPISCOPAL} ~~Congregational~~ faith in a tent, perhaps the first of the ^{such} ~~typical~~ abodes.

The management

~~Mr. Elfelt~~ of Mazourka Hall continued to cater to ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~^{their} his pleasure-loving clientele, competing with Lott Moffett in that art. To this end he took stock of his quarters and made necessary improvements. The classic paintings adorning Mazourka Hall were, according to the Minnesota

Insert I
The management of Mazourka Hall continued to cater to their pleasure-loving clientele, competing with the amiable Lott Moffett in that art. To this end improvements, deemed necessary, ~~were~~^{had been in the building.} made. The classic paintings adorning Mazourka Hall, ^{were,} according to the Minnesota Pioneer, "from the prolific brush of Mons. Schinotti, representing the Nine Muses, and several respectable ladies of the Pantheon, especially Diana." The proprietors (Elfelts) were apparently leaving nothing undone.

The shouts and laughter of children mingled with the heavier voices of adults in the merrymaking incidental to ^{outdoor} winter ~~sports~~^{fun.} "Coasting on sleds, from the top of the hill at the lower landing (to the river)...is a favorite amusement now with the boys of our town, Canadians, Americans, and Halfbreeds, of all sizes, complexions and costumes, mingling in the sport."

dedicated to evangelistic work, & still in favor.

~~dedicated to religious work and, enduring still in favor.~~ This trio of rugged English faith roamed ^{and environs} ~~the environs of~~ St. Paul, and St. Anthony in missionary ^{activities} work and the Rev. Mr. Breck acquired a vaunted reputation as a pedestrian to distant points of worship. The corner ~~for the church~~ stone for a new church, "Christ's Church of the City of St. Paul," was laid by Rev. Mr. Gear, chaplain of Fort Snelling, ~~On~~ September 5, 1850, and the new edifice was ~~consecrated~~ ^{dedicated} in May, 1851, a crowning tribute to the efforts of the missionary trio. ⁽ⁿ⁾ "The Rise and Progress of St. Paul" ~~the~~ Daily Democrat, Oct. 28, 1854, St. Paul).

The Baptists, forty-niners also, boasted a small but dignified ~~steep~~ white church magnificently situated. "On Jackson Street between Fourth and Seventh streets," recalls an early resident, "about where the new Hill Building now stands, was a steep hill some fifty feet high. On its summit, reached by a wooden stairway from Jackson street, stood a small church edifice belonging to the Baptists, and one or two other buildings. This hill sloped down to the east, and finally disappeared in a morass called Baptist hell." ^[sic] The eminence was used ^{also} as a lookout to watch for incoming steamers, ³⁸ ~~also~~ (Dunn (Andrew C.)) Papers, "Leaves From the Tablets of My Memory Concerning Early Days of Minnesota" by Andrew C. Dunn of Winnebago, Minn. H.S.M. Mss Div'n.).

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Zuer The white painted churches and houses early became a landmark to river ~~land~~ travelers as they rounded the bend down-river. The steeples and congregations increased with ^{the} advent of immigrant Germans and Scandinavians and new religious sects. Three churches, the Episcopal, First Presbyterian, and Roman Catholic, ^{without delay} early acquired organs. Rev. Neill's church boasted the more costly one made ^{type of organ} by the new York firm of Hall & Laback, but it had the unhappy fate of being accidentally ~~he~~ tumbled into the river upon its shipment upstream.

Schools became another cornerstone of this pioneer society. To Rev. ~~Dr.~~ ^{Williamson} Thomas Smith Williamson, who with the Pond brothers pioneered Presbyterianism, in Minnesota, ~~we~~ must go credit for lending first impetus to a public school system in St. Paul. Communicating with the president of the

Communicating with the president of the National Board of Education, Governor ~~Salde~~ ^{Mr. Pond} Slade, ~~he~~ was instrumental in getting the services of Miss Harriet E. Bishop. That was 1847-48. The town's first school board named in December, 1849, had comprised William H. Forbes, Edmund Rice, E.D. Neill, J.P. Parsons, and B.V. Hoyt. Early in 1850, a school house for lower town was erected ^{on} ~~at~~ Jackson street above Fifth, ^{Here} ~~and where~~ Miss Scofield taught. Miss Bishop resumed duties at the Bench street school and Rev. C.H. Hobart taught a school for boys in the Methodist church. ~~Upper~~ In 1851, upper town had two schools mastered by B.B. Ford and Miss E. Brewster, and lower town two schools supervised by G.H. Spencer and Miss Bass.

St. Paul's first high school was opened in 1852, with G.H. Spencer as principal. ~~Arranged for this purpose~~ ^{rented} A room ~~hired~~ for this use was situated on the third floor ^{of} the Stees & Hunt's furniture store. The school program varied little the next two years, although a public high school and an evening school were envisaged.

Parochial schools, of course, played a prominent part in the educational program. Prior to 1850, schools in the Territory at large were mostly connected with the Mission established among the Indians. Dr. Williamson's long service ~~as~~ as missionary at Kaposia, no doubt enabled him to see quickly the need for a school on his occasional sermons in Henry Jackson's house in St. Paul.

The Episcopalians established the first parochial school in St. Paul, with J.H. Craige in charge. The Roman Catholic parochial classes made great progress with the advent of Bishop Cretin and teaching members of several Catholic orders. A school was also conducted by a Miss Ogen in the basement of the Second Presbyterian church.

The Sisters of St. Joseph came to St. Paul in 1851 and opened a boarding and day school on or near Bench street, at the behest and encouragement of the newly consecrated bishop, the Reverend Joseph Cretin. Although St. Paul by that date had fairly cleared the stumps out of Third street, the apprehension of the first colony of four sisters of the order were little mitigated. Taking tearful farewell

of their companions at the Mother House in Carondelet, St. Louis, they boarded the steamer St. Paul a Tuesday evening, October 28, 1851, for the long trip north.

The four members of the party were: Mother St. John Fournier, of France; Sister M. Philomene, France; Sister M. Scholastica Velasquez, a French and Spanish Creole, of St. Louis, and Sister Frances Joseph Ivory, of Loretto, Penn.

They spent one night at Galena and went on to Prairie du Chien, where they were the guests of Rev. Father Galtier, founder of the new mission and christener of the young capital, St. Paul. He expressed pleasure at the prospect of a new school and accompanied the sisters on board the steamer for a short trip upriver.

That the Catholic bishop and his aides experienced hardship in their efforts is evident. Bishop Rev. Cretin listed ten villages and trading posts in the diocese, and pupils at the mission schools / ^{whether} ~~were~~ Indian, mixed blood, or white were from poor families.

~~At St. Paul~~. At St. Paul, a boys' school was conducted in the basement of the Cathedral, first under an ecclesiastical student Thomas Murray and later by ^{his successors} others. One of the latter, a Daniel Fisher wrote: "The Catholics are very poor here -- they are half-breeds, Canadians and Irish. The Yankees have all the influence, the wealth and the power, although they are not near as numerous as the others." ^(Reference: Fisher, Daniel - Letter) (Have misplanned this reference)

And further he wrote: "... What am I doing do you think? I am teaching the Catholic school! -- My mission is among the dirty little ragged Canadian and Irish boys. Every day, morning and afternoon, I practice patience with these wild little fellows -- try to teach them who God is and then to instruct them in the mysteries of A.B.C. ..." This ecclesiastic longed for appointment to an Indian mission which he thought a sinecure in comparison to his St. Paul task.

39 X. Cox, Sister Ignatius Loyola- Notes on the Early History of the Sisters of St. Joseph in Minnesota. Acta Et Dicta, Vol. III No. II, July 1914.

1852
INSERT #2, contd.

the area embracing ^aseveral acres. From clear fresh springs that issued from the bluff nearby the hospital was supplied with water. [Minnesota Democrat Weekly, March 10, 1852].

On May 26, 1852, it was reported that until the hospital was ready to receive patients, Vital Guerin's house, which was opposite the Catholic church, would be used as a temporary hospital, Dr. Carlloz and assistants being in charge. [Ibid, May 26, 1852].

Notwithstanding the fact that the town was growing and property values increasing, Vital Guerin continued to sell lots to settlers at low prices. His lenient treatment of delinquent purchasers was a local maxim, and to settlers who came to St. Paul with little or nothing he frequently gave a homesite. [Saint Paul Pioneer Press, July 1, 1941]. The square on which the old court house was built, which he presented to the city when the local government was organised, while an early benefaction, was merely the forerunner of many benefactions.

Material progress was evidenced also in civic improvements during 1851. Wrote Goodhue in the ~~Risner~~ Minnesota Pioneer, October 9 : ".... The large brick Catholic building is now enclosed, the Court House is daily growing, and the Capitol is in progress. A noble work of rock ~~excavation~~ is nearly completed on Bench street - the opening and grading of Fourth Street is in the way of being done, and a new bridge built on Jackson street - Third street is thronged with people, and our town is full of animation, hope and energy." Sioux daily lounged about the construction scene of the bridge being built across the ravine to upper Jackson street. Much like the hangers-on/^{at}~~the~~ a steamshovel scene of today, the Indians were all but willing to bet the brickwork and forms for the bridge arch would never hold and great was their consternation at the black magic when the ~~formwork~~ structure held together.

(4) *News - Pen Pictures p.*
"Messrs. Rey and Carliz," noted one account, "have commenced building in the upper town, a short distance back of the American Hotel, a large ~~a~~ four story stone building for a Hospital. It will be under the superintendence of Dr. Carliz, a French Physician of distinguished eminence in his profession..." *Dr.* Minn. Dem.

Weekly, Mar. 10, 1852).

INSERT 1 & 2
While St. Paul society may have begun to polarize into molds of *aristocrat and* the *vivid* commoner, many able and colorful characters were seen upon her streets: ~~Only a~~ ~~few names:~~ Lott Moffett, the kindly innkeeper; Louis Robert, river captain and merchant; C.P. Lull, Charlie Cave, Joe Rolette, irrepressible bon-vivant from Pembina; Ike Markley, John P. Owens, Jim Vincent; Col. McKenty, of "Broad Acres"; Col. Goodhue, Sam Sargent, Col. Burton of the Central House; Henry Jackson, postmaster; Bill Taylor, the colored barber and cotillion caller; Jim Thompson, ferryman; Tom Odell with a squaw wife; Parson Willoughby, of the Aeolian church; Old Bets and Wooden-legged Jim, her brother; Hock-Washta, "who always wore a plug hat full of ribbons and pieces of calico"; Julia, the pretty squaw, and "Popcorn Johnson," the popcorn vender. *He!* (*News - Pen Pictures*, p. 305).

"The Preparatory Department building of the Minnesota University," wrote the Minnesota Democratic Weekly, November 15," thanks to the persevering efforts of J.W. North, Esq., has been erected, and is now ready for the reception of Students.... We do not doubt that the University to be erected at St. Anthony is destined to become one of the most popular and successful institutions of learning in the United States." This sanguine prophecy has been well realized by ~~an~~ ^{the} institution ^{today} ~~ranking~~ ^{among universities} third in size in the United States.

An institution to become Macalester college received its first great impetus in January of 1853. Rev. E.D. Neill, having launched a school for advanced students, obtained a considerable donation from M.W. Baldwin, Philadelphia. The institution ~~for~~ thwith became the Baldwin school. The following year, it was chartered as the College of St. Paul, and "a handsome stone edifice, three stories in height..." was built.

St. Paul's first business college ~~was~~ also was launched with the announcement: "for the study of Double and Single Entry Book-keeping at Comb's Book-store.... Terms for a final course of instruction, \$15.000. W.S. Combs, cor. St. Anthony and Capital st." (47) (Minn. Pioneer, Nov. 27, 1851).

(Continued on next page).

Immigration was daily adding to St. Paul's population in the steamboat season. German immigrants in 1852 were already eclipsing the early French stock and were the first large foreign element.

By a strange coincidence two men, born the same year in two different countries, and both with a flair for colonization, one a churchman and the other a promoter, were destined to meet in St. Paul, far from the scene of their birth, to become fast friends and to wield a great influence not only on local history but on that of Minnesota and the entire Northwest.

John Ireland, afterwards Archbishop, born in County Kilkenny, the "Emerald Isle," was the first, because he came to St. Paul in 1852; James J. Hill, born near Guelph, Ontario, of Scotch-Irish descent, was the second to arrive--just four years later. Both were born in 1832.

It seemed inevitable that these two men, the future well known American Catholic prelate and the future railroad king, should gravitate to the same city, meet as if by predestination, combine their unusual talents and by co-ordinated efforts build the "empire of the West."

John Ireland was fourteen years old when he came to St. Paul with his parents in 1852. Thousands of his countrymen were to follow. Occasional Scandinavian families arrived that year.

During this period, Norman W. Kittson, 1st., platting Kittson's Addition, became identified with the town. James M. Winslow, builder of hotels bearing his name, in St. Peter, St. Anthony, and St. Paul; Charles Fillmore, brother of the late President; H. A. Schlick, merchant, and the O'Gormans were among arrivals the same year, as was also Joseph R. Brown, following Rice and Sibley. Sibley cast his lot with St. Paul in the purchase of the Minnesota Pioneer.

A tragedy of this year was the death of James M. Goodhue, editor and publisher of the town's first newspaper--on August 27, 1852. Goodhue died at his residence, Third and St. Peter streets, after a brief illness. His ^{street battle} physical ~~en-~~ ^{the previous year,} ~~counter~~ with Joseph Cooper, in which he was stabbed in the abdomen, was believed to have been an indirect cause, however. In Goodhue's death, St. Paul lost one of its most able and fervid leaders. He never ceased his crusades for civic

improvements. These included urging of a public waterworks, replanning of city streets and establishment of ~~city~~ parks. He had neither asked for nor given quarter in his battles for any project he considered worthy, any cause he deemed just. The editor was buried near Lake Como, but the location of his grave is unknown to this day and so unmarked.

The legislature of 1853 opened with a heated battle over the speakership that finally went to Dr. David Day, of St. Paul. Willis A. Gorman, appointee of President Pierce, arrived in the spring of 1853 to succeed Governor Alexander Ramsey. His advent marked a new storm center in territorial politics. Gorman and his adherents attempted to condemn Ramsey's tenure and career by bringing charges against him in connection with payment of Indian treaty funds. Governor Gorman made many enemies in Minnesota, and before expiration of his term in 1857 a movement to impeach him got under way. A man of military as well as political background, he led a fiery career to earn his particular niche in state historical annals.

1853x

Transportationx

In the spring of 1853, St. Paul was still ~~awaiting the~~ lacking the means of carving an empire from wilderness - good transportation. Commerce it had. Immigrants it had, but rapid growth was impossible without ready access to the interior. The river furnished entrance to the country. Roads hewn through forests had made possible a few stage lines, chiefly between St. Paul and St. Anthony and St. Paul and Prairie du Chien. A railroad was the dream of every legislator and resident of St. Paul and vicinity, in 1853.

Major ~~Isaac I.~~ Isaac I. Stevens, ~~major~~ of the U.S. Army, was assigned the duty of exploring a survey route for a Pacific railroad from St. Paul on April 8, 1853. He arrived in St. Paul May 27, to outfit and begin the survey expedition. St. Paul was to wait many months, a seeming age, before this preliminary work bore fruit. Meanwhile, she struggled with ~~the~~ season-controlled roads and rivers. The obstacle of poor roads was to prove even more annoying ^{deford} than the liberation of Indian ~~lands~~ and government lands for exploitation and settlement.

Quick to exploit cultural possibilities, ^pPhysicians met ^{in St. Paul} July 28, 1853, to organize the Minnesota Medical society. A state agricultural society earlier had been established to make plans for the first fair at Fort Snelling. In numberless ways, St. Paul was readying itself for its historic role.

"... The first house-numbering of an establishment in St. Paul," noted the Minnesotian Weekly October 15, 1853, "was perpetrated yesterday upon Roberts street. Cathcart, Kern & Co.'s Crystal Palace stands as No. 20, in bold figures, upon that popular thoroughfare. The City is coming along!"

Citizens of St. Paul were agog ^{over} at a new ~~Norwegian~~ Norwegian means of transportation, appearing in the city. "Some of the Norwegians who reside here, use the Lapland snow skates," ~~remarked~~ remarked the Minnesota Pioneer. "...One of these snowskates arrived in town last week from lake Superior, having traveled at the rate of eighty miles or less, a day."

Out of the Superior country also had come a Danish gentleman and trader, Dr. Charles W. Borup to establish on May 1, 1851, the first banking firm in St. Paul. On June 1 of the following year, **Mr.** Borup joined forces with Charles H. Oakes to establish the banking firm of Borup & Oakes at Third and Jackson streets. This bank was the nucleus of St. Paul's banking system and withstood the lean years to follow. By 1853 eight additional St. Paul banking firms ~~or families~~ were in operation.

Dr. Borup should not be passed over without ^{important} his recognition as one of the ~~truly~~ ^{truly} ~~great~~ figures of Minnesota history. Cultured and talented in music as well as the social amenities, Dr. Borup came to Mackinaw, Lake Superior, in 1831 and became a trader with the Chippewas in the Rainy Lake region. He was in all likelihood the first physician in that section of the country. He became chief agent ~~for~~ of the American Fur company, then controlled by P. Choteau, Jr. & Co., of St. Louis, and lived at Fort Snelling and Leech Lake before coming to St. Paul in 1849. The homes of the Borups and the Oakes early became meccas for the socially and musically inclined young people of the city. (Newson, ^{T.M.} -Pen Pictures, pl70).

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

Following a large payment to the Indians, it was observed that "The merchants are reaping a rich harvest. The Indians are as plentiful in town as mosquitos in summer; but they are more welcome." (Peterson, William J., "The Early History of Steamboating on the Minnesota River," Minnesota History, Vol. 11, No. 2, June 1930, pp. 130-131). Any delay in the arrival of government funds usually resulted in "distressing financial paroxysms." (Eliason, Adolph, "The Beginning of Banking in Minnesota," Minn. History Collections, Vol. 12, St. Paul, Page 685).

Since Minnesota was importing practically everything it used, and exports

1854

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wide

Its metal tongue proclaimed its message far and ~~near~~[^]. If we except the small steamboat bell presented by Captain Louis Robert and attached to the log chapel of St. ⁿPaul, it was the first church-going bell in the district. It had volume and resonance and in its insistent appeal the editor of the Daily Democrat found inspiration for a meditative glimpse into the St. Paul of his day, a glimpse reflecting rich contrasts, when he wrote: "By dint of labor, and pressing blacksmiths and ropes into the service, it was in a few hours swinging in the unfinished belfry, and at nine o'clock that night, remarkable in its calmness, and its beautiful moonlight, its great iron heart began to throb. Its solemn pulsations were joyous to every man, woman and child in St. Paul, but productive of trembling astonishment to the painted Dakotas encamped on the opposite bank of

#2

the river. Many on that bright summer eve. and on the bright, mild, and glorious Sabbath morn which succeeded, wished what Schiller has so well expressed in the 'Lay of the Bell.'" [The Daily Democrat, Oct. 31, '54].

1854
Later, when the bell referred to was transferred to the Methodist church belfry, having been purchased by the Methodist congregation when an "unexpected gift from a Mr. Buckingham of Ohio, arrived, and courtesy required that it should take the place of the first bell," the same editor returned to the theme as follows: "There is a witchery about a bell, as its great metal heart is heard throbbing in the belfry of the church, that makes the blood pulse more repaidly though our veins. We no longer wonder that the great German poet, Schiller, should have composed a 'Song of the Bell,' and that he should have scores of imitators. As we listened on last evening, to the clear tones of the bells, in the two brick churches on the plain between upper and lower landings of the town, the one cast by Meneeley of Troy, the other by Hanks of Cincinnati, years were crowded into minutes. Thoughts mournful and cheerful were mingled together in strange confusion, like the globules of different metals when melted, which now compose the bells we write of."

were meagre, this money was drained away almost as fast as it came in. As a result of this situation Governor Ramsey in 1852 resorted to the extraordinary procedure of delaying Indian payments "until he was sure the River had closed so the money might remain in the Country." (A.F.Fuller to George Fuller, Nov. 21, 1852, Fuller Papers). Development of St. Paul was seriously retarded by the lack of capital. No bank or loan company was yet established and sources from which funds might be secured in the east were few. (Minnesota Pioneer, St.Paul, Nov.7, 1850).

Such civic marks of maturity as a ~~fire volunteer fire~~^{militia} company, ~~and~~^{been} the Oakland Cemetery, and a separate postoffice building had ~~been~~^{been} acquired by 1853. The wilderness air clung tenaciously about the new capital, however. The Ojibways carried one of their ~~exp~~ forays of reprisal against the Sioux into the heart of the village. A spring morning, the Chippewa braves lay in ambush in an unfinished building of lower town for the Sioux ~~part~~ party. It was "Old Bets", her brother "Wooden-legged Jim" and her sister.. The trio were well up Jackson street before the Chippewas could skirt the marsh ~~along~~ at Fifth street, dog-trot over Baptist hill, and get down to the Merchants hotel to attack. They fired upon "Old Bets'" people as they sought shelter in the Minnesota Outfit and Bets' sister was fatally wounded. In this same period, cranberrying, a profitable employment, might be alternated with bear hunting. One season, 25 bears were killed a short distance from St. Paul and prairie chickens were shot near the postoffice on Third street. (Williams, J. Fletcher, The History of St. Paul, p.336).

INSERT #142 restless

The ~~restless~~^{restless} tide of landseekers was not to be denied. While the city waited patiently for removal^{to} of the obstacles of progress, the energy and foresight of its residents were everywhere evident. By the end of 1853, Indian treaties had assured settlers of the probity of their land titles. Some headway had been made in the building of roads and the river trade was booming. St. Paul real estate values had doubled for the fourth successive year. The gestative period of a great empire of land, forest, wheat, and capital appeared at an end and strange

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Chap. 6

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tongues and eager families with each incoming steamboat bespoke the future.