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Ox Cart and Stagecoach

The Territory might be laced with lakes and rivers, yet Minnesota with her 1,030 miles of navigable streams needed overland roads and stages to develop resources. A Hercules could have found a thirteenth labor in the region, and would have been handicapped no little by inadequate tools. Necessarily, progress in the Middle West must be slow, not infrequently suggesting the tempo of timber cruiser and covered wagon. This tempo, however, was capable of being "stepped up," on occasion.

In the Ohio Valley the steeple of the first Yankee church had not for long lifted skyward; in Indiana, as in Wisconsin, a raw frontier also beckoned to the venturesome; log houses were familiar sights in Iowa, and the "settling of the first tier of states beyond the Missouri River" and the "breaking of prairie sod" in North Dakota were taking place. Apparent throughout the active Middle West was that "comparative equality of condition brought about by the original access of all to free land."[1.]

Later on, traction engine and plow were to "make quick fortunes for up-to-date settlers."[2.] Even at this date, however, hope held before its workers something more tangible than a star at rainbow's end.

It was the day of the "self-confident individualism of the pioneer," and one regarded the West "as the poor man's chance, the land dedicated to equal opportunity."[3.] Although the rugged individualist of this day was a ragged individualist

1. Ross, Edward Alsworth, PH. D., LL.D.- Changing America, p. 163.
2. Ibid, p. 163.
3. Ibid, pp. 163-64.

not infrequently, he did not let poverty deter him in his zeal to leap over hurdles. And he resented unfair treatment at the hands of those in the seats of the mighty. His feelings would "kindle into fierce resentment when confronted by aggregations of wealth and power which seem to lift the high higher and keep the under man down." He was considered "bull-headed" by the "adroit political wire-puller" of the East, and by Eastern moneyed men who proffered capital for development. In a word "the Old World bonds of social caste" were feared by the sons of men who . . . endured log hut or sod house that they might escape these bonds."[4.]

Settlement, like a forest fire, often vaults large areas to catch anew in a remote area. The "Big Woods" proved a barrier to overland travel in Southern Minnesota and St. Paul, head of navigation, early became a base for the settlers' flank attack upon the woods region to the southwest.

By some such quirk, the Selkirk or Pembina Settlement spring up in a hostile air of fur trade, hunting, and - red men. The courageous and stubborn Thomas Douglas, fifth Earl of Selkirk, resolved to aid his unfortunate countrymen. In the end, he bought control of the Hudson's Bay company to enable establishment of the farm colony. St. Paul owes a double debt to Lord Selkirk. Not only did Pembina become the Northwest fur outpost and single sizable community trading with St. Paul, but the Capital City had been founded by Pembina migrants moving against the westward coarse of empire. Later, too, a Pembina citizen was to save the Capital to St. Paul.

Long before the first ox cart lurched and groaned across Minnesota to St. Paul, the Pembina settlement had acquired trade significance. In 1821, Alexis Bailly, American half-breed trader, had driven a herd of cattle from Mendota to the settlement. During the summer of 1823, when the first steamboat reached Minne-

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4. Ibid, p. 164.

sota, a party of Pembina farmers had brought in seed grain by way of the Minnesota and Red Rivers.[5.]

Pembina was the starting point of the twice-a-year hunting parties which saw in the buffalo an easy source of food and profit. Rivalry of the American Fur company and the monopolistic Hudson Bay company, gave rise to a growing trade in illicit furs and goods across the boundary at Pembina.

"Quantities of furs . . . were secretly carried over the boundary and exchanged for American produce. Usually the interlopers departed in the darkness of night and avoided accustomed trails so as to keep clear of the Fort Garry constabulary force. Pembina, on the American side, was the smugglers' rendezvous. Merchandise obtained from Galena or St. Paul, was left at Pembina until there was an opportunity to smuggle it into the settlement."[6.]

Even before Norman W. Kittson and St. Paul had tossed down the gauntlet of trade rivalry, the Hudson Bay company officials had sought to squelch the smuggling by a 7½ per cent import and export tax on goods in 1835. This, as well as successive measures, seemed only to intensify smuggling.

Joseph Rolette - the second Joe Rolette, by the way, brought the first train of six ox carts to St. Paul, in the summer of 1843. The next year, Norman W. Kittson, agent of the American Fur company, moved his headquarters from the Fort Abercrombie country north to Pembina.

Typical of the pioneer traders was Norman Wolfred Kittson. Zealous, genteel, yet primed to the rough usages of the frontier, he possessed the necessary qualities to rise superior to any obstacles with which he might be confronted. Fur trading required shrewdness and cunning and something more; it was a highly com-

5. Pritchett, John Perry. - "Red River Fur Trade." MHB, Vol. 5, May, 1924, pp. 401-23.

? 6.

petitive industry. Kittson, in the best sense, possessed the essential traits to an eminent degree.

At the early age of sixteen he came to the Northwest from Sorel, Lower Canada, his birthplace, as an employee of the American Fur Company. After two years' service, first at the trading post located between the Fox and Wisconsin rivers, and later at the headwaters of the Minnesota, thence for a brief period at Red Cedar, Iowa, he arrived at Fort Snelling in 1834. The sutler department there claimed his attention until the autumn of 1838, when he returned to Canada.

The United States, however, he deemed a more lucrative field; accordingly in the spring of 1839 he made his first independent venture as a fur trader, locating at what was then known as "Cold Spring," a small place above Fort Snelling. Here he continued until 1843, when he re-entered the employ of the American Fur company, this time as a special partner. In this capacity he had charge of all business on the Minnesota headwaters and along the Dominion boundary. It was then he established headquarters at Pembina and devoted his energies to collecting furs, which he shipped to Mendota in Red River carts. Thus began a very large trade between St. Paul and the Red River settlement.

In 1854 Norman Kittson and William H. Forbes, of St. Paul, formed a partnership looking to an extensive business with the Indians. This was the origin of "The St. Paul Outfit," an establishment well known in that day.

Kittson's Addition, which was laid out from a claim purchased by Mr. Kittson in 1851, has entirely justified his belief that it would eventually prove highly valuable property; it was destined to become one of the most beautiful sections of the city.

When he retired from business Mr. Kittson devoted his time to the raising of fine horses, his stables in Midway Park (Kittsondale), and in Erdenheim, Pa., winning national renown. Kittsondale proved to be a magnet for the sporting gentry of the day.

Kittsondale, although no longer the ample enclosure it once was, with race course, judges' stand, and with stables containing many turf thoroughbreds, still exists in the minds of old-timers, and indeed roving youngsters still find appealing such portions of its acreage as are not occupied by big industries. In its diminished fields they may sometimes be seen, in happy vein, flying kites and toy airplanes, and indulging in other pastimes dear to the hearts of youth. Years ago school children, carrying tin pails, used to gather luscious wild strawberries from the hardy little plants which grew so abundantly in Kittsondale. Wild strawberry plants, along with toadflax, fleabean, thornapple and the like are still sparsely in evidence there, as though defiant of time's commercial and unyielding scythe!

Of the Kittsondale turf and thoroughbreds, Chief Deputy Sheriff Frank Robert has a boyhood recollection. "The race track at Kittsondale," he said, "was a half mile when I knew it. Norman Kittson put plenty of money into the venture. He had some fast horses in his stable, some very fine horses. I recall the names of some of them - Gem, Johnston, Little Brown Jug, Lady Rolfe, Sannie."

Deputy Robert informed the writer that it was Kittson, the first Norman Kittson, who loaned Vital Guerin a part of the money with which the latter went into the circus business one ill starred day, but of this more later, in its proper place.[7]

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7. Frank Robert, Jr., Chief Deputy, Sheriff's Office, Ramsey County. Interviewed by Robert Cary.

Illustrative of the hardships which the early pioneers were obliged to undergo is the following: "We notice the arrival of the Hon. Norman W. Kittson, J. Rolette and . . . . . Grignon in sixteen days from Pembina per dog train, of eight fine dogs and sledge. Very good time for a journey of six hundred miles, with only such a road as nature has afforded . . . . These dogs are a very hardy race easily kept, of great endurance, and will travel from 40 to 70 miles a day without fatigue. How long will it be before we have daily communication with Pembina by railroad? We will venture to say within the next dozen years."[8.]

In 1852 it was authoritatively stated that "the whole product of the Territory was furs, the collection of which from the native hunters gave employment to some few thousands of Half-Breeds, Canadians and others, dependents and agents of the American Fur company, whose principal depots were at Mendota and St. Paul, and whose subordinate outposts stretched in all directions through the adjacent Northwest region."[9.]

That only a small proportion of the furs which annually passed through St. Paul were Minnesota-made, was equally clear. "They come for the most part from the regions west of the James and Red Rivers, and from the far North in the British possessions. Three-fourths of the entire fur product of the region between the Mississippi and the Missouri passes through St. Paul, the larger portion through the two houses of Culver & Farrington and Forbes & Kittson."[10.]

8. St. Anthony Express Weekly, Jan. 3, 1852.
9. Pioneer & Democrat Weekly, Dec. 16, 1858.
10. Ibid, Dec. 16, 1858.

Further hardships attendant on the pioneer's daily routine followed Mr. Kittson's election to the Council of the Minnesota Legislature from the Pembina District. In mid-winter, especially, the trip from Pembina to St. Paul was fraught with great hardship and danger - exposure to the rigors of all but unbearable weather conditions, inasmuch as the journey for the entire distance, must be made on snow-shoes, if walked, the alternative being by dog sledge. Mr. Kittson, it is of record, negotiated this distance over deep snows which, one imagines, even Westen in his day might have considered quite a feat in pedestrianism.

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

On December 7, 1844, Governor Christie, at Fort Garry, had banned use of the Company's ship for importing purposes to all parties interfering with or not patronizing Hudson's Bay services. Two weeks later, he clamped virtual censorship on mails by ordering that "every letter must have the writer's name written by himself in the left hand corner below," so that if he were suspected of trading in furs it could be opened and examined. The Governor only succeeded in re-routing much mail, for the free traders merely sent their mail by Kittson express to Fort Snelling and thence to St. Paul. Still another edict to coerce the bordermen into dropping Pembina and St. Paul patronage failed. This time a long encyclical stipulated certain obediences in acquiring land deeds. The "illicit" traders and half-breeds simply passed up the deeds and squatted on their property.

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

westward from the Mississippi at St. Cloud, and struck the Red River at Breckenridge to pass down the west bank of the river. The "Woods" trail passed through Crow Wing, up the Crow Wing and Leaf River valleys, passed the northeast point of Otter Tail Lake, passed Detroit Lake, and followed the right bank of the Red River to Pembina. A third route which utilized water transportation from Travers des Sioux to St. Paul, swung further south of the more popular "Plains" and "Woods" trails. Establishment of Fort Gaines, in the vicinity of the present Little Falls, added security to travel of the "Woods" trail, which was the more difficult but more protected route.[11]

The famed Red River ox cart was well adapted for the slow grueling trip over prairie and morass. Of all wood construction, the carts could be constructed of material at hand. In later years, they were built by carriage makers at St. Paul.

William A. Rice in a trip to the Frazee River, via Pembina, in 1858, gives a clear description of the "Plains" trail. "From St. Paul to the crossing of the Mississippi River at St. Cloud, a distance of 77 miles, the country is so well known that a description is not necessary," he wrote. "From St. Cloud to Richmond (25 miles) the road passes through prairie . . . . . At Richmond we make the second and last crossing of the Sauk River. Fifty-three miles from Richmond carries us through a fine rolling prairie of a rich soil, to White Bear Lake, passing meanwhile Lakes Henry and George, Como River, Grove Lakes and Chippewa River.

". . . We adopted what is known as the 'Plain Trail,' to the crossing of Otter Tail river - 65 miles - thence to the Red River - 23 miles. The Red River was 200 feet wide and three feet deep at this point. From the Red River to the Cheyenne river was 26 miles, and . . . from there to Pembina 196 miles.

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This country is all flat, abounding in plenty of grass but not so much timber . . . . Total distance from St. Paul - 466 miles. We reached Pembina in 18½ days . . . averaging 25½ miles a day.

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

James McFetridge, collector of customs at Pembina, wrote Messrs. Culver and Farrington on August 22, 1858: "Dear Sirs: I have got home all safe in twelve days from St. Paul, but am sorry to say that all the parties did not, as the Sioux killed two of our men on the plains, about one day from St. Joseph. . . . They had left the carts and started on ahead for Pembina, when they were overtaken by the Sioux, nine in number, and fired upon . . . . ."

By the date of this occurrence, the Sioux had perceived their fate and were definitely hostile to white intrusion.

The number of carts, as was determined by the volume of fur trade and commerce swelled in the years following 1844. The St. Paul Pioneer of July 26, 1849, wrote: "The van of the Red River train, numbering from one hundred to two hundred carts, made entirely of wood and green hides and drawn by oxen and ponies in harness, reached St. Paul on Sunday with furs, hides, buffalo robes, dried buffalo tongues, pemmican, &c. They have been forty days on the route . . . ."

This train brought, also, news of an outbreak of the French half-breeds against the authorities at the Pembina settlement. The "authorities" were virtually the Hudson Bay company officials. Guillaume Sayer and three other half-

breeds, had been arrested for illicit traffic in furs. A mob of 500 angry breeds and traders stormed into the courthouse and put Judge Poleson to flight. The prisoners were acquitted.

"Quite a number of those fantastic and rude carts of the Pembina Half-breeds, are now wandering through our streets," wrote the Daily Minnesotian of July 8, 1857. "They are encamped in considerable numbers just outside of town. They bring down pemmican, moccasins, and skins and furs, and take back with them various groceries, commodities, tools and other things useful to them in their northern home."

Another account stated: "a train of carts, fifty in number, arrived this week from Pembina and St. Jo., loaded with fine furs and robes, amounting in value to about $30,000. The train is encamped on the usual camping ground outside the city in the St. Anthony road; and is the property of Joseph Gingras and Paschal Boerland . . ."[12]

While Norman W. Kittson maintained that the ten year duel he fought with Hudson's Bay, for the fur wealth, lost him money as well as General Sibley and others, the quaint caravans from Pembina increased in number.

"One thousand carts on the way. Over one hundred thousand dollars worth of furs," clarioned a St. Paul headline in 1866. "We had the pleasure of meeting yesterday [Dr. J. Schultz], editor of the Fort Gary Nor'wester, who came down from the Red River settlement in eight days. Dr. [W. R. Brown] a former citizen of St. Paul, also arrived home yesterday. These gentlemen are the avant carriers of the Red River Ox Brigade, which is composed of over one thousand carts, loaded

12. St. Paul Pioneer - June 19, 1863.

with more than one hundred thousand dollars worth of furs, now on the way to St. Paul. Mr. [Schultz] estimated the amount of furs to be more than usual, and thinks they will net at least one hundred thousand dollars, not including those sold by the Hudson Bay Company. Some of the carts came down to Georgetown, loaded, and returned back. Nearly all the carts will stop this season at Big Lake, the present terminus of the Pacific Railroad . . . ."[13]

In this day of rocket-rates of speed, the ox-cart junkets would create smiles. Even in their day, their limitation was recognized. They, like the Indians, were accepted as a part of the frontier scene. Their uniqueness was to grow.

"These carts not infrequently were drawn by cows," recalled one pioneer. "The drivers were very swarthy, generally dressed in buckskin with a bright colored knit sash about the waist, and a coonskin cap with a tail dangling down behind, or a broad brimmed hat."[14]

Often in the 50's and 60's, the cart caravans furnished convoy for parties wishing safe travel between Fort Garry, Pembina, and St. Paul. Mrs. C. A. Burdick, whose husband had charge of a fur store for Kittson at Fort Garry, often traveled with the carts to reach her parents' home at St. Cloud. She recalled ". . . . The drivers were a swarthy lot of French half breeds . . . a tame enough lot of men, fond of jigging at night. They could hold out dancing. Seemed to never tire.

"Their carts had two wheels, all wood, and a crosspiece to rest the platform on . . ." she recalled. ". . . . I can shut my eyes and see that quaint cavalcade

13. St. Paul Daily Press, June 24, 1866.
14. Old Fence Corners, p. 34.

now. Where are all those drivers?

"The tracks were wide and deep and could be plainly seen ahead of us, going straight through the prairie. It took twenty-one days to go from St. Cloud to Pembina. We used to go through Sauk Center, just a hotel or roadhouse, then, through what is now Alexandria. A family by the name of Wright, used to keep a stopping place for travelers. I don't know just where it would be now, but I have stayed there often. We went by way of Georgetown, Swan River too, I remember. There used to be one tree on the prairie that we could see for two days. We called it Lone Tree."[15]

St. Paul until well into the 60's, was the eastern terminus for the cart trains. An early settler observed "Those carts would go squawking by, all day. Later they used to camp where the Winslow House was built. There would be large numbers there, a regular village."

Through the summer months they were a common sight on St. Anthony Road, as they creaked by the homesteaders' cabins in St. Anthony and on, by Cheevers' Landing, to St. Paul. For years, Larpenteur's lake and farm was a favorite rendezvous of the cartbound voyageurs, for they camped out during the festal stay for trade and barter, a practice simulant of their Indian brothers and practiced decades later by the farmers at fair time.

The fabric of adventure ever has cloaked the rough horde that moved out to grip with the wilderness. Periodically they came roaring and racous back to town. Whether cowhand, jack, or sourdough, every urban outpost has known them. St. Paul, after the Sioux' departure of 1852, enjoyed this counterpart of frontierdom many years in the Red River man.

"Is it Joe Rolette or a fire?" asked St. Paul residents as this son of a

15. Old Fence Corners - Mrs. C. A. Burdick, 1855, p. 104.

great voyageur came noisily to town. Redolent of spirit in more ways than one, Rolette drew a throng of kindred souls down the street of merriment with him. While he danced and shouted the voyageurs' songs of the old North, corks would pop and floors quiver under the swirl of dancing feet. This was the Joe Rolette who, with Kittson and Gingras, would mush his dogs over snowy trails to sit in the early legislatures and who, in that body, was to perform the one exploit that brightened an otherwise mediocre and indifferent career.

The St. Paul of Joe Rolette's day, was still hardly more than a few cabins in the clearing. Hardly believable is it that today's St. Paul once was a weird topography of gullies, swamps, and miniature lakes.

Larpenteur lake, rendezvous of the ox cart people, was a "fine body of clear water. The east end was a short distance west of Dale Street, between Carroll and Marshall streets, and it extended a little beyond St. Albans street." The old Larpenteur home still stands at Rondo and Dale, sequestered not by scrub oak, hazel brush, and prairie grass but by outmoded tenements of another generation that give way to small shops.

Tenacious and vivacious old Auguste Larpenteur lived through the entire change. He saw the shambly carts clustered a few rods to the south of his farm home, and along the little lake, disappear. He saw "his lake" degenerate into a swimmin' hole, known to a new generation of boys only as "Sandy," and eventually saw it disappear. The gay, unwashed voyageurs, the creaking carts, and the wilderness' first crop, furs, are all gone.

The chain of three lakes that began about at Dayton avenue and Dale street, two of which flanked Marshall avenue, and a third which covered "all of Block 25 and part of Block 26, of Mackubin and Marshall's addition" has disappeared under the civic program of leveling, grading and "fills."

Gone with the men of the Pembina sash, who incidentally were the original hyphenated Americans, are "Baptist Hill," "Hog-back Hill," "Larpenteur's Lake" and myriad commonplace names early residents knew.

A director of the First bancorporation, working in his sky-scraper sanctum, could scarsely know that an eccentric Christian man, Lot Moffett, whittled the first owner of that property down to a sale price of $42, and then charged the sum to his account with the seller. But then it took a courageous man to buy and build right on the bottom of a ravine. That Lot who loved to "throw parties," respectable sociables and cotillions for the young people, built and kept on building, must have been a portent. Story after story went on to the Temperance House or "Moffett's Castle," until it rose above the ravine chasm. Would not bewhiskered, gentle Moffett exclaim to see the "additional stories" of the Castle's modern counterpart, with its great neon ordinal blazing heavenward in place of the triangular sign, "Temperance House," of the Fifties?

"Quite a curious and animated scene was presented last Saturday on Robert Street, in front of Forbes & Kittson's store," read an account of that time. "The street was literally blocked up with the antiquated wooden carts of the train from the Selkirk settlement; horses and cattle, with all sorts of non-descript harnesses upon them, were tethered round about, buffalo robes lay piled upon the ground, and a busy crowd of the dark skinned strangers were moving busily to and fro, earnestly engaged in the work of loading up the carts from the warehouse . . . . This detachment numbers ninety-eight carts, and is altogether from the English settlement at Selkirk . . . . The American portion of the train, under charge of Messrs. Rolette and Cavileer, is expected . . . sometime between the 5th and 10th inst. [July 16.]

16. Dly. Minn. Pioneer, July 2, 1855.

A sketch of the ten-year career of Norman W. Kittson as a fur trader at Pembina, gives the basis of the fur trade that was so important to St. Paul in the middle decades.

"It is to Norman W. Kittson, Esq., the present mayor of the city of St. Paul, that we are indebted for the first establishment of a regular trade between the Red River valley, and the navigable waters of the Mississippi," wrote the Daily Pioneer & Democrat on August 5, 1858. After three years, Kittson was only doing $5,000 gross in fur receipts as against an investment of $6,000. He, however, was fast gaining favor with the Indiand and half-breeds who were quick to discern the value to them of a competitor against the 200 year old Hudson's Bay monopoly. By 1850, fur receipts for Kittson were over $15,000, and in 1855 his returns were nearly $40,000, with expenditures of $24,000.

This same year marked the real ascendancy of St. Paul as a fur mart. Kittson moved his Pembina outfit to St. Paul, to establish the partnership of Forbes & Kittson. Culver & Farrington was the other principal dealer in furs. Agents of these firms continued to operate at Pembina.

"In 1856 the total furs received at St. Paul from this source, amounted to nearly $75,000, being nearly four-fifths of the whole fur trade of St. Paul. From statistics . . . of December 21st, 1857 . . . we learn that the total value of the furs which passed through St. Paul houses that year, for exportation below, amounted to $180,000 [sic] - of which at least two-thirds, or $120,000 was the product of the Red River Valley." The estimate for 1858 was placed at $100,000, because of a failure of the buffalo crop.[17]

17. Pioneer & Democrat, August 5, 1858.

By this date, the monopoly of the Hudson Bay Company had practically ceased to exist. Wrote the Pioneer & Democrat: " . . . The competition in the fur trade, which, before that was put down by the most vigorous measures, now proves too formidable and is backed by too powerful a public opinion in Canada, to be suppressed by the usual policy of restriction. In addition to the American posts on this side of the line, there are some hundred independent traders in the territories of the company itself, of which there are at least seventy in the Selkirk settlement alone. Though rigidly prohibited from dealing in the contraband articles of furs and rum, both branches of trade are prosecuted to a considerable extent and the product smuggled across the border." A 12½ per cent duty also operated against furs taking the easier route to market, via St. Paul.[18.]

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

And again: " . . . We have by no means reached the limits of this trade . . . . The superiority of the outlet at St. Paul for this region, over the multitudinous portages of Nelson's River, has been abundantly proved. Establish, as we now are trying to establish, a Railroad communication with the Red River Valley, and the whole trade of the Hudson Bay Company would fall into our hands, or at least seek this avenue of exportation. What the fur trade of that immense

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

region would be worth to us, may be estimated from the fact that the average value of the annual export of furs by the Hudson Bay Company, is about $1,800,000.[19.]

Enterprising leaders of St. Paul were quick to see the riches of the Red River - depression or no depression. Staggered by the Panic of 1857, abandoned by the moneyed interests of the east that squeezed every available cent out of Minnesota Territory and then left it to flounder by barter, St. Paul turned readily to the Pembina trade. The Red River cart drivers were particularly welcome, for they always jingled English silver in their buckskin trousers.

While St. Paul welcomed the fur caravels from Pembina, there were other forces aiding in most cases, yet threatening in others, the trade growth of St. Paul. By the mid-fifties, a network of primitive trails and roads existed. Land-seekers, farmers, were pouring into Minnesota to build new homes and to add such social increment as few territories have known.

St. Paul no longer depended alone on the eastern trail, hewn through the woods, to Prairie du Chien. The Mississippi river continued to be the main highway. However, the Dubuque trail passing through Cannon Falls to St. Paul was growing in importance. Other spokes stemming into the hub that comprised St. Paul, Mendota, St. Anthony, and Minneapolis were to the west of the Dubuque stage road. Settlers' canvas-covered wagons dotted the Indian trail from the Iowa border. Traffic swelled on the trail wouth of the Minnesota river, that passed through Henderson to Traverse des Sioux, St. Peter, and Mankato. Territorial Road formed the base of a triangle as it provided Mankato a direct route to Reed's Landing and the Mississippi. Still another trail from Traverse to Red Wing paralleled Territorial Road.

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19. The Wkly. Pioneer & Democrat, Dec. 16, 1858.

Extending westward from these roads were the Pipestone trail and the Old Military road. Flanking the Minnesota river on either side, were the old Gary [sic] Garry Trail and the Lac qui Parle trail which generations of Sioux and voyageurs had used to enter and leave the Red River region. To the north of these were located the fingers of the fur and produce trade of the lower Red River valley, the Red River, the Breckenridge, the Fort Abercrombie, Georgetown, and Pembina trails that tied together at St. Cloud to continue along a common wrist to St. Paul. To the north of St. Cloud were the trails tying up Crow Wing, Leech Lake, Red Lake, and other Indian and trader centers. Mille Lacs, Duluth and Fond du lac enjoyed communication with St. Paul and St. Anthony.

The needs of the Indian for travel had been reinforced by the white man's demand for mail, for stagecoach service, and for wagon roads.

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

Minnesota's first crops had been cranberries, maple sugar, and wild rice and in the period the Sioux plains had a primeval meat packing industry in the buffalo hunt. So plentiful were these that thousands of buffalo were slain with only their robes and toothsome delicacies as the tongue and "buffalo boss," the hump of the animal, salvaged and made into pemican. One season, 400 Indians were engaged in cranberry harvesting at Rice Lake, near St. Paul, and in the same period slew 25 bears for meat.[20.]

20. Newson - Pen Pictures - page 294.

Ignatius Donnelly, rhetorical giant and with little doubt the region's most unpredictable politician, had come out from Philadelphia in the spring of 1856. Turning every ounce of his great gifts and drives to launching a new city, Mininger, Donnelly has enacted a large role in one of the most bizarre chapters of state growth and history. Mininger, defying slights of the river-boat captains and the rivalries of nearby Hastings and St. Paul, was never to become Donnelly's dream - a metropolis. Even after its youthful founder had obtained a post office, the malicious stage drivers refused to honor Mininger with a stop, and Mininger citizens were humbled into a three mile trip to Hastings for their mail.[21.]

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

Much of the spirit of the gold rush was shown in this pioneering. The participants were not only more stable, but comprised the nation's best stocks of citizenry. The tragedy of the Rollingstone colony above Wabashaw Prairie, could be offset by many incidents of camaraderie and good fellowship.

John C. Laird, for example, staged a ludicrous land fight with H. C. Gere, for a claim that later was to become the heart of Winona's business district. Laird, a LaCrosse official, jumped an eighty acres portion of an earlier claim. Gere, contesting Laird stakes, applied to the town's Claim club for the property. The LaCrosse man had built a shack to establish his rights, but went over to his sister's cabin to attend the Sabbath. Elder Hamilton, whether in connivance or not with Gere, preached a long sermon at Mrs. Goddard's. In any case, when Laird returned to his claim shack, he found Gere on the roof adjusting a stovepipe and

21. MHB - Vol. 17 pp. 262-275.

the Gere furniture inside the Laird bailiwick. Mrs. Gere sat in a rocker and refused to budge. Aided by a companion, Laird pulled Gere off the roof and proceeded to dismantle the shack. Finally, Gere called: "I have a proposition to make to you . . . now, suppose we agree to let this claim matter remain just where it is . . . we can then go home and get some sleep." Both men had settled down to a cold vigil in the open, to outsit his opponent when the compromise was reached.[22.]

"The Minnesota wheat crop has been harvested, and a better crop of spring wheat in quality or quantity cannot be quoted in the West . . ." noted the Minnesota Democrat, August 19, 1851." Every experiment in winter wheat has succeeded so well, that spring wheat will probably be abandoned hereafter in favor of this superior species. Mr. Larpenteur and several other farmers near St. Paul, employed a horse reaper to cut their grain, for which they paid 75 cents per acre, and were well pleased with its work." The Selby farm, which comprised what is now a main residential district, was also outstanding in the immediate vicinity.

Minneapolis, just released from the restrictions of the military reservation, was bounding ahead in growth. Its ascendancy in the flour milling industry was not yet so apparent, and the timber cut from the Rum River tended to make only such gains in the way of building construction as a limited supply source could accomplish. The timber shortage of the early Fifties has already been referred to.

Several years after Norman Kittson's four terms in the legislature, which were marked by conspicuous service, he was elected Mayor of St. Paul. In this office he served one term only, politics by his own admission proving distasteful to him.

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22. History of Winona, Olmsted and Dodge Counties, p. 310.

In 1858 the firm of Forbes & Kittson having been dissolved, Mr. Kittson concentrated upon his Red River trade which continued until 1860. Accepting the position of agent for the Hudson Bay company he thereafter established, with James J. Hill, a line of steamers and barges on the Red River, which under the name "Red River Transportation Company" grew into a large corporation with headquarters in St. Paul. Because of his activities in steamboat transportation, this pioneer was known as Commodore Kittson throughout his life, a sobriquet not lightly earned as we have seen.

From the time of the first merchandise store, St. Paul's growth as a jobbing center had been steady. Oxcarts, loaded with clothing, nails, flour and other essentials, leaving the city to return with buffalo furs and similar commodities, were but a phase in the upward climb, a snail-like transition capable of acceleration. Later, when the population of the Northwest grew larger, St. Paul's jobbing facilities expanded to meet requirements, and settlers began to turn the wilderness into farms. It was from this humble beginning in the commercial field that St. Paul became the great merchandise center of the territory.

The railroads diverging from the city, eventually to become a vast network, even then a strong web rendering every part of the Northwest accessible to it, made certain St. Paul's future position as a jobbing center. It could be said then, as now, "goods can be sent out in any direction at minimum cost and with minimum loss of time."[23.]

What a transition, even from the day the first produce was brought to St. Paul on wooden sledges, before the snow melted, to the day when, the volume increased, the clumsy wooden carts, drawn by oxen, came into use![24.] And, then,

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23. St. Paul Pioneer Press, Dec. 17, 1922.
24. Bertha L. Heilbron, Book Review (Minnesota History, September 1930, Vol. 2, No. 3,), p. 308.

as the trade became systematized, the change from one trail, guided by a few landmarks, to a number of trails, of which the Red River was the most popular, since the abundant grasses provided forage and traveling was easier. The ungreased wheels of the carts could be heard for miles, and sometimes the gay couriers des bois and bois brules who accompanied the carts could be heard singing above the din.[25]

Each year, as soon as there was sufficient grass, the caravan would leave Fort Garry and Pembina with heavy loads of buffalo hides, furs of all kinds, dressed skins, moccasins, buffalo tongues and pemmican. St. Paul was usually reached in early June and a huge trading camp was set up west of the city at Larpenteur's Lake,[26] a "fine body of clear water" which has since been filled in and built over. After a few weeks of trading the long homeward journey began, with supplies needed by the traders of the post; tobacco, shot, hardware, foodstuffs and whiskey.[27] Few made the journey oftener than once a year.

At the beginning there were only six carts in the trade but by 1851 there were 102 and six years later there were 500. The value of the merchandise brought into St. Paul grew rapidly, reaching a height of $250,000 in 1863.[28] Because most

25. Walter Havighurst, Upper Mississippi, A Wilderness Saga (Farrar & Rinehart, New York, 1937), pp. 62-64.
26. Josiah B. Chaney, Early Bridges and Changes of the Land and Water Surface in the City of St. Paul (Minnesota History Collections, Vol. 12) p. 145.
27. August L. Larpenteur, Recollections of the City and People of St. Paul, 1843-1848 (Minnesota History Coll., Vol. 9), p. 385.
28. James Baker, History of Transportation in Minnesota (Minnesota History Collections, Vol. 9, 1910), p. 20.

of the Red River trade passed through St. Paul to St. Louis even before 1850, it was the source of a large part of the early Territory's supplies. Soon, however, the northern city assumed more and more control of this trade, and through it, the domination of the commerce of the entire northwest region.[29.]

By 1856 St. Paul's volume of trade was so great that the Mississippi boats could not keep up with it. Great piles of freight, destined for St. Paul, accumulated in Dubuque and Dunleith despite the fact that in the first two months of open water that year, 200 steamboats, equalling the record of the entire previous season, had arrived at St. Paul. The lands west and north were being settled so fast that almost overnight the city found itself handling the demands of a populous area.[30.]

An additional stimulus to trade was the fact that for the first time Minnesota had a surplus of agricultural products which might be shipped out as a small beginning towards leveling the disparity between exports and imports. Large quantities of oats, potatoes and cranberries were sent out, although the business was not very profitable due to a price decline. Potatoes, which had sold for $1.25 a bushel two years earlier, were selling now for 25¢ per bushel.[31.]

The earliest capitol building, so plain as to be almost grim except for a four pillared "Greek Porch" attached incongruously to the front, was first occupied by the legislature in January 1854. Though the question of location of Territorial institutions had apparently been settled, and a number of sessions had passed with relative peacefulness, behind the scenes plans were being made against St. Paul.

In 1857 a St. Peter Company was formed which promised to erect in that town buildings superior to those in St. Paul, and a bill removing the capital to St.

29. Wm. J. Peterson, Steamboating on the Upper Mississippi, The Water Way to Iowa (Iowa State Historical Society, Iowa City, 1937), pp. 164-165.
30. Sydney A. Patchin, The Development of Banking in Minnesota (Minnesota History Bulletin, Vol. 2, No. 3, Aug. 1917), page 132.
31. Weekly Pioneer and Democrat, St. Paul, Nov. 18, 1856 (Minn. Annals).

Peter was introduced in the legislature. In February the measure passed the House by a vote of 20 to 17 and a short time later the Council also approved by a vote of 8 to 7.

St. Paul was panic stricken, and finally despairing. As a last gesture, Joe Rolette, Chairman of the Committee on Enrolled Bills, disappeared, taking the bill with him. A special police force was required to keep order in the legislature and each member remained, with a basket of food and a cot beside his desk, so that he might be present in case the bill was "found." As the deadline for the end of the session approached, a copy of the bill was made in an attempt to break the deadlock, but the President of the Council and the Speaker of the House refused to sign this substitute.

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

The Governor eventually signed the substitute copy but the capital remained in St. Paul. St. Peter supporters appealed to the courts but found no support from that quarter, since the justices ruled that no law had been passed.[32] Although such a temperate historian as Folwell later referred to the act as "disreputable, if not criminal,"[33] in that day Rolette was idolized for his effort in behalf of St. Paul.

During the same year a bitter partisan struggle raged around the drawing up of the state constitution. South of the Minnesota River and west of the Mississippi

32. William B. Dean, A History of the Capitol Buildings of Minnesota, With Some Account of the Struggle for Their Location (Minn. History Collections, Vol. 12, 1908), pp. 9-15.
33. W. W. Folwell, A History of Minnesota, Vol. 3, (Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul, 1926), page 9.

"radical Republicanism," had been spreading among the farmers. Long outstanding grudges against St. Paul, Minneapolis and St. Anthony led them to advocate an agricultural state, of which St. Peter would be the capital and which would leave the three cities off by themselves. Happily for both sides of the controversy this effort failed.[34] The constitution adopted, Minnesota was admitted to statehood, May 24, 1858.

Later attempts were made to remove the capital though none were successful. Even Minneapolis and St. Anthony, dissatisfied with their share of the compromise agreement of 1851, cooperated with the smaller cities in these efforts. Various proposals were made, one, that the capital be removed to Nicollet Island, one, to some "western point," and finally Winona. Stillwater, Minneapolis and St. Anthony combined in favor of Kandiyohi County. This last proposal was passed by the legislature but was vetoed by Governor Marshall.[35] Supporters of the measure became indignant and the Minneapolis Tribune recklessly combined indictment and prophecy in an editorial: "The St. Paul papers are responsible for shamefully misleading the public in regard to the location of Kandiyohi. Most people outside the state have got the idea from their descriptions, that it is some sort of a mysterious and impenetrable wilderness out beyond the farthest frontier . . . but in spite of St. Paul influence and vetoes, Kandiyohi is certain some day to be the centre of population of Minnesota."[36] The St. Paul papers disdainfully referred to the furor about capital removal as an "annual farce."[37]

34. The 1921 Annual Meeting of the Minnesota Historical Society (Minn. History Bulletin, Vol. 4, No. 1-2, Feb. and May, 1921), page 27.
35. William B. Dean, A History of the Capitol Buildings of Minn., With Some Account of the Struggle for Their Location (Minnesota History Collections, Vol. 12, 1908), page 17.
36. Minneapolis Tribune, July 1, 1869 (Minnesota Annals).
37. Pioneer and Democrat, St. Paul, Feb. 20, 1861 (Minnesota Annals).

Times had been so good in the preceding years, that few expected less from 1857, even when the spring brought ominous rumors, and eastern papers began to carry stories of collapsing western land values, until eastern money became panicky about its investments in these lands.

The 1857 trade continued good and the number of steamboat arrivals reached a new peak, although news from the East was becoming more alarming. In late summer several large companies dealing with western lands collapsed and the weaker banks began to go under. On October 1st, the St. Paul Pioneer Democrat remarked that there was "nothing special to note in this city, except that money is scarce, and scarcely any loans are being made . . . There is no excitement here, and no danger apprehended."

On October 3rd the St. Paul Advertiser changed the tone of hopefulness to an acknowledgement of despair, noting that "The 'grand crash' is fairly upon us, and the 'grand cash' is difficult to be found . . . St. Paul has stood the shock nobly, but the inevitable result has finally reached us." It had, for on the 8th there was considerable excitement caused by the "general suspension of banks and bankers" in the East. Early that day Marshall and Company in St. Paul announced suspension. Later the same day the firm of Truman Smith closed its doors. The list of local failures lengthened and on the 21st a final blow was dealt by the closing of Borup and Oakes.[38]

Every measure taken to alleviate the effects of the panic seemed to be so much grasping at straw, for business did not notably improve until after the Civil War. The closing of the banks made it extremely difficult to carry on business, and real estate values, which had been the chief mainstay of the boom, collapsed swiftly. State laws were passed regulating banking, but these were not efficient

38. Pioneer and Democrat, Weekly, St. Paul, Oct. 8-22, 1857 (Minn. Annals).

and no general improvement in the banking system was apparent until after the passage of national regulatory legislation in 1863.

As late as 1858 some optimists were yet speaking of the continued stagnation in business as "a merely temporary embarrassment,"[39] but in 1861 the merchants were still complaining at the state of things "the why and wherefore they are at loss to account for." By this date people were accepting the belief that worse might be expected instead of better, and it was said that "probably time will demonstrate the unwelcome fact that the depths are not yet sounded. Everything indicates it."[40]

It was some time following the bank crashes before the effects of the business depression were reflected in the diminishing number of boats arriving at St. Paul. The year 1857 brought 965 boats, and 1,090 arrived the following season. However, the next year brought about the beginning of a decline that has never been overcome. Traffic on the Minnesota also reached its height of 394 trips up the river and then went into a swift and sharp decline. Civil War commerce did not appreciably revive the river trade, despite a temporary increase in 1862.[41]

The panic and the beginning of the decline in the river traffic marked the end of a decade of great expansion. From 1849 to 1860, the number of Minnesota inhabitants had increased from less than 5,000 to 172,000 and St. Paul had grown from a straggling hamlet to a city of over ten thousand.[42]

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39. Pioneer and Democrat Weekly, St. Paul, Sept. 23, 1858 (Minn. Annals).
40. Pioneer and Democrat, St. Paul, June 1, 1861 (Minnesota Annals).
41. Lester B. Shippee, Social and Economic Effects of the Civil War With Special Reference to Minnesota (Minnesota History Bulletin, Vol. 2, No. 6, May 1918), page 394.
42. Livia Appel and Theo. Blegen, Official Encouragement of Immigration to Minn. During the Territorial Period (Minnesota History Bulletin, Vol. 5, No. 3, August 1923), page 167.

As railroads from the East pushed nearer, lively interest centered upon securing local connections. Each scheme seemed to fizzle out after quite promising beginnings but this did not lessen the desire of the public for railroads, nor of the promoters for profits. Indeed the people seemed ready to support any scheme that would ensure railway construction. The necessary capital was difficult to secure in the East where Minnesota had been the subject of much misunderstanding and misrepresentation.[43.]

The St. Paul and Sioux City Railroad and the Minnesota and Pacific Railroad had been planned previous to the panic. In 1858 the Minnesota and Pacific had 62½ miles of grading completed, north of St. Paul; the work had then been halted by financial complications.[44.] After the panic railroad promoters began to look for means of continuing construction. Free land had been offered them whenever twenty miles of trackage were completed but there were not sufficient funds to do even that.

At this time the "Five Million Loan Bill," a scheme to loan the credit of the state to the railroad companies, was devised. The evil which might result from such a bill was obscured by the general clamor for railroads, and only a few people in either major party opposed it. The bill passed the legislature and, although some called it a "swindle,"[45.] it was approved at a special election on April 15, 1858 by a vote of 25,023 to 6,733. Following this approval the companies made a great show of activity but scarcely more than a year later the value of state bonds had gone so low that they were of no use as collateral and work was abandoned in July, 1859. The state had been placed in a difficult financial position and yet there were no railroads.[46.]

43. Theodore Blegen, Sketch of James W. Taylor (Minnesota History Bulletin, Vol. 1, No. 4, Nov. 1915), page 164.
44. Col. William Crooks, The First Railroad in Minnesota (Minnesota History Collections, Vol. 10, Part 1), page 455.
45. Daily Minnesotian, St. Paul, March 11, 1858 (Minnesota Annals).
46. W. W. Folwell, History of Minnesota, Vol. 2 (Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul, 1924), pp. 44-52.

As business tension increased, St. Paul became more and more incensed against St. Anthony, its growing rival up the river. At first St. Anthony's pretensions had been laughed at, but the matter now grew serious and St. Paul accused its rival of being founded "by Eastern capitalists," apparently considering that it had been done for the sole purpose of injuring St. Paul.[47]

In the depths of the panic a slight relief did come, brought about by the fur trade. During the winter of 1857-58 arrangements were made with the Secretary of the Treasury to permit the Hudson's Bay Company to ship its goods in bond through St. Paul, abandoning the long established York Factory canoe route for the Red River carts.[48] This happened simultaneously with the British Government's decision to terminate the long established exclusive jurisdiction of the Hudson's Bay Company in Northwestern Canada. This meant that additional commerce would flow through St. Paul and that St. Paul traders might, for the first time, participate legally in the Canadian trade. The city was greatly encouraged by the sight of two or three shipments of Hudson's Bay Company goods in the summer of 1858.

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

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47. Dr. E. E. Barton, City of St. Paul (Published by the author, St. Paul, 1888), page 8.
48. William J. Petersen, Steamboating on the Upper Mississippi, The Water Way to Iowa (Iowa Historical Soc., Iowa City, Iowa, 1937), page 165.

Machinery for this ship was taken from the old Governor Ramsey and the lumber came from the St. Croix region. With 34 teams and 60 men the caravan, carrying all needed material, set out across the prairie toward the Red River. Six weeks after their arrival the boat was assembled and christened the Anson Northup.[49] It was launched in the spring of 1859.

A stage line was extended to Abercrombie from St. Cloud and this link helped St. Paul acquire the much desired monopoly of Red River trade.[50]

Apparently navigation conditions were not satisfactory, and Northup finally refused to run the boat longer. It was purchased by J. C. Burbank, operator of a stage coach line, was renamed the Pioneer, and received fair patronage. Several other boats were built on the Red River and the traffic continued for some years.[51]

Although by 1860 the Red River trade was valued at $200,000 it never reached the level which St. Paul had anticipated and was not sufficient to offset the decline in other fields.[52]

On January 1, 1860, Alexander Ramsey was inaugurated as Governor, this time elected by the people. This was good fortune for the young state, faced with difficult days. Ramsey was equipped by experience and suited by temperament to meet the trying times which followed the opening of the Civil War.

The governor was a convinced anti-slavery Republican and believed wholeheartedly in the Union cause. The treasury was empty but that did not prevent him from setting the "pace for loyal governors." With little to go on but sheer organizing ability, he offered the first troops to the President, equipped regiments,

49. Russell Blakeley, Opening of the Red River of the North to Commerce and Civilization (Minnesota History Collections, Vol. 8, 1898), pp. 46-48.
50. Theo. Blegen, Sketch of James W. Taylor (Minnesota History Bulletin, Vol. 1, No. 4, Nov. 1915), pp. 166-169.
51. Edwin Bell, Early Steamboating on the Minnesota and Red Rivers (Minnesota History Collections, Vol. 10, Part 1), pp. 94-95.
52. Calvin Schmid, A Social Saga of Two Cities (Minneapolis Council of Social Agencies, Mpls., 1937), page 21.

supplied them and established hospitals.[53]

For many years St. Paul had been able to ignore the existence of the Indians but in 1862, in a last hopeless struggle for liberation, the Sioux rose in rebellion, and Ramsey found himself fighting on two fronts. The outbreak only confirmed the queer twisted hatred which Ramsey felt for the Indians. It required all his leadership to carry the state through this perilous period.[54]

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

Again new backers had to be secured, but this time the work was completed as far as St. Anthony and was opened to travel in July, 1862. This road later became part of the St. Paul, Minneapolis and Manitoba Railroad, which was eventually absorbed by the Great Northern.[55]

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

In April 1861 a local paper commented on, "preparations for building all over town. Hard times, conflagrations, bursting of banks and the d . . . l to pay generally, are unable to stop the growth of the metropolis of the Northwest . . . ."[56] Another reason for optimism was touched upon in June of that year,

53. Gen. James H. Baker, Alexander Ramsey, A Memorial Eulogy (Minnesota History Collections, Vol. 10, Part 2, Feb. 1905), p. 733.
54. Ibid - pp. 733-735.
55. Col. William Crooks, The First Railroad in Minnesota (Minnesota History Collections, Vol. 10, Part 1), pp. 446-448.
56. Pioneer and Democrat, (St. Paul), April 3, 1861 (Minnesota Annals).

"The Milwaukee (a steamboat) arrived yesterday morning, having on board two hundred and fifty Norwegians . . . Most of them are practical farmers . . . and . . . 'have got money' - real, hard, glittering gold pieces . . . "[57] If they had but known it, however, the "glittering gold" was of lesser importance than the coming of "practical farmers" to settle in the state.

New enterprise began basic changes in St. Paul's social and economic life. In the towns and villages over the state enterprising men of St. Paul found a rich source of business and trade. Retail merchants discovered that it was profitable to handle the trade of small town storekeepers at prices slightly lower than retail, and this combination of wholesale and retail merchandizing continued for some time. As early as 1856, St. Paul merchants had gone to eastern market centers to do their buying, thus establishing their independence of St. Louis and Chicago and also laying a base for St. Paul's dominance of the jobbing trade of the Northwest.

In 1860 the first retail and wholesale firm in St. Paul left the retail field, to devote itself exclusively to the more profitable one of jobbing for St. Paul and Minnesota merchants.[58]

Rough, uncouth, genteel, elegant, complacent - all typify the future Capital city in its candlelighted hour. Notables contribute something to its personality, and so do folk of humble station. Cultured New England, rough-hewn Canada, overcrowded Europe - all converging, and all imparting bone and sinew to the wilderness personality of young St. Paul. Over wind-swept prairie, ox cart, stage coach, covered wagon . . . untutored voices in cabin and mart blending with the refined accents of the cultivated - a strange medley!

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57. Pioneer and Democrat, St. Paul, June 30, 1861.
58. Calvin Schmid, Social Saga of Two Cities, Mpls. Council of Social Service Agencies, Mpls., 1937, p. 22.

Paradoxically enough the panic of 1857 had a stimulating influence on the wholesale trade of the Twin Cities. The reason was not hard to guess. Many small merchants, during the boom period, had enjoyed the privilege of liberal credit from big eastern wholesalers, but after the panic the latter became exceedingly cautious insofar as credit was concerned. The result was that the local merchant was restricted for supplies to St. Paul and St. Anthony, a restriction conducive to advantages of a sort, the more obvious being a praiseworthy cooperation between the Twin Cities.

With recovery from the panic, even though it was gradual, a number of business houses in both cities instituted a new program - the carrying on of a combined wholesale and retail trade, which could not be other than beneficial.[59.]

In the summer of 1856, like the ghost of a vanished day, Taliaferro, the impeccably forthright but too little appreciated Indian agent, was again heard from. He mailed to a newspaper two letters written from a place without identification which, in lieu of a place-name, he designated as "Aceldema." An air of mystery surrounds it. Fruitlessly one consults old maps trying to find its precise location. It was given as "near Fort Snelling." The contents of the letters, however, were of more than passing importance.

"It may not be deemed out of place at this period," so the first letter ran, "in the rapid and unprecedented growths of cities, towns, and hamlets, and population in Minnesota, to refer to the present data in reference to some of the historical reminiscences of the past.

"Some are curious to learn how certain locations received designated names. Minnehaha was first indicated as the Little Falls - then as Brown's Falls, in honor of Major General Brown. Lake Calhoun for the distinguished Secretary at the head of the War Department, and other smaller lakes - Harriet,

59. H. B. Price, The Marketing of Farm Products, Mpls., University of Minnesota Press, 1927, pp. 23-24.

- Eliza, - Abigail, - Lucy, etc., after the ladies of the civil and military officers of the Post.

"The first measured distance from Fort Snelling to Fort Crawford (Prairie du Chien), was measured in February, 1822, by Quarter Master Sergeant Heckle, with a pre amulator on a wheel which reported the distance by a sharp crackling every few hundred yards; it was invented by this good old German soldier. The distance was 204 miles.

"Could we write without the use of the personal pronoun, a more connected history of former years might be noted, but in conclusion it is due the Sioux of your territory to record one fact as to them, and that is from the commencement of our agency to its close, our frontier pioneers were never even molested in their homes, nor did they shed one drop of American blood - while the Chippewas, Winnebagoes, and Sacs and Foxes, were in the yearly habit of the most revolting and foul murders on all who unfo tunately fell in their war path.

"We were in St. Paul on the 24th of June, the 'widows's son' was Irving's Rip Van Winkle - after a nap of fifteen years, we awoke in the midst of fast times. We saw many signs, but not that of General Washington. We truly felt bewildered when we found all the haunts and resting-places of the once noble sons of the forest, covered by cities, towns and hamlets. We asked but few questions - being to our mind received as a strange animal, if nothing worse."[60.]

In view of the miserable treatment accorded Major Taliaferro while Indian agent, treatment as unjust as it was reprehensible and only palliated in part by Col. Snelling's considerate friendship and cooperation, the last sentence of this letter goes far deeper than irony. When the definition of ACELDEMA (or ACELDAMA, as given in Webster's dictionary) is taken into consideration, the

60. "Reminisinces (sic) of an Indian Agent," Pioneer & Democrat, July 1st, 1856 - date of letter; Minnesota Annals, July 11, 1856.

situation reaches deep pathos. Here was a man who, in all his contacts with his fellows was a lover of fairplay and practiced it, a man conscientious to the last scruple, a man who dealt fairly with his Indian charges on all occasions, and moreover one who had ever hoped to see them in a position to work out their own destiny, who lamented in feeling words the passing of "the noble Sioux" - only to find himself thwarted in his unselfish work and allowed to drop into an ignominious obscurity.

History affords instances of greater ingratitude than this to faithful servants, but hardly one more poignant when the meaning of the term "Aceldama" is considered and the circumstances attending Taliaferro's resignation, years before, are weighed. In the dictionary's definition, "Aceldama" is "the potters' field mentioned in Matt. XXVII--8, bought for a burial place for strangers with the money taken by Judas for betraying Christ, and Acts 1--18 as the scene of the suicide of Judas; afterward called the 'Field of Blood.' Also, the system of war . . . which had already converted immense tracts into one universal aceldama." -De Quincey.

In widely different walks of like, other individuals were having "troubles of their own." The agrarian situation was nothing to grow enthusiastic over. "Agricultural America . . . was a decentralized world, democratic, individualistic, suspicious; industrial America, behind which lay only half a dozen decades of bristling experiment, was a centralizing world, capitalistic, feudal, ambitious. The one was a decaying order, the other a rising, and between them would be friction till one or the other had become master."[61]

The lesson that there can be no prosperity in the city without prosperity on the farm, was yet to be learned. "Continental America was still half frontier and half settled country. A thin line of homesteads had been thrust westward till the outposts reached well into the Middle Border - an uncertain thread running through eastern Minnesota, Nebraska, Kansas, overleaping the Indian

61. Parrington, Vernon Louis. - The Beginnings of Critical Realism in America; Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1930, pp. 7-8.

Territory and then running west into Texas - approximately halfway between the Atlantic and the Pacific. Behind these outposts was still much unoccupied land, and beyond were prairies, gray and waste, that stretched to the foothills of the Rocky Mountains. Beyond the mountains were the stretches of plains and deserts, vast and forbidding in their alkali blight, to the wooded coast ranges of the Pacific Ocean."[62]

In Minnesota agriculture, during the 1850-60 decade, sweeping changes were apparent. "Perhaps the most singular change," wrote one authority, with the subject of subsequent developments in mind, "was the increase in wheat production from 1401 to over two million bushels." He instanced increase of other grains as follows: "corn . . . from 16,725 to 2,941, 952 bushels; potatoes from 21,145 to 2,516,485 bushels; and the yield of oats from 30,582 to 2,176,002 bushels." Oats had been the leading crop before, but corn had now displaced oats. "Next came potatoes, and wheat and oats were not far behind. The home market had grown, too. There were 64 counties where before there had been only nine, and the population had jumped from 6,077 for the entire territory to 172,123 for the new state."[63]

Although ox-carts and their gayly uniformed drivers lent colorful and romantic glamor to the age, the lot of the average pioneer was anything but glamorous. For this reason, perhaps, some of the pioneers continued to mix multi-colored alcoholic concoctions to achieve blue and yellow as well as pink elephants, and momentary forgetfulness. Not that the lot of the squeaky ox cart driver was a second edition of paradise; far from it. Or that his sobriety,

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62. Ibid, pp. 7-8.
63. Blegen, Theodore C. - "New Buildings Went Up Almost Over Night," p. 2.

over a duration, reached 100%. Everything considered, however, no more picturesque period in history has existed than that of the ox cart and stagecoach.

For relaxation, which was so necessary, the pioneers had recourse to the theatre as well as to concert and music halls. Amply they availed themselves of it. "They liked the theatre, supported dramatic associations of their own, and welcomed visiting troupes. Music lovers on the frontier heard Ole Bull in 1856 and Adelina Patti the next year, and welcomed the Hutchinson Brothers whenever they gave a concert. The Turners were early on the Minnesota scene and their gymnastic exhibitions were popular."[64] The Turnverein, under very efficient professors of physical culture, was to become an increasing part of the life of athletic St. Paul.

Entertainment was varied and impressive, the programs containing the names of famous stars. "Tonight will be performed Shakespeare's great tragedy of Macbeth," announced a newspaper, "Mr. C. W. Couldock as Macbeth and Miss H. Irvine as Lady Macbeth." A change of bill for the next night offered "Mr. Couldock as Richelieu and Miss Irvine as Julie DeMortimer." At the conclusion of this engagement was Ole Bull's Concert, and following that "Hough and Myers (to) present the 'Merchant of Venice' and 'Dance in the Dark."[65]

Among the entertainers of this decade were the Peak Family of Bell Ringers, and, in the tanbark field, Antonio & Carroll's Great World Circus. Two favorite plays of which the pioneers never seemed to grow weary, were "Ingomar" and "The Marble Heart."[66] Two theaters quite frequently mentioned were Scott's Theatre and

64. Ibid, p. 2.
65. Pioneer & Democrat, July 14, 15, 17 and 21, 1856.
66. Daily Pioneer & Democrat, Aug. 29, 1857.

Peoples Theatre. That circuses drew well even then is attested by a crisp notice . . . "Antonio & Carroll's Circus is now performing in this city to good houses," in the daily press.[67]

In the operatic field St. Paul "supported an opera company that published its own organ, the 'Opera Companion,' and in one season, at the German Theater, presented such operas as Rossini's 'Cinderella,' Donizetti's 'Elixir of Love,' Balfe's 'Bohemian Girl' and Verdi's 'Il Trovatore.' There was even a modest literature produced in frontier Minnesota. Harriet Bishop, the Vermont school teacher, published in 1857 her book 'Floral Home.' A periodical entitled 'The Frontier Monthly' was brought out at Hastings in 1859."[68]

Cotillion parties at Lot Moffet's Castle continued with unabated frequency for the nimble-footed and pleasure-free. "On with the dance," he would announce characteristically, offering a "series of parties" where "the charge will be very moderate, the object being to amuse the people - not to make money."[69] No dance floor in town was more popular, nor was any settler more loved and esteemed than the man who, although dubbed an eccentric, nevertheless possessed forthright qualities; Lot Moffet was many sided, but every side of his character was open and above board.

On September 15, 1859, the newspaper boys had some more innocent fun with Lot Moffet, as follows: "Old Settler Moffat has almost completed another of his yearly additions to the Temperance House, on Jackson St. It is of the Saracenic-caravansera bizarre style of architecture. The whole structure offers a fine field for architectural study. He has combined the characteristics of

67. Ibid, Aug. 29, 1857.
68. Blegen, Theodore C. - New Buildings Went Up Almost Over Night, p. 2.
69. Daily Pioneer & Democrat, Dec. 18, 1851.

all the schools, although it is evident that the labyrinthian predominates. The clothes-line attachment on the top of the north wing, presents a fine appearance (particularly on Mondays) and its light and airy convolutions contrast well with the Gothic peculiarities of the adjoining wing. The whole establishment is an institution among us, and long may it wave!"[70.]

It was not until 1861 that enterprising citizens of St. Paul organized a volunteer fire department. No horses were used, the carts being pulled by the firemen themselves. Water had to be pumped from cisterns. The apparatus consisted of several hose-carts and one hook and ladder company. The latter was the fore-runner of the first "Hook and Ladder Company" still located in the downtown district of St. Paul, the antiquated equipment of the original squad having been sold to Eau Claire, Wisconsin, in the day when fresh paint enhanced its intrinsic value.

Henry Jackson, Bartlett Presley, and other well known St. Paulites, were members of Company 3, of this organization. Mrs. B. Presley, wife of the fruit merchant, was called "mother of the fire department." She earned the title by zealous effort. "At every fire she'd come and serve us coffee and sandwiches," states a 95-year-old survivor, the last of the organization. We had many hardships. Our worst fire was the old Concert Hall, where two brothers, Charles and August Mueller, were forced by the flames to jump from the eighth floor. One was a cripple for life. It's a wonder both weren't killed. And if they'd only had presence of mind; they were tailors and could have unrolled a bolt of cloth and come down that way. It would have held their weight, at least broke their fall."[71.]

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70. Daily Pioneer & Democrat, Sept. 15, 1859.
71. Christian Hoffman, last living member of St. Paul's Volunteer Fire Department. Interviewed Saturday, Sept. 27, 1941.

A humorous incident occurred before the October of that year wore away an incident in which a St. Paul clergyman was principal actor. At a Fourth of July celebration in another city he was called upon to act as chaplain. His prayers were "for definite blessings on farmers, mechanics, lawyers, and all classes of people, but when he came to politicians, he rather hesitated, but finally said - "Oh, Lord, make politicians as honest as circumstances will admit!" The anecdote concludes with the assurance that "this was truly a catholic sentiment, and the whole congregation mentally responded - Amen!"[72.]

A cultural survey, contrasting East and West at this time, would have revealed laggard the cultural arts. In the words of a professor of sociology at the University of Wisconsin . . . "family intercourse, money-making, religion, and politics summed up the strong interests of life in the Middle West, while music, art, literature, and science were neglected. Outside a few university centers, easy popular standards of excellence prevailed, and there was little spur to high achievement in any line."[73.]

In generalizing Prof. Ross writes: "If we note the birthplace of the first thousands of living Americans, we find that . . . "of living Americans listed in ' Who's Who in America,' the Middle West contributes 44 for every 100,000 inhabitants it had in 1860, while the East contributes 82, or nearly twice as many." Yet, such was the progress of the region that this author felt justified in growing optimistic before he finished his study in contrasts. "Com-

72. Daily Pioneer & Democrat, Oct. 28, 1860.
73. Ross, Edward Alsworth. - Changing America, Studies in Contemporary Society, The Century Co., 1912, p. 226.

parison of the two regions in literacy, in public instruction, in state aid to schools, in library extension, in penal systems, in state care of defectives, in anti-tuberculosis activities, in city-park systems, and in the beauty of public buildings, shows little or no difference." His deduction, overlapping the period to some extent, was that although "the East is ahead in urban sanitation, the Grange movement and the woman's club movement . . . the Middle West makes the better showing in city-planning, state parks, and the establishment of legislative reference libraries."[74]

At this early date, however, nobody could reasonably expect to see full-blown any rose of culture either East or West, but both plants were bearing buds, and buds, we know, have a habit of blossoming if given time.

Although Lot Moffet was regarded as an eccentric by his fellow citizens his good work in the public interest continued without let-up. His name appears frequently in the press, and he is active in many directions. Living in a day when there was no Relief Society, W. P. A., or Social Security, "he was always ready to aid and willing to assist in all charitable work for the betterment of the town in which he lived."[75]

When in 1861 the rebellious guns of the South were muttering, and it was rumored that Lot Moffet intended to go military and mount cannon on his Castle, the city waited with interest for details. Everyone knew that at the proper time the jovial reporters would take full advantage of the opportunity to apprize their readers of the facts. The reporters had taken to calling the patriarchal-looking old gentleman "Uncle" Lot Moffet. Even from the days that citizens were obliged to

74. Ibid, 227.
75. Murray, Wm. Pitt. - Murray Papers, #5.

descend a stairway to enter the Castle, that is from street level, it had been the same and "Uncle Lot" was used to the good-natured jibes. It couldn't be said of many hotels that "the first floor commenced where the roof left off."

The "Castle," or if you prefer, Temperance House, was one of the three hotels at which alcoholic thirsts could not be quenched or saloonitics cajoled. "Central House, The Temperance House and St. Paul House - all conducted without a bar" had, nonetheless, their following.[76] Emphatically, this was not a state of affairs such as Pierre Parrant might have envisioned in the heyday of his trade, if indeed he had ever envisioned anything without the aid of heavy stimulation.

Nothing daunted by untiring repertorial attention, probably with an inward satisfaction, a chuckle deep-down, a merry twinkle in his kindly eyes, Lot Moffet resumed his work as amateur contractor-builder. One can imagine him even giving his ample beard an extra tug as he resolved to complete his castle - all in good time. And observant citizens must agree that it is infinitely better to build a castle out of substance than "in the air." So, in October 1861, "Uncle Lot," to borrow a reporter's term of endearment, has again something to show for his work in leisure hours, and we read: "The walls of Moffet's Castle are nearly completed. They have been erected almost entirely by the labor of his own hands, and differ in more respects than meet the eye from some other Castles in this vicinity - they are not surmounted by a 'cupola.'"[77]

76. St. Paul Daily Press, May 24, 1861.
77. Pioneer Democrat Daily, Oct. 11, 1861.

Moffet's Castle, even in its unfinished state, bore little resemblance to the boarding house in the ravine from which it originated - the ravine through which had flowed a creek. Mr. Moffet, most historians agree, was an unusual man. His life, as it unfolded, tended to prove the accuracy of Historian Newson's verbal portrait of him, "a man of strong sterling principles, and did a great deal of good in the day in which he lived . . . eccentric but honest; a strict temperance man, violently so, and yet kind and popular; he was not a politician but a leading Mason . . . universally respected.[82]

Allen and Chase, two familiar names in the development of the stagecoach business from the year 1852, when their lines were absorbed by the Minnesota Stage Company, upon the organization of that company, retired from business in 1860, and John L. Merriam and J. C. Burbank, previously identified with the forwarding business, took over their interest, the firm of Burbank, Blakeley & Merriam resulting.

LaCrosse was, in the beginning, the nearest railroad terminus and to and from that point regular trips were made by the stagecoaches - passengers, mail and express matter being carried. Although not the first organized system of overland transportation, the stage business, under efficient management, was hailed with delight by press and populace.

Newspapers which had found much to exult over in the comings and goings of the Pembina ox carts, dwelling on their value to St. Paul, not to mention the unique niche they filled, grew enthusiastic also over stagecoaches. The transitional period was a stimulus to the imagination. Ox cart into stagecoach, stagecoach into train, train into something the pioneer could not see, even dimly - the airplane! Trains were to survive, but not ox carts, not stagecoaches. And considering to

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82. Newson, T. M., Pen Pictures, p.

what impressive proportions the stagecoach business had grown, as apexed in the early sixties, it is small wonder few could foresee the demise of the stagecoach. However that demise did not come until a most useful service had been fulfilled.

It was, to be sure, quite an advance from carts, constructed as they were in the most primitive design, to coaches of at least more graceful outline. In the case of the coach, too, prospective passengers fit into the picture, and with some degree of creature comforts, although creature comforts could not be stressed. Contrastively, when one considers that solid wheels turning on wooden axles without the benefit of lubrication wheels, held together merely by wooden pins, were capable of sustaining a weight of from seven to eight hundred pounds, with the motive power furnished by oxen which were hitched to the cart by buffalo hide in the shape of bands, the wonder grows that ox carts could have functioned so well. The man who usually had charge of four such carts in a caravan, must have been a paragon of patience. On the other hand the driver of a stagecoach must have had a relatively easy task.

When an ox cart caravan was ready to start on a trip, forming as it did in single procession, it must have been an interesting sight. The price of these carts is said to have been about $15 each, and were durable enough to survive three trips. To transport a ton of goods by this means cost from $90 to $100. Halfbreed and quarter-breed drivers, their white strain presenting many idioms and dialects, were as picturesque linguistically as they were in appearance, with their coarse blue-cloth costume - ar und the waist a red sash, on the head a bead-worked cap, and with feet mocassined. No lover of ornament ever indulged his penchant with more satisfaction than did the driver of the Red River ox cart.

A typical newspaper item, touching on the arrival and departure of the ox cart, announced on July, 1861: "There has been for a week or two a

picturesque encampment of Red River men, on the prairie near the St. Anthony road. There are from fifty to seventy-five carts, and at night they are all ranged in a circle, with the shafts pointing inward. Within the circle are tents, and around them the campfires which serve the double purpose of cooking and to keep off mosquitoes. The dark skins, and long hair and singular dress of the party, and their unique outfit for travelling are always objects of curiosity to the people of the region."[83]

And in June, 1862, we read that "The long trains of ox-carts from the Red River country are daily arriving in this city laden with valuable furs. Some fifteen or twenty passed through Third street yesterday, with their unique trappings, and deposited their cargoes with the agents of the fur companies, and on their return they will relieve our grocers, hardware and other merchants of a large proportion of their stock."[84]

Remarkable, considering the period, were the systematically scheduled trips of ox cart and of stagecoach - remarkable in service and in regularity of performance, considering the odds. The St. Paul of that day no doubt appreciated the difficulties underlying them, realizing the facts.

Perhaps no year ever closed with darker forbodings than 1860. Across the Mason and Dixie (Nixon) line bristled two gorgons of impending conflict - disunion and slavery. Southern skies grew blacker day by day. Rumblings of rebellion shook Dixieland and electrified the North. The National situation was but reflected in St. Paul with business depressed, banks failing, depreciation of currency, and investments in a tailspin. In some instances it was difficult to figure out which was the more unbalanced - the checkbook or the investor.

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83. St. Paul Pioneer Democrat Daily, July 16, 1861.
84. St. Paul Daily Press, June 27, 1862.

A wide-spread belief prevailed that secession from the Union by intractible cotton-producers and slave-holders was inevitable. An amicable adjustment seemed not at all likely.

Ninager. ~~Defying this~~ This town was never to become Donnelly's dream -- a metropolis. Even after its youthful founder had obtained a post office, the stage drivers refused to stop at the settlement, and the citizens were forced to walk three miles to Hastings for their mail. 18.

In 1858 the firm of Forbes and Kittson, having been dissolved, Kittson concentrated on his Red River trade which continued until 1860. He then was made agent for the Hudson Bay Company and established, with James J. Hill a line of steamers and barges on the Red River. Under the name of the Red River Transportation Company, this firm grew into a large corporation with headquarters in St. Paul.

From the time of the first merchandise store, St. Paul's development into a jobbing center had been steady. Ox carts, left the city loaded with clothing, nails, flour and returned bringing buffalo, hides and furs.

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

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

The first capital building, was occupied by the legislature in January 1854. Though the location of territorial institutions had been decied upon, behind-the-scenes plans were being

when all of the United States and New Jersey are on a spree."[96] Six days later it was headlined that "The Year of Jubillee Has Come" - the Union was victorious.[97]

The joy occasioned by victory was not long to last. On April 16, 1865, the Pioneer, which had bitterly opposed President Lincoln, reported black news: "Like a clap of thunder from a clear sky, burst yesterday morn upon this community the intelligence that Abraham Lincoln had been assassinated. Every man stopped, staggered and turned pale, as though some overwhelming personal calamity had suddenly overtaken him."

It was not until July that large numbers of troops returned to the city. For some there were banquets and ovations, but for the First and Second Minnesota Regiments, who had suffered a terrible toll, there was a solemn mustering out one evening at Fort Snelling. The occasion was a most touching one and there was a "subdued expression on every face at the parting with comrades of the march and battle for four long years."[98]

The war had passed, the years of hardship and despair were at an end. St. Paul citizens were certain that the promise of their city and state was near fulfillment. In this they were not to be disappointed.

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96. St. Paul Daily Pioneer, April 4, 1865.
97. St. Paul Daily Pioneer, April 10, 1865.
98. St. Paul Daily Pioneer, July 6-20, 1865.

The Hosts of Armed Men

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

The clouds were indeed thick. Dark omens, as 1861 opened, presaged the transfer of the "irrepressible conflict" between the states from a struggle for power within the legal framework of government to an armed competition on the field of battle.

Minnesota had been the starting point for a legal wrangle which was to end any possibility of peace. Dr. John Emerson, surgeon at Fort Snelling, took his slaves, Dred and Harriet Scott, with him when he was transferred to Jefferson Barracks, Missouri, in 1838. After Emerson's death in 1852, Scott, with the aid of the sons of his former owner, Peter Blow, sued for his freedom. Scott contended that his residence in free territory for a period of four years had made him a free man. The United States Supreme Court, in 1857, held otherwise, ruling that a slave was not a citizen and had no standing in a United States court to sue for himself. By this decision the Missouri Compromise, which for some years had maintained an illusory peace between the North and the South, was rendered void.[2]

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

As the Minnesota Register observed, "One praised Minnesota--yet in her swaddling clothes but destined, like her own Borealis, to be the northern light" of the Union.

Minn. Register, July 14, 1849

One praised "Minnesota
- yet in her swaddling clothes
but destined like her own
Borealis, to be the northern
light of the confederacy."

Minn Register July 14 1849

1865
Civil War Period

That this legislation was worse than a makeshift is believed by many sound observers. "The Dred Scott decision was a blow to popular sovereignty; for it meant that the territories had no legal choice but to accept slavery."[3.]

The "radical" doctrines of the Republican party had found growing favor among the farmers of southern Minnesota who, since the panic of 1857, were finding competition with the slave economy intolerable and impossible.[4.] The election of 1859 placed the Republican party securely in control of the state government. Alexander Ramsey, who had been elected governor, was a strong anti-slavery Republican and believed wholeheartedly in the preservation of the Union.[5.]

7 Borealis Insert.

Minnesota had been admitted to the Union in 1858; Oregon in 1859; and there were now eighteen free and fifteen slave states.

St. Paul in April 1861 had just re-elected John S. Prince, a Democrat, for his second term as mayor.[6.] One of St. Paul's founders, Henry H. Sibley, was on the point of leaving to attend the strife-torn Democratic National Convention at Charleston, S. C.[7.] St. Paul, in marked contrast with her sister cities of St. Anthony and Minneapolis, remained staunchly Democratic and expressed some sympathy with the Southern cause.

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3. Morrison and Commager, Vol. 1, p. 525.
4. "The 1921 Annual Meeting of the Minnesota Historical Society," Minnesota History Bulletin, Vol. 4, No. 1-2, February and May, 1921, p. 27.
5. Baker, Gen. James H., "Alexander Ramsey, a Memorial Eulogy," Minnesota History Collections, Vol. 10, Part 2, Feb. 1905, St. Paul, pp. 733-735.
6. Minnesota Writers' Project, The Mayors of St. Paul, 1850-1940, Office of the Mayor, St. Paul, 1940, p. 27.
7. West, Nathaniel, Ancestry, Life and Times of Henry H. Sibley, Pioneer Press Publishing Co., St. Paul, 1889, pp. 244-246.

On April 12 Confederate troops opened fire on Fort Sumter. Two days later word was received in Washington that the Fort had been occupied by the Southern army. Governor Ramsey, in the national capital at the time, personally called on the Secretary of War and offered a thousand Minnesota men for the defense of the Union.[8] For this, Minnesota is credited with having been the first of the loyal states to offer troops.[9]

Two days later, Lieutenant Governor Ignatius Donnelly, acting in the absence of Ramsey, issued a proclamation in St. Paul calling for volunteers. "Minnesota is called upon to do her duty in protecting the National Flag, and the National Capital from the assaults of invading traitors. Let her respond as becomes a State attached to the Union. That she will do so we have no doubt. In twenty days our regiment will be ready for the field."[10]

The response to the call was immediate. A meeting of the Pioneer Guards, held in the Armory on the same evening, discussed enlistments and registered those desiring to volunteer. Josias R. King was the first to append his name, and was thus the first volunteer from the state of Minnesota.[11] While enlistments proceeded briskly arrangements were being made to train recruits. Fort Snelling, which had been abandoned as a military post some years before, was the only place available and convenient for the purpose. It was hastily renovated and made ready to receive the first men from Minnesota destined to fight outside the state's borders.

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8. Folwell, W. W., History of Minnesota, Vol. 2, pp. 76-77.
9. Some statements have been made that Minnesota provided the first troops. This is incorrect. Minnesota was the first state to offer troops but Massachusetts was the first actually to put troops in the field. That state sent fifteen hundred men to Fort Monroe on April 19, 1861. See Massachusetts, A Guide to Its Places and People, Houghton Mifflin, Boston, 1937, p. 49.
10. St. Paul Daily Press, April 17, 1861.
11. Minnesota In The Civil and Indian Wars, Vol. 1, p. 3.

On Monday, April 29, ten companies assembled at the Fort for training. Two of the companies were composed entirely of St. Paul men: The Pioneer Guards under Captain Alexander Wilkin, the St. Paul Volunteers under Captain William H. Acker. St. Paul citizens were also well represented among the other companies. On the day the troops assembled, Governor Ramsey appointed the necessary field and staff officers, among whom were Col. Willis A. Gorman, Lt. Col. Stephen Miller and Major William H. Dike.[12]

When training began the troops were without rifles, ammunition, field equipment and uniforms. Most of these materials were requisitioned nationally but for a time the matter of uniforms was left to be dealt with locally. A firm of clothing contractors furnished an outfit which consisted of red flannel shirts, blue trousers and slouch hats of black felt. When the troops later engaged in battle it was found that the ensemble provided an excellent target for rebel fire and it was replaced by something less conspicuous.[13]

St. Paul's citizenry, for the most part, disregarded partisanship and, although they disapproved of Lincoln and felt that abolitionism was distasteful, the war effort was supported without stint. The St. Paul Lyceum, a literary society, provides an example of the public temper. The club, which two months before had been holding academic debates on the issue of slavery, met on the evening of April 25 to declare itself adjourned "for the purpose of volunteering for the defense of their country."[14][15]

12. Minnesota In The Civil and Indian Wars, Vol. 1, p. 3.
13. Folwell, W. W., A History of Minnesota, Vol. 2, pp. 79-80.
14. St. Paul Daily Press, March 22, 1861.
15. St. Paul Daily Press, April 25, 1861.

Less practical but equally significant of popular sentiment were the efforts of eccentric Lot Moffet, keeper of the hostelry known as Temperance House. At the beginning of hostilities, Moffet had undertaken to enclose his establishment with thick stone walls. Rumors circulated to the effect that "the Fourth and Jackson street angles are to be provided with two rows of casemate batteries, with embrasures sufficiently large to accommodate ten-inch Columbiades. Down in the extreme depths of the castle will be furnaces for heating shot, which shot when needed for active use, will be elevated to their place in the batteries by a patent contrivance in military engineering art, which will prove the crowning glory of the old man's life."[16]

Several of the newly organized companies were ordered to relieve for a short time the regular troops at Forts Ridgely, Ripley and Abercrombie. On June 14, 1861, the First Regiment received orders to proceed east immediately. Colonel Gorman recalled the men from the outlying forts, and, early on the morning of June 22, the regiment was assembled, heard a short address and invocation by the Reverend E. D. Neill, newly commissioned chaplain, and embarked on steamers at the Fort. They left the boats at the upper levee in St. Paul, marched through the city for final farewells, and reaching the lower levee, again boarded the steamers and sailed on the first lap of the long journey to the Potomac.[17]

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

16. St. Paul Daily Press, May 24, 1861.
17. Minnesota In The Civil and Indian Wars, 1861-1865, Vol. 1, pp. 4-5.

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

Neill distributed the money to the sick and wounded with a rare humanity. If some expenditures are a bit vague, they may well be attributed to Neill's desire to ease the men in their most trying moments. The following listings may be found among the accounts: "For Gum Bougies, $2.00 . . . Brandy and provisions furnished fatigued soldiers after battle by Sutler King, $43.60 . . . chickens for Biddle, $1.00 . . . oysters for Cummings, $0.50 . . . . wine for Cummings, $1.00 . . . Richmond prisoners of war, $100.00."[18]

On May 3, 1861, Governor Ramsey tendered another regiment to President Lincoln, but these troops were not immediately called east.

In the meantime the First Regiment, with many St. Paul men in its ranks, was going through black days. On July 21, less than a month from the day of its departure, it participated in the disastrous battle at Bull Run. Forty-nine Minnesotans fell on the soil of "rebellious, deluded Virginia," and Colonel Gorman commented that it had been "more of a slaughter than an equal combat."[19]

On August 8, 1861 the St. Paul Daily Press reported that "the Battle Flag of our gallant First Regiment, all tattered and torn by rebel bullets at Bull's Run, arrived last night by the Northern Belle." The next day the flag was "visited and examined by hundreds of our citizens . . . There is a tremendous rent through the union near the staff corner, made as we understand, by a piece of shell. Then there are fifteen bullet holes through different parts of the flag . . . ."[20]

18. Neill, E. D., History of Minnesota, St. Paul, 1882, pp. 660-665.
19. Minnesota in the Civil and Indian Wars, Vol. 2, pp. 22-23, 31.
20. St. Paul Daily Press, August 8, 9, 1861.

Towards the end of September the Second Minnesota Regiment was assembled at Fort Snelling preparatory to its departure for the battle fields. A contemporary relates that on October 13, "the day being calm and bright, there was a great rush of people towards the Fort . . . Almost every vehicle in town was there, and about 1,000 people went up on the City Belle . . . Some of the parting scenes were very touching."[21] On the next morning "tents were struck and everything packed and put on board the steamers Northern Belle and Keokuk . . . The people of St. Paul turned out en masse into Third Street . . . in a short time the boats arrived at the Upper Levee. The soldiers went up Eagle Street to Winslow House, and then made a sharp turn into Third Street, heading towards the Lower Levee. Sidewalks and windows were crowded. Little cheering but many tears . . . One thousand stalwart men, handsomely uniformed and completely equipped - a thousand bayonets gleaming in the sun. Soon back on board and the boats embarked. The soldiers waved their hats and cheered loudly - but there was little response from the shore."[22]

If the town was saddened by the departure of its young men, it was also shadowed by other difficulties resulting from the war. The currencies of several neighboring states, including Wisconsin and Illinois, had suffered a serious depreciation due to the fact that they were largely secured by bonds of seceding states.[23] This caused considerable financial confusion in St. Paul. The distrust of the innumerable varieties of paper money then in circulation was such that "an infrequent dollar finding its way into one's possession was of doubtful value until the arrival of the next steamer with the latest issue of the Bank Note Reporter."[24]

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21. Pioneer and Democrat (St. Paul) October 13, 1861.
22. Pioneer and Democrat (St. Paul) October 14, 1861.
23. Patchin Sydney, "The Development of Banking in Minnesota," Minnesota History Bulletin, Vol. 2, No. 3, Aug. , 1917, p. 169.
24. Moore, Frank, Reminiscences of Pioneer Days in St. Paul, Pioneer Press Pub. Co., St. Paul, 1908, p. 7.

A meeting of the principal business men of the city was held in the hall of the Merchantile Library Association on June 11, 1861 to determine action in regard to the ruinous rates of exchange resulting from the worthless and doubtful currency in circulation. For the protection of business it was decided "not to accept any currency that would not be redeemed promptly in U. S. coin, by owners or agents of said bank in St. Paul at a rate not exceeding 1 per cent discount.[25] Perhaps as a result of this decision the Central Bank closed its doors two weeks later. There was great excitement among the victims and some threats of violence but, as one newspaper commented, "the mass of the people have become so used to being swindled that a repetition of the game was taken quite philosophically."[26]

Despite the financial chaos it could be said that the business outlook was "brighter than any time since 1857." The Hudson's Bay Company continued to receive immense quantities of goods through Burbank and Company, thus maintaining the commercial importance of the city.[27] Prospects for railroad construction also began to improve.

In June 1861 The Minnesota and Pacific Railroad organized to complete the trackage between St. Paul and St. Anthony. The road bed had been very little injured by the elements, although it had been neglected for a period of three years and was overgrown with weeds. A sale and reorganization of the company cleared up all legal embarrassments and construction was ready to begin.[28]

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25. St. Paul Daily Press, June 12, 1861.
26. Pioneer and Democrat (St. Paul) June 27, 1861.
27. St. Paul Daily Press, July 6, 1861.
28. St. Paul Daily Press, August 16, 1861; also see Pioneer and Democrat, July 12, 1861.

Early in September 1861, the steamer Alhambra "came to port with unusual demonstrations, in the shape of ringing of bells, screaming of whistles . . . quite a number of persons were drawn to the levee, in spite of the drizzling rain. It was soon discovered that she had on board, and in her barges, a fine locomotive called the William Crooks, in honor of the chief engineer of the Minnesota and Pacific Railroad, two platform and one box car, two hand cars and fifty tons of track iron . . . The people have been fooled so often for the last eight years in their railroad expectations, as to have become almost incredulous of ever having the pleasure of a 'ride on the rialroad,' over the soil of this state, and seeing the motive power and the rails right before their eyes, was quite exhilarating, and loud cheers expressed their gratification." It was predicted that the rest of the rails and cars would soon arrive, and that by December first "we can visit our St. Anthony friends in the cars."[29]

Chief Engineer Crooks at first intended to have the road completed by October, but low water kept the rest of the rails down river and disheartening delays were once more the order of the day.[30] In October 1861 financial difficulties piled up and the road was once again forced to suspend activities.[31]

On September 18, 1861, almost a month after the departure of the Second Regiment, Governor Ramsey had issued orders for the organization of two or more additional regiments. The Third Regiment was sent to Kentucky where it passed the winter guarding railroads, and the Fourth was ordered to join Halleck's army in northern Mississippi.[32]

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29. Pioneer and Democrat, (St. Paul) September 10, 1861.
30. Pioneer and Democrat, September 13, 1861.
31. Pioneer and Democrat, October 30, 1861.
32. Folwell, W. W., A History of Minnesota, Vol. 2, pp. 92-95.

Recruiting for the Fifth Regiment went forward more slowly, and it was not until Sunday, May 12, 1862 that Governor Ramsey presented a flag to this regiment as token of its organization. All did not proceed smoothly. The St. Paul Pioneer and Democrat reported that "there was a lively time in the city Sunday afternoon while the dress parade was going forward at the Fort, in catching deserters from the regiment. It appears that the soldiers were all paid off last week, and many of them not liking the idea of marching at once into active service, concluded to desert; and on Sunday, the plans were put into operation, and out of two companies, nearly one-half escaped from the Fort. The alarm was given, and in the afternoon most of them were captured and returned to the Fort, where we presume they are now doing penance . . . The steamer Hawkeye State will go up this morning for the purpose of embarking the Fifth Regiment."[33]

Continued reverses suffered by the Union armed forces had slowed down recruiting and later brought it almost to a halt. The quotas assigned to Ramsey County by the state government were more and more difficult to fill. Heroic measures were necessary to answer the need for more soldiers. As an inducement to enlistment for regiments already in the field the government offered "a premium of $3.00, upon enlistment $25.00, upon joining regiment one month's pay in advance $13.00. Total $41.00."[34] Individuals who were not in a position to serve were asked to "take over and guarantee support of the family of some brave man who is willing to go."[35] A citizen's meeting raised five thousand dollars for the payment of bounties to volunteers and for the support of soldiers'

33. Pioneer and Democrat (St. Paul), May 13, 1862.
34. Pioneer and Democrat, July 16, 1862.
35. Pioneer and Democrat, July 16, 1862.

families. The sentiment of the meeting was said to have been that "Ramsey County must raise her quota without drafting . . ."[36]

German citizens were particularly aroused by the peril to the Union. Many of them were exiles from their native land as participants in the German revolution of 1848 and were wholehearted believers in the principles of freedom represented by the Union cause.[37] A German merchant issued the following appeal: "I wish to join the patriotic Germans that are enlisting in this city, for the protection of their adopted country against its enemies. I will sell my stock of groceries and provisions, and rent my store, and take my place among my brave fellow-citizens with the hosts of armed men. In this way I can leave my large and dependent family, with a brave heart and stout courage."[38]

As the deficiency was not filled by any of the measures taken, the War Department, on August 4, 1862, ordered a draft from the various state militia bodies. This order, a virtual declaration of martial law, caused considerable alarm. It was reported that "a number of the craven-hearted in our midst immediately took alarm and fled the city. Col. Robertson, with Mayor Prince, took measures, on Sunday morning last, to insure the arrest of these cowardly deserters. We are under martial law, and the community may rest assured that the orders of the government will be strictly enforced."[39]

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36. Pioneer and Democrat, August 12, 1862.
37. St. Paul Daily Press, April 23, 1861 and Stillwater Messenger, Sept. 24, 1861.
38. Pioneer and Democrat (St. Paul), August 13, 1862.
39. Pioneer and Democrat, August 12, 1862.

Clergymen exhorted their followers to join the army. One appeal in particular was commended by the Daily Press: "We take great pleasure in calling general attention to the manly, patriotic and Christian admonitions addressed, at the request of Bishop Grace, by the Rev. Mr. Ireland, at the Cathedral last Sunday, to the Irish Catholics . . ."[40]

It was said of Archbishop Ireland that "when Civil War shook the nation he was not one to sit on the sidelines, "but joined the Minnesota Fifth Infantry, and as their chaplain won the affection of the whole regiment. When ammunition was scarce at the Battle of Corinth, and the Confederate Army had breached the Union lines and men were refusing to fight without arms, Father Ireland, it is related, rallied the recalcitrants. Suddenly he "came rushing down the street heedless of the bullets flying around him. 'Here are your cartridges, boys,' he cried. 'Don't spare them!'"[41]

It was just another case of Archbishop Ireland's versatility. His many-sidedness elicited many tributes, as for instance the following: "Small wonder that many called him the 'Minnesota Blizzard.' In spite of these fighting qualities he was a kindly man and full of concern for his fellows."[42]

Not long after the Battle of Vicksburg, having contracted a fever, Archbishop Ireland returned to St. Paul, the population of which now exceeded the ten thousand mark. "A fine brick cathedral stood on the corner of Sixth and Wabasha streets . . . the air was full of talk about the steel rails to be

40. St. Paul Daily Press, July 28, 1863.
41. Winifred Netherly in the St. Paul Pioneer Press. - Feature Section, p. 4, May 18, 1941.
42. Ibid, May 18, 1941, p. 4.

stretched across the continent connecting St. Paul with both sea coasts," and Ireland, a theologian who never forgot his interest in colonization, found in the prospect something to mitigate his illness.

Not all signs were of an encouraging nature, however, since "among the folk who flocked to the city were gamblers and speculators. Traces of frontier violence lingered on, in spite of the rigorous penalties for 'hallooing, cursing, and screaming.'"[43]

The Eighth Regiment, to be "composed of citizens of Irish birth," had begun organization some time before.[44]

The newspapers were sharp in dealing with those who had yet escaped enlistment. A blistering editorial in the Pioneer and Democrat of August 9, 1862, noticed "several bright eyed youths . . . sadly disfigured by spectacles and goggles, also quite a number who hobbled along with canes in their hands. Come boys, it's useless to play those old dodges. Spectacles, canes and we may add, trusses are played out about this time, and you can't humbug the inspecting surgeon." To this the press contrasted the willingness of their own employees to enlist; "it will be seen that no class of artisans are as well represented as the printers . . . It has already seriously interfered with the proper transaction of business in this city."[45]

43. Ibid, May 18, 1941.
44. Pioneer and Democrat, August 9, 1862.
45. Pioneer and Democrat (St. Paul), August 8, 1862.

The Ninth, Tenth and Eleventh Regiments were skeletonized and accepted recruits but the number still fell short of the need. Governor Ramsey therefore issued a call for a cavalry regiment. This appeal was popularly received and resulted in the formation of the First Regiment of Minnesota Mounted Rangers. With this unit Minnesota furnished all of the troops immediately required of her with an excess of 320 men and averted "the dishonor of a conscription."[46.]

The lack of money and men as a result of the war had a profound effect on social and civic life. There were a number of professional entertainments during the first year of the war, including an opera company which performed in Maritana, and a "perfect inundation of circuses."[47.] Restriction of non-belligerent travel on the Mississippi made it almost impossible for professional theatrical companies to reach St. Paul after this time. The populace found a substitute in amateur theatricals given to raise money for the soldiers, "Charades, and simple Tableaux, sometimes extending into Patomimes."[48.] The People's Theatre, the only real stage in the city, was dark for most of the period. The Athenaeum of the German Reading Society was used for a number of musical and dramatic benefits, as was a hall on the third floor of the Ingersoll Block. It was in this latter hall that the ladies of the various Protestant churches gave a social and supper to raise a library fund. The effort resulted in the purchase of 350 books, forming the nucleus of the present St. Paul Public Library.[49.]

46. Folwell, W. W., A History of Minnesota, Vol. 2, pp. 103-105.
47. Pioneer and Democrat, July 31, 1861.
48. St. Paul Daily Press, January 20, 1862.
49. Moore, Frank, Reminiscences of Pioneer Days in St. Paul, pp. 68-83.

Skating parties were popular during the winter. The ladies did not lack escorts, said one newspaper, for "during the moonlight evenings the soldiers from the Fort skate down to see their friends and go back before roll call next morning, and 'nobody knows nothing about it.'"[50]

The problems of municipal government were increased by the decline in tax returns and the lack of men to carry on certain municipal services. The city was forced to reduce the police force to seven men in 1862. During that year three of this number were lost by voluntary enlistment in the Army, and Mayor Prince recommended that the rank and file of the force be abolished and replaced by a volunteer force under the control of the chief of police and one captain. The volunteers were to enroll sixty citizens in each ward and then designate two of that number to serve each night of the month. This force served during the following winter. The first council meeting of 1863, on the insistence of the new Democratic mayor, John E. Warren, re-established a regular paid police force and made the wearing of uniforms compulsory.[51]

The St. Paul Fire Department, which had been incorporated by the legislature in 1862, lost half of its members on account of enlistments. Citizens were requested to lend a hand since "it is almost impossible to muster men enough to handle their machines."[52] Fires were few enough during the period to cause one historian to comment that "a kindly fate seems to have tempered the wind to a shorn lamb."[53]

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50. St. Paul Daily Press, January 1, 1863.
51. Muller, Alix J., History of the Police and Fire Departments of the Twin Cities, Am. Land and Title Register Association, St. Paul and Minneapolis, 1899, p. 48.
52. St. Paul Pioneer, December 17, 1862.
53. Muller, Alix J., History of the Police and Fire Departments of the Twin Cities, pp. 186-187.

The spring of 1862 brought another attempt to complete the railroad to St. Anthony. New capital was obtained and the properties of the defunct Minnesota and Pacific Railroad were assigned to the newly organized St. Paul and Pacific Railroad. The incorporators of this company met in March at the International Hotel and elected Edmund Rice president and William Crooks chief engineer. The new company entered into a contract with Winters, Harshman and Drake for the construction of the line, stipulating that it should be completed by August 1, 1862. By the middle of March teams were drawing ties along the road bed.[54] Newspapers reported on April 2 that "The laying of the tracks . . . was commenced yesterday. It will not be many days ere we will hear the whistle of the iron horse along the valley of Trout Brook, and so on towards St. Anthony."[55]

When at last the first train traveled over the road the significance of the occasion was duly appreciated. "Let it be recorded . . . that on the 28th day of June, 1862, the first link of the great chain of railroads which will, in the course of a few years spread all over this state from the Valley of the Mississippi to the Red River of the North, and from Lake Superior to the Iowa boundary line, was completed, and a passenger train started from St. Paul in the direction of Puget Sound! . . . Yesterday morning the first installment of passenger cars arrived from below by steamer, and were placed upon the track. Invitations for an excursion trip were immediately issued by the contractors . . . and by half past two o'clock a sufficient number of excursionists - ladies and gentlemen - had assembled at the terminus of the road to fill the two sumptuous carriages, and after a brief delay, the locomotive steamed down from the station house, attached itself to the train, and, with a shriek, started on its trip towards the setting sun . . . After a stroll through the suburbs of the Falls City,

54. St. Paul Pioneer and Democrat, March 13, 1862.
55. St. Paul Daily Press, April 2, 1862.

the passengers again took their seats on the train . . . Burbank stages will be withdrawn from the line, after which the railroad will have a monopoly of trade between the two points."[56]

Early in July the railroad "commenced to run three trains a day between this city and St. Anthony, as follows: from St. Paul at 5:30 A. M., 9 A. M. and 6 P. M. On Sunday there will be but two trains . . . the road commenced carrying the mails yesterday . . . Fare to Minneapolis or St. Anthony, including omnibus tickets at both ends of the railroad, 60 cents."[57]

One month later the railroad was able to announce that its receipts, since the beginning of operations, has exceeded operating expenses; the average number of passengers being eighty and ninety per day. Citizens were asked to patronize the road as "it is no easy matter to build railroads in war times."[58]

It had been planned to extend the rails to St. Cloud during the winter of 1862, but scarcity of labor and lack of rails and other supplies caused only two miles of this extension to be laid by the next spring.[59] In May 1863 two engines, ordered from "Eastern Mechanics," were seized by the government for use in a war emergency. After this incident, plans for further construction were abandoned until the end of the war.[60]

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56. St. Paul Daily Press, June 29, 1862.
57. St. Paul Pioneer and Democrat, July 3, 1862.
58. St. Paul Pioneer and Democrat, August 12, 1862.
59. St. Paul Daily Press, April 18, 1863.
60. St. Paul Daily Press, May 28, 1863.

The war went on, but aside from the arrival and departure of troops, reports of battles and casualty lists, most of the military activity was too distant to cause anxiety in St. Paul. But in the summer of 1862, word came of a menace so immediate as to cause intense alarm. A story in the Mankato Independent, reprinted in the St. Paul Pioneer and Democrat on August 13 reported "a rumor . . . current that a large body of Sioux Indians had attacked and disarmed the Military at the Upper Sioux Agency, broken open the Government Warehouses and helped themselves to the goods. The report was brought from New Ulm and we fear is founded on truth. The unavoidable delay in making the payment has probably proved too much for the patience of the Indians . . ."

The incident at the Upper Agency was found to have been exaggerated; the Indian Agent, missionaries and troops apparently pacified the impatient and starving Indians and caused them to disperse. Some of the soldiers were recalled to Fort Ripley and it was believed that there was nothing more to fear.[61]

On August 18, 1862 a few pitiful refugees from the Lower Agency in Redwood County straggled into Fort Ridgley. They informed the officers of this post that all the white inhabitants had been killed or forced to flee for their lives; the Indians were looting traders' stores and the government warehouse. Captain John F. Marsh, commandant at Ridgley, with no idea of the extent of the uprising, marched out with forty-five men to subdue the Indians. As the soldiers proceeded they met some fugitives and found a number of mutilated bodies. The interpreter, Peter Quinn, believed that they were in an extremely perilous position, but Marsh still did not see any considerable danger.[62] The force was ambushed at Redwood Ferry on the Minnesota river and two-thirds were killed. Marsh was drowned in attempting to ford the river. By nightfall the entire frontier was ablaze.

61. Folwell, W. W., A History of Minnesota, Vol. 2, pp. 229-230.
62. Holcombe and Hubbard, Minnesota in Three Centuries, Vol. 3, p. 316.

Word of the uprising was received by Governor Ramsey on the next day, and as additional couriers arrived the extent and size of the trouble began to be realized. Henry H. Sibley was appointed colonel with orders to put down the insurrection.[63]

The citizens of St. Paul suffered from a succession of panics. A baseless report was circulated through the town that the Indians were nearing St. Paul. Rumors were given credence by news which trickled in, such as the story of a group of soldiers and civilian volunteers from St. Paul who had been attacked and nearly annihilated by Indians at Birch Coulee, and by the arrival of fear-crazed refugees. There was no emergency, but the town remained nervous and uneasy.[64]

Lt. Governor Ignatius Donnelly traveled into the threatened territory in an attempt to ascertain the extent of the outbreak. He wrote a report from Belle Plaine on August 25, 1862: "I reached here a few moments since and propose to drive to St. Peter tonight. Along the road we met fifteen teams with refugees from the scene of the disturbance. In this town there are 600 persons crowded into stores, houses and hotels, living upon the bounty of the people. The people themselves are poor, and I am informed the supply of provisions in town is short . . . The country is in a high state of excitement, although there is less panic here than there is nearer St. Paul. The people here have more active ideas of distances and localities, and do not, therefore, so readily believe everything told them."[65]

63. Minnesota in The Civil and Indian Wars, Vol. 1. pp. 727-753.
64. Moore, Frank, Reminiscences of Pioneer Days in St. Paul, pp. 38-40.
65. St. Paul Pioneer & Democrat, August 27, 1862.

Even the publication of this letter did not allay all the fears in St. Paul. One of the newspapers reported that at twelve o'clock one night "a ridiculous panic occurred among some of the people in the north part of the city, by a report that Indians were in the neighborhood. We saw men, armed with guns, and followed by women and children, making their way towards Third Street. Those who get up such ridiculous and senseless panics should be severely punished."[66.]

Throughout the latter part of August and early September almost completely destitute refugees continued to flock towards St. Paul. To cope with this emergency a committee was appointed to "call upon the citizens of St. Paul for old clothing, bedding, blankets, household goods, provisions, etc. to be distributed among the families who have been driven from their homes in consequence of the Indian hostilities."[67.]

Opposition papers sought to make political capital of the uprising, blaming Governor Ramsey for conditions leading to the outbreak. The Governor was charged with "criminal negligence and . . . inhuman disregard of his duty."[68.] But the fault was not in fact so near home. The trouble had been long brewing. Since the treaties of 1851, the U. S. Senate had delayed payments until accumulated trader's claims absorbed almost the entire payment and left little for the Indians. Legitimate grievances, left so long smouldering, required little fanning to burst into flame.[69.]

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66. St. Paul Pioneer & Democrat, August 29, 1862.
67. St. Paul Pioneer and Democrat, August 30, 1862.
68. St. Paul Pioneer and Democrat, September 10, 1862.
69. Paxson, Frederic L., History of the American Frontier, 1763-1893, Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston, 1924, p. 486.

Colonel Sibley refrained from a major encounter with the Sioux until he was thoroughly prepared. In the latter part of August he wrote to Ramsey, promising the governor that he would "hear of stirring events very soon."[70] On September 23, 1862 Sibley led troops against the Sioux under Chief Little Crow at Wood Lake, and broke the backbone of the insurrection. On October 10 Maj. Gen. Jonathan Pope submitted a report which said, "The Sioux War is at an end . . . The example of hanging many of the perpetrators of the late outrages is necessary and will have a crushing effect."[71] This word was sufficient to calm the fears of St. Paul but it was not so impressive to settlers on the frontier. Charles E. Flandrau protested on their behalf that "the idea of peace being restored to the frontier . . . is a fatally mistaken one . . . There is no peace."[72] Flandrau was at least partially justified in his fears - sporadic conflicts took place on the frontier for at least another year.

The horrors of the uprising, great enough in fact, were exaggerated by imagination and misinformation to the point where there was some sentiment for complete extermination of the Sioux. Three hundred and three of the Sioux captives were sentenced to death. A delay in the execution of this sentence, until confirmation might come from Washington, brought a demand for speedier action.[73] The

70. Minnesota in The Civil and Indian Wars, Vol. 2, p. 198.
71. Minnesota in The Civil and Indian Wars, Vol. 2, p. 272.
72. Minnesota in The Civil and Indian Wars, Vol. 2, p. 289.
73. West, Nathaniel, Ancestry, Life & Times of H. H. Sibley, pp. 275-291.

spirit which prevailed in St. Paul may be judged from a public notice: "Captain I. C. George, agent for the Milwaukee and Chicago Railroad, and E. B. Ames, agent for the Grand Haven Steamship Line, of this city, each offer twenty-five dollars for five Sioux Indian scalps, taken after this date . . . Dr. William Caine also offers $25 for five Sioux scalps."[74]

President Lincoln signed death warrants for forty of the condemned and, on December 26, 1862, thirty-eight were hanged at Mankato. The rest of the captives were removed to Davenport, Iowa.[75] Here, the prisoners, unaccustomed to confinement, were attacked by smallpox which decimated their ranks. The Chicago Record commented that "at this rate the government will soon be relieved of them, and the St. Paul papers will probably stop howling for their blood." A St. Paul editor didn't think so, judging from his blunt rebuttal: "The St. Paul papers don't want the blood of these wretches - they will be satisfied with a large and commodious lock of hair from each head - and a pound of flesh nearest each heart. Oh, no, - we don't want their blood - we don't."[76] It was some time before memories of the uprising blurred sufficiently to allow a saner attitude to manifest itself.

74. St. Paul Pioneer and Democrat, September 9, 1862.
75. West, Nathaniel, Ancestry, Life & Times of H. H. Sibley, pp. 280-291.
76. St. Paul Daily Pioneer, March 19, 1864.

The crowded condition of the city stimulated business during the latter months of 1862. Immigrants continued to arrive, and many of the refugees from the frontier, particularly the more prosperous ones, settled in St. Paul rather than return to the desolated communities. Increasing trade with other sections of the state and large military expenditures resulted in an abundance of money.[77]

With this condition the labor shortage grew even more acute, particularly in the skilled trades. The lack of carpenters and building tradesmen soon resulted in a housing crisis, and the development of retail business was curtailed due to the lack of store structures. Women were employed in some cases to overcome the lack of common labor. A large number of women were employed in agriculture, raking and binding grain, at the rate of $1.50 per day.[78]

The abundance of money did not, however, result in abundance for the laboring classes. Commodity prices rose as much as one hundred per cent, while wages made no general increase. Soon married men were reported to be "fortunate to receive a four or five dollar grocery order for a week's work, while $2 or $3 cash was fairly representative of a single man's weekly income - about half enough to pay their board bill."[79]

It was inevitable that this combination of conditions should result in angry protest.[80] The first trade unions had been formed a few years before. New

77. St. Paul Daily Press, April 19, 1863.
78. St. Paul Daily Press, August 16, 1862.
79. Moore, Frank, Reminiscences of Pioneer Days in St. Paul, p. 7.
80. Asher, Helen, The Labor Movement in Minnesota, 1850-1890, Mimeographed, St. Paul, 1925. Page 3.

organizations were formed in a number of trades and demands for wage increases were advanced.[81] The river pilots, being almost irreplaceable, received recognition in the early days of the war. On November 2, 1861 it was reported that the pilots had resolved not to work for less than one hundred and fifty dollars a month. This was a fifty-dollar monthly increase. The Minnesota Packet Company and the Davidson Line, the two largest companies, acceded to the demand on the day that it was announced.[82]

Stevedores, dock laborers and deck hands were not so fortunate in enforcing their demands and in 1862 they resorted to a strike. Their efforts met with opposition which was reported as follows: "A serious riot took place . . . on the Levee, between the 'roustabouts' employed on the Fred Lorenz and a party of 'wharf-rats.' It appears that a strike for higher wages occurred on that boat, and the Captain refusing to agree to the terms proposed, engaged a new set of hands. This raised the ire of the aforesaid roustabouts, and they pitched in neck and crop to the levee rats, who defended themselves manfully, but it was no go. Mashed heads, bunged eyes and beet root noses were the order of the day, and the poor 'rats' found themselves in a trap from which they were fortunately rescued by the opportune arrival of the police." Strikers Frank Miller, Thomas Murphy and Patrick Murray were arrested and jailed in default of the ten dollar fine assessed on each of them.[83]

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81. St. Paul Pioneer, November 15, 1862.
82. St. Paul Pioneer and Democrat, November 2, 1861.
83. St. Paul Pioneer, November 8, 1862.

The Daily Pioneer, on April 10, 1864, published comparative figures of commodity prices over a four year period. Beans which had been sixty cents per bushel in 1860 were selling for $2.75 a bushel. Coffee had nearly tripled in price while potatoes had more than doubled. Prices on other staples were shown to have had proportionate increases. The Pioneer editor commented that "if great distress is to be avoided among the working classes of our city and state, it will only be by prompt and liberal action of capitalists and employers in equalizing the cost of articles of consumption and use . . . and readily advancing the compensation of the working classes, without waiting for strikes or resisting their just demands for increased pay."

But even the Pioneer management disregarded the editor's sage advice about avoiding strikes. Several months later, they found it necessary to print the following notice: " . . . the publicity, unavoidably given, to the demand of our compositors for an advance in wages to which we were unable to accede, and their consequent withdrawal from our office renders the statement necessary that the difficulty has been amicably . . . arranged . . . They will receive a material advance, larger than any heretofore made in this city."[84.]

Price increases of the period can be attributed, in some measure, to causes other than the continuation of the war. A decline in the number of steamboat arrivals and the setback suffered by agriculture due to the Sioux Uprising resulted in serious shortages. Substitutes had to be found for a number of items. Coffee was partially replaced by "ordinary barley . . . soaked in water until a little softened, then dried and roasted as we roast a coffee kernel. It is then ground."[85.] The shortages were used to advantage by speculators, many of whom reaped fortunes.

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84. St. Paul Daily Pioneer, July 26, 1864.
85. St. Paul Daily Press, February 9, 1862.

Despite business improvement the financial situation remained almost as chaotic as it had been during the panic of a few years before the war. There had been only six banks operating in the state at the beginning of 1862. When two of these failed Governor Ramsey had denounced the whole system of western banking as "false in principle and ruinous in operation," proposing a national system to give "a final relief from the enormous losses which are now suffered by our people." In 1863 the National Banking Act was enacted, and on December 8, 1863 the First National Bank of St. Paul was organized under its provisions. It was not until the spring of 1864, however, that the flow of questionable currency was stemmed, and only national currency or issues redeemable in treasury notes were deemed acceptable by St. Paul firms.[86.]

The death of the likable Sioux squaw, "Old Bets," occurred in that year. The press registered public opinion when it stated that "All our old settlers, who were acquainted with 'Old Bets,' - and who of them is not - will regret to learn that the amiable old aborgine departed this life on the boat at or near St. Joseph, Missouri, while on the way up the river with the rest of her tribe." The life-sketch which followed brought back many memories to St. Paul people. "Old Bets" was a historical character, decidedly, and was known to almost everybody in this city. Nearly every photographer here has portraits of her for sale. Mrs. Harriet E. Bishop McConkey has also an engraved portrait of her in . . . 'Floral Homes in Minnesota.' It was 'Old Bets' custom to make a regular round among all her acquaintances every time she came to St. Paul, which was not seldom. This round would last a week or more. At every house where she was acquainted she would stop to beg 'kosh-poppy,' or food, which was generally given to her . . . 'Old Bets' was loyal to her white friends during the Sioux Rebellion of 1862. She boasted that none of her relatives was engaged in that outbreak."

86. Patchin, Sydney, "Development of Banking in Minnesota," pp. 160-165.

'Old Bets' exact age was not known, but at her death she was thought to be between sixty and seventy, perhaps nearer seventy. Not as wellknown as "Old Bets," was her brother "Jim," who stumped about on a wooden leg, having lost a limb in an accident some years before his sister's death. 'Jim,' in fact, "departed to the happy hunting grounds in 1860."[87]

'Old Bets,' when not reduced to the necessity of begging, peddled Indian bead-work and trinkets, and made ready sales. Accordingly begging had merely supplemented the funds requisite to her livelihood. Descendants of old settlers agree upon this point.

The war seemed interminable. Minnesota troops lost heavily in the Battle of Gettysburg. They participated in engagements at Vicksburg, Chickamauga, Bristoe Station, Mission Ridge and Mine Run - strange, distant and tragic names to St. Paul's citizens. Recruiting lagged and once again there was the threat of a draft. An editorial reflected the painful conditions which existed in the city, "there has been suffering for want of proper clothing, food and fire among some of the families deriving bounty from the city. [soldiers' families.] We know there are hundreds of working men, heads of families, in our city, who do not feel at liberty now to volunteer, and who, for the sake of their wives and children, have the utmost dread of the coming draft . . . ."[88]

Men were drafted in 1864. Rules were changed so that minors over 18 years of age could be enlisted without their parents' consent, under 18 with the parents' consent, to "help raise the quota of the towns."[89] News came of the battles of

87. St. Paul Daily Press, June 27, 1863.
88. St. Paul Daily Pioneer, February 7, 1864.
89. Stillwater Messenger, May 24, 1864 and St. Paul Daily Pioneer, July 29, 1864.

Richmond, Guntown, Typelo, Allatoona, Nashville. Only gradually did the clouds brighten with reports of increasing Union victories.

St. Paul maintained a distinct cleavage between its support of the war and its attitude towards the principles of the Union cause as exemplified by Lincoln. In 1863, despite the gathering influence of Republicanism, it had returned the Democrats to power again in the city administration. The Daily Press minimized the victory saying, "it is true that the Democrats have succeeded in electing their candidates, but with such a startling diminution of their average majority as to leave the Union cause the moral effect, if not the material fruits, of a substantial victory."[90] But the Democrats won.

The Democratic newspapers continued to disavow President Lincoln throughout the war. On reporting popular rejoicing at Sherman's victory at Atlanta, some aspersions were cast on the President: "Flags were hoisted on many public and private buildings, cannon roared and reverberated through the streets . . . The only drawback to the general rejoicing was occasioned by a few black-hearted abolitionists, who never drew a loyal breath in their lives, but deemed the occasion a fitting one to make a little capital for the negro and 'Old Abe.' These vultures attempted to mingle their discordant screams with the shouts of victory, but did not disturb materially the general good feeling which everywhere prevailed."[91]

On the occasion of the presidential election in 1864 the same paper, the Daily Pioneer, pointed out that "a box of matches that sells for twenty-five cents has a ten cent stamp on it. This is what poor people have to pay to help 'free the Negro.'" The editor then advised his readers to "elect McClellan and taxes will be reduced."[92]

90. St. Paul Daily Press, April 8, 1863.
91. St. Paul Daily Pioneer, September 4, 1864.
92. St. Paul Daily Pioneer, September 23, 1864.

St. Paul maintained this bias against the Negro people even after the war and despite the fact that thousands of her citizens had fought to free the Negro from bondage. Colonel D. A. Robertson, in August 1865, submitted a resolution to the Board of Education stating, "Whereas the mingling of the children of African descent with those of white parentage . . . is obnoxious to the views and feelings of a large portion of our citizens . . .Resolved: That the Superintendent of Public Schools provide . . . a suitable teacher and accommodations for the colored children of the city, and that no children of African descent be thereafter admitted into any public school."[93] The resolution was passed, and the segregation carried out a few months later with the opening of the School for Colored Children in Morrison's Building on Jackson Street.[94]

The new year of 1865 opened in a quiet, if not exactly prosaic, manner. Festivities were recorded in detail: "The nice young men who thought they had plenty of friends, made a number of calls. Others went skating. Some went to the shooting match, and a few tried to drink all the egg-nogg in town. The latter class enjoyed themselves for a while very nicely, but about dusk we saw several carried home on shutters, and concluded the casualties of the engagement had been quite numerous."[95] After New Year's the town waited for the victory which was anticipated.

There was not long to wait. On April 4, the Pioneer announced that "by a streak of luck . . . the telegraph line was repaired just in season to transmit . . . the official dispatches announcing the evacuation of Richmond . . . Mr. Squire . . . is entitled to some credit for . . . keeping sober

93. St. Paul Daily Pioneer, August 9, 1865.
94. St. Paul Daily Pioneer, October 15, 1865.
95. St. Paul Daily Pioneer, January 4, 1865.

R. Cary.

Chapter IX

Harnessed to an intensely practical dream sturdy figures moved, axes were wielded, trees felled, rails laid, and quite matter-of-factly came into use the phrase which St. Paul had long coveted, "Gateway to the great Northwest."

This phrase was not likely to have a leavening influence on intercity rivalry. Rivalry is rarely more disconcerting or petty than when it exists between cities. New York and Brooklyn are shining examples. When the former refers to the latter as a graveyard, and the latter retaliates in kind, with such ridicule extending over a long period of years, the cause of neither is advanced. Mighty Manhattan, in the final analysis, doesn't fail to include in its population figures those of her humbler neighbor. "Flatbush" is at least tolerated, while the merry war of jibes (if not sham battle) continues.

The rivalry between St. Paul and Minneapolis has endured for many years. Even before Minneapolis entered the fray, St. Paul had a keen competitor for civic honors in St. Anthony. As business tension increased St. Paul had become more and more incensed against St. Anthony, its growing rival up the river. At first St. Anthony's pretensions had been laughed at, but the matter grew serious and St. Paul accused its rival of being founded "by Eastern capitalists", as Dr. E. E. Barton for one, has pointed out in his work, "City of St. Paul."[1.]

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1. Barton, Dr. E. E., City of St. Paul, Published by the author, St. Paul, Minn. 1888, P. 8.

What especially agitated St. Paul and Minneapolis at this time, however, was not the "great Northwest" portal. The trouble was multiple. The Minneapolis Daily Tribune, Jan. 27, 1870, under the heading "The St. Paul Chamber of Commerce," chided St. Paul "for its gullibility," and for not being "wise enough" to give a certain railroad "proper advantages," with the result that the railroad in question was "threatening to build its shops in St. James, a hundred miles away."

The St. Paul Daily Pioneer, Feb. 12, 1870, was pained because the Minneapolis Tribune had made the statement that St. Paul ladies went to Minneapolis to do their shopping "because, as they say, they can buy dry goods so much cheaper . . ." and came right back at the Tribune with the following: "We do not believe the statement . . . and we are confident that goods of every description are retailed in St. Paul at lower prices than in any town in the state."

Then, on March 15, 1870, the Tribune, resenting a barbed shaft in a new controversy, had this to say: "The editor of the St. Paul Press frequently takes occasion to speak sneeringly of the editor of this paper, as having come 'from Massachussetts.' Such is the fact--but when we came West we left no incumbrance behind, and broke no bonds honor required us to keep," and added, just for full measure, "We hear that the editor of the Press was once in Massachussetts long enough to preempt a lot on Boston Common. Is the retrospect equally pleasant to him?"

The Saint Paul Daily Press, in its turn, gloated over income returns --MINNEAPOLIS VS. ST. PAUL was the headline - in its edition of May 16, placing side by side the interesting figures for St. Paul and "those of her flourishing and ambitious sister, Minneapolis," citing with malicious glee the detailed numerals which showed Ramsey county's total amount, including special licenses, $45,140.85, and Hennepin's (also including special licenses) $19,544.47, with a balance in favor of St. Paul, of $25,596.38. "The returns in St. Paul,"

triumphantly remarked the Press, "are about the same as last year," and simply couldn't resist the temptation to further dilate with the observation: "In the whole district there were but three incomes of $30,000; two of them were in St. Paul and the other in Wabashaw county."

The war of the scribes, which was mainly between the Press and Tribune, irked the Daily Pioneer to such an extent that on July 20, it branded the broadsides as "indecent Journalism," and charged both newspapers with being "organs of the radical party." Using language not in itself temperate, it said: "For some time past the St. Paul Press and the Minneapolis Tribune have been engaged in a controversy that is a scandal to Journalism, to the reading public and to common decency. These papers, or rather their editors, for the controversy has become very personal, assail each other with the coarsest invective. * * * If what these men say of each other is true, or if any material part of it is true, they have no rights in decent society, and ought to be expelled from association with respectable men and women. If what they say of each other is not true, they are both disgracing a responsible and respectable profession, and are unfit for the discharge of its duties * * * It is such vulgar and ribaldous excesses as this . . . that does more to bring journalism into disrepute, than all its enemies, if it has had enemies, could do in years."

The St. Anthony Falls Democrat, Nov. 10, rallied to the support of the Minneapolis newspapers, after quoting the State Exchange as follows: "The Pioneer of Sunday gives the census of St. Paul as 20,045, the population of Minneapolis, 13,074; the population of Minneapolis and St. Anthony very nearly equals the population of St. Paul. The two cities could not do a more sensible thing than to unite under one city government."

In expressing its own viewpoint the Falls Democrat, continued: "The relative increase of population of St. Paul and that of St. Anthony and

Minneapolis, has a marked significance to those who have at all studied the cause. Fourteen years ago, when Minneapolis was just starting into actual life, it had but 1,000 inhabitants, and St. Anthony had only 2,500, while St. Paul had almost half its present population. * * * The relative growth since . . . must have some great underlying cause, as the people of St. Paul as well as here are amongst his most intelligent and enterprising of Western cities. The cause, which must be obvious to all who visit this section of Minnesota, consists in the broad fact that while St. Paul lives upon the drippings of the remainder of the State, Minneapolis and St. Anthony create original wealth of their own. * * *

St. Paul citizens, it goes without saying, did not subscribe to the reasoning of the St. Anthony Falls Democrat, although that newspaper's tactful reference to the city's intelligence did not pass unnoticed. To an impartial observer on the sidelines there was enough humor in this intercity rivalry to excite even the unmirthful. But the St. Paul of 1870 was not in a laughing mood, and lacked time to indulge in jealously even if inclined that way; too much had to be done. As if to set its house in order for the coming of the "empire builders," the city bestirred itself in many directions. The twice-saved state capitol, conserved the second time by the veto of Governor Marshall, still remained on Ramsey county soil, and the Hon. Charles H. Clarke, author of the last bill to remove it, had only earned for his pains the dubious sobriquet of "Kandiyohi Clarke."[2] In permanent possession of its statehouse the city gained from the incident a fresh spirit of exultation.

Another cause for rejoicing was to be found in mercantile uptrends. In St. Paul's dominance of the jobbing trade, in 1860, the first retail and wholesale firm had left the retail field, to devote itself exclusively to the most profitable angle: the table one of jobbing for St. Paul and Minnesota merchants. In 1869 there were 62 such firms, and in the early seventies

2. Castle, Henry A., Minnesota: Its story and Biography, The Lewis Pub. Co., 1915, Vol. 1, p. 221.

St. Paul could lay claim to having a larger wholesale house that any in Chicago, with a wholesale trade that extended southward into Iowa, west as far as the Rockies and northward into Canada, as Mildred Lucille Hartsough states in The Twin Cities as a Metropolitan Market.[3]

On the river, which had always borne so conspicuous a part commercially, could now be seen pleasure craft of quite a new sort - speedy sculls manned by trim athletes, for March 1870 saw the creation of the Minnesota Boat Club. Norman Wright was its first captain. Destined for long life in an attractive home on Raspberry Island, in its personnel the names of many leading citizens, this boat club has staged thrilling races and participated in gala holiday programs too numerous to mention.

The first races announced by the Minnesota Boat Club, in the columns of the Pioneer of July 3rd, 1870, occurred on the Fourth of July. There were three races, "first between two paper single scull boats; second, single wooden shells; third, between one double wooden scull and one single paper shell boat."

Two other organizations, Acker Post No. 21, originating March 8th, comprising veterans of the Grand Army of the Republic, with Henry A. Castle commander - and the Academy of Natural Sciences, formed April 14th - were added to the city's social life that year.

In 1870, the Minnesota State Reform school, which had been established three years before by act of the legislature, had an additional thirty-three acres joined to the original thirty which had been known as the "Burt Farm." This land, strange as it may seem to present day St. Paulites, was at that time outside the city limits.

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3. Hartsough, Mildred Lucille, The Twin Cities as a Metropolitan Market, University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis, 1925, p. 34.

In the purchase of the "Burt Farm" the city had paid $5,000 and the state an equal amount, the $10,000 price covering all buildings on the property. As far back as 1865, the city council, realizing the necessity for a juvenile reformatory, had referred the matter to a special committee, and this committee and a board of managers over which D. W. Ingersoll presided, had started the ball rolling toward the acquisition of such an institution.

Frank C. Bliss, in his book "St. Paul, Past and Present," is authority for the statement that the name "Minnesota State Reform School" was a second thought.[4]

The reformatory was first known as "The House of Refuge." Ownership, first and last, however, was vested in the state. The legislature, in 1869, appropriated an additional $15,000, and this sum, together with funds from other sources, permitted the erection of a number of much needed buildings - a workship, three stories in height, the cost of which was $9,000, a laundry building, $6,000; an engine-house, with two Otis steel boilers, $2,000, being the chief improvements.

For the first year the inmates numbered only 36, but subsequently increased. On the board of managers appeared other names as well known as that of D. W. Ingersoll - vice president, C. P. Pettit, Minneapolis; F. A. Husher, Minneapolis; Wm. Pitt Murray, St. Paul; superintendent, Joseph W. Brown; secretary, F. McCormick; treasurer, Second National Bank.

While giving due weight to credits and debits there were some things concerning which St. Paul was far from complacent, and over which results did not justify anything resembling jubilation. The ~~first~~ fire department, for instance. The leading citizens took inventory. Considering its youth St. Paul had experienced many fires, the destructiveness of which might have been greatly lessened had the growth of the fire department been commensurate with its

4. Bliss, Frank C., St. Paul, Past and Present, F. C. Bliss Publishing Co., 1888, St. Paul, Minn. pp 76-77

problems. On May 14, two tailors, the Muller brothers, had a narrow escape from death in a fire which broke out in an old frame building on upper Third street, at the foot of Market - a building used as a livery stable. The Muller brothers, who occupied quarters in an adjoining building, the Concert Hall, alarmed by smoke were only aware of their danger when escape by the stairs was cut off. In this emergency they leaped from an upper window, a height of nearly 100 feet to the crest of the cliff, and from there fell over the bluff.

The Minneapolis Tribune, reporting details of this fire in its issue of May 20, stated that "some 20 children were attending school in the building but it was impossible to ascertain . . . the number that escaped," and expressed fear for the safety of their teacher. The same newspaper, under date of May 20, included the following in its news story: "Public sentiment in St. Paul demands an investigation into the cause of the recent Concert Hall fire. * * * The German singing society in St. Paul gave an entertainment last evening for the benefit of the Muller brothers who were injured by the fall of Thursday last."

When it is recalled that St. Paul still had to rely on the efforts of a Volunteer Fire Department, it is not to be wondered at that destruction wrought by flames was, in most instances, severe. Nor must the men comprising such volunteer organizations be censured; they were hard working and conscientious citizens and made the most of their inadequate equipment. Bucket Brigades included in their membership leading citizens, Christian Hoffman, the last survivor of the St. Paul Volunteer Fire Department, explained in an interview.[5] Mr. Hoffman, by the way, is ninety-five years old.

To cope with a liquor situation which could be conservatively referred to as anything but arid, a Catholic Temperance Society, with a membership of 350, was organized May 21. Indeed Rev. John Ireland deemed it wise to offer special inducements, in his efforts to dam the high tide. "Rev. Father

5. From Christian Hoffman Interview, Sept. 27, 1941.

Ireland, the spiritual director," said the Minneapolis Tribune, May 21, on the subject, "had promised . . . to bring back from Ireland a red genuine blackthorn stick, to be given to the member who should obtain the largest number of members, during his absence . . . After the usual order of business had been gone through with, Father Ireland arose and was greeted with loud applause . . . The reverend gentleman . . . presented the stick to Mr. James McCarter . . . he having obtained the largest number of members - 47."

Nor was intemperance the only worry. Nuisances not associated with stimulants were such as to prompt this notice, which appeared in the Daily Pioneer of Feb. 6: "A BET OFFERED - We yesterday heard a citizen offer the following bet to any enterprising individual wanting to make money: 'I will bet a new hat, that the Chief of Police of St. Paul cannot start at the Merchants' Hotel, and walk up Third street to the old Winslow House corner, without having his hat knocked off eleven times by the low awnings, the baskets, hams and bacon, and other obstacles that hang over and obstruct the sidewalks between these points.' We bear cheerful testimony to the number of these nuisances that prevail in the vicinity of the new hotel, uptown."

Whether the bet was accepted is not clear; records, so far as we know, are not available on that point. A nuisance of greater magnitude dwarfed at this time the ones mentioned, a drastic mode of punishment quite out of step with anything resembling progress. A chain gang actually appeared in the streets of St. Paul, its members obliged to serve terms under the humiliation of curious eyes. The indignity of being butts for jibes from passerby was, perhaps, the least of their troubles. Some of these unfortunates were even chained to park trees when not assigned to laborious tasks.

"The chain gang," stated the Daily Pioneer, March 9, "headed by the gentleman who kept the low house on the flats with Mr. Sourwine, was out yesterday cutting the ice out of the gutters on Third stree^t." And the same newspaper, in its issue of May 8, referred to another angle of forced employment exacted of the men: "Gentlemen who are placed on the chain gang now have an opportunity of serving their country. Five of them are in the employ of the St. Paul Water Company."

Just how service to one's country was involved here is rather mysterious to a present day citizen of the Saintly City, unless the use of the word water has its implications in this instance.

Nuisance problems were not confined to isolated groups. "Almost every night," complained the Daily Pioneer (March 22) "a crowd of loafers can be seen congregated on the corner of Seventh and Wabashaw streets, and another crowd of the same species on the corner of Seventh and Minnesota streets. They are very rude and insulting to ladies who happen to be passing. Sunday evenings generally see the largest congregation of them there, and people who are passing to and from church are subjected to a variety of insulting comment. The nuisance is getting to be intolerable."

To be distinguished from the loafers were the honestly idle, the unemployed to whom no stigma attached, the men who were willing to work but unable to obtain employment, the men who had failed somehow to prove their fitness in the competitive struggle and so lost out. Notwithstanding the building under way, therefore, men who really wanted work walked the streets; in short such a condition existed as to present a sad picture and a strange one; ironically, as described by the Daily Press, June 28, "Crowds of men in search of employment gather on the sidewalk in front of the office of the Northwestern Construction Company every day."

But the unfortunate and the destitute were not forgotten. Attention was called to the plight of the poor by Rev. Thomas O'Gorman, in a benefit given for them on March 3rd., at Ingersoll Hall. The subject of his lecture was "The Ecumenical Council."

Strawberry festivals, although strawberries were selling at 50 cents a quart in June of that year, and the supply at the grocers' stands "was about as large at night as it was in the morning," according to the Daily Pioneer, June 7, aided the cause no little. A strawberry festival, given by the Ladies Relief of the First Presbyterian Church, grossed $428, which, when the expenses, around $150, were deducted, netted $275 for the charity. ~~The same paper stated on June 13th~~ A Christ Church strawberry festival, held on the grounds of Hon. George L. Otis, yielded a pecuniary reward of $379.80, as the Pioneer recorded June 24th.

Another such festival by the Ladies Relief, realized $116 for the Home for the Friendless, although the fruit, described as of home growth, had dropped to only ten cents in price.

On June 24th, the anniversary of St. John the Baptist, was fittingly celebrated by the French part of the population. Processions, music and speeches were among the features of the celebration, the program closing in the evening at Ingersoll Hall, with a supper and entertainment. The singing of Mr. and Mrs. F. K. Drake, who volunteered their services, was cited by the Daily Pioneer for special mention, as making the evening pleasant." At St. Louis Church, and at the Hall of the well-known French society, L'Union Francaise, there were special celebrations.

The L'Union Francaise Hall was located on Wabasha street, and the observance there was a joint celebration, the St. Jean Baptiste Society being the other organization, under whose auspices the exercises were held. The members of the two Societies assembled early in the morning.

The Daily Pioneer of June 25th thus refers to an incident which occurred at the celebration: "Before forming into procession a very pleasant little incident took place. Mr. Pierre A. Dufour, on behalf of the two Societies, presented John Brissette, the only French representative on the police force of the city, with a splendid solid silver star. Mr. Dufour, in making the presentation, alluded in complimentary terms to the service of officer Brissette, as one of the eldest members of the force, and his French fellow citizens desired, in presenting the star, to testify in a small degree their respect and esteem for him both as an officer and a man. * * * "

The procession, so typical of a day much given to such turnouts, was interestingly desc ibed by the same newspaper. "The procession was then formed, under the direction of Marshal Coteau and his assistants, in front of the hall, being headed by a platoon of policemen and the Great Western Brass Band. Then came a wagon drawn by four horses, on which a very tasty baby house had been arranged under which was seated a little boy dressed in a shepherd's costume, with a little lamb at his feet, intended to represent St. John the Baptist. Surrounding him were six other boys as attendants dressed in white pants and blue jackets, making altogether a very pleasing feature of the procession. Behind this the members of the two societies were formed two by two on foot. The procession took up its line of march to the residence of Rt. Rev. Bishop Grace, to escort him to the French church on Tenth street."

As for the church itself, it was in gala attire. It had been "beautifully and tastily decorated in honor of the occasion with evergreens," ran the newspaper account, "and the tri-color of France, which gracefully depended from the center of the ceiling to the four corners of the church. The procession having arrived and, all being seated, High Mass was celebrated by Father Calliet assisted by Fathers Reville and Schmierer, after which Father Reville, of Faribault, delivered a very interesting and eloquent sermon in the French language."

Governor Austin was to have delivered an address, but was absent from the city, and a letter from him was read. Mayor Lee made a speech. Others making speeches were John B. Olivier, Alfred Dufrene, Bishop Grace and Father Schmierer. After the Mayor's address, which was received with enthusiasm, the procession marched through the city. It was disbanded at the hall, where the members were addressed, in French, by Mr. Z. Demueles, of Osseo, in behalf of the Frenchmen throughout Minnesota. John B. Olivier, president of the L'Union Francaise, responded.

There was a banquet in the evening, the two societies, augumented by a number of citizens, assembling at Ingersoll Hall, where, after Seibert's string band had rendered selections, Mr. Olivier called the meeting to order with a short address of welcome. Thereupon Mr. P. A. Dufour was introduced, and gave the address of the evening, which declares the Daily Pioneer, "was frequently interupted by warm and hearty applause."

The "Marsellaise," by the band, followed. The banquet tables, arranged to accommodate 150 persons, were so attractive that they drew special comment from a Daily Pioneer writer, who took occasion to explain: "the banquet was gotten up by a committee of ladies, and was perfect in all its arrangements. The tables looked beautiful, and were loaded with every eatable /sic/ calculated to tempt or satisfy the appetite. * * * Thus ended one of the most agreeable and pleasant celebrations we have ever witnessed in St. Paul."[6]

Before the month was over St. Paul theatergoers were enjoying a treat in the engagement of a favorite actress of the day, Miss Laura Keene. She drew a large fashionable audience to the Opera House on June 27th, the production being that comedy of tragic memories, "Our American Cousin." To unstinted applause and hearty laughter," stated the critic of the Daily Pioneer, June 28th, this piece was presented, "as are all pieces under Miss Keene's direction."

6. St. Paul Pioneer, June 25, 1870

During the same engagement Laura Keene offered another comedy, "Caste." It, too, scored a success. An interesting little story in connection with "Caste" may not be out of place here. It is taken from the Daily Pioneer of June 30th. " . . . Robertson's comedy, "Caste" . . . created a great sensation at its first presentation in this country, not only on account of its dramatic merit, but the amusing rivalry exhibited by the New York managers to secure the exclusive privilege of playing it in New York City. Lester Wallack congratulated himself upon outwitting all others, succeeding in purchasing a copy from Robertson, when he was forestalled by Billy Florence, the popular comedian, who having attended the theatre in London several nights committed the entire comedy to memory, and arriving in New York in advance of Wallack's author's copy, played it, to the latter's discomfiture.

"Litigation followed, 'Caste from memory' being the topic of the hour, the comedian's sharp practice bringing it more fully to the notice of the public than would have otherwise been the case."

On the next evening, by special request, Miss Keene gave a benefit performance of Robertson's "School for Scandal," and concluded her engagement the following week, and opened in Minneapolis July 11th. For her final week in St. Paul, the management issued season tickets, six performances at a bargain price of $5, which enabled each purchaser of a season ticket to see one performance free. And, since the plays produced were billed as the strongest in Miss Keene's repertoire, dramas and comedies by Boucicault, Taylor, Bulwer, Reade and others, this was an additional incentive. This ticket bargain was regarded by the reviewer as "an opportunity for lovers of the drama to reward the arduous labors of an artiste, and extend to Mr. Oates that support which will warrant him in presenting equally great attractions the balance of the season."

The theatre, however, did not monopolize the amusement spotlight. The river came in for its share. Pleasant summer days continued to find the Mississippi a source of attraction in many ways. Basket picnics, excursions, regattas and private boating and fishing yielded rest and recreation. Excursions were by both boat and railroad. In the Mississippi, and its tributaries, however, the water was declining at the rate of 4 or 5 inches a day according to the Daily Pioneer of June 28th.

Commerical boating was, of course, likewise affected. A case in point was given by the same paper. "The Nellie Kent went up to Carver on Sunday to bring down two barges of wheat. She left Carver at 8 P. M. Sunday, with one barge in tow, and when about a mile above Bloomington Ferry, on her way down, the barge struck the bank and sprang a leak and sunk in 8 feet of water. The barge contained about 8,000 bushels of wheat, which is a total loss." The wheat, however, which belonged to Henry Eames, was fully covered by insurance.

On June 30th, the St. Paul Daily Pioneer referred to a typical excursion in this way: " - A very pleasant excursion party, from Red Wing numbering about fifty came up on the steamer Red Wing yesterday, and during the few hours the boat remained here they visited the various places of interest in and around the city. Nearly all of them paid a visit to the Metropolitan Hotel and expressed themselves in terms of great admiration of this magnificent house, of which St. Paul is so justly proud."

An excursion by rail was thus announced by the same publication in its issue of June 28th: "The completion of the Mississippi & Lake Superior road to the town of Thomson, on the St. Louis river, the point of intersection with the North Pacific Road, a distance of 132 miles from St. Paul, will be celebrated today by a grand picnic given to the employees along the line, at that place. Superintendent Johnson has invited a number of our citizens to be

present on the occasion, and the invited guests will leave for that point by the regular train on that road at 7:15 this morning. We haven't the least doubt that all who go will have a delightful trip and visit to this important point, which although almost as yet unknown, is destined to become among the most important of the manufacturing points on the continent."

A letter to the editors of the Daily Pioneer (June 29th) had its peaks of interest in this connection: "Fortunately for me I left St. Paul on the new steamer Northwestern, commanded by Capt. Tom Davidson, and found Hon. F. E. Snow, exclerk of the Minnesota Senate, in the office. Ex-chief of Police McIlrath was the most prominent individual among the passengers * * *

"The boat is a model of neatness, this being her sixth trip, everything is in perfect trim. * * * To the traveling public I must certainly commend them to a trip from St. Paul to St. Louis. Finer scenery cannot be found on 'the face of the globe,' and for comfort and pleasure steamboat traveling combines both.

"I have had the pleasure of listening to a very enthusiastic gentleman, who may be one of our railroad kings for aught I know - probably is, as he says he was consulted by the directors of the Northern Pacific as to which point was the most suitable as a terminus on Lake Superior. But that road is nothing and nowhere in his views compared to Judge Meeker's 'Air and Hour line'; that's the road that is to make a new Jerusalem on this earth. I am a little surprised that the Chamber of Commerce of your city has not discussed the matter. It ought to have smelt what was in the air before this time.

"Well, this road is to be built immediately, the most valuable property on the route has been spotted, and most magnificent plans are about to be consummated. The road is to blend into one of the four cities of St. Paul, Minneapolis, St. Anthony, and 'Paulopolis,' otherwise Meeker's town, 'one enormous city. London or New York will play second fiddle to it, and the great

center of this village is to be at Meeker's Landing.' The property at 'Bridal Veil Falls' has been purchased by a gentleman in St. Paul, and he is about to put up an immense establishment to wash the inhabitants of the great city.

"The great dam improvement at Meeker's Landing is to be immediately completed, but I cannot begin to tell you how many different kinds of manufacturies are to be put in there. My head fairly swims when I look at the picture this vigorous and enthusiastic individual has drawn, and he says 'Judge Meeker has the wisest head of any man in Minnesota - a glance at the Judge's features will corroborate that statement, while the growth of the cities, now in embryo, will prove his far seeing eye and vulcanic mind can 'move powers ye know not of.' "

The Meeker to whom reference is made is Bradley B., for whom Meeker county was named. Educated at Yale, admitted to the bar in Kentucky, appointed judge in the territory of Minnesota in 1849, he held that position for four years, and has the distinction of having presided at the first term of court in Minneapolis, when cased were tried "in the old government grist mill at St. Anthony Falls," to quote from Minnesota Biographies.[7]

The St. Paul & Pacific railroad, which ran Fourth of July excursion trains between St. Paul, St. Anthony, Minneapolis and Lake Minnetonka, at Wayzata, advertised in the Pioneer of July 2nd, offering "Great times at the lake . . . Fifty Sail and Row Boats on hand . . . Music by Gideon's Band . . . 'Pop goes the weasel,' if you let the cork loose! Half-fare tickets. There were many such excursions on Independence Day, by both rail and river.

In the educational field a number of new institutions announced, through the advertising channels of the Daily Press their fall openings - the Misses Wheaton's Select School, at their rooms, corner of Fifth and Franklin streets, and a day school for young ladies, to be established by Mr. and Mrs. Wm. Markoe at their residence, No. 188 St. Peter street; and the St. Paul Classical Institute, Rev. Wm. R. Powell, rector.

7. M.H.S. Coll., Minn. Biographies, Vol. XIV, p. 501, Pub. by the Society, June 1912.

In the religious field, during the month, the Jewish people broke ground for the erection of a synagogue on Tenth street, opposite the Adams school of that period. This building is still standing, but has fallen into disuse, and the Adams school was moved to a new site so many years ago that it no longer could serve to indicate the location, which is Minnesota and Tenth streets. The old tabernacle itself has long since been supplanted by a fine modern place of worship for members of the Hebrew faith - a large Jewish Center in the "Hill district."

Other religious activities included the meeting at the House of Hope Presbyterian church, of the synod of Minnesota. It was the first yearly meeting of the organization since the union of Presbyterian churches. The sermon commemorative of the occasion was preached by Dr. F. T. Brown.

At the Market Street M. E. Church, on September 22nd, a "splendid entertainment . . . supper, fruit, flowers, ice cream, &c." . . . to which "everybody was invited to be present," was advertised in the Daily Pioneer of that date.

Quite the reverse of the mood indicated in that advertisement was the sombre note struck in a church newsstory in the Daily Press of September 25th. "Human remains of several corpses - consisting of skulls, other bones, coffins, &c., were disinterred yesterday by the workman engaged in excavating for the new Stees building on Minnesota street, near the corner of Third.

"The old Catholic Mission Church, which marked the early site of St. Paul, was situated south of the present location on Third street above the Press office, and the burial ground connected with the mission covered the spot where the excavation is now being made. It being low ground it was afterwards filled up. More than a score of years have passed since any interments were made there.

"We understand that measures are to be taken to care for the remains which may be disinterred, so that they shall not be desecrated. This is as it should be."

Faults, in many directions, were clearly seen and measures frequently taken to remedy them. In some cases limitations imposed by crude machinery and lack of needed conveniences, were overcome. Improvements needed in certain cases were not so easy of fulfillment. The narrowness of streets was more than disturbing. On this subject the Daily Pioneer, on July 23rd, expressed disappointment amounting to disgust when an opportunity for widening streets was allowed to languish. "Two collisions in Third street yesterday," declared the Pioneer, "reminded us that there was a proposition to widen some of our streets. * * * That excellent motive was abandoned as the new block that Mr. Knauf is putting up on the line pretty effectually closes all hope for that valuable improvement. While other cities are widening their streets and avenues to 80 and 100 and even 120 and 200 feet at the expense of pulling down expensive buildings, we unmindful of their expense, go along closing up the sides of our streets so narrow as to remind strangers of alleys rather than streets or avenues."

A warning against the forces of lawlessness appeared in the same edition of the paper. "Everybody is cautioned against thieves. We are informed by the police that the city is full of the worst and most desperate characters. Special caution should be exercised now while the weather is so very warm, of the temptation so strong to leave windows open."

Several months later the Pioneer (September 10, 1870) vigorously urged better lighting for St. Paul. "Present number of gas lamps 100," it complained, "and 200 are needed. The city covers territory two miles in length and a mile in breadth. Gas is a great ally of the police in preserving peace and good

order by night, and in restraining the depredations of the evil-disposed by dispelling the darkness which is sought by the perpetrators of evil deeds. More light is the cry of the people."

In September, too, the Pioneer, while complimenting the street commissioner for doing good work on Fort street, handled that gentleman roughly, nevertheless, for not attending to a nuisance on the corner of Seventh and Cedar streets; that frog pond, "which did not look pretty," nor did it "smell pretty in the center of the city."

Irregularities on Election Day in a second ward polling place included a personal controversy between election judges, during which one of them threw a ballot box out of the window. "Three policemen," said the Pioneer (November 9, 1870) in reporting the incident, "restored order."

On November 11th of that year, St. Paul mourned the passing of one of her most generous citizens, the old settler Vital Guerin, at the early age of 58. Almost simultaneously Joseph R. Brown, another well-known Minnesotan, whose versatility in many fields distinguished him, died. Long tributes were paid to the memory of each. The St. Paul Daily Press, in its issue of Nov. 12th, coupled the names of both in its obituary article, "Two Old Ones Gone."

"We record this morning," ran the article, "the death of two venerable Minnesota pioneers - Vital Guerin, once a French voyageur, who made a claim some 31 or 32 years ago on what is now the heart of St. Paul, and Joseph R. Brown, who bought a half interest in another claim, which has since become Kittson's addition . . .

"Vital always retained the simple and primitive habits of his early life - but though he was at one time the possessor of an estate which if he had but retained a title to it would have made him a millionaire, died at last poor. Brown, though he has founded half a dozen cities, and has walked

with his head in the clouds of his own ambition over a thousand fortunes, has never stopped long enough in his pursuit of bubbles to pick up the wealth over which he strode unheeding - and dies, if not positively poor, certainly far from rich. And nothing better need be said of him than this, ah! the royal grace of those unselfish, hospitable times, when men lived from hand to mouth and divided their all with their neighbors; when such men as these gave away cities without knowing it, and tossed latent millions to the next comer. Vital was a simple, unambitious soul and Joe was shrewd, aspiring and crafty, but they were alike in this, that neither could learn the Yankee trick of the thrift that comes by meanness or even prudent hoarding. They had the liberal culture of the wilderness which teaches a finer humanity than the schools, and had learned from the savages the careless largesse of the pristine gentleman. Alas! - how they perish, these noble specimens of the olden times, these types of the generous race which is fast becoming extinct."

Vital Guerin's funeral, with extracts taken from a historical sketch of his life, is described in the quaint fashion of the day by the Catholic weekly newspaper, The Northwestern Chronicle, of Saturday, Nov. 26th: "The death of Vital Guerin, one of the early settlers of St. Paul, which took place on Friday, the 11th instant, at his residence in this city, gave sincere regret to our citizens, to whom he was so well and favorably known.

"His funeral, which took place last Sunday, was, perhaps, one of the largest ever seen in St. Paul. Gen. Sibley, Mayor Forbes, Messrs. John B. Olivier, N. W. Kittson, A. Dufresne, and M. Twombley acted as pall bearers. The procession, which was most imposing, was formed in the following order:

Platoon of Policemen

Band of 20th Regular U. S. Infantry

Society of St. Jean Baptiste

(with their elegant manner and American

flag draped in mourning)

The Hearse

Relatives and friends of the deceased

A long line of carriages

"The procession moved from the late residence and proceeded down Wabashaw to Third, down Third to Robert, up Robert to Tenth, and up Tenth to the Church of St. Louis, where the solemn ceremonies of Holy Church were performed by Rev. Father Schmierer, and an appropriate sermon was delivered in French by Very Rev. A. Ravoux, whose acquaintence of the deceased extended over a period of about thirty years. At the conclusion of the ceremonies the procession was reformed, and proceeded to the Catholic Cemetery, where the body was deposited in its last resting place."

Referring to the field around the original Guerin cabin, which Vital ploughed up and transformed into a garden with the aid of Red River oxen, the same article says: "He raised good crops for several years, and is the first man who drove a ploughshare on the site of St. Paul. The wet ground which used to extend along the foot of the bluff in the Third ward was then a marsh where he used to procure his hay. Great changes have taken place since that day. The claim which Mr. Guerin was called a fool for refusing $1,000 for has become worth several million. The rise in his property made Mr. Guerin quite a wealthy man, compensating for the hardships of his early years. Yet he was always plain and unostentatious and lived humbly and without pride . . . The Cathedral Block . . . purchased from Mr. Guerin, in 1850, for

a sum that was then considered its full value, but which would be now looked upon as a trifle: such changes have come over St. Paul during Mr. Guerin's career! May he rest in peace."

Resolutions of the French Society were published in the same newspaper, of the same date: "The Late Vital Guerin - At a meeting of the French Society, St. Jean Baptiste, on Saturday evening, November 12, to make arrangements to attend the funeral of the lately deceased Vital Guerin, Sr., the following resolutions, expressive of the feelings of the society, were unanimously adopted:

"Whereas, It has pleased Divine Providence to remove from our midst one of our number in the person of the late Vital Guerin, Sr.

Resolved, That we are deeply pained at the happening of the sad event, whereby this Society is deprived of one of its most useful and honored members; that in his death the church has lost one of its most devoted supporters, the city of St. Paul one of its earliest and most generous founders, his family a kind husband and loving father;

Resolved, That his many public and private charities in the past, deserve at our hands, at this time, public recognition, and from every citizen of St. Paul a lasting remembrance;

Resolved, That we hereby tender to his grief-stricken family our heartfelt sympathies in this their sad bereavement.

Resolved, That with the flags and decorations of office of this Society, its officers and members, as a mark of respect to their deceased brother, follow in a body his remains to their final resting place, and that one copy of the foregoing resolutions be transmitted to the family of the deceased, and one copy to each of the city papers for publication."

Henry A. Castle, in his History of Minnesots, eulogizes Vital at length, and from this work a few excerpts are taken: "He gave to his

children the education which had been denied him . . . During his years of plenty he was unceasingly beneficent to his poor country men . . . Honest and candid himself, his simple faith continually enabled sharpers to overreach him, until his ample fortune melted away by reverses. His last venture was to finance George W. DeHaven in a circus and show business about the year 1867 . . . Mr. Guerin built a large octagonal frame structure on the northwest corner of Sixth and Cedar streets, a part of his old homestead. There performances were given tri-weekly. It was a very good circus, the best of its day, and was the leading amusement feature at which the elite of St. Paul held private box parties. The following years the circus went on the road and lost many thousands of dollars before it came to a climax in the State of Maine. Vital Guerin died land poor and his family felt the pinchings of want. His last illness was long and painful but patiently borne."[8]

Over his remains in Calvary Cemetery a monument, honoring his memory, was erected by decree of the common council.

On December 28th, the man whose hostelry had long been a curious St. Paul landmark, the old settler, Lot Moffet, died. His death was attributed to a cold which he contracted while extinguishing a blaze on the roof of his Temperance House, lung fever resulting.

The Daily Press, (Dec. 29, 1870) chronicling his death, said, while bestowing many compliments on this unique proprietor of a unique hotel, . . . "Moffet's 'Castle' . . . came very near destruction by the fire on Robert street a short time since, and the upper and rear portion was deluged by water; Mr. Moffet was treasurer of the Old Settler's Association, a charter member and officer of the St. Paul Lodge No. 1, of Masons, . . . and a director of the St. Paul Chamber of Commerce."

The Masonic lodge referred to was the first in the State. It obtained its charter from the Grand Lodge of Ohio, the local organization dating from Sept. 8, 1849.

8. Castle, Henry A., Minnesota; Its Story and Biography, The Lewis Publishing Company, Chicago, 1915, Vol. 1, pp. 712-713.

The funeral of Lot Moffet took place at the Universalist Church, corner of Tenth and Wabashaw streets, Rev. J. Marvin conducting the services. W. H. Grant, Worshipful Master of St. Paul Lodge No. 1, had charge of the Masonic ceremonies at Oakland Cemetery, where the remains were interred.

A wife and three married daughters - Mrs. Ayres, Mrs. Hendrickson and Mrs. Mabone - survived Mr. Moffet, who had been married several times. With an income of two or three thousand dollars a year, he had been very liberal, a large part going to charity annually.

The Daily Press but reflected public opinion when it said: "Mr. Moffet was peculiar in many particulars, but was plain, outspoken, open-hearted, and ever ready to respond to the calls of benevolence. Many cases of destitution of strangers as well as those in this city have been relieved by his agency . . . and he will be greatly missed by the old settlers of the State."

In 1871, J. C. Burbank, first president of the St. Paul chamber of commerce, retired, and was succeeded by Gen. H. H. Sibley. Mr. Burbank received many compliments for his efficient services. He had, as Frank Bliss wrote, "fulfilled the duties of the office with credit and ability."[9]

Octave Savard, a citizen of St. Paul for 70 years, who resides at 211 Sidney street, on the "West Side," or rather Riverview as the district has been more aptly named, finds pleasure in recalling the St. Paul of the early seventies. An interview from him elicited the information that the Smith park of today occupies the site of the old circus grounds. There, in the shadow of a hill, the big shows "pitched their tents," he said, "and the vicinity of Sibley and Fourth streets echoed to the strains of the circus band and the calliope."[10]

Third street, extending from Seven Corners down to Sibley street, ~~extending from Seven Corners down to Sibley street,~~ "was practically the only

9. Bliss, Frank C., St. Paul, Past and Present, F. C. Bliss Pub. Co., St. Paul, 1888 p. 195.
10. From Octave Savard Interview, Dec. 11, 1941.

business street," he reminisced, "and the Wabasha street bridge was the city's only bridge crossing the Mississippi river."[11]

As for the dimensions of the first Wabasha street bridge, Mr. Savard continued, "it was only half the width of the present one, and built of wood. It was a toll bridge, costing foot passengers two and one-half cents each way, one horse vehicle 15 cents and two horses 25 cents."

Amusing indeed are news paper accounts, in the seventies, relating to traffic speed. To a person of today, accustomed to swift-moving automobiles, it is difficult to repress a smile when reading, for instance, from the Daily Pioneer of Jan. 29, 1871: "The streets were very lively yesterday with sleighing parties. We should not be surprised if some who were out drove faster than FIVE MILES PER HOUR."

Complaints over vehicles exceeding five miles an hour were common. This, and the absence of sleighbells, and other "slips" on the part of negligent drivers, caused a double-barrelled reproof in the Daily Press of December 27th, of that year:

"If there is no ordinance compelling all persons who glide around in cutters to have sleighbells on their horses, there ought to be. Pedestrians who have their ears done up in warm muffs or voluminous scarfs should have some chance for their lives in these days when the streets are so crowded with vehicles. Under any circumstances, it is scarcely the proper thing for a man to drive at the rate of SIX or SEVEN MILES an hour through the streets, without making some sort of demonstration. Ring the bells, or look out for these noiseless cutters."

In the streets at this time many unique vehicles were to be seen, some types of which have completely passed out of existence and are to be found only in the transportation exhibit of museums. They inspired comment in the Minneapolis Tribune, Nov. 27th, 1872, in this vein: "St. Paul is alive with ox teams; drays, hacks, omnibusses and express wagons are hauled by oxen. Stockmen cry out, 'Here is your nice ox-team for any part of the city.' "

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11. St. Paul Pioneer Press, Dec. 7, 1941

Omnibusses, however, had their difficulties in the early months of that winter, because of sleighing conditions, snow being scarce. The Daily Press, on February 9th used a specific instance to lament this deficiency: "Cook's omnibusses are on wheels again, as the sleighing is nearly a thing of the past. Oh! for a snowstorm - ! "

Fines for infraction of the moral code as well as traffic rules were imposed when, as reported by the Daily Press of February 24th, "Four females of doubtful reputation were arrested yesterday for riding the streets. They paid a fine of twenty dollars each."

Police officers, too, were warned by the mayor to walk their beats without alcoholic vibrations or vehemence. The mayor did not mince words. Inferentially he pointed out that sidewalks should be wide enough to accomodate the custodians of law and order as well as other individuals. Such an admonition by the mayor caused Minneapolis partisans to ignore the fact, at least temporarily, that a petty intercity rivalry still existed, for Minneapolis found in the situation a deadly parallel, and embraced the occasion as an opportunity to correct it.

The Minneapolis attitude, as reflected in the Tribune, of February 11th, was forthright enough. "Mayor Stewart of St. Paul," it read, "has notified the members of the police force of that city that they will not be allowed to visit saloons . . . when off duty, and that a violation of this rule will be promptly followed by the peremptory dismissal of the offending officer. This is a judicious move in the direction of reform and could be very properly imitated by the new mayor of our own city."

That this mandate of Mayor Stewart's must have had a salutary effect not only on certain derelict police officers but on the whole city, seems quite evident. For one thing, a temperance banquet at Ingersoll Hall, given by the

Father Matthew Temperance Society, as reported by the Minneapolis Tribune of Jan. 12, 1873, "was a grand success." As another indication, a raise in liquor licenses and the closing of saloons on Sundays, took place. The Minneapolis Tribune considered the subject of sufficient interest for additional comment on March 20th., but informed its readers, on August 9th of that year, that there were "200 bars in St. Paul over which thirsty mortals can quaff intoxicating drinks."

July 15, 1872 was an eventful date in St. Paul's traction annals. The charter obtained in 1867, granting the city exclusive rights to construct a system of street railways, which had lain dormant since had, at length, achieved fruition. The city was agog with excitement and anticipation.

The Daily Press, of July 16th, well describes the situation under dramatic headlines:

THE STREET RAILROAD 'WIDE OPEN.

GRAND EXCURSION OF THE CITY FATHERS

COL. HEWITT TAKES THE RIBBONS

CAPT. CARVER ON WATERING PLACES.

CARS EVERY FIFTEEN MINUTES TODAY.

"The St. Paul Street Railroad is in active operation, after having been formally opened yesterday by an excursion of the Common Council and a few other guests, with officers of the Company, from Wabashaw street to its lower terminus. After years of trial and defeat in the Council and discouragement from various sources, the rails are laid, the cars are on the track, and another metropolitan feature is added to our young American city. Let those who have argued for it, and those who have spent their money for it be congratulated today, and may the 'dimes' afford them a further substantial recompense."

Of the actual test itself the same newsstory speaks with equal enthusiasm: " 'ALL ABOARD.' 'ALL ABOARD,' cried Capt. Carver yesterday afternoon, and the neat, comfortably, cleanly airy cars, Nos. 1 and 2, marked 'Upper and Lower Town,' were speedily filled.

"at a citizens meeting, held in May, to take preliminary measures for building this road, it was voted, on motion of Hon. Horace Thompson, that Col. Girart Hewitt drive the first car over the track, at its opening. In accordance with this vote, the Colonel was escorted to his position on the platform, gathered up the strings when

'Crack went the whip,
'Round went the wheels,
Were ever folks so glad?'
The brakes were rattling underneath
As if St. Paul were mad.'

"The Colonel was gaining glory and renown. The imported professional driver who stood near, on the platform, looked on admiringly and remarked, 'You have driven a car before, Sir?' Down Fourth street to Jackson, up Jackson to Seventh, out Seventh to Chestnut, and up Chestnut to the end of the line, the cars went at 'a jolly round trot,' the 'observed of all observers.'

"The horses were reversed, and at the first return corner, Capt. Carver, the genial Secretary of the road, announced 'a new watering station' which all were invited to enter and inspect. The company were ushered into Capt. Carver's parlors, and then found an abundance of 'golden seal' cheer set forth in a hospitable array * * *.

"Having been 'watered' the horses felt better, and the return trip was made at a quicker pace than the outward one, and the party alighted at the post office, feeling prouder than ever of St. Paul, her liberality and public spirit, and her Street Railway. Being well inaugurated regular trips commence at 6:30 this morning, and it is hoped that liberal patronage awaits the enterprise."

Thus St. Paul, although it had long called itself a city, and though its leading citizen was one of the outstanding figures of the century in the field of transportation, had required years to realize this dream of a street railway. An humble beginning, to be sure, but the crowds who turned out to

see its trial performance that fall hailed it as an historic event.

In July, 1872, all experiments over, the road, the first line consisting of two miles of track with six cars, operated by fourteen men and drawn by horses, sought patronage.[12]

Reports of the death of the likable Sioux squaw, "Old Bets," had been of such frequent occurrence that when she did die in 1873, it occasioned surprise, and some reporters were skeptical. However, it was true, but just how old was "Bets" nobody could tell, although her years were reckoned as over the century mark. The place of her death is uncertain. Frank C. Bliss, in his book St. Paul, Past and Present, states that she died in Mendota in May 1873, and says " 'Old Bets,' a privileged character, whose face was well known to every old settler . . . received a Christian burial. During her sickness, the Chamber of Commerce subscribed a considerable sum for her comfort * * * Her photographs were purchased by tourists, and can be found in all parts of the country."

The St. Paul Daily Press, in its issue of June 27, 1873, said: "All our old settlers, who were acquainted with 'Old Bets,' - and who of them is not - will regret to learn that the amiable old aborigine departed this life on the boat at or near St. Joseph, Missouri, while on the way up the river with the rest of her tribe." The life-sketch, which followed, brought back many memories to St. Paul people; few indeed but had a yarn to spin about her that stemmed from personal experience.

" 'Old Bets,' " continued the write-up, "was a historical character, decidedly, and was known to almost everybody in this city. Nearly every photographer has portraits of her in 'Floral Homes in Minnesota.' It was 'Old Bet's' custom to make a regular round among all her acquaintances every time she came to St. Paul, which was not seldom. This round would last a week or more. At every

12. Andrews, General, C. C. History of St. Paul, Minn., D. Mason & Co., Publishers, Syracuse, N. Y., 1890, p. 308.

house where she was acquainted she would stop to beg 'Kosh-poppy,' or food, which was generally given to her . . . 'Old Bets' was loyal to her white friends during the Sioux Rebellion of 1862. She boasted that none of her relatives was engaged in that outbreak."

Her actual age, according to this newspaper, was nothing like a hundred, but probably "between sixty and seventy, perhaps nearer seventy." 'Old Bets,' when not reduced to the necessity of begging, peddled Indian beadwork and trinkets in her efforts to eke out a livelihood.

Old Bets, however, did not confine her salesmanship to beads and trinkets. The Chronicle & Register, January 9, 1850 furnishes the following proof that in that early day she was in the ferrying business: "New Ferry. The subscriber would respectfully announce, that having procured from His Majesty Little Crow a license to keep a ferry, she is now prepared to carry passengers at the rate fixed by law, and for as much more as the public choose to give her." This announcement was signed Old Betsey,""the connecting link between the Indians and whites," and contained a postscript to this effect: "This Ferry is in opposition to Goodhue."

Not so well known as "Old Bets," was a brother, "Jim," who stumped about on a wooden leg, having lost a limb in an accident some years before his sister's death. Jim, according to the Daily Press, June 27, 1863, "departed to the happy hunting grounds in 1860."

Louis Guerin stated, in an interview, that "Old Bets" had another brother who has not been mentioned by historians: at least so far as he knew. This brother died tragically, and that started "Old Bets" to drinking. Louis Guerin had the story from his mother.

"Mother liked 'Old Bets,' " Mr. Guerin said, "and was sorry she drank. The brother to whom she referred froze to death on the Mississippi. The way mother told the story was this: It was a cold winter day, and several old settlers

walking along the Jackson street shore, noticed an object of some kind out on the ice in the river. While they were wondering what it was, "Old Bets" chanced to come along and they told her about it.

"The ice was 'rubbery' in places, and so the group had not dared to go out to investigate. But 'Old Bets' took the chance; she went out boldly. And there she found her brother's body on the snow and ice. He must have gone to sleep and so froze to death. It was supposed he'd gotten hold of some of 'Pig's Eye's firewater."[13]

To Pierre Parrant's firewater, Louis Guerin, in this interview, attributed most of the family's troubles with the Indians in the early days. When they were not liquored up the Indians were not hard to get along with. His father, Vital, had to think in split seconds when Parrant's liquid "T. N. T." became a part, the whole part, of the red man's bill of fare. They would come forth from the Fountain Cave groggery and try to wreak vengeance on the Guerin cabin and inmates.

"Pig's Eye was like a bootlegger during prohibition; he didn't care what his stuff would do to customers just so he got the money," and Louis Guerin concluded his interview with the statement that both his mother and father had shared this view - and not without reason.

Gamblers, a "motley herd" of them, as the Tribune expressed it, were becoming increasingly obnoxious, but efforts of the St. Paul police to abate the nuisance, the same paper termed "fake" raids.

On the 3rd of April, 1875, the police department gave the order that all saloon front doors must be closed. In trying to cope with two of the most common vices inherent in humanity the chief of police, no doubt, had a man's size job on his hands.

The large number of dealers dispensing alcoholic drinks in St. Paul drew the attention of and created comment in surrounding cities. Referring to this

13. From Louis Guerin Interview, Feb. 8, 1941.

situation, the Stillwater Gazette of March 22, 1876, observed, while classifying nationalities engaged in the traffic, "of the 199 saloonkeepers in St. Paul, 10 are French, 5 Bohemian, 3 English, 15 American, 21 Scandinavian, 12 Irish, and 129 German."

But the cause of temperance had, at this time, one of its staunchest leaders in a churchman who had been appointed coadjutor Bishop of St. Paul the year before, John Ireland. In his war upon the liquor traffic he had adopted no middle course. He denounced it "as the most fruitful of all the sources of the poverty, wretchedness and crime that afflict the world." Humphrey Moynihan, from whom this quotation is taken, further states in his article on Archbishop Ireland, "Never in America was an evil denounced with more fiery eloquence than was the liquor traffic by Bishop Ireland, who was now recognized as the outstanding leader of the Temperance Movement in America. From ocean to ocean appeals poured in upon him to give addresses on temperance in scores of cities."[14]

This, however, was no sudden crusade on the part of Bishop Ireland. Nearly a decade before he had enlisted his services on this issue. "Late one evening" in the winter of 1869, says Humphrey Moynihan, "three men, evidently under the influence of liquor, called upon Father Ireland at the Cathedral residence and presented a crumpled piece of paper on which was written the words, 'For God's sake organize a Temperance Society.' It was signed by seven men, including a saloonkeeper. The Total Abstinence Society that was organized the following Sunday was the beginning of a nation-wide movement against the drink evil. From hut to hut Father Ireland went, from hamlet to hamlet, from city to city, preaching and teaching that drink had brought greater calamities upon the world than war, famine and pestilence combined.

14. Published in Acta et Dicta, Vol. VI, No. 1, pp. 16-17, Catholic Historical Society, St. Paul Seminary, St. Paul, Minn., Oct. 1933.

"That the campaign launched by Bishop Ireland against the drink evil helped to arouse the country to its real peril, that it inspired others to become leaders in the movement, that it brought prestige to the Church, that it placed high license laws on our statute books - all this is familiar to those who are conversant with the story of social welfare in America.

"Less familiar, perhaps," continues Humphrey Moynahan, "is the fact that across the seas he was looked up to as the greatest temperance advocate since the days of Father Matthew. His addresses in Dublin, Limerick, Cork rang through Ireland. His addresses in Liverpool similarly stirred the people of that great city. "[15]

Bishop Ireland's zeal as a temperance advocate was only one of his intense activities, although, even in his great work of colonization, he came face to face with intemperance. His sympathy for Irish immigrants on the Eastern seacoast did not blind him to their dangers and tempatations nearer at home. His vision possessed a double range. "These immigrants," states Humphrey Moynihan ~~(page 16, citation),~~ "toiled in factories and mines, they built canals and railroads, and so, while the rich prairies of the west were calling them, vast numbers of them lived in tenements and shanties, hewers of wood and drawers of water, the natural prey of the saloonkeeper and the ward politician."[16]

It was after his organization of the Catholic Colonization Bureau of St. Paul in 1876, and the Minnesota Colonization Company, which he called a charitable bank, that the paths of Bishop Ireland and James J. Hill frequently ran parallel. The odd coincidence in their birth dates has already been mentioned, and in connection, too, with their sphere of activities. Both spheres naturally blended.

The prime object of the Minnesota Colonization Company was to assist destitute immigrants, who, before they undertook the difficult life on a prairie

15. Pub. in Acta et Dicta, Vol.VI, No.I,p.18,Cath.Hist.Soc.,St.P. Seminary, Oct. 1933
16. Ibid

needed every assistance possible. Stock shares were sold for this purpose, and then, by securing control of all railroad land in the county for a period of two years, Bishop Ireland further revealed his talent for business by obtaining a vast tract consisting of 117,000 acres for his first colony.

"At that time, "Humphrey Moynihan explains, "land could be purchased at prices ranging from $1.50 to $3.00 an acre. The usual mode of procedure followed by Bishop Ireland in his various colonies was to place a priest on the spot, build a church and to establish an immigrant house for the accommodation of settlers while they were selecting their farms."[17]

The result of the enterprise was not to remain long in doubt. "Settlers," to quote the same source, "began at once to pour into Swift County in a steady stream. By September, 800 Catholic families had taken up land, some on government land. Towns began to spring up almost over night. DeGraff, Clontarf, Graceville, St. Adrian, Avoca, Fulda, Ghent, were all established within a few years. Hundreds of happy families, hundreds of flourishing farms throughout Minnesota, have reason to bless the memory of Bishop Ireland."[18]

James J. Hill received his inspiration to found and endow St. Paul Theological Seminary, from a sermon which Bishop Ireland preached at St. Mary's Church on a certain occasion. By chance Hill was present. Sympathetic to all efforts fostering education, the idea for creating such an institution at once germinated in Hill's active brain. The bond of friendship between the two men, each a doer in his particular field, increased.

Hill, harsh in his dealings with competitors, hard-hitting and swift, could, nevertheless, turn aside from strife at magnanimous moments and do the magnificent thing. It was no mere gesture, no grandiose fling. His victory over the Hudson Bay Company, at an early stage of his career, a struggle in which he

17. Pub. in Acta et Dicta, Vol. VI, No. 1, p. 19, Cath. Hist. Soc., St. Paul Seminary, Oct. 1933
18. Ibid.

neither asked nor gave quarter, had no doubt whetted his combatative appetite for more. Kittson, reared in the same competitive school, had recognized Hill's aggressive ability and eventually left the Hudson Bay Company to affiliate with him.

Edwin Wildman, in his book Famous Leaders of Industry states the case in this way: "His (Hill's) rivalry with the Hudson Bay Company proceeded apace and at last this famous fur trading corporation was glad to come to terms with this man of indomitable will, courage and strength. So practically the entire transportation of the river was placed in Hill's hands. Kittson, the Hudson Bay Company's agent, began to have a very high opinion of Hill's ability and a few years later, in 1874, when Montreal financiers decided to gain control of the St. Paul and Pacific railroad, then about 500 miles long, and a big reliable, well-posted man was needed to get all the facts possible about the road and then run it, 'Hill's the man for us,' decided Kittson."[19]

Fighting for its life in the seventies, the St. Paul and Pacific railroad would be a good springboard for any ambitious man who might gain control of it. Hill realized this at once.

Reflecting railroad conditions in 1873, Cushman K. Davis, later to become a United States senator and a national political leader, said in a speech delivered during his campaign for governor of Minnesota: "I am perfectly satisfied that there is not a railroad company in Minnesota whose franchises are not subject to forfeiture for flagrant, repeated, and probable malversation and abuse."[20]

To make a long story short the first battle in which the St. Paul and Pacific figured was against the Northern Pacific, early in the seventies. The former road was swallowed by the latter, but before the latter could digest it the panic of 1873 intervened. Facts concerning the transaction are highly involved. Mr. Hill's biographer, Joseph Gilpin Pyle, gives this version of the part Hill played: "At what time the practical project of obtaining possession of the

19. Wildman, Edwin, Famous Leaders of Industry, The Page Co., Pub., Boston, 2nd series 1921, p. 152.

20. Pyle, Joseph Gilpin, The Life of James J. Hill, Doubleday, Page & Co., Garden City, New York, 1917, Vol. 1, p. 133

St. Paul and Pacific, and making it the nucleus of a great system and the means of development for an agricultural empire in the United States, first presented itself full-fledged, definite, concrete, to his mind, no one knows * * * When the St. Paul and Pacific want to the wall, he knew that the hour had struck. He had already in his mind the outline of that creative thought which filled his active years and made him known as the 'empire builder.' "[21]

Another man, however, claimed that J. J. Hill had gotten the idea from him, the man named as receiver for the St. Paul and Pacific when it went bankrupt in 1873. This man was J. P. Farley, and contending that he had furnished the idea to Mr. Hill, and received nothing in return, he brought suit against the latter, in an effort to compel payment of moneys or securities alleged due.

A long and bitter legal battle ensued. "Farley's fundamental claim," says Pyle, "was that he and his assistant, who took the stand in his behalf, had originated * * * and communicated the project to Mr. Hill in 1876 * * * that he had been defrauded of his share in profits amounting, according to his estimate, to $15,000,000. In the end, Judge Brewer, of the United States Circuit Court, decided it against Mr. Farley, his decision closing with this delicate sarcasm: 'I think that Mr. Farley, as a receiver, did not fail in his official duty, and although such conclusion carries an imputation upon his recollection or veracity as a witness, it sustains his integrity as an officer.' "

Among the men who maintained that Hill was, beyond question, originator of the idea, was C. W. Griggs, one of his partners, who said: "Mr. Hill was an enthusiast on the subject of the resources and future of the Northwest, so much so that he was often joked about it. He endured the facetious remarks made at his expense with philanthropic aalmness, however, and pushed ahead steadily with his projects."[23] Another friend who shared similar views was Mr. H. P. Upham, a next door

21. Pyle, Joseph Gilpin, Life of James J. Hill, Doubleday, Page & Co., Garden City, New York, 1917, Vol. I, p. 171
22. Pyle, Joseph Gilpin, Life of James J. Hill, Doubleday, Page & Co., Garden City, New York, 1917, Vol. I, p. 173
23. Pyle, Joseph Gilpin, Life of James J. Hill, Doubleday, Page & Co., Garden City, New York, 1917, Vol. I, p. 174

neighbor of Hill's and later to become president of the First National Bank of St. Paul. "From the time he conceived it," declared Mr. Upham, "he was possessed by the railroad scheme. He used to talk it at all times. He sat in the old club house holding Kittson in a corner and boring the plan into him with a threatening forefinger.[24] He ate and drank and slept with it."

Another opinion of Mr. Hill, expressed at this time by an acquaintance, was less charitably phrased, "He's as crazy as a loon over railroads."[25]

Before Hill foreclosed the St. Paul and Pacific mortgage, the affairs of that company were so involved that it would have probably required the services of an Einstein to make them clear even to a railroader. Add to this complexity the condition of the Northern Pacific, and the fog thickens.

As Mr. Pyle says, "Mr. Hill did then what he did ever after, what made him the terror of competitors and a master of the game; who seldom made mistakes and never forgot a fact once acquired; he studied local conditions, familiarized himself with endless detail, then put himself in a position where this would take the place of business capital."

In his History of the Northern Pacific, E. V. Smalley says: "The importance of St. Paul as the first great railroad center northwest of Chicago was fully realized by the Northern Pacific managers, and by controlling the stock of the St. Paul and Pacific Company they expected to be able to make its lines virtually extensions and feeders of their own road."[26] Mr. Pyle gives, as an illumination to the subject, touching especially on the dominance of the Northern Pacific, and how the several corporations maintained a nominally separate existence, with boards of directors not merely interlocking but identical, the following extracts from the report, Jan. 1871, of General George L. Becker, President of the First Division Company (of the St. Paul and Pacific):

24. Pyle, Joseph Gilpin, Life of James J. Hill, Doubleday, Page & Co., Garden City, New York, 1917, Vol. 1, p. 174-175
25. Pyle, Joseph Gilpin, Life of James J. Hill, Doubleday, Page & Co., Garden City New York, 1917, Vol. 1, p. 77-78
26. Pyle, Joseph Gilpin, Life of James J. Hill, Doubleday, Page & Co., Garden City, New York, 1917, Vol. 1, p.p. 157-158

"Since the date of my last report Mr. E. D. Litchfield, who has heretofore owned a controlling interest, has sold all the shares held by him to the Northern Pacific Railroad Company. The Northern Pacific Company, which had previously purchased the charter and land grant of the old St. Paul and Pacific Railroad Company (of which our lines were originally a part) has transferred the same to this company. The Northern Pacific is thus the continuation across the continent of the St. Paul and Pacific, through the two branches of which it reaches its terminus on the Mississippi River at St. Paul, and there connects with the network of railroads extending all over the United States."[27]

Mr. Hill, however, after gaining possession of the St. Paul and Pacific system, had his own ideas as to the course of western empire, and was in the strategic position to carry through big ideas and thereby make himself supreme among "empire builders."

The St. Paul and Pacific, in due course the St. Paul, Minneapolis & Manitoba, proceeded to lay tracks beyond DeGraff, extending its rails to Clontarf in Swift County, and Graceville in Big Stone County, and was thus able to facilitate the colonization work of Bishop Ireland. The latter expressed his appreciation, in these words:

"Mr. Hill, becoming the manager and afterward the president of the road, cooperated in every possible way, affording rare privileges of transportation to the incoming settlers and especially facilitating the acquisition of lands in favor of his settlers. This latter favor was particularly valuable in the colony of Graceville, where the indemnity lands of the road were put at the disposal of the Bishop at very low rates and these rates were guaranteed to remain the same up to the time when full title could be acquired. * * * The settlers, meanwhile, paid

27. Pyle, Joseph Gilpin: Life of James J. Hill, Doubleday, Page & Co., Garden City, New York, 1917, Vol. 1, pp 158-559.

no taxes, and finally purchased their lands for a small price, although these had increased in value meantime more than fivefold."[28]

Thus the lives of two men, cast though they were in widely different callings, had converged in the channels of empire building. For the churchman, the road was to lead straight to the archbishopric; for the promoter, it would lead, by successive steps, to nation-wide fame and affluence * * * * a career "more wonderful than an Arabian Nights story."[29]

At this period of his ascendancy it was said of James J. Hill that "until he made the bond purchases of a worse than bankrupt system that startled his associates and revealed him either a lunatic or a genius, he had not moved his business office or the center of his active life 500 feet from the spot on the Mississippi levee in St. Paul where he first found employment and set himself to work with a will."[30]

From menial employment to a position which earned for Hill the sobriquet of "Empire Builder," and made his name a household word in St. Paul, was an accomplishment even in the days before the last frontier was gone. As clerk for J. W. Bass & Company, agents for a line of Mississippi River steamboats operated by the Duluth & St. Paul Packet Company, his life was uneventful. In those days a shipping clerk was not the specialized employee he is today. Hill's work consisted of keeping track of the warehouse stock, of receiving incoming and outgoing freight, of making out waybills, and of possessing enough salesmanship to solicit orders for his firm.

In one of his early letters to a youthful friend in Rockwood, Illinois, Hill reveals that he had "several irons in the fire." He wrote: "I did intend to go to Canada this winter, but it is such a long winter trip I thought I should

28. Pyle, Joseph Gilpin, The Life of James J. Hill, Doubleday, Page & Co., Garden City, N. Y., 1917, Vol. 1, p. 207.
29. Wildman, Edwin, Famous Leaders of Industry, 2nd series, The Page Co., publishers, Boston, 1921, p. 153.
30. Pyle, Joseph Gilpin, "The Life of James J. Hill," Doubleday, Page & Co., Garden City, New York, 1917, Vol. 1, p. 31.

defer it until summer * * * if all goes well as I expect. Capt. W. F. Davidson wrote me from Cincinnati about going with him as first clerk on the side-wheel packet Frank Steele, a new boat about the size of the War Eagle . . . I think I shall go with him. If not, I have two offers for the coming season on the levee, besides my present berth."[31]

The "berth" to which reference is made was the grocery establishment of Borup-Champlin. And in the same letter Mr. Hill tells of a physical encounter in which he took part - in these characteristic words: "On the tenth of November last I was returning from the Winslow House with Charley Coffin, Clerk of the War Eagle, about eleven o'clock, and when we were coming down Fourth Street, passing one of those rum holes, two Irishmen (red mouths) came out and, following us, asked if we could not go back and take a drink. Charley said 'no,' and we were passing on when two more met us who, along with the other two, insisted that they meant no harm and that we should go in and drink. I told them that I did not drink and that, generally speaking, I knew what I was about. We attempted to go on, but they tried to have us go back, so I hauled off and planted one, two in Paddie's grub grinder, and knocked him off the sidewalk about eight feet. The remainder pitched in and Charley got his arm cut open and I got a button hole through my left side right below the ribs. The city police came to the noise, and arrested three of them on the spot and the other next day. They turned out to be Chicago Star Cleaners, a name given to midnight ruffians. I was not compelled to keep to my bed, but it was some months before I quite recovered from the effects of the cut."[32]

To persons familiar only with the business life of James J. Hill, the fact that he devoted leisure time to one of the fine arts may occasion surprise, yet Hill liked painting; to work with water colors was his favorite diversion.

31. Pyle, Joseph Gilpin, The Life of James J. Hill, Doubleday, Page & Co., Garden City, N. Y., 1917, Vol. 1, p. 35.
32. Pyle, Joseph Gilpin, The Life of James J. Hill, Doubleday, Page & Co., Garden City, New York, 1917, Vol. 1, p. 36

The biographer, who was a close friend of his, has testified, also, to his wide reading, unceasing study, and his remarkable, retentive memory. "Two fundamental and lasting traits," he wrote, "were kindness of heart and love of reading and study."[33]

This biographer cites several examples, among them the following: On one occasion an acquaintance at a hotel contracted typhoid fever. As no one would sit up with the sick youth, Hill did so. He gave the sick man $50 and said he could pay it back when he recovered."[34]

Mr. Hill used to tell this story on himself: "I remember when we used occasionally to run a boat up to St. Anthony, or more properly I might say Minneapolis, because the warehouse was on the Minneapolis side of the river. The pilot wouldn't steer the boat above Mendota, and, having no license and a good deal of confidence in myself, - I was younger then - I used to steer the boat. I was pilot, and I came very near on one occasion to leaving the steamer Itasca on a pile of rocks up below Cheever's bar. We only broke about 30 timbers. The wind was blowing and we just had to jump her, and we didn't leave her on the rocks; but when we got her down to St. Paul she was about half full of water."[35]

Though blindness in one eye prevented Mr. Hill from serving in the Civil War (he was a member of the "Pioneer Guard," a local organization, and with E. Y. Shelly had also organized a cavalry company), that handicap failed to impede his upward climb. In fact, as a contemporary said of him: "With his one eye, Jim Hill can see farther into the future than most men can with two!"[36]

In a big way the St. Paul & Pacific Railroad was a springboard, and from it Jim Hill, at first its humble agent, received an impetus destined to lead to

33. Pyle, Joseph Gilpin, "The Life of James J. Hill," Doubleday, Page & Co., Garden City, New York, ~~1917, Vol. 1, p. 37~~
34. Pyle, Joseph Gilpin, "The Life of James J. Hill," Doubleday, Page & Co., Garden City, New York, 1917, Vol. 1, p. 38
35. Pyle, Joseph Gilpin, "The Life of James J. Hill," Doubleday, Page & Co., Garden City, New York, 1917, Vol. 1, p. 22, 1917.
36. Shadle, Henry, Pittsburgh Fuel Co., St. Paul retail office, Interview by Joshia M. Dresser, Secretary United Commercial Travelers, Council #50, St. Paul, Minn.

fame and fortune, for, thereafter from year to year, his name grew brighter and brighter in railroad annals, until he was master of a great transportation system.

Mr. Hill's marriage occurred Aug. 19, 1867 - to a humble acquaintance of his struggling days, friendship having ripened into love. Joseph Gilpin Pyle gives this word picture of the rising financier at this period:

"He was known as a shrewd, careful, competent, trustworthy, and endlessly energetic man," which words characterized him through life. "He soon attracted the notice of the local papers by his business acumen . . . " One reads from the same work. "During all these years Hill had in mind the acquisition of a great transportation system built on the ruins of the old St. Paul & Pacific railroad. Meanwhile he did not allow his various business enterprises to lag."[37]

The following illustration of his business sagacity is given: "He had salt for sale in his warehouse. One day a boat came in with a cargo of this commodity for sale at cut prices. He looked it over, to be sure of its quality; then, instead of meeting the cut, he bought the whole stock himself, got it out of his way and kept his market."[38]

When bankrupcy overtook the St. Paul & Pacific Railroad in 1873, Hill got in touch with men financially able to assist him - Norman W. Kittson, Donald A. Smith (the Lord Strathcona), and another man with a title, George Stephen (Lord Mount Stephen). The plan for acquiring control had its inception in 1876. In the three years from 1873 to 1876, a mere 87 miles of railway were all that had been built in the whole state. The need of extensions, due to new settlement, was urgent. A new passenger station had been erected in St. Paul, low lands had been filled in along the Mississippi river for a distance of 1,000 feet, and thus was formed "the nucleus of a terminal system which alone would be worth in the future more than the whole property was then." But it was not until March 13, 1878, that

37. Pyle, Joseph Gilpin, The Life of James J. Hill, Doubleday Page & Co., Garden City, N. Y. , 1917, Vol. 1, p. 179.
38. Pyle, Joseph Gilpin, The Life of James J. Hill, Doubleday, Page & Co., Garden City, N. Y., 1917, pp 171-179

Hill,[39] having gained the necessary financial assistance, took over the road.

Thenceforward Hill's advancement was rapid. "Nothing succeeds like success" was well illustrated in his many business enterprises. Hill, Griggs & Company's gross earnings were between $40,000 and $65,000 annually; accordingly, as soon as feasible, Hill purchased the Griggs interest, and thereafter the Northwestern Fuel Company was established.

Control of the Northwestern Fuel Company was, however, sold to the other partners, since by 1878 Hill had come to the conclusion that a multiplicity of other activities, especially transportation, demanded his attention, and we find that "Mr. Hill vanished from the fuel business except as the expert on coal supplies and coal values."[40]

Among the interesting documents on record in the Clerk's office of the District Court of Ramsey County, under date of Oct. 1880, are J. J. Hill's naturalization papers.

As only another illustration of Hill's initiative, when the moment was suspicious he combined the "First Division of the St. Paul and Pacific Railroad Company - the only rail line which the country could yet boast, and the Red River valley trade," and Mr. Hill, at that stage of his career, with so many irons in the fire, thus describes in his own words his varied activities: "My business commencing in the summer of 1870, included the transportation of a large amount of freight by teams to the Red River and the building of flat boats by which the freight was transported down the river. The landing or point where the freight was delivered by the teams to the flat boats depended to a great extent upon the stage of water. Early in the season it was up near Breckenridge, and later in the season it was farther down the river. The teams carried the

39. Pyle, Joseph Gilpin, Life of James J. Hill, Doubleday, Page & Co., Garden City, New York, 1917, Vol. I, pp 180, 187, 188, 189, 195, 201, 233.
40. Pyle, Joseph Gilpin, Life of James J. Hill, Doubleday, Page & Co., Garden City, New York, 1917, Vol. I, p. 93.

freight down to whatever point could show a depth of water sufficient to float the loaded boat. In the summer and fall of 1870 I sent men to the upper waters of the river to get out oak timbers and plank for a steamboat.

"During the fall and winter of 1870-71 I built a steamboat at Fort Abercrombie, and it commenced to run the following spring. In the fall of 1870 I made several trips up and down the valley in wagons, and I spent a good part of the summer of 1871 between St. Paul and Winnipeg, attending to the transportation of both freight and passengers."[41]

Thanks to Hill's untiring energies St. Paul thus had gained a "through line for both passengers and freight established to Winnipeg, running on fixed tariff schedules,"[42] as Calvin Schmid, author of Social Saga of Two Cities, states, and early in 1872 the agreement signed between Norman W. Kittson and Hill, Griggs & Co., resulted in the consolidated concern - the Red River Transportation Line. It was at the time the St. Paul & Pacific Railroad filed its petition in bankrupcy that Hill is said to have envisioned nothing short of a great transportation system - a rail empire built on the ruins of that road. Long had he had in mind that restless dream.

But the man who was destined to be known as the "Empire Builder" could not, while active in one enterprise neglect another, and his business versatility and close attention to detail was amazing. "In this day of stenographers, typewriters, and efficient correspondence machinery, observes Joseph G. Pyle, the work that he did alone looks appaling. Volume after volume of letterbooks is filled with copies of letters all written by his own hand."[43]

Nor did Hill neglect personal contacts. He not only visited transportation company agencies, but met customers personally so far as possible, found

41. Pyle, Joseph Gilpin, Life of James J. Hill, Doubleday, Page & Co., Garden City, New York, 1917, Vol. 1, p. 99
42. Schmid, Calvin, Social Saga of Two Cities, Mpls. Council of Social Agencies, Mpls., 1927, p. 22.
43. Pyle, Joseph Gilpin, Life of James J. Hill, Doubleday, Page & Co., Garden City, N. Y., 1917, Vol. 1, p. 179.

time to act as Secretary of the State Agricultural Association, bore an active part in the management of a new establishment in St. Paul, the Driving Park, and was keenly conversant with politics.[44]

Prior to 1871, the Democrats, in one of their county conventions, had unanimously chosen Mr. Hill presiding officer, and in 1871 he had been a Democratic nominee for alderman.

During Hill's struggling days St. Paul was without a distinct residential section. In common with most small towns, the business district gradually lost its identity and one found oneself suddenly among homes without noticing it particularly, and regardless of direction. Mr. Hill, in 1871, was living in an unpretentious house on Canada street near Pearl, now Grove, in the "lower town" district.

Edmund Rice and family were at this time neighbors of the Hills. Miss Virginia Rice, daughter of Edmund Rice, who is now in her eighties, said in an interview, Nov. 14, 1941, "Our house, too, was at Pearl and Canada streets, and James J. Hill was struggling then and couldn't afford the paintings he could afterwards buy, and though I was just a young girl I'll always remember the pictures hanging in the Hill home of that time. They were chromos, strange as it sounds, just cheap chromos. Mrs. Hill liked my folks and we liked her. Mary Hill played with me when I was a girl. We were real chummy. The Hill home was not large and it was very plain."

Quite absorbed in the subject of St. Paul in the seventies, Miss Rice gave a little word picture of the Rice home and environs, her reminiscences not overlooking the Trout Brook section which had first been their "stamping grounds." "Father was especially interested in his first property in Minnesota because of Trout Brook. Trout Brook, of course, had real trout in it. Father had a little fish hatchery all his own, and sometimes when Trout Brook overflowed in the spring trout would overflow with it into the hatchery.

44. Pyle, Joseph Gilpin, The Life of James J. Hill, Doubleday, Page & Co., Garden City, New York, 1917, Vol. 1, p. 180

"some years ago when I revisited our old homestead in Vermont, I was struck by the similarity of a brook there to Trout Brook in old St. Paul. A shallow brook tumbling over stones, you know. It suddenly dawned on me that father had found appeal in the association. Out family home in Vermont was at Waitsfield, a town named for Waits of Revolutionary War fame - as well known to Vermonters as Ethan Allen and the 'Green Mountain Boys.'

"Our Trout Brook home in St. Paul dated back to Phalen and his claim, which was afterwards the Vital Guerin property. Father, in fact, intended at that time to increase his property at Trout Brook by purchasing a part of Phalen's land. Phalen offered it for $400, and the price surprised father, it was so low considering the size of the piece. That day Phalen was arrested for the murder of Hays, and father concluded that Phalen had intended to use the money to try to make a getaway. Father, and nearly all the rest of the old settlers, believed him guilty.

"In the early days there were no hospitals, and my mother would take into our home sick persons and nurse them. Mother was very kind hearted. A professional nurse could not have been more considerate. I don't mean to leave the impression that mother was the only one to care in this way for the sick. Others cared for the sick, too. Since there were no hospitals it was the logical thing to do.

"Some people get confused over the relationship of the two Rice brothers. Edmund was my father, and Henry M. was my uncle. They both held many offices and that seems to add to the confusion. My father was a lieutenant in the Mexican war, was president of the Minnesota & Pacific Railroad Company, state senator, a member of the legislature for several terms, a congressman, and mayor of St. Paul. Uncle Henry was a congressional delegate from Minnesota, and a U. S. senator, and it was Uncle Henry who donated the park to St. Paul which bears his name. Besides Rice Park he donated many lots to churches as well as to public institutions. "

Miss Rice still retains many letters which her father wrote while serving in the Mexican war. In the living room of her present home hangs a painting of her father. Among her relics of a historical nature is also a small photograph of him, clad in the uniform of a soldier - a lieutenant.[45]

As the years brought increasing abundance to James J. Hill, his enlarged income made possible a more suitable residence. Dayton's Bluff, the heights overlooking the city from the east, which has aptly been called one of the most beautiful of St. Paul's sweeping vistas, was his first choice, but on second thought he decided to build on the site of the original cottage on Canada street, because the movement of population still favored "lower town." Here he built for his increasing family a home which could be called, at least in those days, "the most modern." There he resided in 1879; until, in short, his neighbors and old friends deserted "lower town" for St. Anthony Hill, the "hill district," as the western heights of St. Paul have since become known. Following the fashionable tide of himself, and one of the most beautiful of private homes, as distinguished from the show places of the country, "as Joseph Gilpin Pyle expresses it.[46]

This was on Summit Avenue, famed then as now as chief thoroughfare of the exclusive residential district.

Few fictional characters can rival, in a steady rise to power and affluence, the business career of James J. Hill. "The year 1872," says R. J. Dibble in his book, Strenuous Americans," was the pivotal year of Hill's life. Before, he had been just plain 'Jim Hill,' a trustworthy, hard-working, successful business man, of some local importance; afterward, within the space of thirty years, he leapt into the position of almost absolute dictator of the economic and political welfare of the northwest."[47]

45. From an interview with Virginia Rice, Nov. 14, 1941

46. Pyle, Joseph Gilpin, The Life of James J. Hill, in 2 vol., Doubleday, Page & Co., N. Y., 1917, Vol. 1, p. 22.

47. Dibble, R. J., Strenuous Americans, Boni & Liveright, New York, 1923, p. 261.

Hill's success as a railroad magnate had repercussions in far off Holland. People in that land, who knew him not at all, had reason to feel their spirits revive not long after he gained control. In this connection, Miss M. L. Hartsough says in her work Twin Cities As A Metropolitan Market, "One noteworthy result of the panic of 1873, an indirect one to be sure, was the securing by Mr. Hill and his associates of control of the Great Northern Railroad. This railroad had been struggling along ever since 1862, when its first link, the St. Paul and Pacific line between St. Paul and St. Anthony was completed. Most of its bonds were held in Holland; the owners had all despaired of ever recovering their money; and almost the only ones interested in the road were those in control of the Northern Pacific, whose potential rival the Great Northern was."[48]

In 1871 business conditions, for the first time since 1856, were again approaching boom stage. Eight hundred thirty-two buildings were erected at a total cost of $1,735,761. Real estate prices rose to high levels without discouraging buyers.

Prosperity was such as to remind one pioneer "of the kiting days before the memorable collapse" of 1857,[49] and when in September 1873 news of the Jay Cooke crash came over the wires, oldsters began to shake their heads in earnest. They remembered that the collapse of one large company was sufficient to set in motion the economic disaster of 1857. And their fears were well grounded, for before the year ended another financial panic had swept the country. While the mortality elsewhere was as high as in 1857, St. Paul this time managed to ride out the storm without suffering too severely. By now, the back-country trade and sound agricultural development had built up an economic backlog against depressions. There was little debt and many felt the city to be in a position to "laugh at panics," to quote J. Fletcher Williams.[50]

48. Hartsough, M. L., Twin Cities As A Metropolitan Market, U. of M. Press, Minneapolis, Minn., 1925, Part 2, p. 164.
49. Armstrong, Moses K., Early Empire Builders of the Great West, S. J. Clark Pub. Co., Chicago, 1901, pp 354-357.
50. Williams, J. Fletcher, A History of the City of St. Paul and the County of Ramsey, Minnesota Coll. of the M.H.S., St. Paul, 1876 pp 440-447, Pub. by the Society.

The importance of the Northern Pacific in colonization work, at this time, can hardly be overestimated; in fact it is of great historical significance. Chartered in 1864 to construct a line from Lake Superior to Puget Sound, the Northern Pacific was given a federal grant which, as described by James B. Hedges in Colonization of the Northern Pacific Railroad, was "a grant of odd sections of the public domain within a limit of twenty miles on either side of the track in the states, and forty miles in the territories, with an indemnity limit of ten miles on either side of the primary grant. This made a strip varying from sixty to one hundred miles wide (depending upon whether located in a state or territory) within which the company was granted as much of its possible maximum as was available."[51]

However, no real effort had been made toward the building of the road until Jay Cooke became identified with the Northern Pacific in 1869. Then a Land Committee, with Frederick Billings, chairman, formulated an extensive land policy. The Land Commissioner, upon whom devolved the work of administering the land-grant, was John S. Loomis. A St. Paul office, in charge of a general agent, supplemented the work of the Land Office in New York.

In February, 1871 Loomis submitted a detailed plan not only for the operation of the Land Department, but for the promotion of immigration and land settlement as well. In this plan was embodied the essentials of the immigration policy, which covered business relations with all railways, steamship, and other transportation agencies in Europe as well as America, favorable rates for the forwarding of colonists, solicitation of support from professional and public men and of humane, benevolent and religious organizations, here and abroad, for settlement on Northern Pacific country lands.

51. Hedges, James B., Colonization of the Northern Pacific Railroad, Vol. 13, No. 3, p. 311, Dec. 1926, Mississippi Valley Historical Review.

A Bureau of Immigration, in close affiliation with the Land Department, under the direction of Major George B. Hibbard, was to carry into effect the work outlined by Loomis.

As indicative of the scope of the far-reaching plans, another special agent, Colonel Hans Mattson, in 1873 represented the N. P. in Sweden and Norway, eloquently inducing people to emigrate to Minnesota colonies.

Inducements held out to prospective immigrants even included climate; to the magicry of Minnesota's salubrious air was sometimes ascribed the healing of nearly every ill "that flesh is heir to."

The various railroads competed so keenly for carrying colonist groups, once they were organized, that precautionary measures were required to keep Northern Pacific prospectives from being diverted to country other than its own.

To mitigate this condition, arrangements were made with four of the main steamship companies, the Cunard Line, the Inman, the National, and the Allan - with the result that local agents of the Northern Pacific were supplied with books of tickets which, by providing through transportation to Duluth or St. Paul, snagged colonists on the spot.

Here in the United States, Civil War veterans, in their various organizations, were an instrumentality through which colonization proceeded advantageously. As superintendent of Northern Pacific immigration, Major Hibbard had charge of this group work.

A medium for advertising the Northwest among a great body of influential people, this society not only served very well, but helped in 1872 to bring about favorable congressional action.

Through this act of legislation the amount of government land within the limits of railroad grants which could be taken up by soldiers and sailors of the Civil War, was increased from 80 to 160 acres. For perfecting title to the land, it also permitted service in the army or navy to be reckoned on a five-year-residence period, which new provisions effectively advanced the process of colonizing.

The Northern Pacific spared no pains to minimize transportation costs both as concerned prospective purchasers and actual purchase. Although land exploration tickets were sold at full fare, persons buying such tickets were credited, to the extent of forty acres, if the land were bought within sixty days of the ticket's issuance. The ticket included, also, free transportation over the Northern Pacific for holders and families en route to settle upon land bought.

Illustrative of the volume of immigration are these examples, over a number of years:

Early in 1871, a group of 245 Swedish emigrants embarked for the Northwest from Gothenburg; 64 German emigrants en route to Northern Pacific lands in Minnesota, left Bremen for Baltimore, from which city they were escorted to St. Paul by agents of the company; and 60 Hollanders sailed the same year, Minnesota-bound.

An even larger volume of immigration occurred during the season of 1873. A Swedish colony of 70 families, from Liverpool; 83 men from Germany; 230 adults from Sweden - Finns (who make good settlers) from the northern part of Sweden and Finland; another party of 242 adults, and a large number of children, all Finns; 200 native Swedes, for distribution in Minnesota, by Colonel Mattson; 100 Mennonites, from farm-New York to St. Paul, originally from Russia; a large colony from Bohemia; all of which, though not a complete list, gives an idea of arrivals who waited selection of lands in regions "tributary to the Northern Pacific."[52]

Of the two European colonies established in Minnesota during this period by the N. P., both of which were English, one was known as the Yeovil Colony. Recruited by Northern Pacific agents in England and Scotland, it was a religious and temperance group. Rev. George Rogers, its leader, having purchased a large tract from the railroad, established the town of Hawley. Also recruited in the same countries was the Furness Colony, under the leadership of Bailey

52. Hedges, James B., Colonization of the Northern Pacific Railroad, Vol. 13, No. 3, p. 323-324, Dec. 1926, Miss. River Review.

and Hurst. They chose a large amount of government land at Wadena, Minn. along with the railroad porperty.[53]

Simultaneously with European population movements was domestic migration from the eastern states, the New England colony of Detroit Lakes, Becker County, Minn., for instance. Here, 100 houses were erected and occupied, 5 church societies organized, all within the space of a year, the colony, in 1872, assuming the appearance of a prosperous settlement.[54]

In Becker County, also occupying all the railroad and government lands of 3 townships, the St. Lawrence Free Homestead Colony of Ogdenburg, New York, which numbered over 100 families, took root.

A German colony, consisting of 400 families, which was organized in Oakland County, Michigan, and a soldiers' colony from Washington, D. C., comprising 200 families, and a similar colony from Brunswick, New Jersey, through a representative with powers of attorney for the location of 53 homesteads, affected settlement in the Northwest.[55]

The Red River colony, centering at Glyndon, Clay County, Minn., for which thirty-six townships were set aside, with land agencies provided and contracts for sale, and colonization on a commission basis, was perhaps the largest enterprise of the kind during this period. L. H. Tenney, in charge of the Northwestern Land Agency in Duluth, closed a contract with the land committee of the railroad, whereby, for a term of two years, he was privileged to sell, on commission, within an area of a dozen townships, a tract sufficiently large to accommodate 2,000 families. His commission was 10 per cent., and his agency was contigent on a thoroughgoing advertising campaign, in the conduct of which, advertisements, circulars, and the like ~~was~~ were utilized. His agency was likewise conditional on the sale of two-fifths

53. Hedges, James B., Colonization of the Northern Pacific Railroad, Vol. 13, No. 3, p. 323-24, Dec. 1926, Mississippi River Review.
54. Hedges, James B., Colonization of the Northern Pacific Railroad, Vol. 13, No. 3, p. 325.
55. Hedges, James B., Colonization of the Northern Pacific Railroad, Vol. 13, No. 3, p. 326.

of the land and the settlement of 400 families within the specified two years. In this objective he was promised the cooperation of the land department wherever drainage was necessary.

In promoting settlement, and in general colonization work of railroads enjoying land-grant privileges, the commission method became prevalent. Unfortunately for Mr. Tenney, just when his energetic campaign promised important results, the panic of 1873 brought an abrupt termination to his efforts.

Indeed, because of the general prostration of business, the Northern Pacific itself was in grave financial difficulties. Overtaken by bankruptcy when it reached Bismarck, on the Missouri River, the road faced bleak prospects. Until after the reorganization of the company in 1875, therefore, little was accomplished; in the state of Dakota the movement of population had become unimportant.[56]

With a view to relieving the situation, the Dakota agent submitted a proposition to the authorities. He suggested that a reduction be made in the price of lands, and that a provision governing cultivation within a specified time, in proportion to the area for which a purchaser contracted (to average 20 to 60 per cent off the list price) be arranged. Favorably received by the authorities, the plan was immediately acted upon.

In order to test the merits of the proposal, George W. Cass, president of the Northern Pacific, and B. P. Cheney, a director, empowered the agent to make a selection for them, of eighteen sections of land. This property was not far from the present site of Casselton, North Dakota. One-fourth of it, at least, was to be broken up annually for three successive years, and to be cultivated by its owners.[57]

Secured to operate the farm was none other than Oliver Dalrymple, a man experienced in the management of a great Minnesota wheat farm. Enlarged by the

56. Hedges, James B., Colonization of the Northern Pacific Railroad, Vol. 13, No. 3, p. 327.
57. Hedges, James B., Colonization of the Northern Pacific Railroad, Vol. 13, No. 3, p. 311, Dec. 1926, Miss. Valley Historical Review.

addition of 3 sections of adjacent land, 13,440 acres in round figures, and successfully operated, this property gained wide fame as the Cass-Cheney-Dalrymple farm.

Adoption of the policy formulated and demonstrated by the railroad, stimulated land sales. Colonization of the territory adjacent to the road in eastern Dakota, was greatly facilitated thereby. Lands thus taken, in large as well as in small amounts, bulked large in the aggregate, and led to an unprecedented movement of population to railroad and government lands. Within a half dozen years after the failure of 1873, the reconditioned railroad sold to 2,988 purchasers not less that 1,723,580 acres!

In this period the great bonanza farms of North Dakota were built up and attracted widespread attention. These so-called bonanza farms contributed their share to the financial recovery of the Northern Pacific, which was, by 1879, sufficiently marked to justify the resumption of work west of the Missouri River. B 1880, the Land and Immigration departments, again zealously engaged in colonization of the Northwest, looked ahead to new guideposts of empire.[58]

For many years a popular "short line" of the Northern Pacific, the St. Paul & Duluth, was known as the "Skally line." Its wood-burning engines, with their peculiar top-heavy appearing smokestacks, were an odd contrast to the plain, almost streamlined locomotives which succeeded them.

George H. Daimond, of St. Paul, is said to have been the first engineer on the Northern Pacific to drive a "woodburner." That he was actually among the first few "wood burner" engineers there can be little doubt. Mr. Daimond was born in Chatham, Kent, England, 1851, and came to St. Paul in 1864. He began his railroad life with the Northern Pacific, in 1869, was promoted to a passenger train some years later, and was retired on a pension in 1922, at the age of 72, years.

58. Hedges, J. B. Colonization of the Northern Pacific Railroad, Vol. 13, No. 3, p. 328-29

One day, while on his return run from Duluth to St. Paul, George Daimond had an experience which, he declared in a recent interview, he would never forget if he lived to be a hundred! (He is 92 years old now). Peering out his cab window, he suddenly saw, to his horror, his wife in the middle of the track. From her preoccupied manner it was apparent that she was unaware of the close proximity of the train. He blew a warning whistle, but still oblivious to her danger she walked on ahead. It was, at certain periods of the year, customary for her to bring his lunch to him, but always before she had heard the train approaching.

Daimond blew the whistle again, but without result. The distance was now too short to apply the brakes in time to bring the train to a stand-still, and thus avert an unusually horrible accident. In the critical situation he faced he had the presence of mind to hurl at his wife a stick of wood from the tender, and Mrs. Daimond turning to discover her peril, stepped from the track none too soon![59]

During the year 1879, in addition to the rapidly growing Northern Pacific, other railroads were either being planned or already functioning, or extending their lines. Among those prominently mentioned in the newspapers were the Duluth, Iowa & Dakota; the Caled nia, Mississippi and Western Railroad; the LaCrosse & Omaha; the St. Paul & Sioux City; the Burlington, Cedar Rapids & Northern, the Great Western, and the Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul.

The Daily Globe, in its issue of May 1, 1879, called attention to a "neat pamphlet issued by the St. Paul & Sioux City railroad, which, entitled 'Picturesque Minnesota,' described 'the points of note along the line of the road, Minnetonka, White Bear, and other summer resorts . . . copiously illustrated, their attractions . . . set forth excellently."

59. From George H. Daimond interview, White Bear Lake, Oct. 18, 1941.

Less than two months later an important improvement to the city was seen in a work project nearing completion - a railway station more suitable to its growing size. Another improvement was the new management of the St. Paul & Pacific, with James J. Hill and his partners at the head. A third concerned elevators. As viewed by the Daily Globe of June 23rd, "the benefits to result to St. Paul and the State from the ending of the litigation which for years has hung like a pall over the St. Paul & Pacific Railroad Co., and the transfer of that company into the hands of a new organization, with Messrs. Stephen, Kittson, Smith and Hill at the head of the management, under the title of the St. Paul, Minneapolis & Manitoba Railroad Co., promise to be much more important than the most sanguine have anticipated. One result is the early completion of the union depot. Another is enlarged elevator facilities. Another, mentioned by the GLOBE a few days since, is the immediate construction of two fire proof freight houses, 50 by 400 feet, for which work upon the foundation is already advanced."

Nor was this all. The St. Paul, Minneapolis & Manitoba Co. saw the necessity for a new headquarters, and acting with the new company, through Mr. D. M. Robbins, purchased a lot on the corner of Fourth and Wacouta streets on which to erect a large fireproof building. This structure, architecturally and otherwise, would not be inferior to any in the Northwest. The Daily Globe, June 29, 1879, with mounting enthusiasm, declared in the news-story previously referred to: "While the management of the St. Paul, Minneapolis & Manitoba are thus actively engaged in building up St. Paul, other interests are keeping pace to the music.

"The handsome and imposing building being put up by the German American Bank for its own use, on Third street between Minnesota and Robert streets, is enclosed and is rapidly being got ready for occupancy. The four-story brick of

of D. Schutte, corner of Fourth and Wacouta streets . . . and the three-story brick being erected by John H. Willoughby, corner of Robert and Fourth streets, . . . are equally well advanced. Going over into Jackson street, a large force of brick layers will be found at work upon the fine block of four stores being built by Commodore Wm. F. Davidson. Coming up to Wabashaw and Sixth streets, a busy scene will be witnessed where the excavation is being made for a four-story brick block, of four stores, and negotiations are pending for another structure of the same size.

"Passing up Wabashaw a square and a half . . . a new foundation will be observed - for two stores, three stories in height; and in a few days the excavation for the new market house will be commenced. Many other improvements of equal importance might be mentioned, but these are sufficient to show that St. Paul is spreading out and occupying the waste places in its limits."

St. Paul had spread out in another direction, too, over the air, for in 1877 the practicability of a new invention was demonstrated in the local business world. On October 1st of that year, the Minneapolis Tribune serenely announced an event of startling significance, the advent of the telephone in our sister city. "Mr. R. H. Hankinson," ran the announcement, "has accepted the agency for Bell's speaking telephone, and has one of them in operation at his office."

Hankinson was superintendent of the Northwestern Telegraph Company. A Tribune reporter, after describing the instrument in detail, wrote that it resembled "a cigar box in size and in shape, with an ear trumpet and speaking tube not unlike the cup and ball toy," and added, "The cost of the instrument is forty dollars a year, the parties renting to put up their own wires. It is practical and requires no special skill to use it satisfactorily. It would seem that there must be a demand for them in the city."

Obviously there was a demand, even at the rates asked. Exactly a month later, the Daily Dispatch reported that the St. Paul Harvester Works Company was "operating the new discovery," and supplemented this statement with

the information that the company guaranteed them "for a thirty mile stretch, although they have been operated for a distance of three hundred with success."

A New York newspaper, according to the Stillwater Gazette, in November, 1877, stated that there were over 3,000 in use in the Manhattan area, "the average rental being $10 per annum, whereas the actual cost is only about one dollar."[60]

On Feb. 6, a year later, the Stillwater Gazette commented, "The expense of telephones is not great - that is to the manufacturer - but it seems that parties having control of them absolutely refuse to sell them at any price, but kindly consent to rent them at $50 a year - a sum said to be several times in excess of their entire cost. But for this outrageous monopoly telephones would soon come into general use."

A humorous incident in connection with the new telephones appeared in the St. Paul Daily Globe, Feb. 17, 1877: "Telephones are very convenient, but you should be sure you know who you are talking to through them. A Minneapolitan who has his office and residence thus connected stepped out a few moments the other day, leaving an intimate friend in the office. The electric bell of the telephone rang, and the friend, stepping to the tube, gave a laconic reply, and soon a volume of family secrets was journeying into his ear that would have caused any except a married man to beat a hasty retreat. As the parties were on intimate terms, however, the joke is a good one, and both prefer hereafter to converse by telephone entirely, or at least until the first conversation has been forgotten."

A new cause for pleasant excitement, in the improving picture of St. Paul in 1879, was to be found in a special telegram to the Globe, Oct. 13, from Montreal, which announced an "air-line railroad" between Montreal and St. Paul. Strong in its advocacy were the Montreal press and board of trade, and government

60. Stillwater Gazette, Stillwater, Minn., Nov. 28, 1877.

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That by fall the prospects for a Union depot worthy the name, was a chief topic of conversation. "The matter of the Union depot for the accommodation of many railroads having their initial or terminal points in St. Paul," so stated the GLOBE, on November 9th, "has long been a cherished idea with our citizens. The idea has also found favor with the different railroad companies, and annually for years past it has been brought prominently before the public and its advantaves and disadvantages discussed by the business men, the city fathers and the railroad men."

The excuse for the failure of any railroad company to furnish such accommodations during the long discussional period, was attributed to the belief that, since a comparatively "small extent of territory within the central portion of the city suitable for railroad purposes necessitated consolidation and concentration by the several companies . . . that extensive improvements by any single company * * * would have to be abandoned in a short time."

Another cause for delay was attributable to the panic of '73, from which the nation, while recuperating, had not, by any means wholly recovered, which, at least to some extent, affected local conditions. Another retarding cause was the grasshopper plagues from which railroads as well as farmers had severely suffered.

In the face of these conditions all improvements, except those of actual necessity, had been postponed indefinitely.

However, "in the meantime," as the GLOBE of November 9th reminded its readers, "hard times East, and cheap productive lands in Minnesota, started a large immigration hitherward. This made increased business for the railroads. Then followed seasons of good crops in the Northwest, especially in Minnesota, with crop failures in Europe, and the general business boom of the present. With this prosperity naturally came a renewal of the Union depot agitation."

The work, and plans, of empire builders great and small, continued apace. All contributed to a supreme result which was clearly to be attained. In a St. Paul special of Nov. 16th, from the Winnipeg Times, we read, as reported in the GLOBE:

"Mr. Donald A. Smith, M. P., Mr. George Stephen, and a number of prominent railway men are here, amongst whom Mr. J. J. Hill is most actively engaged. He would seem to be a sort of germinating element of the general railway scheme, and he is persistently engaged in welding together a Yankee-Canadian combination, international in its individuality and irresistible in its money power, that shall force the rails of the St. Paul, Minneapolis and Manitoba railway to the Athabasca and Peace rivers * * *

Before that autumn closed, such items as the following were of frequent occurrence in the press:

"The completion of the Blue Earth Valley Railroad was celebrated at Mankato on Tuesday. There were five hundred people present from Blue Earth City, who were handsomely entertained with feasting and eloquent speech accompaniments," as the Minneapolis Tribune reported the matter on Nov. 26, 1879.

In the Stillwater Gazette, Dec. 10th, " - A company of eight men, under instructions from the St. Paul & Milwaukee company, is engaged in making a survey of the route for the contemplated road between Hastings and Stillwater."

The Minneapolis Tribune of the same date announced, "The Fergus Falls division of the St. Paul, Minneapolis & Manitoba Railroad is finished, and Gov. Pillsbury has been notified that it is ready for his inspection previous to its acceptance by the state. Fergus Falls proposes to have a grand jamboree over the event, but the date of the celebration has not been settled."

Interesting for its own sake as well as in reflecting conditions, was the description of a trip "Way Up North; from St. Paul to the boundary line," as described in the Daily Globe of Dec. 12th, from which is taken the excerpts below: " * * * St. Vincent, Dec. 6. From St. Paul to this point via the St. Paul and Manitoba railroad, the distance is estimated at about 418 miles. * * * A day's travel on the St. Paul & Manitoba road is calculated to impress the most superficial observer with a full sense of the importance it has already assumed * * *

"Almost every train leaving St. Paul on this road is densely packed with passengers, and the gain is continued until after Willmar, and Morris are passed. * * * All along the line up to Crookston and even to the terminus at this point, there are abundant evidences of prosperity, both of road and of settlers - all going to show that times are good and business booming. A change, indeed, has come since the grasshopper days when dullness and despondency ruled and hardy settlers, panic-stricken and utterly demoralized, had no other thoughts than how they could escape the inhospitable region * * *. From that picture to the one now to be seen, the transformation is complete and thorough. The results of pluck, perseverance and hopefulness are manifest on every hand * * * "

Small guage railways supplemented the picture at the start of the eighties, and large-scale operations continued unabated. Empire builders possessed of vision found it not too difficult to predict wonderful things to come.

But all of this had been predicted before. Even in 1874 when the St. Paul Clearing House, first official association of bankers in Minnesota, was

established, the chamber of commerce assured bank depositors, in its annual report: "The panic . . . and the following years of depression forced out of existence all the banks of doubtful credit then doing business in their city . . . " That was the rosy side, as represented also, in the Jubilee edition of Commercial West when, June 10, 1939, that organ of the Minnesota Bankers' Association took a glance backward.[61]

The chamber of commerce further stated that St. Paul had "become the locale of pioneer big banking," and supported the assertion with these figures:

Summary of business for 1874:

Average daily depostis	$2,673,341
Average daily loans and discounts	3,121,679
Amount of exchange sold	22,678,142

Bank Deposits

1869	1,417,921
1874	2,673,411

Exchange

1869	16,637,536
1874	22,678,000

As the panic of 1873 receded and became history, it swept with it into the past the one-time dominance of the pioneer families. Commanding the river, ornate turretted residences rose in a haughty row along Summit avenue, homes of the merchant princes who had come into unchallenged financial and social rulership. St. Paul had out grown the intimacy of the old days. Neighbors quarreled or drifted apart, business competition and petty rivalries split the community, so recently a social entity, into cliques. And this new era, ruthless and at the same time genteel, found in James J. Hill its perfect symbol.

The demand for a railroad to the Pacific, and land grants for other lines, had comprised the first object for consideration, but "a second was the evolution of agricultural outlook that beheld the passing of the simple farmer, and that saw, rising to change his tasks, the various aids of science and machinery."[62]

61. Commercial West, Jubilee Edition, Chamber of Commerce, June 10, 1939.
62. Paxton, Frederick L., History of the American Frontier, Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston, p. 478.

The reaping machine evolved by inventor McCormick and exhibited at the World's Fair in London, had "demonstrated before a hostile audience," we are told, "that in agricultural machines the U. S. could lead the world. A third was the swelling demand of the free-soil west, repeating the old formula that it was an outrage to charge the pioneer for the farm that he created and insisted that the U. S. grant him a homestead."[63]

During the early seventies new problems presented themselves. "Changing conditions," wrote Theodore Christianson, "began to force diversification in agriculture." Comparing the average wheat yield for the State in 1860, with that of 1871-22 bushels per acre, as against "a little more than 12" - it was "already becoming apparent," Mr. Christianson states, "that the virgin soil of Minnesota, once believed to be inexhaustible, could be impoverished by one-crop agriculture."[64]

The State Agricultural Society, with auxiliaries in virtually all the counties, held in the seventies no less than 37 fairs. Although fruit farming was in its infancy, the Minnesota apple crop in 1871 reached 30,000 bushels, as approximated, "but that year nearly a million apple trees were planted."[65]

In some of the older communities a few tillers of the soil were demonstrating that profits could still be realized from wheat farming, even in the face of declining prices and lower yields. At Cottage Grove, a few miles southeast of St. Paul, a farmer, Oliver Dalrymple conceived the idea of mass-production agriculture. Here, on 3,000 acres, he applied to farming the technique of industrial organization and equipment. In 1867 he raised his first big crop of wheat - more than 35,000 bushels. The following year his farms produced 39,000 bushels.

This was the so called "bonanza farming" of the seventies. Although copied by others the Dalrymple farms and the Dalrymple system, even when large

63. Paxton, Frederick L., History of the American Frontier, Houghton, Mifflin Co., Boston, p. 471
64. Christianson, Theodore, Minnesota, Chicago, 1935, American History Society, Vol. 1, p. 458.
65. Christianson, Theodore, Minnesota, Chicago, 1935, American History Society, Vol. 1, p. 458.

holdings were operated in the fertile Red River Valley, left no permanent impress. Norwithstanding the fact that it was widely publicized, thousands of pieces of literature on the fertility of the valley having been disseminated, and much oratory projected by railroad officials and immigration agents, "bonanza farming, like bonanza mining eventually 'played out,' to quote Theodore Christianson, "as a result of changes in various physical and economic conditions," but while it was profitable it seized the imagination of the people of the country and created interest in Minnesota and the Northwest.[66]

Of more enduring quality than "bonanza farming" was the "Grange," or Patrons of Husbandry movement. Extending membership to both men and women, and offering opportunities for social intercourse and intellectual advancement, it was organized on the principles of a secret fraternal society.

In the founding of the Grange all of Oliver H. Kelley's six associates were government clerks in Washington, with the exception of one. A national grange was provided for in the constitution, as well as local and state granges, the national and state being delegate bodies. County granges were to come later.

Prompted by the agricultural depression of the seventies, farmers, in great numbers, joined the Grange; in fact assumed control of the national association. Most of the granges were located in the middle west and the south. Their growth was extraordinary; from early in 1873 to the autumn of 1874 membership in local granges leaped from 3,360 to 20,365.

"The Grange," states one authority, "gave its name to and became a significant factor in the granger movement - the first stage of the agricultural uprising of the seventies against the new industrialism which threatened pioneer democracy."[67]

The same source further says: "Confronted with declining prices for their products, the farmers of the west and south sought through the grange and other agencies to reduce transportation costs and to eliminate middlemen . . .

66. Christianson, Theodore, Minnesota, Chicago, 1935, American Historical Society, Vol. 1, p. 460.
67. Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, New York, 1932, The Macmillan Co., Vol. 7, pp. 150-51

Many farmers believed that the remedy for their ills was to be sought in political action; but lacking organization and accustomed to divide their votes on bygone issues, they found themselves without political influence. The Grange was nominally non-political, but it served as a medium of organization and discussion and paved the way for the rise of independent, anti-monopoly or farmers' parties in eleven western states, some of which won victories through fusion with the minority party. The principal result of this political upheaval was the passage of acts regulating railroad rates in Illinois, Minnesota, and Iowa."[68]

For the purpose of eliminating middlemen, purchasing agencies and cooperative stores were established, but they did not last for more than several years though they did a large business during their existence.

To some the granger program was regarded as radical, even visionary; however, not a few of the measures which it advocated bore fruit, among which may be mentioned income taxes, railroad regulation, anti-trust legislation, the popular election of United States senators. The parcel post system, another of its blessings, has since been instituted.

In summarizing, the Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences, concludes: "Moreover, it established the idea that the farmers could advance their interests by organization, and the Farmers' Alliance, which spread through the west and the south in the eighties, was modeled to a large extent upon the Grange."

When it is recalled that at the close of the Civil War the Republican, or Union party, was dominant in all the northwest states and, that before 1870, public control of the railroads or regulation was unheard of and, also, when it became apparent that the regulating influence of competition during that period of rapid railway expansion could be readily nullified by consolidations and understandings, serious evils thereby resulting, especially to the farmers, it is not surprising the Grange movement spread like wildfire and was of such phenomenal growth.

68. Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences, New York, 1932: The Macmillan Company, Vol. 7, pp 150-51.

Then, too, conservative men or professional politicians of the two major political parties were naturally not disposed to favor what they regarded as new and radical issues; consequently it was difficult to get before the public, without the formation of a third party, measures the farmers considered important. In the words of Bryce, "professional politicians . . . find it to their interests to keep in the foreground the old familiar questions on which parties have divided in the past, and thus draw away attention from near issues which are likely to disrupt party lines."[69]

When the influence of the grange became so pronounced that a majority of its membership felt that only through the formation of a new political party could its program be realized, Ignatius Donnelly was regarded as the man to lead it. Wholeheartedly Donnelly assumed the responsibility. In addition to editing the paper, the Anti-Monopolist, he used his remarkable eloquence to induce farmers and city laborers to join the movement. That further railroad regulation and other reforms were imperative no one realized better than he.

The Anti-Monopolist party was short-lived, but as Blegen says in Building Minnesota,[70] it "stirred up much interest." Due to this interest, in no small measure, the way was paved for agrarian activities to come later - the Non Partisan League and the Farmer Labor movements.

The first law to regulate railroads was enacted when Horace Austin, who succeeded William R. Marshall as governor, was in office, and the second railroad regulation act, that of 1874, during the governorship of Cushman K. Davis distinguished St. Paul attorney who followed Marshall. Davis, in a masterly speech, "Modern Feudalism," which he delivered before many audiences, had appealed strongly to farmers and their support had won for him the nomination over his fellow Republican opponent, William D. Washburn, the Minneapolis miller - and by

70. Blegen, Theodore C., Building Minnesota, D. C. Heath & Co., Publishers, Boston, New York and London, 1938, p. 298.

*69 Bryce, Rt. Hon. James, The American Commonwealth, Macmillan Co., Publishers, New York, (2 Vol.) Vol. 2, p. 53, 1891.

a single vote! With the farmers' support he subsequently defeated the joint candidate of the Anti-Monopoly and Democrat parties, Asa Barton.

However, although the legislation as passed was the kind favored by the grange, it failed in practice to live up to their expectations, and could only be said to be a "step toward effective regulation in the public interest," as Dr. Blegen typified it.

Prior to this time, Ignatius Donnely had reached his zenith politically, but that zenith had fallen far short of the mark which his adherents had set for him. At first a Republican, he was elected lieutenant governor, and later went to Congress, during Civil war days, after which, returning to Minnesota, he became a member of the state legislature, serving several terms. Thenceforth a national leader of the Farmers' Alliance, and of the Populist party, his voting strength diminished, and except as a champion of lost causes, his loyalty to which was a characteristic, he got nowhere in particular. In the years to come, however, the literary work of this versatile genius was to cause a sensation and to further obscure the fame of the politician and lawyer.

Howard Kahn (the Paul Light, Pioneer Press columnist of "So What,") gives a highly interesting close-up of Ignatius Donnelly, in his column, June 15, 1942. He is looking at Donnelly through the eyes of an early St. Paul newspaper man, William Wellington Wack, whom he characterizes as "our leading man-about-town - popular, colorful, ubiquitous." Mr. Wack, who is credited by "Who's Who," with having founded the well-known magazine, "Field and Stream," in a tribute penned to Donnelly, a contemporary, presents Donnelly as "a gentleman of delightful pugnacities who became the intellectual irritant of every boy in the Northwest."

Mr. Kahn quotes Arthur B. White as saying that Wack, still alive, is now living in California, where he plans to open a law office. Referring again to the tribute, Mr. Wack wrote: "As a news item Donnelly excelled all other Northwest personalities. Orator, author, statesman, farmer, champion of the rights of the people, and a terror to rings, trusts, snobs and plutocrats, he was the peerless controversialist of his time."

Mr. Kahn, for many years managing editor of the St. Paul Daily News, and before and since on the staff of the Dispatch and Pioneer Press, remarks: "I am glad my probing into the life of William Wellington Wack led me to Ignatius Donnelly. For Minnesota has produced no more interesting character."

On this point there can be no dissenters.

At the state Democratic convention of 1873 the Anti-Monopoly nominees were endorsed, but luckily for the Republicans, railroad legislation was advocated by their governor. However, the Republican majority in the gubernatorial election suffered a sharp reduction, and the Democrats on their Anti-Monopoly platform elected a secretary of state and treasurer.

Since one of the chief grievances of the farmer was over excessive freight rates, he voted consistently for the third party in the legislative election of 1874, and actually saw a Granger railroad bill enacted into law. His exultation, however, was brief; the law was repealed.

"Insidious discrimnations in rates," declared an analyst, "were made between shippers and between places," and these were among the evils affecting large groups of people, evils so injurious that it was feared they could not be checked save by state interposition. A fair return for his labor, which excessive freight rates prevented, and which the dominant Republican party did not, in their judgment favor, ~~irked~~ concerned the farmers no little and tended to confirm their belief that only through the third party could their best interests be served.[71]

71. Buck, Solon J. "Independent Political Parties in the West," in Essays in American History, Henry Holt & Co., New York, 1910, p.

On June 22, 1870, when the patrons were called to order by Truman M. Smith for their third annual session, the general report admitted that the wheat crop was "in a precarious condition, owing to the excessive heat and dry weather. Nor more than half a crop could be anticipated."

Every part of the State was represented in the attendance at this meeting, with masters from subordinate granges in larger numbers than had been expected. Among the subjects discussed was the matter of cooperative stores, and a resolution was introduced recommending their establishment.

The secretary's report revealed the fact that the number of subordinate granges in Minnesota exceeded 60, and of these 42 were fully represented. The Patrons of Husbandry, early in their existence, had declared when announcing the celebration of Independence Day: "For the first time, the laboring, the producing class, the hard working agriculturists, hold 'Feast, Fair and Festival' in St. Paul * * * in their large and beautiful Hall over the Market. * * * Without regard to expense the Grange has secured Seibert's full string band day and evening, that all portions of the exercises may be exhilerated by the best music in the entire Northwest."[72]

Several months later the North Star Grange of the Patrons were addressed by Wm. A. Bentley, Special Deputy for the State, and by Judge Underwood, "upon the practical importance of the workings of the organization - to producers, and of the social and moral influence upon society and the consequent responsibility of the Grange in carrying out their principles in purity. After initiation, banquet, and business the Grange closed its session, to meet again the first Saturday in December. The patrons are fast becoming a power in the land, and that for good."

The dairy industry grew with such rapidity that 1876 saw in operation 49 cheese factories in Minnesota and a real beginning in commercial production of creamery butter, which activities resulted in the formation of the State Dairymen's Association two years later.[73]

72. St. Paul Daily Pioneer, June 23, 1870
73. Andrews, General C. C., History of St. Paul, Minn., D. Mason & Co., Publishers, Syracuse, N. Y., 1890, p. 308.

On February 14, 1870, the Ramsey County Medical Society was organized by eleven of the most prominent doctors in the county, and prospered for a short time. But interest declined, and some internal dissension arose, causing disintegration of the Society in 1876. Only three years later, it was reorganized, and has since enjoyed an uninterrupted career of usefulness.

In 1870, also, the St. Paul School for Medical Instruction was hopefully launched, to provide students with preparatory medical education. Although it did not compete with standard colleges, the school failed to receive financial support and, in 1878, in response to an attractive offer from citizens of Minneapolis, it was transferred to that city.

Among the old settlers who died during this decade, not previously chronicled, were William Baumette, January 9th, 1871, at Little Canada; on March 20th, the same year, Pierre Gervais, a resident from 1838 to 1845; Rodney Parker, the pioneer hotel proprietor, in 1873; on May 10, 1874, Captain Louis Robert, the interesting old river pilot; on March 30th, 1875, David Guerin, son of Vital, one of the first white children born in the city; and on July 14, 1879, Col. Girart Hewitt, whose activities in the legal profession and real estate business had not demanded so much of his time as to exclude much public-spirited service.

Persons of prominence, ~~long familiar in~~ identified with St. Paul, won in the state election of 1872. Edmund Rice became senator, John B. Olivier, auditor, H. R. Brill, probate judge, and elected to the house of representatives were J. N. Rogers, Hubert H. Miller, George Benz, Henry A. Castle and H. J. Brainerd. Mr. Olivier, however, resigned and was subsequently elected abstract clerk, S. Lee Davis succeeding him as auditor. Frank Robert, Jr., the veteran chief deputy in the sheriff's office, whose life spans that day and this, was at that time head clerk for Mr. Olivier.

Again in 1875, during a state election, Frank Robert, Jr. became chief clerk, when Oscar Stephenson was chosen judge of probate. In this state election, the

total vote cast by the city was a mere 5,017, and as before familiar names prevailed - Auditor, S. Lee Davis; senator - William Pitt Murray; county commissioners; William Lee and E. S. Balisdell; representatives - H. Miller, George Benz, F. R. Delano, Lorenzo Hoyt and William Crooks.

Mention of William Crooks stirs with memory of the first locomotive in St. Paul. Driving this famous "wood burner" in 1880, Charles Deering (according to a veteran G. N. railroad man, Edward Rawson Emerson)[74] if not its first engineer, was, in point of time, assuredly within hailing distance of that individual. Later, John J. Maher was engineer, and J. C. Morrison fireman, as attested by the official records of the Great Northern Railroad. Al Smith, the man who repaired the William Crooks, after the roundhouse fire in 1868, is said to have operated the engine at an early date. As to who actually was the first engineer on this locomotive, it isn't at all clear.

John J. Maher who had the distinction of piloting the famous engine to the New York World's fair in 1939 and before that to the centennial celebration of the Baltimore & Ohio Railway, Baltimore, stated in a recent interview that he could recall a number of engineers who had run the William Crooks - in its palmy days - Johnny Kilbane, afterwards J. J. Hill's special engineer, "Hod" Emerson, father of George Emerson; superintendent, Tom Cavanaugh, Charles Deering, for whom Mr. Maher "fired" in 1881, and Peter Olson. Of these all are dead, Mr. Maher says, except Peter Olson,[75] who is now a resident of Los Angeles.

The designers and constructors of the little engine, Smith and Jackson, of Patterson, N. J., built it in 1861, and the following year it took to the rails and became a Civil War train, pulling a modest two coaches.

The length of the William Crooks was but 51 feet, its weight 3,600 pounds. Its top speed was 38 miles an hour, although in the booklet entitled, "The Autobiography of an Engine," published by the Great Northern Railway, the locomotive remarks: "Once, when I was in charge of Engineer Pete Olson we made ten miles in

74. From an Edward Rawson Emerson interview, Hotel Angus, St. Paul, July 2, 1942.
75. From a John J. Maher interview, 1829 Fairmount Ave., St. Paul, July 8, 1942.

seven minutes."[76] This same publication facetiously describes its odd "balloon" smokestack, an inverted bell shape type, as follows: "Our headgear was very stylish for that day, large and top-heavy and they would seem very strange now, as doubtless mine does: some of us, too, were fairly resplendent in rouge and yellow trimmings."

Perhaps no weather conditions, even considering rigorous winters of the past, so affected Minnesotans as the severe storm of 1873 which, sweeping over the state, for a three-days' duration, caused the death of 70 persons and more than 300 head of livestock. Its unusual intensity caused Governor Austin to issue a special report. Indeed, the preceding winter, which arrived early, was also notable for its severity, a fuel shortage intensifying the cold waves.

To be classed among unusual occurrences, for reasons of its own, was the consolidation of 1876, of the St. Paul Pioneer Press and the Minneapolis Tribune. But this journalistic wedding between "Paul" and "Minnie" was not to endure until "death do us part." Even those Twin Citians who hoped for pleasanter relations between the towns were not altruistic enough to suppose that it would.

In the summer of 1874, under the auspices of the St. Paul Driving Park Association, horse races were held at the driving park. Names of thoroughbreds recalled by turfmen of that day, are Bay Bring, Bay Charlie, Billy Barden, Grey Steel, St. Croix, and Star of the West.[77]

Events prompting special rejoicing on the part of the citizenry were not rare during the seventies. Abolishment of toils on the St. Paul bridge, as a result of the annexation of West St. Paul, in 1874, was a source of gratification. In 1876 St. Paul, and the whole state, celebrated the centennial of July 4th. One of the principal reunions during 1877, was a banquet on September 6th by the Army of the Tennessee, which took place at the Metropolitan Hotel. The orator of the occasion was ex-Governor Cushman K. Davis. Gen. U. S. Grant, a visitor in Scotland at the time, cablegrammed his good wishes.

76. The Autobiography of an Engine; the story of the William Crooks and its big brother, No. 2500, pub. by the Great Northern Ry., St. Paul, date not given.

77. Castle, Henry A., Minnesota: Its Story and Biography, The Lewis Pub. Co., and New York, Chicago, 1915, Vol. I, p. [illegible].

In chronicling the progress of a city, in this direction or that, one of the most interesting questions which arises is usually in connection with national groups. In the case of St. Paul this is especially true. Why did the early French Canadians fail to leave a definite impress upon the city? How about folk songs, pictures, paintings, poems, sculptures, and the like: Did they leave none of these behind?

The Minneapolis Tribune, July 5, 1879, in giving an extract from the address of a minister of that day, Rev. S. D. Wells, in which the English and French are contrasted, quotes him as follows:

"One of a deputation of Indians on a visit to Marquis du Quesne, when governor of Canada, desired to know from him the difference between the French and the English, and was aptly answered in these words: 'Go and look at the forts which the king of France built, and you will see that land beneath the walls is still a hunting ground, he having chosen the spot frequented by you, simply tries to serve your needs. The Englishman, on the contrary, is no sooner in possession of land than the game is forced to quit, the woods are felled and the soil is uncovered.'

"The French in America were fond of roving, and so contented with life about an Indian camp, that they never found a home. They loved, as they paddled the birch bark canoes, to hear the pine forests, west of Lake Superior, echo their favorite chanson:

'Each returning springtime
Brings so much that's new,
All the fickle lovers
Changing sweethearts, too.'

"The English, however, are utilizers, lookers ahead, anxious for a foothold and household. They erected tanneries and sawmills, and brought their wives into the wilderness, or thought of their distant sweethearts."

As in 1871, when the Daily Press, commenting on the general trend of affairs, said, "A buoyant tone continues to be a characteristic of our people, and with its

natural advantages no one can doubt that a bright future is in store for St. Paul,"[78] so in 1879 optimism flourished.

But forecasters there were who had sounded a warning note. Wary of too sudden growth they saw clouds not conspicuous for silver linings. And citizens in whose memory still lingered spectors of the 1857 panic, feared that the deflation of the boom apexing 1873, would inevitably bring a recurrence of that disaster. In this they were fortunately mistaken. Factors in and out of the city were not to be minimized even by the pessimistically inclined: new forces were on the march.

By 1880, St. Paul, as a natural result of the influence of a strong railroad organization on the city, was made the center point in trans-continental trade routes. Hill, going far beyond railroad organization, helped strengthen agriculture over the northwest, even advocated diversified farming, and in various ways encouraged settlements, all of which made markets more available, greatly facilitating shipping and trade from the west coast. Local business men were not asleep, but took advantage of opportunities to bring into realization what had been little more than a nebulous dream. Wholesaling had become the dominant interest.

Thus St. Paul, from the vantage point of home markets and shining vistas beyond state boundaries, had a right to look forward, could not be static, and what St. Paul saw was not a mirage but rainbows of continued promise.

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78. Daily Press, Nov. 5, 1871.

Chapter X

Phenomenal as were population gains in St. Paul prior to the eighties, nobody could have guessed how those figures were to jump during that decade. The federal census of 1880 revealed little of a nature to indicate rapid growth--a mere 41,498. However, during the eighties a small town was to become a rather large city, and though destined to be overtaken by Minneapolis in the matter of population, St. Paul could still, so her boosters felt, lay claim to certain definite advantages.

Aggressively the Daily Globe, in a resume of the city's progress up to 1880, under date of December 31, 1879, in which it referred to St. Paul as "the Empire City," proclaimed the advantages in question. "St. Paul, closing books for 1879," declared this newspaper, "is making giant strides in the commercial race, and comparison can be invited with any city of 50,000 inhabitants on the face of the earth."

The reasons upon which these claims were based were many. "Our railroad advantages, which brings an empire to our doors to trade, and our merchant princes, who have brought the city up to its present greatness," were cited mainly by the Globe in the issue referred to. In particularizing it said: ". . . most significant, perhaps, of all are the changes of the year which have fixed the headquarters of the railroads and their commanding interests in St. Paul. These changes are leading to great local improvements, such as the Union depot, headquarters' buildings, machine, car and repair shops, stockyards, elevators, terminal and transfer yards, etc., while these in turn are leading to new business enterprises and enlarged sources of trade and facilities of manufacture.

"Sixteen diverging lines of railroad practically terminate in St. Paul as follows: The Chicago & St. Paul, river division; Milwaukee & St. Paul, Iowa division; Hastings & Dakota, St. Paul & Sioux City, Worthington & Sioux Falls,

Black Hills Branch, Blue Earth City Branch, St. Paul & Manitoba, main line, St. Paul, St. Paul & Manitoba, branch line, Northern Pacific, St. Paul & Duluth, St. Paul & Stillwater, St. Paul, Stillwater & Taylor's Falls, Chicago, St. Paul & Minneapolis, North Wisconsin, and Hudson and River Falls. They send into St. Paul every day over one hundred trains, and the companies can hardly keep pace in the supplying of facilities with their fast increasing traffic."

Thus, the railroad situation, which had earlier been referred to in the Globe, as that "hopeless confusion of conflicting titles and claims, in which enterprise was fast bound and the vast interests involved were inextricably entangled," as exemplified for example, in the case of the St. Paul & Pacific property and franchises, was clarified, and the Globe resume was accordingly impressive.

Again, on March 5, 1880, the Daily Globe, after another survey of the local business scene, saw fit to voice lively enthusiasm in these words: "St. Paul, the Empire City of the new northwest. . . with large enterprise, liberal investments and skillful labor. . . is first in manufacturers as in commerce. The Globe... visits every manufactury and shop throughout the city, to show in one review, St. Paul's army of trained mechanics and the work they are doing. Six hundred and forty six establishments with six thousand three hundred and forty-eight employees, Mercantile manufacturers uniting productive industry with trade and employing hundreds. . value of the products aggregating over eight million dollars per annum... the successful mechanics who, with small beginnings, have built up large manufactures. ..the wealthy corporations selling St. Paul-made machinery throughout the west."

In furnishing these facts and figures the sole object of the Globe, as it explained, was not to "correct the erroneous impression concerning the industries of St. Paul but the desire to unite the people. . . in all judicious and right action for the common good and for maintaining the preeminence of St. Paul as the commercial capital and industrial center of the Northwest."

The contrast between the St. Paul of 1880 and that of 1849, for instance, "when the population of St. Paul was only thirty and at one time the

site of the entire city proper was sold for thirty-five dollars," to quote the Globe, is vivid enough, but the difference between adolescence and approaching maturity cannot be measured by sundials.

However, despite the steady increase in population, and loud publicity there was still a sword of Damocles hanging over the head of the most optimistic native booster. St. Paul was most disturbed by the continued growth of Minneapolis, and seemingly nothing could be done about it. Every effort made to bolster a failing position had been alike ineffectual. On November 16, 1874, the boundary line of Ramsey County had been extended by an act of legislature to include West St. Paul, which thereby became part of the city and was designated on the Sixth Ward. This had added 2,800 acres to the area of the city, making a total area of 13,583 acres. Following this action, tolls were abolished on the St. Paul bridge connecting the two formerly independent cities. [Citation: J. Fletcher Williams, A History of the City of St. Paul and the County of Ramsey, Minnesota (Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul, Minn., 1876, p. 449.]

Since it was clearly the development of industry which gave Minneapolis its advantage, efforts were made in that direction in St. Paul, but the lack of water power which would have made large scale manufacturing ventures practical was a decided handicap. Some boot and shoe manufacturing was begun and this succeeded because of the acute demand, and because in this industry smaller units of operation were desirable. [Mildred Lucille Hartsough, The Twin Cities as a Metropolitan Market (University of Minnesota Press, Mpls., 1925), P. 49] .

In 1877 the volume of St. Paul's wholesale trade had been estimated at approximately $28,000,000; in the early eighties it reached the sum of $47,000,000 annually; and although, in the late seventies the wholesale trade of St. Paul was more than three times that of Minneapolis, the newer city made consistent gains with which St. Paul found it difficult to keep pace. [Calvin Schmid, Social Saga of Two Cities, (Minneapolis Council of Social Agencies, Mpls., 1937), p. 22].

During an evening session of the legislature on March 1, 1881, flames were seen spurting from the dome of the capitol building. The wooden frame nullified all efforts of fire fighters and the blaze was soon beyond control. The large number of occupants vacated the building without loss of life but many valuable documents and records were destroyed. The origin of the fire was never determined.

The legislature transferred sessions to the newly completed municipal market house. St. Paul citizens, warned by previous experience, feared that the destruction of the capitol building would give rise to new efforts at capital removal and they pushed to hurried completion the plans for immediate rebuilding.

Between Minneapolis and St. Paul lay the Midway District, which in earlier days, had been known as Kittsondale. In 1881 the Minnesota Transfer Corporation destined to become an astoundingly profitable property, was organized by the railroad companies to provide in this intervening area a clearing house for freight between the two cities. One year later the Union Stockyards Company was established in the Midway District and most of the livestock trade, with the beginnings of the meat packing industry, was for a time confined to that area. [Mildred Lucille Hartsough, The Twin Cities as a Metropolitan Market (University of Minnesota Press, Mpls., 1925), pp. 18021, 67] .

The population of Minneapolis increased until in 1880 it equalled St. Paul's. St. Paul made desperate efforts to maintain this equality, and men of both cities acted in the furious struggle which ensued, like "ill bred and ill tempered boys." [Federal City: Being a Reminiscence of the Time Before St. Paul and Minneapolis were United (by an Optimist, no publisher listed, no city, published 1891. p. 6].

Caught between two fires the census enumerator became the main target of the rival newspapers. "The Minneapolis Plan of Cheating in Making Up the Census Returns," was the heading of an acrimonious broadside which appeared in the Hastings Gazette, but which the St. Paul Globe of July 5, 1880, lost no time in copying. It ran as follows: "Our article last week in relation to the census enumeration in St. Paul and Minneapolis evidently touched the supervisor of the latter city upon the

raw, and he responds in nearly a column of Pioneer Press, of the 24 inst. . . The point was made that a conductor upon the 'Hastings and Dakota' was wrongfully enumerated in Minneapolis, and the position is still maintained. Mr. Denman Rich is an old resident of Hastings* * *, and his business still requires him to be a resident. He may be a brother-in-law of Mr. C. W. Johnson, the supervisor of the Second district***, and may have a trunkful of clothing at his house and send his washing there, but he does not lodge or board in Minneapolis, and he can only spend an occasional day in that town by getting a lay-off. By matter of law he is a voter in the Second ward of this city.

"Another case came to our knowledge recently in which a lady, a resident of Hastings for a score of years, was enumerated under protest in Minneapolis on the ground that she had passed the night there, and a similar instance was published in one of the St. Paul papers a few days ago. It is these facts which led to an expression of opinion on the subject, with the conclusion, which will bear repetition, that the Gazette has no interest in the result of either city, but believes in fair play and an honest count."

The St. Paul Globe, under the caption "More Confession," used strong language on its own account, July 18th, in calling attention to what it termed the "confession of Charley Johnson," in which it accused that official of adding "several thousand to the Minneapolis census list by counting those who had arrived since June 1st. The several thousand," charged the Globe, "were secured by copying hotel registers and enumerating temporary visitors generally."

In closing this particular editorial the Globe referred to the enumerator as "the perjured scoundrel who supervised the census," and arrived at the following deduction: "It appears from this that he (Mr. Johnson) admits that four weeks ago Minneapolis had but forty-two thousand population. This sudden gain of six thousand in four weeks is very suspicious and is confirmatory of the report that originally the count showed but 41,000. Hearing that St. Paul exceeded that figure the rascality was resorted to, to enlarge the actual population.*** "

In defense of emumerator Johnson and in vindication of the sacred honor of Minneapolis, the Tribune retaliated in similar vein, but more savagely reserved her heavier guns for the Pioneer Press. The Tribune and Pioneer Press had crossed swords over the relationship of minors to population totals. "The Pioneer Press," said the Tribune, July 22, "gets right up and swears that St. Paul has more minors than Minneapolis. Well, why shouldn't she have? The census shows that St. Paul is a minor town, anyway.* * * The Pioneer Press returned to its work, yesterday, of demonstrating that St. Paul has more minors than adults, and Minneapolis less. The point is conceded. Judging by the squealing, the whole town of St. Paul is made up of sniveling and snarling babies. "

So the battle continued, with rising tempo, and attacks on new fronts. The Anoka Herald, long a silent listener, felt that a rebuke was in order, and on July 24, 1880, chastised with due tact the fighting Twins. "St. Paul and Minneapolis papers are still harping on the census. Don't. Two smarter cities don't exist on this or any other continent. So what's the use quarreling over a few thousand, more or less? The whole State is equalled proud of you, your newspapers, enterprise, everything about you in fact, except your disposition to abuse each other. Don't do it."

One of the final salvos fired by the Globe, was a reprint from the Princeton Union, July 26th, in indignation at the Minneapolis Lumbermen and Boom company "for virtually preventing any logs from going over the falls of St. Anthony," thus impeding, "by every means in their power, the passage of logs destined for points below Minneapolis." More in sorrow than in anger, apparently, was the rejoinder of the Minneapolis Tribune, July 29, 1880, when, in giving expression to the "tear-provoking results of the Minnesota census" which it considered "the divorce of Minneapolis and St. Paul, after the present year, in congressional matters," it remarked: "The two cities have become too big to remain in the same district after 1880. Growth has its sorrowful side as well as its jubilant one."

"Merrimac," a writer on the Globe, took a final fling, twitting Minneapolis in these words: "Our naughty, naughty, little sister with the big waterfall

flaunts her ample skirts since the census and boasts that she is bigger than her brother Paul. . . She is pregnant and big without manifest destiny. . . Charley Johnson (cenuss taker) is the gay deceiver who must answer for her ruin and stand father to all those illegitimates counted in the census.*** "

Thus "Merrimac" accounted for what he termed 'Minnie Apol's' ruin, in the Daily Globe of Aug. 17th.

However, all jealous repartee set aside, both the Twins had merits at once visible to the discerning eye, and in the splendid emergence of each Minnesota could exult.

Rivalry is rarely more disconcerting or petty than when it exists between cities. New York and Brooklyn are shining examples of this. When New York refers to Brooklyn as a graveyard, and the latter retaliates with its barbed shafts and such ridicule extneds over a long period of time, the cause of neither is advanced. Mighty Manhattan, in the final analysis, doesn't fail to include in its population figures her humbler neighbor: she may have a lot of fun with so called "Flatbush," but she is practical, nevertheless; and so the merry war of jibes, if not sham battle, continues.

The rivalry between St. Paul and Minneapolis has endured for many years. Even before it started, St. Paul has a keen competiter in St. Anthony. As business tension increased St. Paul had become more and more incensed against this growing rival up the river. Honors apparently were not enough to go around. At first St. Anthony's pretentions had been laughed at, but the matter grew serious before long and St. Paul accused its rival of being founded "by Eastern capitalists"--as though it had been done for the sole purpose of injuring St. Paul. [Citation: Dr. E. E. Barton, City of St. Paul, (Published by the author, St. Paul, 1888), p. 8].

In a publication by the State Board of Immigration, in 1885, the following accurate close-up of St. Paul in the eighties is given: "It matters not from which direction the traveler comes, he passes through beautiful and varied scenery, and the site occupied by the city possesses a rare combination of natural beauties. A chain of high bluffs encircles a series of level benches or plateaus, along the front of the

lowest of which is the Mississippi river, and here is the head of navigation on this mighty stream.

"On the lower plateau the different railways find entrance, using in common a union depot located on grounds adjacent to the steamboat landing.*** On leaving the depot the traveler finds himself at once in the midst of the solidly build wholesale district, immense warehouses of attractive architecture lining the streets in every direction. A slight ascent extending one block, leads to the second plateau which is traversed by Third street, formerly the main thoroughfare, but now only a sharer of the honor with a number of adjacent streets.

"Third street is lengthy, extending from the bluffs on the east to those west of the second bench. For about three-quarters of a mile its lower portion is devoted to wholesale establishments, but as it is ascended one comes into the chief retail district of the city. One block from Sibley street, on which the depot is situated, is the Merchants Hotel . . . at the corner of Jackson street. This last named street, with several others, running northward, are also important business avenues. They intersect Seventh street, a broad thoroughfare of great length, much of which is lined with retail stores. It formsa division between the business and residence portions of the city. On Robert street, the next west of Jackson, is located the magnificent hotel 'Ryan' which occupies half a block. . . and will cost, when finished, about $1,500,000.

"West of the Merchants' hotel on Third street are attractive buildings devoted to retail trade, and at Wabasha street, four blocks west, is Bridge square, from which a massive iron bridge leads to West St. Paul. A loftily-reared circle of electric lamps stands in the center of the square and illuminates the bridge and neighboring streets. Wabasha street is compactly built, with fine stores for six blocks; the upper part ascends the high bluffs in this direction. On this street are located the city, county, State and United States buildings, and also a magnificent market house. The Grand Opera house is here, and likewise the Roman Catholic cathedral property, and several other churches.

"Third street from Wabasha street west, runs for some distance along

the brow of the bluff, at an elevation of about one hundred and fifty feet above the river, and from it a grand panoramic view of the river, with its bluff and island, and of West St. Paul, is obtained. At the corner of Third and Washington streets the Metropolitan hotel is located, extending to Fourth street. This corners on Rice Park, a diminutive space of forest and floral beauty, where, during the summer months, open-air band concerts are given. Four blocks farther west Third street is intersected by Seventh street, at a spacious opening known as 'Seven Corners,' and here the quaint and singular manner in which the streets are laid out is, to strangers, perplexingly apparent, as the thoroughfares diverge to every point of the compass.

"Between Third and Seventh streets and the river is a wide, low valley, thickly populated. The districts already described are encircled by the high bluff front of the upper plateau, on which, partly concealed by large, thrifty trees, adorning the wide avenues and surrounding grounds, are residences of the most ornate styles and elegant appointments. These delightful homes are spread out to the eastward and westward of the city, while to the northward thousands of humbler but comfortable dwellings occupy pleasant locations in a capacious lower level.

"Though St. Paul presents an extensive and attractive appearance from a point of view south of the city, no real idea of its magnitude. . . can be gained except from a tour of its various districts.

"In addition to the main portion of the city, there is the important district of West St. Paul, on the opposite side of the river, also under the general municipal government. It contains about 15,000 residents, and is located in a broad, gently sloping plain, reaching from the river-front to the high bluffs, whose wooded summits afford charming building sites. Back of this is a rich farming country, and a new line of railroad will soon have its terminus within the precincts of this part of the city."

The same source, in comparing St. Paul of the early eighties with that of five years before, gave the increase in population, building and business, as at least "one hundred and fifty per cent in that brief interval." A great change in the

height of business structures was noticeable to visitors. Many were five and six stories. These were conspicuous for their bright red brick and sturdy stone construction. They ranged in cost from $100,000 to $250,000, and some exceeded the latter figure. Particularly attractive architecturally, were the bank buildings, the large wholesale houses and hotels. The principal business streets were paved with cedar blocks and sidewalks were of stone. The residential section, with tree shaded avenues and elegant mansions amid beautiful surroundings, was distinctive.

Within the corporate limits of St. Paul proper, comprising at this time twenty-one square miles of territory, there were therefore many indications of the thriving Minnesota metropolis which was to be. Yet some of the changes time had wrought were not so appealing--at least to river captains, whereas in its heyday the Mississippi had been distinguished for its innumerable packets, and widespread transportation facilities, little remained to suggest that period.

How conclusively the railroads captured the business of the river boats is shown in striking figures. After the railroad reached New Ulm on the Minnesota only eight boats traveled up that river, usually not more than one a year! Almost as badly affected was Mississippi traffic. It declined to such an extent that Mark Twain, when he visited St. Paul in 1882, complained of the "hideous trip" and mourned the vanished romance of "boating."
[John T. Flanagan, Mark Twain on the Upper Mississippi - Minnesota History, Vol. 17, No. 4, Dec. 1936 - pp. 370-371].

According to Bradstreet's Mercantile Agency, St. Paul stood fourth in a tabulation of building done in 1883, fourth among a half dozen American cities, including New York and Chicago. The table, with figures based on a period of eight months, was as follows:

New York	$37,207,112
Chicago	12,780,000
Cincinnati	11,000,000
St. Paul	9,580,000
Cleveland	3,750,000
New Orleans	3,000,000

"In the long list given," comments the State Board of Immigration booklet of 1885," only two other cities than those named reached $3,000,000. A careful home canvass showed that the actual building in St. Paul in 1883 amounted to $11,938,950, placing it third on the list, and nearly $1,000,000 in advance of Cincinnati. The sum given covered 434 business houses, 3,124 residences, and 49 public buildings, a total of 3,607 structures. During the years 1881, 1882 and 1883, there was a total of 7,209 buildings erected at a cost of $24,909.650."

Figures on the wholesale business during the same years showed, as evidenced by the reports of the Chamber of Commerce, steady gains--$46,555,999 in 1881, $66,628,494 in 1882, and $72,048,771 in 1883. Moreover, in 1884 a conservative estimate placed sales at approximately $81,000,000, to maintain a consistently advancing percentage rate.

According to information furnished by R. G. Dun & Co., the capital of 1,669 firms aggregated $73,490,000, "beginning with five houses with a responsibility of over $1,000,000. . .many of the firms importing largely, the custom receipts in 1881 being $30,810, in 1883 to $64,016, which sum was nearly equaled by the receipts of the first nine months of 1884.

It seems a bit odd that a city's qualifications in one direction may tend to outweigh her qualifications in another. On this point the State of Minnesota Immigration booklet for 1885, has this to say: "St. Paul's reputation as a financial and commercial center has become so pronounced as to convey the impression that it is not a manufacturing city, and even its own citizens are surprised at the extent of its development in this direction. Its diversified manufacturing interests are, however, vast and important in the aggregate. In 1881 the values of manufactures were $15,406,201. They increased to $25,885,471 in 1883, and the number of establishments rose from 667 in the former year to 758 in the latter. The city presented to the manufacturer an almost unoccupied field, the capacity of whose development was great."

The extent and ramifications of the railroads in such a railway center as St. Paul, the city being naturally one of the chief radiating points of the

systems of the continent, would require a whole chapter. The banking situation would require another. The same may be said of churches and schools. Space limitations here preclude extended treatment of these subjects. Certain highlights may be given, however, to reflect the situation in many fields.

Quoting again from the State of Minnesota Immigration booklet for 1885, these highlights may be flashed briefly, as follows: In banking,. . . "St. Paul has $160,000 more capital in national banks than the whole of the rest of the State. . . The resources of the national banks of St. Paul alone exceed those of twenty-two states and territories; ". . . water works, water conveyed to and through the city by forty-six miles of mains, while twenty miles more are under contract for the spring of 1885;". . . fire department, "the force consists of about one hundred men, and has seven fire engines, three chemical engines and two hook and ladder trucks; " gas," the gas company has now thirty miles of mains laid, and they are being constantly extended in every direction; " electric lights. . ."now two hundred, and one hundred more will be added this winter;" street railway, "twenty five miles. . . and ten more miles projected. . . two motor roads will soon be built, one to Lake Como and one to Minneapolis."

To continue: Newspapers, "Two morning and one evening daily in English, and one in the German language. . . besides two daily advertising sheets and thirteen or fourteen weekly, fortnightly and monthly publications. There are also a number of excellent job printing offices, two lithographing establishments several engravers and a type foundry;" public halls, "a number of large and handsome public halls, a magnificent opera house. . .several skating rinks. . .some eighty churches, . . . specious and expensive structures;" benevolent institutions, "city and county hospitals and asylums.. an association for the relief of the poor, a women's industrial society, a women's flower mission, etc."

As for the schools, public, denominational and private, "although $77,370 were expended during the last school year in new buildings and in improving

others, adding accommodations for 1,360 pupils, it is to be found that the growth of the city keeps just in advance of the supply of houses, and the erection of four additional fine buildings and the enlargement of one of the old ones has already been ordered. There are twenty-six private schools and academies, including English and classical institutions, kindergartens, art and industrial schools, and Lutheran and German schools . . . The parochial schools are largely attended. The Catholics have several excellent schools, and St. Joseph's Academy is an extensive institution occupying a handsome and costly building, beautifully located.***The Baptists, Scandinavian Lutherans and the Catholics each propose to establish colleges here at an early date."

Among the large business houses of that period were the following: C. Gotzian & Co., manufacturers of boots and shoes, founded by Conrad Gotzian, who began as a retailer; Channing Seabury & Company, wholesale grocers; Tarbox, Schlick & Co., boot and shoe factory; the St. Paul Foundry, incorporated in 1883, with H. C. Upham, president; C. M. Powers, secretary and treasurer; Alex. Adams, superintendent--manufacturers of architectural, railroad and general iron work, cast, forged and finished; the St. Paul Brass Works, started by W. F. Bailey as a small brass foundry; Kenny Brothers, established by Terrence and John Kenny, a steam boiler works; the St. Paul Box Factory, or Blodgett & Osgood, the original firm name adopted by H. F. Blodgett and B. S. Osgood, makers of packing boxes, refrigerators, store and office fixtures; P. R. L. Hardenbergh & Co., with two factories engaged in the production of boot and shoe uppers and saddlery goods; J. F. Tostevin, stone and marble cutter, whose establishment is the first marble works in the State; the Minnesota Soap Company, the outgrowth of a concern started in St. Paul by L. Beach, a pioneer manufacturer of soap and candles; W. H. Garland, trunk manufacturer, who started business in Chicago, but moved his factory to St. Paul; Anthony Yoerg, St. Paul's first brewer; and Finch, Van Slyke & McConville, wholesale clothing, established by George R. Finch.

/General C. C. Andrews, History of St. Paul, Minn., D. Mason & Co., Publishers, Syracuse, N. Y., 1890, pp 437-447./

To this picture of the St. Paul of 1885, may be added the observation of another writer who also wrote from first-hand knowledge: "Society in St. Paul has outgrown provincialism, and in culture and refinement will not concede superiority to far larger cities."

[Citation: The State of Minnesota: Its Agricultural, Lumbering and Mining Resources, Manufacturing and Commercial Facilities, Railroads, Pleasure Resorts, Etc., Published by the State Board of Immigration, H. H. Young, Secretary of Board, Pioneer Press Company, St. Paul, Minn., 1885, pp. 85-90].

On September 8th, 1885, the Minneapolis Tribune noted the passing of an early Minnesota pioneer, Mrs. Benjamin Gervais, "the first white woman to come to Ramsey county." Her death occurred in St. Paul, the Sunday before the date of the item, and she was 84 years old. It was in 1852 that she came with her husband to Ramsey County. Benjamin Gervais' property, at that time, could be identified as in the district which was then knwon as Baptist Hill. "At the time he sold it," stated the Tribune, "he received $350 for an area of land that today is worth several million dollars." Basil Gervais, the son of Benjamin Gervais, was the first white child born in St. Paul. With what frequency in history something similar has happened.

In November, 1885, occurred an event which ever afterwards has given to St. Paul winters a certain distinctive character. That year was born the St. Paul Ice Palace and Winter Carnival Association. George R. Finch was elected president of the association, and thus originated the plans for St. Paul's first ice palace, which is said to have been the first palace of its kind in the United States. (Citation: Henry A. Castle, History of Minnesota, Vol. 1, p.)

Super adjectives have been used to indicate the dazzling splendor of this midwinter carnival. Words are inadequate to describe its many facets. A huge crystal castle, with gleaming towers, turrets, and battlements, its colorful flage waving in the frosty breeze, is the center of attraction. The magnificent pageantry which is daily a part of the festival, is not confined to the vicinity of the palace, but is city-wide in scope. There is skiing, skating, and tobogganning;

in fact winter sports are in at various points, in one branch or another.

Numerous marching clubs, clad in colorful carnival suits, beautiful floats, some of great size, and comic as well as serious features combine to make the parades events to linger in the memory. During the festival there are two such processions, one in the daytime and the other at night with brilliant lighting effects. The floats, individually interesting, attract attention for their own sake. With their own illumination, and that of reflected brilliance, since each is additionally adorned by the presence of a carnival queen sitting in state, their appeal is irresistable.

The storming of the palace, by the Fire King, from the explosion of the first bomb to the inevitable fall of Boreas the Ice King - to end the latter's reign and that of his "queen of the snows"; the gorgeous colors imparted to ice blocks, shifting to different shades in the massive walls, the grand fireworks display above the towers, and the cascades of fire in front of the mammoth structure; all must be seen to be appreciated; they defy description.

The builder of St. Paul's first ice palace was "a Mr. Hutchinson of Montreal," Frank C. Bliss states in his book "St. Paul, Its Past and Present." [F. C. Bliss Publishing Company, St. Paul, Minnesota, 1888, p. 223]. This was S. H. Hutchinson, who built Canada's celebrated palaces.

The corner stone, or rather block of ice in this case, was laid on Jan. 14, 1886, and on Feb. 1st, President Finch officially turned over to the mayor of St. Paul the keys of the resplendent building. Frank C. Bliss, in the book above quoted, gives the dimensions as follows: "This first palace, covered an erea of 180x160 feet, the main tower was 100 feet high, and 30,000 blocks of ice were used in its construction. It was the largest ice palace ever built, up to that time." [Page 223].

That it proved to be a very successful undertaking is the verdict of the local writers of that day. Citizens greatly enjoyed the novelty, moreover

visitors, "thousands upon thousands," gravitated to St. Paul from all over the country, as well as from Canada, to attend the festival. (Same Source). (Same page).

Late in 1886 Mr. Finch retired as president of the association, and L. H. Maxfield succeeded him. January 1887 saw the erection of another ice palace, a structure far more elaborate than the first has been. Considerably larger, too. It covered 42,000 square feet, contained over twice as many blocks of ice, and the highest turret, which was surmounted by a flagstaff, rose to a height of 140 feet. Designed and built by local men it possessed a double appeal. Its general shape was that of a Latin cross.

In an election of new officers held in Nov., 1887, George Thompson succeeded L. H. Maxfield. Under his guidance a third ice palace, more ornate and more massive than anything that had gone before, was built in January, 1888, and again from all parts of the nation, came visitors, hundreds of thousands of them, to participate in an "endless variety" of winter sports. [Page 223-224].

Central Park was the site of all these early ice palaces. To accommodate lovers of skating, curling rinks and toboggan slides, land adjoining the area of the park was utilized, the enclosure affording ample space for even an Indian village, for a tribe of aborigines, with their teepes, ponies and dogs were on the list of attractions.

Mr. Bliss has given us an engrossing picture of these early ice carnivals which, after all, do not differ materially from those that were to follow, at intervals, in the years to come. "During the carnival weeks," he says, "the streets and sidewalks—decorated with flags, banners, streamers and arches, and at night lit up by electric lights and thousands of gass lights in colored globes—were thronged with waiting crowds to see some one ofthe many parades of the carnival clubs, which number some 6,000 ladies and gentlemen, each club having a different but becoming uniform. These parades are accompanied by numerous bands of music, and if at night, in their midst and on every side, are displayed every variety of fireworks." [Page 224].

Modern improvements and larger scale specifications have, of course, altered the plan but not the texture. Author Bliss's pen-picture of the main fireworks spectacle, which expresses the natural reaction of all beholders, is thus presented: "One of the most magnificent sights man ever witnessed is the storming of the great ice fortress of King Borealis. It happens twice during every festival. The sight is grand, terrific, inconceivably beautiful.* * * Old King Borealis is most valiant and courageous, but amid the crash of arms, the thunder of the bombs and artillery, and the gorgeous display of fireworks--amid the din of battle and smoke, the palace is completely hid from sight, but the smoke is soon wafted away and the whole palace appears enveloped in flames, while from its battlements falls a cascade of fire." [Page 224].

Amid pleasurers and palaces the solemn note was not absent. Labor, more or less restless in 1886, on October 14th of that year took the railroad spotlight. A switchmen's strike, affecting both of the Twin Cities, originated in Minneapolis, on Oct. 13th. With the exception of the Milwaukee road switchmen, the switchmen in all the railroad yards of Minneapolis, struck. "***The present wages received by switchmen," stated the Minneapolis Tribune, Oct. 14th, "is, day or night men, $50 per month. They are striking for $70 and $60 per month, which is the scale paid in the East."

I was though at first that the strike would be limited to Minneapolis. In calling attention to it in its issue of October 13, the Dispatch stated that although the switchmen in all the yards at Minneapolis were out, the trouble was not expected to extend to St. Paul. Everything was orderly that first day, but that intimidation might be resorted to, the paper admitted. A later issue informed readers that local switchmen declared that they were well satisfied with their position, had no fault to find, and "that any endeavors to compel tham to desist from work" would "be strenuously opposed."

Very few union men were in the city, the Dispatch explained, and those were in the employ of the roads. Since the Union depot switchmen comprised the majority, and they were not members of the union and consequently were well satisfied with their lot, they would not accede to any demands from union sources. Moreover, the superintendents of the several roads were. . ."determined that those who wished to work" should be "allowed to do so without molestation." No strike in St. Paul was therefore probable, in its opinion.

As the heads of most of the operating departments of the railroads were temporarily out of the city the only officials with whom the union committee could consult were Messrs. Winter and Whiteman of the Omaha Road. When these officials complained that the time given for considering the grievances of the switchmen was rather short, the committee acknowledged that it was. Union orders had been followed, said the committee, and they were compelled to take the action they did. This being the case they were advised by the officials to have the men go quietly back to work, so that meanwhile the roads could get together to act upon the matter at the earliest possible time.

For safety's sake a squad of policemen arrived at the St. Paul Union depot on the morning of the 15th, although, as the Dispatch of that date stated, there was no sign of trouble.

The committee which called the strike was appointed by the Switchmen's Mutual Aid Association at a meeting held the previous Tuesday. The committee has been instructed to issue the order if the railroad managers refused to accede to the demands for a raise.

The railroad managers claimed that they had not been notified of the intention of the men to walk out. To this charge the switchmen replied with a statement to the public, which was published in the Minneapolis Tribune, on October 15th. "The switchmen of the different railroad yards," ran the statement, "are making peaceable and honorable efforts to prevail upon the aforesaid railroad companies to adopt the Chicago scale of wages.

"The railroad managers. . .were. . .notified. We will say for the benefit of the public that they were each awaited upon several weeks ago by an intelligent

committee of the Trades and Labor Assembly of the city, and securing no satisfaction, the switchmen took the matter in their own hands, promising that they will continue in pursuance of their present policy of dignity, good order and sober, intelligent action in the future. They take this means of placing their grievance before an intelligent public.'

Through the same newspaper medium, the day following, the managers retaliated in this vein: "A talk with the heads of the operating departments of the roads centering in Minneapolis and St. Paul, reveals the fact that they propose to hold their own and will supply men to take the place of the strikers and will protect them."

The labor unrest, as a result of the strike, had its repercussions in other parts of the state. A free fight between rival railroad gangs took place at Elbow Lake, on October 13th and for a time threatened serious consequences. As recounted in a dispatch to the Minneapolis Tribune, from Herman, Minnesota, "three of the Minneapolis & Pacific's men were set upon by about 20 of the Manitoba's crew and badly beaten. They escaped, however, and soon returned reinforced by about 100 of their comrades and commenced to make it warm for the Manitoba crowd, who fled for safety to the court-house where they were besieged. The crowd outside finally threatened to set fire to the court-house if the men did not come out, and the citizens of Elbow Lake were obliged to give up the men to save the building."

The Switchmen's strike continued unabated, with ultimatmus from one side and then the other, and both sides taking the public into its confidence from time to time. According to the railroad managers the waged demanded per month were: Night foreman, $80; day foreman, $75; night switchmen, $70; day switchmen, $65; and the committee of St. Paul switchmen, comprising men from all the yards, urged also that "26 days be considered a month and 10 hours a day, extra time to be paid for at above rates." [Minneapolis Tribune, Oct. 16, 1886].

The effect of the strike on business was outlined in a circular put out by the company, in which the strikers were told that they "may consider themselves discharged." The circular also declared that "The St. Paul strike gave the Minneapolis men new courage."

Loren Fletcher was quoted as saying: "Our mills closed down yesterday.

As far as running the mills is concerned, I don't care whether we run or not, as there is no money in the business at the present time. If they will notify us that the strike will continue any length of time we will close down until spring. The results will be, if they don't end the trouble soon, all the mills in the city will be obliged to close down, and some 7,000 or 8,000 men will consequently be out of employment. If the strikers desire this result, I've no objections. The Pillsbury mill will close soon if the strike is not ended, as it will be impossible to get wheat." Col. Jas. Goodnow added his opinion, "The strike is preventing the transaction of $100,000 worth of business each day.*** "

The effect on trade was further dwelt upon in the Tribune of Oct. 17th., "As the days pass and no settlement is reached, the effect on trade is more and more felt until jobbers and shippers of all kinds are becoming alarmed, and various steps are being taken by these parties to bring about a settlement. The jobbers favor arbitration or any other arrangement that will get the freight now standing in the yards out and started."

The effect of the general public was not less emphatic. Loud complaints arose over the loss to to business and to transportation. Public sympathy was with the strikers and their cause, as thus endorsed by the Trade and Labor Assembly:

"Whereas, The Switchmen . . . in their pending strike, have by their honorable, temperate and orderly conduct challenged the admiration of all law-abiding citizens , be it

Resolved, That the Trade and Labor Assembly . . . endorse their action to date: and

Whereas, It having been published through the press . . . that the proper officials of the various roads concerned were not properly notified of the grievances and demands of the striking switchmen,

Resolved, That such publications, whatever their emanation, are untrue, inasmuch as committees, duly requested and authorized by the switchmen and Trade and Labor Assembly, made formal nitifications to the proper officials of such grievances and requests. - C. A. Kissam, Secretary; H. M. Burgess, President."

Mayor Ames, of Minneapolis, issued a proclamation at the city hall on the same day, upon his arrival from St.Paul, where that morning he had endeavored to iron out "apparently irreconciliable differences" existing between management and employes. He expressed confidence in a large number of citizens, and in both of the great political organizations of the State of Minnesota, who had solemnly delcared by resolution that in their judgment the parties concerned should settle their differences by arbitration.

A day later the mayor issued another proclamation, after the roads, at a meeting in his office, had refused to agree to arbitration, with the explanation that new crews were at work, and the old men had been discharged. Mayor Rice, of St.Paul, had also been unsuccessful. Thus all plans looking to an agreement on a"scale of wages such as the strikers demanded," and as to "ironclad rules to which both parties would agree." had been fruitless.

The seriousness of the strike on the lumber industry may be indicated by a single example. A virtual blockade resulted. Alderman F. C. Barrows, of the

firm of Merriman, Barrows & Co., lumber manufacturers , complained that the strike had disrupted the "movement of lumber was causing great loss and trouble. Mr. Barrows stated that nothing could be shipped, although orders were coming in " the best of any time" that year."The tracks at their yards" he said, " were full of loaded cars that could not be moved, and altogether the lumber business was suffering great damage by the strike."

Since no remedial measures could be hoped for, the principle of arbitration haveing been rejected, Mayors Ames and Rice, both deploring the interruption of commercial traffic to the detriment of commerce and the public interests, took the stand that " irrespective of all said variances, said traffic must be resumed." Moreover, all persons were commanded to abstain from acts of violence under penalty of arrest and prosecution. This was the gist of Mayor Ames' second proclamation.

As matters approached a climax, G. R. Eddy, superintendent of Thiel's Detective Agency, which had been engaged by the railroads, announced that he was " determined that all roads out of St.Paul" would move the next day and that he would have 200 men, if necessary, to protect property." He further asserted that " if the men who were willing to work were prevented," the detectives would to the work.

The Tribune , Oct. 18th, which quoted Eddy, informed the St.Paul public that Mayor Rice had commissioned 60 extra police and would very likely add 100 more on the morrow. As for the strikers, it was stated in the same newsstory that it had been "definitely ascertained that the strikers intended to stop all trains out of St.Paul, whether freight or passenger".

On October 19th, however, the same paper reported that the strike among the switchmen had "assumed an entire new phase" the morning before. And it told the reason why. " At all of the railroad offices bonds for special policemen were . .. Issued , and as fast as the new officers were sworn in they were given arms and assigned to places in the various yards . . . The work of providing special policemen began early, and continued until the Minneapolis & St.Louis road had 80 specials;

the Northern Pacific 100, the Omaha 60, and the Manitoba about 80. Besides these, about 100 special policemen were added to the city force. "

The strikers grew more menacing. A battle seemed imminent. A crowd of about a thousand men, whom the newspaper described as curious lookers- on, for the most part, " with quite a number of toughs of the town", had gathered on Fifth street, where a freight engine stood in readiness to leave. Threats " to kill the engine" emanated from the throng. Col. Hill, who anticipated trouble, presently emerged, and addressing the crowd, warned all to beware of violence. He advised the comparatively few strikers in the gathering to retire quietly. This they did, whereupon the engine moved out and was soon on its way.

On the East side, however, it was a different story. Many attempts were made to switch a train, but all were frustrated. Other trains were likewise stalled; every effort to move them was fruitless; in each instance the engine was "killed and pins pulled". As the Tribune of October 19th described the situation: " The switchmen were entirely too quick for the policemen, and could pull a pin and set a brake and get out of the way before an officer could reach them. One train got well under headway, and officers were standing on the cars, but even when running at a high rate of speed, the engine was boarded, uncoupled from the train, run off quite a distance, and her fires drawn in a very few moments' time."

However, late that afternoon the police received reinforcements, and the tide turned against the strikers. Several trains, in fact, were made up by trainmen, notwithstanding obstacles. Shortly after this, two complete trains, under guards, went out over the Manitoba. Assistant superintendent J. P. Smith , who had been in the yard all day expediting the movement of cars, considered his day's work a success. Jubilantly he announced that the specials would henceforth be armed, and predicted an early end of the trouble.

The yards now resembled an armed camp. But close on the heels of Smith's prediction a number of switchmen who had been in his office awaiting developments, expressed their willingness to return to work if granted permission.

The Northern Pacific yards, too, bristled with armanent. Special policemen, toting Winchester rifles , forestalled trouble. Twenty five of these accompanied the first train, which was sent out before noon, on the 19th. Sight of this armed force, among the duties of which was to keep people our of the yards so that switching might proceed without interruption, had the effect intended.

In the Milwaukee yard were 75 special policemen, of whom 25 were Pinkerton detectives from Chicago. Assistant superintendent Case of the Milwaukee stated that their crews contained a considerable number of the old employes but that new men filled the places of others.

An injunction was served on 165 strikers of all the railroads, and in seeking it the employesrs stated that the strikers were " about to do them great harm . . . and since the defendants were not responsible and could not repair any damages done to plaintiffs, the only remedy was to have an injunction."

The mayor, in a pertinent talk, reiterated his orders to the police, which were,"first, to warn evil-doers of the penalty of any violation of the law . . . to enforce the law to the letter, " to which he added: " The staff and line officers have been instructed to allow no more pulling of pins between cars, killing of engines, or stopping of train s. "

This ultimatum could not be challenged, or ignored. " The switchmen", announced the Tribune " are discouraged . . . they do not now hope to succeed. Chief among these reasons is the fact that many of their number are anxious to go back to work at the old rate. Many of them think that the strike was not properly started, and from the first was bound to fail. 'Public sentiment' , the paper asserted, while quoting a switchman who wanted to get back to work, 'was . demanding in strong terms that the strike be settled . . . that neither party longer had the sympathy of the public.' "

Col. Hill shared the opinion that the worst was over, that there would be no more interference from striking switchmen. In the aftermath of the dissension the Manitoba announced a willingness to "take back those switchmen who have not been active in the strike,"* * * "switchmen . . .were soliciting sunscriptions

tions to aid in support of swithhmen while out of work," and "Harry Flannigan, the young man who tampered with the coupling of a coach in the Union yard, at St. Paul . . . was fined $100." (Citation: Same source--Tribune, Oct. 19, 1886).

On Oct. 20th, the St. Paulyards began to take on an old-time aspect. Trains on the Manitoba, Northern Pacific and Wisconsin Central Lines were moving again, things were quiet, but police were still on special duty. "A majority of the switchmen, " said the Tribune of that date, " are against any violence, and hence but few acts of lawlessness took place."About the depot and yards there was a general air of optimism, it was expected that the switchmen would all be backto work before the day passed, "or at leastas many as will be received back by the companies, " the Tribune added.

As a sort of humorous intermission between post-war hostilities and impending truce, two railroads, the Manitoba and Northern Pacific, fought over a single prospective customer, a day or two later. The Manitoba was the victor, but the Northern Pacific accused the rival road of offering a much reduced rate in oredr to insure victory. The Tribune , aided referring to this incident, ventured the prediction that "This is the first gun in what may become a large sized skirmish."

On Oct. 23rd., an agreement was affectedwhereby the strikers were to go back to work at the old scale of wages, the companies promising to retain in their employ "as many of the men as had not provee themselves particularily offensive as leaders or destroyers of property during the strike." (Tribune , Oct. 23, 1886).

With the settlement of the strike a thimg of the past Twin City Rivalry had another session. Desiring to improve the Mississippi River, between St. Paul and Minneapolis, for navigation, the war department ordered a survey. St. Paul however did not take kindly to the intende improvement: it naturally preferred to remain head of navigation. Minneapolis, on the other hand, was very eaged to secure a congressional aooropriation, realizingthat the proposed change would benefit her greatly, even make her the nominal head of navigation and reduce St. Paul to the status of just a place on the river. It was recalled by the people of both cities

that, formerly, the Falls of St.Anthony, the site of Minneapolis, was the coveted gateway, and though over two dozen years had elapsed since a line of steamers ran north of St.Paul, nothing tended to efface the memory. [Citation: Railway Age, date not given; documentation wanted].

A more pleasant thought at this time was engendered in the plan of the Minnesota & Northwestern railroad, to put in a fast train between St.Paul and Peoria, and thereby reduce to 16 hours and 35 minutes a run consisting of 472 miles.

Railway telegraphers embraced the opportunity for optimism by organizing, in a meeting at the Sherman House, a local division,No.11, of the order of Railway Telegraphers. P. W. McAllister was chief organizer. "Mutual benefit and a fraternal feeling among the boys", were mentioned by the Tribuneof October 17th, as objects to be achieved by the order, which discountenanced strikes and endeavored " to secure higher wages by rendering better service." The order threatened with expulsion any member " using his name or office to promote a strike. "

One of the most thrilling elections in Minnesota annals occurred that October when Mayor Ames, who had borne such a conspicious part in the settlement of the switchmen's strike, entered the race for governor. His opponent, on the Republican ticket, was Andrew R. McGill, who for many years had been Insurance Commissioner and had filled the office with distinction.

The platform upon which Albert A. Ames was nominated, advocated an 8 hour day for labor, establishment of a Labor Bureau for Minnesota the object of which was to secure better legislation for the payment of wages, as well as for the health and safety of operatives (indemnification for injuries included), prevention of child employment, and protection from " the ravages of the usurer and tax title shark. "

Held at St.Paul, on September 15,their convention after praising President Cleveland's administration, came out for a sweeping tariff revision, for raising to the dignity of a cabinet position the Department of Agriculture, for government control of railroads, telegraph, express and like corporations, inas-

much as they were created by Federal and State law for public services, favored free markets, and in the transportation field equal charges and facilities for consumers as well as for producers and dealers. Anti-monopoly laws were advocated to equalize capital and labor, in an effort to curb the authority and power of the great corporations, which, although in the past they had done much for the State, were assuming, in too many instances, a position not compatible wwith the welfare of the people whose servants they were.

The Republicans, one week later, held their convention - also in St. Paul. Their platform favored " an honest dollar intrinsically equal in value to a dollar in gold." They also favored, as had the Democrats, the establishment in the State of a soldier s home. Looking to this end the vote and influence of their representatives was promised at the next session of the Legislature. They pledged to the farmers vital changes in railroad and warehouse laws, tending to a progressive reduction of railway freight and passenger rates. The practice, on the part of corporations, of watering stock, received condemnation. Free text books for public schools , and a legal rate of interest, 8%,were recommended.

Plamks were similar to those offered labor by the Democratic party appeared in the Republican platform. The action of the Minnesota delegation in Congress voting for a revision of the tariff, met with platform approval, as did also liquor regulation. High license, local option, strict enforcement of laws relating to the traffic already on the statutes, were favored.

" In the decade previous to this time," wrtoe Frank R. Holmes, author of "Minnesota in Three Centuries," " there was a wave of temperance reform in many states and several attempts were made to pass constitutional prohibitory amendments. Kansas in 1880 ratified such an act but though a prohibition Legislature was elected there was great opposition to the enforcement of the prohibitory laws. Iowa, also, in 1882 ranged herself on the side of radical temperance theories and the following year in Ohio the people for a third time voted in favor of prohibition.

" In Indiana, Connecticut, Pennsylvania, Wisconsin, Michigan, Nebraska, Massachusetts, New York, Illinois, Missouri, West Virginia, Texas, and Arkansas the amendment failed either by not passing the Legislature or not having received the requisite two-thirds vote. Prohibition by local option was in force at this time in various parts of the United States, supplemented in some States by high license laws in connection with a distance limitation from school houses and churches, which were considered to be prohibitory in effect. " [Holmes, Frank R., Minnesota in Three Centuries, Vol.4,pp.143-146. Publishing Society of Minn., 1908.]

While in Minnesota an attempt to pass the prohibition Constitutional amendment failed there was nevertheless increasing agitation for a much-needed check-draft on the liquor trade. Accordingly, the Republican party, in the State campaign of 1886, included in their platform a high license or local option plank.

Notwith standing the fact that the Democrats, in this exciting election, struck a responsive note with the laboring classes, the whole Republican ticket was elected. By what narrow margin the Republicans won, however, is reflected in the following figures: McGill,107,068; Ames,104,464; - the Republican plurality a mere 2600. The Prohibitionists, as a party, only polled 8,966 votes.

The election left sore spots. Among the Democrats there was considerable talk of a recount. Many believed that their candidate had been elected. Indeed Dr. Ames came over to St.Paul to take the oath of office before a magistrate. However, nothing but ironical memories survived that procedure. Despite talk of contesting the election of McGill, the latter was duly inaugurated. [Holmes, Frank R. , Minnesota in Three Centuries, The Publishing Society of Minnesota, 1908, Vol.4, pp. 143-6]

According to the Folkebladet, Minneapolis, November 10, J. J. Hill , on being asked by a reporter the question as to what he ascribed the great increase in Democratic votes throughout the state, replied: " I suppose the Scandinavians have stopped voting on the Republican ticket," smiled, and brusquely passed on.

Losing the state election by so slender a thread the Democrats, nothing daunted, girded for the city and county campaign. But they were not rashly emullient

in their predictions. The Republicans, sobered no doubt by their narrow escape, were not ubiquiteous either. Surveying the scene, after the dust of battle, with a new political struggle impending, the St.Paul Dispatch, Oct.13, said :

" A goodly number of democrats were kicking last night. There were several meetings on the quiet, at one of which the following ticker was nominated against the democratic : clerk, R. W. Bell; treasurer, F. A. Renz; (rep.); sheriff, Fred Richter (rep); register, M. J. Bell, (rep.); auditor, T. D. Kerker; attorney, J. J. Egan; coroner, J. A. Quinn; judge of probate, Fred Nelson; surveyor, H. H. Potts; superintendent of schools, H. Blake, (rep.); etc.,

R. W. Bell, familiarly "Dick" to his following, did not hesitate to grapple with the man who was later to become a power as political boss, "Dick" O'Connor. "Dick" Bell and "Doc" Quinn had injected into the contest an independent party, and pledged to uphold its principles "Dick" Bell probably enjoyed quite as much, his clashes with "Dick" O'Connor, as any emolumnets he anticipated from the office of city clerk.

Jocoesly the Dispatch, in its issue above quoted, indicated the viewpoint of William Pitt Murray, on the new ticket in the field, when its reporter jotted this down: " Corporation Attorney Bill Murray (in private conversation) " ------ *** ! !.! ? ? ? # # # ------ ". (For publication) " You may say this -- independent movement reminds me of a meeting down in Tennesee.

" There were two men got together in mass convention and nominated themselves. One was elected president and the other secretary of the convention and when the secretary asked the president how he should write up the account of the meeting he was told to describe it as large and respectable 'for you are large and I am respectable' remarked the president. 'Doc' Quinn is very respectable and 'Dick' Bell very large. In writing this up you had better credit it to some other member of the gang."

Neither satire nor ridicule could diminish the zeal of the beliggerants, political fur continued to fly, and neither of the two Richards asked for or gave quarter. The St.Paul Dispatch, Oct.15, contained further comment on the subject, "The

In the world of sports St. Paul, denied prize-fights except for the occasional "sneak bout," welcomed baseball with open arms. One of the first ball clubs of note, if not actually the first professional team, a nine with a state-wide reputation, the "Red Caps," were a good drawing card at the "West Side Ball Park," which, as the name indicates was located in West Saint Paul.

The "Red Caps," far from confining their prowess to the local field, not infrequently took to the road. From their ranks several members went up to classy big league births. George Vincent Guerin, only remaining son of Vital Guerin since the recent death of Louis, referred to the "Red Caps" in an interview the other day. [Interview from George V. Guerin, 823 Sherburne Avenue, St. Paul, April 8, 1842.]

George Guerin was a member of the "Hill Rovers," an amateur nine, at the time. "The Red Caps," said Guerin, "was the team in those days. I remember some of the players. 'Slim Jim' Ahern, related to Ahern the policeman, was one of the pitchers. Mike Burkman (better look up spelling) was the catcher. Joe Werrick, who developed with the 'Red Caps' and played in the big league later, was another member of that famous old St. Paul nine. He is still living, I think. A big league club played an exhibition game with the 'Red Caps,' on one occasion, at the West Side park, and though the big leaguers won, the 'Red Caps,' on one occasion, at the West Side park, and though the big leaguers won, the 'Red Caps' were not disgraced. The Chicago National League team I think it was." Joe Werrick, who lives in an apartment on West Fifth street, is eighty-three years old. With the warning that his memory slips at times he mentioned the names of several old 'Red Cap' players - "Mack," (McClellan), who played short stop, "Scotty" (Scott, the "horseshoer"), who played center field, "Slim Jim" Dan Ahern, pitcher, and Bill Barnes, catcher. Of these, McClellan went to Brooklyn. He himself went to Louisville, when it was in the old National League. His position was second base or short stop, it didn't make any difference which. "When the 'Red Caps' started out, the boys were just strong amateurs,"

fight between Dick Bell and Dick O'Connor causes the following classical lines to spring up into St.Paul's political atmosphere:

'There was wantz two cats in Kelkenny;
Aich thawt there was one cat too many,
So they scratched and they bit,
And they fought and they fit,
Until except their nails,
And the tips of their tails,
Instead of two cats there wahnt enny.' ¶

However, one was to remain, to wield for several decades a mighty influence in political battles, indeed to hold within the hollow of his hand the local destinies of the Democratic party - the Dick O'Connor who welded together a formidable machine.

Political battles would fill a separate volume. The Republicans triumphed in the senatorial race of 1887, in the elevation to the United States senate of Cushman Kellogg Davis, a man of brilliant attainments. Besides being author of several books, Senator Davis had long been known as an orator of unusual eloquence.

Among the important legislation enacted that year was the act affecting the liquor traffic, which established high license, common carriers and elections. Two years later the Legislature enacted, for cities of ten thousand or over, the Australian electoral law. Another interesting event occurred on September 27, 1888, when, in recognition of his notable activities in the Catholic church, Bishop John Ireland became an archbishop.

Mr/ Werrick said, " but by and by the amateurs were weeded out for professionals. The fans turned out pretty well at the old West Side grounds. The 'Red Caps' covered quite a period , but the outfit was professional when I played with it."

[From an Interview with Joe Werrick, April 29,1942.]

Joe Werrick is small of stature, yet straight as an arrow depsite his age, and his general appearance still suggests the athlete.

A few scores of games in which the first "Red Caps" figured may not be uninteresting. In a contest referred to by the Gazette, August 11,1875, as a championship ball game, the result was - St.Paul Red Caps 32, Metropolitans 11, which rather suggests a football game. On October 19th, the same year, the "Red Caps" defeated the Winona Clippers, by a score of 8 to 7, as reported by the Gazette of October 20th. On August 8,1876, Oshkosh was defeated by the "Red Caps" - 10 to 1. and the Hastings Crescents, by 19 to 4, as recorded by the Minneapolis Tribune of August 14th and 18th , respectively. It was in the eighties, however, that the " Red Caps" were at their best professionally.

In the "stove league" reminiscenses of oldtimers, when early diamond statistics are touched upon, the 'Red Caps' live again.

Paul Light, in his column "So What" of the Pioneer Press, referring to early baseball in St.Paul, wrote on April 14,1942, "Mrs.Jennie Turner, 1391 Wynne Ave., who at 76 still qualifies as one of St.Paul's most ardent baseball fans, mentioned a few days ago that her all-time baseball hero was Jack Crooks who played shortstop for the Saints back about 1886.

"W. F. Lott, pioneer St.Paulite who now lives at Bald Eagle, tells me Jack Crooks was a son of William Crooks, for whom the first railway locomotive used in Minnesota was named. The senior Crooks, a graduate of West Point, came to St.Paul as chief engineer of the St.Paul and Pacific which became the Great Northern. He was a colonel in the Civil War and after returning to St.Paul, served in the legislature both as representative and as senator.

" The family lived at Broadway and Ninth. Mr.Lott went to school with Jack and several other sons of William Crooks. 'Baseball' he says, 'was less a commercial enterprise in those days. The St.Paul baseball team was really made up

of St.Paul lads. Joe Warrick and all the others were home town boys.' "

"K. F. Lott, by the way, is probably the oldest living former carrier of the Dispatch. He had a route in Lower Town 70 years ago. His father was a partner of Mayor Bob Smith in the real estate business and old-time plats of the city still carry the words 'Smith and Lott addition'.

"His uncle was the first governor of the San Francisco mint. Later President Buchanan sent him to Mexico as consul at the port of Acapulco. He died there and President Lincoln appointed K. F. Lott's father to succeed him. "

On the morning of April 10,1889, a notice advising that from and after April 14th wages would be reduced, was posted in all the street car barns of Minneapolis. An "iron-clad" agreement that they would not join or belong to any labor organization was required of employees, and this precipitated a walkout.

Efforts by the company to run cars proved unavailing and resulted in minor disorders, but on the abandonment of such attempts a proposal for arbitration was published by the strikers' executive committee. A refusal to arbitrate, however, came from Horace Lowry.

Confronted with the same reduction in wages and the same "iron-clad" , which cancelled the prevailing scale received by drivers, 15 cents an haur for the first six months , 16 cents for the second period of months, and 17 cents thereafter, St.Paul employees held a mass meeting at labor headquarters, which were then located at 70 East Seventh street.

St.Paul, although less affected than Minneapolis, since local employes had no contract with the company and no conductors were employed except on the Selby cable line, whereas Minneapolis employes had a contract the provisions of which did not expire until May 13, 1889, nevertheless was aroused. A committee from Minneapolis was present at the meeting and reported the action taken in that city, whereupon the union decided to refer the matter to the Knights of Labor District executive board. This board visited Mr.Lowry, but he declined to make any concessions, htherefore over 300 drivers and barnmen quit work on April 11th.

At 6 P.M. on that date it was said that "not a street car wheel was turning on the 52 miles of track. " The cable line men, however, accepted the reduction " and worked right along."

Eva Gay, in her book " A Tale of the Twin Cities," which was published in 1889 by Thomas A. Clark & Company, also states that the company posted the following notice in all of the barns " late that Friday evening:"

"St.Paul City Railway Company, April 12,1889.

Special Notice No. 213.

Any employes who have quit work today, and desire to return, can do so by Monday,April 15; but any who do not care to avail themselves of this privilege

will call for their time and cash-in their boxes by the above date.

A. L. Scott, Superintendent."

From the company's standpoint, however, this notice failed of its desired effect. So intolerable was the situation that the city decided to do something about it. The council met on April 16, to consider and take action on the following petition: " "WE the undersigned citizens of St.Paul urge the city council to . . . compel the street railway company to operate its lines at once, or since the company has an exclusive franchise, to force a forfeiture of the same, and let the city control the street railway itself. "

Approximately 10,000 names were attached to the petition. The action taken by the council was to formulate a set of resolutions on its own account, the first of which read: "Whereas, The St.Paul City Railway has failed and neglected to furnish the general public of said city with its usual transportation facilities for several days . . . by failing and neglecting to run its horse cars (so-called) upon, over and along the different routes in said city, upon which it has established tracks, without reasonable excuse for such neglect now therefore, be it

"Resolved, That the proper city authorities be, and they are hereby authorized and directed that, unless said aforesaid city railway company shall, within three days after this date cause their said lines of railway to be fully operated, to forthwith cause such proceedings to be instituted and prosecuted to the end thereof that the charter, under and by virtue of which said company are now transacting business in said city under their said name and franchise shall be declared forfeited, annulled and forever void."

Quite in keeping with the spirit of the petition, an alderman from the 6th ward presented the following drastic resolution:

"Whereas, The St.Paul City Railway Company is not furnishing proper and sufficient service on its lines in the 6th ward, and

Whereas, The said tracks of the said St.Paul City Railway Company have never been accepted by the company, as provided by ordinance; there be it

Resolved, That the city engineer be and is hereby instructed to cause

all of said tracks in the 6th ward to be taken up and removed out of the streets in said ward within ten days after the passage and approval of this resolution."

This resolution passed. Just a few hours prior to the council's action, the matter of the franchise had been under consideration by the state legislature, and Representative Gebhard Willrich, secretary of the Ramsey delegation, introduced a bill in the house which, after acrimonius debate, passed. While the friends of the bill were awaiting action by the senate, the council took occasion to commend heartily the action of the house of representatives which repealed a special act already on the statute books, an ordinance giving the stree railway company exclusive control over St.Paul's streets, and at the same time "urgently requested the senators from this country to . . . secure the passage of said repealing act by the senate of this state as soon as possible."

When the Minneapolis council met, a few days following the session of the St.Paul council, it adopted a contrary course, although it did pass a resolution "providing for the forfeiture of the franchise if the railway company failed to run its cars by noon of Monday, April 22. " The mayor, however, returned it to the council unsigned, and when it was again voted on it lacked the two-thirds vote necessary to make it law.

Meanwhile In both cities the company attempted to run cars, but was unsuccessful. Although only a week had elapsed since the beginning of the strike ,serious disturbances broke out in Minneapolis. On Riverside Ave. two cars were tipped over, and the police had to be reinforced to cope with an angry crowd, finding it necessary to use their clubs.

In St.Paul, while there was no major disturbance, cars, which began running on April 18, were well protected from possible harm. " Escorted by an imposing array of police and railway officials," as Eva Gay expressed it, " in the saintly city several cars were run each day. A large number of drivers were imported from other places. The citizens walked or patronized the bus line operated by the strikers. The new drivers seemed to tire of their work and desertions

were frequent. There were few disturbances, and the large police force had but little work to do."

The bill which would have repealed the act validating the city ordinance granting a franchise to the St.Paul street railway company, was duly defeated in the senate, 26 to 8; as a consequence the strike in St.Paul was declared off, the men returning to work at the new scale of wages although not obliged to sign the "ironclad". The strike in Minneapolis, on the contrary, was not called off, some of the men going back to work, others remaining out. But, after a week or two, the street car company was again able to offer uninterrupted service, and the strike in both cities was over.

The St.Paul Fire Department of the eighties, although vastly improved in efficiency over the old Volunteer brigade of the decade before, found it hard to cope with its large assignments. On March 7,1880, the Auerbach, Finch & Culbertson fire, while less spectacular than some had been , exceeded in property loss all previous records. It was St.Paul's first million dollar balze. Despite all possible efforts at salvage , the total loss reached that figure. This high loss was sustained because the building, which was five stories in height and occupied a frontage of 145 feet on Jackson street and 110 on Fourth street, was packed from basement to fourth floor with drygoods and merchandise.

Requiring the attendance of the department for twenty-four hours, and additional apparatus from Minneapolis, which was rushed by special car provided by the St.Paul, Minneapolis and Manitoba Railroad, the conflagration seriously threatened the old Merchants Hotel. The latter, however, although separated by nothing more than a delapidated frame building, escaped. Uniting efforts of the department, supplemented by a donkey pump and line of hose which kept it well saturated, accomplished the seeming miracle.

The next major fire occurred in August of that year. It embraced the warehouse of Averill, Russell & Carpenter, and the establishment of P. H. Kelly & Company, wholesale grocers, located in the block at Sibley and Third streets, and the loss aggregated $ 667,000 -- a loss borne jointly by the two principals and the owners of a number of adjoining properties.

In the State Capitol blaze the following year, no lives were lost, fortunately, although there were narrow escapes, and the State Treasury, which held in trust funds some $ 2,000,000, as well as valuable records, was protected by fireproof vaults. Many library books were thrown out of the windows,anddso saved.

The Minnesota Historical Society, on that occasion, was fortunate. Located in the basement of the Capitol, its valuable contents were for the most

part removed to the Universalist church, which was near by, before the flames reached it.

The first death of a fireman in a St.Paul fire occurred in August, 1882. While in the performance of his duty Fred Guion died, and his widow, according to A. J. Muller, author of the History of the Police and Fire Departments of the Twin Cities, received from the city $200 " in lieu of all future claims." [Page 215].
It is surprising that the records do not reveal the details of this tragedy.

Probably no more spectacular conflagration ever took place in St.Paul than the destruction of the Ryan Drug House. Burning chemicals, and storaged linseed and lard oil combined to produce effects extravagantly brilliant and peculiar. It is said that no less than ten thousand persons looked on, enthralled, while in this magnificent but terrifying spectacle they watched window glass shrivel into minute balls, and strange chemical combinations work bizarre wonders. It is also stated that the rubber coats of firemen melted, and that water, poured into the "lurid pit" by tons, underwent a weird transformation; even before it reached the fire it was steam.

Occurring in January.1886, this Ryan Drug House fire was the forerunner, all within a short space of time, of four great conflagrations. With a loss of twenty-five cars the St.Paul Street Railway's barns were burned, on February 10th. It is pleasant to chronicle that the horses were all saved. In February, too, the Mannheimer block, at the corner of Third and Minnesota streets, caught fire, a loss of $96,304 resulting. Next in order was the Sherman block, at Sixth and Wabasha, and the flames communicating with three neighborhood buildings, caused damage to the extent of $ 28,630.

One of the firemen, Peter Okerman, lost his life in the Sherman block blaze, by a fall down an elevator shaft.

The worst fire during 1887 was confined to the wholesale district, when the Burbank Clothing Company's factory was destroyed. The year 1888 was comparatively free from disasters of this nature, but in the early weeks of 1899, large fires again reached epidemic proportions - four in rapid succession. The offices of the Chicago, St.Paul, Minneapolis Railway Company were first to suffer, on January 18th, loss $ 22,000.00 Three days later, the Davidson Grand Opera House, leading theatre of St.Paul, burst into flame. Although fire was discovered under the stage at seven o'clock in morning the best efforts of the firefighters proved unavailing, the building was gutted. The very next day the Berrisford Building, at Fifth and Minnesota streets, went up in smoke, and in this case the loss was $ 40,000.

A two month's respite from disastrous fires followed, but in March the stockyards of the Van Hoven Meat & Provision Company, on Stewart Ave. near Victoria street met destruction. Lack of water nullified the work of the department in this case, inasmuch as only one stream could be directed at the blaze through an inadequate supply of hose. Nevertheless, even though this hose had to be stretched to a pond, it did manage to accomplish one good result; the stream saved from destruction 300 sheep and the office building of the plant. However, $30,000 worth of property was destroyed.

By actual test, the department, despite its inadequacies, had performed faithful service, and when on September 5th, 1889, the mayor of Winona telegraphed a request for assistance in fighting a fire which, according to him, threatened the entire city, the implied compliment was appreciated. Engine Co. No. 4 & Supply Hose Company No.1 of the St.Paul department, it is of record, rendered on this occasion valuable assistance.

Eager to improve the fire-fighting capacity of the department two fire wardens were appointed by act of the legislature that year. The Board of Fire Commissioners were to direct and control their activities. While the year before, construction was limited to an addition to Engine House No.2, for the purpose of housing a new water-tower, which, it was confidently expected, would revolutionize fire fighting, the improvement now was more far reaching. Under this new system of inspection by the Board of Fire Commissioners St.Paul was divided into two fire districts, with the result that small fires decreased.

Several years elapsed without strain to the fire equipment. Then, on Nov. 17,1891, the St.Paul wholesale district was the scene of a great fire which involved two buildings - Griggs, Cooper & Co., grocers, and Farwell, Ozmun, Kirk & Co., hardware. These adjoining establishments, each five stories high, were on lower Third street. Despite the best efforts of the St.Paul department, and assistance from that of Minneapolis, both wholesale houses were totally destroyed.

Since there were many narrow escapes and no loss of life occurred at the fire itself, the department had hardly taken note of its good fortune in that

respect when ten men were killed by a falling wall while at work in the ruins two weeks later. Another fatality, the result also of an accident, marked 1892. Hastening to a blaze in an Eagle street storage house, Captain John Conroy suddenly saw, directly in his path, a small child who in play darted out into the street. By a mighty effort he managed to avoid the child but his vehicle overturned and in the crash he received a severe injury, from which he died on October 2nd. The History of the Police and Fire Departments of the Twin Cities, appropriately observes that his deed was " no less heroic, if less spectacular than if he had carried the child to safety through smoke and flame. "

[History of the Police and Fire Departments of the Twin Cities, by Muller, A. J. , Am. Land and Title Association, St.Paul & Minneapolis, 1899,p.225].

Lieutenant Michael Cloonan, of Engine Co. No.8, was a fatality the following year. At a fire which enveloped the Dyer Bros. Music House, he fell from the top of a high extension ladder, overcome by smoke, head forward to the ground, a distance of seventy feet. Holding the hose nozzle close to the devastating flames,he had held grimly to his post until unconscious.

At this fire Captain Strapp nearly lost his life in the same way, and near the same spot. He had strength enough to gasp, however, that he was falling, and the man next below him on the ladder, who chanced to be his brother John, caught and held him until both received assistance. Later, Jerry Strapp became fire chief, succeeding Chief Jackson.

With as slender a margin of escape as that of Jerry Strapp, Lieutenant John Murphy, falling in much the same manner as Cloonan, was deflected by an open window and dropped into the building. Luckily before suffocating flames could reach him, he was rescued by Chief Jackson and a number of other firemen.

Put to the test by a total of 722 alarms in 1894, which was 117 more than in the preceding year, the department neverthelwss acquitted itself creditably, and the fact that the total fire loss for the year was less by $325,000, was hailed as striking proof of the rising efficiency of the department. Although hard times

forced the Board of Fire Commissioners to curtail department costs, which meant reduced salaries for conscientious and underpaid men, no impairment to the service resulted. And when it is taken into consideration that the St.Paul apparatus responded to requests; from points as far away as Duluth and Superior, as well as urgent calls from Minneapolis, as happened in 1891, its steady growth is at once apparent.

A humorous incident having to do with fire alarm boxes of that day is told by George Vincent Guerin. Mr.Guerin is the only living son of the early settler, Vital Guerin. Louis Liverpool, the eccentric negro character, was at the Summit Avenue "lookout", which commands an extensive view of the Seventh Avenue district, when he happened to see, in the vicinity of Schmidt's Brewery, a building in flames.

Now it was the duty of some person in the neighborhood where a fire was discovered to turn in the alarm, but Louis Liverpool, not familiar with new regulations governing fires, went to the box nearest him. As a result the fire department went to the "lookout",at Summit and Western Avenues, which was a long distance from the fire. When the chief drove up and asked where the fire was, and Louis pointed to the remote location, the chief demanded, "What reason have you got for using this fire alarm box," Louis was indignant," Guerin says. " Lookie here, Mr.Fire Chief ",blustered Liverpool," It's my business to turn in the alarm when 'ah' sees a fire and'ah' conceives it to be your business to go to it."
[Interview of Geo.V. Guerin, April 8,1942].

Louis Liverpool enjoyed a degree of fame as a local boxer. He used to do considerable boxing at Number 9 Fire Engine house, which was next door to his home. It is said he taught Danny Needham how to box, and Needham became one of St.Paul's best professionals. In one of John L. Sullivan's visits to St.Paul, the champion's manager offered $500 to any man whom he failed to knockout in four rounds and Louis Liverpool, probably egged on by his firemen friends at No.9, accepted the challenge. Market Hall was the scene of the conflict. Against the mighty John L. Louis Liverpool lasted considerably less than a round. When revi-

ved , he kept asking over and over again, " Where is I? "

Many stories are told of Louis Liverpool. Following many pursuits (such as peddler, lottery and policy ticket seller, fireman, policeman, jailor, and expressman - proprietor of the Colored Express Company, and what not) Liverpool had many odd experiences. He always boasted that Louis W. Hill, son of the Empire Builder, was a particular friend of his. It is said when the phaeton, which had been in the Hill family for years became outdated, Liverpool fell heir to it.

This acquisition so pleased Liverpool that he reserved a place for it in his back yard where it easily could be seen by his neighbors. Then each Sunday he would appear in Prince Albert and high silk hat , and so accoutred hitch up the horse and assisting Mrs. Liverpool into the phaeton, with a prideful flourish set out for church. During workdays he was sole owner of the "Colored Express Company." which firm name was painted in large letters on each side of his dray, and from the high driver's seat this man of ample proportions would salute his friends and acquaintences with a cheery if stentorian "Hello,boss."

As special policeman at Lexington Baseball Park, Liverpool patrolled the heights above the southern wall. His duties consisted largely of keeping boys from climbing over the fence or seeking admittance by other devious means, and in the performance of his duties no special policeman could have surpassed his dignified gait or won a more highly polished star.

Whenever there was a director's meeting of the Great Northern Railroad Liverpool was instinctively present. Stories are told of certain proceedings in which the directors, for a diversion, would relax from their labors long enough to introduce a new order of business in which by premeditation Liverpool figured. On one occasion, as soon as the door opened and the latter entered, Louis W. Hill motioned him to a seat, and turning to his fellow directors, demanded: "Let's see, what's that new order of business to donate to Mr.Louis Liverpool the sum of five dollars for - " He was interrupted at this point by his colleagues many of then objecting strenuously to the donation , and stating impressive reasons for their objections, but after they had had their relaxation, Louis Hill presented

Liverpool with a five dollar bill in accordance with a mysterious vote of the directorate!

Three of Louis Liverpool's friends, Joseph T. Harris, A. B. White, and John M.Culver, firemen at Engine House No.9, and John F. Skorczewski, a neighbor across the alley from the former Liverpool residence , who lives at 206 Thomas street, St.Paul, all contemporaries , who are responsible for the foregoing Liverpool stories, can tell many others concerning the many sided Louis, for all of which they vouch. Louis Liverpool died in 1926, they state.

Whatever happened to the old phaeton would be another story, and perhaps Louis W.Hill knows that one. As for the Hill empire its growth was still remarkable. Under James J.Hill's leadership a modest railroad nucleus had been steadily built up and expanded and when it bacame, in 1890, the Great Northern Railway system, it was still capable of attaining new heights of development. Hill's successes benefited Minneapolis as well as St.Paul, and he wqs pleased at this, for it was always his belief that time would unite the unfriendly twins into one city.

Street railway development in St.Paul could not be called speedy. Although new lines were added at intervals it was not until 1887 that horsedrawn vehicles became obsolete in this city and cable-cars were installed to meet growing traffic needs. Cable-cars, in turn, capitulated to electric cars in 1890. Further development of street railways will be traced in a subsequent chapter.

The race in population, which St.Paul had lost to Minneapolis, is shown in the following figures - from the Minneapolis Tribune, Aug.16,1885:

MINNEAPOLIS	ST.PAUL
1870- 13,066	--- 20,030
1880- 46,887	--- 41,173
1885-129,200	---111,397

However, St.Paul had died hard. Folwell, in his History of Minnesota (Vol.3,Minnesota Historical Society, St.Paul, 1926,pp. 479-489), gives concisely the exciting details. The passage in 1889, of the act by Congress, which provided for the eleventh census, was the signal for intense activity on the part of both cities. Organizations were set up to see that every inhabitant was counted - as many times as possible , and spies were sent between the cities to report on illegalities. After St.Paul had instigated a group of arrests in Minneapolis and feelings had risen to an ugly pitch, Robert E. Porter, superintendent of the Census, called for a recount. This recount determined that Minneapolis had won the race - both as to actual population and in the number of persons fraudulently added to rolls. Five St.Paul men were indicted and 28 indictments were returned in Minneapolis. The St.Paul men could not be convicted and in Minneapolis, small fines, which were raised among the citizens, were levied. All of those involved in the scandal were cleared in the public mind as simply possessing an overabundance of civic spirit.

To that excessive zeal may be attributed, no dount, the puerile sophistries underlying most intercity rivalries. However, a battle had fought and lost. By 1900 it was increasingly clear that St.Paul could never regain a numerical superiority over her upriver rival or indeed make the race even fairly close. That race was definitely over. But the larger race, on the longer race course remained, and on that track St.Paul as well as Minneapolis could find abundant space and, taking stock of past errors, with fresh wisdom and tolerance approach maturity. Twins have done this before.