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Writers Project Research Notes.

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Chapter IX

Cary's original

ST. PAUL, THE CITY

ERA OF GREAT EXPANSION

CHAPTER ~~10~~ 9

Page 2

First rough copy

By steering "the scattered rills of capital into central reservoirs at Philadelphia and New York, and in expanding the factory system to supply the needs of the armies," capitalism had gained "its first clear view of the Promised Land. The bankers had come into control of the liquid wealth of the nation, and the industrialists had learned to use the machine for production; the time was ripe for exploitation on a scale undreamed-of a generation before."^{4.}

To the impatient of a generation progress necessarily seems slow enough at best, yet much had been accomplished. "Up till then the potential resources of the continent had not even been surveyed. Earlier pioneers had only scratched the surface -- felling trees, making crops, building pigmy watermills, smelting a little iron. Mineral wealth had been scarcely touched. Tools had been lacking to develop it, capital had been lacking, technical methods lacking, markets lacking."^{5.}

It is a bit difficult for a person used to all modern conveniences to visualize the scene, unless through the eyes of the cinema. "In all this immense territory were only scattered settlements -- at Denver, Salt Lake City, Portland, Seattle, and elsewhere -- tiny outposts in the wilderness, with scattered hamlets, mining camps, and isolated homesteads lost in the great expanse. On the prairies, from Mexico to Canada -- across which rumbled great herds of buffalo -- roved powerful tribes of hostile Indians who fretted against the forward thrust of settlement and disputed the right of possession. The urgent business of the times was the sub-^{6.}duing of this wild region, wresting it from Indians and buffalo and wilderness."

In the accomplishment of the all important purpose products from many states were gleaned. "The coal and oil of Pennsylvania, and Ohio, the copper and iron ore of upper Michigan, the gold and silver, lumber and fisheries of the Pacific Coast, provided limitless raw materials for the rising industrialism."^{7.}

← 21
nk
Amendment some work had been done between Mendota and Shakopee, but the enterprise collapsed before any part of the line could be completed. In 1864, however, the company was revived under the name of the Minnesota Valley Railroad Company. This line reached Belle Plaine in November 1866, but it was not until 1872 that it arrived at Sioux City--the same year that the St. Paul and Chicago Railroad was completed to La Crescent on the Wisconsin border.

2 - okay
Thus, despite the many deterrents, railroad mileage in the state mounted higher each year, until by 1869 there were 750 miles in operation and St. Paul had been brought within 30 hours of Chicago.

2 - 3 out
As the railroads expanded, river traffic declined. From a total of 910 steamers in the Mississippi river trade on August 24, 1869, it shrank in the seventies to a dribble, made up in the main of picnic excursions and general outings.

2 - 4
With the rise of the railroads transportation lost much of its glamour. No longer was heard rumble and groan of the Red River ex-carts, and the songs of the gar couriers des bois and bois brules who drove them; gone was the pony mail carriers, and the stagedriver spouting picturesque oaths around a cud of Battle-Ax plug; even the covered-wagon emigrants were almost as scarce now as river pilots.

A logical reason for optimism had been cited in the summer of 1861:

Page 3

3-1 "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 . . . " [Pioneer and Democrat, June 30, 1861]

infiltration

The Scandinavian ~~influx~~ meant much to St. Paul, ~~of course~~, then and later.

3-2 Although the era of prosperity had at last materialized, it was not as sensational as the pre-war stage of development, for St. Paul had now grown out of its more primitive days.

"Soldiers have returned from the Civil War," read newspaper annals of the day, "They are needed on the farms," . . . "We learn with pleasure that our XXX

[Daily Pioneer, Mar. 5, '65].

esteemed friend and fellow citizen, J. J. Hill Esq., has been appointed

4-1 General Freight and Ticket Agent *** of the Northwestern Packet Company. *ok*

This is an important and responsible position, and we congratulate friend

Hill upon his appointment, and the company upon their selection. Mr. Hill

is well known in this city and throughout the State, as an active, thorough-going business man, and enjoys the confidence of the business community to

obay an eminent degree," . . . "the well known and popular landlord of the Mer-

chants' Hotel, Mr. J. J. Shaw, has purchased that property, both building and ground, of Judge Spear and Borup and Oakes, the consideration therefor being

fifty-five thousand dollars," . . . "Messrs. Borup & Champlain yeste rday shipped

for Montreal nineteen tons of Buffalo robes * * * forwarded by the Hudson Bay

Daily Press, May 16, 1865;

Company, * * * by the steamer McLellan." [Daily Press, Sept. 15, 1865].

4-2 *cut* Shertly after the close of the ~~XXXXXX~~ war, the passing of a prominent citizen was recorded: "We deeply regret to announce the decease last evening * * *

of Lyman Dayton, Esq., one of our oldest and most respected citizens. Mr. Dayton

was one of the founders of St. Paul, having settled here in 1848 or 1849. * * *

his estate covers one of the most beautiful portions of the city." [Daily Press, Nov. 28, 1865].

In November 1865, the steady rise in population called forth this boast:

4-3 "By the census returns it will be seen that the population of St. Paul, on the first day of June, 1865, was 13,012, nearly three times that of any other city

in the state." [Daily Press, Nov. 28, 1865].

5-1 According to McClung's St. Paul Directory and Statistical Record ,
the number of each nationality in St. Paul in 1865, was:

American--from various States..... 3509

British Isles:

Irish..... 2878

English..... 492

Scotch..... 81

Welch..... ~~8~~₈

German..... 2918

Prussian..... 127

French..... 591

Canadians..... 164

Scandinavian:

Swedes..... 171

Norwegians..... 84

Danes..... 26

Negroes..... 166

Bohemians..... 52

Hollanders..... 10

Italians..... 8

Hungarians..... 12

Nationals (less than five)..... ~~1679~~
1679

Total..... 12,976

5-3 Note: Jews--100 included in above table.

[McClung's St. Paul Directory and Statistical Record, 1866, p. 275].

These figures, as summarized, tally with those of the U. S. Census of
June, 1865.

6-1 The number of nationals in the city in the same year, from each State,
to quote McClung's, is thus summarized:

New York	962
Pennsylvania.....	537
Ohio.....	346
Massachusetts	220
Vermont.....	208
Maine.....	168
Connecticut.....	108
New Hampshire.....	99
Indiana....	68
Maryland.....	66
Virginia.....	65
Michigan.....	53
Kentucky.....	50
Missouri.....	46
New Jersey.....	45
Illinois.....	30
Wisconsin.....	28
District of Columbia.....	16
Delaware.....	15
Tennessee.....	13
Iowa.....	11
Arkansas.....	9
North Carolina.....	7
Alabama.....	5
	<hr/> 3509

In this table, states contributing less than 5 persons, are omitted.
[McClung's Directory, published 1866, June 1865 census, p. 276].

The Jewish race is represented in this tabulation, also, by 100 persons.

7-1
Early cultural groups, as listed in Rice and Bell's First Annual Directory of St. Paul, 1869-1870, were the following:

7-2
Dramatic, Literary and Musical Deutscher Verein (German Literary Society) meets in Athenaeum, 73 Exchange street, once a month. A part of this Society has formed a Singing Club and meet Tuesday and Friday evenings at (Brown's Block) 341 Third street.

Amateur Dramatic Club (German).

St. Paul Musical Society.

7-3
Choral Union Vocal Society.

Church Organists.

Great Western Band.

Cathedral Brass Band.

Young Men's Catholic Literary Association (Benevolent, Literary and Religious) meets once a month.

St. Paul Library Association.

Minnesota State Sabbath School Association.

Patrons of Husbandry. State Grange meets annually.

North Star Grange, No. 1 (St. Paul) meets first and third Saturdays of each month.

Ramsey County Agricultural Society.

[Rice and Bell's First Directory of St. Paul 1869-70, p. 279].

CULTURAL GROUPS

8-1 Occupations in the cultural groups, as listed in the Eighth U. S. Census, were as follows:

Actors.....	6
Artists.....	26
Architects.....	9
Clergymen.....	311
Editors.....	25
Musicians.....	45
Music sellers.....	3
Music teachers.....	27
Newsmen.....	4
Physicians.....	250
Professors.....	4
Publishers.....	9
Students.....	183
Surgeons.....	2
Teachers.....	647

8-2
[Source: Eighth United States Census, 1860, Vol. 1, p. 263] . (Date to be checked).

8-3 It is of more than passing interest to note the substantial business increases in post-war St. Paul. Some commercial houses, established in the period between 1848 and 1865, were not only flourishing then but still exist today. Certain business streets of that day have passed out of the picture completely--Bench street, for instance, St. Charles and Fort streets have long since been renamed.

However, the picture itself included the following firms, all founded within the period indicated: McGill-Warner Co., printing and publishing;

St. Paul Chamber of Commerce

I 34-1
Organized January 10, 1867, to promote the commercial, mercantile and manufacturing interests of the city the St. Paul Chamber of Commerce included, too, the inculcating "of just and equitable principles of trade." Also it set itself to "establish and maintain uniformity in the commercial usages of the city, to acquire, preserve and disseminate valuable business information"--commendable purposes all. [Rice and Bell's First Annual Directory of St. Paul, 1869-1870].

INSERT

Ein

*

Page 34:
(insert)

9-1
Yoerg Brewing Co., first brewery in the city; St. Paul Book & Stationery Co., First National Bank(which started as Parker Paines Bank) one of the largest banking firms in the Northwest; St. Paul Fire & Marine Insurance Co., first insurance company in Minnesota; R. C. Dun, now Dun and Bradstreet, financial ratings; E. Albrecht, now Albrecht & Son, oldest St. Paul furrier; St. Paul Gas and Light Co., now Northern States Power Co., Ogden, Merrill & Greer, now Merrill, Greer & Chapman Co., crockery; D. W. Ingersoll Company, now Field, Schlick & Co., department store; Andrew Schoch Company, grocers; Cheritree & Farwell, now Farwell, Ozmun, Kirk & Co., one of the largest wholesale hardware supply houses in the United States; Adam Decker Hardware Co., hardware dealers; George Benz & Sons, now George Benz Co., one of Minnesota's largest liquor rectifying companies; Mahle & Sutmar, now Mahle Auto Body Co., auto repairing; Drewry & Sons Co., soft drink manufacturers; McCarthy Well Co., well drillers; John Hancock Life Insurance Co., life insurance; W. J. Dyer & Bros., Inc., distributors of pianos and musical instruments; Theodore Hamm Brewing Co., one of the country's largest breweries; ~~XXXXX~~ Marshall Bros., now Nicols, Dean & Gregg, the oldest manufacturers of hardware in the Northwest, Mitsch & Heck, auto repairs; and P. R. L. Hardenbergh & Co., formerly in the harness equipment and auto supply business, but at present wholesale upholstering supplies.

10-1
Despite the lack of tools, meagre capital, undeveloped technical methods, and necessarily limited markets, much had been accomplished. A fast growing city needed many things, and must go outside to obtain them.

Included

//

~~#1~~
11-1

In the accomplishment of the all important purpose, products from many states were gleaned. "The coal and oil of Pennsylvania and Ohio, the copper and iron ore of upper Michigan, the gold and silver, lumber and fisheries of the Pacific Coast, provided limitless raw materials for the rising industrialism."

[Ross, Edward Alsworth. Changing America, p. 8].

Added

12-1
 "Quite as necessary as the products themselves was the means of transportation to "get them on their way." The "romance of the rails" had one of its most interesting chapters in Minnesota.

INSERT 1.

12-2
 Even during the Civil War, though, there had been good omens for the future of general business. In the first year of the war, 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." [Pioneer and Democrat, St. Paul, 1861, April 3, Minnesota Annals].

INSERT 1

12-3
 "The rush for homesteads," declared the Pioneer of January 22, 1867, "has continued unabated during the winter months,--something never before known. ...During the past month 117 homesteads (embracing 15,374 acres) were taken for actual settlement." Of the type of newcomers it said "The class of settlers is very good, and they will add greatly to the productive wealth of Minnesota. Quite a number are Swedes and Norwegians who, through the information extended them by their fellow-countryman, Mr. Lewis Lewiston, of this city, are selecting and settling upon fine tracts of country."

12-4
 "Jubilant over increasing numbers, caused the same publication to say, in April, "immigrants are pouring in like a flood. The train last night brought about two hundred into our city. When the river opens, this will be increased to a thousand a day. We will need a dozen more hotels at that rate."

INSERT 2.

12-5
 One ^{immigrant} such settlement of particular note was "the Sweetman Irish Colony." An authoritative source recounts its struggles in these words: "The Reverend John Ireland of St. Paul was a pioneer in the movement to lift worthy

Irish Catholics from their dissolute life in the crowded eastern cities and to help them secure low-priced farm lands in the West. In the spring of 1864 he was

CHAPTER 10
Page 13

13-1 made the president of a small group of zealous Irish patriots organized in St. Paul under the name of the Minnesota Immigration Society, whose avowed mission was to encourage and promote Irish immigration to the Northwest.

13-2 ✓ "At the second annual meeting of this organization, held in St. Paul in October, 1865, another ~~indefatigable~~ worker for the Irish cause, Dillon O'Brien, reported on his achievements in New York, where he had spent the summer in the service of the society. He boasted that the organization was now known in every northern state in the United States, in every parish in Ireland, and had even obtained flattering mention in English newspapers. Interest in the matter seemed to lag, however, only to be renewed in the year 1869 when at the instigation of the same Dillon O'Brien, a convention was held in St. Paul to discuss the 'long neglected subject of Irish immigration.'

13-3 "Representatives from ten states and two territories met at St. Louis in the fall of the same year and drew up plans to help Irish immigrants to become land-holders in the United States. Nothing came of the meeting, however, and in Minnesota the state organization confined its efforts for some time to the writing and issuing of pamphlets advertising the state. The next effort proved to be a success; in 1876 a stock company known as the Catholic Colonization Bureau of Minnesota was formed, a few shares were sold, and under its auspices groups of Irish immigrants were assisted in securing farms in Swift and ~~2-2~~ Big Stone counties."

Nor did the work stop here. The influence of the Minnesota Irish

2. Minnesota Historical Society, Vol. IX, p. 332.

13-4 ST. PAUL, THE CITY

Chapter 10,

Page 3.

to proved a stimulus to exertion on the part of similar groups in other states.

These used Bishop Ireland's colonization ideas with such good results that

"Sweetman Irish Colonies" multiplied, spreading to many states.

14-1 a So great was the immigration problem, that a member of the common council for the year ending April 13, 1869, spoke as follows: "In this connection I would urge upon the Council the necessity of providing an immigrant depot. I think we at least should provide for these 'Poor people,' who came here upon our urgent solicitation, a temporary resting place upon their arrival. We owe it to them for humanity's sake; we owe it to ourselves, as a sanitary measure.

14-2 "Last summer, some twenty immigrants crowded into a small stable, in the bottoms of the lower town, all diseased with a diarrhea contracted on shipboard. Upon my first visit, I found one or two corpses among them, and the rest nearly dead with starvation and disease. In addition to these we had occasion to visit several deserted houses, filled with these poor strangers, while many of them begged from door to door. One man, I found profusely covered with variola, who wandered about town in the daytime, and at night slept in a room with twelve others. A house should be provided for them, with cooking apparatus, and washtubs in abundance, and the whole to be under the charge of the Board of Health." * * * "Outside of the Medical Profession, few are aware how many come to St. Paul for their health, and it behooves us as a city, as individuals, not to lose their reputation.

14-3 "While our railroads have brought thousands here, our healthful climate has brought tens of thousands. While we spend millions on our roads, we spend but little on our Health Department. The same capitalists that built our railways, first sought our climate for health themselves. The Pioneer, the other morning told us of a hundred thousand dollars invested in St. Paul, during the past season, by invalids. They fill our hotels, our boarding houses, and our streets, and we owe it to them that our city be left in a healthy condition."

Chapter 9.

civil engineering
Difficulties, involving a new span, had to be obviated in order to

Page 3-C

meet another need--a bridge between Ramsey and Hennepin Counties. "This bridge,"

151

it was explained, "is necessary to accommodate the trade and travel of 25,000 people in ^{Ramsey} ~~Carver~~ and Hennepin counties, who can only reach this city now by a circuitous and out of the way route, over a ferry and up a steep hill, which is an absolute bar for a loaded team. A state road is laid out from the point

where the bridge is to be located, half way between Minneapolis and the Fort. It will make the shortest route between St. Paul and Minneapolis--almost an air line." 10. willing

X

On June 23rd, in the early morning, the city's inadequate but ~~growing~~ ^{present day}

152

fire department was called upon to cope with a blaze that would have taxed the resources of a ^{present day} ~~great~~ equipment. "The most destructive fire that ever visited our city," read a newspaper account, "occurred at the 'Round House' of the St. Paul and Pacific Road, just on the edge of town, totally destroying the fine machine shops

8. St. Paul Pioneer, January 22, 1867. 9. Ibid, April 18, 1867.
10. Ibid, March 7, 1867.

and car works of the company, their lumber and other store houses, with all their contents, the total loss being fully \$150,000.

16-1 ✓ "One of the sad features of the fire was the loss of the Wm. Crooks, the oldest engine on the road. It was the first locomotive that ever turned a wheel in Minnesota...It was built in 1860, at the Paterson Works and landed there in 1861...The driving wheels and tender were saved but we will never more see the old No. 1 again."

16-2 ✓ This pessimistic conclusion, however, did not prove to be correct. Two years later the "old pioneer locomotive...the first ever brought into the state" was being rebuilt, and ~~in May of 1869~~ on May 22, 1869, it was announced that the Wm. Crooks ... would be "put upon the track today. . . Out of the old material and skeleton a brand-new and very elegant engine has been constructed."

16-3 ✓ Given a land-grant by the state in 1863, and a bonus of \$50,000 by the city of St. Paul, one ~~road~~ ^{railroad} had started construction even during that critical year of the war. As early as 1857, the St. Paul and Sioux City Railroad had been planned, but the panic of that year caused its abandonment at the time. Under the Five Million Loan Amendment, some work had actually been done between Mendota and Shakopee, but the enterprise collapsed before any part of the line was completed.

16-4 ✓ In 1864, however, the company was revived under the name of the Minnesota Valley Railroad Company. The line was opened, and by November 16, 1865, it extended to Shakopee; it reached Mankato October 12, 1866, and Belle Plaine November 14, but it was not until 1872 that it arrived at Sioux City-- the same year that the St. Paul and Chicago Railroad was completed to La Crescent on the Wisconsin border.

16-5 ✓ Thus, despite the many deterrents, railroad mileage in the state mounted higher each year, until by 1869 there were 750 miles in operation and St. Paul had been brought within 30 hours of Chicago.

As the railroads expanded, river traffic declined. From a total of

~~65/00~~

5

15 chapters
5/65000

6500
12000
6450
500
9
58500
190
275
104

910 steamers in the Mississippi river trade on Aug. 24, 1869, it shrank in the seventies to a dribble, made up in the main of picnic excursions and general outings.

18-1
With the rise of the railroads transportation lost much of its glamour. No longer was heard rumble and groan of the Red River ox-carts, and the songs of the gay couriers des bois and bois brules who drove them; gone was the pony mail carriers and the stagedriver spouting picturesque oaths around a cud of Battle-Ax plug; even the covered-wagon emigrants were almost as scarce now as river pilots.

(out) 18-2
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
1.
Mark Twain, when he visited St. Paul in 1882 complained of the "hideous trip." and mourned the vanished "romance of boating."

Transferred to Page 3
18-3
Even during the Civil War, though, there had been good omens for the future of general business. In the first year of the war, 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."

A logical had been 1861:
Another reason for optimism was cited in the summer of that year:
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"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 . . ."

18-4
With the close of the war and the coming of the railroads, this fore-shadowed era of prosperity had at last materialized.

Although the era of prosperity had at last materialized, it was not as sensational as the pre-war stage of development, for St. Paul had now grown out of its more primitive days. Ready cash, in the form of soldiers' pay or government

1. John T. Flanagan, Mark Twain on the Upper Mississippi - Minnesota History, Vol. 17, No. 4, Dec. 1936 - pp. 370-371.
2. Pioneer and Democrat, St. Paul, April 3, 1861 - Minnesota Annals.
3. Pioneer and Democrat, June 30, 1861.

17-1
✓ indemnity for losses incurred in the Indian uprising, some of it income from
4.
bountiful crops, or wages from work on the railroad, accelerated the trade guage.
At the same time, rapid increase in the farm population provided an element of
economic stability the younger settlement had lacked. Foreign and native immig-
rants were streaming in, to build new villages and cities which served to in-
crease the volume of St. Paul's commerce and trade.

17-2
✱
"Soldiers have returned from the Civil War," read newspaper annals of
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6.
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17-3
8.
Shortly after the close of the war, the passing of a prominent citizen
was recorded: "We deeply regret to announce the decease last evening * * * of
Lyman Dayton, Esq., one of our oldest and most respected citizens. Mr. Dayton was
one of the founders of St. Paul, having settled here in 1848 or 1849. * * * his
estate covers one of the most beautiful portions of the city."

4.
Mildred Lucille Hartsough, The Twin Cities as a Metropolitan Market.- University
of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis, 1925, p. 33.

5. Daily Pioneer, March 5, 1865.
6. Daily Press, May 16, 1865.
7. Daily Press, Sept. 15, 1865.
8. Daily Press, Nov. 28, 1865.

18-1
In November 1865, the steady rise in population called forth this
9. boast: "By the census returns it will be seen that the population of St. Paul, on the first day of June, 1865, was 13,012, nearly three times that of any other city in the State."

Stone sidewalk
18-2
But it was not altogether easy to take on citified ways; the Daily Press a few days later complained: "Messrs. Mendenhall and Baldwin are putting down a stone sidewalk by the State Bank on First street.* * * We wish their example might be followed by business men in other portions of the town. If they cannot afford stone, they can at least give us good plank walks, which would be a great improvement on those now in use, some of which are really dangerous after nightfall."

old Bets
18-3
A visit from 'Old Bets,' after a considerable absence, was thus
11. described: "That venerable female known by the euphonious name of 'Old Bets' still lives, the oft repeated report of her demise to the contrary notwithstanding. She made her appearance on our streets yesterday with the dust of the plains upon her moccasins, looking just as old as she did when the first white man made his appearance in these parts. * * * She was warmly greeted by her host of old friends in St. Paul, although most of them could scarcely believe their own eyes, and thought that the little dried up specimen must be a specter from the other world. * * * It is said that she voted for Bob Smith the first time he ran for County Treasurer. *** She still adheres, we believe, to the 'time honored principles of the Democratic party.'"

18-4
Lott Moffatt
That quaint inn, Moffat's Castle, reared its battlements higher year by year to keep pace with the filling in of the ravine in which it was built. With the war at an end and the Indians subdued, Old Lot could forget his plan to fit its bastion with cannon, and become once more a gentle exponent of

9. Daily Press, Nov. 14, 1865.

10. Daily Pioneer, Nov. 18, 1865.

11. Daily Press, Nov. 28, 1865.

the motto stenciled on the three-^{cornered} sign that hung over his door--"Faith, Hope and Charity."

But he was still an eccentric, even in a day when individualism thrived. The newspaper boys loved him, for he was always "good copy," as in September 1865: "The untiring and invincible Moffat, the proprietor of the unique structure, on Jackson street, which bears his patronymic, has not yet ceased his labors. The monument which was erected by his own hands, and which, like an iceberg, raises but half its proportions above the surface, is not yet colossal enough for the indomitable Moffat. He is building more massive stone walls in the rear of the Castle, surrounding entirely the more modest addition to the main building, and which is gradually going out of sight."

"What will eventually become of the structure around which he is now building will no doubt remain as deep a mystery as was the fate of the old frame Temperance House, which, without the slightest inconvenience to the lessee or guests, was by insensible degrees transformed into the present extensive and by no means unhandsome 'Castle' * * *"

Watch sentence RP New enterprise wrought 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 new business. Retail merchants of the city discovered that it was profitable to handle the trade of small town storekeepers at prices slightly lower than retail, and this combination of wholesale and retail merchandising continued for some time. As early as 1856, St. Paul merchants had gone to eastern market centers to do their buying, thus establishing their independence of St. Louis and Chicago and also laying a base for St. Paul's dominance of the jobbing trade of the Northwest. 12.

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; by 1869, there were sixty-two such

12. Calvin Schmid, Social Saga of Two Cities, Mpls. Council of Social Agencies, Mpls., 1937, p. 22.

17. Hubert H. Hoeltje, Ralph Waldo Emerson in Minnesota - Minnesota History,
Vol. 11, No. 2, June 1930, p.p. 147-157.
18. Charles M. Gates, Bridges Facing East-- Minnesota History, Vol 16,
No. 1, March 1935, p. 31.
19. David L. Kiehle, History of Education in Minnesota, - Minnesota History
Collections, Vol. 10, Part 1, p. 355.
- ~~20. The History and Progress of St. Paul - Pioneer Press Company,
St. Paul 1897, p. 153.~~

Footnotes.

13.

firms. Four years later, St. Paul had a larger wholesale house than any in Chicago and a wholesale trade that extended southward into Iowa, westward as far as the Rockies and northward into Canada.

201 But Minneapolis, meanwhile, had grown until it began to menace St. Paul's dominant position. The neighborliness of an earlier day was supplanted by an acrimonious sort of rivalry. In Minneapolis papers, St. Paul was labeled a "way station" and the "City of the Empty Elevator." 14.

20-2 In 1869 the Minneapolis Tribune found the sister city sadly wanting in civic virtue. St. Paul, said the Tribune, received "\$300 from keepers of disorderly houses" and "\$415 from commercial travelers or guerillas who sell goods to the merchants of that city by sample . . . Guerillas and disorderly houses give St. Paul almost a thousand dollars a month . . . Let a few more such houses be established and St. Paul would have money enough to pay a big salary to her mayor." 15.

20-3 The Minneapolis press lifted its hands in pious dismay at St. Paul's saloons, doing, they said, an annual business of one million dollars. St. Paul retorted with equal malice, and soon both cities were liberally smeared with editorial mud.

20-4 Conveniently ignored across the river was another and pleasanter facet of St. Paul's character. Learning and culture, cherished from the earliest days, were beginning already to stamp the city with an individuality it has never lost. 17. The St. Paul Library Association, organized in 1857 to "promote the intellectual improvement of its members," sponsored a course of lectures in 1867 which brought a galaxy of leading writers and thinkers to the city. Among them was Ralph Waldo Emerson who was given the highest possible praise of that day when it was said that, "probably, in the account of intellectual labor performed, he surpasses even Horace Greeley." 18. The engagement of the negro leader, Frederick Douglas, attracted the largest crowds of the series. The hunger for learning was so widespread among the people that the lecture course returned a profit of nearly \$1,000 to the assoc-

13. Ibid. as #175, p. 32. 14. Minneapolis Tribune, April 14, 1868 - *Minneapolis Annals*
 15. Minneapolis Tribune, July 1, 5, 1869, *Minnesota Annals*.
 16. Minneapolis Tribune, Aug. 24, 1869 and Nov. 15, 1870--*Minnesota Annals*.

iation, despite the high fees paid the speakers.
19.

21-1 ✓ Hamline University, first established at Red Wing in 1854, was moved in 1869 to its present location in St. Paul. Until the time of its removal, this Methodist institution had graduated only nine men and fourteen women, but in the new location it progressed rapidly.

21-2 ✓ A bequest from Charles Macalester of Philadelphia resulted in Baldwin College being renamed for its benefactor. Sessions under the new name were held for a time in the old Winslow House in St. Anthony, but in 1885 the school was reorganized at its present location in St. Paul.

X
21-3 St. Joseph's Academy, thanks to the vigorous building activities of Bishop Cretin, was erected in 1852. Originating as a two-story brick building, as a boarding ~~school~~ school and convent, for the Sisters of St. Joseph, it was destined to become a center of music and art instruction.

House of
Good Shepherd

227 The House of the Good Shepherd, founded for the reclamation of erring girls, dates from the year 1868, and is to be classed with Archbishop Ireland's best works. The interesting story of its creation is told in a ~~publication of~~ ~~The Catholic Historical Society of St. Paul~~ publication. "The Order of Our Lady of Charity of the Good Shepherd of Angers received ecclesiastical approbation on April 3, 1835, from Pope Gregory XVI. It is a branch of 'Our Lady of Charity of the Refuge' founded by Blessed John Endes at Caen, France, in 1641. The Mother House at Angers, France, was established in 1829 by the venerable Mother Mary of St. Euphrasia Pelletier, who governed the Institute as its first Mother General during the thirty-three years preceding her death on April 24, 1868. One of the last acts of her saintly career was to sanction the establishment of a House of the Good Shepherd in the Diocese of St. Paul, application for which had been made to her through Mother Mary of the Sacred Heart Tourville, Provincial Superior of the Convent of St. Louis."

2 22 Father Ireland's part in the St. Paul Foundation is thus explained in the same publication: "Four religious [^{SIC} ~~representatives~~] from the Provincial House of St. Louis left for the new foundation on May 19th. They went to St. Paul at the invitation of the Right Reverend Thomas L. Grace, who requested their services at the suggestion of Rev. John Ireland, at that time pastor of the Cathedral. In the course of his priestly ministrations, Father Ireland often met unfortunate girls whose virtue was not proof against the allurements which vice held out to them in a populous western city. As in all new and rapidly developing cities, the morality of the young was endangered by many pitfalls in St. Paul when to their zealous young priest was first entrusted the responsibility of shaping the spiritual destiny of his parish."

22-3 In the by no means easy ^{task} work of reclaiming wayward girls, Father Ireland realized the need for helpers. Accordingly he turned to the Sisters of the Good Shepherd, on their arrival from St. Louis. "This zealous band of missionaries,"

~~23~~ - 23

continues the same source, "was met by Captain O'Connor and Mr. Charles Boyle, who brought them to the residence of Bishop Grace."

23-1 Since this Foundation was an honor jointly shared, the names of the four religious [representatives] are included; they were: Mother Mary of St. Bernard Flinn, Sister Mary of St. Francis de Sales Carey, Sister Mary Dosithea Hayes and Sister Mary of St. Gabriel Corrigan. ^{Inspirational} Inspiring encouragement was bestowed upon them by Bishop Grace, Chief Shepherd of the Diocese, and by his able assistant, Father Ireland, after which "they were conducted to the house already prepared for their coming--a modest frame building containing eight rooms, situated at the corner of Fort and Smith streets. Here the Sisters were welcomed by Mrs. Boyle, Mrs. Slater, Mrs. Akers and Mrs. Withams, who devoted the entire day to helping the Sisters arrange the Chapel, which was soon to receive the personal presence of Jesus, the Good Shepherd, the inspiration of all their zeal and the consolation for all their sacrifices."

23-2 Here a most pleasant surprise awaited the Sisters. They discovered that the altar, sacred vessels, vestments, and other accessories had, with Father Ireland's customary forethought, already been provided by him. Next day was the Feast of the Ascension, and it was with due propriety that he offered the Holy Sacrifice for the first time, "inviting our Lord to take possession of His new abode and asking him ever to keep His Hands outstretched over the new Community in loving and merciful benediction."

23-3 "No ceremonies of state or grandeur attended this sacred function, but the simplicity and lack of external ^r₄ ^e₄ splendor was more than supplied by the devotion and fervor of those who were present at this sublimest of sacrificial acts by which the work of the Good Shepherd was formally inaugurated in St. Paul.

"God's blessing on the work was soon to be realized. The following day brought the Sisters their first wayward child in the person of a refined and attractive girl, who unfortunately had been led upon a downward path, but was now anxious to retrace her steps. A non-Catholic gentleman, interested in the case,

24-1 having read of the arrival of the Sisters of the Good Shepherd and their object in coming to St. Paul, applied at once for her admission to the Fold. From the moment of her entrance she endeavored to be submissive in every least way, thus proving her earnestness. After a few months of probation, her parents were fully convinced of her sincerity and constancy, and again received her into their home."

24-2 The House of the Good Shepherd, since removed to large and commodious quarters on Blair avenue, has grown up with the city. It is impossible to estimate, regained new-found happiness of the through succeeding generations, the many girls it has restored to a useful life in the community. While some of them have chafed under the necessary discipline imposed by their new environment, the majority have appreciated the painstaking efforts made for their ultimate salvation. Thus the good work of spiritual reclamation goes on from year to year.

Source:

Acta et Dicta--The Catholic Historical Society of St. Paul, Vol. 5, No. 2, pp. 211-213.

House of Good Shepherd for
later reference.

Townage

River traffic, before it flickered and grew dim, had its peaks.

25-1 The number of steamboats enrolled at the port on June 30, 1869, was, according to a report furnished by the St. Paul office to the statistical Bureau at Washington, fifty-eight, with a combined tonnage of 9,579.66. On August 17 of that year the number enrolled was sixty, the tonnage 10,712.42 -- quite a sizeable flotilla.

25-2 St. Paul's waterfront, a thing of beauty as well as utility, was still sentient with the magic of adventure! In the Mississippi River trade there were, during the up-surge, nine hundred and ten steamers, with a tonnage capacity of 262, 174, and valued at \$24,556,000. Nine hundred and ten steamboats! More steamboats enrolled at St. Paul than at any other port on the Mississippi proper, with the exception of St. Louis, New Orleans and Memphis!

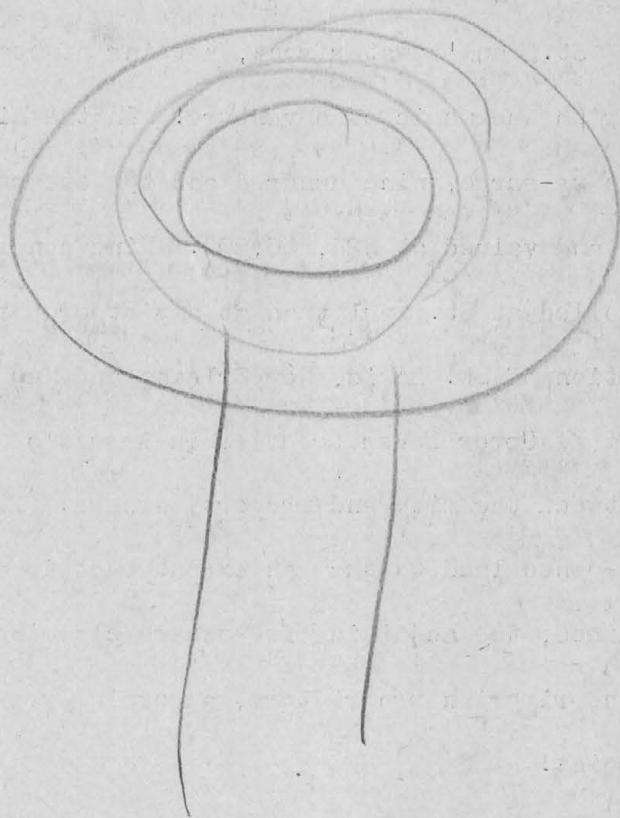
25-3 Upper Levee trouble, in August of that year, culminated in a legal battle between the city and property owners. The action of the water had washed away city-owned land to such an extent that it was feared that only private property remained, the adjoining fee-owners claiming that St. Paul no longer owned a levee! The riparian proprietors, accordingly, would not permit barges to unload at that point!

25-4 The city contended that regardless of the amount of land thus washed away, with resultant encroachments, it still owned a levee on the bank, it insisted, moreover, that ^{continue to be paid} property owners ~~continue to pay~~ wharfage, inasmuch as it still furnished barges. In this novel disagreement a newspaper editor suggested that some decided efforts be put forth to ascertain whether the city ^{actually} still had a levee! And if it had no levee, let the fact be admitted and the "everlasting wrangling" be ended!

58. Daily Press, August 15, 1869.

59. Minneapolis Tribune, August 24, 1869.

60. Daily Pioneer, August 8, 1869.



26-1 *is not infrequently*
lead The stage ^{in a large way} was set for a man of unusual business acumen. Such a man ^{re-enters} entered the scene, a man who was destined to enact his own version of the familiar Horatio Alger story--James J. Hill. Had it not been for the fact that, as a well known biography puts it, ~~the~~ the last Brigade of trappers and traders for the Red River had left on ~~July~~, July 5 (1856), J. J. Hill would not have been ~~marooned~~ marooned in St. Paul "until another spring should bring the train of creaking bullock carts down from the North," and his lot ^{might} would have been cast elsewhere, for he had intended to go on to the Red River Settlement and the far Canadian west." As it chanced, however, for the winter at least, his "prosaic life was bounded by the muddy levee of a little trading settlement whose name had only lately shaken off the indignity of 'Pig's Eye' and became St. Paul."^{1.}

26-2 J. J. Hill's great opportunity came when Norman Kittson, who was handling the very lucrative business of the fur traders, was obliged to leave the city in 1863 for a year or so, and during his absence he selected Mr. Hill to take care of his interests. This ^{the} the latter did with such success that ~~#####~~ two years later Kittson "found that he must give up one branch of the business or the other; so he turned over the agency of the free traders to Mr. Hill, who was now thoroughly familiar with its details."^{2.}

The details of the business included "the carrying out from the Red River country of furs and skins; the filling of orders for supplies from

Pyle, Joseph Gilpin, The Life of James J. Hill, In two vols., Doubleday, Page & Company, N. Y., 1917, Vol. 1, p.22.

2. Ibid, p. 75.

School

outside, covering everything from boxes of Bibles to kegs of whiskey, the two being not infrequently included in the same individual order; and the taking of these up into the settlement.^{3.}

27-1 In 1867 Hill became junior partner in the Blanchard & Wellington line, which consolidated with a competitor ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ a company operated by "Commodore" Davidson. The characters of the two men, ~~#####~~ and their business methods, differed so widely that it was inevitable that business could not be conducted on a basis of complete harmony. The youthful Hill inventoried his superior in this fashion: "As long as the old man thinks he can ride, he will ride; but when he is forced to go afoot, none so pleasant as he." It is noteworthy that the same year saw Hill entirely "on his own," with a juicy contract with the St. Paul & Pacific Railroad Company, to supply its fuel needs.^{4.}

27-2 The situation facing St. Paul citizens, at that time, in the fuel line, has been well described by one of Mr. Hill's contemporaries: ".....the supply of cord wood brought into St. Paul was of the most wretched character. The farmers used to bring in a load on their wagons, dump it and then pile it up scientifically so as to make a cord and a half out of a cord! They used all the gnarled and knotty stuff they could get hold of, because it made the pile measure more. The result was that the citizens got wretched fuel and were robbed besides. When Mr. Hill got hold of the wood contract, all this changed. He shipped into St. Paul all the best and straightest hard wood he could, out of the Big Woods. The railroad took from him all the light and soft wood for their locomotives, and we got all the good stuff."^{5.}

A man ~~#####~~ of possessing ~~#####~~ vision could foresee the day when coal would be the main fuel, and he lost no time in investigating and tying-up coal supplies. Another illustration of Mr. Hill's foresight is the

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3. Ibid, ~~78~~ p. 79.
 4. Ibid, p. 80.
 5. Ibid, p.87.

28-1 following: "He was one of the first to appreciate the extent and value of the coal deposits of Iowa; and some years ^{later} the gentlemen who needed them were amazed to find 2,300 acres of valuable coal lands in one county of the state held under ^{6.} lease by James J. Hill."

29-2 The firm name of J. J. Hill & Co, was used for the first time when the company was formed in 1867, with Egbert S. Litchfield the silent partner. Two years later the partnership became Hill, Griggs & Co., and did a general business in wood, coal, and commission. "Mr. Hill had bought out the Litchfield interest, and the new firm took it over, being capitalized at \$25,000... Hill was to look after the transportation end; Griggs after the wood and coal end, and a separate partnership agreement was made the year following with one De Witt C. Kinsey, for the purpose of 'carrying on a merchandising and transportation business on the Red River of the North.'" Many ramifications of Hill's interests are shown in St. Paul newspaper files of the time. A personal contribution ^{from him,} of \$200, helped to make up a total of \$1,137 in a St. ^{fund} Paul ~~contribution~~ for relief ^{7.} of distressed settlers in the Red River valley.

6. Pyle, Joseph Gilpin, The Life of James J. Hill, In two vols., Doubleday, Page & Company, N.Y., 1917, p. 86
7. Ibid, p. 91

29-1 With the heavy Federal expenditures following the Civil War, and rapid progress in railroad building, and in view of the movement of population westward and largely to the northwest, with Minnesota as its focal point, it was to be expected that national banks would show a substantial increase both in number and in size. This they did. In addition to these natural factors, heavy tax was imposed to drive leading state and private banks into the national group.

29-2 The sixties saw the enactment of a national banking law calculated to stabilize the business and at the same time to restore the confidence of the depositors. This legislation, enacted by Congress in February, 1863, tended to improve, in no small degree, the popularity of the banks, or to at least re-polish their tarnished fronts.

29-3 St. Paul's first banking house had, of course, been established years before--as far back as the summer of 1852, by Dr. Charles W. W. Borup and Charles H. Oakes. Its location was the south side of Third street, between Selby and Jackson, opposite the well-known hotel, the Merchants'. In addition to loans and discounts, and money changing generally, it conducted a real estate and investment business.

~~Five years after the Borup and Oakes~~

29-4 Five years after the Borup & Oakes bank was established, the leading financial institutions numbered seven, though there were numerous lesser banks, but in the panic of 1857 "all the banks went down," states the St. Paul History and Progress, "except those of Mackubin and Edgerton and the Willius Brothers." 2.

On November 1, 1878, Sewell, Ferris & Co., bankers of New York, organized opening for business "The Bank of the State of Minnesota," on the northeast corner of Third and Cedar streets. "Its notes of circulation," says the source above mentioned, "were based

1. St. Paul History and Progress of Banking, Pioneer Press Co., 1910, p.p. 58-61.
2. Ibid, pp. 58-61.

upon the old Minnesota 8 percent state bonds, limited to \$250,000. Pascal Whitney and N. P. Langford were president and vice president, respectively.

30-1 The banking house of Thompson Brothers was established by James and Horace Thompson in 1860, and two years later they organized the Bank of Minnesota on a sturdy foundation--a foundation, which they hoped, might make for permanent success. Their hopes were justified, for when congress enacted in 1863 the national banking law, with its 10 percent tax on the circulation of state financial institutions, "the St. Paul banks," to quote the same source, "wound up their business as banks of issue, redeeming their outstanding notes at par," which left as sole survivors among state banks only the Bank of Minnesota and the Marine Bank. ~~The latter were capitali~~
The former was capitalized at \$100,000, and the latter at \$36,000.

30-2 The First National Bank of St. Paul was the first in Minnesota to receive a charter under the National Banking Act. It was organized Dec. 8, 1863, by J. E. and Horace Thompson, to replace the private bank of Parker Paine's, established in 1833. The pioneer officers were, J. E. Thompson, president, T. A. Harrison, cashier, Horace Thompson, assistant cashier, and H. P. Upham, teller. A year following the organization of the "First National" the capital increased to \$500,000, and in 1873 it reached \$1,000,000.

30-3 The organization of the Second National Bank occurred in 1865, with a capital of \$200,000. E. S. Edgerton, a name familiar in St. Paul banking circles since 1853, was president; D. A. Monfort, cashier; A. M. P. Cowley, assistant cashier.

4. Of the national banking law, General C. C. Andrews wrote: "Having passed through the period of over-speculation and immature and premature development, induced by the diversion of banking capital from its proper and legitimate function, and having endured all the evils attendant upon the use of an insecure, mixed, and debased

3. Bliss, Frank C., St. Paul; Its Past and Present. St. Paul, Minn., 1888, p. 122.
4. General C. C. Andrews, History of St. Paul, p. 379.

5.

currency, including the 'wild cat,' 'stumptail' and 'shin plaster,' a new era of sound and conservative banking was inaugurated under the national banking act, which was gladly welcomed and whose many benefits have come to be appreciated."

31-1 The same historian further surveyed the financial landscape in these words: " . . . the banking institutions of St. Paul have been among the most important agencies in the development, not only of the immense commercial interests of the city, but of almost every important business enterprise or interest in the State and throughout the entire Northwest. Controlled and conducted by men of mature experience, enlarged views, and liberal minds, although of eminent conservatism and prudence, their management has been characterized by a ready and intelligent appreciation of existing conditions, and a willingness, in all cases of emergency to lend their resources for the sustenance of public and private credit to the fullest extent permitted by a reasonable prudence."

[5. Andrews, General C. C., History of St. Paul, pp. 379-380.]

INSERT 6

31-1 In 1866, a charter for construction of a street railway system "in and along all the streets and bridges of the city, except on Jackson street between Third and the Levee," was granted to the St. Paul Horse Railroad Company, and a group of prominent citizens, under the leadership of J. C. Burbank, met together to create a rapid transit system.

for Chapter 10.

Chap. 9

32

The St. Paul Medical profession was organized, in 1861, under the impressive name, "The Academy of Medicine and Surgery." It had for its objectives "the advancement of rational scientific medicine and surgery and the promotion of harmony in the profession." ⁽²³⁾ [Andrews, Gen. C. C., History of St. Paul, 1890, p. 308.]

By joint purchase of scientific instruments, analytical apparatus, and electrical machines, and by accumulating a medical library, the society had considerably furthered medical progress in the city. Although its membership of ten doctors in 1866 was not large, its influence was far from negligible.

Jobbing firms, first established in St. Paul in the early sixties, multiplied quickly. All during the earlier period retailing had been combined with wholesaling. In 1869 there were 62 jobbing houses in the city, as reported by the local chamber of commerce, and the yearly business in groceries, wool, furs, hides, and dry goods, exceeded a million dollars.

St. Paul's manufacturing interests during the later sixties were not laggard. Old businesses revived and new firms caught the spirit of expansion. As far back as 1851, the city's first factory, a saw mill, had been established. Since it gave employment to 32 hands, and turned out 30,000 feet of lumber, 20,000 shingles and 16,000 laths per day, it ranked as an important enterprise in its day.

The output of this manufacturing plant included grain products; there were two run of stone, one for wheat and one for corn and buckwheat, and the combined capacity per day was 120 barrels. A steam engine of 70 horsepower furnished the motive drive. The growth of this industry was rapid. In three years its gross business reached \$150,000 annually. This figure exceeded the combined earnings of all manufacturing and commerce in the city in 1850.

Another early factory, a grist mill erected in 1851, had a capacity of 500 bushels of grain daily. The ^{milling} process was slow, for coal and other necessary

25. General C. C. Andrews: History of St. Paul, 1890, p. p. 310-311.

24. " " " " " 1890, p. 308

The manufacture of boots and shoes developed early in St. Paul, perhaps because the capital and less specialized labor was needed. Hartough, p. 14, n. 49.

33-1
supplies were expensive, and worst of all there was a lack of water-power.

Until the completion of the railroads, ~~therefore~~, manufacturing in St. Paul could not keep pace with commerce. Even in 1866 the city was without any important factory. Commerce, on the other hand, reached new heights that year. *But in*

W 4P →
32-2
In 1867, though, manufacturing took an upward turn. Under the auspices of the chamber of commerce a new enterprise, the St. Paul Manufacturing Company, was created "to furnish at a cheap rate facilities for the various branches of manufactures so greatly needed here." The founders of the company had sufficient confidence in its aims to erect a fire-proof building containing ten rooms, each room 25 by 100 feet, with basement, yard and shed included. A steam engine was installed, to provide tenants with power at low cost.

Twei

34-1 As indicative of the effect of the mild industrial revolution which St. Paul was experiencing in 1867, one trade especially, the manufacture of wagons, may be mentioned. Even at this early ~~stage~~ date, and in a frontier town, the effects of the machine were beginning to be felt.

34-2 Three hundred and fifty wagons were turned out in 1866--an approximate figure--and about eighty-five men were employed in the work. In 1867, persons so employed, not including those engaged on buggies and cutters, approximated sixty-five. A peculiar situation existed, which was clarified by the St. Paul Chamber of Commerce, in the Directors' First Annual Reports, as follows: "They (workers not employed on buggies and cutters) are at work on the common farm wagon. A few years ago their work was in constant demand at remunerative prices, now they find difficulty in disposing of their wagons at prices that pay journeymen's wages^y to the manufacturers. Yet more than five hundred of this class of wagons have been brought to this city from Michigan, Illinois, and Iowa, during the past season, and sold to those who should be furnished by wagon makers of this city."

34-3 As a result of this condition some quit the business; nearly all curtailed operations. Those among the journeymen who were skillful workmen--"good citizens, living in their own dwellings," as the Chamber of Commerce Reports^{business} pointed out, were forced to seek other fields of ~~labor~~^{business}, work at which they could not utilize their special skill, or to leave the city in an effort to find employment.

~~I 34-4~~ "Why is this?" queried the Directors, in the resumé, "when more wagons are sold here, by a great many, than ever before?" ~~Simply because they try to perform by hand what others do by machinery cheaper, and as their customers believe better?~~ They answered their own question with the explanation that labor ~~performed by hand~~ tried to perform by hand that which machinery could do cheaper and, from the standpoint of the customer, better, and they gave as their solution in the city ~~of~~ to the difficulty the establishment^{of} of one or two manufacturies equipped with the best machinery.

SOURCE:

First Annual Reports to the St. Paul Chamber of Commerce, by the Directors and Secretary for 1867, pp. 28-29.

* Chamber of Commerce INSERT

35- | ~~His report~~ August 17, 1865, an experienced observer reported in the Daily Pioneer: "We find the crops along the road, St. Paul to Superior, in the very best condition, nearly every farmer declaring that he has more wheat, corn and oats this season, than during the past three years unitedly. One old fellow exclaimed: 'I've got the heaviest wheat I ever see in my life. I am nearly seventy years old, and come from New Hampshire where, if the season was first rate, I could get twelve or fifteen bushels to the acre; and now I've got over eighty acres that are going to average over forty bushels to the acre.'"

FOOTNOTE 31

36-1
The seventy-year ^{72-year-oldster} continued, says the reporter: "Them's the best oats I ever see! It's pooty hard for an old man like me to begin life again on new land; but I sot Dan'l up in a grocery, and he up and failed, and that ^{jest} ~~jest~~ skinned me clean. I've got a nice little farm here of a hundred and sixty acres and if I can have another year as good as this one, I'll be worth as much as I ever was. I said to Harvey yesterday--says I, 'Harvey, when a man can get good land for five dollars an acre, that'll raise three times as much as 'twill in New England, he can get rich in five years, jest as easy as rollin' off a log, if he aint too pesky lazy to work.'"

(31. FOOTNOTE.)

36-2
From the columns of another newspaper, the yield of wheat and oats is referred to as "hardly before equaled," although harvesting was delayed by rains, and help was reported as being somewhat scarce, commanding "from \$2.00 to \$3.00 per day, and board, and hard to obtain at even these prices. The returned soldiers," it observes, "came just in time, and can find plenty of work and good pay."

33.

36-3
In another quarter the crops were considered "rich beyond precedent this season . . . farming is about the most profitable business there is." Reflecting the situation nearly a year later the newspapers showed no diminution of enthusiasm.

34.

36-4
"With the abundant crops, such as we have seen for two years past, at present prices of grain, with the varied inducements offered to the emigrant, in the shape of high wages--labor of all kinds commanding the highest figures, and in the greatest demand on the railroads, public and private buildings; on the farm, of cheap and fertile land,--our future is one of the brightest hopes and prosperity."

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31. St. Paul Daily Pioneer, August 17, 1865. ✓
32. St. Paul Daily Press, August 24, 1865.
33. St. Paul Daily Pioneer, September 19, 1865.
34. St. Paul Daily Pioneer, August 3, 1866.

37-1
Jubilant press reports continued. "There is the promise of the heaviest yield of wheat ever produced in the State . . . the oat^s, corn, and other crops are splendid. In the vicinity of St. Paul we have seen, in the past four days, the finest oats we have ever beheld, and we are informed the same is true throughout the State * * * In the meantime, our State has received a large accession of settlers during the present season, principally Scandinavian. These settlers are industrious, sober, thrifty, intelligent^y and proceed at once to open farms and make themselves homes. * * * In the character and intelligence, honesty and faithfulness of our people, have we the surest guarantees of continued prosperity and success."

37-2
There were setbacks of one sort or another. Thus, the year 1867 saw confidence impaired by frequent examples of mismanagement and by the high cost of farm implements. There was "something wrong with farm management" in the State, said an editor. On soil yielding such splendid crops, there "should have been more money among the farmers." * * * Farmers were obliged to spend "too much money on expensive agricultural implements. * * * The plan for finding a reaper crew is almost abandoned. Prices are eight cents for wheat, and five for oats."

No. P
37-3
But there was jubilation over the hay crop, which was "coming on gloriously. The meadows are spotted with stacks, and farmers are rushing their crop into the city."
38.

Through 1867 and 1868, except for the usual complaints--lack of rain or too much of it, dry spells, potato bugs^y and other pests--agriculture continued to evoke such favorable comment as " * * * oats and wheat this year

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35. St. Paul Daily Pioneer, Aug. 3, 1866.
36. St. Paul Daily Pioneer, Aug. 3, 1866.
37. St. Paul Daily Press, Sept. 14, 1867.
38. Ibid, Sept. 14, 1867.

never equalled," "general prospects never more flattering," "yield fully up to expectations of farmers," "crops magnificent," and "grandest harvest of the age."

39.

However, in 1870, appeared a doleful "Summary for the Year."

35-1 " . . . farmers awfully in debt, low price for wheat, but little else to sell, too much paid to hired men, too many implements bought on credit, some wheat sprouted, potatoes frozen in the ground, bugs to fight, corn rotted in the ground generally, cold spring and summer, with gentle rains until threshing time when it culminated in a terrific flood in September, hay stacks floating around the country at random, ending with the hardest freeze in October ever known since the State was settled, which rendered the season disastrous to many a hard-working gardener and fruit grower as well as the farmer."

Chapter 10.

a marketing

38-2 The greatest need of the farmers at this time was an organization of their own, to function for them exclusively. No makeshift would do, other attempts had mildewed.

38-3 However, back in 1852, the forward looking Oliver H. Kelley, a native of Boston, with the farmer's interests at heart, had organized a society calculated to appeal to the dirt farmer. That same year a Ramsey county society came into existence, and two years later, under the sponsorship of the Hennepin county society, the first agricultural fair in Minnesota was held. This preceded the first State fair by several years.

These fairs were so to the liking of the Pioneers that in 1860 they thronged the fairgrounds at Fort Snelling to the number of 8000. An address,

which proved to be of two hours duration, delivered by Cassius Clay of Kentucky, no doubt had something to do with the large attendance. Other entertainment was provided also--the Flying Dutchman trotting a mile in 4:11, and an exhibition by fire-engine companies.

Oliver H. Kelley was the founder of the Granger movement--the movement which marked a definite advance in the farmer's status.

39-1
Prior to the Civil War there ^{might} should have been a farmstead law, ~~and would have been~~ but for President Buchanan. "The movement for free lands," states an author, "was approaching a head, and within the new Republican party 41. there were few who did not believe in the policy."

39-2
President Lincoln on May 20, 1863, recognizing the need for such legislation, was glad to sign the Homestead Bill when it was up before him, the document differing from the one vetoed ^{by President Buchanan} only by including a 25 cent per acre privilege charge, and with a pre-emption ~~act~~ not repealed.

39-3
Of the latter, the writer above quoted, says: " . . . In the arguments, overtures, and contests among the sections it was not possible to reduce the public lands to one acceptable formula. Cession, donation, graduation, distribution, and pre-emption became technical words, everywhere understood, and capable of raising lofty emotions, or frenzy of denunciation according to the orator and the audience." 42.

39-4
In Buchanan's vetoes of the Homestead and the Morrill Act "may be found classic and final statements of the philosophy that Calhoun had elaborated to protect the South. During these four years of deadlock various forces were dammed up, any one of which might have gained in time enough 43. head to break the dam."

40. Pioneer Press, December 31, 1933--Diamond Jubilee Edition.

41. Paxson, Frederic L.--History of the American Frontier. Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston, p. 478.

42. Ibid, p. 383.

43. Ibid, p. 471.

40-1

X At the city election in November 1869, the coveted office was that of Chief Engineer of the Fire Department. Rival nominees were J. C. Pendergast, placed in nomination by the Minnehaha Trout Brook Hose Co. #2nd and Hope Hose Co. #3, and John Lunkenheimer, nominated by the "Hook and Ladder boys," while Frank Brewer, incumbent, was "running independent." ^{56.} More money is being expended by candidates and their friends than has been expended heretofore, under similar circumstances. It flows like water on all sides. To an outsider the honor and

55. ~~St. Paul Pioneer~~ Daily Pioneer, June 23, 1870.

56. Daily Pioneer, City Items, Nov. 21, 1869.

the emoluments of the office would not seem to warrant a very large outlay
57.
of money."

41-1 ✓ Fire protection, though, was a matter of recognized importance
those days, as indicated by a story in the same newspaper a month earlier:
"The new steam fire engine and hose cart arrived yesterday on the eleven
o'clock train from the East. * * * It is named the Minnehaha No. 2, * * *
and will be kept at the Minnehaha Engine House for the present. * * * She is
one of the popular rotary engines and cost \$6,000. * * * This new engine can
✓ throw five hundred gallons of water a minute. * * *

58.

41-2 ✓ "The accompanying hose cart cost about \$350, and with it came one
thousand feet of four-ply double hose, costing \$1.90 a foot. * * * "

Sarcasm sometimes greeted even the best efforts of the fire laddies.

41-3 ✓ "Fire Without Water," was the heading of one newspaper item in 1869:

59.

41-3 ✓ "Yesterday afternoon a fire destroyed the dwelling house of Mr. C. M.
Boyle, on Goodrich street. It is supposed ~~to have caught fire~~ the fire caught
from a defective flue in the kitchen. * * * As soon as the alarm was given the
fire department started for the conflagration, and reached it in abundance of
time to stand by and see the building burn before their eyes, without being able to do
anything to put out the flames. No water was to be had, and of course the en-
gines and the whole department were perfectly useless."

41-4 Assurance of an adequate water supply for fire protection was sought
from time to time. On Nov. 18, 1869, the Daily Pioneer reported progress. "We
were informed yesterday by Hon. C. D. Gilfillan, President St. Paul Water Com-
pany, that water will be let into eight miles of pipe on the 1st of December."

Progress, however, was impeded by "this, that and the other." Even
the weather interfered, as when it was reported: "The work of laying pipe has been
suspended with the exception of that requiring tunneling, until next spring."

57. Daily Pioneer, Nov. 11, 1869.

58. Daily Press, 1869.

59. Daily Pioneer, Nov. 14, 1869.

At last, on December 4, 1869, it was reported that city water was available.

42-1 Following an address by Judge Goodrich, the water was solemnly turned on in the pipes of the Jackson street line, and folks exulted in the assured fact that "the city, or a large part of it, is now supplied with water from the water works."

42-2 Nor did this end the "imposing ceremony." "For a few moments the dignitaries gazed upon the miniature waterfall, and then turned thoughtfully away and disappeared within the hotel, where the concluding ceremonies might have been witnessed, accompanied by the audible announcement that they 'took sugar in their'n'."

Near the close of the year 1869, a distinguished visitor observed:

42-3 "St. Paul is built on a high bluff rising probably one hundred and fifty feet above the Mississippi river. It is by far the best and most substantially built city on the great river, above St. Louis. The business blocks, churches, public buildings and many of the private residences are constructed of a beautiful blue limestone that abounds in the vicinity.

42-4 "The Custom House and Post Office Building now in process of erection is a very fine structure and will probably cost \$250,000. The new printing house for the Press is a model of beauty and durability.

42-5 "The city contains a population of about 25,000, noted for enterprise and general intelligence. It is the political and financial headquarters of the State and has long given direction to affairs in all the regions of the Upper Mississippi."

42-6 Among the notable residences of the city was a mansion of cut limestone owned by "Horace Thompson, Esq., on Dayton Hill," the "fine dwelling belonging to Capt. Blakely, on the corner of 10th and Jackson streets," and Ossian E. Dodge's "elegant stone villa on Summit Ave." Situated in a "delightful site overlooking the entire city and the river for miles above and below it, was the superb Italian villa

60. Daily Press, December 4, 1869.

61. Hon. B. F. Gue, editor of the Fort Dodge Northwest, in that publication, as quoted in the Daily Pioneer, Dec. 8, 1869.

of J. C. Burbank, Esq., on Summit Avenue, ^{then as now} St. Paul's "show street" in ~~the exclusive Hill district~~. Planned by E. L. Wheelock of Chicago, it was considered "one of the most elegant, if not the most elegant residence in Minnesota."

45T The Burbank villa, built of gray limestone carefully dressed, elicited praise for its extremely picturesque appearance. Two stories in height, the attic surmounted with an observatory, and with a piazza surrounding nearly three sides of the structure, the villa contained some thirty commodious and well-lighted high-ceilinged rooms.

43-2 New House The house was regarded as unique in that day for its inside walls of brick, hollow instead of "studded" partitions; while the walls, of stone, with brick lining inside, left an air chamber in the center, thus rendering them frost and rat-proof. Lighted with gas, steam heated, with hot and cold water pipes throughout, this mansion approximated \$16,000 in building cost.

43-3 Poet Laureate Minnesota in this era, according to a Stillwater newspaper, boasted a Poet Laureate in Ossian E. Dodge, the St. Paul resident above mentioned. "Our citizens will be rejoiced to learn that Ossian E. Dodge, the Laureate of Minnesota, will give a concert of vocal and instrumental music at the Myrtle Street church tomorrow night. Prof. Pond will preside at the piano."

43-4 new houses PP 64. ^{then} Mr. Dodge was secretary of the St. Paul Chamber of Commerce. 65. Real estate transactions included the sale to L. M. Sheldon, a New Yorker, of the Monroe Nichols residence on Summit Avenue, for \$10,000, and the purchase by Morris Lamprey of Captain Peter Berkey's mansion on College Avenue, and furnishings, for \$23,000 cash. ^{with} INSEST A, B, C.

66. Captain Peter Berkey, a few weeks after the sale, in partnership with Isaac Staples of Stillwater, opened a lumberyard on Seventh Street, adjoining the ⁱⁿ [^]

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- 62. St. Paul Daily Press, Feb. 12, 1863.
 - 63. Stillwater Messenger, March 6, 1867.
 - 64. Daily Press, Oct. 1, 1872.
 - 65. Daily Press, July 9, 1869.
 - 66. Daily Press, July 29, 1869.

Eclipse Livery stable, under the firm name of Staples & Berkey.

Property values
 44-1 Also reflecting property values of the period was the published report that Brown's Block, well known in the business district, had been repurchased by
 67. 68.
 A. Vance Brown from Rose Lovejoy, for \$30,000. Brown had sold this block several years before for \$20,000.

real estate
 44-2 For fifty feet on the corner of Jackson and Third streets (the Merchants Hotel site) the owner, Colonel Shaw, was offered \$700 a front foot. On the same day
 70. Senator Sherman, of Ohio, a visitor, "expressed himself highly delighted with his visit to our state, and spoke in flattering terms of the present and future of St. Paul."
upper levee trouble river washouts

The trouble engendered by wharf cave-ins must have been amicably adjusted, for in November the Daily Pioneer, while announcing boat arrivals, possessed a tone of complete serenity. "The levee yesterday was almost entirely covered with freight of various kinds during the day, and business was lively. Muscatine arrived yesterday--
 71. apples 1,500 barrels, hay 175 bales, etc. The Ida Fulton--apples 1,000 barrels, Pork
 72. and Lard 300 barrels, coal 2 carloads, stone and earthenware 2 carloads." And, the same month: "One establishment handled 7,000 barrels of apples this fall. * * * Every steamer that come to the levee brings winter apples, * * * not uncommon for a single boat to bring 1,000 barrels."
 73.

44-4 That autumn a piano destined for Fort Garry, Canada, a distance of 500 miles, was transferred to an oxcart at St. Cloud, and the journey continued from
 74. there. Among a number of other oddities, mentioned in the press, was hay-harvesting on Capitol Square, and refusal of a number of women occupying shanties on Wacouta
 75. and Fourth streets to vacate when ordered to do so by the police.

- oddities*
-
67. Daily Press, Sept. 2, 1869.
 68. Daily Press, July 28, 1869.
 69. Daily Pioneer, July 28, 1869.
 70. Daily Pioneer, August 8, 1869.
 71. Daily Pioneer, Nov. 11, 1869.
 72. Daily Press, Nov. 9, 1869.
 73. Daily Pioneer, July 10, 1869.
 74. Daily Press, Sept. 23, 1869.

75. Daily Press, Sept 24, 1869.

45-1 Not more graphically than by cold figures can the St. Paul of this expansion period be shown. If we accept as correct Rice & Bell's First Annual Directory, the population, rising from a mere three persons in 1838, showed the surprising gains enumerated below:

1847.....	50
1849.....	400
1850.....	840
1855.....	4400
1857.....	9973
1860.....	10,600
1865.....	13,210
1868.....	20,118

45-2 Dwelling houses nearly doubled in number ~~between the year 1868 and that of 1869~~ in the late sixties; as recorded in Rice & Bell's, from 400 erected in 1868, to approximately 700 buildings reported by the city assessor in 1869.

While making due allowance for minor discrepancies in tabulations, the figures ~~speak for themselves and are none the less eloquent~~ are none the less eloquent and speak for themselves. [Rice & Bell's First Annual Directory of St. Paul for 1869-70, p. 48].

46-1 Housewives were experiencing difficulty in securing and keeping hired girls. Some domestics had gone into the harvest fields to work, and were getting three dollars per day. Especially at Northfield, where a large number of the girls had become harvest hands, was the situation "critical."

46-2 Quail hunting on Bench street, a thoroughfare in the heart of the business district, is reported on one occasion, in 1869.

St. Paul's population, arranged according to nationality, is thus set forth in figures in an 1865 publication:

English	492
Swedes	171
Norwegians	84
Canadian French	427
Pembina French	49
French proper	115
Canadians	135
All others,	
white	2032
Negroes	166
Total	12,976

See attached
Inserts #1
and #2 to be used in
consecutive order

INSERT 4 and 5, consecutively.

46-3 The men who occupied the Mayor's chair during the post-war period, were John H. Prince, by re-election (1865-1867); Jacob H. Stewart, the first Republican to win a Mayoralty contest (1868-1869) and also a portion of 1865; George L. Otis, 1867-1868), and James T. Maxfield (1869-1870).
77-(FOOTNOTE).

46-4 John S. Prince was five times elected to the office, Dr. Jacob H. Stewart, a physician, served three terms, George L. Otis filled the chair a single year, James T. Maxfield's incumbency was during 1869 and 1870. The latter, however, served again later for another term, and was the only St. Paul mayor to die while in office.

On September 30, 1869, a new bridge and trestle celebration carried with it

76. McClurg's Statistical Directory--St. Paul Daily Press, April 15, 1866.

77. The Mayors of St. Paul, compiled by Minnesota Writers' Project, and published 1940.

Deaths of prominent
Vital people
Guerrero, C.

BB



47-1 a familiar prediction. "Yesterday marked the beginning of a new era in the history of our city, and completed another link in the chain which is so rapidly ~~making~~ making St. Paul the great railroad center of the Northwest." [The Daily Pioneer, September 30, 1869].

47-2 Newspaper headlines, such as "Another Old Landmark Gone," also had a familiar ring. One of these dealt with the passing of a time-honored machine shop, that of Mr. Stembs, above the levee and near the Robert street depot," which, to complete the item, "was torn down yesterday to make room for the railroad switches." [Daily Press, Jan. 7, 1871].

47-3 "Shanties," we read in one of many similar items, "are being removed * * * from Fourth street, between Jackson and Rosabel, by instruction of the Council." [Daily Press, Jan. 7, 1871].

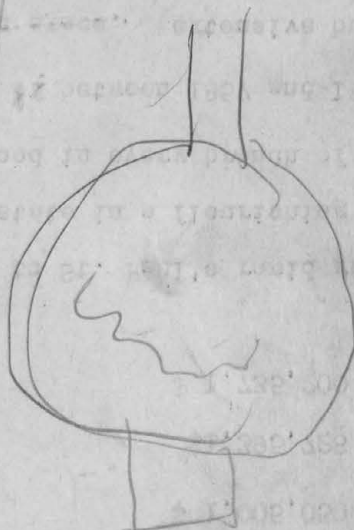
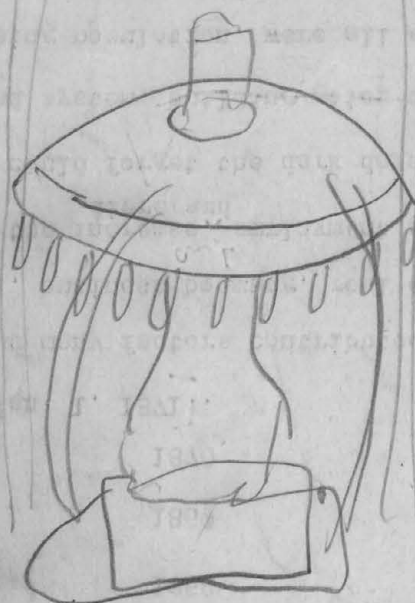
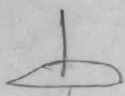
Four-year building statistics in the Daily Press, revealed the steady growth of the city in dollars and cents:

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>COST OF IMPROVEMENTS</u>
1867	\$712, 860
1868	\$ 1,005,050
1869	\$1,395,728
1870	\$ 1,735,200

47-4 [Daily Press, Jan. 1, 1871].

47-5 Thus many factors contributed to St. Paul's rapid growth. With ^{and with} money plentiful, business booming, real estate in a flourishing condition, ^{with} immigration on the increase ^{and} employment good in every branch of trade and manufacture, St. Paul could ^{disregard} forget the dark days ~~of~~ between 1857 and 1862. An ever expanding railroad system, ~~building going on apace~~, extensive building activities, and quickly rising population, were all guideposts on the path to prosperity. St. Paul, at this point, had indeed thrown aside childhood's thorn-torn garments and was definitely growing mature.

R. Cary



1981

1981

1981

1981

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 manufactory 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 employ^{ees}~~ing~~. *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),

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. 67/ .

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 enumerator 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

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 forms a 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 ^{Paul} St. 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 Voerg, 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 18²82 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 known 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 irresistible.

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 area 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 teepees, 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 gas lights in colored globes--were thronged with waiting crowds to see some one of the 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 pleasers 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 them 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 ultimatums 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 wages 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 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 notifications 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 irreconcilable differences" existing between management and employees. 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 declared 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 manufactures, 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 having 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 do 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 armament. 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 out 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 employers 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 trains."

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 subscriptions

tions to aid in support of switchmen 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 back to work before the day passed, "or at least as 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 order to insure victory. The Tribune, in 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 affected whereby 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 proved themselves particularly offensive as leaders or destroyers of property during the strike." (Tribune , Oct. 23, 1886).

With the settlement of the strike a thing 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 intended improvement: it naturally preferred to remain head of navigation. Minneapolis, on the other hand, was very eager to secure a congressional appropriation, realizing that 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 Tribune of 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 conspicuous 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 with 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.

Planks were similar to those offered labor by the Democratic party ~~appeared in the Republican platform.~~ 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," wrote 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.

Notwithstanding 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 enullient

in their predictions. The Republicans, sobered no doubt by their narrow escape, were not ubiquitous 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 ticket 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 emoluments he anticipated from the office of city clerk.

Jocosely 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 Tennessee.

" 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 belligerents, 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

"Last night saw the first sleighing on streets down town for several weeks,"

noted the Globe of January 4.

INSERT.

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 hails,
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.

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,"

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 despite 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" reminiscences 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.

"K. F. Lott, pioneer St. Paulite who now lives at Bald Eagle, tells *for whom the first railway locomotive used in Minnesota was named. The senior Crooks* me Jack Crooks was a son of William 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 hour 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 employees had no contract with the company and no conductors were employed except on the Selby cable line, whereas Minneapolis employees 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, therefore 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 employees 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 acrimonious 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 street 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, and so 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 stored 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 "flurid pit" by tanks, underwent a weird transformation; even before it reached the fire it was steam.

Occurring in January, 1886, this Ryan Drug House fire was the fore-runner, 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 and 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 nevertheless 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, Vetal 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 acquaintances 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 became, 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 was 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

1870- 13,066
1880- 46,887
1885-129,200

ST. PAUL

--- 20,030
--- 41,173
---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 doubt, 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.

FLOOD WATERS.

The 30th state legislature convened Tuesday, January 5, 1897, amid the crash of St Paul financial houses. Three banks had closed the previous day, as if to accentuate the chaos wrought by the Bank of Minnesota's collapse three days before Christmas. Senator Knute Nelson was busied in Washington, D. C., with a bankruptcy measure, and Congressman Loren "Your Uncle" Fletcher, Minneapolis, was aiding him. No one had thought of insuring the savings of depositors.

"St. Paul banks were put to the test yesterday," an account of Monday's collapse read, "three comparatively unimportant ones went to the wall . . . The Germania bank whose condition has been common gossip for about two weeks, did not open its doors yesterday at all . . . about noon the West Side Bank succumbed to the pressure. This bank cleared through the Allemania and its suspension was due directly to the going down of the Allemania." [St. Paul Globe, Jan. 4].

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Thus began a year of investigations, indictments, and depositors' protest meetings. "Unimportant" ~~and~~ appears hardly the proper description of these failures, for \$225,000 in deposits had been drawn from the Germania the nine days before it collapsed. Yet hundreds of small life savings were pinched in the failures and the city had \$49,000 deposited in Germania.

The Minnesota Farmers Alliance held its annual meeting ^{early in January.} that week. Ignatius Donnelly attributed the poor attendance to the organization of the People's ^{Peoples} party. P.H. Rahilly, Lake City, attacked the ~~and~~ railroads, and reviewed the many reports of dishonest weighing and grading of grain. An 8 hour day for labor was discussed.

The bank ^{situation} ~~score~~ in St. Paul at the close of Saturday January 9, stood ~~at~~ as follows:

1. Bank of Minnesota - to reorganize April 1. 3,000 depositors agreed on a plan to recover deposits.
2. Allemania bank- President Albert Scheffer. In the hands of Receiver Maurice Auerbach.
3. Union bank - Receiver Maurice Auerbach.
4. Germania bank- President Willius - more time needed.
5. West Side bank - Assignee Staples
6. North St. Paul bank - President H.A. Castle. Receiver John F. Fitzpatrick.

Ten days later, the Minnesota Savings bank entered valhalla and the Bickels, ~~father~~ father and son, gained notoriety shuttling between jailer and bondsman.

The layman is inclined to the belief that failures were due more to plain speculations, broken trusts, local mismanagement than to reactions from national conditions. While headline writers announced the failures as "Weak Banks Go", it must also be remembered that more than a year commonly elapsed before some banks were examined or reported to state examining authorities. There was little regulation. ()

St. Paul had a taste of culture that January in visits by James Whitcomb Riley, John Fox, Jr., and Ruth McEmery Stuart, literary ^{personages} lights of their day. *The* People's church sponsored them.

Secretary Jackson of Associated Charities, at a quarterly meeting in office headquarters, Room 1004, New York Life building, cast some light upon the socially isolated of the time.

"... the chief cause of increased applications," said Jackson, "is that a larger number than usual are from classes who need little aid, but these applicants were brought to the condition of need by sickness as well as by a long period of unemployment.

"We daily find several families without enough either of food or fuel to last even one day; not infrequently they are entirely destitute..."

"In Ishpeming, Michigan, all the churches have been sold for taxes," another report noted. Brighter outlooks continued from the east, however, where the increase in deposits in New York for one week exceeded \$17,000,000.

a very cold January, by the way,
That cold January, the Hack and Cab Drivers union won a victory over the city. ~~with~~ An ordinance passed, ~~which~~ prohibited hackmen from allowing their teams ~~xxxxtaxstan~~ and licensed hacks to stand on asphalt streets for a greater continuous period than 30 minutes. The great men's carriages were not held to the ordinance, however. Said the Court: "a pair of bobtails driven for pleasure occupy as much space, and do quite as much prancing and stamping on the pavement, as does honest 'Old Dobbin', who, while dreaming of oats, dozes his life away in front of a hack or express wagon by curbside." ()

Associated Charities, in a meeting January 12, discussed the curfew law. At that time 30 towns in Minnesota had a curfew, and there were 200 cities and towns in the United States with the law.

~~Here~~ The Hon. Ignatius Donnelly, ^{whose illustrious career was drawing to a close, had} drawing an illustrious career to a close had ^{was on} one final skirmish in the legislative halls. This ^{when} day of January 17, he won the opposition's respect and support in his rebuke of Judge Hicks, of Hennepin, ^{who} who had attacked him.

Judge Hicks, as chairman of the commission of elections, would assume mandatory powers and when thwarted, he poured slander and contumely upon Donnelly.

"I have no desire to prolong this controversy," ~~said~~ Mr. Donnelly "... But when the gentleman made a veiled but plainly pointed attack upon myself, I had ^{choice (?)} no ~~cause~~ but to reply. I am getting to be an old man, and I shall not live a great while longer but when the history of the Northwest shall be written, I think the verdict of posterity will be that I have never failed to work for the people of the state. No man can point his finger to a single thing, and say that I ever sustained a wrong or put a dollar in my pocket at the expense of the state. No man can point his finger to a single thing, and say that I ever sustained a wrong expense of the state. But listen! Day before yesterday when that gigantic robbery was before the House in the form of a resolution to investigate the Mountain Iron Mine, the gentleman from Hennepin was the only one who tried to turn the House aside from the direct course and have the matter referred to the attorney-general. Yet when the matter came to a vote he had not the ~~the~~ courage to vote against the resolution. Thank God, while I have had faults of my own, I was never mean as that." Thus the Nininger Sage dissected his opponent, to the high glee even of Judge Hicks' political brethren.

January 17, Mrs. E.W. Gilbert passed away at the home of her son, Cass Gilbert. She was the widow of General Gilbert who had come broken in health to St. Paul, at the close of the Civil War, and who died in 1867.

Judge Bunn, on January 18, ruled that "all persons who deposited money in the Bank of Minnesota on Tuesday, December 22, 1896, the day the bank closed its doors, will get their money back."

closed 4/8/41

The temper of the times is shown by a proposal, seriously advanced, to construct a vault deep down under the Capitol, to safeguard the state's funds from the "quicksands" of private banking. (Gl. Ja.19)

More St.Paulites found themselves with unrequiting checkbooks January 19.

Said the Globe:

"The expected happened yesterday, when the Minnesota Savings bank, at 7th and Wabasha streets, closed its doors, and through the means of a card posted on the front window, announced that an assignment had been made to William Bickel." Depositors protested the assignment to another member of the Bickel family and called a meeting.

"Claudius F. Bombach," ran one news account, "acted as chairman of a meeting of the depositors of the Minnesota Savings bank held yesterday.... cheered the depositors some by announcing that in his opinion about 75 per cent of the assets of the bank were worthless. He suggested... it might be possible to make it interesting for W.F.Bickel."

Another depositor charged that "a number of gentlemen pretending to be friends of the unfortunate depositors had secured places on the committee of seven which was appointed to investigate for the depositors." Excessive loans to the wife of Cashier Bickel, was a point of investigation.

Before the city fathers in February came a new proposition from the Milwaukee railroad to resolve the levee issue. The road needed the levee strip for yardage space. It proposed to rebuild the Summit bridge, and conceded the city ^{the} right to build a Broadway bridge. It also admitted the City's ownership of the disputed levee property. An improved building program for the Union depot resulted.

The state senate decided to investigate Labor Commissioner Powers upon charges of politics, unauthorized use of state labor, and minor matters.

~~~~~
The Mississippi river burst out of its banks, in April.

"On the West side and lower Polander Flats," reported the Globe, "the condition of many of the people is pitiable in the extreme." By midnight, April 1, the ~~xi~~

(continued)

river was risen to 14.8 feet, the highest since 1881. It had reached 14.4 feet in 1888, and 14.7 feet in 1893. But ^{but} this was a prelude.

"Along the river front," continued a later account, "the condition of the people is worse ~~wh~~ than elsewhere. The houses are mere huts, and the people living in them are of the very poor class. Many of them do not even own a boat.... One man living on Fenton street has a family of five children and two of them are sick in bed. The house was flooded with water and his family were really in danger."

The flood was ^{intensified} ~~enhanced~~ by an ice jam that formed at 44th avenue North, Minneapolis, and damaged the C.A. Smith saw mill and other property, to the extent of \$100,000.

The situation in St. Paul's west and Polander Flats, grew worse. The area between "Tennessee street and Robertson and Welland avenues was a perfect sea..." *The flat-dwellers passed an anxious night.*
~~It was an anxious night.~~

"In many instances sights witnessed by the officers were appalling," wrote the Globe reporter () ^{At} "at 39 Water street, they found the family of Amel Polasky imprisoned in a little one story dwelling with between 3 and 4 feet of water on the floor. There were several children, ~~xxxxxx~~ ranging in age from one to ten years, and the wife, who is a cripple and unable to help herself in the least. When the officers arrived they found the family perched on barrels and tables, and just as Sergeant Ryan stepped into the house one of the smaller children fell in the water from the table on which it was seated and would undoubtedly have been drowned but for the timely appearance of the officer. The ... father was out at the time..."

Again: ^{At} "at No. 29 Water street, Stainish Visnesky and his wife were found in a little room that had been built on the roof of their house. When the officers arrived, his wife was begging him to allow her to go to the house of a neighbor, but he was loath to leave his possessions."

About 150 families fled the high water, which continued to rise to the record

mark of 18.05 feet by midnight, April 5. While floods, blizzards, and washouts prevailed in Minnesota and the Dakotas, St. Paul began collecting relief funds for its ^{own} sufferers. High water breached the upper levee ~~xxx~~ east of James street, and the Wabasha street bridge was threatened. South St. Paul citizens ^{too,} went to work on their levee.

The state legislature named a bank investigating committee and reported such doleful findings in closed St. Paul banks, as:

1. Bank of Minnesota - W.H. Lightner, ~~xx~~ a receiver testified the October 7th report, showing balance due to the bank from Fort Dearborn National bank of Chicago, of \$135,605.95, was false. The account was falsified \$100,000, and the failure ^{was} caused by William Dawson, president, owing it \$281,000.
2. Minnesota Savings bank - Mr. Temple testifies to the record book being tampered with and portions removed.... The bank's report made out October 7, 1895, was not filed with the Governor until February 6, 1897. [16 months later, hardly an up-to-date report.] The personal expenses of Mr. Bickel was mixed up with bank cash.
3. Allemania bank - Mr. Temple declared that the Allemania failed, in his opinion, first, because of the lack of attention to details on the part of the directors, especially shown by the fact that they had held no meeting for over a year, and from some of the loans made. He would say, second, that it suffered from weak, inexperienced management. (Globe, Apr. 7)

Donnelly, champion of the underdog, on April 8 pleaded the case of a ~~krazy~~ "crazy" man. Two days later, he unsheathed his sword for tramps.

Frank ~~H~~oskins, radical Populist editor, had been committed to the State Insane hospital at Fergus Falls. Circumstances made his committal appear to be a case of railroading a political enemy, for Hoskins was forthwith released. Mr. Donnelly appealed to the legislature to expunge its records of the case.

"Certainly," said Donnelly, "it was no good proof of insanity for Hoskins to say that the banks were unsound. Had not subsequent events proved that he was certainly correct?" The Sage cited the case of Judge E. St. Julian & Cox, as precedent for expunging the records. The motion was tabled, however.

Reapportionment was creating a merry scramble among Republicans and Democrats, in St. Paul. (Gl 4-10) Affairs at the Minnesota Soldiers Home were under scrutiny and Judge Hicks was accused of whitewashing the investigation. Mr. Stockwell, Minneapolis liberal, then launching a long and illustrious legislative career,

led the opposition assault in the Soldiers Home probe.

Hard times prevailed in Wisconsin too, for a cranberry marsh, with the berries selling at 4 cents a quart, went into receiver's hands. William Harding, thrice off to the wars and thrice to the altar, celebrated his 100th birthday at Waseca, April 1. He was the father of Everhard Harding, then a University professor. *Went*

Tempers flamed when the Ramsey delegation began redistricting the city and *St. Paul's political of that day* the city's civic texture, is observable.

"Instead of leaving the 1st and 2nd wards together as the House and Senate agree," stated one account, "they put the north half of the 1st ward with the 9th. They split the 1st ward a block or two north of Minnehaha street, which left the Celtic Senator (Tim Sheehan) from the 1st, in a district consisting of the rest of the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd. When the 'Cicero of the northwestern corner' heard this he was playing pin pool at the Windsor. It was less than 10 minutes before his basso profundo was heard.... 'The 1st ward,' he insisted, was a unit. It should not be divided for political exigencies. Its people were one, etc.... Senator Stevens explained to *all concerned* them that the 1st ward had Republican voters 'to burn'... it could spare half its vote to counteract the democratic 9th, and yet survive.... He had Sheehan fixed, he gave him his own half of the 1st, 2nd, and the 3rd and Sam Lowenstein, who lived in the 3rd, said that was a Republican district too.

"How could Tim object to get behind that? Why," said Sam, "we are Tim's best friends, although he didn't seem to know it. He has the 1st ward. He's all right just as long as the Swedes want him. When they don't want him he's through..."

"The next plan adopted..." continued the account, "was to fix upon the 4th, 5th, and 6th wards as one district...having a population of 42,000 *souls.* *sould.*" A fight was nearly precipitated.

"We don't care," said Schiffman "put the 4th ward *wherever* you want. Give

us the 4th and 9th. We'll meet the Democrats anywhere you say. But you go and tie us up with the West Side. We have never mixed with them, and there are 10,000 Pops [Populists] over there that ought to be in the lunatic asylum."

Minneapolis meanwhile was not without its bank failures. The Washington bank and the Scandia bank were such. The former, it was averred, had done business the while, using assets of Haugen, Johnson & company for several months as capital. The latter had failed through officers' over-optimism rather ~~an~~ than irregularities, it was held. (Globe, April 7),

The Weyerhaeuser Lumber company was strongly in favor of the Dingley Tariff bill before Congress. It called for restoration of the lumber rate of \$2 per M, of 1883, upon Canadian lumber. ^{the} Weyerhaeusers held American lumbering concerns ~~would not~~ paying Jacks \$1.40 a day, could not compete with the Canadian camps' 75 cents a day. The Globe charged misrepresentation of the facts and cited a Jack's statement that Canadian wages ranged from \$22 to \$25 a month, while Weyerhaeuser was paying \$18 a month the past winter, and that Weyerhaeuser did not even pay \$1.25 a day for millwork. ()

Col. Alvaren Allen, in April, had resumed management of the Merchants hotel. Fargo, N.D. refused War department flood aid after the city had asked \$10,000, then rescinded the ~~offer~~ appeal.

The Globe's editor flippantly wrote: "the Minneapolis saloons will close on Sundays at 9:00 p.m. The back doors of Minneapolis saloons will open at 9:05 Sunday evening." He also looked dourly upon the state legislature.

"Minnesota," he wrote "has a great 'reform' legislature in session. The reapportionment bill, which passed the house yesterday, adds 5 representatives and ~~and~~ 9 senators to two bodies already large enough, at ~~an~~ added expense to the state of \$7,000 for each session."

Improved streetcar facilities continued ^{to be} a civic issue.

"The street~~car~~ railway company.... wants ...to get rid of the cable line. It is assured of an ample supply of power from the Mississippi dams, and intends to close its power houses and operate from that central plant...The track could be

run up Third street and Summit avenue, and then turn into Selby again with the construction of a few blocks of new line. Then the cable could be removed, and the company's purpose would be secured," wrote a critic.

"The cost of this would be the great inconvenience to travel on Summit avenue, and the practical ruin of the little beauty spot which consists of Summit Park and its approaches." (Globe 4-) Merriam Park residents were clamoring for "through service" to the loop about this time.

"The moist condition of the suburban district between the Twin Cities," commented a scribe, "brings to mind a little pond, situated out near the end of Marshall avenue, known to youngsters of the hill as Lake Sandy. It wasn't so many years ago that Lake Sandy was the favorite resort in good skating weather of a band of young people. Sandy was at that time twice as big as a respectable mud puddle, and in the summer the small boys used to have lots of fun swimming about in its muddy depths courting typhoid fever, ~~diph~~ diphtheria, etc." (Gl 4-)

In mid-April, John Lind obtained a verdict of \$600 damages in his libel suit against the St. Paul Dispatch. He was pleased at the token reprisal for slander to his reputation.

William Dawson, Jr., was indicted on April 13, on a charge of making a false bank statement. Indictments of William Dawson, Sr., president of the Bank of Minnesota, and Robert L. Miller, assistant cashier, were drawn a week later. The Dawsons were an old established banking family in St. Paul, and had been engaged in private banking activities before the debacle of the Bank of Minnesota. The raising of the Fort Dearborn bank account of by \$100,000, and excessive loans were the Dawsons' chief croppers in the series of charges.

"What are you waiting around here for with these men?" fumed a bellicose depositor when Dawson and Miller were in custody. "Why don't you put them in jail, as you would any other prisoners?" (Gl. Apr. 18),

Unpledged bills receivable ran to the staggering total of \$1,610,886, at the Dawson bank. Three members of the Dawson family alone were on the books for a total of \$206,000; the St. Paul Plow company for \$195,545. Time deposits,

ranging in amounts from \$10 into thousands, totaled \$836,925.78. (Gl.4-18)

Mayor Doran ineptly began a crusade against concert halls on a Saturday night.

"The first place visited by Captain Rouleau and Lieut. Bahe was ~~Straka's~~
~~Straka's~~ ^{Straka's} ~~Tivolia~~ ^{Tivoli} at Bridge Square," ^{- so chronicled the press -} a reporter noted, (Gl. Apr 18) "a number of
 women were in the audience and one woman performer had completed her first song
 of the evening...; at Oscar Tankenhoff's Palace Garden at 8th and Robert streets,
 the officers found the place crowded. Palm Garden concert hall at Wabasha and
 8th street was next, amid the walls of Proprietor Weinholzer."

The passage of several trainloads of Amish, Mennonite and Dunkard ^{families} through the
 city, attracted interest that spring. About 3,000 ^{members} of these sects settled in
 Wells and Foster counties in North Dakota. The state Senate killed the Reeves
 measure calling for a 5 cent ore tax. The St. Paul council was rent over a
 its passage April 20 regulated types of equipment, lanes of travel, and rates of speed.
 city cycling ordinance up for passage. Speeding with horsedrawn vehicles was
 not uncommon.

Heinigman
 "Joseph ~~Heinigman~~ and Charles Cooper of Minneapolis," read an account, "were
 locked up at the Prior avenue police station last night, on the charge of reckless
 driving. The men... were racing down University avenue."

Work of the St. Paul YMCA was discussed, at a quarterly meeting the last week
 in April, at the Plymouth Congregational church. ^{Worthy of note: Back in 1883, a} building program had been en-
^{launched}
~~thusiastisly~~ thusiastically/ at a cornerstone laying, presided over by Pan-American
 Congress members, ~~had in 1883~~. The speculative craze, and the ensuing crash, found
 this Christian edifice to youth still but a gaping excavation; so to remain for
 20 years. ^{However,}

The Rev. Mr. Gamble ~~the fall of~~ late in 1896, had set up clubrooms in the
 Central block. ~~These included reception room, secretary's office and reading room.~~

Edwin W. Winter, president of the Northern Pacific railroad company, resigned ⁱⁿ
^{the} ^{of that year.} that spring. Rumors that the senior road was coming under control of the Great
 Northern, led to statements being made by Mr. Hill and J.P. Morgan and Company.

Said Mr. Hill: "I have not purchased a dollar's worth of stock in the
 Northern Pacific nor do I expect ^{to} too."

^{view of the fact}
In that Hill's epic battle for control of the Northern Pacific came some years after 1897, the statement appears forthright. The N.P. was reorganized, however. In the transfer and reorganization, fixed charges were reduced five million dollars, achieved when holders of the 100 million dollars of stock preferred to waive that amount in interests, rather than undergo further assessments.

William F. Bickel, Jr., head of the Minnesota Savings bank, was arrested on a charge of grand larceny, April 29, in his attorney's office. Mrs. Bickel sought to ~~to~~ provide bail of \$2,500 by putting up a bond as security. Title to the same was clouded, however, and the court refused it. Mr. Bickel remained two nights and one day in jail, ~~before~~ bail was raised. Failure of the Minnesota Savings ^{Bank} had hit the laboring class of people particularly hard. A cook ~~of~~ for the Bickel family brought charges against the bank officer.

Public school finance trouble again took the stage in city council discussions. The N.P. Langford retrenchment^t plan espoused by Alderman Donahower raised a fury of protest. The plan envisaged a telescoping of the school system. It was based on ~~a~~ ¹ pupil enrolment figure of 18,000, whereas more than 21,000 pupils were shown on the rolls. The manual training school, branch high schools, and the teachers training school were to be closed, ~~or discontinued..~~

"There is a proposition in the plan which appeared to make a 10 per cent reduction in the salaries of teachers. If that were done," ~~xxxxxx~~ stated the Globe, May 6, 1897, "there would be over 150 teachers receiving each but \$500 a year or less, many of them less." At the time, 4 teachers were receiving \$350 a year, 54 getting \$400, 43 having \$450, and 57 getting \$500 a year.

On May 7, wrote the Globe : "President Zimmerman ... proposed to cut the salaries of high school teachers, the number of teachers was to be increased in that school owing to the closing of the manual training school and removal of pupils to the High school. Pupils from the Cleveland and Humboldt schools would also be transferred to the Central high school and the number of periods increased from 5 to 6. Supervisors would be done away with and grade teachers

salaries equalized."

This was the enlightened program being ^{devised} concocted by the city council and the city school board on May 6. Basic causes of this situation are ramified and controversial in nature. Its genesis was not born of the depression, for certain forces of reaction had come out sharply and openly against the erection of a new high school 15 years before and no doubt apathy with an antiquated city charter ^{had} long played into the hands of these forces. () ()

May 10, St. Paul citizens decided to take up cudgels for their public schools. A protest meeting was called to halt the closing of Mechanic Arts high school. The St. Paul School Union, somewhat of a forerunner to the PTA, was formed with a full set of officers, headed by J.W.L. Corning, president.

The following night another protest meeting flamed up on the West Side. A group met in Liedertofel hall to protest the proposed closing of the Humboldt high school. Here was democracy in action.

"The hard times," said Dr. Vincent J. Hawkins, chairman of the meeting, as quoted freely by the Globe, "had affected St. Paul as other cities, and this made it necessary to cut expenses. The Powers had decided that one way to reduce expenses was by doing away with branches of the public high schools. There were other ways the 6th ward, should be the last place to commence the retrenchment. A few years ago the 6th ward had only a population of 2,500, now it numbered over 20,000, and to do away with the high school would be a step backward."

Parents on May 13 held a third protest meeting to save Mechanics Arts high school. F.I. Whitney was chairman and Charles Michaud, C.K. Sharood, Oliver Crosby, Rev. J.F. Stout, J.D. Estebrook, W.R. Tostevin, George J. Grant, Mrs. W.B. Hinckley, and Mrs. H.D. West discussed issues. (Globe May 14).

"The city," declared William Foulke, "was unfortunate in having in official positions people with very antiquated views as to education..."

In June, pleas increased, June 8 and 9 mass meetings were held to save Mechanics Arts. Demands for a new city charter gained momentum as the school trouble was traced in part to the faulty Bell instrument. June 16, Mechanic Arts closed.

Inspector Anthony Yoerg attacked the school board for the closing. He stressed the odd position of Principal Adoneran J. Smith of Central high school who four years earlier had insisted Central high school was not large enough when a reallignment threatened his seniority there.~~am~~ Now Smith raised no voice against the plan that jettisoned the branch schools and left the principal supreme at Central high school.

June 29, the school board retreated from its earlier decision. It voted to resume all three schools, Mechanic Arts, Humboldt, and Cleveland high schools after September 1897.

State legislators had gone home and were mopping their hot brows over the corn plows. They had successfully repealed an outmoded \$200 horse thief bounty. ~~Herb~~ Herbert A. Winslow startled them by suing the state for a full bounty. Opportunist, Winslow had captured a junior horse thief, Robert Brown, aged 10, but ambiguous language of the repeal measure entitled him to the full \$200 bounty of 1875.

"Look alive," was the heading of a Globe editorial in May, "we are coming out of the fatal cycle of depression.

~~Archbishop Ireland experienced a one-man revolt in diocese when a Wisconsin priest had balked at a transfer to a new parish. Mgr. Martinelli, apostolic delegate, heard the controversy that developed into greater dimensions than seemed necessary.~~

"The common people," wrote the Globe, ~~()~~ in launching the petition for the voting of a new charter," heard the news of this petition gladly. "They love their public schools and desire to have them provided for."

A delegation of more than 400 Minnesotans gathered upon a spot of hallowed ground at Gettysburg the morning of July 2, for the dedication of a monument to the memory of the First Minnesota regiment. Poignant emotions and memories must have come back to many. Present was Mrs. Messick, widow of Captain Messick who had fallen on the third day in the second repulse of the Confederates in their greatest bid for victory.

Governor Clough gave the dedicatory address. Judge Lochren, chairman of the monument committee, also spoke. Praising the deeds of the heroic First, he also

fulminated upon the "drove of coffee cooling cowards who always haunt the rear of active armies." With 82 per cent losses, the fated Gopher vanguard could not have been doing much coffee drinking that July day 34 ~~the~~ years before.

~~"The roll of musketry"~~

"...All that murky afternoon, we watched the struggling masses," recalled Major McGinnis."...The roll of musketry, the crash of cannon filled the world. But it never occurred to us that it would reach us here. Then the gray sea prevailed. The blue shore was washed away; the flood and foam of fire, the flame of red battle flags rolled up towards this solitary rock. Then we were told to roll down and through it.

"We started. Then we saw it rolled around us. We went through it. The wave washed back. We turned, saw the re-established line. The enemy had disappeared, but we also, we were gone. It seemed as if the regiment had fled..."

Fourth of July morning, a Sunday, residents spent cleaning debris from a severe wind storm. Social notes for this period showed: "Mrs. John Quincy Adams gave an informal tea Monday afternoon..." " Mrs. A.R. Dalrymple gave a euchre party Friday afternoon at her home on Summit avenue, for Mrs. Milburn of Chattanooga." Lawn socials and bicycle parties were popular. ~~laborer~~

Labor unions were flourishing and Maggie McClure, St. Paul, was vice president of the state federation. Col. Alvaren Allen, ^{proprietor} ~~operator~~ of the Merchants hotel and beloved pioneer citizen, had his cup ~~filled~~ of sorrow filled to overflowing.

His eldest son, George H., popular deputy sheriff, committed suicide. The younger son, Ehle, had likewise shot himself three years before. John Bell, ~~70~~ ^{who came} 71, come to St. Paul in 1850, died that summer. He ~~had once~~ had once refused to pay \$10 for the corner lot on Bench and Wabasha ^{streets} where the Tivoli stood in the 90's.

The new city directory showed no population gains; 12,000 St. Paulites were estimated to be riding bicycles. Assemblyman Tim Reardon lost his Irish temper when his Nellie, aged 17, eloped with a neighborhood youth, Mark Early, 23. A kindly aunt in the country harbored Nellie and her swain until the pater's feelings had

become adjusted to the facts.

The school board still was having budget headaches. President Zimmerman called attention to ~~an~~ alarming sanitary conditions in schools, as well as to overcrowding.

"Lack of funds for school maintenance ...will not allow the ~~new~~ erection of new buildings ... almost absolutely necessary," he said, and again: "... The department of health had occasion to close the Douglas school for a short period during the past year, and have recommended that all schools be connected with the general sewer system, and flush closets and mechanical ventilation be placed in the same..."

Mayor Doran in an open letter, depicted the school dilemma as stemming largely from the tax situation. He wrote: " and here it may not be amiss to refer to the fact that in the year 1896 our assessed valuation was reduced \$30,000,000, or a sum the possible revenues from which for school purposes amount to \$105,000."

"Mr. Lindahl," stated the Globe, August 4, " ~~had~~ made a talk about the need of new buildings for the eastern part of the city. There were 350 school children who were unable to attend school owing to there being no sitting for them..."

While charges of politics flew, board members raked their brains for solution of school problems. Withal the shortcomings of a bicameral city legislature were shown and this added a new incentive to drive for a new city charter.

^{the} Barnum and Bailey circus pitched its tents at University and Dale in mid-July.

"Let those who will," wrote a commentator "long for the 'old time show', & In the old days bareback riders were rare, the broad platform or resined pad being the rule of the ring, and those bareback riders did little else than pose. Bareback riding is now the only kind of ring riding and the riders are accomplished acrobats..."

W.F. Street, ~~county attorney~~ state's attorney of newly organized Beltrami county, came to town boasting of the young town, Bemidji, with its 300 population. Tom Foley, Chicago, famed billiards and baseball sponsor and of old Tremont house, gave a three cushions exhibitions.

*Mr. Lindahl.
Bemidji, Minnesota?*

Excluded

Complaints were coming to the Mayor's ears about police brutality and in-efficiency. ^{Two} Officers at Ducas street station, ~~two of them~~ were fined \$25 and were transferred for over-lusty clubwork. A Lieutenant Hanft was put in charge of Rondo station to the joy of Germans in that neighborhood. Fort Snelling district was detached from the Prior avenue mounted patrol and merged with the Central station detail. Hamline citizens complained picnic and public houses at the Fort took the entire patrol's attention.

The annual outing of the Retail Liquor Dealers, which attracted 1300 people, was more sedate than embroglios at Fort Snelling and Harris Park.

"... the pell mell race after a greased pig," wrote a report of the sports events, " was extremely ludicrous. When the porker was turned loose he made a beeline for a bevy of women reclining upon the ~~ga~~ grass. A hundred men and boys followed in close pursuit. The women screamed and sought the safety of the grandstand, while the frightened pig doubled on his course and took madly after them.... The pig was finally surrounded..."

Tax assessments on personal property of Ramsey county had been ^{increased} upped \$2,285,000 by August 15 of 1897. The St. Paul City Railway company and the St. Paul Gas Light company had their valuation figures raised nearly \$1,800,000. The St. Paul Trust company's boost was \$71,000. When the company had protested a valuation figure of \$40,000, the board of equalization replied with an assessment of \$111,000.

The Mayor and City Engineer Rundlett locked horns when the latter fired Street Commissioner Michael D. Carroll of the 6th ward on charges of inefficiency. Storm as Mayor Doran did over the discharge of his relative, Rundlett won his point. Someone wanted to know why the school board was being charged \$3.92 a ton for coal then selling on the open market for \$3.75 a ton.

The Allemania bank closing was creating an evergrowing crop of headaches. Col. Albert Scheffer, president of the bank, was shouted down at a depositors' protest meeting. The Germania on the other hand was preparing to reopen.

Naming of 15 prominent men to the charter commission marked a significant step.

W.P.Clough was named chairman and its members were John D. O'Brien, Pierce Butler, J.J.Parker, J.F.Krieger, Henry J.Horn, H.C.McNair, W.P.Murray, W.H. Lightner, William B. Dean, Charles N.Bell, Greenleaf Clark, George S.Innis, A.H.Lindeke, and J.W.Lusk. Considerable discontent with this personnel was expressed, for not only were Lawyers dominant but virtually the entire group came from one Ward, the exclusive Seventh.

Mr. Bell, parent of the famous Bell Charter, was found reluctant to retire his brainchild. ^{To quote} ~~Wrote~~ ^{Bell} the Globe: "Mr. ^{Bell} has found upon communion with himself, that by reason of his ~~devotion~~ devotion to the document that bears his name and his fixed faith, as expressly stated in his letter that it deserves to rank with the Ten Commandments in unchangeableness..."

By August 13, harvesting through the northwest was in full blast. ^{swing} Frost and rain had cut the wheat yield to an estimated 130 million bushels.

Mayor Doran under cross-fire and ill-temper had sent word to Police court clerk Conroy that ~~that was~~ he was a "double-faced cur." "But" said Congoy laughing, "I didn't send back my opinion of the chief executive, because -- well because I didn't care to get into any argument."

"The Police department," ^{declared} ~~wrote~~ the Globe of August 14 "are in the chaos of despair on account of the high handed methods of the rapidly increasing population of criminals..."

A patrolman was ~~quax~~ quoted as saying "... in 2 hours the Central station could be filled with crooks.... Instead they work at will both here and in Minneapolis."

"The watch gag" and other confidence rackets abounded. Confidence men sought to enlist the services of hotel runners who met trains.

An irate citizen wrote: "Dear Sir; There was a young man robbed of \$90 night before last in a small store on Sibley, near 5th. They locked him in the store and robbed him. The girl working in the hall next to the place heard his cries and reported it. The policeman on the beat simply advised the poor victim to buy

a ticket and go back home, although he knew who the robbers were. I have seen nothing in the papers about this, and I wish you would investigate ..."

The contagion of irregularity of the police department passed over to other departments.

"Residents in the vicinity of Payne avenue and York street were treated to a shooting affray Sunday evening, but no one was hurt," noted a Globe writer, August 17," The parties were Poundmasters Welch and Hammergreen who laid aside their chase after cows for the time being, and devoted themselves to chasing 'schooners' and 'snitts' in the saloons along Payne avenue.... Both men were in full uniform and made a show of themselves, winding up by discharging their revolvers just ^{to} make things lively. The regular police hustled ~~to~~ the scene, after dispersing the crowd, had the twain taken to their homes."

The same day, Gabriella Hale was arrested at 7th and Robert streets and charged with drunkenness. Arraigned in police court, she shouted "It's a lie, Judge; it's ^a wicked lie..."

Vice conditions became a heated topic in council chambers. Disputants nearly broke out in fisticuffs as one principal declared "so the pinches hurt when they touch the flesh."

Police were further embarrassed August 21 when George Roebuck, bound for the Klondike with \$700, lost ~~his~~ his grubstake. A "con" man, Kid Furey, was taken into custody. He fumed threats from his cell as did Mrs. Furey from outside.

"If W.H.Griffin or City Detective Gruber," reported the Globe that Saturday "don't succeed in getting 'Kid' Furey out of the county jail by noon today, Mr. Furey will divulge everything.

"Furey was made, his wife was madder. Griffin was scared.

" '...Why you brought me here to this work,' claimed Furey to Griffin."

The storm aroused caused the almost immediate return of \$520 of Roebuck's money. The \$180 balance likewise, mysteriously, was returned to Roebuck who was only too glad to depart for Alaska. Thus could the police expedite justice when occasion demanded.

Civic life proceeded into the new year with St. Paul showing progress out of the depression that had reached its nadir in 1896. In January, the charter commission was hung up on the matter of letting city franchises.

"The charter commission appears to have fallen short in one of the most important features of the trust committed to its care," wrote the Globe editor of January 9, 1898. "It has adopted an amendment to the charter declaring that 'no ordinance, resolution or measure granting a franchise or authorizing the issuance of bonds or ^{certificates} ~~certificates~~ of indebtedness without the submission thereof for ratification to the electors of the city, should be valid or of any force or effect unless approved by the Mayor in writing within ten days after its passage by the council."

"...The city of St. Paul has already had ample experience of the unwisdom of granting perpetual franchises or of entrusting to the common council the power to grant franchises, whether perpetual or not," ^{editorialized} wrote the Globe in criticism.

Labor forces about this time were organizing the Municipal Reform Labor league, to check up on and investigate city government and officials.

Bob Fitzsimmons, heavyweight champion, was making a stage appearance in St. Paul the new year.

The charter commission had the matter of defining liquor sales limitations and districts tossed in its laps. Some held that this was a matter for the council.

The banking debacles of the past 18 months were still being painfully etched on the public mind by trials of the Dawsons and other banking officials. The trail of justice is a devious and tenuous product in the many indictments and suits brought before Judge Willis. Even at this late date, the observant cannot help reflecting that justice was expedited too smoothly and facilely. In one instance, Judge Willis, in the recondite idiom of the bar, liquidated one of the multifarious indictments of the Dawsons and hurried over to Minneapolis to be in the vanguard of the reception committee for William Jennings Bryan. Judge Willis rode in state into St. Paul beside the great Commoner.

On the occasion, Bryan was Minneapolis' guest ^{at} on the annual Jackson Day dinner. He addressed 10,000 people in the Exposition hall of that city. *In the case of Bickel he was so well defended by Pierce Butler that the attorney all my friends that the defendant didn't owe the bank anything but the bank owed him!*
 The report of Secretary Hutchins' ~~report~~ on the St. Paul Society for The Relief of the Poor, ~~should~~ showed applications for 1897—slightly less than in the previous year. Need must have far surpassed the humble figures shown in his report, however. A sewing school serving 264 pupils, an industrial school with 200 pupils, a day nursery society were other aids then extended.

January 12, County Attorney Anderson had called in Attorney-General Childs to help him hold the last rampart in the Dawsons' drive for exoneration in Judge Willis' court. The attorney-general cited a supreme court opinion in vain. Judge Willis brushed it aside with the words "...the opinion written by the court is a mere literary essay on an abstract question..." (Globe, Jan. 12)

Attorney-General Childs retorted that "the matter had been brought squarely before the Supreme Court, and a reading of the opinion would so show."

Parried Judge Willis: "How can a court say you can convict on an aggregate of a number of offenses, when you cannot convict positively on anyone of them?" The attorney-general quit the trial in disgust and County Attorney Anderson subsided in the words "State rests." The name of one of St. Paul's oldest banking families had been legally extricated from ^{the} toils of the law.

The carriage firm of Crisham and Winch assigned. Francis L. Winch at the hearing admitted to squandering \$63,000 of an inheritance, in six years.

In mid-January, one John Kane secured a ~~xx~~ judgment of \$3,250 against a Lieutenant Bahe ~~fix~~ of the police force for false arrest. Attorney "Long Fine" Erwin represented the defense, and equally famous Attorney Butler the plaintiff. The latter cited the "many instances of gross brutality to citizens of St. Paul ~~in the past~~ on the part of experienced officers."

Bryan left the Twin Cities and behind him the wise adage that "If you keep worrying about the financier, his interests will have two guardians, and you will have none. Look out for yourself and your family..."

But the year, 1898, held more portentous events ahead for St. Paul. It was an election year. A war of liberation blossomed into one of imperialism and the United States plunged over the threshold of destiny dragging St. Paul and the northwest with it as an entity. During the year, the first non-Republican governor since Minnesota's entry to statehood was to take office. ~~xxxxxx~~ ~~John~~ "Honest John" Lind, three times to Congress, was to march into the governorship on a huge wave of ~~xxxxxxxx~~ patriotic ardor and public resentment of past regimes. The New Ulm school teacher, lawyer, and soldier strangely was to lose a second term for office through political chicanery and while his popularity was at its height.

Lind, tricked out of office, was to leave his opponent's inauguration upon a ^{bent} strange mission. Straight for the St. Paul Dispatch/^{office} headed the late governor who already held a legal victory over that Republican sanctum. Accosting its editor, Harry Black, Ex-Governor Lind swung a lusty, knockdown blow and "Black Harry", as his enemies mischievously called him, went down under the same duress that Richard Mansfield had expedited after a sour review. Editor Black in Mansfield's assault had been an unwitting proxy for the paper's critic.

city's progress -- the greatest expansion of St. Paul came in the ~~the~~ ten years after 1875. In ¹⁸⁷⁵ ~~that year~~, bank clearings totaled \$19,290,472; ten years later, the total was \$118,348,997 -- an increase of 613.4 per cent. ^{1. From 1870 to 1890} ~~In these ten years~~ the population jumped from 20,030 to 133,151. After 1885, the percentage increase of bank clearings dropped ^{then rose} until it reached a new high mark of a 146.1 per cent increase in the ten years after 1915.

^{by 1900} Although its population growth had slowed down somewhat, St. Paul was enjoying ~~a~~ a position of economic, political and social leadership in the Northwest. ~~One~~ One of the important reasons for that was the immensely strong position of the railroads owned by James ~~J.~~ J. Hill. Another was the virtual monopoly ^{of} ~~control~~ the great lumbering firm of Weyerhaeuser. Another was the increasing production of the stockyards at South St. Paul. ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ Ten miles away, in the neighboring city of Minneapolis, the foundation had been laid for the greatest wheat storage and milling equipment in the world, and to get that wheat to market from the ~~granary~~ miles and miles of wheat fields in the Northwest -- extending from Minnesota to the Dakotas -- there was only one means of transportation, the Northern Pacific Railroad and the Great Northern, both ^{owned} ~~owned~~ by James J. Hill.

The story of St. Paul's wealth and economic influence in these years can largely be traced to the railroads, and to fully understand what forces had brought about this leadership -- the same forces that were ~~the~~ to have such far-reaching political ~~and~~ effects in later years -- an examination should be made of the life of James J. Hill and ^{continent-spanning} ~~his~~ his railroad systems, ~~that spanned the continent.~~

In 1865, there were 35,000 miles of steam railways in the United States, practically all east of the Mississippi. By 1900, with just under 200,000 miles in operation, the United States had a ^{1.} greater railway mileage than all Europe. The effect of this increase in mileage upon St. Paul, the Northwest -- indeed, the nation as a whole -- ~~cannot be~~ was enormously important.

"A transportation system such as this required state and federal legislation, colossal sums of money, and the labor of myriads. It affected the fortunes of almost anyone in the country, and of millions abroad as well. It gave a new wrench to the body politic, already distorted by the (Civil) war. Railway expansion touched American life at countless points. It closely interacted with western migration ~~and settlement~~ and settlement, with the iron and steel industry, and with agriculture: it greased the way for big business and high finance, helped to pollute politics, and gave birth to the new type of successful corporation ~~lawyer~~ lawyer. Another revolution in transportation wrought by the internal combustion engine and the motor-car have so overshadowed the railroads that it is difficult for the present generation to realize how completely they dominated the industrial and political world for almost fifty years after the Civil War."^{2.}

James J. Hill settled his domain in the Northwest in a manner typical of the transcontinental builders. They pushed out in the plains far in advance of settlers, advertised for immigrants in the Eastern states and Europe, transported them at wholesale rates to the prairie railhead, and sold them land at from one to ten dollars an acre. The agents of James J. Hill scoured Europe for settlers and met new arrivals at the piers in New York; Henry Villard of Northern ~~Pacific~~ Pacific

1. Growth of the American Republic, Morrison and Commager, vol. 2, p. 106 105
2. ibid., p. 106

employed almost a thousand agents in England ^{and} continental Europe.

Railroading was big business -- the biggest business of a big era, and nothing was bigger than the empire carved out of the Northwest by James J. Hill and his Great Northern railway, with its headquarters at St. Paul. St. Paul was a small town on the ~~the~~ edge of the frontier when Hill ~~migrated~~ migrated there from eastern Canada in 1856, and Minneapolis was a village at St. Anthony falls on the Mississippi. ~~Such important centers as the~~ As jumping off places for the Northwest, the two ~~cities~~ settlements were important chiefly ~~for~~ for being on ~~the~~ one end of the trail ~~that~~ from the Red River of the North, and Pembina, N.D., ^{trains} which connected Winnipeg with the outside world. Long ~~trains~~ of two-wheeled ox-carts transported furs and supplies ~~from 600 miles~~ 600-800 miles in forty to fifty ~~days~~ days. In the winter of 1870, Donald Smith, resident governor of the Hudson's Bay Company, started south from Winnipeg, and James J. Hill started north from St. Paul, both in dog sleds. They met on the ~~prairie~~ prairie and made camp in a snowstorm; and from that meeting sprang the Canadian Pacific and the Great Northern railways.

Hill ~~later~~ ^{in 1878} secured control of the bankrupt St. Paul and Pacific railway, renamed it the Great Northern, and started building toward the Pacific Coast, and with that move, the great development of the Northwest began. Hill introduced a new concept of railroad acquisition. Unlike most financiers of his day, interested ~~only~~ in securing control of railroads only to make money, Hill "had a far-sighted sense of the opportunity for solid gain which lay in developing the communities dependent upon their lines." ^{1.} ~~He felt that the~~ The day of state and federal land grants was

1. Lords of Creation, Frederick L. Allen, Harpers, 1935. p. 44

past and Hill was astute enough to see that the Great Northern could only reach the coast by developing the country as it went along.

"We consider ourselves and the people along our lines as co-partners in the prosperity of the country we both occupy," said Hill, "and the prosperity of ~~the~~ one should mean the prosperity of both, and their adversity will be quickly followed by ours." So this empire-builder undertook to enhance the prosperity of what came to be known as the 'Hill country'; he introduced ~~the~~ scientific farming, distributed blooded bulls free to farmers, supported churches and schools, and assisted in countless ways in the development of the communities of the Northwest. 'It was,' observes one commentator, 'largely due to his unceasing interest in all that pertained to getting the most out of the soil that the "Hill country" developed more evenly and with fewer tragedies than any other large-scale land enterprise of these years.'

"In the construction of his railroad Hill showed equal forethought and shrewdness. Construction costs were low, the financial management was skillful and conservative, and the Great Northern was the one ~~transcontinental~~ transcontinental line that managed to weather every financial crisis. Hill first made connection with Winnipeg by the Red River valley; then, anticipating a diversion of Winnipeg traffic by the Canadian Pacific, he struck out almost due west across the Dakota plains, sending out ^{branches} ~~branches~~ in order to people the region and carry its wheat to market. In the summer of ~~1887~~ 1887 he made a record stride, 643 miles of grading, bridging, and plate-laying from Minot, North Dakota, to the Great Falls of the Missouri, at the rate of over three miles per working day. Two years later the Rockies yielded their last secret, the Marias pass, to a young engineer named John F. Stevens. In 1893 the trains of the Great Northern reached tidewater at Tacoma, Washington. Ten years more, and Hill had purchased joint control

of the Northern Pacific railroad, had purchased joint control of a railway connecting its eastern termini with Chicago, and was running his own fleet of steamships from Duluth to Buffalo, and from Seattle to Japan and China." 1.

~~St. Paul, the seat of the northern railway empire, St. Paul occupied~~ because it was ~~largely through its~~ Largely the seat of the northern railway empire, St. Paul occupied in 1900 a position of vast sectional importance. "The power of the western railways over their exclusive territory was nearly absolute, for until the age of automobiles, the people of the West had no alternative means of transportation. Such railways could make an industry or ruin a community by a few cents more or less in a rate on wheat or cattle. The funds at their disposal, often created by financial manipulation and stock-watering, were so colossal as to overshadow state governments. Railway builders and promoters had the point of view of feudal chieftans. They regarded the farmers, whom they had placed on the land, as ignorant and ungrateful boors who must be coerced and bribed into doing right by the railroad if milder methods would not serve. . . 2."

Fortunately for the Northwest, James J. Hill, as railroad czar, did not abuse his power, but tried to build constructively. As a result, the Northwest developed into the wheat center of the world. "Railway penetration of the far Northwest, improved agricultural machinery, the handling of grain in carload lots, transshipment to lake or ocean steamers by grain elevators, and a new milling process which ground northern spring wheat into superfine flour -- all these factors combined to move the center of wheat production north and west from Iowa and Illinois into

Minnesota, the Dakotas, Montana, Oregon and the Canadian Northwest. In 1. Growth of the American Republic, pp. 108-110

2. ibid, pp 114-115

3xx

this new ~~land~~ wheat belt the bonzana farms, veritable ~~factories~~ factories for wheat production, were well established by ^{1.} 1890."

The other great factor behind the position of St. Paul -- in addition to the railroads of James J. Hill -- was the lumber empire built by a shy, German-born immigrant, Frederick ^E. Weyerhaeuser, who started out as a millhand, saved his money and bought a ~~mill~~ sawmill, just as the golden era of lumbering was on its way. ~~By 1856, the prairie~~ This came after 1856; the prairies were settling and the lumber industry was becoming established in the thick white pine along the tributaries of the upper Mississippi. In 1870, the Mississippi River Logging Company was organized and in 1872, Weyerhaeuser became president, which was the real beginning of the Weyerhaeuser empire. ^{2.} The Mississippi River Logging Co. led to the formation of the Chippewa Logging ^{Co.} ~~Co.~~, which was the "second extension of the Weyerhaeuser empire, the famous pool that ~~dominated~~ dominated the Lake States lumber industry until 1900 when the timber was thin and the industry had to move on." ^{3.}

But big-time lumbering came of age back in the eighties. "Men who had bought timberland just to get wood for their ~~mill~~ sawmills found that the land itself greatly increased in value as logging moved farther and farther away from the streams and the district ~~was~~ 'sugared off.' Lumbermen began to count on this 'sugaring off' process (appreciation of land values) and there was a rush for new timberlands. Their profits built the Twin Cities.

"The lumbermen built Minneapolis and later turned it over to the flour millers. The small river town was convenient to the timberlands of upper Minnesota and when they replaced Wisconsin as the chief source of lumber, Minneapolis began to grow. With it grew the great fortunes of the lumber industry. . . But none made as many millions as Frederick Weyerhaeuser.

1. Growth of the American Republic, p. 111

2 & 3. Fortune, April, 1934, p. 173

He went across the river to St. Paul.

"In the nineties he was directing dozens of lumber companies throughout the Lake states region and was still reaching out for new lands. In St. Paul, he had bought a big house on ~~Summit~~ Summit Avenue, but with his genius for obscurity he had picked out one next door to the bigger house of the great James J. Hill."

During the years after 1890, Weyerhaeuser ^{legion to} seek more and more ^{and} land, there was one place he could always be sure to get it, ~~from~~ from the railroads. The railroads had been granted by the government alternate sections (the odd sections -- one square mile each) for developing their territories, the theory being that ^{the} even sections retained by the government would double in value. With the news that the railroads were going ~~through~~ through, the timberland became suddenly valuable and everybody rushed to get his share. ///

"When the government began a ~~conservation~~ conservation policy in 1891 and set aside its first national parks, the railroads -- principally the Northern Pacific and Southern Pacific -- held great stretches of odd sections within the boundaries of the forests. Through Secretary of Interior Cornelius Bliss the railroads in 1897 secured passage of a ~~Lieu~~ Lieu Selection Act granting holders of land in the national-forest areas the right to exchange it for other land within the public domain. First thing the government knew the railroads had thousands upon thousands of ~~acres~~ acres of the finest timberland in the Northwest.

"At this point Mr. Weyerhaeuser's next-door-neighborliness with Mr. James J. Hill proved valuable to both. . . he (Weyerhaeuser) was ripe for an investment in the (Pacific) Northwest. Mr. Hill took him out to Washington, showed him the fine big timber of Douglas fir and spruce and cedar and the beautiful white pine of the Inland Empire between the Cascades

and the Rockies. Mr. Weyerhaeuser was impressed and when he got a chance to buy 900,000 acres at \$6 an acre from the Northern Pacific he did not hesitate long. . .

"Mr. Weyerhaeuser, once in the Northwest, did not stop with one purchase, however great. . . Within a few years the Weyerhaeuser companies^{1.} owned 2,000,000 acres of timberland in the Northwest."

The early 1900s, however, marked the end of the free, ~~careless~~ care-
less era when forests were cheap and the fast-growing West was crying for
more and more lumber for its houses and its barns and the ~~lumberman~~
lumberman had only to set up his sawmill and slash down a forest and put
~~the~~ the proceeds in his pocket. The early years of the century, too, ~~marked~~
marked the start of a long fight between the United States government and
the ~~lumber~~ industry upon which depends the fate of the greatest United States
natural resource and the employment of more men than any other industry
excepting only agriculture.

"Theodore Roosevelt and his chief forester, Gifford Pinchot, ~~gave~~
gave the country a thorough scare. Its forests were being depleted, they
said, and in thirty years would be gone. In a few years prices rose to
dizzy heights, taxes increased ten to twenty times. Carrying charges and
fire hazards and the taxes forced owners to cut their timber. The trees
~~came~~ came down faster than ever and lumber flooded the market.

In 1907 lumber production reached its all-time high of ^{46,000,000,000} ~~44,000,000,000~~ board feet
and started the long slide downward. . . In 1932 the production of lumber
was ~~10,200,000,000~~ 10,200,000,000 feet, the lowest since the Civil War decade, ~~the~~ . . ."^{2.}

~~the~~ ^{3.} The Weyerhaeuser company today is the largest segment of the
industry, hence the most important. It consists of 94 corporations, most
of which are no longer important (one owns a few acres of waste land, and
operates an ancient tugboat). General Timber Service, Inc., of St. Paul

1. ibid., p. 174

2. ibid., p. 63

3. ibid., p. 64

is the coordinating agent between all companies: auditing, accounting, traffic, development engineering, market and merchandising studies, public relations, advertising.^{1.}

Such an organization as Weyerhaeuser couldn't fail to ~~play~~ play an important role in St. Paul's development. When old Frederick Weyerhaeuser died in 1914, at the age of 80, ~~he~~ he was worth, according to estimates of the time, ~~one-third~~ ^{one-third} of a billion dollars. Executive control of the present-day sprawling Weyerhaeuser domain has remained in St. Paul, even though the last ~~logs~~ rafts of Minnesota logs floated down the Mississippi nearly twenty-five years ago.

Thus, between 1900 and 1914 the prosperity of St. Paul -- and it was a substantial prosperity, too -- rested solidly upon a cornerstone of railroads, lumber and wheat. Yet, though St. Paul had pioneered the development of the Northwest through these three factors, the expected final promise of the city never was realized because the cornerstone crumbled in after years. Gasoline motors weakened the ~~once~~ once absolute power of the railroads; the wheat came to be milled up the river where the millers had the advantage of power from St. Anthony falls; and the lumber industry moved to the Pacific Northwest when the great pine forests of Minnesota were logged off.

But, in 1900, St. Paul was in a strong position. James J. Hill, never satisfied, was looking ahead to bigger empires and he had aligned his interests with John Pierpont Morgan. Both the Northern Pacific and the Great Northern did their banking with the House of Morgan, and Hill was influential in both; the "community of interest" between them -- to use Morgan's favorite phrase -- resulted in both roads being called Hill ~~and~~ or Morgan roads.^{2.} At the turn of the century there were three main trans-

1. ibid., p. 65

2. Lords of Creation, p. 50

continental lines: the Union Pacific, owned by E. H. Harriman, the Great Northern and Northern Pacific. ~~Just~~ Just about this time events began to happen that affected not only St. Paul, but the economic and political life ~~of~~ of the nation for the next thirty years.

Hill and Morgan entered into a fight with Harriman to buy the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy for its direct entrance into Chicago. In April, 1900, Hill secured control, after Harriman had been diverted from his purpose by purchasing the Southern Pacific. Harriman, however, came back with a direct ~~attack~~ attack -- if he couldn't buy the Burlington alone, perhaps he could buy it by getting control of the Northern Pacific, which meant getting ~~about~~ 51 per cent of 155 million dollars of outstanding Northern Pacific stock. The resulting battle in the New York stock market caused a near-panic -- the celebrated Northern Pacific "corner" -- and rocked the Exchange into a "struggling mass of humanity. . . howling and shrieking as though a mob were let loose."^{1.}

For five days the avalanche of selling kept up: "excited crowds of brokers surged about ~~the~~ the corridors of the Waldorf, the gilded gathering place of Wall Street bulls and bears; from Peacock Alley into the bar and from the bar into the billiard room they swarmed, discussing with sinking hearts what might happen on the morrow. The air was blue with tobacco smoke, the bar was doing heavy business, reporters were threading their way through the crowds, picking up fantastic tales of gains and losses."^{2.}

On Thursday, May 9, Northern Pacific hit ~~about~~ 1,000 and panic came in dead earnest. It was reported that a barber in St. Paul who had Northern Pacific stock, when he heard his holdings were worth a fortune, promptly took off his apron, left a half-shaven customer in the ~~chair~~ chair and walked out, delirious with joy.^{3.} By the end of the trading day,

1. Lords of Creation, p. 59

2. ibid., p. 61

3. ibid., p. 63

3,071,805 sales had been made, the largest single day in the history of Wall Street, a record that was to stand for a quarter of a century.

Afterward, the New York Times called it "an exhibition of use of vast power for private ends unrestrained by any sense of public responsibility." 1. Thousands of small investors had been wiped out. But both the Harriman and Hill-Morgan interests won. Harriman was given places on the boards of both the Northern ~~and~~ Pacific and Burlington. As the result of that fight, a holding company was formed, designed to be too immense ever to be conquered in a raid like Harriman's: the Northern Securities company, which was to hold a majority of the stock in the Northern Pacific and the Great Northern, and thus was to control indirectly the Burlington -- the largest railway combination, or trust, in history.

The formation of the Northern Securities is important in more ways than one. It is particularly significant to St. Paul that it should have set off a ~~new~~ movement that affected the development of the nation from that time. It has been noted, "the one sure victor in the battle-- a battle which from any broad social point of view, considering the railways as public carriers rather than as pawns in some game of grab, appeared almost completely senseless -- was the principle of consolidation and concentration of capital. . . Great as the speculative boom had been, it had not involved a fraction of the money or the men who were to be sucked into the boom of 1928-29; and the momentum of national growth was still tremendous." 2.

Thus, out of the forces that had made St. Paul the seat of a railway empire arose events that crystallized a new phase in American life. "The first twentieth-century wave of speculation had curled and broken; but the ~~new~~ groundswell of financial concentration still swept surely forward.

1. Lords of Creation, p. 64

2. *ibid.*, p. 65

Meanwhile governmental and public opposition to the financial powers had begun to take^{1.} shape. The character of the new economic era was becoming established."

On September 14, 1901, the easy-going McKinley died from the effects of an assassin's bullet, and Theodore Roosevelt, who had thought his political career ended when he was named vice president, became the nation's chief executive, a fact which aroused some misgivings among financiers and politicians. Roosevelt was ^{an} unknown and unpredictable quantity, which led Mark Hanna to say bitterly, "Now, look, that damned cowboy is President of the United States!"^{2.}

Roosevelt didn't take long to make himself known. He suddenly asked his attorney general to enter suit against the Northern Securities Company. Morgan and Hanna hurried to Washington to dissuade the President, but their intervention was futile. Nor was their distinguished counsel more successful in the Supreme Court, for the Court upheld the ~~the~~ government's stand by a 5-4 vote. The decision aroused great consternation in financial circles."^{3.} James J. Hill remarked, "It seems hard that we should be compelled to fight for our lives against the political adventurers ~~who~~^{4.} who have never done anything but pose and draw a salary. . ."

The trend had been given concrete form. Out of the Midwest and the farm belt came the principle of governmental regulation of trusts, not on grounds of mere bigness, but because of the abuse of power by private individuals. The trend was important to St. Paul because the origins of the opposition to trusts and stock market manipulations grew out of the discontent of farmers over unequal ~~the~~ railway freight rates, in the period from 1870, when the agrarian protest began to take ^{form,} ~~shape~~. Directly and indirectly anything that affected the welfare of the farmer affected the

1. Lords of Creation, p. 69
 2. ibid., p. 67
 3. Growth of the American Republic, p. 392
 4. ibid., p. 392

welfare of St. Paul because it was then -- and is now -- dependent to a ~~large~~ large extent upon grain, livestock and freight shipments for a major part of its prosperity. At the same time, it is important to realize that the city played more than a little part in determining the economic trend of the United States after 1900.

While Theodore Roosevelt was getting ready to institute suit against the Northern Securities Company, there was considerable opposition to ~~the~~ ^{the trust} in Minnesota. William D. Washburn, Jr., legislator from the ~~4th~~ 41st district, was saying, "Minnesota is flatly opposed to the ~~the~~ consolidation of the Great Northern and the Northern Pacific Railways under the guise of the Northern Securities Company." ^{1.}

"The people of Minnesota," said Washburn, "believe that the Northern Securities Company proposes to saddle upon the Northwest a fictitious ~~the~~ indebtedness of nearly one hundred million dollars. This vast sum is an absolute net profit ~~the~~ to the organizers of this corporation. . . The successful and continued coercion of seven commonwealths and ten million people can hardly be attempted by any man who has not become drunken by continued success and power. . . This legislature will ^{extortionate} revise these ~~extortionistic~~ rates, and they will be so revised that the people of the Northwest will not be compelled to pay four per cent interest upon \$100,000,000. The individual citizen is fast ~~becoming~~ becoming a mere cog in the gigantic organism which does away with all free will and the national ambition of mankind. The man with small capital has been crushed in his effort to compete with gigantic masses of corporate ^{1. Minnesota and the Railroad Trust, p. 976 (citation not complete)}

wealth."¹

~~The~~ Outlook ~~noted~~ noted, "The Governor of Minnesota declares that ~~this~~ this practical consolidation of the Great Northern and the Northern Pacific is in direct violation of the plain intent of the Minnesota law forbidding union of parallel lines. This is certainly true but the only way to meet the difficulty is by Federal, not by State, action. We think it is equally true that ~~the~~ Federal action should regulate, not forbid, combination. Legislative enactment can never successfully counteract a natural law or resist a great historic tendency. The tendency to combination is inherent in the development of the race, and is one of the features most characteristically distinguishing civilized from barbaric society."²

So ran the arguments, but there were other things to think about in St. Paul beside ~~the~~ "trust-busting." ~~Although St. Paulites knew they had a big lived in an important city, they also knew that every thing was not quite perfect~~ (St. Paulites were quite proud of their city, and that meant civic ~~institutions~~ institutions: "The work-house, the city's correctional institution for minor offenders, failed to record any remarkable advance. A cleaner, more wholesome or better disciplined institution does not exist. That prisoners ~~thrive~~ thrive and grow fat on provisions that cost only 8.94 cents per inmate per day in 1892, and only ~~8.18~~ 8.18 cents in 1898, in spite of hard labor in the knitting or broom-factory or on the farm, which is an indication of the results there obtained."³ ~~The~~ The same source also remarks, "The very poor, for the most part, occupy shacks on the river bottom, which at their worst have plenty of air and sunlight."⁴

1. ibid., p. 978

2. Outlook, Vol. 69, N v., 1901, p. 753

3. Municipal Affairs, (article by Webster Wheelock), Sept. 1899, p. 493

4. ibid., p. 499

Just before the turn of the century, a group of St. Paul women organized the Civic League, ~~which~~^{was} an organization of women extending into every ward of the city. It has been so efficiently conducted that its influence has been felt in every branch of the city government that has anything to do with the sanitary condition or the external aspects of the city. It has established a system of sanitary inspection to supplement ~~and~~ that of the health department; it has procured the better enforcement of garbage contracts and of the ordinances regulating nuisances of various kinds." ^{1.}

In 1902, ~~Minnesota~~ the Minnesota state legislature adopted the direct ~~primary~~ primary law, in keeping with the movement that was sweeping the United States. Outlook noted, "The first trial in the state at large of the system of ~~direct~~ direct nomination appears to have given satisfaction to the people generally, although many professional politicians are hostile to the plan." ^{2.}

~~In that year, the Republican national convention met in Minneapolis and nominated~~

Meanwhile, St. Paulites were beginning to take interest in the background of the city. The preliminary meeting for the organization of the St. Paul Catholic Historical society was held at the St. Paul Seminary April 25, 1905. In explaining the object of the meeting, Archbishop Ireland said, "The Catholic Church in the Northwest has passed the formative period of her growth and development, and clergy and laity are in a position to study her history and draw inspiration from the lessons it inculcates. Its object, therefore, will be to collect and preserve materials of all kinds, such as books, papers, manuscripts, documents, etc., relating to Catholic history not only of the Province of St. Paul, but of the

^{1.} ibid., p. 499-500

^{2.} Outlook, Vol. 72, Sept. 1902, (page not given)

to have some formal organization dedicated to the pursuit of ~~entire~~ the arts, and in 1908 was organized the St. Paul Institute of Arts and Sciences, modeled on the Pratt Institute of Brooklyn, "to promote the intellectual and scientific growth of the city to a degree commensurate with its material development, to stimulate all the activities which make a city better to live in, and to promote a higher standard of citizenship." 1.

With this high-sounding declaration, the Institute held eight free lectures in ~~ix~~ its first year, with some 9,000 persons attending at the People's Church. During the next season, the number of lectures was materially increased, and with that beginning, the Institute has been carrying out a program of lectures, concerts, recitals, art exhibits, and, through department sections, actual courses of study "that are surprisingly comprehensive, and have enlisted the interest and active participation of thousands of the people of St. Paul who might otherwise have been denied the opportunities for development in the higher things of life which are so richly secured to them by the ~~ixstitute~~ Institute." 2.

Although the city was actively engaged in lifting its cultural level, it also was ~~being~~ feeling the effects of the ~~1907panic~~ business panic of 1907, which had "the characteristics of previous panics... . runs on banks, hoarding of money, a premium on currency and shortage of money." 3. President Roosevelt sent a pungent message to Congress that year, attributing the panic to "the speculative folly and flagrant dishonesty of a few men of great wealth." 4. Grain trading was suspended at Duluth. 5. The return of prosperity after the 1907 panic was fitful. "There was a revival in 1909 and again in 1912, but these were brief and during the intervening years, the general pace of business was slow and prospects were

1. American City, "St. Paul's Opportunity", Vol. 3, July, 1910, p. 8
2. ibid., p. 8
3. Encyclopaedia of Banking, G. L. Munn, 1937, p. 119
4. Morison and Commager, p. 393
5. Lords of Creation, p.

uncertain. In the entire period of 1907-1914 there was no protracted period of intense business activity as had preceded the Panic." 1.

In St. Paul, the best effects of the Panic of 1907 can be shown by bank clearings. In 1907, clearings were \$484,891,000; a year later, \$483,976,938. There was a bad slump in 1913: figures for 1912 showed clearings of \$579,166,000; 1913, \$530,515,000. On the whole, St. Paul pretty well followed the national trend. At the same time, ~~there was~~ over the long ~~period of time~~ point of view, there was a marked increase in the ten years between 1904 and 1914. In 1904, bank clearings totaled \$315,805,000, and in 1914 they had jumped up to \$585,307,000. 2.

The great increase in bank clearings is not so unusual when all things are considered. According to U.S. census figures, manufacturing in St. Paul showed almost a 100 per cent increase between 1899 and 1909. 3. In that year, the industries of the city were ranked: meat-packing, printing and publishing, ~~slaughtering, boots and shoes, cigars, machinery, foundries and boilers, and marble and stone cutting~~ foundry and machine shop products, boots and shoes, railroad repair shops, fur goods, and dairy products -- butter, cheese and condensed milk. 4. Manufacturing kept right on growing in St. Paul, ~~after 1909~~ In 1909, local estimates put the value of manufactured products at nearly \$87,000,000; by 1919, the figures ~~were~~ were \$215,000,000. 5. The fur industry made steady gains in importance. It was not established until 1870, but by 1913, it was said to rank in value of product next to New York. St. Paul has become the distributing center, and to a large extent, the manufacturing center for fur goods in the Northwest. A surprising increase was revealed in the production of butter, cheese and condensed milk, which advanced from

1. Lords of Creation, p. 169

2. The City of St. Paul and Vicinity, George F. C. Paul, 1915

3. The Twin Cities as a Metropolitan Market, M. L. Hartsough, 1925, p. 64

4. ibid., p. 64

5. ibid., p. 64

seventh place among the city's industries in 1909 to third place in 1914. This increase in dairy products corresponds to the development ~~and~~ of diversified agriculture in the Northwest, which is growing more important every year.^{1.}

Important, too, was the growth of the meat-packing industry/ at South St. Paul, and rapid strides were made ~~after 1900~~ in the period from 1900 to 1914. By 1915, South St. Paul took seventh place among the livestock markets of the country; in 1916, it advanced to ~~fifth~~ fifth place, and at present it is ~~in~~ third.^{2.} The industry got ~~its~~ ^{3.} its real start in 1887, when the Union Stockyards Company moved to South St. Paul. The Company owns almost all the land and buildings employed in the industry; and most of the stock of the company is owned by Swift and Co. Armour/^{4.} and Swift both have plants at South St. Paul, and three smaller packers are located there as well. The development of this industry on a large scale at St. Paul has been part of a country-wide change through the establishment ~~of~~ and development of the industry in centers west of Chicago, such as Omaha, Kansas City, and East St. Louis, which are near the present sources of raw materials. "It is especially indicative of the change in the type of agriculture practiced in the Northwest, the decrease in the relative importance of cereals, and the growing emphasis placed by ~~ax~~ farmers on ~~xxx~~ livestock as a source of income."^{5.}

Two of St. Paul's most noted buildings were completed between 1900 and 1915, the state capitol building and the Cathedral of St. Paul. Work on the capitol was started in 1896, after the state legislature had ~~appropriated~~ authorized a capitol commission and provided for a ten-year

1. *ibid.*, p. 66

2. *ibid.*, p. 67

3. Pioneer Press, Jan. 5, 1941, Annual Section, page 9

4. *The Twin Cities as a Metropolitan Market*, p. 67

5. *ibid.*, p. 66

tax of two-tenths of a mill in 1893. The cornerstone was laid on July 7, 1898, and the building completed in 1902, at a cost of \$4,500,000. The first legislature convened in the new building on January 3, 1905. Previously, the state had had two capitol buildings, one burned in 1881, the other out-grown. ~~At that~~ ~~a four and a half million dollars was spent upon the building~~ Designed by Cass ~~Albert~~ ^{then a} Gilbert, young St. Paul architect, it is a handsome building of ~~is~~ greyish-white Georgia marble, with other stones and marbles from Minnesota, Greece, France, Italy, Egypt, Vermont and Tennessee. The dome is modeled upon ~~Mychael~~ Michelangelo's design for the Cathedral of St. Peter in Rome.

The Cathedral, ~~dedicated~~ was opened for services on March 28, 1915, after ~~is~~ nine years of construction. There had been three previous Cathedrals before Archbishop John Ireland decided in March, ~~1905~~ 1904 to build the present Cathedral. Designed by E. L. Masqueray, the Cathedral is built of granite from St. Cloud (Minn.) quarries, in the Classical style, Renaissance/and had a seating capacity of 3,000, one of the largest in North America. Constructed largely of native Minnesota stones from St. Cloud and Mankato, ~~there~~ the Cathedral also has marbles from France, Italy, Germany, Ireland, Africa, Spain and Greece.^{1.}

So pleased were Minnesotans with their new capitol building -- which ~~resembled~~ is somewhat similar to the national capitol in Washington -- that they wanted an approach to the capitol built on the same elaborate scale. Cass Gilbert, the ~~architect~~ architect, proposed a mall, seven-eighths of a mile long, and ~~400~~ ²⁰⁰ feet wide running directly in front of the building at right angles to the ~~front~~ ^{main} entrance. A contemporary comment upon the plan said, "If carried out will entail the expenditure of many millions of dollars in the purchase of ~~proper~~ property into an avenue that shall

1. The Cathedral of St. Paul, mss. in file by P.A. Paulson (Churches, Religion)

approach in beauty the famous Champs Elysees of Paris, and in the erection of monuments, statues, and, later, in the building of new public structures. . . It is proposed to make of the mall the distinctive avenue for theatres, retail stores, restaurants -- in fact, everything a fashionable mall might include." That was in 1910; the plan hasn't come any closer to completion since.

The virus for improvement affected St. Paul in more ways than the addition of a "fashionable mall" for the capitol, and one of the most important manifestations of the desire for civic improvement came in 1912 when the city adopted a commission form of government. At the time, it ^(pop. 215,000) was the largest city/in the United States to adopt this form of government. ~~Although~~ ^{2.} ~~The commission form was~~ Adopted in 1912, it ~~wasn't~~ ^{didn't} go into effect until the next municipal election in 1914. The bill provided for a mayor, ~~and~~ six councilmen/~~and~~ and a comptroller to be ~~elected~~ ^elected by the public; ~~the~~ the ~~comptroller,~~ ~~was~~ not ~~is~~ a member of the council, serves ~~as~~ as accounting officer and head of the civil service. ~~The~~ ~~councilman~~ ~~was~~ ~~to~~ ~~be~~ ~~assigned~~ ~~to~~ ~~administer~~ ~~the~~ ~~city~~ ~~by~~ ~~the~~ ~~mayor~~ ~~is~~ ~~one~~ ~~of~~ ~~six~~ ~~is~~ ~~to~~ ~~assign~~ ~~each~~ ~~councilman~~ ~~a~~ ~~department~~ ~~over~~ ~~which~~ ~~he~~ ~~is~~ ~~the~~ ~~executive~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~city~~ ~~departments~~ ~~are~~ ~~Finance~~ ~~Public~~ ~~Safety~~ ~~(Fire~~ ~~Health~~ ~~Police)~~ ~~Public~~ ~~Works~~ ~~Education~~ ~~Parks~~ ~~and~~ ~~Playgrounds~~ ~~and~~ ~~Public~~ ~~Utilities~~.

The plan also provided for the then popular IRR -- Initiative, Referendum and Recall. Candidates can be nominated for the primary election on petition of fifty voters. Eight per cent of the voters/^{on a petition} is necessary to institute a referendum, ten per cent for an initiative election and 25 per cent is needed for Recall.

A strong factor behind the success of the ~~the~~ campaign to adopt the commission form of government was the behind-the-scenes work of St. Paul

1. American City, St "St. Paul's Opportunity," Vol. 3, July, 1900, pp. 3-8
2. ibid., "St. Paul's Charter Election," Vol. 6, June, 1912, pp. 878-880

women, ~~and~~ this ~~was~~ before the days of female suffrage. The campaign for the commission plan had its origin in years of graft and corruption ~~the~~ under the old aldermanic form of government, and to some extent in the troubles the city had ^{had} with its school appropriations, ~~and of~~ which didn't set well with St. Paul women, ~~and people~~. Some months before the actual election took ^{place} ~~in the commission plan~~, a committee of 25 women met and promptly voted to assist in the campaign for the adoption of a form of government "which appeared to promise well for popular control. They lost no time in ^{organizing} ~~organizing~~ by wards and election districts. Club women and women who had never belonged to club in their lives -- women of fashion, teachers, colored women, business women -- joined ~~in the~~ in the campaign for popular government. . . Out of their greater leisure the women easily assumed much of the detail work. They arranged meetings at churches, school buildings, clubs and private homes." ^{1.}

In 1913, St. Paul came up with a novel way to market city bonds -- through a department store. The city had ready and waiting for sale \$209,000 of local assessment paving bonds, ~~the~~ bearing interest of six per cent from May 1, June 1, and July 1, 1913 until April, 1914. "Despite the high rate, it was found difficult to market the bonds, ~~and~~ owing to certain legal technicalities. Brokers would not take hold. The city was confronted with a problem. It needed the money, but it couldn't sell its bonds. What was to be done? While the city officials were debating and getting nowhere, one of the large department stores saw in the situation an opportunity to do something novel, attract attention, and at the ~~the~~ same time do its customers a ~~valuable~~ real service. Its (the Golden Rule) heads, therefore, went to the city officials and bought such bonds as they could get, a local trust company in the meantime having taken a part of the issue.

The department store secured bonds to the amount of \$123,000. Thereupon it announced through the local papers that on a certain date it would sell the bonds over its counters at the price paid for them. Furthermore, it agreed to guarantee the bonds, so that in case legal difficulties arose and any of the purchasers ~~wished~~ wished their money ~~refunded~~ refunded they could get ~~it~~ for the asking. Interest, also, was to be allowed from the time of the sale until interest began to ~~accrue~~ accrue. ~~Interest was to be~~

"The ~~bonds~~ bonds were disposed of as fast as the clerks assigned to the duty could take the money and issue the necessary receipts. The average purchase was about ~~\$250~~ \$250. The actual time consumed in the entire sale was less than ~~five~~ five hours, and scores of people went away disappointed that they had not come in time to obtain a share of the securities. . .

"The money offered came in part from the postal savings bank, from local savings banks, and from home ~~hoardings~~ hoardings. Mr. James J. Hill expressed himself as interested because of the fact that the sale showed clearly that the public could finance their own public improvements, and as a result would take a personal interest in seeing that they were well done. Another of the city's financiers said that 'every dollar brought out of ^{1.} hiding by the sale was worth five dollars of credit.'"

However, St. Paul's financial troubles apparently went ~~deeper~~ deeper than an issue of a mere \$209,000 ⁱⁿ ~~of~~ paving bonds. Less than a month after the last paving bond was sold, the city decided it had to have more money. Major Handy, the comptroller, mentioned his troubles to W. C. Colver, just arrived from Cleveland to assume editorial direction of a chain of papers. Colver told Handy about a plan tried out in Cleveland of city-created financial body buying ~~municipal~~ municipal bond issues, and instead of letting the money lie in banks at a low rate of interest, re-selling them to the people in small sums.

The city's answer to the dilemma found a Sinking Fund Committee of St. Paul being formed of three men, Handy, ~~the~~ City Treasurer ~~Farnsworth~~ Farnsworth and Mayor Keller. They bought several small bond issues and *had* \$10 participating-certificates printed -- that is, the \$10 ~~bonds~~ "bonds" represented ~~a~~ a \$10 interest in a bond -- and on July 20, 1913 were offered for sale. After only three days of publicity ~~of them~~, the first day's rush found the committee buying more bonds and also ~~investing~~ investing in \$350,000 of the city's four per cent tax levy certificates. In four months a total of three and a half million dollars of obligation of St. Paul were sold to its citizens, ~~in~~ "the real people! Newsboys, clerks, day laborers, struggling professional men -- all that vast army of workers that lives in fear ~~of~~ of a rainy day -- make up the daily stream that flows in and out the doors of Treasurer ~~Farnsworth's~~ Farnsworth's 'store.'" ^{1.}

Thus did St. Paul find a "broad, safe way out of municipal 'money troubles' and an equally infallible method of sinking the spur of self-inter-^{2.} est into the flank of lethargic citizenship."

While the city was struggling to iron out its financial troubles, James J. Hill, the old Empire Builder, was seeing to a number of things, including a matter of getting control of a bank or two. Hill had been a shareholder of the First National Bank of St. Paul since January 21, 1880, and a director since May 12 of that year. The First National was the oldest National bank in Minnesota, founded in ~~1863~~ 1863. Hill felt it would be to his advantage -- and perhaps to the bank's -- if he acquired control. But, "the stockholders of the First National would not make terms satisfactory to Mr. Hill. . . . So he turned his attention to the Second National Bank of St. Paul, also an old institution. . . . The stock was bought by Mr. Hill for \$1,240,000. The First National then decided it would be a good policy to

1. Everybody's Magazine, "City Salvation According to St. Paul." Vol. 30, pp191
2. ibid., p. 191

sell to Mr. Hill and accordingly on December 31, 1912, every share of the First National was delivered to Mr. Hill for a total of \$3,350,000. The two banks were merged into one under the name of the First National Bank of St. Paul, January 1, 1913. Its capital stock ~~was~~ afterward became \$3,000,000^{1.} with a \$2,000,000 surplus."

At the same time he was thinking of buying the First National Bank, Hill was ~~thinking~~ mulling over the advisability of erecting a public reference library, on a site designated ~~the~~^{twenty} years before by a library board, many of whom, incidentally, were Hill's friends and associates. Hill brought up the matter in 1912, and his interest spurred on the city library board and other authorities to buy the rest of the land, complete their plans and coordinate them with Hill's. ~~But~~ The old library including the reference department, building, was destroyed by fire on April 27, 1915, and Hill said he was prepared to put three quarters of a million dollars into the new library project, and ~~possibly~~ possibly more, if needed. Consequently, two library buildings ~~immediately~~ immediately adjoining each other were erected, one the St. Paul public library, the other the James J. Hill Reference Library. Both are entirely separate.^{2.}

By 1914, 60 years ~~ago~~^{had passed since} the village of St. Paul, ~~was~~ -- "mixture of forest, hills, running brooks, ravines, bogs, lakes, whiskey, mosquitoes, snakes and Indians"^{4. had been} -- ~~was~~ incorporated, St. Paul was ready to take ~~the~~ stock of ~~itself~~ itself. The census reports of that year revealed that the city had ~~shown~~ shown an increase of ~~79.2~~ 79.2 per cent in value of products (in industries) during the decade, 1904-1914. Wage earners had shown a 35.6 per cent increase in the same period. In 1914 there were 737 manufacturing establishments, employing 24,680 persons, representing an ^{3.} invested capital of \$76,789,920. The leading manufacturing ~~was~~ industry

1. The Life of James J. Hill, J.G. Pyle, New York, 1917. pp. 306-309

2. *ibid.*, pp. ~~302-304~~ 302-305.

3. U.S. Census, Vol. 1, pp. 754-755

4. T. M. Newson, Pen Pictures of St. Paul, Minnesota, pp. ~~32~~ 39-40

was printing and publishing (job and book), with 74 establishments, with 2,207 employees. Other important industries were tobacco manufacturing, foundry and machine shops, and confectionery, which had the most employees^{1.} of any group, with 3,194.

All in all, St. Paulites were pretty satisfied with their city. One historian, talking about conventions, went so far as to say, "By reason of being the territorial and state capital and the political headquarters, St. Paul has necessarily been a convention city for all ~~the~~ political organizations since the earliest days. Party policies have been prescribed here; nearly all the important party councils during the past sixty years have sat here in judgement on measures and candidates. The name of these conventions is legion, and a detailed narrative of their doings and their ultimate consequences would fill ~~thirteen~~ volumes. The issues there fought out are musty rust."^{2.}

~~But~~ events were shaping that were to alter St. Paul's destiny. The Panama Canal was near completion, and the year 1914 ~~saw~~ saw the first World War sweep across Europe, a "great and appalling event which was to twist out of shape the whole fabric of American life in the years to come, thrusting new issues and new problems before the country, ~~shifting~~ shifting men into new alignments. . ."^{3.}

St. Paul, like hundreds of other American cities, was about to enter a new era.

1. U.S. Census, Vol. 1, pp. 754-755 (1914)

2. History of St. Paul, H. Castle, 1912, Vol. 1, pp. 409-412

3. Lords of Creation, p. 192

higher about impression on

St. Paul a war zone

made The assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand at Sarajevo on June 28, 1914, caused little sensation in the tranquil existence of the people of St. Paul. True, there were those citizens, of Germanic origin or sympathy, who could read in the ultimatums and defis hurled between Austria and Serbia portents of an impending far-reaching conflict. *but for the most part St. Paul citizens believed with a local editor that* The initial declaration of war between those two countries brought forth an editorial comment on July 29, 1914: "Great Austria has declared war on little Serbia, and the peoples of the Old World are throbbing with excitement. ^{xxx} But Americans can be more calm,...Will Europe never learn that war is not a solution?"

The swift succession of events in Europe, the charges and counter-charges, the alliances of the major nations, frantic efforts of the weaker to maintain neutrality, culminated in the entry of the German army into Belgium on August 4, 1914. An historian of that date quotes *remarked* a St. Paul newspaper which congratulated America upon her remoteness from the scene of the disturbance, "In the midst of world clamors, of wars and rumors of wars," wrote the editor, "when the statesmen of other nations are being swept off their feet by the rising tide of a universal and devastating war," President Wilson remains calm...This country in reality, remains a sweet oasis in the midst of a great desert of war." President Wilson's plea for strict neutrality "if it had been addressed especially to the people of St. Paul, could not have been more apposite. Our population is drawn so immediately and largely from the European nations that partisanism is sure to wound the sensibilities of some portion of our valued citizenship. It is not our quarrel, so let us keep out of it, and keeping out, refrain from the expression of hopes or beliefs affecting one side or the other."

1. St. Paul Pioneer Press, July 29, 1914, Page 6.
2. Holbrook, Franklin F., St. Paul & Ramsey County in the War of 1917-1918, Ramsey County War Records Commission, St. Paul, 1929, Page 1.
3. Ibid. Pages 1-5.

The heterogeneous nature of the population of St. Paul ^{was} ~~is~~ reflected in the field of her newspapers. Besides the daily and weekly periodicals published for the English speaking readers, the city supported two papers, the St. Paul Tagliche Volkszeitung and Der Wanderer, which voiced the sentiments of the German element. Labor found expression in the Minnesota Union Advocate which, ^{supported} ~~until America's~~ ^{efforts to keep America out of the conflict} entry into the war, ~~clamored for peace, feeling that it is labor which carries the~~ burden of all wars. Several other racial groups, the Scandinavians and Polish, ^{also had a opportunity to express} ~~aired~~ their views in their native languages.

A break-down of the population figures of Ramsey County revealed that approximately 156,419 residents ^{of Ramsey Co} were citizens of American birth and parentage; 49,237 were born in or had immediate antecedents from Germany and Austria-Hungary; 34,608 were of Scandinavian stock and 13,213 of Irish extraction, the latter of whom were strongly anti-British. In marked sympathy with the Allies were those of British, Canadian, French, Russian or Belgian strain, numbering 20,088. The relatively small group of Socialists, of all nationalities, were vociferous in their demands for peace. ^{Add people} ~~breaking down of neutrality~~

In the early months of the war people of all creeds and nationalities voiced their sympathy for the non-combatants in the war-torn countries, particularly the Belgians. In October, 1914, the St. Paul Committee on Belgian Relief was organized and ~~was~~ instrumental in procuring large quantities of clothing and flour which ^{were} ~~was~~ forwarded, along with thousands of dollars to be used for the relief of the sufferers. The woman's branch of the committee organized various money-raising affairs among them, an ice-carnival; a Belgian day in the churches; a self-denial day; establishment of mite boxes in the homes and special food boxes in all grocery stores.

4. St. Paul & Ramsey County in the War of 1917-1918, pp. 1-5.
5. St. Paul Pioneer Press, Feb. 6, 1915. P-5.

later

On March 1, 1915, designated as self-denial day, the men were requested to "give up smoking and drinking;" the women to "give up candy and ice cream and dessert at lunch time;" the children to forego candy and sacrifice their pennies; 6. the whole family to eat a "Belgian dinner."

The Belgium Relief Week drive was organized and sponsored by many prominent St. Paul men and women including such socialites as Mrs. Thomas Foley, Mrs. L. W. Hill ~~whose names were connected, in the newspapers, with the work.~~ 7.

Editors of the various papers were frank to acknowledge that ~~quite a bit of~~ 7. adverse comment was engendered. One reader, who evidently saw plenty of misery right in St. Paul, expressed himself "in this city alone there is enough of hopeless struggle, enough of poverty and enough of disease to absorb all the relief work that wives of the rich care to offer." 8. Another remarked that "the energy of St. Paul 'society' seems to be absorbed almost entirely by...entertainments to lure dollars for various relief funds." 9. Consensus of many was "that we can use our surplus means right here at home." 10.

Facetious comment was advanced as to the reception of American wearing apparel by the Belgians. The peasant class had, for generations, been addicted to the wearing of sabots and their adoption of shoes, together with neatly-cut American suits and dresses, was anticipated to cause quite a revolution in their future mode of dress. 11.

The St. Paul Public Library, in order to graphically portray the characteristics of the Belgians, put on an exhibit which was described editorially: "The display case contains old Belgian prints, pictures of costumes, village and house life of the people....Also a dozen newspaper cartoons, depicting the squalor and privation forced upon the inhabitants...." 12.

3

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|--|-------------------------------------|
| 6. St. Paul Pioneer Press, Feb. 11, 1915, P-5. *** | 9. Pioneer Press, Nov. 3, 1914, P-7 |
| 7. Ibid. Oct. 22, 1914. P-1. | 10. Ibid, Nov. 3, 1914. P-6. |
| 8. Ibid. Nov. 3, 1914, P-6. | 11. Ibid. Oct. 27, 1914. P-6 |
| | 12. Ibid. Oct. 28, 1914. P-14. |

On November 1, 1914, at the completion of the first intensive Belgian Relief drive, the committee was able to announce that "St. Paul had provided enough clothing to equip a fair sized town."^{13.}

Among the cash donations received it was reported that "James J. Hill ^{had} answers ^{supplies} the Belgian Relief fund by signing a check for \$2,500, in addition to the \$25,000 ^{14.} he gave King Albert of Belgium and \$5,000 of the 'miller's' fund."

While the bulk of relief efforts were directed ^{toward} to the Belgians other groups enlisted to aid their own nationals. The German, Austrian, British, French, Polish, Italian, Serbian, Armenian, Syrian and Jewish elements were all represented by societies devoted to the interests of the wounded or destitute ^{of their nationality} among their blood ^{15.} brothers in the fighting forces or civilian population of the Old World.

Efforts of the local French-Americans were supplemented by the establishment of a St. Paul branch of the American Fund for French Wounded which furnished great quantities of garments and supplies to war hospitals in France. ^{16.} Another charitable organization devoted to the Fatherless Children of France raised a fund of over ^{17.} twenty thousand dollars for the care of 261 French orphans.

Announcements appeared recording individual group efforts: "The Austrian-Hungarian Ladies' Benevolent Association has appropriated \$100 for the Red Cross fund." "A fund of nearly \$400...relief of widows and orphans of British soldiers and sailors...by the Sons of St. George....The Scottish clans...The Welsh societies, the Ancient Order of Hibernians and individuals of British descent also expect to aid." "The British Red Cross Society of Minnesota manufactured bandages daily at 1669 Selby Ave...shipments in 10,000 yard lots will be made...." "Jews of St. Paul...raise funds for the relief of European Jews left destitute...." "The Polish National Alliance of St. Paul met at

13. St. Paul Pioneer Press, Nov. 1, 1914, P-1, Sec.2.
14. Ibid, Nov. 10, 1914, P-10.
15. St. Paul & Ramsey County in the War of 1917-1918, PP 4-5.
16. Ibid, Page 5.
17. Ibid, Page 5.
18. St. Paul Pioneer Press, Sept. 13, 1914. P-8.
19. Ibid. Oct. 28, 1914. P-9
20. Ibid. Dec. 3, 1914, P-5.

left out. RH

Left out. PH

Pulaski Hall...to formulate plans for raising a Red Cross relief fund for sufferers
21.

in Poland." "About \$300 was collected last night at a motion picture show given in

22.

Mozart Hall for the orphans of German soldiers."

Mot of effort for Allied countries

In consonance with the various relief programs were the increasingly active demonstrations in behalf of peace. Organized leadership was furnished by the Minnesota Peace Society, the Women's Peace Party, and the American School Peace League.

Special observances were fostered in schools and churches, resolutions were adopted

23.

and panaceas were offered by the score. Some of the observances assumed impressive and spectacular form. On October 4, set aside by President Wilson as "Peace Sunday,"

some two thousand people gathered about the Capitol steps to offer silent prayer for
24.

the return of peace. Merchants were enjoined to decorate their windows with a peace motive, placards were distributed one of which read: "Talk peace, think peace,

believe in peace---every man, woman and child--- and we shall, under God, have peace
25.

for 100 years to come." Posters screamed from bill-boards "We have enlisted in the
26.

war on war." The pastors of Protestant and Catholic churches reviewed the causes of the European conflict and "emphasized the need for a genuine and general petition
27.

that the war end soon." The "Prayer and Peace" written by Archbishop John Ireland
28.

was recited at mass in the Catholic churches.

Clubs, labor organizations and other societies vied with one another in arrangements for the "monster peace demonstration." The Association of Commerce acquiesced in the request of the women's clubs that all whistles be blown at noon.

A pre-arranged series of toots was observed, followed by a long drawn-out blast "to emphasize the meaning of the noise." Carrier pigeons were released and messages
29.

sent and received from other communities. The pigeons symbolized the dove of peace.

21. St. Paul Pioneer Press, Dec. 7, 1914, P-5.

22. Ibid. Jan. 26, 1915, P-9

23. St. Paul & Ramsey County in the War of 1917-1918, P-5.

24. Ibid, P-5.

25. St. Paul Pioneer Press, Sept. 26, 1914. P-4

26. Ibid. Sept. 26, 1914, P-4.

27. Ibid. Sept. 28, 1914, P-2.

28. Ibid. Sept. 28, 1914, P-2.

29. Ibid. Sept. 30, 1914, P-2.

Refer to Report

From the pulpit came "militiarism is to receive its death blow in the present
European war...Terrible as is the carnage, if this be the result it may be worth it."

Another divine deplored the destruction of the great art treasures like the
cathedral at Rheims.

An editor castigated the dropping of bombs on cities. "It is entirely inexcusable, whether the offender is French, German, Russian or English."

The German cause had its champions. Two St. Paul women, who had returned in late October from the war zone, praised the "gallant German army officers." One of them stated: "I don't believe a word of this talk about German atrocities. I do not believe half what I read and hear about German defeats either. Why, the Germans are bound to win; everybody over in Germany thinks so."

At a Socialist gathering the war was denounced as "a crime against civilization" and it was declared that "in this country the workers must insist that no supplies go to feed the war." Propaganda of the several warring factions was disseminated each announcing "that all the atrocities are committed by the enemy."

Along with the prayers for peace, hope was entertained that in the future electors would insist on knowing the attitude of candidates for office on war and peace and elect only those "who abhor war and all its hideous works."

The maelstrom in Europe had a sobering effect upon the social life of St. Paul. Private entertainment was curtailed and society busied itself in undertakings of a "charitable and philanthropic nature."

Due to the virtual abolishment of German imports children were apprehensive about getting their usual Christmas toys. Their fears were allayed with the announcement that American toy manufacturers were duplicating the work of the German producers in all lines except the cheap mechanical toy.

30. St. Paul Pioneer Press, Sept. 28, 1914, P-5

31. Ibid. Sept. 28, 1914, P-5

32. Ibid. Oct. 13, 1914, P-6

33. Ibid. Oct. 24, 1914, P-12

34. Ibid. Sept. 8, 1914.

35. Ibid. Sept. 7, 1914.

36. Ibid. Sept. 1, 1914, P-4.

37. Pioneer Press, Dec. 3, 1914, P-7.

38. Ibid. Dec. 14, 1914, P-4.

United States Senator Moses E. Clapp, addressing a farmer's convention at the St. Paul Auditorium, voiced his opinion that the Monroe Doctrine had outlived its usefulness. He warned the people not to become hysterical over any unreal or un-^{39.} intentional insult to the flag and American dignity. Prof. Morris LeRoy Arnold of Hamline University credited the war with endowing Americans with a new national^{40.} consciousness but did not anticipate that it would "produce any great war poems."

The editor of the Pioneer Press, in making his war prognostications, predicted that certain neutrals would eventually join the allied forces. For this he was roundly criticized by a reader who requested him to keep his "private, un-American^{41.} sentiments out of the editorial columns." Citizens were urged to maintain a strictly neutral attitude in public. Moving pictures were censored for arousing bitter feeling^{42.} among sympathizers by showing war pictures of the blood and thunder type. Especially abjured were the "five-reel films with the German and French armies occupying the^{43.} screen most of the time." *growth of feeling semi supporters*

War arguments occasionally ended seriously. In September two St. Paul men had a battle over the European situation in Rice Park and "one of them was arrested, the^{44.} other was taken to the city hospital."

Allied war orders were responsible for a half-billion dollar gain in business^{45.} in the United States. St. Paul was reported as receiving "large orders...for^{46.} mackinaws, sheep-lined coats, harness and saddlery."

An instance reflecting the influence of the war on some pursuits was obtained from the observations of a returned big game hunter. This nimrod encountered, in the uppermost reaches of Cook county, the manager of a silver fox farm, who deplored his dwindling fur profits. The war had reduced the demand for expensive furs to a^{47.} minimum.

39. St. Paul Pioneer Press, Dec. 9, 1914, P-11.

40. Ibid. Nov. 6, 1914, P-11.

41. Ibid. Dec. 11, 1914, P-8.

42. Ibid. Sept. 16, 1914, P-8.

43. Ibid. Sept. 13, 1914, P-10.

44. Ibid. Sept. 26, 1914, P-~~8~~5

45. Pioneer Press, Nov. 15, 1914, P-4.

46. Ibid. Nov. 8, 1914, P-7

47. Ibid. Dec. 1, 1914, P-6.

Style and color designers of women's fashions were quick to adopt the military motif. Bristling with war suggestiveness were such colors as battleship, Zeppelin
48.
and mitraille gray; Petrograd and Belgian blue. Hats included " a modified Scotch
49.
bonnet and a German helmet." The cape, and adaptations of other military costumes,
50.
including the Russian blouse, were considered eminently correct for milady's wardrobe.
At a fancy dress ball given at the St. Paul hotel military costumes predominated.
51.
The music too reflected a martial strain.

The Red Cross auxiliary went quietly forward on its work of mercy and unselfish-
ness. In its workrooms, on the top floor of the Wilder charities building, a sign
52.
enjoined all that "This room is neutral ground in work and word." Instruction cir-
culars were widely distributed so that the "women of St. Paul will knit bag socks
53.
for the soldiers of Europe and for the women and children made destitute by the war."

Humor was not entirely absent from the scene at this period. One observer ad-
vanced a positive method ^{for} of identifying the patriots of the various belligerent
nations. His forte was a classification of whiskers. Those without whiskers he
suspected of English sympathies. A neat, modest brown or iron gray mustasche---
preferably with a droop to it---stamped the wearer an Englishman. On the other hand
if the ends were spiked and shot up into the air on both sides the possessor was
indubitably German. The Russian was the easiest to identify as "no self-respecting
Russian, of adult age, would venture to appear in public with his face devoid of a
54.
full beard of astounding proportions."

Many sincere people, ~~especially those with Teutonic sympathies~~, were staunchly
opposed to the sale of munitions to the Allies ~~despite the sanction of international~~
55.
~~law to this practice~~. They defended the Zeppelin raids, reminded us of our

48. St. Paul Pioneer Press, Feb 23, 1915, P-7

49. Ibid. Feb. 19, 1915, P-7.

50. Ibid. Dec. 2, 1914, P-7.

51. Ibid. Jan. 2, 1915, P-8.

52. Pioneer Press, Nov. 14, 1914, P-12.

53. Ibid. Nov. 22, 1914, P-9.

54. Ibid. Dec. 17, 1914, P-4.

55. Ibid. Dec. 24, 1914, P-4.

occasional brutal conduct in past wars, and suggested that "we remove the mote from
56.
our own eye." A former German colonial executive, Dr. Bernhard Dernberg, in address-
ing a crowd of 6,000 sympathizers, declared that "Germany is fighting for the free-
57.
dom of the whole world against England." An ardent Allies devotee enumerated the
reasons why they should be supported: "First and foremost is the tie of kinship.
America is the child of Great Britain...England, France and Belgium stand for the
democratic ideals which have been and remain the ideals of America...Wherever the
flag of England waves, all over the world, there is equality of opportunity for
58.
men of every race."

Frau Rosika Schwimmer, a Hungarian peace advocate, was invited to address a mass
meeting of women's clubs and labor organizations at the Auditorium. She will be re-
called as being one of the pioneers who refused to agree to bear arms in defense of
this country. In her strange message she asserted that: "The United States is
helping to prolong the war by making it possible for the wounded soldiers to come
back to life and go on killing...Ships of food and clothing never reach the soldiers...
The best thing any man in the war can get is a bullet in his heart...Society women,
acting as volunteer nurses, are torturing instead of helping the sick...The war is
making brutes of men of culture and civilization...When the war is ended and we are
erecting statues to the heroes, let us remember that before they were heroes they
had to be brutes." She advocated that President Wilson invite delegates from all
59.
nations to discuss cessation of the war "in the name of humanity."

60.
St. Paul was urged to launch the beginning of a world federation. Editorially
speaking the Pioneer Press ascribed the essential cause of the war to "hatred...a
lack of sense of brotherhood...the failure of men to realize a community of interest."
61.
The cure for this situation -- "a consciousness of brotherhood." The editor further

56. St. Paul Pioneer Press, Jan. 28, 1915, P-6.

57. Ibid. Feb. 3, 1915, P-1.

58. Ibid. Sept. 24, 1914, P-8.

59. Ibid. Dec. 2, 1914, P-12.

60. Ibid. Feb. 11, 1915, P-6

61. Ibid. Sept. 23, 1914, P-6.

declaimed that "This war the people did not foment. They were the victims of the secret machinations of the governments...And if we mistake not, the temper of the peoples after this war will be such that no other will ever be precipitated without their consent."
62.

The arrival of immigrants dwindled. The Union Depot no longer witnessed the "scenes of foreign children...with their clothes tagged 'Rome, Italy, bound for Great Falls, Montana'...'Przyblischix Bulgaria, enroute to Winnibigoshish Minnesota'..."
Not a child has been sent alone out of this city to a foreign country since the declaration of war...Railway officials here look to an immense influx of foreigners directly after the close of the war."
63.

One sage observer advanced the belief that "the only way to be neutral is to drop all discussion in regard to the European war and give our attention to some of our own troubles...Public Schools, Water Supply, Street Improvements, Taxes, Relief for the suffering (in St. Paul, not in Europe)." Former Governor Eberhart
64.
65.
advocated "an international army and navy to police the world."

The sinking of the Lusitania on May 7, 1915, crystallized the previous somewhat apathetic anti-German feeling. (Many who were prone to believe the stories of German atrocities in Belgium could not condone the destruction of 1,000 human beings, among whom were many women and children. Sanity prevailed however and the citizens were counselled "We must weigh in the balance the arguments which Germany will advance in justification...if the facts do not justify it, Germany will have suffered a loss in American esteem which no material gain can equal."
66.

Action, immediate and determined, was urged. The imperial German government must be compelled to make reparations for the lives of 115 Americans. One of the English-speaking papers was "of the opinion that the neutral world should be called
67.

into conference and made party to the accusation against Germany." The St. Paul Pioneer

62. St. Paul Pioneer Press, Feb. 11, 1915, P-6.

63. Ibid. Jan. 18, 1915, P-8.

64. Ibid. Jan. 20, 1915, P-6.

65. Ibid. Feb. 15, 1915, P-5.

66. St. Paul & Ramsey County in the War, 1917-1918, P-6

67. St. Paul Pioneer Press, May 11, 1915. P-10.

German-American papers urged their readers to circulate the assertions that Germany had frequently warned neutrals against travel on enemy ships and furthermore that the Lusitania had contained contraband quantities of ammunition.

One effect produced was an embargo on purchasing goods "Made in Germany." A veteran hardware and cutlery salesman wrote "I have notified my people in New York that I will sell no more goods made in Germany." Another salesman replied "eight out of ten are for Germany and think she is right. The public is just beginning to realize what a game fight Germany is putting up against big odds."

The handling of this difficult international situation by President Wilson was lauded by most of the nation's press. The St. Paul Pioneer Press printed the text of the note under the caption "Wilson tells Kaiser he will not bargain over lives of Americans; insists submarine warfare on neutral ships must cease." Alarmists were concerned lest, due to the bluntness of the note, Germany might declare war on us. This brought the preparedness problem into debate. Every issue of the times had its supporters and detractors, the papers encouraged readers to debate the pros and cons in their columns. In Washington, heads of the army and navy went ahead elaborating details for the defense of the country, with a contemplated expansion in both service branches.

A chapter of the National Security League was organized in St. Paul. This group hoped to "get the people thinking about the country as a whole and its situation among the countries of the world." A branch of the Military Training Camps Association also emerged. They favored universal military training and tried to set up a camp at Fort Snelling along the lines of Plattsburg, for the training of business and professional men. The editorial tenor of the press which, in the

68. St. Paul & Ramsey County in the War, 1917-1918, P-6.

69. St. Paul Pioneer Press, May 15, 1915, P-4.

70. Ibid. May 7, 1915, P-6.

71. Ibid. May 15, 1915, P-2.

72. Ibid. May 14, 1915, P-1.

73. Ibid. May 14, 1915, P-10.

74. Ibid. May 14, 1915, P-10.

75. St. Paul & Ramsey County in the War, 1917-1918, P-8.

early days of the war, decried any military expansion or activity lest it be misinterpreted abroad, gradually advocated the adoption of increased militia strength and efficiency limited solely to defense. Two extreme points of view were represented by the belligerent Roosevelt and pacifist Bryan.

Watchful citizens were quick to resent any biased statement in the newspapers. One wrote "The inciting of prejudice and class hatred are not honorable means to be employed in upholding the dignity and honor of one's country. I accuse your paper to some extent of this crime." Another believed war might be a good thing if "some of us could get shot off and leave some all-the-year-round work for the remainder of us." Caustic in tone came "Sound the hewgag, beat the drum! Any old plan that might hypnotize America into going to war with Germany to help decadent old England win her war sounds like a 'noble ideal' to the Pioneer Press and Dispatch." One sounded a prophetic note "Are the millions of dollars worth of war material being sent to Europe for humanity's sake? He that soweth...must expect to reap the consequences--death." Many and varied were the panaceas advocated on "how to end the war."

As additional countries entered the conflict their native sons departed to assist the home-land. In a group of 65 Montenegrins and Austrians leaving St. Paul one of their leaders was heard to remark that "he ^{was} an American citizen and doesn't care what happens to the fighting nations of Europe." The exodus of foreign patriots wiped out the surplus of unskilled labor which had prevailed. The railroads reported no dearth of laboring men "but long experience has proved that the men from the south of Europe are the best for track work." When their call came 85 St. Paul Italian reservists, to the accompaniment of more than 200

76. St. Paul & Ramsey County in the War, 1917-1918, P-8.

77. St. Paul Pioneer Press, Dec. 11, 1914, P-12.

78. Ibid. May 28, 1915, P-10.

79. Ibid. June 10, 1915, P-8.

80. Ibid. June 10, 1915, P-8.

81. Ibid. July 8, 1915, P-11.

82. Ibid. July 21, 1915, P-26.

fellow countrymen, entrained at the depot amid "much kissing of male cheeks, cheering in the mother tongue and enthusiastic waving of flags."^{83.}

St. Paul embarked on an era of prosperity. The savings banks reported over \$16,500,000 in interest-bearing deposits, as of May 1, 1915, an increase of more than \$1,000,000 since the war in Europe began. Purchasing agents for the Allies were busy accumulating horses for service on the battlefields. The officers estimated the life of an animal at the front as not exceeding five days. The manufacture of shells and ammunition in immense quantities caused a shortage in metals particularly copper, zinc and spelter. As a consequence the cost of domestic utensils "advanced a hundred per cent...this is a very heavy war tax for a neutral American citizen to pay."^{84.}^{85.}^{86.}

President Wilson continued to demand the freedom of the seas for American commerce. His ultimatums were delivered impartially to all belligerent nations.^{87.}

The revolution in Russia was progressing. Its strange doctrines : "autonomy for the Poles, generosity toward the Finns, liberal treatment of the Jews, amnesty for political and religious offenders and recognition of trade unions," were endorsed by liberty loving Americans.^{88.}

Disapproval of a loan of one billion dollars to the Allies, by New York bankers, was registered. The feeling prevailed that we would be "forced into the position of nursing their interests...Our sympathy must follow our money , we at once cease to be neutrals and become active partisans." The German-American Alliance of Minnesota, meeting in St. Paul, while maintaining their strict neutrality, strongly protested against the sale of munitions to the Allies and the flotation of any foreign loans. They pledged themselves to refrain from depositing

83. St. Paul Pioneer Press, Aug. 5, 1915, P-14.

84. Ibid. May 19, 1915, P-14.

85. Ibid. May 22, 1915, P-5.

86. Ibid. June 23, 1915, P-8.

87. St. Paul & Ramsey County in the War, 1917-1918, P-7.

88. St. Paul Pioneer Press, Sept. 13, 1915, P-6.

89. Ibid. Sept. 17, 1915, P-12.

90.

in banks participating in foreign war loans. Publicity attended the subscription, by James J. Hill, for \$250,000 of the Italian war loan. He was reported as having

91.

already participated in German, English and French loans.

Cessation of imports from Germany caused distress in many lines of business.

92.

Opticians warned that all glass used in spectacles was imported from abroad; candy

93.

manufacturers reported a shortage in oil of wintergreen and coconuts; dealers in

photo supplies were alarmed at the scarcity of certain chemicals, moving picture

94.

men were "panic-stricken"; beverage manufacturers lamented the scarcity of Bohemian

95.

hops necessary in the manufacture of high-grade beer; the price of "Paris green"

96.

rose from twelve to sixty centy a pound, cause for jubilation among the potato bugs;

97.

demand for potash, a war necessity, raised the price of all glass bottles; absence

98.

of imported hair-dye caused many matrons to revert to gray-streaked hair; the lowly

99.

onion soared in price due to a crop failure and import restrictions.

St. Paul plants engaged in the manufacture of war munitions received numerous

100.

threats of destruction. Federal officials were notified.

Shortly before Christmas 1915, Henry Ford launched his Peace Ship Expedition

which occasioned recrimination, ridicule and praise in the press. His sincere

opposition to militarism in this country was voiced in full page advertisements in

the newspapers. He tried vainly to curb the rising tide of jingoism in the United

101.

States.

Early in 1916 the German government gave assurances that neutral ships would

102.

not be sunk without warning. This relieved the European tension somewhat.

The situation along the Mexican border had become increasingly serious.

Sporadic raids by hostile Mexican bandit forces became too numerous for the regular

90. St. Paul Pioneer Press, Oct. 11, 1915, P-1.

91. Ibid. Oct. 28, 1915, P-7.

92. Ibid. Nov. 20, 1915, P-5.

93. Ibid. Dec. 4, 1915, P-14.

94. Ibid. Dec. 6, 1915, P-7.

95. Ibid. Nov. 14, 1915, P-4.

96. Ibid. July 25, 1916, P-12.

97. Ibid. Feb. 8, 1917, P-8.

98. Ibid. Feb. 25, 1917, P-8

99. St. Paul Pioneer Press, Mar. 8, 1916, P-4

100. Ibid. Dec. 3, 1915, P-16.

101. Ibid. Dec. 25, 1915, P-4.

102. St. Paul & Ramsey County in the War,
1917-1918., P-9.

army forces to cope with. On March 8, 1916, Villa raided the town of Columbus, New Mexico, killing and wounding some of the inhabitants. Beginning in May the President called out the border militia. An additional call on June 18 mobilized the Minnesota regiments. The pitiful condition of the National Guard was revealed. The three units of the First Battalion of field artillery, stationed in St. Paul, mustered sixty men for Battery B, about twenty men for Battery C, while Battery A was totally unorganized with a strength of one man. The infantry regiments also exposed a woeful lack of man-power, ^{insufficient} inadequate and ^{absolute} poor equipment. Recruiting was instituted, the infantry departed for the border on July 12, the artillery on 103. October 1st.

The inadequacy of our military machine, even for defence purposes, being painfully apparent ^{the} an organized campaign for preparedness was launched. The English-speaking papers in St. Paul heartily supported it, one editor declaiming "It is time --it has long been past time--for the U. S. to awaken from her dream of self-sufficiency, of unmolested prosperity and of millennial peace...." 104. The local branch of the National Security League prepared plans for a monster "preparedness parade" 105. which was enthusiastically supported by the St. Paul Athletic Club. Concurrently 106. they petitioned the President and Congress to adopt some system of military training. The Patriotic League was organized to arouse enthusiasm for measures necessary to 107. "defend the rights and uphold the honor of America."

The Democrats, in 1916, re-nominated Wilson on the platform of "He kept us out of war." 108. Despite the opposition of the German-American papers and the St. Paul Pioneer Press the President carried Ramsey county by a large majority. On the eve of the national election Henry Ford, in a half-page newspaper advertisement, ad-

103. Louis L. Collins, History of the 151st Field Artillery, Minn. War Records Comm., St. Paul, 1924, V-1, P-5.
104. St. Paul Pioneer Press, Mar. 14, 1916, P-8.
105. Ibid. May 17, 1916, P-1.
106. St. Paul & Ramsey County in the War, 1917, 1918, P-8.
107. Ibid. P-10.
108. St. Paul Pioneer Press, Oct. 31, 1916.
109. St. Paul & Ramsey County in the War, 1917-1918, P-10.

vocated: "Although nominally a Republican all my life, I am for Wilson...because he has kept us out of war and has done much to bring about the remarkable prosperity which we enjoy."
110.

Various civic organizations propounded their views on preparedness. The Women's Civic League of St. Paul advocated "We believe in preparedness. We do not want the country to prepare for war, but to prepare against war." Students at the University of Minnesota debated the issue. At a mock Democratic national convention the pacifists supporting Bryan split with the preparedness faction exemplified by President Wilson. The President and Congress were petitioned, by the National League for Obligatory and Universal Military Training, to pass a universal military service bill. Concurrently the Ramsey county W. C. T. U. requested an advisory referendum before a declaration of war." Macalester college men expressed confidence in the President and urged "preparedness as necessary for our national safety."
111.
112.
113.
114.
115.

A military ball at the Armory raised a fund of nearly \$2,000 which was used "for the relief of soldier's families and for comforts of guardsmen down on the Rio Grande."
116.

The spirit of ^{sacrifice,} patriotism, long dormant, was being activated by the press, pulpit and prominent speakers. The Pioneer Press, in deploring hyphenated citizens, ^{inspired movement} quoted Stephen Decatur's immortal words: "Our Country: In her intercourse with foreign nations may she always be right; but our country RIGHT OR WRONG!" Announcement was made that pro-Ally and pro-German letters to the Mail Bag; the paper's Public Forum; "must hereafter give place to pro-American communications." A prominent clergyman, during a "patriotic service" at his church stated that "every young man should be ready to enlist when the call comes from the head of the government." A somewhat prophetic view came from President George E. Vincent of the
117.
118.
119.

110. St. Paul Pioneer Press, Nov. 5, 1916, P-5.

111. Ibid. Nov. 17, 1915, P-10.

112. Ibid. May. 3, 1916, P-16.

113. Ibid Feb. 28, 1917, P-12.

114. Ibid. Feb. 24, 1917, P-5.

115. St. Paul Pioneer Press, Mar. 17, 1917, P-6

116. Ibid. July 15, 1916, P-1.

117. Ibid. Apr. 20, 1916, P-10.

118. Ibid. Apr. 20, 1916, P-10.

119. Ibid. July 3, 1916, P-5.

University of Minnesota. He scored false "emotional" patriotism and predicted that true patriotism would not be arrived at without "such a social adjustment that will give the average citizen assurance that he lives in a country which cares for him, which values him and which will protect him equally with every other citizen." He warned against the danger which might arise in the relationships between capital and labor after the European war. A woman speaker, at a Hughes political rally, advocated "I believe in immediate Americanization of all foreigners or of compelling them to return to their native land."

Un-American sentiments were resented. For criticizing the government's Mexican policies a Socialist soap-box orator was immersed six times in the Rice Park fountain. The National Guardsmen responsible suggested that "lynching wouldn't be bad for a man who maligned the flag." Spanish war veterans took exception to a stranger's disrespectful, un-patriotic remarks at a patriotic mass meeting and proceeded to seriously beat him--"he literally was kicked out of the door."

After a period of service patrolling the border the militia returned. The last unit, the 1st Infantry, was mustered out of the Federal service in March 1917.

The German resumption of unrestricted submarine warfare, on January 31, 1917, brought the menace of war closer than ever. The severance of diplomatic relations with Germany was climaxed with the presentation of passports to Von Bernstoff on February 3, 1917. The country was deemed to be in a state of armed neutrality. Many people clung to the hope that war could still be averted. The sinkings and seizures of American ships continued to occupy the front pages of the newspapers.

With the advent of war, realists in St Paul prepared to meet the call for troops and supplies. Plans were launched to raise a regiment of St. Paul men;

- 120. St. Paul Pioneer Press, May 14, 1916, P-5.
- 121. Ibid. Oct. 12, 1916, P-7.
- 122. Ibid. July 1, 1916, P-1.
- 123. Ibid. Mar. 27, 1917, P-1.
- 124. Adjutant General's Office, on file.
- 125. 151st Field Artillery, L. L. Collins,
- 126. St. Paul Pioneer Press, Feb. 18, 1917, P-6.
- 127. Ibid. Feb. 4, 1917, P-3.

128.

former Navy men pledged their united support; a compulsory course in military medical training and surgery, under regular army officers, was inaugurated at the University of Minnesota; applications were accepted at the Y. W. C. A. from women who volunteered to study first aid and nursing in general; a gigantic meeting of women formed the St. Paul branch of the Red Cross society; military training in High schools was advocated; citizens were urged to display and reverence the American flag.

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The St. Paul Division of the Minnesota Naval Militia received orders from Washington, early in March 1917, to prepare for immediate service. A recruiting campaign was undertaken and the full quota of 125 men was ready when mobilization orders were received. Recruiting was intensified for the regular branches of service the Army, Navy and Marine Corps. Under the slogan "Now is the time for all good men to come to the aid of their country" men were urged to enlist immediately.

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The Minnesota National Guard was also active. Announcement was made on March 29, 1917, that efforts were being made to recruit the First Minnesota Infantry regiment up to war strength of 55 officers and 2,002 enlisted men. The First Battalion of Field Artillery endeavored to fill their ranks before the President's call. Citizens were advised that a successful prosecution of the war would require unlimited expenditures, conscription of wealth, as well as men, was advocated.

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The declaration of war, on April 6, 1917, caused "scarcely a ripple on the surface of the business world." Business in general looked forward to a stimulus due to governmental requirements for military and naval operations. Railroads announced their readiness to furnish any amount of equipment or service. Shoe com-

128. St. Paul Pioneer Press, Feb. 16, 1917, P-5.

129. Ibid. Feb. 18, 1917, P-1.

130. Ibid. Feb. 18, 1917, P-4.

131. Ibid. Feb. 20, 1917, P-7.

132. Ibid. Feb. 20, 1917, P-12.

133. Ibid. Mar. 6, 1917, P-4.

134. St. Paul & Ramsey County in the War,

1917-1918, Pp. 18-19.

135. Pioneer Press, Mar. 30, 1917, P-4.

136. Ibid. Mar. 29, 1917, P-7.

137. Ibid. Mar. 31, 1917, P-20.

138. Ibid. Apr. 26, 1917, P-8.

139. Ibid. Apr. 8, 1917, P-1.

140. Ibid. Mar. 31, 1917, P-12.

panies and other factories, offered their plants and services to the nation. Civil authorities, including the governor, adjutant general, the mayor and peace officers, met "in a council of war" to consider ways of meeting any emergencies that might arise. A volunteer corps for special police duty was advocated.

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Part of the National Guard troops were immediately called into service to protect railroads, bridges, munition plants and other strategic points. The inevitable sabotage rumors arose, suspects were arrested and placed under federal surveillance at Fort Snelling. Stringent laws were enacted tending to curb racialism. It was declared a felony to teach criminal syndicalism or commit sabotage. Editorials clearly defined treason, summing it up into the one word--treachery. Fair and impartial treatment was assured German aliens residing in St. Paul. They were however cautioned to "obey the law, keep your mouth shut."

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Organizations, firms and individuals were quick to publicly proclaim their patriotism and loyalty. The St. Paul Association asserted "Now that the United States has been brought into the war...it becomes the duty of the St. Paul Association to devote its energies without stint to the solution of the problems which war lays before the city." An industrial survey of the city's resources was promptly completed and placed at the government's disposal. The English-speaking papers campaigned fiercely in the nation's cause, particularly regarding recruiting, while the Minnesota Union Advocate implored their followers to "Be True Americans Now". The Tagliche Volkszeitung observed "that the time for criticism of the course taken by the United States was past," and foreseeing trying times ahead for German-Americans, it cautioned them to keep their heads. The average citizen meanwhile asserted his patriotism by the signing of loyalty pledges, adoption of patriotic

141. St. Paul Pioneer Press, Mar. 31, 1917, P-12.

142. Ibid. Apr. 7, 1917, P-3.

143. 151st. Field Artillery, L.L.Collins, P-12.

144. St. Paul Pioneer Press, Apr. 8, 1917, P-1.

145. Ibid. Apr. 11, 1917, P-7.

146. Ibid. Apr. 19, 1917, P-8.

147. Ibid. Apr. 9, 1917, P-6.

148. Continued.

resolutions, flag-raising at mass meetings, the whole culminating in the celebration on April 19 of "Wake-up America Day".

A monster parade was staged in which an estimated 15,000 men, women and children marched. Representatives of eleven Allied nations carried their respective country's flags and added to the colorful display. Participants vied with one another in the ingenuity of the slogans on their banners. Archbishop Ireland, unable to be present, sent a message "the hour of action has come...the dignity, the life and honor of America is at stake." In commenting on the demonstration the Pioneer Press essayed that the purpose of the parade was "to arouse selfishly absorbed citizens to the fact of a national crisis."

Prior to the declaration of war the country as a whole was dismayed at the rising cost of living. President Wilson had petitioned Congress for \$400,000 with which to conduct an investigation. The findings of previous boards had proved fruitless. Outright demands were made that monopolistic profits on the necessities of life be curbed. One newspaper questioned "will the food supply ultimately fall to governmental custody? Substitutes were urged, rice in place of potatoes, whole wheat instead of white flour bread and the use of cheaper cuts of meat."

The situation caused embarrassment to the St. Paul retail grocers who feared "being caught between the millstones of rising wholesale prices on one hand, and a public, outraged and unconvinced of the necessity for further increases in the cost of living." Flour advanced 20 cents to \$11.40 a barrel, butter went up two cents demanding a retail price from 44 to 52 cents a pound depending on quality. Gasoline prices increased steadily the rise being attributed to an "increase in wholesale prices". The price of sugar soared due to hoarding by individuals who anticipated a shortage. Newspapers roundly condemned this practice. Apartment

148. St. Paul & Ramsey County in the War, 1917-1918, P.11-12.

149. St. Paul Pioneer Press, Apr. 19, 1917, P-1.

150. Ibid. Apr. 19, 1917, P-1.

151. Ibid. Apr. 20, 1917, P-2.

152. Ibid. Apr. 20, 1917, P-4.

153. Ibid. Apr. 20, 1917, P-8.

154. Ibid. Feb. 25, 1917, P-6.

155. Pioneer Press, Feb. 26, 1917, P-1.

156. Ibid. Apr. 5, 1917, P-5.

157. Ibid. Apr. 14, 1917, P-7.

158. Ibid. Apr. 25, 1917, P-14.

159. Ibid. May 2, 1917, P-8.

160.

and flat rentals were threatened with a 10 per cent raise. Increased federal
161.

taxes on malt beverages advanced the cost of beer and ale.

To conserve the city's food supply an organized effort, sponsored by the St.

Paul Association co-operating with the College of Agriculture and various civic
162. 163.

units, was initiated. Home gardening was popularized and charitable organizations
164.

encouraged the city's poor to grow some of their requirements. Even the well-to-do
were inspired to co-operate and one enthusiast viewed "Summit avenue...fringed by
165. 166.

corn lands and potato fields". The abolition of waste was stressed. Domestic

science instructors advocated the elimination of cooking "frills", advanced the

art of canning fruits and vegetables, planned and taught the preparation of "Wartime
167.

recipes and menus". The dental profession stressed the care of the teeth stating
168.

"the more children chew their food the less food they need". Ramsey County W.C.T.U.

demanding the closing of breweries and distilleries and the planting of tobacco
169.

lands with grain and vegetables.

Recruiting went on apace. The Navy was especially successful in obtaining

recruits, their efforts being supplemented by full-page ads donated by various
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jobber, manufacturer and financial groups. Speakers, accompanied by musicians and
singers, harangued noontime crowds in the downtown sectors in the interests of the
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sailors. Fort Snelling received its influx of candidates seeking commissioned
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officer appointments. Preparations were made to care for the large number of en-
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listed men to be inducted into the army. Physicians and surgeons volunteered their
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services to the government practically en masse. Men were surgically renovated
175.

gratuitously, enabling them to enlist. Students at Hamline, Macalaster and the
176.

University of Minnesota adopted a three-point code, some enlisted and compulsory

160. St. Paul Pioneer Press, June 8, 1917, P-5.

161. Ibid. June 12, 1917, P-5.

162. Ibid. Apr. 13, 1917, P-1.

163. Ibid. Apr. 10, 1917, P-1.

164. Ibid. Apr. 13, 1917, P-16.

165. Ibid. Apr. 18, 1917, P-5.

166. Ibid. May 5, 1917, P-4.

167. Ibid. Apr. 27, 1917, P-9.

168. Ibid. Apr. 24, 1917, P-11.

169. Pioneer Press, Apr. 14, 1917, P-7.

170. Ibid. Apr. 19, 1917, P-4.

171. Ibid. May 4, 1917, P-11.

172. Ibid. Apr. 18, 1917, P-1.

173. Ibid. May 2, 1917, P-2.

174. Ibid. May 2, 1917, P-1.

175. Ibid. June 4, 1917, P-10.

176. Ibid. Apr. 18, 1917, P-14.

177.

military training was discussed. Inventions of all kinds, in the military line,
178.

were brought in to recruiting offices by their sponsors.

The marriage license bureau set a new high on licenses issued and inquiries answered, many men of draft age endeavored to earn exemption from service by this
179.
means.

Registration under the selective draft act was carried out on June 5, 1917.

The Pioneer Press announced a "grand total of approximately 25,352 registrations...

this does not include hundreds who were unable to register through lack of facil-
180.

ities." Anticipating disorders a large force of deputies were assigned to the
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registration places. The newspapers had reported that a movement was afoot to

resist the draft after registration. They counselled that "punishment should be

sweeping and exemplary and should include the propagandists as well as those con-
182.

victed of overt acts." They further asserted that "no political philosophy can take
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the place of loyalty". Ramsey county was assigned 12 draft boards, eleven for St.
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Paul and one for the rural portion of the county. Penalty for failure to register

for military service was announced as: "Liability to a year's imprisonment; then
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enforced registration". There were those of course who deliberately failed to

register. Also prominent were members of the World Peace Society and Socialists

who openly registered opposition to the draft. Agents for the Department of Justice

rounded up and jailed all known evaders, these were taken before the U. S. district
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court. A large number of those registering claimed exemption on various grounds.
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The draft boards were kept busy examining and classifying the large groups of men.
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Federal and state enforced registration of aliens prompted many to apply for natural-
189.

ization papers. Sporadic "slacker raids" were conducted and arrests were made of

177. St. Paul Pioneer Press, Apr. 28, 1917, P-16.

178. Ibid. Apr. 24, 1917, P-5.

179. Ibid. Apr. 10, 1917, P-1.

180. Ibid. June 6, 1917, P-1.

181. Ibid. June 5, 1917, P-1.

182. Ibid. June 29, 1917, P-6.

183. Ibid. June 1, 1917, P-6.

184. St. Paul & Ramsey County in the War,
1917-1918, P-48.

185. Pioneer Press, June 1, 1917, P-1.

186. Ibid. June 7, 1917, P-1.

187. Ibid. June 8, 1917, P-11.

188. St. Paul & Ramsey County in the War,
1917-1918, P-48.

189. Ibid. Page 223.

190.

those without proper draft cards. It was announced that St. Paul was to become the clearing house for war work in the Northwest. This work was to be taken to the existing factory instead of building new factories. The St. Paul War Industries Board "obtained \$750,000 worth of government contracts".

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The Civilian Auxiliary was formed early in the war to assist in the maintenance of order. Drills were conducted at St. Thomas College. The Auxiliary did yeoman service in the conduct of the first liberty loan campaign but the organization gradually dwindled and was finally inducted into the newly formed state-wide Home Guard of Minnesota.

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St. Paul and Ramsey County were asked to subscribe \$6,000,000 in the first

Liberty Loan drive. In this initial money-raising effort, as well as in the

194.

succeeding loan drives, St. Paul's quota was lavishly over-subscribed. A War Savings Certificate section was installed in the post office and all mail carriers were en-

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listed in furthering their sale, together with Thrift Stamps. Backed by the able sponsorship of the St. Paul Association a group known as the Four Minute Men was formed. These men usually spoke at motion picture houses. The Boy Scouts, Civilian

196.

Auxiliary and other organizations aided greatly in the various drives. St. Paul donated generously to the Red Cross and other charities. A detail of United States marines, stationed in one of the large downtown department stores, "held up" all

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persons not wearing a Liberty Loan button. They enjoined all to purchase bonds. Idleness was discouraged, it was ordered that "every male person residing in Minnesota shall be regularly engaged in some useful occupation". Work or fight became

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a reality.

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190. St. Paul Pioneer Press, July 21, 1918, P-1.

191. Ibid. June 19, 1918, P-10.

192. Ibid. June 31, 1918, P-8.

193. St. Paul & Ramsey County in the War, 1917-1918, P 72-76.

196. Pioneer Press, Dec. 3, 1917, P-1

197. St. Paul & Ramsey County in the War, 1917-1918, P-172.

198. Pioneer Press, Dec. 21, 1917, P-6.

194. June 3, 1917, St. Paul Pioneer Press, P-5. 199. Ibid. Apr. 19, 1918, P-4.

195. St. Paul Pioneer Press, Nov. 28, 1917, P-12. 200. Ibid. June 14, 1918, P-1.

St. Paul was perturbed and embarrassed in September, 1917, by a speech given at the Auditorium by Senator La Follette. Speaking under the auspices of the Non-Partisan League some of his utterances were interpreted as disloyal to the government. He was roundly criticized by the Press which requested his removal from the senate. To offset the unfavorable reaction caused by the speech a monster Loyalty rally was staged. Senator Kellogg and Theodore Roosevelt made reply to La Follette before "seven thousand howling patriots, 100 percent Americans...more than 10,000 persons filed through downtown streets...fully 100,000 cheered approval from packed sidewalks". To keep alive the patriotism engendered by this demonstration the America First Association was formed at a mass meeting to foster loyalty and patriotism. Statewide loyalty meetings were held with flying squadrons speaking in every schoolhouse and community. St. Paul felt that it had redeemed itself from any stain that might have been cast upon it.

Military authorities were disturbed at the vice conditions existing in the Twin Cities. The inspector general of the United States army threatened of the more than 5,000 soldiers from Fort Snelling." Washington authorities likewise threatened removal of the Aviation Mechanics Training school from St. Paul because of the prevalence of prostitution. The sale of liquor presented a serious problem, civil authorities were called upon to clean up the situation. It became necessary for the military to institute a provost guard which patrolled the downtown sectors in an effort to curb the sale of liquor to men in uniform. The Public Safety Commission established a dry zone two and a half miles wide around Fort Snelling and ordered all saloons, public dance and pool halls to close at 10. P. M. and to remain closed on Sundays. The effect of this adverse activity was to render

201. St. Paul Pioneer Press, Sept. 21, 1917, P-1.

202. Ibid. Sept. 22, 1917, P-6.

203. Ibid. Nov.. 16, 1917, P-1.

204. Ibid. Sept. 29, 1917, P-1.

204A. Ibid. Nov.. 17, 1917, P-1.

205. Ibid. Nov.. 17, 1917, P-1.

206. Ibid. Nov.. 26, 1917, P-1.

207. Pioneer Press, Sept. 29, 1917, P-6.

208. Ibid. Oct. 5, 1917, P-8.

209. Ibid. Nov. 6, 1917, P-7.

210. Ibid. July 21, 1918, P-1.

211. Ibid. July 21, 1918, P-1.

212. St. Paul & Ramsey County in the War, 1917-1918, P-233.

213. Ibid. Pp 230-33.

"58 of 86 counties in the state bone dry" and hastened the adoption of national prohibition. The U. S. Government relented and ordered the immediate taking over of "\$3,000,000 worth of property" in the Transfer district and the construction of an "aviation training school...destined to be the biggest school of its kind in the world."

Of the Minnesota National Guard troops the 1st Field Artillery was honored by being included in the 42nd Division, later baptized the Rainbow Division. The regiment's appellation was changed from the 1st to the 151st Field Artillery and in October 1917 sailed for France being among the first national guard combat troops to arrive in that country. The 1st Infantry, the Field Hospital and Field Ambulance companies, entrained for Camp Cody, New Mexico, in September and October 1917, from where they subsequently sailed overseas. Hamline University furnished an ambulance unit which saw service and was decorated by the French command "for valiant services."

Many St. Paul men responded to an early call for engineer troops. These men were sent overseas ahead of the combat troops to prepare unloading docks, cantonments and railways. Base Hospital No. 26 unit, recruited almost entirely from the University of Minnesota, was ready for service as early as July 1st. The Navy had secured over 1800 and the Marine Corps about 500 Ramsey county men while nearly 1200 qualified for commissioned officer positions.

As quickly as the men selected by the various draft boards were called in they were sent to one of the training camps. Many St. Paul men went to Camp Dodge near Des Moines, Iowa, where after intensive training they left for Camp Cody and other cantonments before embarking for overseas. The morale of the men was sustained by the work of welfare agencies, outstanding among whom were the Y. M. C. A., Y. W. C. A., the National Catholic Welfare Society, American Library Association, the Jewish

214. St. Paul Pioneer Press, Jan. 31, 1918, P-1.

215. Ibid. Feb. 15, 1918, P-1.

216. St. Paul & Ramsey County in the War, 1917-1918, P-22-23.

217. Ibid. P-253-254.

218. Ibid. P-31.

219. Ibid. P-251.

220. Ibid. P-252.

221. Ibid. P-51.

222.

Welfare Board, Salvation Army and the War Camp Community Service.

The city had cause for rejoicing when it was announced that all St. Paul soldiers had been saved from the "ill-fated transport Tuscania which was torpedoed off the Irish coast."

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Increases in wages not having kept pace with the rising costs of living, some labor and capital disputes were inevitable. St. Paul experienced wartime strikes, most of them of a minor nature. Railway car repairers walked out several times,

224.

laborers at a coke plant, plasterers and plasterer tenders, milk wagon drivers and painters struck, but these differences were amicably adjusted. Of a much more

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serious nature was the street car strike, late in 1917, which focused nation-wide attention on St. Paul. The Minnesota Public Safety Commission, at the instigation of the Twin City Rapid Transit company, ordered all union carmen to refrain from wearing union buttons while on duty. The carmen protested this ruling and called a strike. Attempts by the company to continue service met with violence. A contemporary reports that a rioting mob of 2,500 attacked trolley cars, in some instances overturning them. Bricks were hurled through windown and motormen and conductors set upon and injured. The local police force being unable to cope with the situation

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"eleven companies of the Home Guard from points outside the Twin Cities were called in to maintain order making a total of 1500 Guards and 900 deputies" on duty." Governor Burnquist, in an attempt toward determining responsibility for the disorders, suspended Sheriff Wagner of Ramsey county. Union officials of the Trades and Labor Assembly issued a "call for a 'convention of all union men in the Twin Cities to remain in session indefinitely' to aid the street carmen's union." This was regarded

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as tantamount to a general sympathetic strike of all union men. Federal aid was en-

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222. St. Paul & Ramsey County in the War, 1917-1918, P-112.

227. Pioneer Press, Dec. 4, '17, P-4

228. Ibid. Dec. 5, 1917, P-1.

223. St. Paul Pioneer Press, Feb. 11, 1918, P-1.

229. Ibid. Dec. 4, 1917, P-4.

230. Ibid. Dec. 3, 1917, P-1.

224. St. Paul & Ramsey County in the War, 1917-1918, P-234.

225. Ibid. P-235.

226. Ibid. P-236.

listed by the workers who divided their delegates into four general groups representing building trades, metal workers, railway employees and of miscellaneous trades.
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A serious handicap was threatened to the nation at war by the action of the railway workers. Governor Burnquist in repudiating Federal interference wired the Federal Labor Department: "As Governor of this commonwealth, I shall use every power at my command to uphold the dignity of the State and to protect the rights of all concerned. Should the time arrive when we need Federal assistance to maintain our laws I shall not hesitate to call upon you." Nevertheless President Wilson requested the Federal Department of Labor to furnish him a complete record of the controversy. The union "convention" was adjourned in the light of possible Federal action. Secretary of War Newton D. Baker recommended that "the Public Safety Commission re-open the case." Union officials passed a resolution asking for the removal of two members of the Commission. Oscar E. Keller, commissioner of public utilities in St. Paul, openly charged collusion between the Commission and the Twin City Rapid Transit company. Shortly after, Keller was indicted, by the Ramsey county grand jury, together with James Monahan, attorney for the Non-Partisan League and Thomas J. McGrath, state representative, charged with "rioting resulting from alleged inflammatory speeches made by them at the Rice park mass meeting."
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Matters remaining at a stalemate union officials ordered a general walkout of all workers on Dec. 13, 1917. Six more companies of home guards were called in from outside towns, plans for re-organization of new deputy sheriffs and additional special officers was announced, all saloons were ordered closed and civilian guards were posted by acting Sheriff E. H. Davidson. Martial law was threatened for the first time in St. Paul's history, elaborate precautions were taken to safeguard
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243.

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|---|---------------------------------------|
| 231. St. Paul Pioneer Press, Dec. 5, 1917, P-2. | 239. Pioneer Press, Dec. 22, '17, P-1 |
| 232. Ibid. Dec. 5, 1917, P-2. | 240. Ibid. Dec. 12, 1917, P-1. |
| 233. Ibid. Dec. 3, 1917, P-1. | 241. Ibid. Dec. 13, 1917, P-1 |
| 234. Ibid. Dec. 6, 1917, P-1 | 242. Ibid. Dec. 12, 1917, P-1. |
| 235. Ibid. Dec. 6, 1917, P-1. | 243. Ibid. Dec. 13, 1917, P-1 |
| 236. Ibid. Dec. 11, 1917, P-1. | |
| 237. Ibid. Dec. 5, 1917, P-2 | |
| 238. Ibid. Dec. 4, 1917, P-1. | |

put in
if Keller
was aggrieved
I can
find

244.
life and property.

Upon invitation President Wilson sent a commission, headed by Secretary of Labor 245.
W. B. Wilson, to attend a mass meeting of capital and labor at the Auditorium. At
this gathering Secretary Wilson "told 4,500 employees and employers...industrial dis-
putes must be abandoned until after the war." Representatives of labor and capital
sat on the platform with the Secretary. "A splendid feeling of co-operation was
evidenced everywhere." 246. At the conclusion of the meeting it was announced that "Union
leaders...signed a pact...'unconditionally withdrawing the sympathetic strike order
they have had in contemplation'." 247. The Pioneer Press, on December 20, 1917, summed
up the general feeling "It looks like we are at that happy solution of the late
difficulty which nearly always may be expected where intelligence, conciliation and
a spirit of fairness are brought to bear upon controversies between capital and labor." 247.

The inclusion of railway workers in the strike may have had some effect in
causing President Wilson to announce that all railroads would come under government
control after Dec. 28, 1917. Local officials however retained the management of their
own systems. It was announced that "complete unification of all routes is the object." 248.

To prevent a recurrence of future strikes the Minnesota Public Safety Commission
sent a list to the State Board of Arbitration of "suggested conditions for adoption
by employers and employees." Their recommendations were essentially:

1. Both sides must recognize that any dispute "operates to the advantage of the public enemy."
2. Nonbut pre-war unions to be recognized.
3. Employers shall not try to break up any recognized pre-war unions.
4. Both parties to maintain existing status of a "union, non-union or open shop."
5. Differences with respect to wages or hours of labor to be referred to the state board of arbitration.

244. The St. Paul Pioneer Press, Dec. 12, 1917, P-1.
245. Ibid. Dec. 17, 1917, P-1.
246. Ibid. Dec. 19, 1917, P-1.
247. Ibid. Dec. 20, 1917, P-1.
248. Ibid. Dec. 27, 1917, P-1.

6. No strike or lockout, under any consideration, during the period of the war. 249.
7. "Pending any decision by the arbitration board, work shall be continued uninterrupted by either party."

In December 1917 the Federal fuel administration, to conserve the nation's coal supply, decreed a series of "lightless nights." An observer records that the order was virtually ignored in St. Paul the first of these nights "only a few business firms complied...in the residence district lights were dimmed." Fuel Administrator Garfield's drastic ruling requiring the complete closing of a large proportion of retail and wholesale establishments, office buildings and factories for at least one week -day a week, aroused much bitter criticism among the leading business men of St. Paul who were reported as "almost unanimous in agreeing that the detriment to business will more than offset the comparatively small advantage to be gained in fuel saving." Modification orders were received for specified lines of business. The St. Paul Association estimated the enforced idle at 60,000. An editorial remarked "St. Paul has observed its first joint heatless, lightless, tobaccoless, liquorless and workless day without turning a hair." It was estimated that 2500 tons of coal "were saved in St. Paul by the second heatless Monday." Theaters were allowed to remain open and reaped a harvest, they were compelled to close on Tuesdays however. Street cars adopted a skip-stop policy in compliance with fuel conservation orders.

The 18th Amendment, inaugurating nation-wide Prohibition, was passed by the House of Representatives on Dec. 18, 1917, and submitted to the States for ratification. No immediate effect was noticeable. St. Paul breweries however were concerned over the Food administration's order prohibiting the manufacture of beer

249. St. Paul Pioneer Press, Apr. 17, 1918, P-1.
250. Ibid. Dec. 17, 1917, P-8.
251. Ibid. Jan. 17, 1918, P-1.
252. Ibid. Jan. 21, 1918, P-1.
253. Ibid. Jan. 22, 1918, P-1.
254. Ibid. Jan. 29, 1918, P-12.
255. Ibid. Jan. 29, 1918, P-12.
256. St. Paul & Ramsey County in the War, 1917-1918, P-167.
257. St. Paul Pioneer Press, Dec. 18, 1917, P-1.

after December 1, 1918. An estimated working capital of \$7,300,000 was involved in
258.
St. Paul and approximately 1700 men were to be released for "essential labor."

Early in 1918 the Pioneer Press published a comparative break-down of all labor
classifications with 1917 figures for both male and female workers opposed to 1910
figures. Under the caption "What residents of this city do" were listed all grades
from newsboys to bankers, female domestics to women professionals. The comparison
revealed a gain in male occupations of 15,378 with an advance of 5, 189 in the
259.
female ranks, a total of 20,567 for the seven year period.

The Socialist party succeeded in injecting a candidate, Julius F. Emme, into
260.
the mayoralty race. In the election in May, 1918, Lawrence C. Hodgson (Larry Ho)
261.
polled a majority of 10,629 over Emme. In the state primaries Governor Burnquist
secured the Republican nomination over Charles A. Lindbergh, former congressman,
sponsored by the Non-Partisan league. While Burnquist won the gubernatorial race
by a good majority St. Paul proper gave a slight majority to Evans, Farmer-Labor
262.
candidate. Ramsey county as a whole however favored Burnquist by a small margin.

Socialists and Non-Partisan leaguers, while protesting their loyalty to the
nation, created some friction in St. Paul. The I. W. W. was also busy. A. L.
Sugarman, secretary of the state Socialist committee, was arrested for failure to
register. He was also charged with urging drafted men to refuse to report to the
263.
exemption boards. J. C. Bantall, Socialist candidate for governor, was also arrested
264.
charged with disloyal acts, Howard Harter, out on bail, caused a near riot by
265.
seditious utterances. Conscientious objectors, for religious reasons, were attacked
266.
physically. I. W. W. members urged laborers to quit their jobs, they also tried to
267.
organize a miner's strike on the range. Fritz Bergmeier, of the German Daily
268.

258. St. Paul Pioneer Press, June 7, 1918, P-1.

259. Ibid. Jan. 27, 1918, P-10.

260. Ibid. Mar. 20, 1918, P-1.

261. Ibid. May 8, 1918, P-1.

262. St. Paul & Ramsey County in the War, 1917-1918, P243.

263. St. Paul Pioneer Press, Aug. 8, 1917, P-1.

264. Ibid. Aug. 10, 1917, P-1.

265. Ibid. Aug. 11, 1917, P-1.

266. Ibid. Sep. 23, 1917, P-1.

267. Pioneer Press, Aug. 2, 1917, P-2.

268. Ibid. Aug. 8, 1917, P-5.

Volkszeitung, was seized for violating the enemy alien act and incarcerated in a
 269.
 Federal prison. The Minnesota Public Safety Commission issued a warning "violation
 of law, obstruction of the government, hindrance to enlistment and to Federal duty
 270.
 cannot be tolerated." Civil authorities were apprehensive lest serious bloodshed
 271.
 result from these activities. Governor Burnquist to avoid loss of life proclaimed
 that "no more anti-draft and other like protest meetings will be permitted in
 272.
 Minnesota."

Nationally prominent labor leaders and Socialists, including Samuel Gompers,
 spoke to an overflow crowd at the Auditorium, mercilessly castigated Senators
 273.
 La Follette, Gronna and Stone and renewed their pledges of loyalty and patriotism.
 The National Non-Partisan League made reply to disloyalty charges, brought by the
 St. Paul newspapers, in a full half-page advertisement. They asked the public to
 judge "Organized Labor and Organized Farmers upon actual facts and not upon un-
 274.
 founded charges." Nevertheless the Pioneer Press reported that "the number of
 slacker arrests in St. Paul is exceeded only in cities of more than 1,000,000 pop-
 ulation" and attributed it to "older Socialists and anti-American propagandists
 influencing young men." The paper further asserted "radical opposition to the war
 275.
 is the policy of Minnesota Socialists, according to...a referendum vote."

Effects of the war on St. Paul and its people were propounded by the editor of
 the Pioneer Press. He discovered that there was "greatly lessened crimes of serious
 nature" also that "the frequent recourses to litigation...has entirely vanished."
 Bank deposits had decreased due to a tight money market and a tendency of people to
 pay cash. More careful buying was noted, cheaper cuts of meat were in demand,
 restaurants reported an abstinence in pies and dainties, "imported foods and liquors,

269. St. Paul Pioneer Press, Aug. 10, 1917, P-1.
 270. Ibid. Aug. 8, 1917, P-1.
 271. Ibid. Sep. 23, 1917, P-1-
 272. Ibid. Aug. 19, 1917
 273. Ibid. Sep. 7, 1917, P-1.
 274. Ibid. Sep. 23, 1917, P-7.
 275. Ibid. July 1, 1917, P-3.

rare and tropical fruits are being foresaken." Waste--garbage, "became a rarity," hog ranch owners ^{WIFE} ~~became~~ alarmed at its scarcity. High leather prices caused a slight falling off in shoe sales. Imported cigar consumption suffered but the output of domestic cigars increased.

Marriage licenses increased nearly 300 over a corresponding period of the year past with a correlative boost in jewelry sales, particularly engagement and wedding rings and wedding gifts. A decrease in divorces was further noted. Also perceptible was a greater demand for working women, theaters, railroads and manufacturing concerns absorbing many of them. Fewer and shorter vacations were planned, "no hysteria existed...but a stern realization of the burden we have assumed."

The interest in home gardening created a demand for books on that subject. The library reported a decided switch from fiction to war books, men expecting a call read military manuals and studied the French language. Aliens seeking naturalization papers demanded solid books on civics, English and American history.

The high price of meat forced many to practice the piscatorial art, swelling the sale of fishing tackle at sporting goods stores. The motor car and gasoline industry thrived, the "output of some factories...sold out for months to come." Saloons were reported doing "just about as much as formerly." Demand for labor caused a scarcity of beggars and loafers. Society turned its attention to the "furtherance of various
276.
patriotic objects."

Letters arrived from the men at the front. The St. Paul artillery battalion
277.
suffered its first battle casualties on March 5, 1918. Thereafter as casualties mounted they were reported in the newspapers. Frequent pictures of local boys
278.
killed, wounded, decorated or returned from the war zone also appeared. The government periodically stimulated the patriotism of the people by presenting motion pic-

276. St. Paul Pioneer Press, June 1, 1917, P-2.

277. St. Paul & Ramsey County in the War, 1917-1918, P-263.

278. St. Paul Pioneer Press, Sept. 1, 1918,

279.

tures visualizing the achievements of Yankee fighters and workers at home and overseas.

Scarcity of labor, particularly in the skilled divisions, was nation-wide. To prevent the "stealing" of desirable workers from one plant by another Federal Employment Service offices were opened. The government required various skilled craftsmen in shipyards and munition plants, located mainly in the East. The Minnesota Public Safety Commission, to co-ordinate all activities, created a War Work Division with 280.

D. R. Cotton, one of the Commission's directors, at its head. One task was to 281. mobilize an army of workers from non-essential war industries to essential war service.

An office was opened in Washington to assure St. Paul industries their share of war 282.

contracts. A plan was adopted of pooling the city's industrial resources to streamline production. This met with national approval and was adopted elsewhere. Nine groups of industries were represented--tent and awning, foods, shoes, sheet metals, 283.

iron, steel and machinery, wood working, building materials, vehicles and bedding.

No less than \$18,000,000 of war essential products were turned out in St. Paul 284.

before the signing of the Armistice.

St. Paul was host to more than 5,000 delegates attending the annual convention 285. of the American Federation of Labor in June 1918. National president, Samuel Gompers, in addressing a gathering of 350 St. Paul business and professional men, asserted that "business has as much right to organize as has labor and the laws should be 286.

changed to permit it."

The Federal Trade Commission, in June 1918, brought "sensational charges" against the meat packers. Allegations that they were "manipulating prices without regard to law" and of "preying on the people by exacting unfair prices" brought 287.

prompt and emphatic denials from the packer's representatives in South St. Paul.

Prior to this the steel trust had flatly refused to comply with an order of the War Industries Board that they fill orders for the Allies and domestic consumers at the 288.

price fixed for government war orders.

279. St. Paul Pioneer Press, Oct. 5, 1918, P-5.

280. St. Paul & Ramsey County in the War, 1917, 1918. P-196.

In an effort to conserve the nation's supply of newsprint the U. S. government decreed a reduction of 57% of newspaper volume. This necessitated a new style "dress", the elimination of space-consuming headlines and the curtailment of many Sunday features. The Pioneer Press advised its readers that the new make-up would enable it to "give its readers ten percent more news."

In the Fall of 1918 the St. Paul area was invaded by the dreaded Spanish influenza. Stories had been circulated of the epidemics raging in eastern and southern army camps. Prompt steps were taken to fight the mysterious malady, the opening of the University of Minnesota was postponed for one week. Soldiers at Fort Snelling were hard hit and "flu" victims among the civilian population mounted throughout the entire state. As the death toll mounted St. Paul health officials placed "an absolute ban on all public dances and on all special public meetings." On Oct. 14, the Pioneer Press announced "despite twelve influenza-pneumonia deaths recorded yesterday, St. Paul health authorities last night were of the opinion that the situation locally is slightly improved." Schools and churches however remained open.

281. St. Paul Pioneer Press, Feb. 1, 1918, P-1.

282. St. Paul & Ramsey County in the War, 1917-1918, P-200.

283. St. Paul Pioneer Press, Apr. 14, 1918, P-1.

284. St. Paul & Ramsey County in the War, 1917-1918, P-284.

285. St. Paul Pioneer Press, June 10, 1918, P-1.

286. Ibid. June 28, 1918, P-10.

287. Ibid. June 30, 1918, P-1.

288. Ibid. Aug. 11, 1917, P-4.

289. Ibid. Sep. 18, 1918, P-1.

290. Ibid. Sep. 29, 1918, P-1.

291. Ibid. Oct. 8, 1918, P-1.

292. Ibid. Oct. 23, 1918, P-10.

293. Ibid. Oct. 23, 1918, P-10.