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ST. PAUL

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The man who was responsible for the naming of St. Paul arrived here just a century ago. He was Lucien Galtier, a young French priest sent by Bishop Loras of the Diocese of Dubuque. Bishop Loras had visited at Fort Snelling the summer before, finding many people of Catholic faith at the Fort and in surrounding territory who had not seen a priest for years.[1] He promised to send them one the next year,[2] and on April 20, 1840 Father Galtier boarded the first boat north, to take up his duties in the primitive settlement.[3]

He found "the sight of the Fort, commanding from the elevated promontory the two rivers" pleasing, but the crowding wilderness and the few scattered dwellings resigned him to a life of "privation, hard trials and suffering."[4]

For the first month the young priest stayed with Scott Campbell, an interpreter. After that he moved in a room which by virtue of a folding altar served also as a chapel. Here he ministered to his flock for over a year.[5] During this time he gave some thought to the question of a site for a more permanent chapel, and eventually he decided to place it

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1. M. M. Hoffmann, The Church Founders of the Northwest (Bruce Pub. Co., Milwaukee, Wis., 1937), page 117.
2. Ibid - page 127. Rev. John Ireland, Memoir of Rev. Lucian Galtier (Minn. History Collections, Vol. 3, 1880), page 224.
3. M. M. Hoffmann, The Church Founders of the Northwest, page 156.
4. Ibid - page 156.
5. Rev. John Ireland, Memoir of Rev. Lucien Galtier, page 225.

in the little down-river community which had resulted from the expulsion of the Selkirk and other settlers from the military reserve.[6] Refugees from the northern settlement, driven out by grasshoppers, drought and then a flood, the Selkirk refugees at first had the sympathy of the occupants of Fort Snelling, and were indeed "welcomed and aided by the Officers."[7] There was nothing to warn them that they would not be allowed to stay permanently. Some of the men folk were employed at the Fort, and girls and women from among them took service with officers' wives. Friendly and peaceful relations existed between the garrison and the settlers who had gathered around it for protection, broken only when discharged soldiers or voyageurs created trouble by whiskey selling.

In 1837, however, Major Joseph Plympton came to the Fort as Commandant, and immediately disrupted these friendly relations by issuing an order defining the reservation, and including some land on the eastern shore as well as the west side, within restricted territory. Following this order, some of the settlers moved across the river. Abraham Perry, a Swiss from the Selkirk colony, was the first to cross. He was a good farmer, and his wife was the only expert midwife in the region, so that the women at the Fort did not wish this family to move very far away.[8]

Before the Perrys crossed from the Fort, Pierre Parrant, a French-Canadian voyageur had built a shanty near Fountain Cave, attracted to the place because from it he might carry on trading without the formality of securing a government license.[9] Perry settled nearby, both men believing they were outside the restricted reserve.[10] Parrant lost his property on a note, and

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6. M. M. Hoffmann, The Church Founders of the Northwest, page 158.
7. Marcus L. Hansen, Old Fort Snelling, 1819-1858 (State Historical Society of Iowa, Iowa City, 1918), pp. 189-191.
8. E. D. Neill, Occurrences in and Around Fort Snelling (Minnesota Historical Society Collections, Vol. 2, St. Paul), page 48, 51.
9. Pioneer and Democrat Weekly (St. Paul), April 28, 1859. Also Annals.
10. T. M. Newson, Pen Pictures of St. Paul, Minnesota (Vol. 1, published by the author, St. Paul, 1886) pages 15-16.

in 1838 he moved to a bluff above the river near the present site of Robert Street. Thus his was the first cabin built on the site of the future St. Paul.

In addition to being a whiskey seller, one of Parrant's eyes bulged out in marbly blue-white blindness, in consequence of which he was known as "Pig's Eye." Colorful villains are rare in Minnesota history, and because of Parrant's occupation and his appearance, historians have made him one of them.[11] Legends about him grew through the years. One later writer reported that Parrant's whiskey was a "horrible liquid, which, by it virulent concitation of the mucuous membrane inflamed all the passions," and that "shrieks from Women and Children, mingled with the yells of demons, and the howling of dogs, added the terrors of hearing to the appalling sights enacted in 'Pigs' Eye Pandemonium.'"[12] The whiskey may have been bad, though its strength is reported always to have been somewhat diluted with river water. The "appalling sights" were probably pure fiction.

Other settlers came soon after Parrant to the site of St. Paul. Benjamin and Peter Gervais, and three discharged soldiers, Evans, Hays and Phalen, took claims on the site. James R. Clewett, who later married a daughter of Abraham Perry, built a cabin. A mysterious stranger named Johnson came up the river and stayed until it was rumored the Fort authorities were considering his arrest on charges of counterfeiting, whereupon he departed hurriedly.[13] Ben Gervais bought the Parrant claim for ten dollars, and the whiskey seller moved nearer the river, on the lower landing, a point more

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11. Note: Minnesota History Bulletin, Nov. 1918, Vol. 2, No. 8, page 509.
12. Col. Hankins, Dakota Land or the Beauty of St. Paul (Hankins and Son, New York, 1868) pp. 33-35.
13. T. M. Newson, Pen Pictures of St. Paul, page 16.

accessible to his customers.[14]

Parrant's connection with the earliest settlement probably gave whatever small justification there was for the popular saying "Minneapolis was conceived in waterpower, St. Paul was born in whiskey."[15]

At any rate, quite a little cluster of cabins had grown up here by the time of the final eviction of all settlers from the reserve. Through Plympton, enough reports and complaints were sent to Washington to convince the Secretary of War that removal of settlers from the reserve was of vital importance, and he issued an order to Edward James, Marshall of the Territory of Wisconsin, to effect such removal. James sent Deputy Ira Brunson, of Prairie du Chien, to clear the restricted land, instructing him to call upon the garrison in case it became necessary to force the eviction.

Brunson arrived in April 1840, and ordered the settlers off the land. The order was met with indifference, either because most of the settlers were not convinced the matter was serious, or because they were unwilling to leave the homes into which they had put so much labor. On May 6, 1840, therefore, soldiers were called out and under the direction of Brunson and a lieutenant from the Fort the little cabins were emptied of goods and occupants and burned to the ground.[16] They also dispossessed Perry and some others who had taken claims on the east side of the river.[17]

Most of the evicted people moved down the river to the small, newer settlement, and here Father Galtier decided, at length, to erect his chapel. Benjamin Gervais and Vital Guerin, both devout men, donated sufficient land

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14. Henry S. Fairchild, Sketches of the Early History of Real Estate in St. Paul (Minnesota History Collections, Vol. 10, part 1), page 411.
15. Federal Writers' Project of Minnesota, Minnesota, A State Guide (Viking Press, N.Y., 1938), page 156.
16. Marcus L. Hansen, Old Fort Snelling, 1819-1858, pp. 194-196.
17. T. M. Newson, Pen Pictures of St. Paul, Minnesota, page 19; and Pioneer and Democrat Weekly, April 28, 1859 (St. Paul).

for a church, a garden and a small burial ground.[18] The land chosen was thinly covered with red and white oak, which were cut down to provide logs for the building. A tamarack swamp back of the land yielded rafters and roof pieces, and bark-covered slabs for benches and flooring were furnished by a mill owner in Stillwater. Construction of the chapel was completed in a few days, at a total cost of not over $65.[19]

On November 1, 1841, a congregation of about a dozen attended the consecration of the rude, new Basilica, which reminded Galtier of the "Stable of Bethlehem. . . as well adapted to the uses of piety as any church in the world."[20]

At that time Mendota was known as St. Peter and since "the name of Paul is generally connected with that of Peter," Galtier dedicated the new chapel to St. Paul.[21]

Later the priest published the marriage banns of Vital Guerin as those of a resident of St. Paul. Since the log chapel was the outstanding landmark of the community, the town began to be called St. Paul's Landing by people in the river traffic also, and eventually this was shortened to St. Paul.[22]

On the evening of June 9, 1842, Henry Jackson and his wife arrived in St. Paul and found shelter in the Perry cabin. Jackson rented a cabin down near the waterfront until his own cabin was built, on two acres of land which he purchased from Ben Gervais. Jackson had failed as a merchant

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18. Rev. John Ireland, Memoir of Rev. Lucian Galtier, page 227.
19. Rev. Ambrose McNulty, The Chapel of St. Paul and the Beginnings of The Catholic Church in Minnesota (Minn. History Collection, Vol. 10, part 1) page 238.
20. Rev. John Ireland, Memoir of Lucien Galtier, page 227 and Pioneer Democrat Weekly (St. Paul), April 28, 1859. Also Minnesota Annals.
21. Rev. John Ireland, Memoir of Lucien Galtier, page 227.
22. M. M. Hoffmann, The Church Founders of the Northwest, page 158.

in Galena; nevertheless he put in a stock of goods and opened a store and tavern which was soon much in favor with voyageurs and fur traders.[23] This was the first store; previously settlers had been able to get only tobacco, shot, powder and whiskey from Parrant. Two additional stores were opened in 1843, one by J. W. Simpson and the other by John R. Irvine.[24] All these stores carried whiskey also.[25]

The road by which merchandise was brought up from the river landing was extremely steep and rough. A forked tree with a board across the end served as a sledge, which was drawn by Vital Guerin's oxteam. A barrel of either flour or whiskey, the two leading commodities, was the load limit.[26]

In the winter of 1843, Jackson received an appointment as Justice of Peace from Governor Dodge of Wisconsin. Although he had been notified, his commission was delayed and in the meantime a young couple came before him to be married. Jackson's solution of the problem was characteristic of the earliest settlement. He performed the ceremony, telling them to "go their way and be happy," and to come back for the legal ceremony when he had received his commission papers.[27]

In 1844 Father Galtier was called from St. Paul to Prairie du Chien and Father Augustine Ravoux was left in charge of the work of the Catholic Church. At first Ravoux followed the practice of his predecessor in preaching two weeks in Mendota and then one week in St. Paul. However, the growth of the settlement of St. Paul was such that this practice soon had to be re-

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23. Henry L. Moss, Biographic Notes of Old Settlers (Minnesota History Collections, Vol. 9) page 144.
24. Charles D. Elfelt, Early Trade and Traders in St. Paul (Minn. History Collections, Vol. 9) pages 163-164.
25. Mildred Hartsough, The Twin Cities as a Metropolitan Market (University of Minn. Press, Mpls. 1925) pp. 28-29.
26. August L. Larpenteur, Recollections of the City and People of St. Paul, 1843-1848 (Minn. Hist. Coll., vol. 9) page 378.
27. Henry L. Moss, Biographic Notes of Old Settlers, page 146.

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Mendota still retained most of the fur trade, but the growth of St. Paul was recognized by the American Fur Company, and in 1842 they erected several buildings there.[29] H. H. Sibley, the suave and cultured gentleman in charge of the Fur Company business in Mendota, was quick to recognize the potentialities of the new settlement and aided it in every way he could. Since he held stock in several steamship ventures he was anxious also to encourage navigation of the upper river.[30] Around him were a group of men, including Charles W. Borup, Ramsey Crooks, Henry M. Rice and Charles H. Oakes, who were later, as Mendota declined, to play an important role in the development of St. Paul.

St. Paul's population was made up of French, mixed bloods, a few ex-soldiers and some merchants, most of whom had come from the eastern states. French was the accepted language of the amalgam.[31] The first decade was a rather backward one, and the free habits of the voyageurs and traders, developed through years in the wilderness, made it an uninhibited one.[32] The site, which was described as a "mixture of forest, hills, running brooks, ravines, bogs, lakes, whiskey, mosquitos, snakes and Indians," could not have been extremely attractive, and additions to the population were slow in coming.[33]

Charles Bazille and Captain Louis Robert were the only important newcomers in 1844. Bazille was a carpenter and erected the first frame dwelling. He also built a small grist and lumber mill, which failed because "the logs did not come down and the wheat did not come up."[34]

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28. Rev. Ambrose NcNulty, The Chapel of St. Paul and the Beginnings of The Catholic Church in Minnesota, page 240.
29. Calvin Schmid, Social Saga of Two Cities (Mpls. Council of Social Agencies, Mpls., 1937), page 3.
30. William J. Petersen, Steamboating on the Upper Mississippi (Iowa Historical Society, Iowa City, 1937) page 146.
31 Grace Flandrau, St. Paul, The Untamable Twin, in The Taming of the Frontier (Minton, Balch Co., N.Y., 1925) page 129.
32. William P. Murphy, Recollections of Early Territorial Days and Legislation (Minnesota History Coll., Vol. 12) page 104.
33. T. M. Newson, Pen Pictures of St. Paul, Minnesota, pages 39-40.
34. Ibid -- pages 43-45.

By general consent Jackson acted as the first postmaster. Upon demand for a more regular and satisfactory service, backed up by a petition signed by settlers, the Post Office Department on April 7, 1846 raised St. Paul to the dignity of a post office town, and Jackson then received an official commission as postmaster. A crude box with initialed pigeon holes served to distribute incoming mail.[35] The new Post Office was the fourth in the entire Territory of Wisconsin, which at that time included St. Paul, and receipts for the first year reached a magnificent total of $14.70.[36]

As far back as 1842, Dr. Thomas S. Williamson, pioneer missionary to the Indians, had written to ex-Governor Slade of Vermont, president of the National Popular Education Society, requesting aid in securing a teacher for 36 children of school age living in St. Paul. It was a number of years before the matter received attention.

Meantime, in 1845, Mathilda Rumsey had established a small school, where she taught for two or three months, at the upper levee. A romance brought her teaching career to an end, and these duties, according to some records, were assumed by a young man, S. Cowden, Jr., who left shortly afterward. This short session was, aside from possible efforts of the Catholics in the very early days, the first actual school in St. Paul. For a time the community was without any school at all. Then, through the influence of Harriet Beecher Stowe, Miss Harriet E. Bishop was secured for the post. On July 16, 1847, Miss Bishop arrived at Kaposia, a few miles below St. Paul, on the Steamer Argo.[37]

Miss Bishop remained two days at the Indian village, then proceeded to St. Paul in a canoe. "A cheerless prospect" summed up her first impression of her new home. She boarded at the residence of J. R. Irvine, which was the

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35. T. M. Newson, Pen Pictures of St. Paul, Minnesota, pages 49-50.
36. Henry L. Moss, Biographic Notes of Old Settlers, page 145.
37. Ibid - page 157.

only dwelling "of respectable size composed of three rooms and an attic."[38.] Purposeful and energetic, Miss Bishop immediately arranged to hold school sessions in a vacant log cabin on the corner of what is now Kellogg Boulevard and St. Peter Street. The response to the school was not immediate; the first session on July 25 was attended by only seven scholars, of which three were white. However, three weeks later the number of pupils had grown to twenty-five.[39.]

During the next winter Miss Bishop organized a ladies' sewing circle, known as the St. Paul Circle of Industry. The group of eight, including Mrs. Jacob Bass, Mrs. Jackson and Mrs. Irvine, had for its purpose the raising of the necessary funds for a school building which might also be used for other public purposes.[40.] Money raised through needlework made the first payment on the lumber; the building was completed in August, 1848.[41.] The next year there were three schools, and another teacher, also under the sponsorship of the National Popular Education Society, arrived to assist Miss Bishop.[42.]

The year 1847 brought other substantial additions to the community. Simeon P. Folsom arrived in July and bought a small building of tamarack logs.[43.] Jacob W. Bass, who arrived in August, leased this building for $10 a month and, after making improvements, opened it as a hotel, the St. Paul House. Dr. John J. Dewey arrived in July. Until this time the settlement had been dependent on Fort Snelling for medical service. The further growth of the town was recognized by the enlargement of the American Fur Company headquarters there under the name of the St. Paul Outfit, and William H. Forbes, formerly Sibley's clerk at Mendota, arrived to take charge.[44.]

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38. Pioneer Democrat Weekly, April 28, 1859 (Minnesota's Annals) and St. Paul Daily News, September 21, 1919.
39. Henry L. Moss, Biographic Notes of Old Settlers, page 158.
40. St. Paul Daily News, September 21, 1919.
41. Henry L. Moss, Biographic Notes of Old Settlers, page 159.
42. D. A. J. Baker, Early Schools of Minnesota (Minn. History Collections, St. Paul, 1872), page 82.
43. Note: Minnesota History Bulletin, vol. 2, No. 6, May 1918, page 378.
44. Henry L. Moss, Biographic Notes of Old Settlers, pp. 146-149.

A land office had been established the year before and in 1847 the land was for the first time surveyed and platted by the government.[45] As in other early Minnesota communities this caused anxiety among the settlers, for the land was to be disposed of in August 1848 at open sale at St. Croix Falls where speculators might have equal chance with those who had settled and improved the land.[46] Three men, H. H. Sibley, August L. Larpenteur and Captain Louis Robert were chosen to represent the settlers at the sale. Sibley took with him a dozen husky trappers and traders armed with "huge bludgeons." He said he did not know what was meant by the display of force, but that he "would not have envied the fate of any individual" who would have bid against him.[47] Evidently the forbidding group served its purpose well, for Larpenteur reported that "everything went smoothly."[48]

Ninety acres of the now legally acquired land were then divided into lots and the whole was entered and recorded as the town of St. Paul.[49] Up to this year there had been only 13 transactions involving the ownership of land but in 1848 security of ownership brought new settlers and a record of 35 real estate transfers for that year alone.[50] The earliest land deals were limited by lack of resources on the part of the traders. Donald McDonald sold his claim to Stephen Desnoyer for a barrel of whiskey and two guns. One man traded his first claim for a team, took another claim and again gave it up

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45. E. E. Barton, City of St. Paul (published by the Author, St. Paul, 1888), page 6.
46. Henry L. Moss, Biographic Notes of Old Settlers, page 161.
47. Marjorie Barstow Greenbie, American Saga (Whittlesey House, New York, 1939), page 363.
48. August L. Larpenteur, Recollections of the City and People of St. Paul, 1843-1848 (Minn. History Collections, Vol. 9), pp. 378-379.
49. E. E. Barton, City of St. Paul, page 6.
50. Henry S. Fairchild, Sketches of the Early History of Real Estate in St. Paul (Minnesota History Collections, Vol. 10, Part 1) page 433.

for a team. With few exceptions the earliest settlers gave their land for paltry sums to more money conscious and less naive newcomers. Some of the later arrivals, aware of potential values, realized fortunes from this cheaply acquired land.[51]

During the 1840's there were 40 to 90 steamboat arrivals annually. These early years were served irregularly by boats that sailed on no schedule or plan. They were attracted up river by the traffic in military forces and supplies and by barter with Indians and fur traders, rather than by any city. St. Paul, at first an incidental stopping place, gradually succeeded in centering the upper river trade at her port.[52] The organization of the Galena and Minnesota Packet Company in 1847 brought the first system into the river trade above Galena and Dubuque.[53] Their entire first line consisted of the steamer Argo[54] which was designed to run once a week between St. Paul and Galena. This ship sank near Wabasha in the autumn of 1847 and had to be replaced.

With the increase in trade and immigration, ornately painted sidewheelers pulled up more often to the landing. A lively rivalry began among the river captains and soon another line, the Dubuque and St. Paul Packet Company, was formed.[55]

With growing civic spirit, and aware of its future possibilities, St. Paul now began strenous efforts to secure separation from Wisconsin, the formation of Minnesota Territory and the naming of St. Paul as Territorial capital. Organization of the Territory would guarantee some permanence to St. Paul's accomplishments, and naming the city as Territorial capital would bring

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51. Henry S. Fairchild, Sketches of the Early History of Real Estate in St. Paul (Minnesota History Collections, vol. 10, part 1), page 418.
52. William J. Petersen, Steamboating on the Upper Mississippi, page 203.
53. Gen. James H. Baker, History of Transportation Minnesota (Minn. History Collections, vol. 9, St. Paul, 1910), page 17.
54. T. M. Newson, Pen Pictures of St. Paul, Minnesota, pp. 69-71.
55. Captain Russell Blakeley, The History of the Discovery of the Mississippi River and the Advent of Commerce in Minnesota (Minnesota History Collections, Vol. 8), page 381.

hundreds of settlers flooding to its landing. Conscientious men from outside St. Paul led by H. H. Sibley of Mendota lent their considerable influence to the same end.

These ambitions were the butt of jokes and ridicule in eastern newspapers, coming from an area which they considered wild and savage, and the little news that reached the ice-bound village in the winter of 1848-49 was not encouraging.

On the night of April 9, 1849, a steamboat whistle, heard over the booming thunder of a storm, aroused the settlement. A crowd soon gathered on the landing, for this first boat would have news upon which the future of the town might depend. A flare of lightning revealed the outline of the Dr. Franklin II, and as soon as it could be boarded St. Paul learned the joyful news that Minnesota had been made a Territory.[56.]

This news broke down the barriers which had made development so slow in the first decade. It was not without cause that an early settler, in his reminiscences, wrote of the "Wonderful Events of the Year 1849."[57.]

Gold discoveries on the West Coast in the same year, called the adventurous, who were more attracted by the glittering prospect of gold than by the prosaic, workaday promise of Minnesota Territory. The painted ladies, gamblers, gunmen and miners passed Minnesota by, and as a result St. Paul had less "wild life" than most frontier settlements.

The crooks who ventured here were polite ones, with methods quite unlike those of the highwaymen who crossed the trails of the 49'ers. Here they were real estate "sharks," mostly lawyers with land as a sideline;

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56. William P. Murphy, Recollections of Early Territorial Days and Legislation (Minn. History Collections, vol. 12) page 105. Also Pioneer and Democrat Weekly (St. Paul), April 28, 1859.
57. T. M. Newson, Pen Pictures of St. Paul, Minnesota, page 99.

money lenders who wanted 5 percent interest a month, with 10 percent after due, and other "disciples of the devil."[58.]

The influx of settlers brought a building and land boom, however, and real estate dealers and money lenders, despite the unpopularity of their methods, were much in demand. Buildings far more imposing than the ramshackle cabins of the previous decade, were springing up until it looked as if "the seed for a multitude of tenements had been scattered yesterday upon a bed of guano, and had sprouted up into cabins and stores and sheds and warehouses, fresh from the sawmill since the last sun shone."[59.]

Newspaper men were always a part of westward migration. Even when they did not themselves go to the newly opened lands, they gave support to, and sought to profit by, the western booms. Two enterprising editors, Randall and Owens, issued a paper in Ohio to serve Minnesota, though its only actual connection with the Territory was the name "Minnesota Register" and a few scraps of Minnesota news.

On April 18, 1849, James M. Goodhue, the Territory's first newspaperman, came on the steamship Senator to St. Paul. With him he brought a press, type, printing apparatus and plans for a paper. The only hotel in the city was jammed full; no accommodations were available. And if living quarters presented a considerable problem, a location for the press seemed impossible to find. The only vacant room was in disrepair, "open as a corn rick" but, for lack of anything else, it had to be accepted. Despite discomfort from wind and rain, work was begun immediately, and ten days after Goodhue's arrival, the first issue of the Minnesota Pioneer was off the press. At first he had planned to call it The Epistle of St. Paul but since there were

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58. William P. Murphy, Recollections of Early Territorial Days, etc. page 107.
59. Daniel S. B. Johnston, Minnesota Journalism in the Territorial Period, (Minnesota History Collections, vol. 10, part 1) page 250.

so many "Saints" in the territory this idea had to be abandoned.[60.]

Goodhue was a journalist crusader. He said of the press, "Let an editor slash away, anything but salve, salve, salve, when the dissecting knife is needed. The journal that does nothing but paddle along with public opinion, without breasting the current of popular errors, is of no value - none whatever." Goodhue's paper was valuable - by his own definition as well as by others.[61.]

His consistent boosting of the Territory had no small effect in encouraging immigration but, remembering his own experience, he tempered his praise with a warning which provides an insight into the growth of the city. "We advise settlers who are swarming into St. Paul in such multitudes, to bring along tents and bedding, to provide for their comfort until they can build houses; as it is utterly impossible to hire a building in any part of the village; although builders are at work in every direction, completing houses."[62.] [63.]

Another important arrival in 1849, coming on the same steamer that brought the news of the founding of the Territory, was the Reverend E. D. Neill, the first Protestant clergyman to settle permanently in St. Paul. From the time of his arrival until his death in 1893, this distinguished gentleman contributed much to the cultural and intellectual life of the Territory. He was first a Presbyterian minister, whose earliest sermons were preached in a little brown building "recently occupied as a groggery."[64.] By March 1859, when he had been here not quite ten years, a newspaper article

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60. Daniel S. B. Johnston, Minnesota Journalism in the Territorial Period (Minnesota History Collections, vol. 10, part 1) pp. 247-249.
61. Ibid - page 250.
62. John H. Stevens, Recollections of James M. Goodhue (Minn. History Collections, vol. 6, St. Paul, 1887), page 499.
63. The Minnesota Pioneer (St. Paul), April 28, 1849 (Minnesota Annals).
64. The Rise and Progress of St. Paul, St. Paul Daily Democrat, October 22, 1854 (Minnesota Annals).

said of him that the "Baldwin School, the College of St. Paul, and the three public schools of St. Paul, among the finest public buildings in the city, are the permanent monuments of his devotion to the cause of education."[65] Afterward he served as superintendent of instruction, chancellor of the University of Minnesota, and, after his return from two years as United States Consul at Dublin, as president of Macalester College, and its professor of history, literature, and political economy. He was the first secretary of the Minnesota Historical Society, and a widely known lecturer on historical subjects.

For the earliest settlers, explorers and traders the American Fur Company had served as bank and financial agent, but it was not equipped to meet the larger needs of 1849 and succeeding years.[66] Consequently loans to finance improvements had to be made outside the Territory and interest rates were as high as 5 percent monthly. Also the major share of borrowed money was used, not for improvements, but to invest in land.[67]

The first attempt at banking in the city only made the financial situation more complicated. In September 1849, a stranger by the name of Isaac Young induced a thoughtless St. Paulite to "sign a large number of handsomely engraved pieces of paper;" which bore the imprint of the "Bank of St. Croix, St. Paul, Minnesota." These notes were circulated in down river cities to the amount of $700, on the strength of an eastern quotation furnished by an accomplice. The publicity caused by this fraud put an end to wild-cat schemes for a time; it also delayed legitimate enterprise.[68]

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65. Weekly Pioneer and Democrat (St. Paul) March 3, 1859 (Minnesota Annals).
66. Adolph O. Eliason, The Beginning of Banking in Minnesota (Minnesota History Collections, vol. 12), page 675.
67. Sydney A. Patchin, The Development of Banking in Minnesota (Minnesota History Bulletin, vol. 2, no. 3, August, 1917), page 120.
68. Ibid - page 121.

This year wrought startling changes in the appearance and size of the city. Steamboats so increased the frequency of their visits that sixteen were counted in the port at one time. Sixty much-needed carpenters entered the city in a single day. Trade with settlers, as separate from the Indian trade began to assume importance and a demand for a new type of merchandising was felt. Even an "occasional silk dress" was reported among the needs.[69] The number of merchants so increased that the Minnesota Pioneer complained editorially of the country's need for farmers rather than merchants.[70]

In addition to the river, one overland route, from St. Paul to Stillwater, into Wisconsin, down to Galena, now connected the town with the outside world. A stage and mail line was established over it, but service was unsatisfactory since the road was rough and frequently impassable. The inadequate postal service aroused one irate citizen to ask if anyone could believe that "in the 19th century our government would limit Minnesota, situated here in the very heart of the Republic, to one mail a week?"[71]

In October, 1849, Ramsey County was created by an act of the legislature[72] and during the next month St. Paul was incorporated as a town.[73] The area incorporated was approximately 224 acres compared with the 90 contained in the first organization.

Alexander Ramsey, the appointed Governor of the Territory, had arrived at Mendota in May and remained there for a short time, acquainting himself with the American Fur Company's local personnel. Although only 34, Ramsey was not a great deal younger than most of the men who were actively engaged in building the Territory.

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69. August L. Larpenteur, Recollections of the City and People of St. Paul, 1843-1848 (Minnesota History Collections, vol. 9), page 379.
70. Minnesota Pioneer, August 16, 1849, St. Paul (Minnesota Annals).
71. Arthur L. Larsen, Roads and Trails in the Minnesota Triangle, 1849-1860 (Minnesota History, Dec. 1930, vol. 2, No. 4), page 388.
72. Neill and Williams, History of Ramsey County (North Star Publishing Company, Minneapolis, 1881), page 177.
73. Calvin Schmid, Social Saga of Two Cities, page 3.

The young easterners sent out by John Jacob Astor and Pierre Choteau had provided the wisest leadership up to this time. They were a far seeing group and, although fur trading was not a highly ethical business, their service to the Territory was usually beneficial and often entirely unselfish. From these men Ramsey received his first impression of the vital problems facing the Territory.[74] After a few days with them, on May 27, 1849, he traveled by canoe to St. Paul.[75]

The first Territorial Legislature convened on Monday, September 3, 1849, in the white frame, green shuttered Central House. There being no adequate quarters for governmental activity, all possible rooms in the hotel were pressed into extra service. The lower house of the legislature met in the dining room on the ground floor and at noon business was suspended while tables were set and meals served.[76] The council chamber was used as a sleeping room and at night the floor was covered with straw ticks and Indian blankets to accommodate the men who debated legislative matters during the day.[77]

The funds set aside by Congress for territorial organization were delayed and this provided an additional handicap. Governor Ramsey and Secretary C. K. Smith were forced to borrow four thousand dollars on personal drafts to meet the most pressing demands and provide advances to legislators who were in need.[78]

Ramsey's message to the legislature revealed his genuine grasp of the problems confronting the territory. The legislature was, for the most part, made up of rough and uncouth men, but they were not less capable for their roughness, and had qualities of honesty and conscientiousness which served better than niceties.

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74. William B. Dean, A History of the Capitol Buildings of Minnesota, With Some Account of the Struggles for Their Location (Minnesota History Collections, vol. 12, St. Paul, 1908), page 2.
75. Gen. James H. Baker, Alexander Ramsey, A Memorial Eulogy (Minnesota History Collections, vol. 10, part 2, Feb. 1905), page 727.
76. T. M. Newson, Pen Pictures of St. Paul, Minnesota, page 108.
77. William P. Murphy, Recollections of Early Territorial Days, page 110.
78. The Chronicle and Register, St. Paul, Dec. 22, 1849 (Minnesota Annals).

Education received Ramsey's special attention and in this he met with willing accord from the legislators. He appointed Reverend E. D. Neill as the first Superintendent of Public Instruction.[79.]

Substantial division of opinion was found only on the matters of location of the Territorial capital and division of the Territorial institutions. As soon as it was announced that no funds would be expended on a temporary site, St. Paul was permitted to have the honor.[80] The United States Congress had provided that the legislature should meet first in St. Paul, locate a temporary seat of government and provide for a vote of the people on the permanent location. The fight over this location raged for the next decade.[81.]

Only one law passed by the first legislature, that providing for imprisonment for debt, proved to have a detrimental effect. No provision was made for release when the debt was paid and people were jailed on little evidence and "reckless swearing." The effect on immigration and community life was such that it was repealed in 1856 as a "relic of barbarism."[82.]

The weak Territorial government was forced to lean heavily on Fort Snelling to uphold its authority. The jail at the Fort was used for punishment of those few unregenerate characters which the region had attracted. Among those who suffered sentences there were James Higby, who sold a promissory note which had already been paid; John R. McGregor, who pushed his wife against a cook stove and Jacob Shipler, who was guilty of assault and

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79. David L. Kiehle, History of Education in Minnesota (Minnesota History Collections, vol. 10, part 1), page 357.
80. William B. Dean, A History of the Capitol Buildings of Minnesota, with Some Account of the Struggles for Their Location, page 5.
81. Ibid -- page 1.
82. William P. Murphy, Recollections of Early Territorial Days, etc., page 127.

83.
battery.

In his message to the second legislature on January 1, 1851, Ramsey dealt with a matter which had been uppermost in his mind since his arrival - the land west of the river which was still under the legal domination of the Sioux. The fact that only a fragment of the empire was open, seriously delayed the development of agriculture. Since 1849 the question had become acute, due to the fact that newcomers were pressing into the forbidden land. Ramsey, moved largely by his concern for the future of the Territory and partly by his unreasoning prejudice against Indians, admitted that the newcomers were trespassing but went on to
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praise their enterprise in no uncertain terms. His only recommendation was that settlement be made legal and the land opened as soon as possible. His suggestions approved, negotiations were immediately begun for a treaty which would secure that purpose.

The treaty was signed on July 23, 1851. Out of the entire body of whites who attended the conferences with the Sioux, Ramsey is said to
85.
have been the only one who worked "from no sordid motives." Traders of every type were present and exerted a strong influence for the treaty, since it would give the Indians money which the traders might claim in payment for goods advanced. When the treaty was eventually ratified in the U.S. Senate, on June 26, 1852, it gave the Territory 23 million acres of which the pio-
86.
neers said, "The Almighty could have made a better country but he never did."

Since the allocation of the capital had been only temporary, the question came up to divide the Second Legislature more seriously. Out of the many conflicting proposals and much bitter dissension a compromise was

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83. Marcus L. Hansen, Old Fort Snelling, 1819-1858, pp. 196-198.
84. Gen. James H. Baker, Alexander Ramsey, A Memorial Eulogy, page 728.
85. Ibid - page 729.
86. Ibid - page 728-729.

at last reached between three leading contenders. St. Paul was awarded the capital, St. Anthony was given the State University and Stillwater the prison. This bloc of the three largest cities threw the smaller communities out of the running. The compromise stood and became permanent, even though it met with attack and aroused resentment over a period of many years.[87]

By 1850 over six thousand white people had been drawn into the territory and two thousand (2,000) of them had settled in or around St. Paul.[88] Opening of the western land was eagerly anticipated and the fertile region of the Minnesota River Valley was attracting special attention. The Minnesota, known by the Indians as Ashkiibogi-Sibi or the "river of the green leaf," because of the contrast between bright foliage here and the somber pines of the northern rivers, had not received much attention up to this time.[89]

A steamer had ascended it as far as the Indian village of Shakopee in 1842 but it was not until June, 1850 that the Anthony Wayne, under the stimulus of a spring freshet and a purse of $225, steamed as far as the foot of the rapids near Carver, and began a period of extensive travel. The brimming, fresh river and the rolling tree-covered land impressed the passengers and the reports they brought back to St. Paul whetted the appetites of the land seekers. Steamboat competition stimulated further navigation of the river. The Nominee surpassed the mark set by the Wayne but on July 20 the latter boat recaptured the laurels by reaching a point a few miles below the present city of Mankato. The Yankee reached Judson in Blue Earth county in midsummer.[90]

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87. William B. Dean, A History of the Capital Buildings of Minnesota, etc. (Minnesota History Collections, vol. 12), page 6.
88. William G. Le Duc, Minnesota at the Crystal Palace Exhibition, New York, 1853 (Minn. History Bulletin, V. 1, No. 7, August, 1916), page 351.
89. Thomas Hughes, A History of Steamboating on the Minnesota River (Minn. History Collections, Vol. 10, part 1), page 131.
90. Ibid - pp. 134-136.

A few venturesome souls proceeded at once to invade the western land, but the rush of immigration did not come until the treaty was ratified in 1852. At this time regular steamboat trips on the Minnesota River, with elaborate time tables and schedules, were inaugurated. The time tables, however, were somewhat ironical, as delay was the rule rather than the exception. If accidents, such as striking treacherous snags and sandbars or having a smokestack ripped off by overhanging trees, did not delay the journey, the boat must frequently stop to take on wood for fuel. The more experienced travelers took this as a matter of course, and roamed the woods looking for plums or wild berries.

The Minnesota River traffic began to extend St. Paul's commerce in a new direction, and as long as the water was high enough, the trade was brisk. During low water most boats found it impossible to go any distance up the river and even steamers such as the Greek Slave, designed for the Minnesota's shallowness, were occasionally held at St. Paul.[91.]

If the Territory had been fortunate in its first Governor, other territorial appointments were neither as wise nor as happy. Ambitious, vain, Judge David Cooper was appointed Associate Justice of the Territory because he was the brother of a Senator. Once in this position he aspired to the higher post of Chief Justice. His ruffled shirts, silver buckled shoes and arrogant desertion of his post for pleasure trips were extreme affronts to the people of St. Paul, who still respected the plain ways of the frontier. U.S. Marshall Alexander Mitchell was another appointee who evoked the dislike of the settlers.[92.]

The crusading newspapermen of the frontier were free with their language, careless with derogatory adjectives and extremely personal in their interest in the community. Goodhue, the sharp-tongued editor of the

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91. Thomas Hughes, A History of Steamboating on the Minnesota River (Minn. History Collections, V. 10, part 1) pp. 138-143.
92. William P. Murphy, Recollections of Early Territorial Days and Legislation (Minn. History Collections, Vol. 12), page 107.

Pioneer, was typical of them. All of his force was marshalled against Cooper and Mitchell. Of the Judge he wrote: "He is lost to all sense of decency and self respect. Off the Bench he is a beast, and on the Bench he is an ass, stuffed with arrogance, self conceit and a ridiculous affectation of dignity." Both men were castigated in editorials such as one which referred to them as a "dispensation of wrath, a judgement, a curse, a plague, unequalled since the hour when Egypt went lousy. . . our very gall is honey to what they deserve."[93]

On January 15, 1851, the day after the editorial appeared, Joseph Cooper, a brother of the Judge, attacked Goodhue when the two met on the street. During the scuffle, the editor was stabbed twice and Cooper was shot. Goodhue in the confusion of the moment cried out, "The villain has stabbed me to the heart," although in fact his wounds were in the stomach.[94] Cooper died soon after, presumably as a result of his injuries, but Goodhue was vindicated by popular opinion which held that there was a conspiracy to murder the editor for his outspoken policies. The next issue of the Pioneer carried a renewed attack on the appointees.[95]

Dangers to morals, no less than politics, claimed Goodhue's attention. Fearing that people were devoting time to building churches and forgetting to do good he warned that, "multiplying churches will no more annihilate sin than multiplying insurances offices will annihilate fires. . ."[96] He warned negligent parents that there was a "free school at the lower landing in St. Paul, where your children can be taught all the peccadilloes and vices, from lying to profane swearing, up to the higher calendar of crimes. . . They will soon be

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93. Daniel S. B. Johnston, Minnesota Journalism in the Territorial Period (Minnesota History Collections, part 1, vol. 10), page 251.
94. Pioneer Democrat Weekly, St. Paul, April 28, 1859 (Minnesota Annals).
95. William P. Murphy, Recollections of Early Territorial Days and Legislation (Minn. History Collections, vol. 12), page 114.
96. Minnesota Pioneer, St. Paul, June 10, 1852 (Minnesota Annals).

beautiful graduates, every one of them with a diploma from the devil."[97.]

Goodhue was not the only one to give serious consideration to the moral life of the early community. The town had, by this time, divided into two distinct social groups. The strict New Englanders held aloof from the earlier settlers, the half-bloods, the French-Swiss, and former voyageurs together with merchants and traders more used to the rough ways of the frontier than the polite traditions of the east. Whiskey was practically the issue of division. The New Englanders gave their allegiance to sarsparilla cider,[98.] while the other faction found "whiskey hoe-downs," as convivial gatherings were called,[99.] more to their liking. Even the most respected of the very early settlers were addicted to hard liquor in embarrassing quantities.[100.]

The Sons of Temperance had been organized in 1849 and the Temperance Watchmen were formed shortly thereafter. The strict temperance regulations of Maine were regarded by both organizations as model ordinances, and zealous efforts were made for passage of similar laws. The question was brought up for a general vote on April 1, 1851. Temperance advocates opened a hall on the day of the election and provided a free entertainment and a banquet, after which those who attended were requested to pledge themselves for temperance. The dry forces scored a victory but it was short lived. At the next general election opponents of the measure rallied to place a majority in the state legislature and the dry regulations were repealed.[101.]

Although population growth continued, little progress was made in

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97. Richard B. Eide, Minnesota Pioneer Life as Reflected in the Press (Minnesota History, vol. 12, no. 4, Dec. 1931), page 399.
98. Minnesota Democrat, St. Paul, July 15, 1851 (Minnesota Annals).
99. Harriet E. Bishop, Floral Home; or, First Years in Minnesota (Sheldon, Blakeman and Co. N.Y., 1857), page 101.
100. Lucy Morris, Old Rail Fence Corners (F. H. McCulloch Printing Co., Austin, Minn. 1914), page 17.
101. Harriet E. Bishop, Floral Home; or, First Years in Minnesota, page 110.

industrial development. Neither capital nor public interest could be attracted from the immediately richer fields of real estate and trade. In 1849 the town had been able to boast of two printing plants, two blacksmith shops, a wagon shop, a tin shop and a bakery. The manufacture of brick which was the product welcomed for local building purposes, was begun in July 1849.[102] Later a small custom flour and grist mill was established and by 1850 two small sawmills were operating. These mills could supply only a small part of the local need. There were few additions to industry in the years immediately following. Milling never had much success, since the water-power needed for it then was lacking, but, ever on the alert for trade, St. Paul managed to find a place for itself in the marketing and rafting of lumber.[103] Most of the St. Anthony lumber firms and many of the St. Croix companies established either lumber yards or offices there.[104]

Quite different from the slow and gradual growth of industry was the general picture of the city. One hundred buildings, four of them of brick, were erected in the first half of 1851.[105] Land speculation became more and more wild. A latter writer complained in 1852, "My ears at every turn are saluted with the everlasting din of land! land! land warrants! Town lots, etc. . . . everything is artificial, floating - the excitement of trade, speculation and expectation is now running high, and will, perhaps for a year or so - but it must have a reaction."[106] Not many men, however, thought of the reaction. Even those of otherwise calm and thoughtful judgment were carried away.

The Territory was still largely dependent upon Federal money which

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102. E. S. Seymour, Sketches of Minnesota (Harpers, N.Y., 1859), page 99.
103. Calvin Schmid, A Social Saga of Two Cities, pp. 14-19.
104. Minnesota Democrat, St. Paul, May 6, 1851 (Minnesota Annals).
105. " " " " June 24, Aug. 5, 1851 (Minnesota Annals).
106. T. M. Newson, Pen Pictures of St. Paul, Minnesota, page 344.

The scarcity of currency encouraged the circulation of dubious issues and substitutes, such as certificates of deposit. A deep prejudice had grown up against formation of any bank of issue, since they were subject to little or no regulation or supervision and large sums were lost from "shinplasters" issued by "broken banks." Borup and Oakes were the first to issue certificates of deposit and, despite the general animosity aroused by the idea, successfully kept them in circulation.[111.]

In an effort to arouse interest in the Territory's possibilities, William G. Le Duc was sent to New York in 1853, with an exhibit of Minnesota products for the Crystal Palace World's Fair. Le Duc did as much as was possible on the $300 budget which was allotted by the legislature. He planned that a shaggy bison bull, transported to New York with herculean labor, would be the feature of the display but the governors of the exposition refused to admit the beast. Wheat, rye, oats, barley, corn, furs and Indian articles, including a birch bark canoe, comprised the Minnesota exhibit. People of the eastern states had been interested in the more spectacular development of the far west, but the favorable comments which this exhibit received from Horace Greeley and others, served to bring Minnesota favorably to their attention.[112.]

On his return, Le Duc submitted a report to the Governor pointing out the possibility of attracting foreign immigrants to Minnesota and suggested that official action should be taken toward that end. Governor Gorman in his message to the legislature of 1855 asked that an official agency be established. Such a measure was approved and Eugene Burnand was placed in charge of the bureau in New York. Le Duc had suggested that the

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111. Mildred Lucille Hartsough, The Twin Cities as a Metropolitan Market (University of Minn. Press, Mpls., 1925) pp. 117-118.

112. William G. Le Duc, Minnesota at the Crystal Palace Exhibition, New York, 1853 (Minnesota History Bulletin, Vol. 1, No. 7, August 1916), pages 352-368.

greatest possibilities for securing settlers lay among the Scandinavians but Burnand concentrated his efforts among Germans, Swiss, Belgians and French. Most of those who came to the Territory as a result of his work were[113] ~~was~~ Germans.

Traffic on the river increased with the expanding needs of the Territory, the endless numbers of incoming settlers, the development of trade. New boat lines, including the St. Louis and St. Paul Company, the Diamond Jo Packet Company and many others, were attracted by the extraordinary profits in northern Mississippi navigation.[114] The War Eagle which had cost $20,000, cleared $44,000 profit in one year alone and the City Belle which had cost $11,000 brought in $30,000 in profits during the same period.[115]

Because of the importance of the river to the community, river captains were envied by adults and idolized by children. They were privileged characters and even their practical jokes were to be taken with a smile. One, Captain Montfort, had an "Indian flute," about a ~~one~~ foot long, decorated with mystic symbols, which unsuspecting passengers were invited to play.[116] The resulting "music" was a puff of flour in the face.

The journey from St. Louis to St. Paul required four days; the fare, including meals, was ten dollars.[117] Although economical and the most comfortable form of transportation then available, river journeys on the average boat were not altogether pleasure trips. Meals were often poor and at times the boats were so crowded that passengers were forced to sleep on tables and

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113. Livia Appel and Theodore Blegen, Official Encouragement of Immigration to Minnesota during the Territorial Period (Minn. History Bulletin, Vol. 5, No. 3, August 1923) pp. 169-170.
114. Gen. James H. Baker, History of Transportation in Minnesota (Minnesota History Collections, Vol. 9, 1910) page 17.
115. J. Fletcher Williams, A History of the City of St. Paul (Minnesota History Collections, Vol. 4, 1876), page 360.
116. August L. Larpenteur, Recollections of the City and People of St. Paul, 1843-1848 (Minn. History Coll. Vol. 9), page 389.
117. Ibid -- pp. 389-390.

floors. One traveler, contemplating a trip from St. Louis to St. Paul, was shown a series of pictures to dissuade him. In the first cartoon a dapper young man stepped on to a finely decorated boat. Later he was shown as much older and the boat had dwindled to half size. At last he was pictured as an old man and the boat, hardly large enough to hold him, floated on a stream which emanated from a sprinkling pail. If factually inaccurate, the pictures no doubt portrayed the mental state to which a river journey often reduced the traveler.[118.]

River transportation to the city was supplemented by stage coach lines which soon led in every direction. The two major companies were the Minnesota Stage Company and the Northwestern Express Company. Due to the great discomfort of stage travel over rough roads, which one editor described as "unmitigated purgatory,"[119.] the most successful lines were those which reached places inaccessible by boat. By 1860 the coach routes covered 1,300 miles with an additional 300 miles being traveled by mail pony routes.[120.]

On March 4, 1854, the legislature passed an act incorporating St. Paul as a city. A few months later the city was visited by the "Grand Excursion" which marked the completion of the railroad as far west as Rock Island, Illinois, thus connecting the river traffic of Minnesota directly with the east. River Captain Russell Blakeley wrote of it that, "Bells were rung and whistles sounded and the curling waters of the Great River opened to receive the keels of vessels freighted with hundreds of the most distinguished men and women of the nation, who had never before set eyes upon the

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118. Mary Thayer Hale, Early Minneapolis, Personal Reminiscences (Privately printed, Minneapolis, 1937), pp. 2-4.
119. Minnesota Pioneer, St. Paul, March 11, 1852 (Minnesota Annals).
120. Gen. James H. Baker, History of Transportation in Minnesota (Minnesota History Collections, Vol. 9), page 18.

rich beauties which nature has distributed profusely over our mighty valley."[121]

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

The gay visitors were not for the most part prospective settlers, but stories of the excursion in many papers and magazines had an effect upon immigration. It was estimated that forty-five thousand settlers were landed in St. Paul by the end of the year. A newspaper recorded that, "They do not tarry here long but scatter themselves over the Territory in search of claims."[122] Though eastern states continued to send the majority of newcomers,[123] the first groups of foreign immigrants now began to appear.

A new type began to make itself known in St. Paul - a harder, more aggressive and less slow-moving group of men. There had been a land boom before, but following the "Great Excursion" conditions became "perfectly wild" and values on land a mile from the business center soared as high as a thousand dollars an acre.[124]

On May 11, 1854, the first daily newspaper, the Minnesotian, began publication. In June it was announced that a daily mail service to the community was being established, via the river. This hope for an efficient

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121. Russell Blakeley, History of the Discovery of the Mississippi and The Advent of Commerce in Minnesota (Minnesota History Collections, Vol. 8, St. Paul, 1898), page 395.
122. Daily Democrat, Sept. 19, 1854, St. Paul (Minnesota Annals).
123. Daily Democrat, St. Paul, The Rise and Progress of St. Paul, October 28, 1854 (Minnesota Annals).
124. Note (Minnesota History, March 1930, Vol. XI, No. 1), page 109.

mail service was not entirely fulfilled, however, for in November there were still complaints, and the voicing of a hope that perhaps the winter service by stage might be better.[125.]

Lumber could not be supplied fast enough for the extensive building. It was reported in July that twenty buildings were being delayed due to lack of building material.[126.]

The swift economic growth led to an early blossoming of "high society" among the wealthier bankers and traders. The mingling of Yankee, European and French-Canadian cultures gave it an air of cosmopolitanism. The frontier too, added its touch, as is testified by the male fashion which was "fox skin caps, with a tail sticking out gracefully behind, and a moustache covering the whole face."[127.]

The easterners, dominant economically, attempted to superimpose the pattern of social life in their former homes upon the yet raw settlement. The effect was not entirely happy for it produced a snobbishness and striving for "social tone" which fitted the crude town badly. It produced sentiments such as those expressed by one young lady of fashion, "I called on Mr. R----'s bride. Felt I must. 'Tis said her father was a mechanic in Hartford and that she has been a governess. Too bad to let such a rumor get about," and gave rise to such conceits as, "St. Paul was favored with an exceptionally intelligent population in its infancy."[128.] [129.]

The Ramsey, Gorman, Borup, Oakes, Cox, and Rice homes were favored by the wealthier set. The spacious Borup mansion was the scene of musicals, with two grand pianos, and with the banker himself playing the violin. At

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125. Daily Minnesotian, St. Paul, June 19, Nov. 11, 1854 (Minnesota Annals).
126. " " " " July 18, 1854 (Minnesota Annals).
127. Minnesota Democrat, St. Paul, Jan. 12, 1853 (Minnesota Annals).
128. Grace Flandrau, St. Paul, The Untamable Twin, in (The Taming of the Frontier, Duncan Aikman, Editor -- Minton Balch, New York, 1925), p. 142.
129. Charles E. Flandrau, Reminiscences of Minnesota During the Territorial Period (Minn. History Collections, Vol. 9), page 202.

the home of William S. Cox, a retired navy officer, there were "grand dinners and petits soupers that would have made the habitues of Washington green with envy." The effort to achieve culture was so strenous that at times it became ridiculous, as in the case of Miss Hitty Cox, who "was such an accomplished musician that she never played anything but music of her own composition."[130.]

New Year's day was the high point of the social season. The young men would press every fancy buggy or carriage into service while the ladies remained at home, serving elaborate refreshments to callers and receiving the signatures of guests. The belle with the longest list of callers scored a triumph and, as it is recorded that one group of "frisky fellows" made 150 calls by midnight, the lists must have been long.[131.]

Despite editor Goodhue's boast that "our blood is red," the craving for excitement was not easy to satisfy in the calm town. Not many things happened, so occasions for celebrations had to be invented. National holidays, civic anniversaries and even steamboat landings served as excuses for elaborate festivals, in which the common folk participated as well as those who had set out to rival the "habitues of Washington and Newport."[132.]

The cultural pattern for the community was set by New England and the East generally. The newspapers read by the settlers indicate this. In 1856 the New York Tribune had more subscribers in Minnesota than any paper within the state. Moreover, the Minnesota press was itself almost an eastern influence, carrying reprints of articles, editorials and news items from eastern papers and magazines.[133.]

The growth of the city fostered an early development of educational

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130. Charles E. Flandrau, Reminiscences of Minnesota during the Territorial Period (Minnesota History Collections, Vol. 9), page 202.
131. Ibid - pp. 199-200.
132. Richard N. Eide, Minnesota Pioneer Life as Reflected in the Press (Minnesota History, Vol. 12, No. 4, Dec. 1931), page 392.
133. Charles M. Gates, Bridges Facing East (Minnesota History, Vol. 16, No. 1, March 1935), page 32.

and social welfare institutions.

In 1853 the Presbyterians opened the Baldwin School. The next year they established the Baldwin College for young men. The Rev. E. D. Neill was interested in both institutions and under his guidance they made continous and rapid progress until the panic of 1857, followed by the Civil War.[134]

The earliest instance of organized welfare work was the establishment of St. Joseph's Hospital by the Catholics in 1854. The next year the St. Vincent de Paul Society was organized by Bishop Cretin. In 1857 St. Luke's Hospital was opened and in the same year the Young Men's Christian Association began its existence with eleven members.[135]

Women's organizations played a leading role in community life, especially in the encouragement of education and religion. Their efforts were largely responsible for financing many of the early churches. It was said by the Pioneer that these women's groups also performed a major service "in making our people acquainted with each other, exchanging opinions, improving manners and elevating the standards of morality, sobriety and civilization."[136]

During the middle 1850's the trade which tapped the rich territory stretching along the Red River and reaching into Canada, rose to a heighth. This trade was inaugurated in 1844 when Norman W. Kittson, resident partner of the American Fur Company, went to Pembina and established a trading post. The first produce was brought back on rough sledges, before the snow melted, but when the volume increased, clumsy wooden carts, drawn by oxen, came into use. There was no road to follow but as the trade became systematized, at

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134. David L. Kiehle, History of Education in Minnesota (Minnesota History Collections, Vol. 10, part 1), page 355.
135. Daniel R. Noyes, Charities in Minnesota (Minnesota History Collections, Vol. 12), page 169.
136. St. Paul Pioneer, October 9, 1851 (Minnesota Annals).

least three trails, guided by a few landmarks, came into use.[137] Of these, the plains trail, which left the Mississippi at St. Cloud and crossed the prairie to the Red River, was the most popular, since the abundant grasses provided forage and traveling was easier. The ungreased wooden wheels of the carts could be heard for miles, and sometimes the gay couriers des bois and bois brules who accompanied the carts could be heard singing above the din.[138]

Each year, as soon as there was sufficient grass, the caravan would leave Fort Garry and Pembina with heavy loads of buffalo hides, furs of all kinds, dressed skins, moccasins, buffalo tongues and pemmican. St. Paul was usually reached in early June and a huge trading camp was set up west of the city at Larpenteur's Lake, a "fine body of clear water" which has since been filled in and built over.[139] After a few weeks of trading the long homeward journey began, with supplies needed by the traders of the post; tobacco, shot, hardware, foodstuffs and whiskey.[140] Few made the journey oftener than once a year.

At the beginning there were only six carts in the trade but by 1851 there were 102 and six years later there were 500. The value of the merchandise brought into St. Paul grew rapidly, reaching a height of $250,000 in 1863.[141] Before 1850, most of the Red River trade passed through St. Paul to St. Louis, which was the source of most of the early Territory's supplies. Soon, however, the northern city assumed more and more control of this trade, and through it, the domination of the commerce of the entire northwest region.[142]

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137. Bertha L. Heilbron, Book Review (Minnesota History, September 1930, Vol. 2, No. 3), page 308.
138. Walter Havighurst, Upper Mississippi, A Wilderness Saga (Farrar & Rinehart, New York, 1937), pp. 62-64.
139. Josiah B. Chaney, Early Bridges and Changes of the Land and Water Surface in the City of St. Paul (Minnesota History Collections, Vol. 12) page 145.
140. August L. Larpenteur, Recollections of the City and People of St. Paul, 1843-1848 (Minnesota History Coll., Vol. 9), page 385.
141. James Baker, History of Transportation in Minnesota (Minnesota History Collections, Vol. 9, 1910), page 20.
142. Wm. J. Peterson, Steamboating on the Upper Mississippi, The Water Way to Iowa (Iowa State Historical Soc., Iowa City, 1937), pp. 164-165.

Paul's commerce and trade.

New enterprise began basic changes in St. Paul's social and economic life.[175] In the towns and villages over the state enterprising men of St. Paul found a rich source of business and trade. Retail merchants discovered that it was profitable to handle the trade of small town storekeepers at prices slightly lower than retail, and this combination of wholesale and retail merchandizing continued for some time. As early as 1856, St. Paul merchants had gone to eastern market centers to do their buying, thus establishing their independence of St. Louis and Chicago and also laying a base for St. Paul's dominance of the jobbing trade of the Northwest.

In 1860 the first retail and wholesale firm in St. Paul left the retail field, to devote itself exclusively to the more profitable one of jobbing for St. Paul and Minnesota merchants.[176] In 1869 there were 62 such firms. By 1873, St. Paul could lay claim to having a larger wholesale house than any in Chicago and a wholesale trade that extended southward into Iowa, west as far as the Rockies and northward into Canada.[177]

Meanwhile, Minneapolis had grown until it began to menace St. Paul's dominant position. As a result an active and tenacious rivalry grew up between the two cities. In Minneapolis papers, St. Paul was labeled a "Way Station" and the "City of the Empty Elevator."[178] In 1869 the Minneapolis Tribune weighed the moral condition of her sister city in the balance and found it wanting. It was said that St. Paul received "$300 from keepers of disorderly houses" and $415 "from commercial travelers or guerillas who sell goods to the merchants of that city by sample. . . Guerillas and disorderly houses give St. Paul

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175. Mildred Lucille Hartsough, The Twin Cities as a Metropolitan Market (University of Minnesota Press, Mpls. 1925), page 33.
176. Calvin Schmid, Social Saga of Two Cities, Mpls. Council of Social Agencies, Mpls., 1937, page 22.
177. Ibid as #175 -- page 34.
178. Minneapolis Tribune, April 14, 1868 (Minnesota Annals).

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."[179] The Minneapolis press also claimed that there were over two hundred saloons in St. Paul which did an annual business worth one million dollars.[180] St. Paul retorted with similarly malicious articles, until both cities were liberally smeared with mud.

There was a more pleasant side to St. Paul, however, which her enemies conveniently ignored. Learning and culture were not neglected. The St. Paul Library Association, which had been 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." The engagement of Frederick Douglass, the Negro leader,[181] attracted the largest crowds in the entire lecture series. The hunger for learning and culture was so widespread among the people that the lectures actually returned a profit of nearly $1,000 to the Association, despite the high fees paid to the speakers.[182]

In 1869, Hamline University, which was established in Red Wing in 1854, was moved to its present location in St. Paul. Until the time of its removal this Methodist institution had graduated only 14 women and 9 men, but in the new location it progressed rapidly.[183]

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179. Minneapolis Tribune, July 1, 5, 1869 (Minnesota Annals).
180. " " August 24, 1869 and Nov. 15, 1870 (Minnesota Annals).
181. Hubert H. Hoeltje, Ralph Waldo Emerson in Minnesota (Minnesota History, Vol. 11, No. 2, June 1930), pp. 147-157.
182. Charles M. Gates, Bridges Facing East (Minnesota History, Vol. 16, No. 1, March 1935), page 31.
183. David L. Kiehle, History of Education in Minnesota (Minnesota History Collections, Vol. 10, Part 1), page 355.

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. Macalester College is a Presbyterian school.

Catholic institutions of learning were the next to be established. John Ireland, who afterward became so influential in the propagation of the Catholic faith in this area, had arrived in St. Paul in 1852, at the age of 14. The son of a poor Irish carpenter, he was sent to study in France and later was ordained to the priesthood. He returned to Saint Paul in 1861. He became widely known through his indefatigable activity, his faith and his gifts for leadership and in 1875 he was made Bishop, in 1888, Archbishop, of St. Paul. The strong Catholic imprint which St. Paul bears is due as much to the influence of Archbishop Ireland as to St. Paul's Catholic beginnings.[184]

Under his guidance, St. Thomas College was organized in 1885, the St. Paul Seminary in 1892, the Catholic Historical Society of St. Paul in 1905 and the College of St. Catherine in 1911. Although it was not completed until after his death, the dedication of the monumental Cathedral of St. Paul in 1915 was a crowning of Archbishop Ireland's achievements.

By 1871 business conditions, for the first time since 1856, were again approaching a boom stage. Eight hundred and thirty-two buildings were erected at a total cost of $1,735,761. Real estate prices rose to high levels but this did not seem to discourage prospective buyers.

Prosperity was such ~~as~~ that one pioneer found the times reminiscent "of the kiting days before the memorable collapse" of 1857, and when in September 1873 news of the Jay Cooke crash came over the wires, these oldsters began to shake their heads. They remembered that it was the collapse of a large

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184. The History and Progress of St. Paul (Pioneer Press Company, St. Paul 1897), page 153.

company in 1857 which set in motion that disaster. Their fears proved to be justified; similar conditions developed, and before the year ended another financial panic had swept the country. It was severe, but this time St. Paul managed to escape the most damaging blows. Lack of speculation, a favorable balance of trade and agricultural development formed a series of defenses which the city had not possessed before. There was little debt and many felt, correctly, that they were in a position to "laugh at panics."[185]

The railroads were the one local industry which suffered severely. The results of their difficulty, however, did not work adversely for the city's future. James J. Hill had come to St. Paul in 1856, and by 1871 he had attained some prominence and affluence. That year he combined his transportation business with that of Norman Kittson, thus strengthening his position. The panic of 1873 gave him the chance he needed and he was successful in securing control of the bankrupt St. Paul and Pacific Railroad, completing this move in 1878 with reorganization of the road under the name of the St. Paul, Minneapolis and Manitoba Railroad. Under Hill's brilliant and ruthless leadership new additions and extensions continued to be made and in 1890 the enterprise became known as the Great Northern Railway.[186] Incidentally many of Hill's accomplishments were of great benefit to Minneapolis, but this did not deter the Empire Builder, for he believed that time would unite the unfriendly twins into one city.

The panic ended whatever dominance the old adventurers and older settlers had until then retained. Commanding the river, turretted, ornate residences rose in a haughty row along Summit Avenue, homes of the merchant princes who had come into unchallenged rulership of the city. The close

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185. J. Fletcher Williams, A History of the City of St. Paul and the County of Ramsey, Minnesota (Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul, 1876) pp. 440-447.

186. Moses K. Armstrong, Early Empire Builders of the Great West (S. J. Clarke Publishing Co., Chicago, 1901), pp. 354-357.

friendship and feeling for the community as a whole that had existed in pioneer days was completely outworn and thrown aside. The new era, ruthless and genteel at the same time, found in James J. Hill a perfect symbol.

St. Paul was most disturbed by the continued growth of Minneapolis, and every effort was made to strengthen her failing position. On November 16, 1874, the boundary line of Ramsey County was extended by an act of legislature to include West St. Paul, which became part of the city and was designated as the Sixth Ward. This 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.[187]

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.[188]

In 1877 the volume of St. Paul's wholesale trade was estimated at approximately $28,000,000; four years later it had reached the sum of $47,000,000 annually. In 1877 the wholesale trade of St. Paul was more than three times that of Minneapolis, but the newer city made consistent gains with which St. Paul found it difficult to keep pace.[189]

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 made all efforts of fire fighters useless and the blaze was soon beyond control.

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187. J. Fletcher Williams, A History of the City of St. Paul and the County of Ramsey, Minnesota (Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul, Minn., 1876), page 449.
188. Mildred Lucille Hartsough, The Twin Cities as a Metropolitan Market (University of Minnesota Press, Mpls., 1925), page 49.
189. Calvin Schmid, Social Saga of Two Cities (Minneapolis Council of Social Agencies, Mpls., 1937), page 22.

The large crowd 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 removed and they pushed to hurried completion the plans for immediate rebuilding.[190] The new edifice was ready for occupancy in January, 1883.

Between Minneapolis and St. Paul lay the Midway District, which in earlier days, had been known as Kittsondale. In 1881 the Minnesota Transfer Corporation was organized by the railroad companies to provide in this intervening area, a clearing house for freight between the two cities.

In 1882 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 confined to that area. By 1887 certain disadvantages in the site had become apparent, the Union Stockyards were removed to South St. Paul, and the whole industry became localized there.[191]

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."[192]

The passage of an act by Congress in 1889, providing for the eleventh census, was the signal for intense activity on the part of both cities. Or-

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190. William B. Dean, A History of the Capitol Buildings of Minnesota, With Some Account of the Struggle For Their Location (Minn. History Coll., Vol. 12, 1908), pp. 18-21.
191. Mildred Lucille Hartsough, The Twin Cities as a Metropolitan Market (University of Minnesota Press, Mpls., 1925), pp. 18-21, 67.
192. 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), page 6.

ganizations 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 the 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.[193]

The financial panic of 1893 found St. Paul poorly equipped to meet it. This crisis, which was so severe as to produce serious unrest in many industrial, and even rural sections of the country, destroyed, in St. Paul, many of the great fortunes and business establishments which had been built up over three decades.

Soon after the opening of the new capitol building in 1883 it was apparent that the hurriedly planned structure had been designed with little thought to the possible growth of governmental requirements. By 1891 it was hopelessly overcrowded; each nook had one or more desks in it, records were piled in confusion throughout the halls and the air in the Senate Chamber was officially pronounced unfit to breathe. Within the legislature, sentiment for capitol removal began to grow at an alarming pace; two bills were introduced proposing such removal. As a consequence, St. Paul hastened its plans for a new building.

Announcement was made of a competition for the architectural design, in which Cass Gilbert won first honors. On July 27th, 1898 the cornerstone

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193. W. W. Folwell, A History of Minnesota, Vol. 3, Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul, 1926, pp. 479-489.

was laid amidst pomp and ceremony. Sealed within this stone were articles and memorials "indicative of the progress of the state in art, literature and agriculture."[194]

The building rose in gilt and marble splendor, embellished by elaborate sculpture and frescoes, in dazzling and slightly startling effect. The commissioners in charge of the construction had to go again and again to the legislature for additional funds, since the cost of Gilbert's conception far exceeded the original budget limitations. Members of the legislature"inspired and educated doubtless by the presence of such magnificent architecture rose grandly to these recommendations."[195]

The building was completed late in 1904, and was first occupied by the legislature on January 3, 1905. Originally it was planned that a setting for the building would be designed, with a series of broad approaches. This was only partially completed, and has since awaited settlement of a controversey as to the respective costs to be borne by state and city.

The turn of the century found St. Paul in a period of steady growth. The early 1900's were good years for both St. Paul and Minneapolis. A halfway point in a rich transcontinental trade, vast shipments of grain, lumber and livestock were routed through them. Processing and manufacturing became increasingly important, even in the predominantly commercial city of St. Paul. In 1870 the value of industrial goods produced in St. Paul was $1,500,000; eight years later it had leaped to $6,000,000. By 1929 the value of industrial produce reached a peak of $206,230,000. That year's industries, in order of value, were printing and publishing, railroad car construction and repairing, signs and advertising novelties, butter, bread

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194. William B. Dean, A History of the Capitol Buildings of Minnesota, With Some Account of the Struggle For Their Location (Minnesota History Collections, Vol. 12, 1908, pp. 22-41.

195 Ibid.

and bakery products, clothing and fur goods.[196.]

The meat packing industry continued to develop in South St. Paul. During the early days of the railroads in Minnesota, farmers had concentrated upon the raising of wheat, which could be shipped long distances without deterioration. But as markets grew up nearer the farm, and as methods of transportation improved, there was a move toward diversified farming, and increased emphasis upon livestock raising. Thus as flour milling declined, meat packing increased, and to some extent made up for the loss.[197.] The packing industry, moving closer to the source of production, concentrated in South St. Paul, until by 1916 it was the fifth largest livestock market in the world.[198.]

In 1920 the Panama Canal was officially opened and this event had a profound effect upon St. Paul. Because of lower transportation costs, much of the produce of the west coast region was now routed through the Canal. This was a considerable blow to the railroads, and to St. Paul, which had been the metropolis of an area from the Mississippi to the Pacific, but now had to fit its ambitions to smaller scale.[199.]

About the time the Canal was opened, the corruption which had developed within the city rose to a new height. Under the political boss-ship of Richard Thomas O'Connor, St. Paul had sheltered the leading criminals of the nation, leaving them unmolested as long as they respected an agreement to commit no crimes within the city. In 1920 O'Connor retired and this agreement collapsed. The criminals turned on St. Paul. Leading citizens were kidnapped and there was a riotous outbreak of criminal activity. The Barker-Karpis gang, Baby Face Nelson, John Dillinger and other leading criminals

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196. Calvin Schmid, Social Saga of Two Cities (Minneapolis Council of Social Agencies, 1937, Minneapolis), page 19.
197. Ibid - p. 21.
198. Mildred Lucille Hartsough, The Twin Cities As A Metropolitan Market, (University of Minnesota Press, 1925), p. 67.
199. Revolt In The Northwest, The Twin Cities: An Examination of Minneapolis and and Autopsy on St. Paul. (Fortune, Apr. 1936, Vol. XIII, No. 4, pp. 184-186).

made St. Paul their hide out, until in 1934 Attorney General Homer Cummings, referred to St. Paul as "the nation's poison spot of crime."

After this pronouncement,the people of St. Paul took a hand, with the cooperation of the Federal government. The influence of crime was so strong, however, that the first grand jury investigating the situation gave St. Paul a clean slate. While their report was being given on the radio, March 31st, 1934, the people were given dramatic evidence that the city did shelter crime, and that something still needed to be done. For on that day John Dillinger and a companion shot their way out of a trap, and the city again hit the headlines as a scene of gangster activities. This aroused the public anew, and under the leadership of Howard Kahn, a crusading newspaper editor, evidence was gathered and presented to another Grand Jury. This evidence resulted in indictments and in removals from office of police officials. A general clean-up resulted. Since that day St. Paul's crime rate has been steadily and methodically lowered.[200.]

Various attempts have been made to revive transportation on the Mississippi. In 1907 Congress passed a measure providing for the dredging of a six foot channel between Minneapolis and St. Louis. Work on the project dragged, until the World War and the resulting congestion of traffic again brought the question forward. The proposal was now changed to provide for a nine foot channel, and this proposal was carried into effect. The Upper Mississippi Waterway Association and the Upper Mississippi Barge Line Company were organized and several boats built. In all of this the Federal government gave considerable aid.[201.] The more enthusiastic supporters of these

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200. St. Paul Wins a War, (Stanley High, Current History, Sept. 1938.)
201. Argument on Appeal from Report of United States District Engineer at St. Paul and Supporting Report of Division Engineer at St. Louis on the Proposal to Develop the Nine Foot Channel in the Mississippi River to the North City Limits of Minneapolis (City Council of Minneapolis, Committee on Commerce, Markets and Harbors, Minneapolis, 1936), pp. 3-6.

efforts visualized a "new era for industry and agriculture in the Northwest,"[202.] through renewal of river commerce. In reality while there have been no such far-reaching results, promising progress has been made.

As economic competition sharpened, the old rivalry with Minneapolis was renewed. St. Paul succeeded in securing the location of the Ford plant, and then saw to it that a bridge project, which would have allowed Ford employees to live on the Minneapolis side of the river, was abandoned. Minneapolis retaliated by enticing to it the Minnesota Creameries. St. Paul, in a surprise coup, convinced the legislature that the Midway District should be attached to St. Paul. Minneapolitans complained that a sudden night session of the legislature had caught them off guard on this point.[203.] So it went on, until the harmful effects of the rivalry upon both cities became apparent, and far-sighted citizens of each began making efforts toward cooperation.

An imaginative tract, published in 1891, envisioned the time when St. Paul and Minneapolis would be united, with a combined population of 900,000.[204.] This prophecy has not been exactly fulfilled, yet both physically and economically, the cities today are intermingled. The Midway District, where building and land prices were low and transportation facilities good, has built up into a manufacturing and commercial district which fills up the physical gap between the two cities. And although St. Paul is more distinctly the transportation and distributing center, in finance and manufacturing, they share similar functions.[205.]

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202. St. Paul Pioneer Press, Sunday, Dec. 31, 1933.
203. The Twin Cities of Minnesota, George Marvin, The Outlook, Sept. 2, 1925, pp. 21-22.
204. Anonymous, Federal City: Being a Reminiscence of the Time Before St. Paul and Minneapolis Were United (by an optimist, no publisher listed, no city, 1891. Published as a looking backward letter from "Federal City, Minnesota" on March 15, 1916).
205. Herbert Lefkovitz, St. Paul, Trade and Transportation Center of the Northwest (Review of Reviews, July 1928, Vol. LXXVIII, No. 1), p. 55.