

# LITTLE FALLS



*CHARLES LINDBERGH, SR., had just been graduated from the University of Michigan law school in 1883 when this photograph of him was taken with a classmate, tentatively identified as Leonidas T. Pilchard of West Virginia.*

# LAWYER, 1884-1906

## *Charles A. Lindbergh, Sr.*

Bruce L. Larson

*THE FOLLOWING ARTICLE is a chapter from a full-scale life of Charles A. Lindbergh, Sr., scheduled for publication next fall by Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Inc., of New York. Entitled Lindbergh of Minnesota: A Political Biography and written by Bruce L. Larson,\* associate professor of history at Mankato State College, it is the first in-depth examination of the public life of the elder Lindbergh. As the author points out, Lindbergh is less well-known than such prominent public figures in Minnesota history as Ignatius Donnelly, Oliver H. Kelley, John Lind, John A. Johnson, Arthur C. Townley, Frank B. Kellogg, Floyd B. Olson, Harold E. Stassen, and, in more recent years, Hubert H. Humphrey, Eugene J. McCarthy, and Walter F. Mondale. Lindbergh has also been overshadowed by the fame of his son whose return to Minnesota in 1927 after flying nonstop from New York to Paris was the subject of an article by Mr. Larson in the Winter, 1970,*

*issue of Minnesota History. Nevertheless, says Mr. Larson, the elder Lindbergh, an early twentieth-century Minnesota congressman, "played a significant role in the development of Minnesota and American reform politics."*

*The chapter here published is the book's second and deals with Lindbergh's development of a law practice in Little Falls, his business affairs, and his family life before he entered politics. In the first chapter the author covers Lindbergh's birth in Sweden on January 20, 1859, his immigration that year with his parents, August and Louisa Lindbergh, to Melrose, Minnesota, and his formative years on the frontier. In the first chapter Mr. Larson also treats Lindbergh's education, which culminated in his graduation from law school at the University of Michigan in 1883. — Ed.*

AS A YOUNG LAWYER, Charles A. Lindbergh faced the crucial issue of finding a suitable place to start his practice. Shortly after graduation in 1883 from the University of Michigan he investigated the possibilities of the South Dakota frontier. He decided against it, however, and instead selected his home state as the base for his law career. Lindbergh joined the firm of Searle, Searle, and Lohman in St. Cloud as a student and junior member, practicing law there for about a year. On June 22, 1883, he was admitted to the Minnesota bar. The following spring he set up permanent practice in a neighboring community to the north — Little Falls.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Lynn and Dora Haines, *The Lindberghs*, 62 (New York, 1931), a sympathetic biography of Charles A. Lindbergh, Sr.; Hiram F. Stevens, *History of the Bench and Bar of Minnesota*, 2:179-80 (Minneapolis and St. Paul, 1904); William Bell Mitchell, *History of Stearns County, Minnesota*, 1:506, 209 (Chicago, 1915); *Little Falls Transcript*, May 16, 1884. Much material on Lindbergh family background may be found in the Charles A. Lindbergh, Sr., and Family Papers (hereafter cited as Lindbergh Papers) in the Minnesota Historical Society.

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Little Falls, a village of less than two thousand persons, offered promise to newcomers during the 1880s. It was situated on a slight rapids, or falls, on the Mississippi River where river transportation and water power were readily available. From the first real settlement during the 1850s the fur trade, farming, and lumbering were the chief elements of the local economy. By far the most important of these in the growth of Little Falls was the lumber business. Surrounded by good pine forests, Little Falls emerged as a major mill site for the Weyerhaeuser lumbering interests during the later part of the nineteenth century.<sup>2</sup> Morrison County, of which Little Falls is the seat, experienced substantial population growth in the years just prior to Lindbergh's arrival in 1884. It had a population of 618 in 1860; 796 in 1865; 1,681 in 1870; 2,722 in 1875; 5,875 in 1880; and 9,406 in 1885.<sup>3</sup>

With attorney L. W. Bills, Lindbergh opened his first law office at Little Falls. The association lasted only a few months. Bills ultimately relocated at Park Rapids, and Lindbergh moved to "Marotte's Brick Block" in downtown Little Falls and established his own private practice in the autumn of 1885. In November the *Little Falls Transcript* announced that Perry Lindbergh had arrived from Melrose and "is assisting his brother, C. A. Lindbergh, in his law office."<sup>4</sup> Later in the decade the younger brother, Frank, joined C. A., as he was often called, in the firm as a fellow lawyer. Frank, a graduate of Melrose High School, attended the normal school in Valparaiso, Indiana, for a year before going to Little Falls in 1889. He was admitted to the bar by examination at Elk River in 1891, completed his law degree at the University of Michigan in 1892, and became a full partner in the practice, now renamed Lindbergh and Lindbergh.<sup>5</sup>

From the very beginning C. A. Lindbergh specialized in real estate and land sales. As country lawyers, C. A. and Frank no doubt engaged in a wide variety of legal matters, including trial work, but C. A.'s particular interest and competence always involved real estate. It was an important asset to his success as a lawyer and businessman. Years later, Frank recalled of C. A.: "Well, he was a good office lawyer, but I don't think he was a good trial lawyer. . . . In fact, he didn't do much trial work . . . mostly office work."<sup>6</sup>

During the 1880s regular law matters kept Lindbergh busy. Morrison County records reveal that he handled civil actions for a large number of clients, several of whom apparently retained him on a permanent basis. Most frequently represented by Lindbergh during the early years at Little Falls were the McCormick Harvester Machine Company; the Little Falls Lumber Company; Fuller and Johnson; Rosen-

berger Brothers; Singer Manufacturing Company; C. Aultmann and Company; Wander, Bushnell, and Glessner; and the W. A. Butler Company. By 1890 Lindbergh had gained a reputation as an honest lawyer—he had turned down his first client because he was guilty—was known for his special knowledge on real estate and land matters, and had been admitted (in 1886) as a practicing attorney in the Circuit Court of the United States for the district of Minnesota.<sup>7</sup>

When Lindbergh first went to Little Falls, he lived at the home of Moses and Harriet Bridget Finnegan La Fond. La Fond, a French Canadian, and his wife, a native of Ireland, were among the original settlers of the community during the 1850s. He was active in several businesses and had been a member of the state legislature. Lindbergh courted the youngest La Fond daughter, Mary ("May"), and in April, 1887, they were married. The years that immediately followed were happy ones for the Lindberghs. Mary was known to be "naturally artistic" and to possess "a quiet, competent genius for homemaking." She was well liked in the community and an active member of the Congregational Church. Three children were born to the Lindberghs—Lillian in 1888; Edith, who died at ten months, in 1891; and Eva in 1892. The family circle

<sup>2</sup> On the history of Little Falls and Morrison County, see Clara Fuller, *History of Morrison and Todd Counties*, vol. 1 (Indianapolis, 1915); Warren Upham, *Minnesota Geographic Names: Their Origin and Historic Significance*, vol. 17 of *Minnesota Historical Collections*, 350–58 (St. Paul, 1920); anniversary editions of *Little Falls Daily Transcript*, April 4, 1942, and April 4, 1967; and Agnes M. Larson, *History of the White Pine Industry in Minnesota* (Minneapolis, 1949).

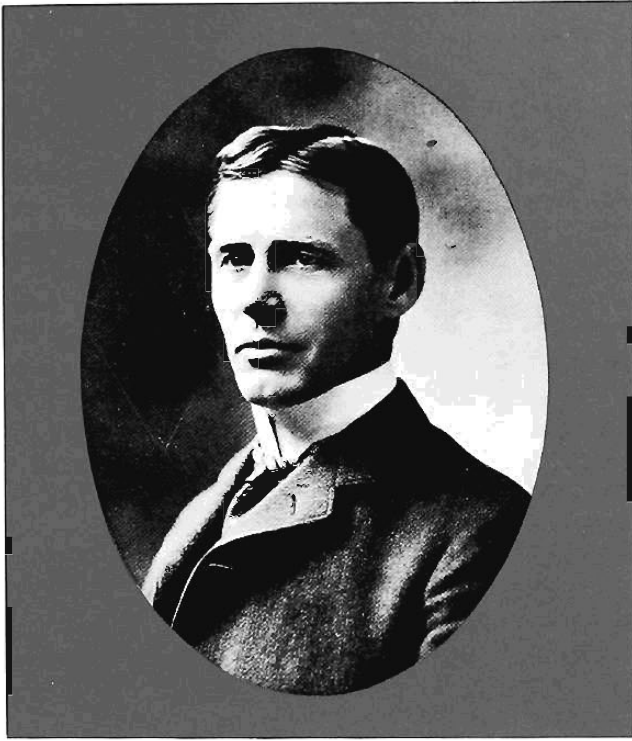
<sup>3</sup> Upham, *Minnesota Geographic Names*, 352–53; *Legislative Manual of the State of Minnesota*, 1891, 580 (St. Paul, 1891).

<sup>4</sup> Warren Upham and Mrs. Rose Barteau Dunlap, compilers, *Minnesota Biographies, 1655–1912*, vol. 14 of *Minnesota Historical Collections*, 56 (St. Paul, 1912); *Little Falls Transcript*, May 16, 1884, September 18, November 20, 1885.

<sup>5</sup> Bruce Larson interview with Frank A. Lindbergh, Crosby, Minnesota, June 26, 1964; Stevens, *Bench and Bar of Minnesota*, 2:193; *University of Michigan Law School Alumni Directory, 1860–1950*, 101, 232.

<sup>6</sup> *Little Falls Transcript*, September 12, 1884; Frank Lindbergh interview.

<sup>7</sup> No records from Lindbergh's law practice exist. Evidence of his legal cases in the 1880s may be found in Register of Actions, Books B (1857–1888) and C (1882–1892), and Judgment Record, Book A (1881–1887), owned by Morrison County, Little Falls. The certificate of Lindbergh's admittance to the Circuit Court of the United States is in the Lindbergh Papers. See also Haines, *The Lindberghs*, 78–80.



CHARLES, SR., as he looked in 1901



BROTHER FRANK, also in 1901

grew larger when Lindbergh's parents moved from Melrose to Little Falls in 1889, and his sisters, Juno and Linda, also settled in Little Falls. For a time Juno worked as a stenographer in Lindbergh's office. He loved young people and was close to his children while they were growing up. Two nieces, Mrs. P. W. Huntemer and Mrs. G. V. Butler, recalled his fondness for children and noted that "Uncle Charlie" liked to roughhouse and play with the youngsters. And the children loved it. These years were shadowed first by

the death of Edith in 1891 and, two years later, by that of August Lindbergh. Thereafter "Grandma" Louisa lived comfortably in her own house in Little Falls, warmly surrounded by her children and grandchildren.\*

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\* Information on the La Fond family is from Upham and Dunlap, *Minnesota Biographies*, 416; "Biography of Mrs. Mary La Fond Lindbergh," Biography 430 of WPA Project 3870, owned by Morrison County Historical Society, Little Falls; *Little Falls Transcript*, April 8, 1887; Bruce Larson interview with Eva Lindbergh Christie (now Mrs. G. Howard Spaeth), July 12, 1965, and April 1, 1967; and Haines, *The Lindberghs*, 62-63. Lindbergh information is from Haines, *The Lindberghs*, 62-68; *St. Cloud Journal-Press*, May 16, 1889; Minnesota interview by Bruce Larson and Russell W. Fridley with Mrs. Christie and Charles A. Lindbergh, Jr., in April, 1966 (hereafter cited as Minnesota interview); Bruce Larson interview with Mrs. P. W. Huntemer (niece of Charles A. Lindbergh, Sr., and daughter of Mrs. Linda Lindbergh Seal), Chicago, Illinois, April 27, 1967; Bruce Larson interview with Mrs. G. V. Butler (niece of Charles A. Lindbergh, Sr., and daughter of Juno Lindbergh Butler), Luverne, Minnesota, June 19, 1965; and *Little Falls Daily Transcript*, October 16, 1893.

DURING THE 1890s Lindbergh's interests in the community and business deepened. He was officially associated with both banks in town, the First National and the German-American National. Lindbergh was an original shareholder in the First National Bank and served on the board of directors at the time of its organization in 1889 under President Andrew R. Davidson. Lindbergh owned ten shares valued at \$1,000 in the bank, which was capitalized at \$50,000. His association with the German-American Bank, whose board in 1892 included lumbermen Charles A. Weyerhaeuser, William H. Laird, and Clarence B. Buckman, was during the 1890s. His name also appeared in the original articles of incorporation of the Transcript Publishing Company in 1892. Although Little Falls already had three newspapers, the new firm was set up to publish a daily paper and to engage in other aspects of the printing business. Lindbergh was selected to serve as a member of the board of directors and as vice-president with fellow officers John Berkey, president, and W. M. Fuller, secretary and treasurer. It seems clear, judging from the positions of the men who started these corporations and

from entries in the *Little Falls City Directory for 1892*, that Lindbergh was emerging as a leader in the economic development of the community. The Lindberghs, the La Fonds (ten were listed in the *Directory*), the Davidsons, the Butlers, the Weyerhaeusers, and the Mussers were among the founding families of Little Falls.<sup>9</sup>

Lindbergh's business activities began to take more of his time during this period. Thomas Pederson, who first knew Lindbergh in 1893, later commented that "one of his early real estate deals, and one which I always believed helped put him on his feet financially, was the purchase of a long, low gravel ridge alongside the roadbed of the Northern Pacific Railroad 'cut-off' between Little Falls and Staples." According to Pederson, he resold the valuable land to the railroad company, "which hauled hundreds of trainloads of gravel along the ridge every summer for more than twenty years." C. A. continued to buy more land and real estate during these years, although his brother Frank qualified Lindbergh's success a bit when he observed: "I know he owned considerable farm land, but I don't know how much attention he paid to it." This comment is perhaps offset by the fact that Lindbergh's business interests were now aided by an important new associate, Carl Bolander. Bolander began working with him in 1893, and his activities revolved about land matters and the construction of houses and buildings. Martin Engstrom, a friend of the Lindbergh family, described Bolander as a man who knew land well, a "kind of architect" on building projects who acted as C. A.'s "right-hand man." Engstrom noted that Bolander's suggestions often became realities with Lindbergh's money and emphasized that "C. A. and Bolander worked well together."<sup>10</sup>

When, in a 1937 interview, Bolander recalled his association with Lindbergh, he discussed certain incidents that reveal Lindbergh's compassion for human suffering. One story, which he recounted in great detail, told of Lindbergh and a needy farm family in about 1895 or 1896. According to Bolander, a local French farmer he called Louie (not his real name) had gone to Lindbergh's office to pay overdue interest on a loan. Louie, like many farmers during the agricultural recession of the 1890s, was in danger of losing his farm. When it became clear that the payment left the farmer nearly broke, Lindbergh scrawled something on a piece of paper and gave it to Louie, saying, "Take that to the mill, get a hundred bushels of seed wheat, twelve sacks of flour, . . . and pay me when you can." Two weeks later Louie made another payment on the interest coupon, and Bolander marked it paid although the cash amount was lacking thirty-five cents. To Bolander's surprise, Lindbergh

expressed displeasure over the incident, asserting that "it isn't good business."<sup>11</sup>

Bolander went on to recount a subsequent meeting between Lindbergh and the farmer. In the fall, Lindbergh and Bolander were invited to hunt ducks on Louie's land. With obvious enjoyment Bolander recounted the hunting party's astonishment when C. A. abruptly stripped to the waist and retrieved their bag of mallards, which had floated out of reach on the icy water. Then, only partially dressed, he hopped about on the bank shooting at a flock of ducks that had come up suddenly. On the way home Bolander was puzzled by Lindbergh's silence that contrasted with his good humor on the trip out and during the hunting episode. It was not long, however, before C. A. explained his changed feelings to his friend. According to Bolander, Lindbergh declared: "Carl, did you go into Louie's house? . . . Why, Carl, you can see daylight between the cracks in those walls and floors. There's ten little youngsters, and most of 'em barefoot and nearly naked. There's next to nothing on their beds, and probably the same is true of their cupboard. . . . We've got to do something, Carl. We've surely got to do something about it." What occurred the next morning was a simple act of direct humanity. Lindbergh and Bolander canvassed the town, rounding up coats, dresses, shoes, bedding, and groceries, and saw that the supplies were loaded onto Louie's wagon. Bolander said of Lindbergh: "There you have the man — worried over a missing thirty-five cents in a business deal but giving time, money, labor, thought, to a needy man who had no other claim than his need."<sup>12</sup>

THE LINDBERGH LAW FIRM went through a number of changes during the decade. Apparently, after Frank joined the firm in 1889, there was a two-year period during which Frank was intermittently absent while attending law school at Michigan. E. P. Adams

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<sup>9</sup> Fuller, *Morrison and Todd Counties*, 1:93-94; articles of association of the First National Bank of Little Falls (April 17, 1889), owned by the bank; Haines, Stone and Company's *Little Falls City Directory for 1892*, 5 (Little Falls, 1892); Book D-4 of Miscellaneous (articles of incorporation of the Transcript Publishing Company), 416-17, owned by Morrison County, Little Falls.

<sup>10</sup> Thomas Pederson, "Charles Augustus [sic] Lindbergh, Sr. As I Knew Him," Lindbergh Papers, hereafter cited as Pederson reminiscences; Frank Lindbergh interview; interview with Carl Bolander by Sarah Thorp Heald (WPA Project 3870), Little Falls, June, 1937, owned by Morrison County Historical Society; Bruce Larson interview with Martin Engstrom, Little Falls, June 22, 1967.

<sup>11</sup> Bolander interview, June, 1937.

<sup>12</sup> Bolander interview, June, 1937.

worked with Lindbergh from late 1889 through late 1891, and for a short time the firm was known as Lindbergh, Adams, and Lindbergh. When Frank returned permanently to Little Falls after receiving his law degree in 1892, the firm became Lindbergh and Lindbergh. At this time the offices were maintained in the "Butler Block" property owned by W. A. Butler, businessman and banker husband of C. A.'s sister Juno. In 1894 Arthur P. Blanchard joined the two brothers, and the firm became Lindbergh, Blanchard, and Lindbergh. This partnership remained intact until Frank withdrew in 1899; thereafter the letterhead read Lindbergh and Blanchard.<sup>13</sup>

Frank's withdrawal from the firm was probably due to his growing involvement in local politics. He had been a candidate for mayor in the spring of 1898, and he also ran for county attorney in the general election that same year. On both occasions he was defeated. In the opinion of the *Little Falls Weekly Transcript*, Frank's defeat was due to the "Buckocrats," a "combine" of Republican Clarence B. Buckman and a number of local Democrats. The group, the paper noted, had successfully backed the candidacy of Charles Vasaly, editor of the *Little Falls Herald*, for mayor. Frank, the *Transcript's* choice for county attorney, was a staunch Republican but without Bucko-

crat support. In view of this political alignment it is interesting to note that Frank had married Buckman's daughter, Mamie, in 1897. Frank's vote-getting ability changed in November, 1900, when he was elected county attorney. He served three successive terms to January, 1907.<sup>14</sup>

Actually, C. A. had held public office prior to Frank's campaigns. He had served one term as county attorney in 1891-92. In the general election of 1890, running as a Republican (although, as customary, ballots for county office did not specify party label), he defeated attorney F. W. Lyon by a vote of 1,379 to 1,143. While in office, Lindbergh, according to a sampling of correspondence, was mainly involved in such legal issues as incorporation rules for a savings and loan association, the handling of homicide cases and coroners' inquests, the manner in which a county board of commissioners should apportion funds, the publishing rights of newspapers, and the procedure for using separate ballots for women in the election of a superintendent of schools.<sup>15</sup>

He also initiated court action growing out of a misunderstanding between himself and the Morrison County board of commissioners. Lindbergh's chief complaint was that the county attorney's annual salary of \$900 was inadequate in view of the time and work that the job required. The commissioners argued that there had been ample opportunity for Lindbergh to appear before board meetings and voice his criticism at the time he took office. Ultimately Lindbergh conceded, and Judge D. B. Searle dismissed the appeal without costs. But in his final statement C. A. maintained that his action was "based on facts that justified the appeal" and emphasized that the commissioners were mistaken in their affidavits about his alleged poor attendance record at board meetings. He indicated that his appeal had not been intended as an "expression of disapprobation" against the commissioners and explained that "I am however able to contribute to the county more than it is willing to pay for since it is asked that I do so." Undoubtedly the affair influenced Lindbergh's decision not to run for re-election in 1892. That same fall he stated publicly that he was not a candidate for the district judgeship. Lindbergh certainly could not be termed a politically ambitious lawyer at this point in his career. His daughter Eva later said simply of his activities during these years: "Father had no idea of politics at that time."<sup>16</sup>

Meanwhile, the Lindbergh law practice continued to be very active. When Lindbergh was doing trial work or traveling to a nearby town on business, he would often take his daughters Lillian and Eva with him. It pleased him to have his girls along, and nothing would hold them back when their father gave them

<sup>13</sup> Information on Lindbergh law firm development is from Frank Lindbergh interview; Bruce Larson interview with Gladys M. Brown (niece of Arthur P. Blanchard), Little Falls, June 21, 1967; Stevens, *Bench and Bar of Minnesota*, 2:179-80, 193; Books C (1888-1892), D (1892-1895), E (1895-1899), and F (1899-1904), Register of Actions, Morrison County; Lindbergh to Moses E. Clapp, November 18, 1891, and August 22, 1892, letters in Attorney Generals' Papers, Minnesota State Archives, St. Paul; L. A. Rosing (private secretary) to Lindbergh, Blanchard, and Lindbergh, May 9, 1899, and Rosing to Lindbergh and Blanchard, May 15, 1899, letters in John Lind Papers, Governors' Archives, Minnesota Archives.

<sup>14</sup> Stevens, *Bench and Bar of Minnesota*, 1:193; *Little Falls Weekly Transcript*, October 25, 28, November 4, 1898; Upham and Dunlap, *Minnesota Biographies*, 442, 808.

<sup>15</sup> *Legislative Manual*, 1891, 475; Abstract of Votes Polled, Secretary of State—Election Returns of 1890, Minnesota Archives. Representative correspondence is Lindbergh to Clapp, October 15, 17, November 18, 24, 27, December 23, 1891, August 22, October 3, 1892, and Clapp to Lindbergh, October 16, November 28, December 26, 1891, August 25, 1892, all letters in Attorney Generals' Papers, Minnesota Archives.

<sup>16</sup> Affidavits (March 23 and April 11, 1891) and Lindbergh statement (April 23, 1891) are in Case 3228 of Seventh Judicial District Court of Minnesota, owned by Morrison County, Little Falls; *Little Falls Transcript*, August 12, 1892; Eva Lindbergh Christie to the author, February 26, 1967.

the chance to go. Noticeable among additions to the Lindbergh firm's already substantial list of clients at this time were the Pine Tree Lumber Company, the Little Falls Improvement and Navigation Company, Howard P. Bell, the First National Bank, the German-American National Bank, and the Transcript Publishing Company. In view of C. A.'s official connection with the two banks and the Transcript Publishing Company, those new accounts are easily understood. Most important for Lindbergh, however, would be his association with the Pine Tree Lumber Company and Howard P. Bell.<sup>17</sup>

The Pine Tree Lumber Company of Little Falls was a combined effort of several influential lumber families — the Weyerhaeusers of St. Paul; the Mussers of Muscatine, Iowa; and the Lairds and the Nortons of Winona. In 1891 the Pine Tree firm purchased the Little Falls Lumber Company mill on the east side of the Mississippi and during 1891 and 1892 constructed a new mill on the west bank of the river. This large new mill was one of several Weyerhaeuser mills in Minnesota (the others were at Cloquet, Virginia, and Minneapolis). At Little Falls, Charles A. Weyerhaeuser, one of the four sons of Frederick Weyerhaeuser, emerged as a major figure in mill operations until its collapse about 1919 or 1920, when the supply of available pine ran out. Agnes Larson describes the Weyerhaeuser mills as well-equipped, well-organized, and efficient. The Little Falls plant, she writes, "had two McDonough band saws that could cut 300,000 feet in a double shift day." During the initial years the general lumber activity precipitated a boom for Little Falls. While the population of the community had been 2,354 in 1890, just prior to the opening of the Pine Tree plant, the first city directory placed Little Falls' population at 4,699 in 1892. Officially, Little Falls had, in fact, more than doubled in size between 1890 and 1895, when the state census recorded a population of 5,116. A period of relative stabilization followed, with the population reaching 5,856 in 1905.<sup>18</sup>

One commentator relates that the Pine Tree Company "employed about 450 men when running day and night and 150 men on the river and their payroll was about \$60,000 per month when ordinary workmen got \$1.50 per day." A former employee of the firm, on the other hand, stated that employment figures ran as high as 800 men. For Lindbergh, the Pine Tree account was obviously an important asset. John C. Patience, long-time wholesale accountant and office manager for the Pine Tree Company and the later Pine Tree Manufacturing Company, stated that Lindbergh acted as legal representative for several corporations of the Weyerhaeuser-Musser interests. He

also indicated that Lindbergh was involved in buying timber land, cutting the timber, and then selling the land. Patience, who characterized him as a "pretty shrewd businessman," emphasized that Lindbergh's land deals were his own, without any ownership by the Mussers or Weyerhaeusers.<sup>19</sup>

The contact with Howard P. Bell proved to be both a productive business relationship and a close personal friendship for Lindbergh. Initially Bell went to Little Falls seeking financial investments and after meeting Lindbergh was so impressed that he arranged for him to handle many of his property and loan dealings. Eva remembered Bell as a multimillionaire "character" who thought a great deal of her father and tried to persuade him to move to the East Coast. From their first meeting, probably in the late 1890s, until Bell's death in 1908, the two men wrote each other frequently and periodically met in Minnesota or in the East. Most of their correspondence concerned specific land or real estate transactions and the larger matters like general economic conditions and the nature and influence of Wall Street.<sup>20</sup>

In January, 1903, Bell predicted in a letter to Lindbergh that the long "boom" period of business from 1898 to 1903 would break. In his opinion it had not taken a particularly wise person to make money during this time, but the situation, he felt, would be reversed in the coming years. Bell asserted that Wall Street had a definite advantage during a decline and could make just as much money then as in a boom economy. Perhaps because of this economic fluctuation, he was anxious about the success of his Minnesota investments with Lindbergh, revealing that "I don't like the extra risks that come with grasping the last profits." At the same time he told Lindbergh that he believed the chance of loss was small and commented that "I still feel I would like to see you actually clean up a good thing." The following March Bell expressed concern because a large number of Minnesota farms purchased

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<sup>17</sup> Butler interview; Minnesota interview; Christie to author, February 26, 1967; Haines, *The Lindberghs*, 70; Books C (1888-1892), D (1892-1895), E (1895-1899), F (1899-1904), and G (1904-1907), Register of Actions, Morrison County.

<sup>18</sup> Larson, *White Pine Industry*, 234-35; Val E. Kasperek, "Great Industry, Logging and Lumbering, Morrison County" (April 18, 1948), owned by Morrison County Historical Society; *Little Falls City Directory for 1892*, cover, 11; *Legislative Manual*, 1907, 519.

<sup>19</sup> Kasperek, "Great Industry," 6; Bruce Larson interview with John C. Patience, Little Falls, June 22, 1967.

<sup>20</sup> Minnesota interview; Christie interview, July 12, 1965; Pederson reminiscences; Howard P. Bell to Lindbergh, May 5, 1898 (earliest date in correspondence), Lindbergh Papers.





*THREE COMMERCIAL BRICK buildings, in the center of the photograph above, were built by Lindbergh*

*and Bolander on Little Falls' west side in the early 1900s. The venture was apparently not successful.*

on speculation remained unsold. He wrote Lindbergh: "Out of \$75,000 paid for farms we have left \$52,000," and he estimated that the actual cost of unsold lands in their joint account was about \$40,000. Stressing the existence of a tight money period in business and inaccurately predicting a long decline from 1904 through 1907, Bell advised Lindbergh to "SELL, SELL, SELL."<sup>21</sup>

In 1906 Lindbergh and Bell discussed the advantages and disadvantages of owning country bank stock. Apparently they were considering an investment in the German-American Bank in Little Falls at the time, and Lindbergh informed Bell that the bank management would pay about 40 per cent on its stock "at least as long as the Pine Tree people are here." Bell's main objection to country bank stock was that it had very limited demand and thus might have to be sold at a concession price, but he assured Lindbergh that he would go along with the deal if

they could be certain of at least a 25 per cent gain over several years. Bell wrote Lindbergh that "the \$24,000 cost of the bank block is not material," providing it was used for a bank, and advised him that "book value plus good established business beats any depreciation on building." He also suggested to Lindbergh that "in taking Stock I think it might be better (appear better to the Pine Tree boys) for you to take it in your own name." Lindbergh's association with wealthy capitalist Bell was undoubtedly profitable for him, and this friendship reveals the early stages of his absorbing interest in the field of money and banking.<sup>22</sup>

CERTAIN CHANGES occurred in Lindbergh's personal affairs during the Little Falls years. Throughout the 1890s his private life revolved largely around the close-knit Lindbergh families. The "Charlie" Lindberghs, the Frank Lindberghs, the Butlers, the Seals (Linda Lindbergh married Joseph Seal), and Grandmother Louisa all lived in what amounted to the same block on Broadway East during these years. Daughters of these families developed a closeness that was more like that of sisters than of cousins. But the decade

<sup>21</sup> Bell to Lindbergh, January 21, March 26, 1903, Lindbergh Papers.

<sup>22</sup> Bell to Lindbergh, March 31, 1906, Lindbergh Papers.



was not without its sadness for Lindbergh. In the spring of 1898 his wife Mary, just a few days before her thirty-first birthday, died of complications following surgery for the removal of an abdominal tumor. According to reports, Lindbergh's shock was heightened by the fact that he had been assured of his wife's full recovery after the operation. Lindbergh continued to live at 608 Broadway East for about two years, employing a kindergarten teacher, Helen Gilbert, to live with the children. Grandmother Louisa also moved in with the family. Eva recalled one crisis during that period in the old yellow brick house. During the night a burglar had gained entrance to the home. Eva and Lillian were awakened when a gun fired in the upstairs hallway, but they were told it was just thunder. The stories of what actually happened vary. Eva remembered that her father claimed

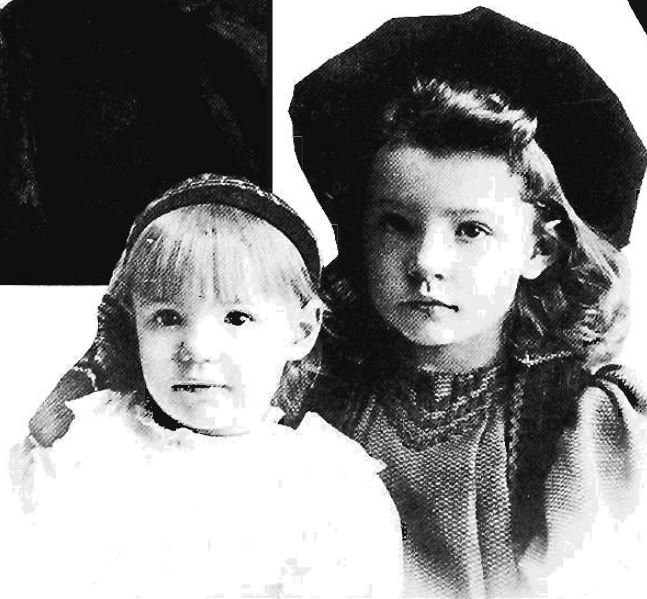
much later that, although he had always said he would shoot anyone who broke into the house, he could not fire at the man when the situation confronted him. According to Eva, Lindbergh actually "had grasped the man in the upper hallway and held his arm and made him discharge his revolver into the wall. Then the man eluded him—the burglar was in his stocking feet—and as he slipped downstairs, Father shot over his head." Charles, Jr., however, recently wrote: "The story I was told was that my father shot the burglar with his Smith and Wesson revolver as the man was escaping through a window, and that blood was found on the window sill."<sup>23</sup>

<sup>23</sup> Minnesota interview; Butler interview; *Little Falls Weekly Transcript*, April 19, 1898; Christie to author, February 26, 1967; Charles Lindbergh commentary to author on latter's manuscript, October 17, 1971.



A PORTRAIT of  
Mary La Fond  
Lindbergh, painted  
after her death, hangs  
in the dining room of  
the Little Falls house.

EVANGELINE LAND  
Lindbergh, Charles'  
second wife,  
and Charles, Jr.,  
are shown when  
the boy was  
about eight  
months old.



LILLIAN AND EVA  
as young girls

About 1900 Lindbergh met Evangeline Lodge Land, a young woman from Michigan who had gone to Little Falls to teach science in the high school. She was attractive, intelligent, and well educated. Her father was Dr. Charles Henry Land, a Detroit dentist who was best known for his invention of the porcelain jacket crown. The Land family ancestry was English and Scotch (Lands fought for King George III in the American Revolution), while the Lodge family was of English and Irish background. Evangeline Land had been educated at Miss Liggett's School for Girls in Detroit and the University of Michigan, from which she graduated in 1899 with a major in chemistry. While at Ann Arbor she developed a romantic notion about teaching in a frontier mining town. After securing several leads through a teachers' agency, Evangeline settled on Little Falls, a decision influenced by reading Willard Glazier's *Down the Great River* (1881). Her job at Little Falls ended within four months, however, following a confrontation with the school principal. Refused permission to move a class from a laboratory she considered too cold ("usually about 54 degrees"), she "simply set the apparatus on the floor" and left the school building. "Father," Evangeline later wrote Charles, Jr., "did not like the situation and advised me to resign."<sup>24</sup>

Lindbergh and Evangeline both lived at the Antlers Hotel (with room windows facing each other for

"easily arranged" signals, said Evangeline), and their relationship began naturally with walks along the same route to school and office. They soon became engaged and were married on March 27, 1901, in Detroit. They had one son, Charles Augustus Lindbergh, Jr., born in Detroit on February 4, 1902. In 1898 Lindbergh had purchased some land about two miles south of Little Falls and just north of where Pike Creek flows into the Mississippi River. For a short time he and Evangeline lived in a quickly constructed cabin on the low riverbank while a large frame house was being built on the high bank. The house, built by Carl Bolander and completed in 1901, was impressive. It was a handsome three-story structure described by Bolander as "richly furnished and planned with taste and care." Red oak paneling, big fireplaces, furnishings from Grand Rapids, Michigan, and a third-floor billiard room were among the features of the new house. Bolander called the dining room "one of the loveliest rooms I've ever known."<sup>25</sup>

Although Howard Bell had written Lindbergh that, with cheap lumber and Bolander's skill, he could build a house for \$2,000 to \$2,500, the finished product undoubtedly was more expensive. Bolander admitted that it cost "much more" than the original estimate but divulged no actual figures. According to Bolander, Lindbergh made him promise not to: "Carl, keep it under your hat. We're going to have it *right*, but we won't ever tell what it costs." Social life at the new house consisted mainly of visits and return entertaining with such families as the Weyerhaeusers, the Tanners, the Williamses, and the Mussers. Typical entertainment included card playing and acting. Lindbergh played billiards and occasionally joined in a pinochle game.<sup>26</sup>

The physical focus of Lindbergh home life ended abruptly on August 6, 1905, when the three-story house burned to the ground. The report in the *Little Falls Daily Transcript* indicated that the spectacular fire started on the third floor shortly after the family's Sunday dinner and quickly went out of control. Efforts to save the house were hampered by the fact that there was not sufficient water pressure from the gravity tank in the barn hayloft to reach the third floor; nor would hoses reach that height. Everything on that floor was lost including part of Lindbergh's library, plus the contents of the basement and kitchen, but much of the furniture and other belongings from the first and second floors were saved. Charles, Jr., despite the fact that he was only three years old at the time, still remembers the event and recalls that he was caught up by a nurse and taken to a safe distance around the corner of the barn. The cause of the fire was never clearly established, but one theory was that a maid

<sup>24</sup> Land family information is from Evangeline Lodge Land Lindbergh notebook, copy in Lindbergh Papers; commentary by Charles A. Lindbergh, Jr., to Bruce Larson (thirty-two pages of extended comments by Lindbergh on the April, 1966, interview, dated April 7, 1967), hereafter cited as Lindbergh commentary, 1967; Bruce Larson interview with Emory Scott Land (first cousin of Evangeline Lodge Land), Washington, D.C., May 11, 1970. On Charles H. Land's career see L. Laszlo Schwartz, "The Life of Charles Henry Land (1847-1922)," in *Journal of American College of Dentists* (1957), p. 33-51; and Robert M. Warner, *Profile of a Profession: A History of the Michigan State Dental Association* (Detroit, 1965).

<sup>25</sup> Evangeline Lindbergh notebook; marriage announcement in Lindbergh Papers; Charles A. Lindbergh, *Boyhood on the Upper Mississippi: A Reminiscent Letter*, 2-3, (St. Paul, Minnesota Historical Society, 1972); Charles Lindbergh commentary, 1967; Christie interview, April 1, 1967; Bolander interview.

<sup>26</sup> Bell to Lindbergh, May 20, 1901, Charles A. Lindbergh Papers, Sterling Library, Yale University. (At the request of the author, Lindbergh placed Xeroxed copies of seven boxes—483 through 489—which included items mainly on Lindbergh, Sr., Evangeline, Charles, Jr., and the estate of Charles, Sr., in the Charles A. Lindbergh, Sr., and Family Papers, Minnesota Historical Society.) Hereafter items from these manuscript boxes will be cited as Lindbergh Papers (Yale). See also Bolander interview; Charles Lindbergh commentary, 1967.

had started it by turning over a lamp while curling her hair. Another theory blamed a pile of oily rags in the attic. In any event, Lindbergh immediately announced that the house was covered by a fair amount of insurance and that he would rebuild on the same foundation. For a time the Lindberghs resided at the Buckman Hotel in Little Falls (later Evangeline and Charles, Jr., took an apartment in Minneapolis) until a second, somewhat smaller, gray-and-white house was constructed on the same property in 1906–1907.<sup>27</sup>

About the time of the house changes, C. A. and Evangeline became estranged. Although they were never divorced, according to Charles, Jr., “they lived apart most of the time after the first several years of their marriage.” In the years afterward, Charles, Jr., lived with his mother in Detroit, in Washington, and in Little Falls. But Lindbergh visited his wife and son frequently, and Charles often joined his father on the farm, on campaign trips, and in Washington. “Their relationship was a tragic situation,” Charles, Jr., has said of his parents, and he emphasized that they continued to care for one another. Eva stated that her father and stepmother “were attuned mentally, but not emotionally.” Apparently Evangeline was a woman of rapidly changing moods. Her emotions were highly charged and often unpredictable, giving her a temperament not well suited to that of her husband, who was the sort of man who did not show emotion at all. Perhaps a contributory, albeit minor, factor in their relationship was their quite different senses of humor. C. A.’s humor was “deep, subtle, straight-faced,” whereas Evangeline’s wit was “rippled, light, quick, and laughing.” Evangeline herself later recalled two incidents symptomatic of this difference. In one instance a farmer visited C. A.’s office shortly after his marriage to Evangeline and remarked that Mrs. Lindbergh was surely much younger than he (she was seventeen years younger than her husband). “No,” Lindbergh replied with a straight face, “she is as a matter of fact five years older.” It was a long time before Evangeline forgave him for that remark. On another occasion Evangeline slipped on the grass along the Mississippi and plunged “up to my arm pits in the cold water.” C. A. “stood on the bank and laughed.” Evangeline was furious.<sup>28</sup>

There apparently always existed a basic misunderstanding between husband and wife. Charles, Jr., suggested later that his mother’s protected family life and education were “not good background for a Minnesota one-generation-beyond-the-frontier life.” Nevertheless, as correspondence between C. A. and Evangeline clearly substantiates, a strong bond of affection endured between them for years after their separation. Their marital situation was not uncommon, but it no



*THE FIRST Lindbergh house, built in Little Falls, was the family home for over ten years.*

doubt deepened Lindbergh’s aloneness and sensitivity. Eva described her father as a “lonely but basically not unhappy man.” His essential nature and view of life was reflective and tolerant, which probably made him better equipped to handle loneliness and disappointment than most men.<sup>29</sup>

Lindbergh’s demeanor was reserved and modest, and most people regarded him as a serious, even scholarly, man. Elmer A. Benson, former Minnesota governor, described him as “austere” and difficult to know. To Admiral “Jerry” Land he was “a rather severe individual, hard to approach, and eccentric.” Mrs. A. M. Opsahl of Brainerd stressed Lindbergh’s straightforward speech and honesty as the basis for an enduring friendship between him and her husband. Fred Larson, long-time Little Falls county official, “never heard him crack a joke” and expressed the opinion that C. A. was not a natural “mixer” nor given to the usual small-town coffee breaks. Charles,

<sup>27</sup> *Little Falls Daily Transcript*, August 7, 1905; Charles Lindbergh commentary, 1967 and October 17, 1971; Hunter interview; Lindbergh, *Boyhood*, 5; Charles A. Lindbergh, *The Spirit of St. Louis*, 372 (New York, 1953); Charles Lindbergh to the author, October 23, 1972.

<sup>28</sup> Minnesota interview; Charles Lindbergh commentary, 1967; Christie interviews, July 12, 1965, April 1, 1967; Evangeline Lindbergh notebook.

<sup>29</sup> Charles Lindbergh commentary, 1967; Eva Lindbergh Christie Spaeth commentary to the author, November 20, 1971. Correspondence between Lindbergh and Evangeline, indicative of their feelings toward each other, may be found in Boxes 484 and 485 of Lindbergh Papers (Yale). See also Case 24994, State of Minnesota, *In Supreme Court* (Respondent’s Brief and Appellant’s Brief) regarding the estate of C. A. Lindbergh, as well as statements and correspondence on the estate in Lindbergh Papers (Yale).



CARL BOLANDER completed this three-story dwelling for the Lindberghs in 1901. It burned in 1905.

Jr., recently wrote: "My father mixed easily with individuals and groups — when he wished to." In a 1900 letter presumably to Lindbergh, Grace Van Sickle told him: "You businessmen take life *too* seriously; it would be good for you to indulge in some of the frivolities of life. Now I suspicion that Mr. Lindbergh *thinks* too much, *reads* too much, even outside business matters. The next time you come to Chicago, let me know and I will try and help you kill one evening." Eva, who probably knew her father's political and economic views better than anyone else, called her father "mainly an intellectual man" and felt that he had a "judicial mind." Friend Thomas Pederson referred to Lindbergh simply as a "deep thinker."<sup>30</sup>

<sup>30</sup> Bruce Larson interview with Elmer A. Benson in St. Paul, February 21, 1970; Land interview; Mrs. A. M. Opsahl reminiscences; Bruce Larson interview with Fred Larson, Little Falls, September 10, 1967, and periodic discussions in June and July, 1966; Charles A. Lindbergh to the author, April 1, 1971; Grace Van Sickle to Lindbergh, September 30, 1900, Lindbergh Papers (Yale) (only part of the letter is intact, but content is sufficient to assume it was written to C. A.); Christie interview, July 12, 1965; Pederson reminiscences.

<sup>31</sup> "Lindbergh Library" list, Lindbergh Papers; Minnesota interview. Only part of C. A. Lindbergh's library remains, as books were lost in the fire at the first house and, after the 1927 flight of Charles, Jr., a number of volumes were stolen or lost.

A SMALLER HOME was constructed on the same property in 1906–1907. Reconstructed, it looks this way today.



The serious bent of Lindbergh's character coincided well with an interest in ideas and books. An examination of the remaining books in his personal library reveals several fields of interest. Most numerous are the volumes dealing with history, evolution, economics, psychology, philosophy, politics, sociology, and select literary classics. Significantly, the largest single segment in the Lindbergh library is made up of books on evolution and the related debate between science and religion. There are several volumes of Herbert Spencer and Charles Darwin as well as a number of analytical works by such authors as John Draper, John Fiske, Oscar Schmidt, Henry Drummond, and Ernest Haeckel. In addition, although the works are no longer in the collection, Lindbergh was influenced by the writings of Thomas H. Huxley.<sup>31</sup>

Historical books in the library range from Prescott's *History of the Conquest of Peru* and *History of the Conquest of Mexico*, Macaulay's multivolume *The History of England*, and Von Holst's *The Constitutional and Political History of the United States*, to studies on ancient history and the Protestant Reformation. Among the classics are the novels of Victor Hugo and the works of Washington Irving, while political material includes the *Addresses of Abraham Lincoln*, Lynn Haines' *Your Congress*, and H. P. Hall's *Observations on Minnesota politics*. Other representa-

tive volumes deal with such areas as linguistics, mental health, and geological surveys. Lindbergh may have been further influenced by the ideas in periodicals, and in the Lindbergh home were *Harper's*, the *Atlantic*, and, a bit later, *La Follette's Magazine*. In view of Lindbergh's interest in agriculture and money, it is not surprising that he read Sidney Owen's Populist-oriented magazine, *Farm, Stock and Home* (1884–1929), and W. H. Harvey's *Coin's Financial School* (1894).<sup>32</sup>

According to Eva and Bolander, Lindbergh's reading interests included poetry. They both recalled his keen liking for American writer Elbert Hubbard, and Eva also noted that her father enjoyed Tennyson. Bolander later told of spending a cold evening with Lindbergh and a volume of Hubbard's poems in the living room of the first house by the river. "The weather turned cold, and it started to snow," Bolander said, "but we were cozy by the fire, and there we sat for hours — talking, reading aloud by turns, and eating crackers and cheese."<sup>33</sup>

Lindbergh was not inclined to follow the regular patterns of organized religion, but he did believe in God. Eva stated that in later years he became a Unitarian and was particularly influenced by the lectures of John Dietrich of the Unitarian Church in Minneapolis. Charles, Jr., remembers being taken to church by his mother one Sunday shortly before his father's election to Congress. For the young boy in a new suit and tight stockings, hemmed in by the hot building, it was a frustrating experience. After all, any sensible boy would prefer the river breezes and the open space of the pine woods on the farm to close confinement in church. Years afterward Charles, Jr., wrote that he was sure Lindbergh was aware it was "a good move politically" to have his son seen in church, and he thought that his parents had probably discussed the matter in advance. "But on the whole," he stated, "his actions were natural rather than political." Carl Bolander discussed Lindbergh's expression of a belief in God in a different way. In his 1937 interview Bolander recalled driving with Lindbergh into the lake country north of Little Falls and stopping on a hill overlooking a lake and a yellow road winding through the pines. After viewing the scene for a time, Lindbergh broke the silence "with an outburst of such eloquence and impassioned feeling that I'd never heard from him before." According to Bolander, Lindbergh declared: "Some men tell us there is no God! — or that God is a puny creature shut up in churches and creeds." Looking over the horizon, he exclaimed: "I need no scientific analysis or theological arguments to show me the reality or the bigness of *my* God when I look at this!"<sup>34</sup>

UNDERSTANDABLY, Lindbergh was known for his financial and business success. His law practice was well established. His land holdings were considerable. By the early 1900s, he and Bolander had built thirty-five houses and three commercial brick buildings on the west side of the river in Little Falls. Lindbergh later claimed that he had built "six blocks" of his own in town. A hotel, a cold storage plant, and a general store building were planned for the three commercial structures. Apparently Lindbergh's investment in the buildings did not pay off, however, for Frank Dewey stated that his father, T. H. Dewey, and Martin Engstrom, who opened a hardware store, eventually bought the buildings for less than the cost of construction. One reason for the limited success of the Lindbergh-Bolander commercial venture was the fact that the west side of Little Falls did not develop into a major business district as some had anticipated. As a lawyer, Lindbergh probably lost some money on accounts he endorsed on behalf of clients, much as his father had done in Sweden. Nonetheless, even though many of his assets were not liquid, Lindbergh was reasonably well-to-do at this point in his life.<sup>35</sup>

Perhaps the clearest statement of his financial worth is contained in a letter to Evangeline in December, 1905. He stated simply that his assets were valued at over \$200,000 in property against \$36,710 in debts. But his main point was that he was "exceedingly poor in cash" and that "we will have to be governed by our condition and not by our needs." He complained of being a slave to the taxes on his properties and noted that he could probably send Evangeline money only for necessities. Lindbergh further revealed that, unless there was a dramatic change in his financial situation, he could not send his daughter Lillian to the university the next fall. "I can send her the next year but certainly not 1906, unless it's on the scale I had to go on." With a touch of frontier philosophy and rugged individualism Lindbergh instructed: "They both, our little daughters, have got to work and it will be better for them," adding at another point in the letter that "there wasn't as much spent on me from the time I

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<sup>32</sup> Same sources as footnote 31; Lindbergh to author, April 1, 1971.

<sup>33</sup> Minnesota interview; Bolander interview.

<sup>34</sup> Christie to author, February 26, 1967; Minnesota interview; Charles Lindbergh commentary, 1967; Lindbergh, *The Spirit of St. Louis*, 308–310; Bolander interview.

<sup>35</sup> Christie interview, July 12, 1965; Lindbergh to Eva, March 16, 1917, Lindbergh Papers; Bruce Larson interview with Frank Dewey, Little Falls, June 23, 1967; Opsahl reminiscences; Charles Lindbergh commentary, 1967.



was 3 years till I was 20 as is spent on L. and E. each 6 mos."<sup>36</sup>

Intermittently during the Little Falls years, Lindbergh made public statements on the questions that mattered to him. In 1887, for example, he delivered a Memorial Day address expressing gratitude to the veterans of the Civil War and praising the economic prosperity and lack of governmental restraint in the United States since that divided time. An industrial edition of the *Little Falls Transcript* on January 1, 1894, carried a Lindbergh statement on the economics of Morrison County. In it Lindbergh strongly emphasized the diversity of soil and landscape in the county. Not only were water and timber readily available, but the variety of farming activities—from wheat, corn, oats, and potatoes to cattle, sheep, and

<sup>36</sup> Lindbergh to "Im" (Evangeline Lindbergh), [December 17, 1905], Lindbergh Papers (Yale). Many of the handwritten letters between C. A. and Evangeline are dated by the envelope only. In this case the postal marking is very unclear.

<sup>37</sup> Lindbergh statements and speeches are from the *Little Falls Transcript*, June 3, 1887, and January 1, 1894 (copies in Lindbergh Papers). Evidence of Lindbergh law firm foreclosure cases is in Book 12 of Deeds (1895–1899), owned by Morrison County, Little Falls.

fowl—gave the Morrison County farmer a definite advantage over the Dakota wheat farmer. Lindbergh stated that there were area farmers who had sold out, gone to the Dakota prairies, and returned to Morrison County as virtual paupers. But Morrison County was not immune to the hard times of the 1890s. A number of mortgage foreclosures occurred there during the decade, and the Lindbergh law firm necessarily handled many of these legal actions.<sup>37</sup>

When, in the fall of 1900, Lindbergh's failure to accept local Republican speaking engagements was interpreted as indifferent Republicanism, he felt obliged to answer. In a letter to the *Transcript* editor, after noting that he did not wish "to become prominent in print," Lindbergh made it abundantly clear that he was indeed still a Republican. Although he demanded that people respect the sincere beliefs of any citizen whether he be Republican, Democrat, or Populist, Lindbergh stressed that "most practical and reasoning people" were Republicans. Moreover, since the Republican party had been in power roughly forty years, it was the "executive" party and the one most likely to accomplish its purposes, while the Democratic party was the "critic" party. In Lindbergh's opinion, the Republican was the party best equipped to meet the pressing current need for laws

*THE LINDBERGH LIBRARY as it was reconstructed in the Little Falls house. The faithful restoration of the house was aided immeasurably by the reminiscences of Charles, Jr.*





to curb the abuses of the great national trusts — a particularly relevant statement in view of his later reform thought. Finally, he offered his evaluation of the 1900 presidential campaign by describing Democrat William Jennings Bryan's arguments as inconsistent and advising support of the full Republican ticket.<sup>38</sup>

The race problem in America was the subject of several newspaper statements by Lindbergh in early 1903. After taking a trip to the South, he recorded his firsthand observations. Lindbergh believed that the Negro was destined to a subordinate role in American social and political life. His reasons were threefold: (1) "By nature he is inferior to the white race"; (2) "he is natural to a climate that tends to sluggishness"; (3) "there is not sufficient inducement for him to become progressive." Lindbergh further viewed the Negro as the "happiest of all races," noting that this was a sustaining characteristic in that it helped to offset the "cloud of race prejudice that holds them down." Politically, he stated that the Negro, despite his legal rights, was "nevertheless forever barred from hopes of being stamped with the glories accorded to complete American citizenship." Lindbergh pointed out that many Americans might criticize the South for its treatment of the Negro, but "we cannot condemn, for we in the north would, if we had an equal colored population, render the same treatment." In his opinion it had been a mistake to extend the franchise, and the only hope of this condition actually working might be the establishment of a separate state for the Negro population, where it might "exercise national character" and "rapidly improve to a higher morality." But the race matter was practically settled, Lindbergh contended, for the Negro "will be kept down." The only long-range hope Lindbergh saw was miscegenation, and though "it may not elevate the white race," he said, "it will eventually lift the black."<sup>39</sup>

Lindbergh's views on the racial issue were formed largely as a result of his absorbing interest in Darwinian thought, but his interest in the problem may also have been prompted by Theodore Roosevelt's attention to the question about the same time. The president was disturbed about lynchings in the South and felt that total disenfranchisement was wrong, an opinion that was probably formed in part as a result of political and public pressure. It is also clear, according to scholars, that Roosevelt accepted the basic notion of biological inferiority of the Negro population. He did, however, believe that a better environment would improve the Negro race, and he recognized the accomplishments of individual Negroes. Lindbergh, an admirer of Roosevelt at this point in his life, seems to suggest the same type of physical-environmental

analysis of the Negro. Considering this aspect of his thinking on race, he was not among the extreme racists of the period, and Eva stated directly that her father later repudiated these views. The seeming contradiction between Lindbergh's reformist beliefs and his racial views is, in fact, not unusual, for most progressives formed similar judgments. Progressives in the South sought to "purify" politics by disenfranchising the Negro. In general, as C. Vann Woodward states, progressives "reflected [their times] awfully well: They were thoroughgoing spokesmen of contemporary attitudes."<sup>40</sup> There is, in fact, some evidence that individual progressives, among them Senators Robert M. La Follette of Wisconsin and Albert Cummins of Iowa, defended the rights of the Negro. Although Lindbergh may indeed have changed his views on race, and his reform thought was often parallel to that of La Follette and Cummins, he made no recorded public statements on the subject while in Congress.<sup>41</sup>

THE MOST DRAMATIC of Lindbergh's public efforts during the Little Falls period was his involvement in founding an experimental farmers' co-operative and in publishing a related reform-oriented magazine. On February 28, 1905, the Industrial Adjustment

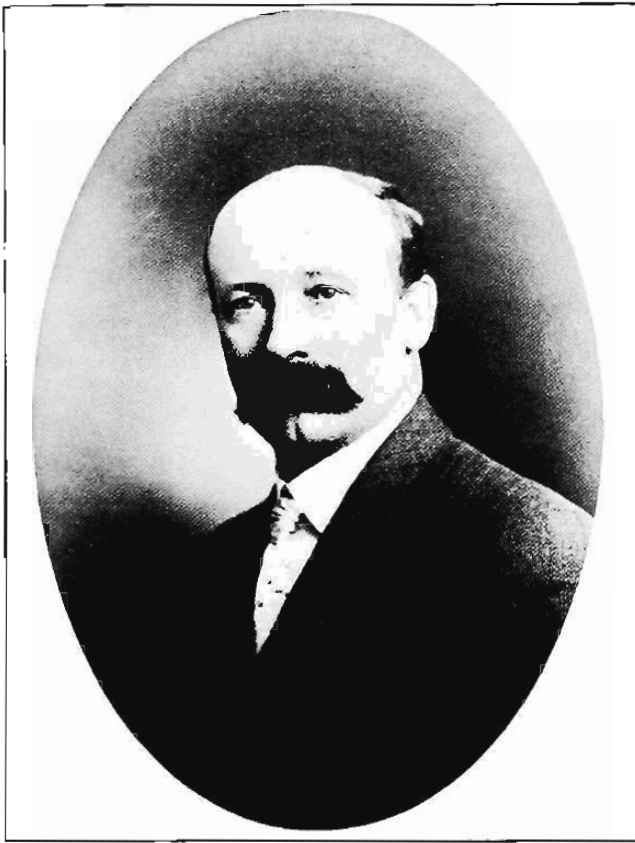
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<sup>38</sup> *Little Falls Transcript*, November 2, 1900 (copy in Lindbergh Papers).

<sup>39</sup> *Little Falls Transcript*, March 17, 21, 1903.

<sup>40</sup> For statements on the racial question with respect to Roosevelt, the progressives, and Darwinism, see Seth M. Scheiner, "President Theodore Roosevelt and the Negro," in *Journal of Negro History*, 47:169-182 (July, 1962); I. A. Newby, *Jim Crow's Defense: Anti-Negro Thought in America, 1900-1930* (Baton Rouge, Louisiana, 1965); David W. Noble, *The Progressive Mind, 1890-1917*, 81-116 (Chicago, 1970); John S. Haller, Jr., *Outcasts from Evolution: Scientific Attitudes of Racial Inferiority, 1859-1900* (Urbana, Illinois, 1971); and C. Vann Woodward, "The Negro in American Life, 1865-1918," in John A. Garraty, ed., *Interpreting American History: Conversations with Historians*, 2:59 (New York, 1970).

<sup>41</sup> Bruce Larson interview with Eva Lindbergh Christie Spaeth, June 22, 1972. She was shocked to learn that her father had written these statements on the racial question and said they were not in keeping with his later views. She also recalled that he often extended kindnesses openly to Negroes when traveling in the South later. There are no comments on the racial issue in the *Congressional Record* during Lindbergh's tenure as congressman. This is not totally surprising, since he represented a rural and northern district. See also Belle Case La Follette and Fola La Follette, *Robert M. La Follette*, 2:1120 (New York, 1953); Dewey W. Grantham, Jr., "The Progressive Movement and the Negro," in Barton J. Bernstein and Allen J. Matusow, *Twentieth-Century America: Recent Interpretations*, 59-74 (New York, 1969).



CARL BOLANDER

Company was organized, with C. A. Lindbergh (treasurer), F. A. Lindbergh (secretary), Carl Bolander (vice-president), A. P. Blanchard, and Charles H. Land (president) named as its incorporators. The incorporation papers outlined four broad areas of proposed company activity: (1) general dealings in lands, tenements, and hereditaments; (2) the wholesale mercantile business; (3) acting as "an adjustment agency between creditors and debtors"; and (4) operating a storage facility for goods and produce and advancing money and credit to depositors on this same merchandise.<sup>42</sup>

More specifically, according to Carl Bolander, the company "was principally intended for the purpose of buying and storing and selling farm produce." To this end "310 acres of land one mile west of Little

Falls was purchased and a large barn was built on it. The intention was to buy up stock and hogs and keep and finish them on the land and to erect a butchering plant and butcher the stock so bought and kept." A substantial cold storage plant was also a part of the company plan, and subsequently a two-story brick building with full basement was constructed on the west side of the Mississippi near the railroad tracks in Little Falls (one of the three commercial buildings Lindbergh and Bolander built and promoted). The over-all plan called for insulating the building and installing an ammonia cold-storage unit so that it could operate efficiently in keeping and cooling meat, potatoes, and other produce. In essence, the primary purpose of the co-operative company was to benefit local farmers by eliminating unnecessary costs.<sup>43</sup>

Closely related to the proposed Industrial Adjustment Company was the publication of Lindbergh's magazine, *The Law of Rights: Realized and Unrealized, Individual and Public*. It was designed as a quarterly bulletin to be sold at thirty-five cents annually or ten cents per copy. Essentially, *The Law of Rights* was the organ of the company, and its purpose, in part, was to focus attention on the farmer's economic problems and the co-operative's answers to them. The magazine also provided a place for Lindbergh to express his emerging views on economic, political, and social reform. Just prior to publication Lindbergh announced in the *Little Falls Herald* that "the aim is to get the people interested in their own behalf, and to act on matters in promotion of their interest." To that end, he went on, "I have formulated a system of studies and work in connection with the development of our county and other counties that I will introduce through the bulletin." Three thousand copies of the initial March, 1905, issue were printed.<sup>44</sup>

In the first issue, after explaining that the publication itself was not a "financial scheme," Lindbergh argued that the small manufacturing plant could operate successfully for a home market. "The main thing in all these considerations is to prevent the waste of energy in the individual as well as in the community." Obviously, the Industrial Adjustment Company was an example of such a plant. Lindbergh, really writing as a crusader for reform, called for the organization of farmers, adjustment between producers and consumers, reasonable rates of interest, cheaper transportation costs, and an end to "uneconomic competition." His comments on Little Falls as a community with undesirable business competition must have appeared a bit radical to many local citizens. Noting that the city of 6,000 persons was located in a county with a population of 27,000, Lindbergh asserted that Little Falls with three banks and sixteen grocery stores had

<sup>42</sup> The Industrial Adjustment Company was incorporated on February 28, 1905, although it was not officially on record until June 4, 1907. See Book H-9 of Incorporations, 319-21, owned by Morrison County, Little Falls.

<sup>43</sup> Carl Bolander to Dora Haines, November 15, 1930, Lynn Haines and Family Papers, owned by the Minnesota Historical Society.

<sup>44</sup> Haines, *The Lindberghs*, 89-97; *Little Falls Herald*, March 10, 1905.

more such establishments than it really needed. If instead the community had only one bank and three groceries, which Lindbergh felt would be sufficient to handle the needs of the population, he estimated a yearly savings to the people of \$8,400 for the banks and \$17,400 for the grocery businesses. He also revealed his growing concern about the centralization of capital and the trusts. In his judgment, the "advancing education of the people" and the "irresistible energy of the people" would act as a partial remedy to these evils.<sup>45</sup>

Except for the brief existence of *The Law of Rights*, the Little Falls project failed to materialize. Three issues of the magazine were published, but its unattractive format and the vague, complicated sentence structure of Lindbergh's writing probably hampered its success. In the case of the Industrial Adjustment Company, \$26,000 out of an anticipated \$75,000 investment was actually spent on land and buildings. When it became clear that neither Bolander nor Lindbergh would have enough time to devote to the project in the months before the proposed opening of operations in 1907, "the cold-storage building was rented out to other parties and afterwards sold, and the land was sold in small tracts, and that was the end of it." The building was rented and eventually sold to T. H. Dewey, who operated Dewey's Produce Company. Walter E. Quigley, a later associate during Lindbergh's

political career, wrote that Lindbergh lost about \$20,000 on the Little Falls affair. Lindbergh's failure to watch the project more closely was due to the fact that, in 1906, he became actively involved in politics.<sup>46</sup>

(As recounted by Mr. Larson in his third chapter, *Lindbergh on June 20, 1906*, suddenly "announced his candidacy for the Republican nomination to Congress from the Sixth Congressional District of Minnesota" and was elected. He served five successive terms. — Ed.)

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<sup>45</sup> *The Law of Rights: Realized and Unrealized, Individual and Public*, 1: introduction page, 20 (March, 1905); Haines, *The Lindberghs*, 90–95.

<sup>46</sup> Haines, *The Lindberghs*, 89–91; Bolander to Haines, November 15, 1930, Haines Papers; Dewey interview; Walter E. Quigley, "Like Father, Like Son," in *Saturday Evening Post*, June 21, 1941, p. 34.

THE PHOTOGRAPH on page 165 of Little Falls is published through the courtesy of the Morrison County Historical Society. The photograph of Lillian and Eva on page 166 is through the courtesy of Eva Lindbergh Christie Spaeth. The photograph of the portrait of Mary is by Silker Studios, Little Falls. The photograph of Carl Bolander is published through the courtesy of Magnus Bolander. All other photographs are in the society's picture collection.



IN THIS RARE FAMILY photograph taken with friends, Charles, Sr., is standing, fourth from left; seated, left to right, are Lillian, Evangeline, Charles, Jr., and Eva.



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