

When Minnehaha Flowed with Whiskey: A Spirited History of the Falls

By Karen E. Cooper

Minnehaha Falls became known as a place for heavy drinking and rowdy behavior as early as the 1820s, when soldiers from Fort Snelling began patronizing illegal whiskey sellers nearby. In later decades, the beauty of the falls attracted tourists, and as the city of Minneapolis grew, people set up hotels, dance pavilions, and other establishments to meet the needs of visitors from near and far.

Karen Cooper's new book uncovers this lost history, full of dance halls, secret saloons, wild behavior, lawsuits, and plenty of whiskey. This extract highlights the dispute between the people investing in the neighborhoods springing up around the park and those whose livelihoods depended on helping park visitors enjoy themselves. It is a slightly condensed version of chapter 6, "Morally Questionable People Having Fun."



WHEN MINNEHAHA PARK was established in 1889, a slowly escalating conflict began at the falls. The neighborhood around the park grew quickly. The real estate developers, pavilion owners, and new neighbors had interests that sometimes intersected but mostly clashed. For the next 13 years, until “war” was declared in 1902, tensions slowly escalated as misbehavior, disputes, and enforcement of the law continued to disturb the peace at the falls. Though the park board had control of their land—Minnehaha Park—they were drawn into the strife on their borders.

The park board understood from the beginning how well loved and heavily visited Minnehaha Park would be. They took seriously their custodianship of this lovely laughing waterfall and the grounds around it. They knew that the public expected hospitality there.

Soon after they took ownership of Minnehaha Park in 1889, and after they chased out all the people living—and making a living—within the new park’s boundaries, the park board invested in the area in ways that they thought important, but also that they could afford. They added picnic tables and hammocks. They graded gravel walking paths, planted flower beds that spelled out “Minnehaha Park Pride of Minneapolis,” and grew grass on what had been completely bare ground. The new electric streetcar line, added to Minnehaha Avenue in 1891, replaced the motor line and improved access for city residents.¹

In 1892 the board built the picnic pavilion, which was designed by prominent Minneapolis architect and park board member Harry Wild Jones. Erected among the trees to the northeast of where the refectory stands today, the pavilion provided every convenience for the free use of visitors in preparing meals: tables, stove, and cooking utensils. Plans called for the building to cost between \$3,000 and \$5,000.

This new pavilion will cover a ground space of 52 × 87 feet. It will have only one floor, which will be entirely clear for dancing purposes, except around the outside where six feet away from the balustrade a row of posts will hold up the roof. At one end there will be two rooms, one a waiting room 20 feet square with a large open fire-place and mantel of red pressed brick, and adjoining this is another room 20 feet square where a kitchen range will be located for the convenience of those wishing to heat water for coffee. On the outside of the balustrade a broad seat will be placed, having a back of turned balusters.

The principal construction will be of Georgia pine, finished in natural wood; the roof will be shingled with red cedar shingles, with copper cresting, finials, and flashings. The general appearance of the building will be something similar to that of the Lake Harriet pavilion, except that being one story in height it will appear

lower and the large roof will suggest protection and shelter from the weather, which in fact will be its main purpose.²

This picnic pavilion gave groups a place for their church picnics and dances. It added to the options for hospitable gatherings at the falls but wasn't an income source for the park board, as they paid someone to be in charge of the place.

The Minnehaha Park Syndicate

As the park board began providing amenities, the people who had been investing in the land around the park were also promoting the area. Their efforts had started some years earlier. In 1883, a millwright named Edward M. Runyan decided to try his hand at real estate and formed the North Star Real Estate Company. Minneapolis was growing south. Minnehaha Avenue, constructed in the 1870s, ran from the city straight to the falls; it paralleled the Milwaukee Road train tracks. With roads and railroad access, this part of the city was opening up. Runyan was there to take advantage of it.

By June 1885, Ed Runyan's real estate company was offering lots in the Minnehaha Park addition. These half-acre lots were due west of the "proposed state park" between today's Minnehaha Parkway on the north and 50th Street on the south, and between 34th and 38th Avenues.

In 1887, Runyan helped form the Minnehaha Improvement Association, which existed to increase the value of the land its members owned between the proposed park at Minnehaha Falls and Lake Nokomis. One of their first ac-

tions was to extract promises from the management of the Milwaukee Road for a 15-cent round-trip fare between the Minnehaha depot and the city. Such a low fare was affordable to nearly all, and it would encourage home-building. The association planted trees along 50th Street between Lake Nokomis (then called Lake Amelia) and Minnehaha Falls and eventually donated land between lake and waterfall for the road we know as East Minnehaha Parkway today. They also sold lots in a housing district along that parkway that included, according to the *St. Paul Globe*, "other restrictive measures (besides the requirement that all buildings must cost at least \$1,500)"; "in this way the vicinity is to be made very desirable."³

Vinette Lincoln, who had held land in the falls area since the 1860s but was forced to sell much of it to the park board, still owned some land close to the park with her daughters. This land is today entirely occupied by MN-55 (Hiawatha Avenue) and the twenty-first-century light-rail tracks. In the way of things at Minnehaha, some of this was sold and re-bought by the Lincolns. Some of it was sold outright, some was foreclosed on, and ultimately, this part of the Lincoln Addition was replatted into Runyan's Addition, with more than 30 little lots facing the park. To the end, Vinette and her daughters kept lots 3-11 in Runyan's Addition.

Runyan's two organizations, the North Star Real Estate Company and the Minnehaha Improvement Association, were replaced by the Minnehaha Park Syndicate. This was a far more high-powered group, incorporated with \$400,000 in capital. Dr. Samuel Hance and Ed Runyan were both members, and so was the former mayor George Pillsbury; Llewellyn Christian, part owner of the Crown

The park board brought family-friendly amenities to Minnehaha. The board began accepting donated animals for a zoo in 1893, the same year a vendor began offering pony rides in the park. One of the few reminders of the zoo is the name for a section of the park: the Deer Pen. In this area, once surrounded by a high fence, the board kept bison, deer, elk, and sometimes even a moose. At the top western edge of the Deer Pen, the zoo housed an array of animals, everything from guinea pigs to bears. The zoo was shut down when Theodore Wirth took over as superintendent in 1906; many of the animals were in bad health, having been very poorly cared for. Some had to be put down. Others were transferred in 1907 to the Longfellow Gardens Zoo across Hiawatha Avenue from Minnehaha Park. But the hoofed stock stayed in the Deer Pen until 1923.

The pens and cages that once housed the other zoo animals are long gone, but a careful eye can find their footings by looking below the top western edge of the Deer Pen in early spring, before the leaves come out.ⁱ



Bears and visitors at the Minnehaha zoo, about 1899.

Roller Mill and one of the Christian family who made fortunes in milling flour; Richard J. Mendenhall, banker, greenhouse owner, enslaver; and another banker named A. Frank Gale. Runyan's Addition was platted and accepted by the city council in 1891, at the same time that the council accepted plats for Pillsbury's Addition and for Mendenhall's Addition, both just west of the falls. The new electric streetcar line, opened that year, could deliver residents to jobs downtown. The Minnehaha Park Syndicate was ready to shepherd the growth of this residential district. And they surely expected to make some money along the way.⁴

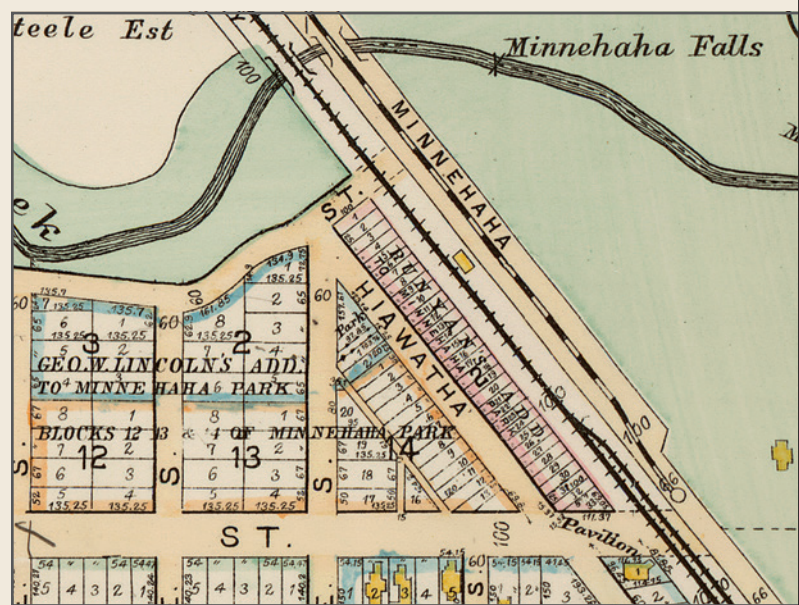
The area was fairly quiet, too. It seemed a safe bet that whatever was going on at the falls was a minor disturbance in the staid and growing neighborhood west of the park. The Methodists were planning a new church nearby. Lots were selling. Houses began to go up.

But Vinette Lincoln was not yet done with her land, nor, seemingly, with messing with the park board. She rented lots 3–11 of Runyan's Addition to refreshment vendors. In a few years, it would become known as the Minnehaha Midway.

Characters Lacking Character

Both before and after creation of Minnehaha as a park, details of the unseemly antics at the falls are hard to uncover. Newspaper stories reacted to, or alluded to, the ongoing mischief; they hardly ever described it directly. It's much the same with old photographs. Finding any nineteenth-century photograph of someone in a sloppy or lewd drunken posture is pretty rare, and when one limits the search to 125 acres in the southeast corner of Hennepin County, the search is unlikely to the point of impossible.⁵

While the picnic pavilion seems to have been a popular public building, it happens that the people running it were probably shady, or at least supportive of merriment and fun. This becomes evident in tracing a web of connections. In 1897, the care of the pavilion was given to Harriet Reeves, a widow whose husband, William, had passed away a few years before. William was a Civil War vet and a member of the Grand Army of the Republic's George N. Morgan Post. A former policeman, he had held patronage jobs like county jailor. The Reeves were acquaintances of one Evert Nymanover, described by every newspaper in town as a "fawn-eyed socialist." These connections with the Morgan post, the Minneapolis police, and the socialist movement were shared by Adelbert Gardner and his son, Irwin. And by the mid-1890s the Gardners, father and son, would turn up the flames of intemperate and raunchy behavior at the outer edges of Minnehaha Park. Though



This 1892 detail of Runyan's Addition shows lots 3–11 opposite the railroad depot, where the Gardners would establish the Minnehaha Midway. In the lower right is Foster's Pavilion; in the park is the park policeman's house.

Harriet Reeves was a paid park board employee, she could surely be counted on not to interfere with the refreshment vendors across Minnehaha Avenue. And before long, she left her place as keeper of the picnic pavilion. The job went to a man named Burke O'Brien.⁶

Burke O'Brien was the black sheep of an otherwise respectable family of early settlers. His brother Frank wrote a pretty good Minnesota history in 1904. That history left out Burke's years as a city alderman, where he was, according to the *Journal* (Minneapolis's more liberal newspaper), "a soft mark for friends with personal interests to serve." When Burke went on to join the Minneapolis police force, he used his position to aid criminal enterprise. He was convicted for alerting the managers of a gambling house that a warrant had been issued for their arrest. Yet the park board still allowed him to run the picnic pavilion at a time when the newspaper described him as "wholly unfit for any position of public responsibility."⁷

Dubious respectability was the one certainty among the characters at Minnehaha.

The confectioners and other small businesses that had been ejected from park property in 1889 continued to serve visitors. Some proprietors changed careers. Other owners set themselves up in locations on the north and west edges of the park boundaries. Some of them had noteworthy or lasting impacts on the history of Minnehaha Park. In trying to make as much money as possible, a few ran shady, troublesome businesses that eventually caused outrage among the neighbors.

In 1891 longtime settler and local postmaster Andrew J. Foster built a refreshment pavilion on land he owned just outside the park, at the corner of East 50th Street and Hiawatha Avenue. Today the 50th Street light-rail train stop is on this site. Foster strategically placed his new business at the end of the new electric streetcar line. The *Tribune* carried his advertisements for “beautiful souvenirs,” coffee, and sandwiches made from “Ivey’s cream bread.” Though one could get a drink of illegal alcohol there, Foster’s confectionery was a generally respectable place.⁸

William Poudler built a refreshment stand just south of East 49th Street along Minnehaha Avenue. He had fallen in love with a woman named Isabel, and after they married, he left his career as a well digger and set the two of them up in the business she liked, running a refreshment stand at Minnehaha Falls. It was originally a modest place, just 12 by 12 feet, but in it Poudler became the longest-standing of the confectioners: he stayed in business right outside Minnehaha Park nearly until the end of his life in the 1920s. Poudler, like Foster, was a generally respected and respectable businessman.⁹

Other confectioners operated during this period of the 1890s, and not all of them were respectable or family-friendly. The first exception was Sidney C. Babcock.

Soldiers from the Fort, Unescorted Women, and a Lively Social Scene

Sidney Babcock was a millwright by training who had married a woman 20 years younger than himself. They had a large family, and they originally opened a confectionery and grocery at 3002 Minnehaha Avenue. Babcock expanded this confectionery business to his stand at the falls, on land just west of the old Steele-Lincoln house. His little candy and pop stand did not last long in that location outside the park. He said that the “parties running the establishment in the Lincoln house rented the ground from under him, to get rid of his competition.” (Who those “parties” were and what they were up to in the Steele-Lincoln house remains a mystery.)¹⁰

Forced to move, Babcock found a new spot closer to Fort Snelling, where he built a pavilion and a dance hall. This was somewhere just outside the park, west of the railroad tracks and a few hundred yards south of the Milwaukee depot. It was between Foster’s pavilion and the former site of Dutch Henry’s rowdy dance hall (discussed in chapter 3). In October 1892, the *Minneapolis Tribune* described the situation that Babcock was moving into. The soldiers from the fort were known to go to Minnehaha Falls—especially on Sundays—and “run things to suit

their own ideas.” Under the headline “Boors from the Fort,” the *Tribune* said that several of the soldiers seemed to be spoiling for a fight, and

They were hardly as gentlemanly and polite as men in their station are popularly supposed to be. They are quite the reverse, according to reports of police officers and others who spend quite a bit of time at Minnehaha Park and vicinity. Unescorted women get more attention than they bargained for. A pretty woman is looked upon as the proper party for a “mash.”¹¹

The slang term “masher” has fallen from our vocabulary, but the type is unfortunately instantly recognizable. A man who makes aggressive sexual overtures to women he does not know used to be called a masher.

At this time in 1892, Officer Robert E. Fischer was the park policeman living in Minnehaha Park. He arrested at least one soldier for disorderly conduct. Private George Bergeron from Company H, Third Infantry, was sentenced to pay ten dollars or spend ten days in the workhouse. His commanding officer was reportedly quite annoyed at the park police, and not at his soldier.

This sort of aggressive rowdiness was not welcomed by the neighborhood’s new residents, those upstanding citizens who were busily buying lots from the Minnehaha Park Syndicate and building their country homes. Slowly, over the next year or two, Babcock’s became a place where the soldiers congregated, and so did the young ladies, mashers or no. The young men of the city followed the women. Young people indulged in a lively social scene. There was not enough reprehensible behavior to make the papers, so perhaps Babcock managed to put a little restraint on the crowds. Whatever restraint might have been exercised, it did not last.

Adelbert Gardner Appears on the Scene

Back in 1886, on Christmas night, 200 socialists with their working-class families gathered in Martin’s Hall on the corner of Washington and Cedar Avenues, in an immigrant neighborhood about a mile from downtown Minneapolis. After speeches in English, German, and Swedish, the children were all given candy and dancing commenced, continuing until 4 AM: “La Marseillaise was sung at midnight in chorus by the whole house.” A newcomer named Adelbert L. Gardner led the speeches.¹²

Within a few years, Adelbert Gardner and his son, Irwin, would be running a dance hall at the falls, and they would become the instigators of the Minnehaha Midway. In the final era of rowdiness, they were the chief

perpetrators of the illegal and immoral behavior at the falls that so shocked and upset the citizens of Minneapolis.

Adelbert Gardner was born in 1849 in Brookfield, a small town in upstate New York. He was a middle child in a large family. His father died when he was small, and he spent part of his youth farmed out to neighbors, likely because they could feed him. In early 1865, he made his way to Schenectady, a hundred miles from home, where on January 27, he joined the Union Army. Although he signed up for a three-year tour, he was discharged on May 24 of that same year in Washington, DC. The Civil War was over. But Adelbert had been sick in the hospital since February 28, and while he could possibly have had a month of service in the field, he probably saw no action. His discharge papers say that his eyes were blue, that his hair and complexion were light, and that he was five foot, three and a half inches tall. They don't mention that he was only 15 years old. He was back home in a few weeks.

Years later, he was known around Minneapolis as a Union veteran and a Grand Army man. He sounded reveille at GAR encampments and played the fife in the fife and drum corps at a GAR post. Perhaps he admitted to his short four months of service; perhaps he didn't.

In 1889, Adelbert Gardner was an increasingly prominent political organizer who had switched affiliation from the socialists to the Farmers' Alliance, a significant political party in Minnesota and in the Midwest. By the end of the year, Gardner was the alliance's deputy state lecturer for Minnesota's first congressional district, and he was living in Mower County. There was every sign that a successful political career was in the offing.

It is not clear if Adelbert Gardner was a fiery speaker, a brilliant organizer, a glad-handing schmoozer, or all of these. Whatever his skills and personality, in 1890, a faction of the Farmers' Alliance turned against him. He was accused of several sorts of malfeasance: an insurance scam, attempting to vote without credentials at the state convention, not actually being a farmer. The Farmers' Alliance published a weekly newspaper, *The Great West*, and its editor clearly hated Gardner, calling him a "sneak" and a "deceptive genius." He continued briefly as the district lecturer, then left his job and returned to the Twin Cities.¹³

Though still working in politics, he became a hotel-keeper, running a working-class boardinghouse called the Hotel Gardner on the corner of University and Cleveland Avenues in St. Paul, just by the railroad tracks that still cross that area today. The Gardner family lived there in 1894 and 1895, even through a disastrous kitchen fire. With around-the-clock noise from the rail yards and the manure smell and flies from stockyards just a few hundred yards away, it can't have been pleasant.

The Gardners needed to improve their fortunes. Adelbert Gardner used his connections and his ability to draw a crowd and turned to a new opportunity: the refreshment pavilion business at beautiful Minnehaha Falls.

"Rollicking Fun"

In the summer of 1895, the social scene at Minnehaha went from an indecorous simmer to a licentious, rolling boil. Adelbert Gardner had arrived. Just as happened with his brief and tempestuous career organizing within the Farmers' Alliance, in a very short time he was at the center of a controversy.

The story—told as a long exposé on promiscuity and wild behavior at the dance halls at the falls—made the front page of the *Minneapolis Tribune* on August 6, 1895. Gardner had linked up with a married couple, Louis and Sophia Cass, who lived in their refreshment pavilion, built on a lot on Minnehaha Avenue that they leased from Vinette Lincoln. Gardner built a dance hall right next to their confectionery stand, and they split the proceeds from these businesses.

Gardner turned up the dial on creating a sideshow atmosphere. He hired an organ grinder to wheeze out tired, tinkling music, and maybe there was a monkey to beg peanuts or coins from passersby. Gardner also gave free rein to the racial hatred known at the falls and made memorable by Dutch Henry's minstrel shows. Gardner set up the carnival "game" called the African Dodger. It was simple enough: try to hurt or kill that man to win a cigar. The weapon was a baseball, thrown from enough



In about 1895, behind the three behatted women sitting among the flowers, two pavilions can be seen past the south portico of the Milwaukee depot. To the left is the well-signed Cass confectionery; beyond the pillars of the portico, a man stands in front of the dancing pavilion run by the Gardners.

distance that maybe the man had a chance to not get hit. A Black man (or a white man in blackface) stood behind a piece of canvas that had a hole cut in it, and he put his head through the hole. On the attacker's side, the canvas was painted to look like a slave cabin with an open door and the body of a man standing in the doorway. When the man stuck his head through the hole, he became a live target. If the dodger was fast enough, he could pull his head out of the hole before taking a baseball in the face. But he couldn't control who chose to play. Consider that, at Minnehaha Falls, a professional baseball player (Elmer Foster, son of Andrew Foster, pavilion keeper at 50th and Hiawatha) lived just a block from this setup, and he would have walked past it to reach the train or streetcar tracks. This horrible activity was once common at carnivals.¹⁴

Cass and Gardner acquired a piano, hired some fiddle players and a dance caller, and began advertising dances at the falls. They started with two days a week, but soon were having dances on Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, and Saturday. While Sophia and Louis Cass ran the confectionery side, Adelbert Gardner himself worked the crowd to fill the dance floor with couples, all paying their nickels to dance quadrilles and waltzes. He would walk a man up to a single girl, ask her name, and introduce them. "So matter-of-fact was he that the girls seemed to have no volition except to dance with the men the little fellow brought them," explained the *Tribune*. It was important to fill the dance floor, not just to make money but because quadrilles—a sort of square dance—require a set number of dancers. And women were forbidden to dance together, probably because it was bad for business.

The chief scandal of these dance halls was that unescorted young women went there to consort with Fort Snelling's soldiers and the young men of the city. While newspaper editors had an opinion about how much attention an unescorted woman might want, the women had their own ideas. The streetcars were simply "loaded with women." Some of them were factory girls who lived at home. Dressed in their Gibson Girl shirtwaists and long skirts, and wearing stylish black sailor hats with little veils, these young women were anticipating "rollicking fun" at the falls. And to the annoyance of the "well-bred, self-respecting" ladies who lived in the newly built houses near the park, these women visiting the dance halls were not so constrained by Victorian virtue. The conflict seems too gentle to be real to us today, though the words used to describe each group are still with us: "Strait-laced" or "loose." "Puritanical" or "permissive." "Conservative" or "liberal." Some of the women who frequented the pavilions were prostitutes, "the women who go to the falls on business." But most of them were independent wage

The exposé printed in the *Minneapolis Tribune* on August 6, 1895, paid particular attention to the actions of young women.

The dances . . . begin about dusk, but they are not in full glory until it is about the hour when most people go to bed. On almost any of these nights, all the way from 8 to 10 o'clock, the cars running to Minnehaha are loaded with women. The curious fact is that there seem to be two women to every man, most of the girls going to these dances without an escort. Some of these women act with the greatest of freedom on the cars, so much so that ladies living at the falls are very much annoyed. . . . A week ago a number of civilians, largely men from the Minnehaha Driving Park, decided to drive out the soldiers and have the girls to themselves. There were fully 30 of the civilians and about half as many soldiers. A fight followed and the soldiers retreated in disorder. It is claimed that this has created a fierce feud between the bluecoats and the civilians, which will be fought to a finish when the first opportunity occurs. The soldiers have had peaceable possession of the places; in fact, they were started largely for their benefit, and maintained by their patronage, and every sense of fairness is in favor of the soldiers. The opposition is largely a feeling of jealousy, as the brass buttons are great favorites with the ladies everywhere. . . .

After the quadrille many of the dancers went outside. A number started for the lonely walks around the falls, and others went down the tracks to the other dancing establishment. The railroad track became, in fact, a regular promenade. Couples would form in one pavilion and go out for a walk and soon appear at the other. . . . Soldiers were having a nice time with the girls. They did not seem to care to go into the pavilions as long as they had such company outside. Up and down they walked with their arms around their sweethearts, their caresses returned in full measure.

The question that presented itself most forcefully to the ignorant observer was where all the men and women went during the recesses between the quadrilles. For a few minutes there might be almost no women in sight, then when Pat, or the caller at the Babcock establishment was ready to announce another quadrille, back they would troop from the walks and the railroad track for another whirl.

So the giddy dance kept up until the last car.

earners with their own money to spend. Probably many were looking for a husband as well as a good time. People in higher social classes met their spouses by acquaintanceship and personal introduction; the women at the dance halls put a price on society's vision of their moral integrity: a five-cent dance with men they didn't know.

And so continued the summer of 1895. Early August was as pleasant as it comes, not too hot in the bright dry days and cooling at night, the season past the worst of the mosquitoes as the sun set. People flocked to this new arrangement, dancing at Babcock's or Gardner's pavilion and strolling in couples between the two. Many of those strollers wandered over to see the waterfall, or ducked into quiet dark areas of the park to be alone. In the dark, the chirping of the crickets hailed the approaching autumn. The dance hall patrons took full advantage of what

Babcock, Cass, and Gardner offered: license to do as they pleased. Prostitutes went to the falls to work, soldiers and "factory girls" went to meet and carouse and drink. Young men from the city, jealous of the attention the soldiers got from the young ladies, went to the pavilions to pick fights.

On the other hand, the neighborhood people, on their large lots and in their big houses, wanted the quiet enjoyment of their homes. The streetcar crowds were far too festive and free for those proper ladies. One even considered sending a formal complaint demanding more security to Thomas Lowry and his streetcar company. The *Minneapolis Tribune* complained—as ever—that rowdiness by this undisciplined crowd was ruining the park.

Just eight days after the newspaper story, in the moonless night of August 14, the Cass and Gardner pavilion and dance hall caught fire and burned to the ground.¹⁵ □

Notes

1. *Eighth Park Board Annual, 1890*, 11 (picnic tables); *Minneapolis Journal*, July 19, 1902 ("Pride of Minneapolis"); Linda A. Cameron, "Twin City Rapid Transit Company and Electric Streetcars," MNopedia.org.

2. *Minneapolis Times* (hereafter *MT*), Apr. 5, 1892.

3. Here and below, see *MT*, *St. Paul Globe* (hereafter *SPG*), May 8, 1887 (low fares, planted trees); *SPG*, Apr. 24, 1887 ("other restrictive measures," 50th Street land donation). The restrictive measures were probably not racial covenants, as the Mapping Prejudice project (which has inspected thousands of Minneapolis deeds and mapped those with racial covenants) identifies a 1910 deed as the earliest of that type in Minneapolis; it also shows that properties on the north side of East Minnehaha Parkway and west of 28th Street were almost entirely restricted to white people only (see "What are Covenants" and maps at mappingprejudice.umn.edu). The Lake Amelia Outlots parcel is now included in park board property at Lake Nokomis.

4. *SPG*, Dec. 3, 1890; *MT*, Dec. 22, 1890.

5. The only picture yet found of people at Minnehaha in dissipated postures was used as the artwork on the cover of this book.

6. *SPG*, Apr. 20, 1897 (Reeves at pavilion);

SPG, Oct. 2, 1887 ("fawn-eyed socialist"). The term was used consistently, for more than a decade, to describe Nymanover.

7. Frank G. O'Brien, *Minnesota Pioneer Sketches: From the Personal Recollections and Observations of a Pioneer Resident* (Minneapolis: H. H. S. Rowell, 1904); *Minneapolis Journal*, Sept. 4, 1904 ("a soft mark," "wholly unfit").

8. *MT*, Apr. 28, 1891 (building permit issued); May 15, 1892 ("souvenirs," "lvey's").

9. William and Isabel Poudler had a son, William Fred, who (more or less) lived in his father's home at the pavilion. Poudler sued his wife for divorce on grounds of desertion: see *Minneapolis Journal*, Mar. 7, 1901.

10. *MT*, Aug. 6, 1895.

11. *MT*, Oct. 11, 1892.

12. *SPG*, Dec. 27, 1886.

13. *The Great West*, Aug. 15, 1890 ("sneak"); Apr. 11, 1890 ("deceptive genius").

14. On the African Dodger, see Jim Crow Museum, Ferris State University, Big Rapids, MI, www.ferris.edu/HTMLS/news/jimcrow/question/2012/october.htm. The *Tribune* also refers to "a frame of dolls"; they were likely dolls depicting a Black family, another typical target offered at carnivals at the time.

15. *MT*, *SPG*, Aug. 15, 1895.

Note to Sidebar

i. *Twelfth Park Board Annual, 1894*, 40, notes that "Two deer were added, making a herd of three"; an enclosure "50 feet square" was built for them. The list of animals in the zoo was extensively reported in park board annuals. The *Seventeenth Park Board Annual, 1899*, 42, reported these zoo residents, including "fowls and birds" from Loring Park and Lake of the Isles: 1 moose, 9 elk, 27 deer, 1 antelope, 4 black bear, 1 cinnamon bear, 38 rabbits, 1 alligator, 1 ape, 1 dwarf monkey, 1 gray squirrel, 1 black squirrel, 10 swans, 16 wild geese, 45 ducks, 1 mountain lion, 2 sea lions, 2 timber wolves, 3 red foxes, 1 silver gray fox, 4 raccoons, 2 badgers, 1 wild cat, 5 guinea pigs, 1 eagle, 4 owls, 5 peacocks, 6 guinea hens, 1 blue macaw, 1 red macaw, 2 cockatoos. Wirth began his campaign against the zoo in his first weeks on the job: *MT*, Feb. 6, 1906. On pony rides, see the history written by David C. Smith available on the Minnehaha Regional Park page at www.minneapolisparke.org.

Image on p. 65 from author's collection; p. 66 from C. M. Foote and Co., City of Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Libraries, detail; p. 68 from MNHS collections.

When Minnehaha Flowed with Whiskey: A Spirited History of the Falls by Karen E. Cooper will be available after August 16, 2022, from the Minnesota Historical Society museum shops and online store, as well as from independent bookstores, gift shops, and online booksellers. Check the MNHS website for information on upcoming events with the author (shop.mnhs.org/products/when-minnehaha-flowed-with-whiskey).



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