

MILL RUINS PARK RESEARCH STUDY

Eastern Railway Tracks (1878-1880) and Minneapolis and Saint Louis Railroad Tracks (1878-1879)



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Construction of the Eastern Railway Tracks over the West Side Waterpower Tailrace and Minneapolis and Saint Louis Railroad Tracks over the West Side Waterpower Canal

Minneapolis and Saint Anthony had consolidated into a single city in 1872, resulting in increased prosperity for both entities. Streets on both sides of the river were renamed with numbers instead of names. Minnesota's first railroad had been established in 1862, linking Saint Paul with Saint Anthony, but it did not cross the Mississippi until 1867. Railroads continued to expand throughout the state in the years after the Panic of 1873. A group of mill owners was interested in direct railroad access to enable them to ship their products more efficiently. C.C. Washburn had made a private arrangement with the Minneapolis and Saint Louis Railway, partially owned by his brother William D. Washburn, to extend a railroad line to the Washburn flour mills. To meet the demands of the other mill owners, Joel Bassett incorporated the Minneapolis Eastern Railway Company in 1878 to build a track between the mills and the river. The Minneapolis Eastern was a subsidiary of the Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul Railroad and the Chicago, St. Paul and Minneapolis Railroad, both of which were owned by James J. Hill. In order to build the track, Minneapolis Eastern had to obtain a right of way from the Minneapolis Mill Company. The company at first concurred, then objected because it would damage company property. Minneapolis Eastern prevailed on the city to exercise its powers of eminent domain.



Railroad tracks by the West Side mills in 1890 (Minnesota Historical Society)

Minneapolis Mill then employed another strategy, announcing an agreement with the Minneapolis and Saint Louis Railroad to build a railroad track on an elevated trestle over the canal and to handle freight cars for the two railroads that were sponsoring the Minneapolis Eastern. By the fall of 1878, Bassett and Minneapolis Eastern compromised with Minneapolis Mill, paying \$16,500 and modifying the proposed route to avoid damaging the company's property. Both projects proceeded in 1878-1879 with Minneapolis Eastern laying tracks along the river and the Minneapolis and Saint Louis building the elevated trestle over the western waterpower canal.¹

The *Northwestern Miller* reported: "Large crews are at work on all the mills, and the elevated railroad companies are pushing matters lively. The Minneapolis & St. Louis have their elevated tracks in front of the mills about completed, and the other—the Minneapolis & Eastern—are pushing the work on theirs, and will soon have the cars at the back of the mills."²

The Workers on the Construction of the Tracks and Trestle

Numbers, Ethnicity, Wages

The numbers and types of workers employed on both railroad track projects are less clear than on the earlier waterpower canal projects. The Minneapolis Mill Company recorded a series of payments to various contractors between November 1878 and March 1879 for the construction of the trestle above the canal. While different skills were needed to construct railroad tracks and the trestle than to dig the canals, laborers remained an integral part of the process.

An examination of the names of contractors suggests that they continued to be of Old Stock American and Irish origin, joined by a few Scandinavians. Among the names were A. H. Bode, S. S. Brown and Company, Charles Coffin, S.C. Cutter, L. Day and Sons, A. Johnson, J. E. Lockwood, George McMullen, Andrew Soberg, and W. R. Terrill.³ No records exist of whom

¹ Lucile M. Kane, *The Falls of St. Anthony: The Waterfall That Built Minneapolis* (Saint Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 1966; reprint 1987), 90-91, provides a good synopsis of this project.

² *Northwestern Miller* 6 (December 6, 1878): 406. The Minneapolis Mill Company did not hire work crews directly. Instead the work was contracted out, so the identities of specific workers are unknown.

³ These names were taken from Northern States Power Company, Accounting Records of Predecessor Companies, Minneapolis Mill Company Journal July 8, 1872-August 31, 1880, 142.G5.4F-1, Box 3, Manuscript Collections, Minnesota Historical Society. We were able to glean a bit of information about these contractors. According to George E. Warner and Charles M. Foote, eds., *History of Hennepin County* (Minneapolis: North Star Publishing Co., 1881), A.H. Bode was born in Germany in 1838, but immigrated to Wisconsin in 1848. In 1855 he began working for a railroad and after several years he settled in Minneapolis. For a time during the 1870s he worked for a construction company, but by 1873 he was working for the Minneapolis and Saint Louis Railway. Notes the mill company journal indicate \$1500 payment to Bode was for labor and materials furnished for the elevated railroad. *Minnesota Biographies 1655-1912* (Saint Paul: Minnesota Historical Society, 1912) tells us that lumberman Seba Smith Brown, was born in 1841 in Maine, and came to Minneapolis in 1863. The same source indicates that Sumner C. Cutter was born in Maine in 1832. He came to Minneapolis in 1856 and was involved in building mills. John E. Lockwood, born in New York in 1832, was an ironworker who owned his own machine shop on the west side of the river, according to Penny A. Petersen, *Hiding in Plain Sight*. (Minneapolis: Marcy-Holmes Neighborhood Association/NRP, 1999). The *Minneapolis City Directory for 1880-81* (Minneapolis: C. Wright Davison, 1880) lists an A. T. Soberg as a laborer working for the C. M. and St. Paul railway. The same directory lists George McMullen

contractors hired; however, immigrants were likely to be a significant portion of the unskilled workforce. Census records indicate that laborers in Minneapolis tended to be of Canadian, Irish, Norwegian, and Swedish origin. The children of Irish immigrants continued to join the laborers' ranks.⁴

A typical laborer's wage was about \$4.00 a day. Skilled workers commanded higher wages. At the railroad site, these would be the surveyors, teamsters, and workers who assembled the trestle. The typical workday was 10 hours per day, 6 days per week, but not all workers worked 6 days.⁵

Cost of living

With the growth of the city and improved transportation access, the residents of Minneapolis had many more choices for the necessities of life. While it is easier to find specific prices for this era, it is hard to know if the examples give a full range of prices, for example, for a man's suit. Day laborers might have purchased their clothing at the stores that advertised in the local papers and clearly stated their prices, or they might have traded at stores with no advertising budget, but lower prices.⁶

Workers were paid directly. Coins, ranging from pennies to denominations of one to five dollars, would have been preferred. Paper money would have been in the form of bank notes, issued by local banks.

Workers' Housing and Transportation

Horsecar lines had been introduced to Minneapolis beginning in 1875. This form of public transportation allowed residents to live beyond walking distance of their workplaces. However,

as a contractor who lived just a little beyond downtown Minneapolis. L. Day and Sons were probably part of the Leonard Day family. Leonard Day, a native of Maine arrived in Minneapolis in 1851 and he and his sons owned extensive lumbering interests well into the twentieth century, according to Horace B. Hudson, ed., *A Half Century of Minneapolis* (Minneapolis: Hudson Publishing Co., 1908).

⁴ Although it is a somewhat earlier time frame and a different project, we might draw some conclusions about who the workers were and where they lived by examining the Minneapolis Mill Company records for the First Street Tunnel that was constructed in 1871. See Appendix.

⁵ To get an idea of what that present-day equivalents are of 1878-1880 dollars we consulted the Columbia Journalism Review Dollar Conversion Calculator at www.cjr.org. Using the Columbia Journalism Review Conversion Calculator, an 1878-1879 dollar is \$17.86 in 2002 dollars; an 1880 dollar is \$17.54. The typical laborer earning \$4 per day, or \$71.44 in 2002 dollars, would have wages above the current minimum wage. The Panic of 1873 had caused a national financial crisis. Many historians believe this was touched off by unregulated growth, especially the overbuilding of the nation's railroad system. Credit dried up, foreclosures were common, banks failed. Factories closed their doors, and thousands were thrown out of work. Recovery did not begin until 1878.

⁶ The New York One Price Clothing Hall advertised boys' all wool suits for \$6, men's sack coats at \$4, men's black and blue all wool Beaver suits at \$13, and men's gray Ulsters [a long overcoat] at \$4, *Minneapolis Journal*, December 5, 1878. The Great Bankrupt Shoe Store offered men's calf boots at \$2.50, dress shoes at \$1.50, and boys' boots at \$1, *Minneapolis Journal*, December 6, 1878. In 1878, a subscription to the *Minneapolis Journal* was 50 cents per month, but by February 1879, it had dropped to 30 cents per month or 2 cents per issue. A *Minneapolis Tribune*, April 25, 1879, ad offered notepaper at 12 ½ cents, envelopes at 25 cents per box, and pocket notebooks at 50 cents each. The *Minneapolis Tribune*, May 1, 1879, advertised cigars for 10 cents and "a polo, everyone's favorite" at three for a dollar.

the one-way fare of a nickel, was beyond the budget of many laborers.⁷ The majority of laborers continued to live close to the work site, on both sides of the river, but within walking distance, many of them in boarding houses. The number of boarding houses had increased along with the population. In the boarding house, the worker would pay for the cost of a room, probably still shared with others during this period, and meals, usually by the week. An advertisement in the *Minneapolis Tribune* sought male boarders for a boarding house at 709 South Third Street at \$3-\$3.50 per week.⁸ The better paid worker would also have had the option of living in a hotel, where he might eat most of his meals. The number of restaurants had also increased, but the number of saloons, particularly in the area around Bridge Square and along Washington Avenue, had increased dramatically. There were a couple of riverbank communities around the central riverfront such as Bohemian Flats below the Washington Avenue Bridge and Southeast Flats near the present-day Southeast Steam Plant. In these communities, which were certainly close to work, a worker might be able to rent a small house cheaply.⁹ This would contrast with advertised prices in the *Minneapolis Tribune*. A large two-story house at 1418 Spruce Street was advertised at \$1,900, while a house near Adams School was priced at \$1,500.¹⁰

Marital status and ages

Based on an examination of census records during this period, it can be determined that at least two-thirds of the male workers in Minneapolis were single and white and in their 20s and 30s. There is no reliable way to determine which laborers listed in the 1880 census worked on Minneapolis Mill Company projects at any particular time. Census takers asked what people did for a living, not where they worked. A common laborer might work steadily for one employer, or he might work for several employers over the course of a year. Because the mill company relied on contractors to hire workers during the 1878-1880 period, we know very little about the individual workers. Unskilled laborers tended to be young as the work was physically demanding. They were often unmarried because their low wages could not support a family. However, many of the Irish-born workers listed in the census had been here longer as immigrants, so were married and had children.¹¹

⁷ Goodrich Lowry, *Street Car Man: Tom Lowry and the Twin City Rapid Transit Company* (Minneapolis: Lerner Publications Company, 1979), 47. When Hennepin County purchased the first Hennepin Avenue Bridge in 1869, the tolls were dropped. The first bridge was replaced by a new suspension bridge in 1876, also toll free.

⁸ *Minneapolis Tribune*, February 5, 1879.

⁹ Larry Millett, *Lost Twin Cities* (Saint Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 1992), 82-83. For further reading on the riverbank communities see: *The Bohemian Flats*, compiled by the workers of the Writers' Program of the Work Projects Administration in the State of Minnesota (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1941).

¹⁰ *Minneapolis Tribune*, April 25, 1879.

¹¹ Census records are for Minneapolis as a whole. Unskilled laborers, carpenters, and masons often tended to cluster in certain areas. The 1880 federal census for Minneapolis lists many European immigrants, and many of the males give their occupation as laborer. The Herman Westphal household, enumerated in the 1880 census (Enumeration District 234, page 31, Minneapolis) is an example of the kind of living arrangements immigrant workers of that time might have. Herman, 30, was born in Prussia and worked as an ice dealer. His wife, age 24, was born in Minnesota, but her parents had been born in Prussia. Mrs. Westphal's occupation was "keeping house." The Westphals had two young children, five male boarders, and two female servants. Two of the boarders, ages 26 and 45, were teamsters, the other three who were 23, 25, and 29, were listed as laborers. One boarder was born in Scotland, while the others were born in Prussia or Germany. Both servants were 17; one was born in Indiana of German parents, and the other in Prussia.

The wives listed in census records were often described as “at home” or “keeping house.” But they might take in laundry or run a boarding house. Most single women of this period, unless sufficiently educated to work as a teacher, might be working in a boarding house, saloon, or restaurant, or living with a family as a domestic servant.

Work conditions

Work conditions and equipment remained similar to the earlier periods. Unskilled laborers performed the vast majority of the work, using such rudimentary machinery as wedges, pulleys, levers, picks, shovels, and hammers or mallets for pounding railroad ties. Carpenters might have used more specialized tools to erect the trestle. Horses and other work animals were used to pull heavy loads. Contractors supervised the work crews. As might be imagined, this work was dirty and often dangerous. Without present-day safety glasses, hard hats, or other safety equipment, workers could be injured by falling debris or accidents with their tools. Without antibiotics, even a small wound could become infected and lead to permanent injury or death.¹² The dangerous nature of working at Saint Anthony Falls was underscored, when the Washburn A Mill exploded on May 2, 1878, killing eighteen people and destroying five other mills as well.¹³

On-site amenities were probably still rather rudimentary, even though the city’s first sewerage system had been extended into this part of the city in the early 1870s.

Neighborhood Conditions

In 1875, about half of the population (32,271) of Minneapolis lived within one mile of the center of the city. By 1880 the population had grown to 46,887 and was spreading outward, aided by improved transportation.¹⁴

Bridge Square was still the center of government, business, and commerce on the west side of the river with shops extending along Hennepin, Nicollet, and Washington Avenues. The first City Hall was built at Bridge Square in 1873. This four-story, wedged-shaped, French Second Empire style building would have been clearly visible to canal workers going to and from work and probably many of them lived within sight of it.¹⁵ The City Market House, located at Hennepin and First Street, where local farmers could sell their produce, had opened in 1876. Fish, game, and meat would also have been sold here.¹⁶ The first Hennepin Avenue suspension bridge, built in 1855, was replaced with a higher, wider, stone bridge in 1876, making river crossings less of an adventure. Unlike its predecessor, this bridge had no tolls. Downstream, the

¹² Penicillin, the first important antibiotic, was not discovered until 1928.

¹³ William A. Huntzicker, “How Newspapers Reported a Milling Disaster 125 Years Ago,” *Hennepin History* 62 (Spring 2003): 18-32.

¹⁴ Calvin F. Schmid, *Social Saga of Two Cities: An Ecological and Statistical Study of Social Trends in Minneapolis and St. Paul* (Minneapolis: Minneapolis Council of Social Agencies, Bureau of Social Research, 1937), 56.

¹⁵ Millett, 90-91.

¹⁶ Millett, 57-58.

Tenth Avenue Bridge had been built in 1874, relieving some of the congestion on the Hennepin Avenue Bridge.



City Hall on Bridge Square (Minnesota Historical Society)

Meanwhile on the east bank of the river, the town of Saint Anthony had become part of Minneapolis when its residents had voted to join forces with its younger, but larger neighbor in 1872. The old town became known as “East Minneapolis,” with the street names acquiring either a Northeast (NE) or Southeast (SE) suffix. Those streets and avenues upstream of present-day East Hennepin became Northeast, while those downstream became Southeast. The two designations remain in effect to this day. Main Street, originally the town’s premier shopping and business address, became more of an industrial location. The elegant Winslow House Hotel, built in 1857 for wealthy Southerners who summered in Minnesota to escape the heat and malaria of their homes, was put out of business by the Civil War. After the Civil War, this hotel was used as a hospital and a college, but in 1886 it was razed to make way for the Exposition Building. Many of the Main Street commercial buildings built during the boom years of the 1850s, such as the Upton Block and the Martin-Morrison Block were converted to industrial uses. Businesses, such as clothing stores, furniture stores, and restaurants moved from Main Street onto present-day East Hennepin. The trend to the industrial continued into the 1880s when the mammoth Pillsbury A Mill was built at Third and Main Street SE in 1881.¹⁷

Minneapolis had begun a rudimentary municipal water system in 1867, and the first water main was laid from a pump at the falls to Washington Avenue at Sixth Avenue South. Unfortunately, the pipes were laid too shallow and they all froze and burst during their first winter. Minneapolis

¹⁷ Petersen, 50-55, 81-82.

historian Marion Shutter dates the real foundation of the Minneapolis water system to 1881 when the first Board of Water Commissioners was formed.¹⁸

Although the city had installed its first sewer on Washington Avenue in 1871 (which drained into the river), many houses still had backyard privies.¹⁹ Backyard privies served buildings and houses. (A privy was similar to an outhouse, but was a more permanent structure. The pit was lined with wood or brick and cleaned out periodically.) A 1994 archaeological study in the vicinity of North First Street (now the site of the Federal Reserve Bank building) reveals that the inhabitants used the privies for their designated purpose as well as the disposal of all manner of other debris such as broken crockery, kitchen waste, discarded clothing or toys. This study found evidence of several intestinal parasites such as tapeworm and roundworm, noting that such infestations were common in the nineteenth century. “The effects of intestinal parasites range from the moderate loss of blood and nutrients to disability and even death. Because they are extremely wide-spread, it is estimated that these creatures have caused greater damage to humans than more dramatic bacterial and viral diseases.”²⁰ The lack of a formal sewer system that kept wastewater away from the drinking water supply facilitated the spread of these parasites. A house in Bohemian Flats or Southeast Flats would have been subject to periodic flooding, and access to fresh, uncontaminated water would be a constant problem as the backyard privies would seep into the ground water. A worker living in a river flat house would have been at even greater risk of typhoid and parasites.

Still, the 1870s saw improvements to the material lives of Minneapolis inhabitants. Historian Shutter observed that when the Minneapolis Gas Light Company was organized in 1870, only a few miles of wooden gas mains carried gas to a limited number of homes and businesses. Gas was so expensive at \$6 per 1,000 cubic feet that only the wealthy could afford it, and it was not generally used until 1879. A new process perfected by Alonzo Rand, who took over the company in 1877, dramatically lowered the price of gas to \$2.50 per 1,000 cubic feet in 1882 and \$1.30 in 1895, making it available to many.²¹ By 1880 twenty-five miles of gas mains had been laid in city streets. More skilled workers, who could afford their own homes, and those living in boarding houses probably enjoyed indoor gas lighting. Electric lighting was on the horizon.

Churches and Schools

The number of churches had continued to increase following the path of residential development. In 1871, eighteen Swedes, who had been members of the First Baptist Church of Minneapolis,

¹⁸ Marion Daniel Shutter, *History of Minneapolis, Gateway to the Northwest* (Chicago, Minneapolis: S.J. Clarke Publishing Company, 1923), 158-159.

¹⁹ W. W. Folwell, “Minneapolis in 1890,” *New England Magazine* 3 (September 1890): 107, notes that sewage was still being emptied near the lower levee of the river.

²⁰ John P. McCarthy and Jeanne A. Ward, “Archaeological Investigations at the Bridgehead Site, Minneapolis, Minnesota, The 1994 Season, vol. 2, Site Area B: Residential and Commercial Occupations in the Vicinity of 1st Street North: Working Life in an Emerging Industrial District,” 54-55, prepared by the Institute for Minnesota Archaeology, October 1996. This study also cited the presence of tapeworm eggs, noting that, “This is the first discovery of these parasites from an archaeological context in North America.” Tapeworms are believed to have been brought to North America by Scandinavian immigrants.

²¹ Shutter, 1:160-163.

withdrew to form First Swedish Baptist Church. By 1872, they built a wood frame church at Sixth Street and Twelfth Avenue South.²² In 1875, the Benedictine Order established the parish of St. Joseph for German Catholics. By 1889, this parish built a large church at Fourth Street and Twelfth Avenue North. In 1878, the Dominican Fathers established the Church of the Holy Rosary. At first located Fifth Street and Twentieth Avenue South, this parish built a large church that still stands at Twenty-fourth Street and Eighteenth Avenue South.²³ First Presbyterian Church of Minneapolis, which was founded in 1853, held its services in a hall over a Bridge Square store. They later built a small church at the corner of Fifth Street and Sixth Avenue South. By 1873, a new church was built on Park Avenue.²⁴

On the east side of the river, one of the earliest church buildings, that of the First Universalist Society of Saint Anthony was purchased by a group of French Catholics in 1877 who renamed it Our Lady of Lourdes and proceeded to make so many external changes to the structure that its original Greek Revival appearance is almost impossible to detect today. This church still stands at 1 Lourdes Place. This group of French Catholics had originally been part of the Saint Anthony of Padua parish in Northeast Minneapolis. However, as more Irish and German immigrants poured into that neighborhood, the French-speakers found themselves outnumbered and decided to form a church of their own. This French-speaking congregation was a remnant of the old French-Canadian-Metis community that dated back to the area's fur trading era. After selling their building to the Catholics, the Saint Anthony Universalist congregation, whose members were mainly New Englanders associated with the lumber business, met in private homes for a time and finally built another church in 1884.²⁵

First Baptist Church of Saint Anthony, built a larger church in 1870 to accommodate its growing congregation, replacing its very tiny first building at Fourth Avenue and Second Street SE. A year later, the Baptists moved their church building to the corner of Fourth Avenue and Fifth Street SE. By 1884, the congregation had outgrown this building and built an even larger structure at Fifth Street and Ninth Avenue SE. The Methodist congregation in Southeast Minneapolis built a bigger building in 1872, on University, near Second Avenue SE, to replace their first church built in 1852.²⁶

Union School, built in 1857 on the site of the present-day City Hall, burned down in 1865. It was replaced by Washington School, built on the same site in 1867. The high school originally held classes in Washington School, but the population had grown sufficiently to demand a separate facility. The Central High School was built in 1878 at Fourth Avenue South and Eleventh Street. Several other grade schools were built to accommodate the city's growing population. In 1868, Lincoln School was erected on Washington Avenue North between Sixth and Seventh Avenues. In 1872, Madison School was built at the corner of Fifth Avenue South and Fifteenth Street.

²² Shutter, 1:576.

²³ Shutter, 1:583.

²⁴ Shutter, 1:606.

²⁵ Petersen, 30-32, 48-49. Metis meaning "mixed" refers to persons of mixed American Indian and European ancestry.

²⁶ Petersen, 34-37.

Jefferson School was built at Hennepin Avenue and Tenth Street North in 1873. The following year, Adams School was built on Sixteenth Avenue South between Nineteenth and Franklin.²⁷

East side residents still had their own separate school board until 1878, even though Minneapolis and Saint Anthony had merged in 1872. In 1865, the school board had acquired the land for the school that would be known as Winthrop School. Located on the present-day site of the Eastgate shopping center at Central and University Avenues SE, this school was completed in 1867 and served grades one through eleven. Winthrop School would be replaced by East High School in 1900. The Fourth Ward School, later renamed William L. Marcy School, was first opened in 1872 and located on Ninth Avenue between Fourth and Fifth Streets SE. This school offered grades one through eight. Marcy School would remain in this location until 1908.²⁸ Humboldt, another elementary school, was built on Main Street NE, between Thirteenth and Fourteenth Avenues NE. The University of Minnesota was relocated from its one building on present-day Chute Square to the present campus in 1854. This institution was dormant during the 1850s-60s due to lack of funds and students. By 1873, it graduated its first class, consisting of two students. Historian James Gray claimed that during the 1870s, University students ranged in age from thirteen to their mid-twenties and the classes they attended went from elementary to college level.²⁹ Possibly some of the canal worker's children attended these classes, depending on where they lived.



Pupils at Marcy School (Minnesota Historical Society)

²⁷ “The Minneapolis Public Schools 1851-2000, A History of Past and Present Schools and Sites.” Poster in the Minneapolis Public Library, Special Collections.

²⁸ Petersen, 25-26.

²⁹ Petersen, 84.

Recreational activities

Sports like horse racing and baseball would have remained popular with workers.

Woodman's Hall, Harrison's Hall, and the Pence Opera House remained popular locations for lectures and concerts. These buildings had been joined by the Academy of Music, built in 1870-1871. In 1879 the Academy of Music offered matinees for 25 cents and evening performances for 35 and 50 cents while reserved seating was 75 cents. Events at these venues would have been attended by both men and women.³⁰

The Minnesota State Fair had been established in the 1860s, primarily for the exhibition of agricultural products, but without a permanent location. After the Civil War, the business interests in Minneapolis and Saint Paul began pressing for the display of industrial products. The two cities vied for a permanent fair location. Beginning in 1871 the Hennepin County Agricultural Society, under the leadership of William S. King, held a competing fair, which featured horseracing as one of its most prominent attractions. The present permanent Minnesota State Fair location was finally established in 1885.³¹

Many recreational opportunities for women would have centered around their churches. Women, especially those of the middle class, would have been strongly discouraged from going into saloons or billiard halls, for example, while middle-class men would be quite welcome in these places. Church going was a respectable outlet for female socializing, allowing contact with friends and neighbors. Church activities would have also allowed immigrant women a chance to mingle with others who spoke their language and shared a common cultural background. Church activities were also generally free or low-cost and thus attractive to women, who usually made less money than men.

Boarding houses and the family home would still have provided social activities in the evenings, including reading, singing, and games for men and women. Workers who could read had several newspaper choices. Although many of the pioneer newspapers had gone out of business by the 1870s, others sprang up to take their place. The *Minneapolis Tribune* began operation in 1867, an outgrowth of the *State Atlas* and *Minneapolis Chronicle*. The *Tribune*, which came out in the morning soon had a competitor. The *Minneapolis Journal*, an afternoon paper was established in 1878.

There were also several foreign language newspapers available to Minneapolis residents. Among them was the *Freie Presse Herold*, founded in 1869, which served the German-speaking populace. A Norwegian paper, the *Nordisk Folkeblad*, originally established in Rochester, Minnesota, relocated to Minneapolis after the Civil War. The *Folkets Avis*, a Danish weekly, was founded in 1875.³² These foreign language newspapers reflected the growing diversity of Minneapolis' population. When the two towns of Saint Anthony and Minneapolis were founded

³⁰ *Minneapolis Tribune*, April 25, 1879.

³¹ Karal Ann Marling, *Blue Ribbon: A Social and Pictorial History of the Minnesota State Fair* (Saint Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 1990), 27-38.

³² Shutter, 1:441-444. These newspapers would have been available by subscription or by purchase of single copies.

in the late 1840s and 1850s, most of the inhabitants were either French-Canadian-Metis or New Englanders drawn to the lumber industry that grew up around Saint Anthony Falls. After the Civil War, the towns saw an influx of European immigrants who carried with them their own language and customs.

APPENDIX

THE MINNEAPOLIS MILL COMPANY AND THE FIRST STREET TUNNEL

Twenty workers were listed on a handwritten Minneapolis Mill Company ledger dated December 2, 1871. Many of the names, such as Patrick McHale, Patrick Conley or Conboy, Patrick Flannagan, and Michael Haggarty, suggest Irish ancestry, but others like A. Johnson, T. Thompson, and Frank Rosenquist could be Scandinavian or English. Some, like “Laborer,” “Alfred _____,” and “Quarry man,” are complete mysteries.

Five of the ledger names correspond to similar names found in the 1870 federal census for Minneapolis. Edward Kent was a 40-year-old stonemason who was born in Ireland, as was his 35-year-old wife. Their only child, Abby, age 8, was born in Minnesota. Michael Haggerty (the name on the ledger is spelled Haggerty) was an Irish-born, 40-year-old stonemason with a 35-year-old Irish-born wife. Their three daughters were born in Minnesota. John Moore, 24, was born in Ireland, and shared a household with his 60-year-old mother and 17-year-old wife who was born in New Jersey. Patrick Morrow, 47, was an Irish-born stonemason. His wife Mary, 43, was born in Ireland. Their oldest four children were born in Canada, while, James, age three was born in Wisconsin. This suggests the family had moved at least twice since their arrival in North America. The Patrick Flanagan (it was spelled Flannagan on the ledger) family shows a similar pattern. Patrick, a 28-year-old laborer was born in Ireland, his wife was born in Scotland, their oldest child in New York, the second child in Minnesota, and the youngest in what was written as “NW.” The fact that these workers seemed to move frequently is one reason that we have difficulty finding out who they were.

Some of the twenty names listed in the company ledger seem to match names in the 1873-74 Minneapolis city directory. A Patrick Bluit (spelled Blutte on ledger) was listed at “Bluff Street, cor 19th Ave. S.” or what is now known as Bohemian Flats. Patrick McHale lived on Washington Avenue South between Thirteenth and Fourteenth Avenues. Michael Haggerty, a mason, lived on Fourth Street, between Twelfth and Thirteenth Avenues South. There is a Rosenquist with no given name listed at Thirteenth Avenue South between Fifth and Sixth Streets. Possibly this is the same as the Frank Rosenquist in the company ledger. Jerry Shay, a mason, lived on “Main and D Sts.” D Street is now known as Pleasant Street SE, suggesting that Shay lived on the present-day east bank campus of the University of Minnesota, although Main Street never extended that far downstream. A Patrick Connoboy, laborer, lived at 4th St and corner of 19th Avenue South, or what is now the Carlson School of Management on the West Bank Campus of the University. John Moore, a stonecutter, lived “on the riverbank south of Nicollet Ave.” suggesting that he lived more or less on his work site. Possibly this address refers to Bohemian Flats, which was on the riverbank, *many* blocks south of Nicollet Avenue. Another group of masons and laborers were clustered in North Minneapolis along the riverbank. Edwin (it is Edward in the ledger) Kent lived on Fourth Avenue North between First and River Street. Patrick Morrow lived on River Street between Fourth and Fifth Avenues North. T. Thompson lived on First Street, between Third and Fourth Avenues North. River Street as the name

suggests, ran along the riverbank. It no longer exists. All of these people lived within walking distance of the First Avenue Tunnel work site.

This set of Minneapolis Mill Company ledgers is located at Hennepin History Museum, Box B113.2.

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