



Historic Context of the Riverview Modern Streetcar Corridor in Saint Paul, 1850-1980



Prepared for Ramsey County Regional Railroad Authority

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RESEARCH DESIGN

Project Description

Ramsey County Regional Railroad Authority (RCRRA) is planning to study the development of a modern streetcar transportation system for the Riverview Corridor from Union Depot in Downtown St. Paul to Minneapolis/St. Paul Airport (MSP) and the Mall of America. Initial studies identified a Locally Preferred Alternative (LPA) that will be examined in an upcoming Environmental Impact Statement (EIS). As identified in the LPA dated February 2018, the project will use the Green Line light rail transit (LRT) trains from Union Depot to the Central Station at Cedar Street. Streetcar tracks would begin at Cedar Street and continue west along Fifth and Sixth Streets to Kellogg Boulevard. At Kellogg Boulevard, the tracks would follow West Seventh Street with an alternative loop along Smith Avenue from Kellogg to Grand Avenue and then returning to West Seventh. The streetcar line continues along West Seventh until the Mississippi River, and crosses the river near the Trunk Highway 5 Bridge (crossing concept to be determined). On the west bank of the river, the alignment would connect passengers with the existing Blue Line LRT to complete the journey to MSP and

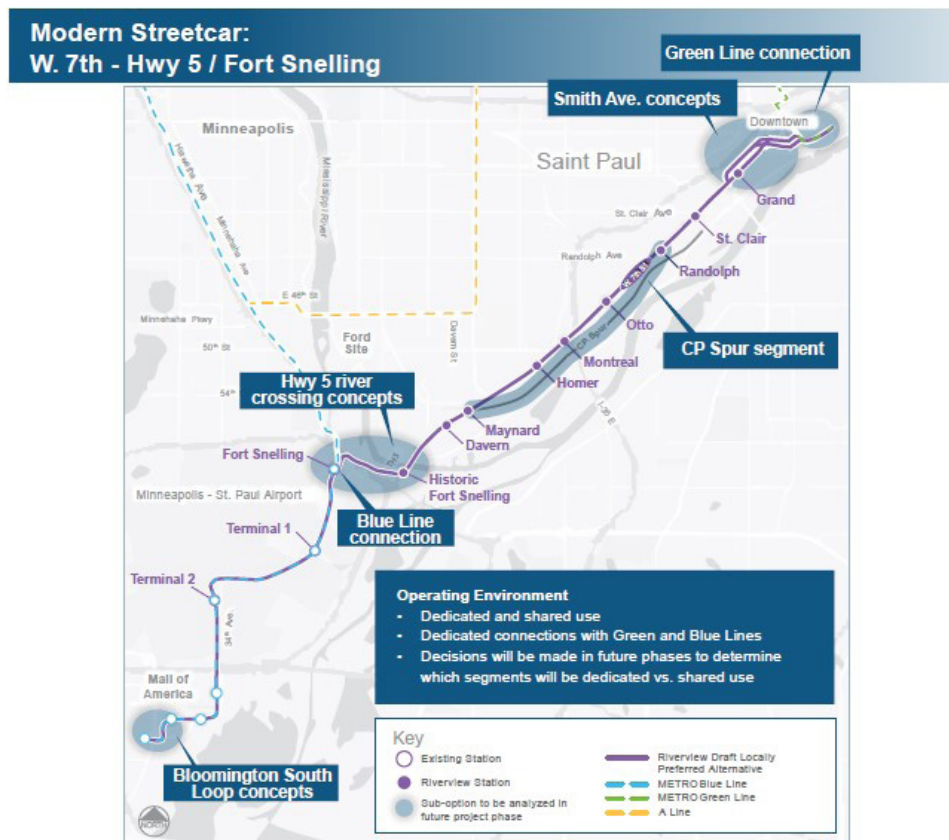


Figure 1: Riverview Locally Preferred Alternative (RCRRA, February 2018, Exhibit 9)

the Mall of America. In between the connections to the Green Line at Cedar Street in Downtown St Paul and to the Blue Line west of Historic Fort Snelling, the LPA envisions stations at Grand, St. Clair, Randolph, Otto, Montreal, Homer, Maynard, and Davern Streets, and at Historic Fort Snelling.

In 2019, RCRRRA contracted with the Minnesota Department of Transportation (MnDOT) Cultural Resources Unit (CRU) to provide technical guidance and assistance to Ramsey County in planning for evaluation of historic properties in the upcoming modern streetcar environmental documentation.

Project Tasks

1. Conduct research on previously surveyed properties within the study area;
2. Perform a preliminary (“windshield”) survey of standing structures within the proposed Riverview Corridor within Ramsey County (downtown St. Paul to the Mississippi River);
3. Conduct an archaeology literature search of the proposed Riverview Corridor in Ramsey County;
4. Prepare an historic context including anticipated property types for the proposed Riverview Corridor in Ramsey County.

Project Objectives

This project is intended to assist in streamlining Section 106 survey and evaluation of properties within the Riverview Corridor, which will be undertaken when an official environmental process begins. No Area of Potential Effects (APE) has been identified, nor are survey inventory forms, detailed fieldwork, evaluation of eligibility, or determination of effects undertaken as part of this context study. Although conducted in accordance with the Secretary of the Interior’s Standards for Archaeology and Historic Preservation and prepared by staff who meet the Secretary of Interior’s Professional Qualification Standards, the purpose of this project is to provide strong historic contexts that underlie future survey work. In addition, the context will assist in scoping the level of effort for survey work undertaken as part of Section 106 in the project environmental work.

Section 106 of the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, as amended (Section 306108) requires Federal agencies or agencies that receive Federal licenses, permits, approvals, or funding (such as RCRRRA) to take into account the effects of their transportation projects on historic properties. This work for RCRRRA will identify known archaeology and architecture/history properties and prepare a historic context to assist with the future identification and evaluation of properties within the Riverview Corridor. Historic properties are buildings, structures, sites, objects, or historic districts that are listed on, or eligible for, the National Register of Historic Places (NRHP).

An historic context provides an analytical framework for identifying and evaluating properties. The historic context should include geographic, temporal and thematic parameters that most affected the physical and cultural development of an area. Contexts may be developed at local, state or national levels. Contexts are not simply a recitation of all historical facts, but instead focus on those aspects of the past that help to explain the current environment. The context provides the framework to determine whether a property represents a significant example of a particular time, architectural style, or other thematic aspect of significance.

An essential aspect of context development is the identification of associated property types that are expected to be found within the context area and their locational patterns. In addition, the context must provide enough information about the properties to guide future surveyors in evaluating the prevalence and level of integrity needed for a property to be considered for National Register eligibility. The property types provide the connection between the thematic, temporal and geographic parameters of a context and the relationship to National Register criteria.

Historic contexts will relate to one of the following National Register Criteria:

Criterion A: an event, a series of event or activities, or patterns of an area's development;

Criterion B: Association with the life of an important person;

Criterion C: A building form, architectural style, engineering technique, or artistic values, based on a stage of physical development, or the use of a material or method of construction that shaped the historic identify of an area;

Criterion D: A research topic.

National Register Bulletin 15, *How To Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation*, describes how to evaluate a property within its historic context. The Bulletin states that five things must be determined:

- The facet of prehistory or history of the local area, State, or the nation that the property represents;
- Whether that facet of prehistory or history is significant;
- Whether it is a type of property that has relevance and importance in illustrating the historic context;
- How the property illustrates that history; and finally

- Whether the property possesses the physical features necessary to convey the aspect of prehistory or history with which it is associated.

Most of the context themes in this document will fall under Criterion A for their association with events, activities, or patterns of an area's development. Residential, commercial and industrial development may also be associated with Criterion C, related to building forms, architectural style or engineering techniques.

At the context stage, it is more difficult to identify association with important persons under Criterion B because the level of detailed research needed is typically not carried out until individual buildings are re-searched. In addition, this context included both Downtown and the West Seventh neighborhoods, which necessarily implies a different scale of community status or business investment or simply information available about a particular individual. For example, important leaders such as James J. Hill or James Burbank are known for their businesses, downtown building blocks, and important economic investments and their achievements have been well recorded.

The West Seventh community also had important community leaders that may not have achieved the status of James J. Hill, but may still be significant for other aspects that have not been evaluated. While a number of individuals have been mentioned throughout the context, further research is needed to determine the extent of their contribution and whether extant dwellings, businesses, or other sites can represent their contributions.

Criterion D is frequently associated with archaeology and the information that can be learned from pre-contact and historic archaeology. This context has identified many properties and land uses that are no longer extant as a means to better understand the built environment, and to better inform further archaeology studies as this project proceeds.

The objective of the context study for the Riverview Corridor within Ramsey County is to streamline further inventory and survey work by identifying past studies, known historic properties, and the critical historic themes that describe the development of the area. Historic contexts support the evaluation of significance and integrity of historic properties. By identifying anticipated historic property types, the context will also inform the next stages of historic field survey that will be undertaken in project planning as required by state and federal law.

It is anticipated that this historic context of the Riverview Corridor will evolve as survey work is undertaken. Unanticipated property types may be encountered, and new information may change assumptions or provide new insights into properties and their significance. While this context has been prepared as a framework for future survey work, it is recognized that not all historic or architecturally significant properties, or potentially significant individuals or sites have been identified or discussed. The context should be augmented with information that is uncovered in future survey and evaluation.

Context Work Tasks

Task 1: Literature Search of Previously Inventoried Properties

The portion of the Riverview Corridor within Ramsey County has been included in many surveys and Section 106 studies over the past 50 years that identified historic properties and resulted in many NRHP listed and eligible properties and local Heritage Preservation Commission (HPC) designations. Major studies are described in the Literature Search in order to inform development of the historic context, and are intended as a baseline of information for later detailed field survey of the Riverview Corridor.

Research will be conducted at the Minnesota State Historic Preservation Office (SHPO) and the St. Paul Heritage Preservation Commission to identify previously surveyed properties, surveys conducted within both Downtown St. Paul and along West Seventh Street, and existing statewide and City of St. Paul historic contexts.

Task 2: Context Research and Development of Preliminary Themes

In addition to contextual information from previous surveys at SHPO and the St. Paul HPC, further research will be conducted at the Minnesota Historical Society, Ramsey County Historical Society, the University of Minnesota/Borchert Map Library, and other local libraries and repositories as needed for both historic and architectural research materials. Maps, including Sanborn and other historic maps, will be used in describing the physical changes and development of the built environment in the Riverview Corridor. Government data sources, including Ramsey County assessor's and parcel data, will be used for information on subdivision development and construction dates as needed.

Task 3: Preparation of Draft Context

A draft context document including the historic context themes with illustrations and graphics will be prepared for internal review prior to submittal to the RCRRA.

Context Methods and Parameters

All work for this project will be conducted by MnDOT CRU staff meeting the *Secretary of the Interior's Professional Qualification Standards* for completing architecture/history investigations. The historic context will be prepared in accordance with the *Secretary of Interior's Standards for Archaeology and Historic Preservation* (NPS 1983), the Minnesota State Historic Preservation Office's (SHPO) *Historic and Architectural Survey Manual* (2017), and the *MnDOT Cultural Resources Unit Project and Report Requirements* (2017). The context will be informed by Barbara Wyatt's National Register white paper, "The Components of a Historic Context," and other National Register bulletins and guidance where appropriate.

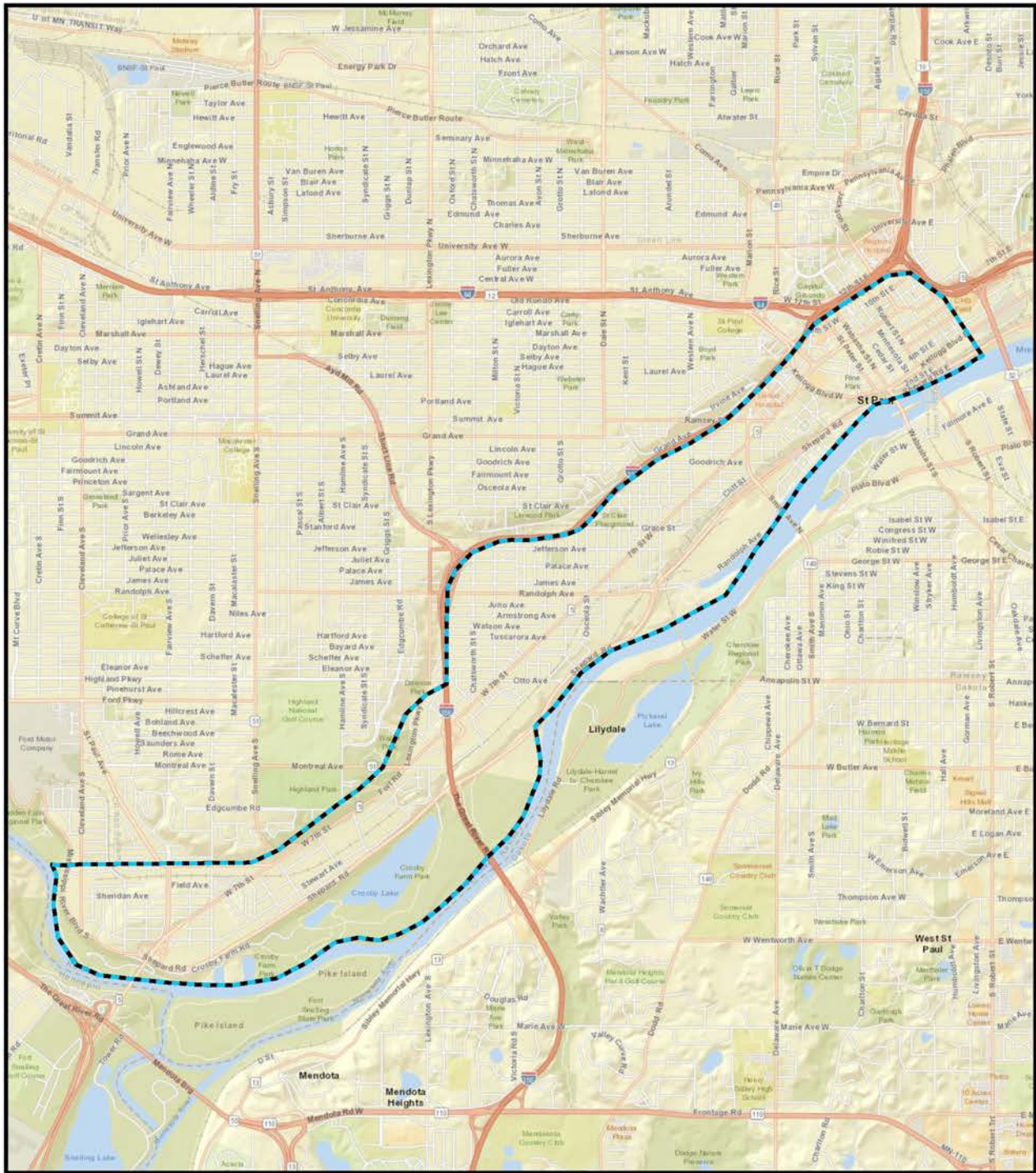
This historic context is limited to the portion of the Riverview Corridor within the City of St. Paul. The segments of the corridor across the Mississippi River to Fort Snelling would require a variety of historic contexts with somewhat different temporal and thematic studies and should be examined in separate context studies. This context is focused on the architecture/history aspects of the Corridor; a separate archaeology literature search is also being developed for the area.

The initial study area for this context included the sections of St. Paul associated with Downtown St. Paul, the West Seventh neighborhood, and the southern edge of the Highland Park neighborhood. In general, the boundaries included the areas of Downtown south of I-94 and the West Seventh neighborhood south of I-35E to the river, and from I-35E, extending west along the bluff line and then following St. Paul Avenue to the Mississippi River (see Study Area Map below).


This larger area was considered to identify broad themes of development in the city as is appropriate for an historic context. The actual survey and evaluation of individual properties for future environmental survey will be a much narrower area focused on the project alignment. A context, however, must consider a larger area in order to understand themes that frame the discussion of properties within an APE.



This context focuses on the built environment in order to identify those characteristics and themes that may qualify a property as historic. While this region was home to the Dakota and other Native American tribes for centuries, the first major Euro-American settlement in the metropolitan area was at Fort Snelling. The oldest Euro-American settlement in St. Paul resulted from people being forced from the Fort Snelling military reservation, and their location first near Fountain Cave along West Seventh and ultimately farther upriver to what is now downtown St. Paul. As a result, this context concentrates on the creation of the urban built environment that became St. Paul, from the founding in 1849 over the following century of expansion, change and growth to 1980. The context examines those aspects of the natural and built environment that led to the creation of the potentially historic properties and sites that remain for consideration and protection as part of the city's historic heritage.

In its first 50 years Downtown St. Paul evolved from its earliest frontier settlement to a mature city, with corresponding changes in land uses, building types and commercial locations that reflected the city's evolving economy. Because a variety of transit projects have recently analyzed Downtown St. Paul and developed contexts, and the Riverview Corridor is focused largely on the western edge of Downtown, this study will focus on overall land use changes by development era and provide an overview of Downtown buildings rather than detailed architectural analysis.



**HISTORIC CONTEXT STUDY AREA
RIVERVIEW CORRIDOR
RAMSEY COUNTY SECTION
2020**

Legend
 Context Study Area

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The West Seventh neighborhood, in particular, retains some of the oldest remaining residential buildings in St. Paul. Most of the area along West Seventh (also known as Fort Road) to the intersection with I-35E was settled by 1900. Scattered, more rural settlement occurred southwest of the I-35E area, along Fort Road; suburban style development in that vicinity did not occur on a large scale until after WW II. However, all the area within the context study area was officially annexed into the City of St. Paul by 1887, when St. Paul reached the city limits it still holds today.

Context themes may expand on existing contexts, or new contexts may be developed or change when future survey work is undertaken. These contexts will be interpreted and evaluated within the following statewide historic contexts developed by SHPO:

- Early Agriculture and River Settlement (1840-1870)
- Urban Centers (1870-1940)

Local thematic contexts that are applicable to the project include:

- Downtown Saint Paul: 1849-1975
- Neighborhood Commercial Centers: 1874-1960
- Pioneer Houses: 1854-1880
- Residential Real Estate Development: 1880-1950
- Churches, Synagogues, and Religious Buildings: 1849-1950
- Transportation Corridors: 1857-1950
- Neighborhoods at the Edge of the Walking City

Expected Results

This Riverview context is divided into four sections:

- The Pioneer Era—1840-1880
- The Railroad Builds the City—1880-1900
- The Metropolitan City—1900-1950
- A New Vision—1950-1980

Maps at the beginning of each section illustrate some of the topics and locations discussed in the text. The Riverview context includes both Downtown and the West Seventh neighborhood. These areas are somewhat different in context development. Downtown represents the entire city and a larger, more metropolitan scale of economics and city growth. West Seventh is a neighborhood with its own residential and commercial components and more logically should be discussed in comparison with other St. Paul neighborhoods rather than compared to Downtown. Because this context had these two large and dense geographic areas to address, it has tried to cover similar thematic approaches for each area, recognizing that it is difficult to do justice to many of the larger thematic discussions that could be addressed, particularly in understanding Downtown St. Paul over time. This context will identify important aspects of the built environment in several broad thematic areas:

RIVERVIEW CORRIDOR CONTEXT

- Community Planning and Development
- Transportation and the Environment
- Commercial Growth and Expansion
- Industrial Development
- Residential Neighborhoods: Architecture and Property Types
- Ethnicity and Neighborhood Development

The settlement of Downtown and West Seventh was heavily influenced by the natural environment, including the Mississippi River and the bluffs that defined the earliest settlement points and later subdivision platting and roadway alignments. Those aspects of the landscape are still important. For the built environment, this context covers a central business district, a downtown fringe, neighborhood commercial areas and mixed land uses of all types. As a result, there is potential for not only natural features, but a large variety of property types to be found.

In some cases, this context may provide adequate examples for evaluating similar properties, such as commercial buildings, or downtown business blocks. In other cases, the properties in this corridor may be unique, and may need comparison and evaluation to properties outside the corridor in St. Paul and similar buildings throughout the metro area.

The following list incorporates the natural features and property types that may be anticipated in downtown St. Paul and the West Seventh Street corridor, while recognizing that typology is only one aspect of identification. Because the Riverview Corridor runs along arterial streets, there will be a wide variety of commercial buildings, from large-scale multi-story buildings in the downtown to smaller one-to three-story buildings along West Seventh. These buildings may retain commercial uses, although there will also be re-uses for housing or different commercial activities than their original uses. Along West Seventh, there are also a variety of residential uses, including single-family and multi-family dwellings representing various construction dates. While single-family and rowhouse construction were among the earliest housing types in the nineteenth century, apartment buildings from four-plex units to larger buildings and complexes from the 1950s and 1960s now also line the corridor.

Previously listed National Register properties within the study area are identified in the Results and Recommendations lists and maps with the context. In downtown, properties immediately adjacent to the corridor include the Lowertown Historic District, the Urban Renewal Historic District (still in review), and other individual large-scale buildings. There are fewer listed properties along West Seventh, but the Riverview Corridor is adjacent to the Irvine Park Historic District, individual one-to three-story business and fraternal buildings, rowhouses, and the Jacob Schmidt Brewing Company Historic District.

The context will inform the next stage of environmental study and provide a guide for Section 106 survey and evaluation of the project Area of Potential Effect. It is anticipated that the context may be revised as new information is developed in the survey and evaluation phase of the Riverview project.

Anticipated Property Types:

Commercial

- Store/commercial/retail with flats
- Tavern/saloon/restaurant
- Diners (railroad car)
- Hotel/Motel
- Business block/office building (larger, two-story or more)
- Office (smaller, professional and/or service oriented)
- Parking Facility (surface lot or multi-level structure)
- Gas Station/automotive facility
- Nurseries/Floral Business with outside uses and display

Residential

- Single family house
- Rowhouse/duplexes/attached dwellings with individual entrances
- Apartment Building (individual building, typically with one exterior entrance; could also include building with individual entrances)
- Apartment Complex (multiple buildings)
- Nursing homes/care facilities

Institutional

- Governmental Building
- School
- Church
- Social Hall
- Library
- Fire Station
- Hospital

Industrial

- Factory/Manufacturing
- Grain Elevator
- Warehouse
- Railroad facility—freight houses, shops, other structures
- Railroad roadway/tracks (railroad landscape changes/cuts)

Natural Features

- Bluffs
- Caves
- Creeks/ravines
- Mississippi River

Bridges

- Vehicular Bridge
- Railroad Bridge
- Pedestrian Bridge
- Skyway

Roads/Streets

- Historic alignments
- Current alignments
- Historic subdivision plats

LITERATURE SEARCH

This literature search concentrates on the most pertinent documents completed for review of historic properties within the study area of the Riverview Corridor (within St. Paul and ending at the Mississippi River) in the last forty years. It has focused on environmental studies undertaken for completion of Section 106 reviews, although there are several surveys completed for the City of St. Paul not connected to larger environmental documents. The studies are discussed in chronological order as a means of showing the changes in historic property reviews and to better understand how eligibility of properties and evaluations are fluid and changing over time. Please note that this chapter is not all inclusive and that other reports are in process and should be consulted as they are completed. For example, the Gold Line Bus Rapid Transit (BRT) project and the Rush Line BRT project are both underway in St. Paul. Both projects will overlap some downtown locations with the Riverview Corridor; their findings on properties should be taken into account when they are completed.

Murphy, Patricia A. and Susan W. Granger. Final Report: Historic Sites Survey of Saint Paul and Ramsey County, 1980-1983. St. Paul: Ramsey County Historical Society and St. Paul Heritage Preservation Commission. 1983.

This first comprehensive inventory of historic buildings in Ramsey County was completed in 1983 as part of the Minnesota Historical Society's statewide inventory. It was directed by Patricia Murphy and Susan Granger, with assistance of a variety of volunteers and sponsored by the Ramsey County Historical Society and the St. Paul Heritage Preservation Commission (HPC). Over 5400 survey forms were completed on individual structures and over 2500 forms completed on architects and contractors. The survey recommended 204 sites, 18 historic districts, and several thematic groups as eligible for the National Register of Historic Places (NRHP). National Register forms were also prepared for approximately 100 buildings and historic districts within Ramsey County and St. Paul. All forms and supporting information are available at the Ramsey County Historical Society.

Within St. Paul, survey areas were identified by planning districts and brief historical information included in the final survey report. Fieldwork was conducted systematically, with survey forms completed on "buildings of outstanding architectural integrity and/or sophistication, those known or alleged to be of major historic significance, and those representative of the area." (p 3). The survey focused on buildings constructed prior to 1935, which were approximately 45 years old at the time of survey. Properties with alterations that affected the integrity of the building were eliminated, while those buildings that were rare or unusual in age, style or function were included. Effort was made to select "intact and representative examples of houses and other buildings which illustrate the historical development of each of the planning districts. . ." (p 4). Appendix C of the report identified all surveyed properties.

Inventory forms were prepared for each property and district, and included supporting information from building permits, city directories, atlases, histories and other materials. Evaluation of all sites was presented by planning district in the report, with properties identified in several categories:

- Sites listed on the NRHP or locally designated by the St. Paul Heritage Preservation Commission (HPC)
- Sites identified by the survey as meeting criteria for NRHP or HPC designation
- Additional sites that merited preservation
- Potential historic districts or thematic groups

Results for Riverview:

For the Riverview study, this survey provides the earliest identification of historic properties in the three planning districts affected: District 9: West Seventh Street; District 15: Highland; and District 17: Downtown and Lowertown. Because it was completed in 1983, there is information on properties that are no longer extant, and the surveys included historical information that is not always readily available elsewhere.

However, the 1983 completion date also requires that survey results and recommendations must be checked. Despite recommendations for nomination or completion of draft NRHP forms, many recommendations were not carried out. Some properties have since been razed and the information has not been updated. No properties built after 1935 were included in the survey.

District 9: West Seventh Street

The District 9 survey boundaries appeared to match the current (2019) planning district boundaries: from I-35E on the north to the Mississippi River, I-35E on the west, to Kellogg Boulevard and Wabasha Street Bridge on the east. The survey includes a larger section of the Riverview Corridor than more recent surveys because it extends southwest to I-35E, thus providing a good baseline of information. Of the 88 historic sites identified in District 9, five properties were already designated, along with the NRHP and HPC-designated Irvine Park Historic District.

District 15: Highland

The Highland District encompassed the southwest corner of St. Paul, west of I-35E from the Mississippi River and north to Randolph Avenue. This Riverview context has focused on the southern portion of the Highland district south of St. Paul Avenue. Although Highland experienced some of the earliest settlement along the river in the nineteenth century, most of its residential development occurred after World War II. No properties had been designated prior to the survey and only one was inventoried in the area pertinent to the Riverview study.

District 17: Downtown and Lowertown

The Downtown District summary identified 88 properties, of which approximately one-third were included in the Lowertown NRHP district and later included in a Lowertown HPC district. The map of properties identified in Downtown reflects the different eras of construction in Downtown, as certain areas have no identified properties in this 1983 survey. In the heart of the urban renewal section of the late 1950s to 1970s, only two properties were identified in the area west of Jackson between Fifth and Eighth streets until St. Peter Street. Similarly, the survey identified no properties in the three blocks between Fourth Street and Kellogg Boulevard west of Sibley Street to Wabasha, with only two buildings facing Fourth Street near the west edge of the district. The inventory identified numerous properties in the corridor between Fourth and Fifth streets from Jackson Street west, around Rice Park, and on the edge of downtown north of Eighth Street. It is interesting to note that the property location map does not reflect either the connection of I-35E into downtown and to I-94, or the Kellogg Boulevard and Fifth/Sixth Streets connections out of downtown to I-94. Of the 88 properties, it appeared that approximately ten percent have been razed for new transportation routes or building construction.

I-35E Draft Environmental Impact Statement from TH 110 (Dakota County) to I-94 near Downtown St. Paul. Prepared by Metropolitan Council; U.S. Department of Transportation-Federal Highway Administration and Minnesota Department of Transportation. 1981. (Copy on file at MnDOT Library).

I-35E Final Environmental Impact Statement from TH 110 (Dakota County) to I-94 near Downtown St. Paul. Prepared by Metropolitan Council; U.S. Department of Transportation-Federal Highway Administration and Minnesota Department of Transportation. 1982. (Copy on file at MnDOT Library).

Williams/O'Brien Associates, Inc. Special Study Historic Sites Assessment Report. Prepared for the I-35E Environmental Impact Statement. Feb. 1, 1981. (Copy on file at MnDOT Library).

The connection of I-35E from TH 110 in Dakota County to I-94 near Downtown St. Paul was approved by the Metropolitan Council in 1969. In 1972, the Pleasant Avenue corridor had been graded for over two-thirds of its length, the State had acquired over 95 percent of the right-of-way and displacement of residents and businesses had already occurred when the project was halted by a joint lawsuit involving the City of St. Paul and four neighborhood groups demanding the preparation of an Environmental Impact Statement (EIS) before further work proceeded. The Draft EIS for I-35E evaluated 12 alternatives in two corridors for the segment from TH 110 to I-94. Approximately five miles long, the study examined eight alternatives in the Pleasant Avenue corridor, one alternative within the Shepard Road corridor, and two alternatives combining both corridors, in addition to the No-Build Alternative. No previous right-of-way or grading work had occurred on the Shepard Road alternative, which would have exerted major adverse effects on the Mississippi River and violated state noise standards; it also had greater impacts on historic properties. The Pleasant Avenue alternative also had adverse effects on historic properties and ultimately resulted in preparation of a Memorandum of Agreement (MOA) to address adverse effects.

The Final EIS, released in October 1982, identified Pleasant Avenue as the Preferred Alternative, consisting of a parkway from West Seventh Street to downtown St. Paul, with a direct connection to I-94. As a parkway, the speed limit was 45 mph, and prohibited trucks over 9,000 pounds on the roadway. The EIS called for a connection to the Short Line Road (now Ayd Mill Road), but did not require the connection to be physically linked until the City of St. Paul had resolved other issues related to that connection. The EIS decision offered MnDOT's support to the City of St. Paul for eventual study of improvements to Shepard Road, and the implied connection of an East Central Business District (CBD) bypass around downtown, but did not include it in the decision.

Historic properties analysis was summarized in the *Special Study Historic Sites Assessment Report*, prepared by Williams/O'Brien Associates, Inc., which placed historic properties into two categories:

- Identified: properties recommended for general historical significance
- Delineated: properties based on official historical designation by national, state, and local governmental agencies.

Although the methodology for the 1981 analysis did not result in detailed inventory forms as would be completed under current Section 106 practice, the report identified historic properties, and the project took steps to avoid adverse effects and direct impacts on several properties.

Results for Riverview:

The historic properties identified for potential adverse effects were:

- Historic Hill District; (including both state and NRHP boundaries)
- James J. Hill Residence; (1888-91), 240 Summit Avenue

- Jared How Residence; (1904), 455 Grand Avenue
- German Bethlehem Presbyterian Church; (1890), 311 Ramsey Street
- Selby Avenue Tunnel; (1906), Intersection Selby Avenue and Kellogg Boulevard
- Armstrong House; (1886), 223 West Fifth Street

As a result of design and construction adjustments, the project avoided direct effects to the German Bethlehem Presbyterian Church and the Selby Avenue Tunnel. Access options from I-35E were reduced to avoid effects to the Armstrong House from the I-35E project. Aesthetic impacts to the Historic Hill District and the How residence were mitigated by landscaping associated with the parkway design of I-35E. The most visible mitigation measure was preservation of the existing James J. Hill estate through construction of a retaining wall that extended out approximately ten feet beyond the estate grounds and into the right-of-way walls. In addition, the Project agreed to construct a pedestrian overpass at Walnut Street to maintain the connection between the Historic Hill District and the Irvine Park Historic District.

Harvey, Thomas. Historic Resources Survey of the EIS for the Shepard/Warner/East CBD Bypass. St. Paul: St. Paul Planning and Economic Development Department, 1987.

While the I-35E FEIS selected the Pleasant Avenue corridor, the City of St. Paul sought improvements to the Shepard/Warner corridor and the opportunity to complete the East Central Business District (CBD) bypass not included within the previous study. This 1987 report included history/architecture and archaeology information for use in the Shepard/Warner/East CBD Bypass Draft Environmental Impact Statement (EIS). The project area included construction proposed for Shepard and Warner Roads along the Mississippi River from Randolph Avenue to Robert Street; it also included analysis of properties for the area along Warner Road from Robert Street to one-half mile east of the Lafayette Bridge and including the East CBD Bypass from Warner Road to I-35 on the alignment of an abandoned railroad track (although much of that area was planned for a separate improvement project).

The report provided a context for the project area and used previous survey information to identify standing structures. Emphasis was primarily on effects caused by the various alternatives; it is not clear whether any inventory forms were completed for this project. The study also identified former properties no longer standing within the study area, to aid in historic archaeology findings. Of the identified 52 properties, 38 were sites of former structures, 3 were properties with “no historic merit,” and 11 properties were NRHP listed or eligible sites, HPC-designated sites, or properties identified for review by SHPO. The report provided basic information on the 11 properties, of which six were listed or eligible for the NRHP:

- Irvine Park Historic District
- St. Paul Union Depot
- Wabasha Street Bridge (nonextant)
- Chicago Great Western Railway Lift Bridge
- Robert Street Bridge
- Harvest States Grain Terminal

Results for Riverview:

This survey has excellent contextual information. Because there has been so much change to the area along the river, the information about properties no longer standing is useful and supported by some maps and photographs.

James A. Sazevich, Scott D. McGinnis and Donald Empson [The History Business]. Uppertown Survey Final Report. Prepared for the St. Paul Heritage Preservation Commission and the Minnesota Historical Society. St. Paul, Minnesota. 1992.

The Uppertown Survey photographed 865 properties and completed a report with brief contexts on the Uppertown neighborhood of St. Paul. Boundaries for this survey were I-35E and the bluff line on the north; Grand and Forbes avenues on the east; and the Short Line Railroad/bluff line on the south, which then curves west to connect to I-35E along the alignment of Grace Street. Brief historic contexts and identification of buildings within those contexts were prepared for six themes:

- Pre-Territorial Building (Before 1849)
- Yankee Era Building (1849-1865)
- Squatter Settlements (1855-1960)
- First Wave Immigrant Building (1866-1881)
- Ethnic (Bohemian) Community Identification (1870-1940)
- Unidentified Transplanted Buildings (1849-1940)

The report recommended that the entire survey area, except for approximately 54 post-1970 residences in the northwestern corner of the survey area, be recommended for a local historic district. The report stated that the original survey was planned only to extend to Western, but that the project was expanded to the west to include the Bohemian settlement in that area. The survey recommended that a smaller district would “fragmentize the area as the Irvine Park designation has done,” (p 31) possibly reflecting a view based on neighborhood feedback at the time the report was completed.

Results for Riverview:

This survey identified many historic properties along West Seventh and included research on building permits. The authors have extensive knowledge of the area that contributed to the context and individual building information.

Three Central Corridor Studies

Central Corridor Hennepin and Ramsey Counties. Phase I and II Cultural Resources Investigations of the Central Corridor: Minneapolis Hennepin County and St. Paul Ramsey County. Prepared by the Hennepin County Regional Railroad Authority, Ramsey County Regional Railroad Authority, and the Minnesota Department of Transportation. 1995.

The Phase I and II report included pre-contact and historic archaeology and architectural history along with extensive contexts for the Central Corridor. This initial report examined four alternatives for the Central Corridor including the No-Build; the transportation system management (TSM); a dedicated busway (BRT); and light rail transit (LRT). Once outside of Minneapolis and the University of Minnesota, the alignment for the BRT and LRT ran primarily in the center of I-94 from the vicinity of Highway 280 to the Capitol area, where it ran in front of the Capitol building to Cedar Street and into downtown St. Paul.

NRHP Properties (1995) in Downtown St. Paul that were identified within the APE of the alignment included:

Inventory Number	Property Name	Address	NRHP Status (1995)	Listing Date
RA-SPC-0229	Minnesota State Capitol	75 Constitution Ave.	NRHP	2/23/72
RA-SPC-0557	Minnesota Historical Society	690 Cedar Street	NRHP	3/20/73
RA-SPC-0553	Central Presbyterian Church	500 Cedar Street	NRHP	2/10/83
RA-SPC-1200	St. Agatha's Conservatory of Music and Fine Arts	26 Exchange Street	NRHP	5/25/89
RA-SPC-3167	Pioneer Press Building	336 North Robert Street	NRHP	7/10/74
RA-SPC-5223	Pioneer & Endicott Building	141 East 4 th Street	NRHP	7/10/74
RA-SPC-4580	Lowertown Historic District	(identified 10 individual bldgs. within the APE)	NRHP	6/21/83

Recommended Eligible Properties in Downtown St. Paul within the APE (1995)

	Property Name	Address	Date Constructed	NRHP Criteria
RA-SPC-5619	State Capitol Mall		1902-1962	A
RA-SPC-0554	St. Louis King of France Church	506 Cedar Street	1909	C
RA-SPC-4645	First National Bank	107 East 4 th and 332 Minnesota Street	1931	C

The 106 Group. Phase I Architectural History Investigation for the Proposed Central Transit Corridor, Hennepin and Ramsey Counties, Minnesota. Submitted to Hennepin County Transit and Community Works. Vol I & II, 2003; Phase II report, 2004.

This series of reports was completed when the route of the Central Corridor was changed, moving out of the I-94 corridor and primarily onto University Avenue. Additional properties were evaluated and recommended eligible in St. Paul, but all were outside the downtown area. There were no changes to the property evaluations in Downtown St. Paul as noted in the 1996 report, other than that the properties recommended eligible (State Capitol Mall; St. Louis King of France Church; and First National Bank) were identified as eligible in the 2004 report. Individual properties within the State Capitol Mall District and the Lowertown Historic District were identified as contributing or non-contributing to their District.

Hess, Roise and Co. Supplemental Historic Properties Investigations and Evaluation for the Central Corridor Light Rail Transit Project. Prepared for MnDOT Cultural Resources Unit (CRU) and the Minnesota State Historic Preservation Office (SHPO). June 2008.

As a supplemental survey, this study examined properties for which the St. Paul Heritage Preservation Commission, the SHPO and the MnDOT CRU sought additional information and analysis. In all, 44 properties in Minneapolis and St. Paul were identified as listed or eligible for the NRHP, as determined in either the 1995 study, the 2003-2004 study, or this supplemental study. The supplemental study reevaluated some buildings due to age or other factors, and provided additional information that had not been included or examined on other properties and districts. The properties in Downtown St. Paul that were evaluated and are pertinent to the Riverview study included the following:

Inventory Number	Property Name	NRHP Status (2008)	Address	Notes
RA-SPC-5225	Union Depot	Listed; also within boundaries of the NRHP-listed Lower-town Historic District	214 E. Fourth Street	Provided additional information on landscape and setting
RA-SPC-0550	Saint Paul Athletic Club	Determined eligible for NRHP	340 Cedar Street	
RA-SPC-8097	Minnesota Mutual Life Insurance Company Building	Recommended Not Individually eligible for NRHP; but contributing to SP Urban Renewal Hist. Dist.	345 Cedar Street	
RA-SPC-8364	Saint Paul Urban Renewal Historic District *	Determined Eligible	Robert, Kellogg Blvd., Wabasha, East Sixth Street	Eligible under Criterion A

**This district has recently been updated with the final review in progress; there may be minor boundary changes when finalized.*

Arnott, Sigrid; Andrew J. Schmidt and K. Anne Ketz [The 106 Group]. Smith Avenue Transit Hub Literature Search for Archaeological Potential and Historic Buildings Intensive Survey. Prepared for City of St. Paul Planning and Economic Development. July 1999.

Andrew J. Schmidt, Kristen M. Zschomler and William E. Stark. [The 106 Group]. Addendum to the Smith Avenue Transit Hub Literature Search for Archaeological Potential and Historic Buildings Intensive Survey. Prepared for City of St. Paul Planning and Economic Development. July 2000.

This literature search and buildings survey examined the site for the City of St. Paul's Smith Avenue Transit Hub and for eight additional sites identified for the relocation of the NRHP-listed Armstrong House from the transit hub site. The Transit Hub site was bounded by Kellogg Boulevard, Seventh and Fifth streets in an area north of Seventh Street from the Xcel Energy Center and in the vicinity of St. Paul's original "Seven Corners"; an area that has undergone drastic change of the original street grid. The initial report examined the transit hub site and five potential locations for the relocation of the Armstrong house; the addendum considered an additional three relocation sites. Sites examined in the initial study, other than the hub site, included:

- Corner of West Seventh and Kellogg Boulevard
- St. Joseph Lane
- Corner of Smith Avenue and Kellogg Boulevard
- SE corner of Chestnut and Exchange Streets
- 280 West Seventh Street

The Addendum examined:

- Chestnut Street south of Ryan Street
- Chestnut Street and Exchange Streets
- Walnut and Exchange Streets

Results for Riverview:

The report and addendum identified whether archaeology potential existed for any of the relocation sites, and also identified whether any historic properties were affected. It also included a detailed context of the neighborhood properties, and the research for both historic archaeology and historic properties was thorough and informative in understanding this long-gone portion of the city. To preserve the building, the City subsequently relocated the Armstrong House (also known as the Armstrong-Quinlan House) from West Fifth Street to Chestnut Street south of Ryan, where it abutted the Irvine Park Historic District.

Andrew J. Schmidt and Kristen M. Zschomler [106 Group]. Kellogg Boulevard Streetscape Project St. Paul, Minnesota; Evaluation of National Register of Historic Places Eligibility for Kellogg Boulevard. Submitted to SRF Consulting Group, Inc., and City of St. Paul Dept. of Public Works. August 1999.

Kellogg Boulevard, from West Seventh to Mounds Boulevard, was evaluated for NRHP eligibility, to inform City of St. Paul plans for streetscape improvements including landscaping, sidewalk and lighting replacements, widening of Kellogg at Hill Street, and modifications to the Kellogg-Seventh-Eagle intersection. Kellogg Boulevard was evaluated as an example of pre-World War II city planning and design, and for its potential associations with federal relief funds and labor. The report included a description of the segments of Kellogg Boulevard from West Seventh to Mounds Boulevard, including the roadway, roadway elements and design features. The historic context described planning efforts in St. Paul, particularly in the 1920s and 1930s, to address increased traffic congestion, for replacement of the “blighted” Third Street area, and to open up views of the river. Planners sought to leverage the replacement of Kellogg Boulevard to create a focused location for major public buildings in the city, resulting in construction of the St. Paul City Hall/Ramsey County Courthouse (1933); the Women’s City Club (1931); and the Tri-State Telephone Company (1936) along the boulevard within this era.

Results for Riverview:

The report recommended that Kellogg Boulevard was not eligible for the NRHP because alterations to the roadway and immediate surroundings had reduced its integrity to an extent that it no longer illustrated its historic significance.

William E. Stark and Jeanne-Marie Mark. Phase I and II Architectural History Survey for the Union Depot Multi-Modal Transit Hub Project, St. Paul, Ramsey County, Minnesota. Prepared for the Minnesota Department of Transportation and the Ramsey County Regional Rail Authority. May 2007.

A Phase I and II architectural history survey was conducted to fulfill Section 106 requirements as part of the proposed renovation of St. Paul’s Union Depot and Concourse into a multi-modal transit hub. No archaeology study was required for this undertaking. The Area of Potential Effect for the Project included approximately 124 acres extending from the south boundary of the Depot property, Robert Street on the west, the properties fronting Sixth Street on the north, and Lafayette Freeway (Hwy 52) and an extension east to the rail line (approximately .3 mile east of the Lafayette Bridge) to incorporate Union Depot railroad property. The APE included four buildings already listed on the NRHP:

- Merchants National Bank, 366 Jackson Street (RA-SPC-1979)
- Manhattan Building, 360 North Robert Street (RA-SPC-3170)
- Pioneer and Endicott Buildings, 336 and 350 North Robert Street (RA-SPC-3167 and RA-SPC-5223)

- Union Depot, 214 East Fourth Street (RA-SPC-5225)

The majority of the 16-block Lowertown Historic District (RA-SPC-4580) was also included within the APE. The report included two contexts: “Downtown and Lowertown St. Paul,” and “Modern Corporate and Civic Architecture.”

Results for Riverview:

The report recommended that the Union Depot Elevated Rail yards (RA-SPC-6904) be added as contributing to the NRHP-listed Union Depot property (RA-SPC-5225); and that the Farwell, Ozmun, Kirk & Co. warehouse, 150-160 Kellogg Boulevard East (RA-SPC-4517) was eligible for listing under Criterion A and C. The Lowertown Historic District was assessed for changes since its nomination to the NRHP in 1983; no significant alterations or changes to contributing/non-contributing buildings were identified.

Mead & Hunt. St. Paul Historic Context Study: Neighborhoods at the Edge of the Walking City. Prepared for Historic Saint Paul, City of Saint Paul Heritage Preservation Commission, and Ramsey County Historical Society Saint Paul, Minnesota. 2011.

Mead & Hunt. Historic Resources Inventory: Historic Resources in Portions of the Payne-Phalen, Thomas-Dale and West 7th Neighborhoods. Prepared for Historic Saint Paul, City of Saint Paul Heritage Preservation Commission, and Ramsey County Historical Society Saint Paul, Minnesota. July 2011.

Three historic organizations in St. Paul hired Mead & Hunt to complete a context study, “Neighborhoods at the Edge of the Walking City,” and to conduct a reconnaissance survey of historic resources in sections of three neighborhoods within that area. The 2011 context study divided the city’s growth into three chronological time periods:

- Saint Paul’s Founding Years: 1849-1865
- Becoming the Gateway to the Northwest: 1866-1900
- Neighborhoods at the Edge of the Walking City in the Twentieth Century

The context described development of the city and incorporated discussion of each of the neighborhoods surrounding Downtown St. Paul within the appropriate time frame. Neighborhoods included the West Side, Dayton’s Bluff, Payne-Phalen, North End, Lafayette Park, Central Park, Thomas-Dale, Summit-University, West Seventh Street, Uppertown and Lowertown. The report provided a list of locally designated (HPC) properties and districts within each neighborhood, and included recommendations for further resources inventories, thematic studies and further context development.

In conjunction with the context study, Mead & Hunt conducted updated reconnaissance surveys of three neighborhoods: Payne-Phalen, Thomas-Dale and West Seventh Street. The survey objectives included identification and documentation of historic-age properties that met local designation criteria or NRHP designation criteria; identification of themes, places and areas that require further study; and identification of other historical and cultural resource observations that may assist the project sponsors in their work.

Results for Riverview:

Within the West Seventh area, the survey was bounded by the I-35E corridor on the north; Ramsey, Forbes and Wilkin Streets on the east; the bluff line/railroad tracks on the south; and Duke Street on the west. This area is west of the Irvine Park Historic District and west of the concentrated commercial district just west of the intersection with Kellogg Boulevard. The West Seventh survey identified 58 properties within the residential theme; eight properties that were associated with business and industry; two properties that were

associated with education; and four properties that were associated with religion and social organization. Inventory forms were prepared for any newly identified properties or updated for previously identified historic properties. Photos and identification information for the 58 properties are included in the report, along with tabular information on all properties within the survey area.

The survey recommended a potential residential historic district of approximately 36 properties in the area south of West Seventh to the bluff, generally from Wilkin west to Dousman. This area was identified as a potential district in the 1983 county-wide survey, and studied in the 1992 Uppertown Survey.

The survey also recommended further thematic studies be undertaken on brick single- and multi-family dwellings, and on limestone single- and multi-family dwellings and their construction. Note: some inventory numbers in the survey have been updated and may now have different numbers in the SHPO database.

Carole Zellie [Landscape Research LLC] Saint Paul's River Balcony: A Land Use History and Review of Historic Resources. Prepared for the City of St. Paul Department of Planning and Economic Development. 2015.

The historic resources study focused on the history of land uses and resources in the River Balcony area along the downtown bluff between the Science Museum of Minnesota and the St. Paul Union Depot. The river balcony had been proposed in the Saint Paul Great River Passage Master Plan (2013). While extant historic resources had been documented in the area, previously unidentified and under-documented resources required evaluation for potential future interpretation. No survey forms were completed as part of this study, which inventoried properties contributing to various subcontexts, and offered general preservation planning recommendations for historic resources in planning for the River Balcony.

Results for Riverview:

The report has excellent research and maps that illustrated the downtown riverfront over time. Appendices included a property inventory of NRHP and/or local HPC properties and eligibility status within the study area as of 2015; maps of the NRHP and local HPC Lowertown district and HPC design review guidelines; and maps of the Urban Renewal historic district, and the expanded Union Depot District.

Riverview Corridor Technical Memorandum #9A: Environmental Resources. Ramsey County Regional Railroad Authority. Final February 2018.

This review of cultural resources examined the known and eligible NRHP historic properties, both architecture/history and archaeology, within 350 feet of the proposed alternative alignments for the Riverview Corridor. Ten BRT and rail alternatives plus the No Build alternatives were examined, and the number of listed and eligible historic districts and individual properties identified. This analysis was completed to inform the project selection of a Locally Preferred Alternative (LPA). The alternatives did not vary widely in terms of their impact on historic properties; however, the LPA included 3 fewer districts, and 3 fewer individual listed and eligible historic properties than the alternatives with the highest number of properties within the study area. The study included one historic district, the Fort Snelling Historic District that is also a National Historic Landmark (NHL). The Fort Snelling Historic District also contains an archaeology site that is a contributing resource. The area surrounding the confluence of the Mississippi and Minnesota rivers is culturally significant to the Dakota people, and known as Bdote or Mdote. Bdote encompasses the entire area surrounding the confluence.

Results for Riverview:

The Technical Memo included a list of known NRHP properties throughout the Corridor, including the area across the Mississippi and Fort Snelling. The technical memo list may be used for comparison with findings

in this Riverview context. This Riverview context is focused only on properties within St. Paul, and does not include the historic properties at Fort Snelling or the Bdote Significant Native American Area that are recommended for examination in other context studies.



CITY OF SAINT PAUL
 CAPITAL OF
MINNESOTA

compiled by
 GEORGE C. NICHOLS.

Map I
 Riverview Corridor
 The Pioneer Era:
 1840s-1880
 1860 Nichols Map of Saint Paul

- Upper Landing
- Uppertown
- Lower Landing
- Seven Corners
- Irvine Park
- Public Squares

Nichols, George. "Map of the city of Saint Paul, capital of Minnesota." St. Paul, MN: Truman M. Smith's Collecting & General Agency Office, 1860. Library of Congress.

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SECTION I: THE PIONEER ERA

1840s-1880

The Riverview context is divided into eras to provide a way to address the growth of both Downtown St. Paul and the West Seventh neighborhood. This Pioneer Era section describes buildings and landscapes that no longer exist as a precursor to understanding the later changes that created the landscape and built environment we see today. The eras in this context are intended to guide the discussion, rather than limit topics precisely to these dates. The construction of railroads, development of downtown business buildings and West Seventh residential neighborhoods, and other activities that began in the Pioneer Era did not stop at 1880. Similarly, some themes that had their beginning in the Pioneer Era are discussed in subsequent sections to provide a better focus to the narrative.

West Seventh Street is also known as Fort Road, and is the name used by the neighborhood group in St. Paul. To be inclusive of the larger neighborhood (rather than Fort Road, Irvine Park, or Uppertown), the context will generally refer to the larger neighborhood context area as the West Seventh neighborhood (including the area along Fort Road, west of Seven Corners all the way to the Highway 5 river crossing). For a better understanding of locations and places, most addresses in the context will be identified by the modern-day street location, with the historic street names provided when appropriate. Although St. Paul began with the Upper Landing and Lower Landing, the context uses those designations to describe the early settlement period that focused on the uses around the early ports. Uppertown was also used historically to describe the area in the vicinity of the Upper Landing, and more recently it has been used to describe the residential neighborhood of late nineteenth century houses west and southwest of the Irvine Park area. Lowertown has been used to describe the area that developed around the Lower Landing and later became the center of the city's wholesale and warehouse district.

Throughout this context, properties have been identified with the SHPO inventory number if they have been inventoried, with "NRHP" if they are either listed or eligible for the National Register individually or within a district, and "HPC" if they are locally designated. Tables and Map Sets in the Recommendations identify the individual properties and district properties. Sources for all figures are listed in the appendix of the document.

Introduction

The topography and natural resources of the Twin Cities region were known and inhabited by the Dakota long before Europeans visited in the seventeenth century. Both in the past and to the present time, the Dakota consider the confluence of the Mississippi and Minnesota Rivers and the surrounding vicinity, known as Bdote, as a sacred location and the source of their origination. The Dakota name for St. Paul, *Imizha ska* or "white rock" refers to the St. Peter sandstone visible east of where downtown St. Paul later developed (today known as Dayton's Bluff).¹

The locations of Fort Snelling by the 1820s and St. Paul two decades later developed in a landscape created by the glacial actions that left valleys formed by the Minnesota and Mississippi Rivers, and a geological history encompassing the St. Peter sandstone, Glenwood shale, and the Platteville limestone used for many early

1 Scott F. Anfinson, "In the Beginning: The Geological Forces that Shaped Ramsey County," *Ramsey County History* 34, no. 1 (Spring 1999): 4. Fort Snelling should be the subject of its own historic context to document its many layers of history. An updated NRHP/National Historic Landmark (NHL) nomination is also being prepared by the MnSHPO.

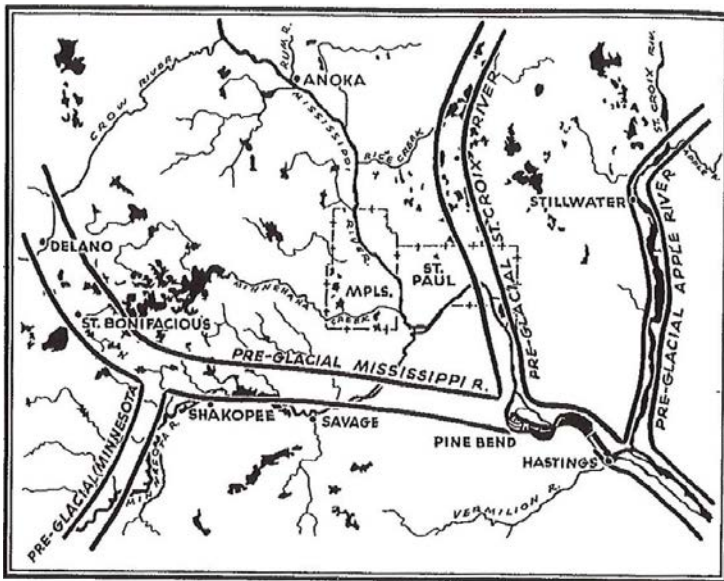


Figure 1: Pre-glacial channels of both the St. Croix River and the Mississippi River defined the landscape and guided urban expansion in the Twin Cities metropolitan area.

buildings in the region.²

The valleys carved by the Minnesota and Mississippi were the latest iterations in a series of glacial forces in which pre-glacial river valleys and deposits created modern river valleys that influenced settlement at Fort Snelling and St. Paul. As the population grew, the land dictated the settlement framework and transportation patterns that would continue to influence the city to the present day.

Prior to the modern river valleys of the Minnesota, Mississippi and St. Croix rivers, pre-glacial channels followed different corridors through St. Paul that left their mark on the modern landscape. (Figure 1) A pre-glacial channel of the St. Croix flowed from northeast Ramsey County and then south, joining the present Mississippi channel just below Union Depot in St. Paul. As glaciers

retreated, this channel left behind a series of lakes, including Crossways, Randeau, Pelican, Centerville, Pleasant, Vadnais, Gervais and Phalen in Ramsey County. Phalen Creek drained from the lake and wound its way toward the river, eventually joining with Trout Brook. A pre-glacial channel of the Mississippi flowed southeast from the vicinity of modern-day Fridley, and cut a deep, wide valley through the center of St. Paul (the Trout Brook valley) reaching the channel of the modern Mississippi just below Union Depot in St. Paul where it joined the pre-glacial St. Croix channel.³ (Figure 2)

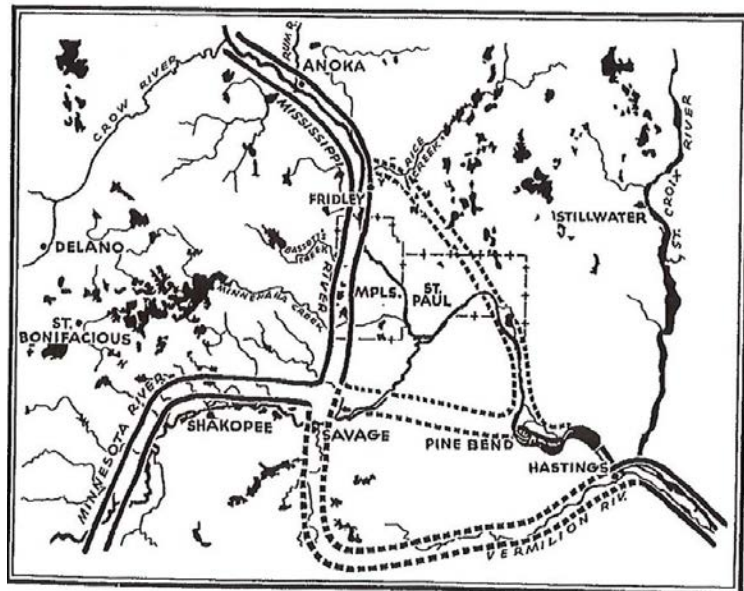


Figure 2: Interglacial valleys of the Mississippi River in the Twin Cities metropolitan area.

The Minnesota River channel in the Twin Cities area resulted from the drainage of the melting Glacial Lake Agassiz in western Minnesota. Once the river reached the modern-day metropolitan area near Shakopee and Savage, it flowed east across modern Dakota County to Pine Bend. (Figure 2) Later glacial actions filled the Dakota County valley, and the meltwaters of the Minnesota River channel instead cut northeast near modern-day Fort Snelling for approximately eight miles toward what is now downtown St. Paul, where it joined with the old channel of the St. Croix River. A great waterfall existed in the vicinity of downtown St. Paul, but over thousands of years, it migrated upstream to St. Anthony, carving the Mississippi River gorge as it went. At St. Anthony, the falls ended their natural progression, being halted by man-made improvements to prevent their eventual disappearance in the 1860s. By the time the falls were being harnessed for waterpower at St. Anthony in 1850, they measured about 1,500 feet across and fell about thirty feet. In contrast, the River Warren Hastings Falls at the

2 Anfinson, "In the Beginning," 4.

3 Anfinson, "In the Beginning," 5-6; Edmund C. Bray, "Millions of Years in the Making: The Geological Forces That Shaped St. Paul," *Ramsey County History* 32, no. 2 (Summer 1997): 14.

location of St. Paul's High Bridge 12,000 years ago were estimated at 2,700 feet across and fell 175 feet, a magnitude that approached modern-day Niagara Falls.⁴

In St. Paul, the Mississippi valley left steep cliffs, such as Dayton's Bluff, approximately 200 feet above the river east of downtown. Other bluffs of varying height extended downriver toward Fort Snelling, with a prominent cliff between the two creek valleys that became the Upper and Lower Landings of frontier St. Paul. The St. Peter sandstone present in the Mississippi valley enabled the formation of natural caves, known and used by the Dakota, and later appropriated by Euro-Americans as settlers moved upriver from Fort Snelling.

Fort Snelling and the Settlement of St. Paul

When construction began on what became Fort Snelling in 1819–21, the region was far from a wilderness devoid of people. The Dakota retained the surrounding land and some resided in a long-standing village at Kaposia (near South St. Paul) as well as other villages along the Minnesota River. Fur traders, of French, mixed blood, and Euro-American heritage traveled through, and then established a more permanent settlement nearby at Mendota across the Minnesota River from Fort Snelling by the 1830s. In addition, a number of French, Swiss, Métis, and other settlers who had failed elsewhere (such as the Selkirk settlement on the Red River) as well as soldiers who had finished their service, had located outside the walls of the Fort.⁵ By the late 1830s, pressure from Euro-Americans was building to take over additional Dakota land for settlement. The Treaty of 1837 took the Dakota land from the St. Croix River west to the Mississippi River and north to Crow Wing County.⁶ Less than fifteen years later, the Treaties of 1851 took the remaining land and officially forced the Dakota to move to reservations farther west along the Minnesota River. Despite the removal enacted by treaty and later conflicts, Dakota people continued to reside in St. Paul and its vicinity.

The settlement of St. Paul resulted directly from Fort Snelling commander Joseph Plympton's 1839 decision to remove all settlers outside the boundaries of the Fort's military reservation. From the time the Fort was built in the 1820s, the U.S. government had also claimed land around the Fort, known as a "reserve," for land, timber, hunting, or other needs that would support the Fort population. Plympton had concerns about the ready supply of liquor available in the area supplied by the squatting settlers and sought to reduce its availability to the Fort's soldiers.⁷

Prior to the Treaty of 1837, whiskey seller Pierre



Figure 3: The 1847 General Land Office map shows the Fort Snelling military reservation on the north side of the Mississippi before establishment of St. Paul .

4 Anfinson, "In the Beginning," 6; Bray, "Millions of Years in the Making," 14–15.

5 See Rhoda Gilman, Carolyn Gilman, and Deborah M. Stultz, *The Red River Trails: Oxcart Routes Between St. Paul and the Selkirk Settlement, 1820–1870* (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 1979) for discussion of the failed Selkirk settlement.

6 Virginia B. Kunz, *St. Paul: Saga of an American City* (Woodland Hills, California: Windsor Publications, Inc., 1977), 5–7.

7 Kunz, *St. Paul*, 6; Donald Empson, "Highland—Groveland—Macalester Park - The Old Reserve Township," *Ramsey County History* 10, no. 2 (Fall 1973): 13.



Figure 4: A romantic panorama view of St. Paul, 1853, showing the Upper and Lower Landings, and the prominent bluff between them. The seven hills surrounding St. Paul are also depicted, as viewed from across the river. The new Capitol building stands out north of the buildings clustered on the bluff.

“Pig’s Eye” Parrant and a small group of settlers had located across the Mississippi River from Fort Snelling, several miles northeast near Fountain Cave (in the bluff below the foot of modern-day Randolph Street) on the edge of the military reserve. Other settlers had squatted in the reserve along the Mississippi River bluff (south of modern-day Ford Parkway in St. Paul), in an area known as “Old Rum Town” due to its popularity with soldiers in search of liquor.⁸ By 1840, all settlers in these locations were forcibly removed and most relocated upriver to the east beyond the expanded reservation boundaries. (Figure 3) Three discharged soldiers, Edward Phelan, John Hays, and William Evans, had previously filed claims along the Mississippi farther northeast. Evans filed a claim at Dayton’s Bluff, while Phelan and Hays had adjoining claims in the vicinity of Eagle Street east to Minnesota Street. Pig’s Eye Parrant relocated his liquor establishment near the foot of Robert Street, and the evolving settlement was first called Pig’s Eye.” In 1841, Father Lucien Galtier dedicated a chapel to St. Paul, which became a more fitting name for the young community. Galtier’s log chapel was located on Bench Street (now Second Street), between Cedar and Minnesota Streets.⁹

Apart from Pig’s Eye’s establishment at the foot of Robert Street and the nearby chapel of St. Paul, others built cabins around the two river landing sites at the breaks in the bluffs where ravines allowed for paths up from the Mississippi River bottoms to the blufftop. The Lower Landing encompassed the area from near Jackson Street east toward Trout Brook, with Sibley and Jackson Streets providing access; from the Upper Landing, the path followed up a ravine on what became Eagle Street. Divided by the steep bluff, the two landings competed with each other for primacy as St. Paul began to grow. (Figure 4)

⁸ Kunz, *St. Paul*, 7–8, 11; Empson, “Highland,” 13.

⁹ Kunz, *St. Paul*, 6–9. Phelan, Hays, and Evans’ claims are all in the vicinity of Downtown St. Paul. Modern street names are used in the text to better identify locations.

Dividing the Land

In the 1840s, before the US government had legally surveyed the land, St. Paul landowners held tenuous control or “squatter’s rights” of their claims and their boundaries. In 1847, Ira and Benjamin Brunson surveyed approximately ninety acres, laid out in blocks about three hundred foot square and lying parallel to the river.¹⁰ Known as “St. Paul Proper,” the plat was filed with the Register of Deeds; landowners could not legally purchase their property until the Stillwater land office opened in 1849. Benjamin Brunson also surveyed Rice & Irvine’s Addition, located adjacent to St. Paul Proper on the west. The plat included two squares deeded to the city for parks that later bore the names of Rice and Irvine.¹¹ (See Map I).

From the beginning, the topography of Downtown St. Paul limited physical expansion. The main portion of St. Paul Proper sat on the bluff and sloped down to the Upper and Lower Landings. Up on the bluff, downtown was surrounded by seven hills; from east to west, they were known traditionally as Dayton’s Bluff, Williams Hill, Mount Airy, Capitol Hill, Cathedral Hill, Crocus Hill, and Prospect Park (on the “west side” across the Mississippi).¹² Future development of the Downtown would need to cross swampy river lowlands, or travel up, down, or through hills to expand.

St. Paul Proper was laid out to parallel the river, without regard to the cardinal points of the compass. Rice and Irvine’s Addition was platted at a 45° angle to the grid of St. Paul Proper; streets angled when they connected from one plat to the other along St. Peter Street. Rice and Irvine’s plat followed the bluff line and the trail near the Upper Landing rather than imposing a grid on topographically challenged land that would not support it. Third Street west of St. Peter was part of the old oxcart trail from St. Anthony to St. Paul; it followed the edge of the bluff and was known as old St. Anthony (later Kellogg Boulevard).¹³

Rice and Irvine’s plat “created endearing anomalies unique to St. Paul,” including changing the street names where the grid changed, causing numbered streets such as Sixth and Ninth to run together, and later resulting in St. Paul’s Seven Corners, “where Third, Fourth, Seventh and Eagle streets collided in a big whirling knot of traffic and befuddlement.”¹⁴ However, in the early frontier days, founders failed to anticipate how the grid

10 Larry Millett, *Lost Twin Cities* (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 1992), 19.

11 J. Fletcher Williams, *A History of the City of St. Paul to 1875* (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society, 1876; St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 1983), 171, 185, 186. Citations refer to the reprint edition.

12 Sonnen, “Growing Up in St. Paul: A Boyhood Resting on the City’s Seven Hills—But Once There Were Eight,” *Ramsey County History* 30, no. 3 (Fall 1995): 25. Williams Hill has given way to a modern industrial park; otherwise, the other hills remain surrounding the downtown.

13 Virginia Brainard Kunz, “Kellogg Boulevard: The Story of Old 3rd Street,” *Ramsey County History* 6, no. 2 (Fall 1969): 14–15.

14 Millett, *Lost Twin Cities*, 20.

Three civic buildings in St. Paul reflected the classical Greek Revival style in the 1850s.



Figure 5: Ramsey County Courthouse, built 1851 between 4th and 5th, Cedar to Wabasha.



Figure 6: First State Capitol, built 1853, on block between 9th and 10th, Cedar to Wabasha.



Figure 7: St. Paul City Hall, built 1856–57, facing Rice Park at Washington.

would affect St. Paul. The major concerns lamented in the 1850s were the lack of alleys in downtown, the narrow sixty-foot streets and sidewalks, and the confusing street names that failed to follow a logical pattern. Even the city's numbered streets began with Third (Bench Street was later renamed Second) and never extended beyond Fifteenth.¹⁵



Figure 8: Ferry Landing at St. Paul, 1861-1880. Fort Snelling is visible on the bluff, overlooking the confluence of the Mississippi and Minnesota Rivers.

In March 1849, St. Paul was named the capital of the new Minnesota Territory, resulting in additional business and commercial activity. The legislature met and created nine counties, including one named for Territorial Governor Alexander Ramsey, and made St. Paul the county seat. They also incorporated the Town of St. Paul including the plat of St. Paul Proper and Rice and Irvine's plat. A June 1849 visitor counted 142 buildings in St. Paul, of which only a dozen were older than six months, and none were brick or stone. The buildings included shanties, three hotels, warehouses, stores, groceries, boarding houses, a school, the Catholic Church, and numerous other structures. A territorial census counted 540 males and 300 females in St. Paul that summer.¹⁶

Civic buildings soon appeared, designed in the classical Greek Revival style favored for such public institutions. On land donated by early settler Vetal Guerin between Fourth and Fifth Streets, Wabasha and Cedar (now site of the Victory Ramp), a courthouse was completed in 1851 by contractors

Freeman and Daniels. The two-story courthouse displayed a three-bay façade with a central entry, framed by a projecting four-columned Doric portico supporting a pedimented gable. The roof included a domed cupola. (Figure 5) Completed in 1853 on the block between Ninth and Tenth, Wabasha and Cedar (now the History Theatre site) the two-story State Capitol incorporated a projecting, four-columned portico and a cupola. Both buildings were constructed of brick with stone steps, trim and columns.¹⁷(Figure 6) St. Paul was incorporated as a city on March 4, 1854, and the first city hall constructed at the corner of Washington and Pearl (current site of Landmark Center) in 1856–57.¹⁸ It, too, was a Greek Revival style with a five-bay façade and clock tower cupola. (Figure 7)

For the city to grow and expand, roads and other improvements required changes to the landscape. One early path had followed the bluff along the Mississippi from Fort Snelling to St. Paul. In 1859, the old path was relocated farther north onto the terrace and became Fort Road (West Seventh Street). Unlike many early frontier roads that traced the edges of bluffs or curved around hills, Fort Road followed a straight line between Downtown to the Mississippi River ferry crossing to Fort Snelling. The ferry operated through 1880 when it was replaced by a bridge. (Figure 8)

15 Millett, *Lost Twin Cities*, 19–21.

16 Williams, *History of the City of St. Paul*, 224, 228, 238, 241.

17 Jeffrey A. Hess and Paul Clifford Larson, *St. Paul's Architecture: A History* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2006), 17; Williams, *History of the City of St. Paul*, 279, 280, 291, 339.

18 Williams, *History of the City of St. Paul*, 363; Kunz, *St. Paul*, 28, 150.

Economics: Oxcart and Steamboats

St. Paul's early economy grew from the fur trade, which gradually shifted to St. Paul from its previous shipment point at the Mendota fur post. As the head of river navigation, St. Paul was the logical place for the Red River oxcarts to deliver their furs. The oxcarts followed a series of standard trails to St. Paul that laid the groundwork for later railroads, state highways, and streets in the Twin Cities. One trail, later called the Metropolitan Trail, followed the east bank of the Mississippi River from the St. Cloud vicinity toward Big Lake, Elk River, Anoka, and south toward St. Anthony (later the route of the St. Paul and Pacific Railroad branch line). At the location of Tenth Avenue SE and Fourth Street SE in St. Anthony, the trail turned southeast toward the modern intersection of I-94 and TH 280. The trail then followed along the St. Anthony Road (generally the area of the I-94 corridor) (Figure 9) and veered south of Summit Hill (site of the Cathedral), onto Old St. Anthony, later Third Street (now Kellogg Boulevard) in St. Paul.¹⁹

In 1844, only six oxcarts made the journey to St. Paul. The trade steadily grew and continued through the 1860s when as many as 1,000 carts came to St. Paul during their summer treks to deliver the furs for shipment.²⁰ (Figure 10) St. Paul boasted a fur trade value of \$300,000 annually by 1865, making the city the second largest fur market in the U.S., after St. Louis. The fur trade to St. Paul declined gradually and the oxcart treks ended when railroads reached St. Cloud and it became the terminus for the fur traders by the late 1860s.²¹

In the territorial period in St. Paul, steamboats formed the connection with the outside world both bringing goods in and carrying furs out. Organized in 1847, the Galena Packet Company established regular trade between Mendota and Galena, Illinois, which had rail connections to the east. By 1851, 119 steamboats docked annually at St. Paul. Steamboats brought business, as well as population growth, with over 30,000 new arrivals in 1855; major immigration into the Territory occurred in 1855, 1856, and 1857. In May 1857, twenty

19 Rhoda R. Gilman, Carolyn Gilman, and Deborah M. Stultz, *The Red River Trails: Oxcart Routes Between St. Paul and the Selkirk Settlement, 1820–1870* (Saint Paul: Minnesota Historical Society, 1979), 83–86. St. Anthony was the settlement on the east bank of St. Anthony Falls, later part of Minneapolis.

20 Gilman, Gilman, and Stultz, *The Red River Trails*, 15.

21 McClung's St. Paul Directory and Statistical Record for 1866 (St. Paul: J. W. McClung, Publisher, 1866), 213; Williams, *History of the City of St. Paul*, 306–307.

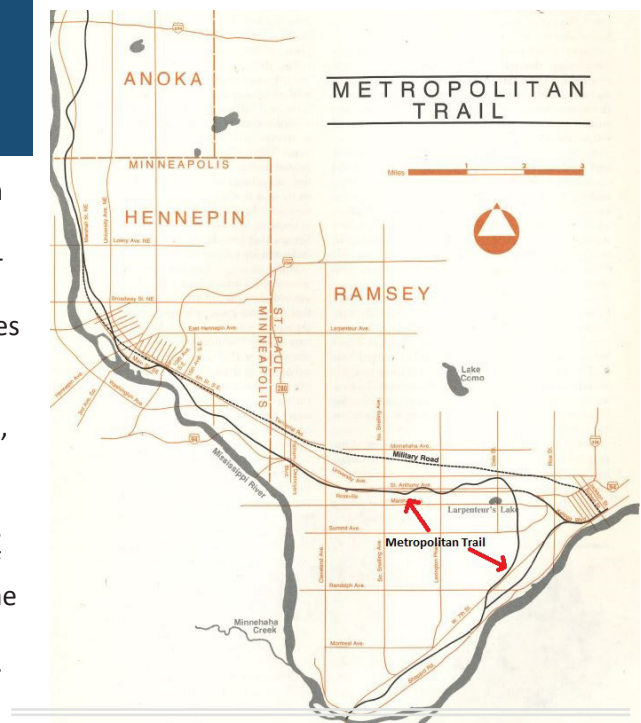


Figure 9: The Metropolitan Trail used by the Red River oxcarts followed along the east bank of the Mississippi to St. Anthony and then turned southeast toward St. Paul to Summit Hill where the trail continued along the general alignment of Kellogg Boulevard to the Lower Levee .



Figure 10: While fur traders generally used oxcarts, dog teams provided transportation to St. Paul in the winter. This photo was taken near Seventh and Walnut and dated 1856.

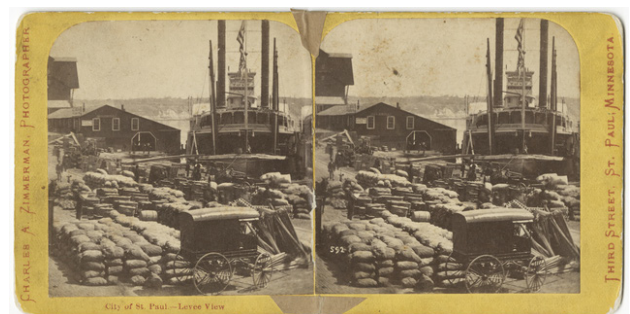


Figure 11: Goods lined up on the Lower Levee in 1865.

ty-four steamboats crowded the landing at one time.²² (Figure 11)

A decade later in 1869, the city directory included listings for two steamboat lines and for steamboat freight agents, all located on the Lower Landing (also referred to as the Lower Levee). The Chamber of Commerce celebrated the year by reporting that a fleet of sixty-five steamers visited the levee over the eight-month season, and listed the supplies in agricultural implements, boots and shoes, castings, drugs, nails, stove, wagon stock, white lead, and other products that had been delivered to St. Paul in 1868. The Chamber praised the increase of goods shipped out in 1868, led by 1.4 million feet of lumber and 2.5 million shingles, followed by animal hides, 2,600 bales of fur, sheep pelts, and smaller amounts of barley and wheat. While the Chamber report highlighted the steamboat freight shipments, it noted that the list included “nothing that reaches us by the well-managed St. Paul and Milwaukee Railroad, which brings . . . immense amounts of merchandise of this same class of goods.” As more railroads were built into St. Paul, they competed to haul more of the freight out of the state. But they were also building business within the state, carrying goods out to new settlers and returning with agricultural produce from the newly developed communities. The 1864 city directory included a map showing the various railroads entering St. Paul, and a distance table with each railroad and the mileage connections to each community it served.²³

By the 1880s, the railroads facilitated the development of the wholesaling business that would be an economic mainstay of St. Paul’s economy. In 1885, four steamboat lines still operated in St. Paul, reporting 34,625 annual passengers and 59,000 tons of freight. But the steamboat freight and passenger business was being overtaken; in that year, there were nine railroad lines serving St. Paul with 168 trains leaving daily,



Figure 12: Ruger’s Bird’s Eye View of St. Paul, 1867. The view shows a new Wabasha bridge, and decidedly more business at the Lower Levee at the foot of Jackson than at the Upper Levee. Railroads would eventually build east from the Lower Levee toward the Trout Brook corridor. Third Street had already become the primary business district, continuing west along the bluff line to Seven Corners.

²² Williams, *History of the City of St. Paul*, 173, 318, 357, 377, 374.

²³ Rice & Bell’s *Saint Paul Directory, 1869–79* (St. Paul: Rice & Bell, Publishers, 1869), 55.

hauling an average of 12,000 passengers a day.²⁴

Railroads and Remaking the Landscape

Ultimately, the greatest impetus in changing and developing the frontier settlement of St. Paul was the arrival of the railroad. From the initial construction of the St. Paul and Pacific Railroad to St. Anthony in 1862, the city would remake its riverfront by grading railroad alignments, cutting down hills, and filling in the lowlands, all to construct the railroad network that made St. Paul a railroad hub into the twentieth century. The first railroads were built along the easiest grades, which meant that the Mississippi and the Minnesota floodplains, Trout Brook, and Phalen Creek became the spines for railroads and accompanying industrial development. (Figure 12)

The mouth of Trout Brook and Phalen Creek, at the river between Sibley Street to Dayton's Bluff, was described as a "bottomless bog." When the St. Paul and Pacific ran its first train, the riverbank was still a "quagmire, for the reason that it apparently had no bottom," and the first rails were built on trestles from the Lower Landing eastward to the Trout Brook corridor.²⁵ The St. Paul and Pacific constructed up the Trout Brook corridor to the north and northwest, skirting along the north side of Williams Hill, Mount Airy and Capitol Hill to the relatively flat land extending west toward the village of St. Anthony (not yet part of Minneapolis).

Eventually, the railroad companies filled in the marshy riverbank at the Lower Landing, obliterating seven small islands in the process. The valley where Trout Brook and Phalen Creek flowed to the Mississippi River, destined to be the primary and most heavily used rail corridor in the city, was also filled in over the next decades as hills were cut down elsewhere. Baptist Hill (the location of Smith Park—now Mears Park) originally stood over fifty feet higher; it was shaved down in the 1870s and the dirt hauled into the Phalen Creek bottoms.²⁶ (see Map I) By the 1880s, the corridor was home to most of St. Paul's major railroads. The St. Paul and Pacific became James J. Hill's St. Paul, Minneapolis and Manitoba (later the Great Northern) and established its shops along the line at Jackson and Pennsylvania Streets north of the downtown. The Lake Superior & Mississippi Railroad, first constructed northeast to Duluth along the Phalen Creek valley by 1870, evolved



Figure 13: The 1874 Andreas Map showed early roads and buildings in Reserve Township, but also the earliest rail lines into downtown St. Paul. The Sioux City and St. Paul Railroad bridge is shown, and the tracks ran along the Upper Levee into downtown.



Figure 14: View of Omaha shops and Swing Bridge from the West Side, 1915.

24 *Saint Paul City Directory, 1885–6* (St. Paul: R. L. Polk & Co., Publishers, 1885), 24, 53.

25 Josiah B. Chaney, "Early Bridges and Changes of the Land and Water Surface in the City of Saint Paul," *Minnesota Historical Society Collections* 12 (1908): 136, 138.

26 Chaney, "Early Bridges," 136–139.

into the St. Paul and Duluth (later the Northern Pacific) and established shops first on the East Side, and later at Gladstone (now Maplewood) north of the city.

St. Paul & Sioux City/ Chicago, St. Paul, Minneapolis & Omaha (Omaha Road)

Railroad construction eventually extended west of the Lower Landing, where a levee was constructed on the marshy river's edge from Jackson Street to the Upper Landing. Initial railroad construction through the Upper Landing occurred in 1869 when the Saint Paul and Sioux City Railroad built a line from Mendota and constructed a wooden drawbridge across the Mississippi near the site of Fountain Cave. This railroad company grew out of the original 1857 legislative charter of the Root River Valley and Southern Minnesota Railroad, the 1864 incorporation of the Minnesota Valley Railroad, and its reorganization as the Saint Paul and Sioux City Railroad (SP&SC) in 1869. The first construction (as the Minnesota Valley Railroad) had connected Mendota to Shakopee by November 1865 and reached Mankato by 1868. Under the newly reorganized SP&SC, the bridge connection into St. Paul was a joint venture with the Milwaukee and St. Paul Railroad (later the Chicago Milwaukee & St. Paul - CM&StP) and provided St. Paul a direct connection to southwestern Minnesota agricultural products. By 1880, the line had reached both Sioux City, Iowa, and Sioux Falls, S.D.²⁷ (Figure 13)

The SP&SC was incorporated into the Chicago, St. Paul, Minneapolis and Omaha Railway (CStPM&O) by 1881, known locally as the Omaha Road. The new railroad company constructed its headquarters building at Fourth and Rosabel Streets in the Lowertown neighborhood near the Lower Landing. The Omaha Road was also destined to be a longtime presence in the St. Paul's West Seventh neighborhood, where it established



Figure 15: Omaha Swing Bridge, 2019.

the West Division Shops (also known as the St. Paul shops) locomotive repair facility and main engine shops on the bluff at the foot of Randolph Street.²⁸ (Figure 14)

As early as 1882, the Chicago and Northwestern Railroad (CNW) acquired a controlling interest in the Omaha Road, although the Omaha maintained its status as an independent railroad. As an affiliated line, the Omaha Road easily interchanged freight with the CNW lines, enhancing its operations as a major railroad in the expanding agricultural hinterland. CNW control ensured that the Omaha Road would not be acquired by other railroads. The Omaha Road and its St. Paul shops became one of the major employers in the city and in the West Seventh neighborhood throughout the twentieth century.²⁹

27 Andrew J. Schmidt, Daniel R. Pratt, Andrea C. Vermeer, and Betsy H. Bradley, "Railroads in Minnesota, 1862–1956," National Register of Historic Places (NRHP) Multiple Property Documentation Form, prepared by Summit Envirosolutions, Inc. and ARCH³, LLC, 2013, E: 38–40. Map II at the beginning of Section II shows the city's railroads in 1886.

28 Schmidt et al., "Railroads in Minnesota," E: 39.

29 Schmidt et al., "Railroads in Minnesota," E: 39, E: 43–44. According to John Weeks website, the CNW purchased the Omaha Road outright in 1972 and was merged into the Union Pacific in 1995. John A. Weeks III, "Mississippi River Bridge # 15, Omaha Road Railroad Mississippi River Cross-

The original 1869 Mississippi River railroad drawbridge was replaced by a wooden truss bridge in 1877. The current steel swing structure was erected in 1915–16 (RA-SPC-5491); the wooden trestle was replaced with the steel plate deck bridge in 1947. The bridge has an unusual asymmetrical pivot point with 185 feet over the river section of the span, and only seventy-five feet over the other span. The shorter span was apparently cut off at some point and balanced with a concrete weight; this measure avoided having a larger span swing over private property on the riverbank. The bridge reflects the joint effort of two railroad lines—the CStPM&O (Omaha Road) and the CM&StP Railway (Milwaukee Railroad)—to construct and use it. Currently the bridge remains in use by the Union Pacific and Canadian Pacific railroads, successor owners of the original companies.³⁰ (Figure 15)

Milwaukee and St. Paul/Milwaukee Road

The Milwaukee and St. Paul Railroad began in Wisconsin but later acquired lines that enabled it to reach St. Paul and join the SP&SC to jointly construct the river bridge. The Milwaukee and St. Paul also had a branch that reached downtown Minneapolis along the west bank of the Mississippi. By 1874, it had reorganized as the Chicago, Minneapolis & St. Paul (CM&StP), but it was popularly known as the Milwaukee Road. Through acquisitions, this line became the first direct route to Chicago in the 1870s, linking the river cities of Hastings, Red Wing, Wabasha, and Winona, and crossing the Mississippi at LaCrosse, Wisconsin. Its expansion throughout southern and western Minnesota, South Dakota, and northern Iowa made it another competitive railroad carrying agricultural produce and tying the Twin Cities to the region.³¹



Figure 16: A ca. 1870 view showing the Upper Levee and railroad lines under construction.



Figure 17: The 1888 Mahler and Co. Bird's Eye View of St. Paul shows the Milwaukee Railroad climbing up along the bluff from the Upper Levee toward the High Bridge.

Within the Twin Cities market, however, the CM&StP sought to enhance its connection to from St. Paul to Minneapolis and the flour milling industries. In 1879–80, the company undertook construction of its “Short Line” through St. Paul directly to Minneapolis, to eliminate traveling first from St. Paul to Mendota and then northwest along the Mississippi on its original track to reach into the milling district. The *St. Paul Globe* described the

Short Line route as “beginning at the Union depot, and run[ning] along the banks of the river until the foot of Chestnut Street is reached. At this point it may be said to leave the city, following a curved course included toward the river flats, until the vicinity of the House of the Good Shepherd (Wilkin and McBoal) is reached.

ing, Saint Paul, MN,” https://www.johnweeks.com/river_mississippi/pages/r04.html

30 Weeks, “Mississippi River Bridge # 15.”

31 Schmidt et al., “Railroads in Minnesota,” E: 62–E: 63.

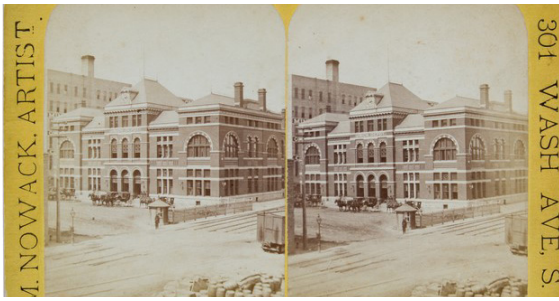


Figure 18: Union Depot, built 1881 at the foot of Sibley Street at the Lower Landing.(photo ca.1882)

Thence its course bears up toward Fort [Seventh] Street . . . and the ascent to the second bench [terrace] is made up a ravine to Ayd’s Mill.”³² The route continued north up the Ayd Mill ravine toward the St. Anthony Road, and crossed the Mississippi River on a new bridge near Meeker’s Island, to connect with the existing CM&StP line and shops in Minneapolis near 26th and Hiawatha Avenues.

Both the railroad companies reaching toward downtown St. Paul from the southwest needed to build a levee between the Upper and Lower Landings. Below the bluff, land had to be built up above the riverbank, while near the Upper Landing, a route had to be constructed through the swampy ground. As they approached the Upper Landing, the railroads were built on wooden trestles through the

low lands. (Figure 16) The initial line (the SP&SC in 1869) was closest to the river; the Short Line was built north of the previous route (1879-80) and cut into the bluff as it climbed up near the foot of Wilkin Street. (Figure 17)

Work on the Short Line began in May 1879, and later that year, three steam shovels and “an average force of 300 men” were working round the clock on the project. Climbing up the river bluff, it passed through the “big cut,” which was described as a “stupendous piece of work.” The “cut” had required the removal of 300,000 cubic yards of earth. This massive effort resulted in the announcement that “time and space between the two cities [had been] almost annihilated.”³³

This line altered the West Seventh landscape and resulted in new land uses along the line in both the Upper Landing vicinity and farther west as the neigh-

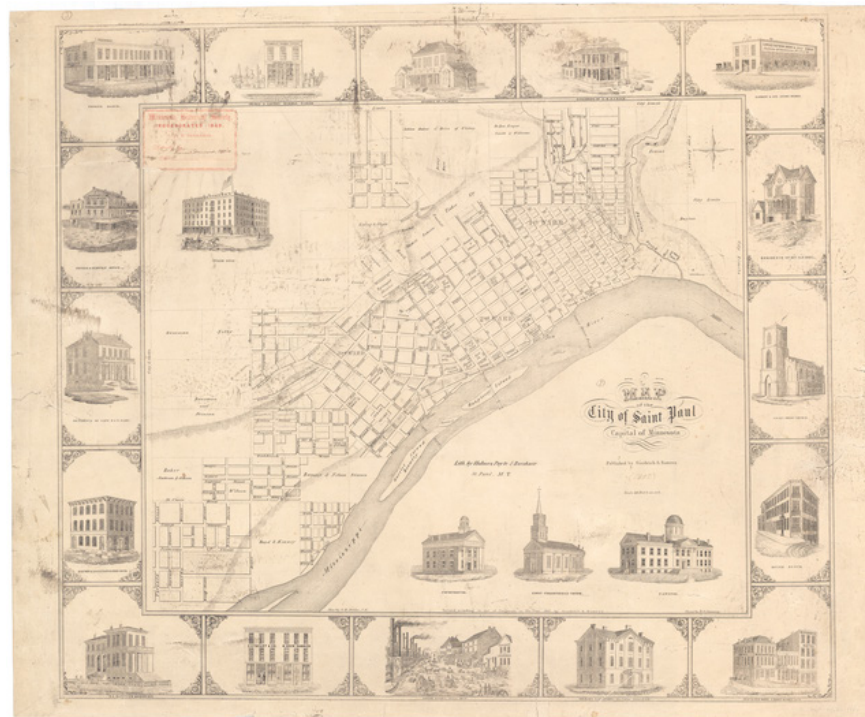


Figure 19: Belden’s 1857 Map of St. Paul illustrated the early platting of the city along with its more prominent buildings.

borhood developed. The railroad construction shored up and lined the bluff in Uppertown and established a rail corridor that cut through the West Seventh neighborhood, before following up the Ayd Mill ravine and establishing a future roadway corridor through this section of the city.

Just as the fur trade and steamboats had established St. Paul as a trading and distribution center, the railroads provided an economic base for the city, making it a transportation hub. The railroad network enabled goods to be manufactured, shipped, and sold throughout the Midwest at a much broader scale than steam-

32 *Saint Paul Globe*, April 19, 1879.

33 St. Paul Minneapolis Pioneer Press, Sept. 6, 1880; quoted in Phase I and II Cultural Resources Investigations for the Central Corridor: Minneapolis Hennepin County and St. Paul Ramsey County, prepared by the Hennepin County Regional Railroad Authority, Ramsey County Regional Railroad Authority, and the Minnesota Department of Transportation, 1995, 8-5.

boats had offered. In St. Paul, railroads provided jobs for an estimated one out of every four members of the city's labor force. Railroads gave the city prominence as the headquarters of the Great Northern and Northern Pacific Railroad companies, with major offices for other roads such as the Chicago, St. Paul, Minneapolis and Omaha.³⁴

Although each railroad line originally had its own passenger depot, they combined to build a Union Depot in 1881 at the foot of Sibley Street at the Lower Landing. (Figure 18) The Depot suffered a fire that gutted the interior in 1884, but it was rebuilt. By 1887, the Depot claimed service to eight million passengers a year with up to 280 trains traveling through daily. Two years later, a 710-foot-long wondrous iron and glass shed arose, covering the nine tracks and platforms on the east side of the building and providing protection for passengers at the trains.³⁵

Commerce and Development of Downtown

St. Paul's commercial activity initially developed to support local demands, but it expanded to take advantage of the city's location as a transfer point for people and goods. Built on the railroad connections from St. Paul throughout the Northwest, the wholesaling business had its start in the Pioneer Era, and grew into a primary sector of the city's economy by the end of the nineteenth century. Early stores were erected by Henry Jackson and J. W. Simpson in 1842 and 1843 at the Lower Landing, and by Louis Robert in 1844 at the foot of Jackson Street. By 1849, a wooden staircase connected the Lower Landing up to Third Street (Kellogg Boulevard), which soon became a main thoroughfare and the center of business activity. Most stores were general stores, with groceries, hardware, dry goods, clothing, boots and shoes, and other goods. Within a decade, businesses began to specialize, and some evolved into wholesale houses.³⁶ (Figures 19, 20)

Primitive conditions prevailed in the first years. As late as 1850, the *St. Paul Pioneer* exhorted the Town Council to pull all the tree stumps out of Third Street. Third Street and Jackson Street were graded in 1853–54. To ease the climb up Jackson, there was some cutting down of the grade, leaving at least one building at Third and Jackson too high above the street and requiring a new brick foundation to be inserted underneath. Third Street, just forty-five feet wide, was initially lined with wood structures on both sides. This business district suffered successive fires that destroyed the earliest construction. A fire on August 7, 1857, erased the block between Market and St. Peter Streets. On March 16, 1860, thirty-four buildings on both sides of the street between Jackson and Robert were destroyed.³⁷ The competition for business primacy between the Upper and Lower Landings continued into the 1850s. Between 1849 and 1852, eleven additions to the city were platted in Lowertown, with only four in Uppertown. By the mid-1850s, more retail and wholesale business had shifted to the area east of Wabasha Street. From 1850 until a bridge was opened in 1859, a ferry operated by John Irvine at the Upper Landing brought passengers across the Mississippi to the West Side; another ferry run by newspaper editor and founder of *The Minnesota Pioneer*, James M. Goodhue, carried passengers at the Lower Landing.³⁸



Figure 20: Wholesale buildings lined Jackson Street from Third downhill to the Lower Levee, 1870.

34 Kunz, *St. Paul*, 41.

35 Millett, *Lost Twin Cities*, 152–153; Carole Zellie, *Saint Paul's River Balcony: A Land Use History and Review of Historic Resources*, prepared by Landscape Research for the City of Saint Paul Department of Planning and Economic Development, 2015, 18-21. The current Union Depot is discussed in Section III.

36 Henry A. Castle, *History of St. Paul and Vicinity* (Chicago and New York: Lewis Publishing Co., 1912), 263; Williams, *History of the City of St. Paul*, 233, 245, 342–343.

37 Williams, *History of the City of St. Paul*, 272, 172; Millett, *Lost Twin Cities*, 21; Kunz, "Kellogg Boulevard," 14.

38 Henry S. Fairchild, "Sketches of the Early History of Real Estate in St. Paul," *Minnesota Historical Society Collections* 10 (1905), 434–435; Wil-



Figure 21: Third Street businesses, looking west from Sibley Street, 1870.



Figure 22: Bridge Square, at Third and Wabasha, St. Paul, 1871.

The financial panic of 1857 put a damper on St. Paul's business activity, although the population remained steady. The 1857 population of 9,973 grew slightly to 10,279 by 1860, comprised of 5,620 native-born and 4,659 foreign-born residents. The start of the Civil War in 1860–61 also exerted a negative effect on business and economic growth generally, until the legislature conveyed railroad franchises to new corporations in 1862.³⁹ In 1857, the territorial legislature had granted charters to companies to start railroad construction. However, the Panic of 1857 later that year had limited investment, and despite some early efforts, the originally chartered railroad companies defaulted and had to surrender their charters back to the Territory.⁴⁰ The new charters issued by the legislature (now a state legislature) in 1862 infused St. Paul with new investment, business expansion and the long-anticipated rail construction.

As early as 1866, railroad connections facilitated the expansion of the "jobbing," or wholesale trade, by expanding St. Paul's economic connections throughout Minnesota and the region. Some storage and commission houses fronted the levee, while other wholesalers located on Jackson Street between Third Street and the river where their buildings stair-stepped down the hill. (Figure 20) The 1866 city directory identified fourteen dry goods "houses" that brought in \$1.5 million worth of business, almost equally divided between wholesale and retail trade. Groceries made up a large share of business, with twelve wholesale houses claiming sales at \$3 million. Other wholesale operations were far behind in sales, but developing their markets, including boots and shoes, drugs, and the hardware trades.⁴¹ An 1871 flyer advertised the "Leading Wholesale Houses in St. Paul, Minn" displaying an array of products from groceries, hardware, drugs notion, wine and liquors, stoves and tinware, millinery and fancy goods.⁴² Almost all of the wholesale houses were on Third Street, and beginning to focus on the blocks between St. Peter and Jackson. Three- and four-story brick and limestone business blocks gradually replaced the older wood construction by the 1870s.⁴³ (Figure 21)

Farther west on Third, a business district was growing at Bridge Square (the corners surrounding the Wabasha Bridge). Other construction included the four-story Saint Paul Press block; and Roger's Block, McClung's Block, and Ingersoll's Hall, all substantial business buildings. The First National Bank, the National Marine Bank, and the Second National Bank were all located on Third between Jackson and Wabasha.⁴⁴ (Figure 22)

The downtown buildings represented "a view of the city in its architectural infancy: rows of coarsely ornamented store and shop buildings whose character was primarily determined by the rough local materials. The piling up of limestone and iron exuded a certain elemental strength . . . but little sense of artistic arrangement or association."⁴⁵ Many of these buildings were outmoded within a generation, with the growth of the wholesale business and shifting uses with new construction downtown. By the 1880s, the wholesale

liams, *History of the City of St. Paul*, 210, 237; Chaney, "Early Bridges," 133.

39 Williams, *History of the City of St. Paul*, 381, 395, 403.

40 Schmidt et al., "Railroads in Minnesota," E: 7–E: 8; Richard S. Prosser, *Rails to the North Star* (Minneapolis: Dillon Press, 1966; Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2007), 3–4. Citations refer to the reprint edition.

41 *McClung's St. Paul Directory*, 212.

42 Castle, *History of St. Paul and Vicinity*, 265.

43 Zellie, *Saint Paul's River Balcony*, 16–17. 17.

44 Zellie, *Saint Paul's River Balcony*, 16–19; Richard Edwards, *St. Paul Census Record and Statistical Review, Embracing a Complete Directory of the City* (St. Paul: Richard Edwards, publishers, 1873); Sanborn Map and Publishing Company, *St. Paul, Minnesota*, 1885, Vol. 1–3 (New York: Sanborn Map and Publishing Company, Ltd. 1885), plates 1, 2.

45 Hess and Larson, *St. Paul's Architecture*, 40.



Figure 23: Looking west toward Cedar Street, between Fourth and Seventh, 1857, showing wood frame construction of dwellings.

activity would expand to take over Third Street, and retail stores and banks would create a new retail focus on Fourth, Fifth, and Sixth Streets. At the same time, the area east of Sibley Street had begun to concentrate on the wholesale and manufacturing businesses supported by railroads, eliminating any remaining residential uses in that area.

Building the City

St. Paul's earliest dwellings and commercial buildings in the 1840s had been constructed of logs. By 1850, a sawmill operated at the Lower Landing, providing sawn boards for frame construction. Brawley's brickyard had two mills in operation, and in 1850, brick was sold at six dollars per thousand, and the *Pioneer* noted that "several good brick buildings are being erected near the Upper Landing."⁴⁶ Brick buildings became more prominent, particularly in the downtown by the 1860s, to counter the fires that regularly destroyed the business district.

An informal census of St. Paul buildings published in the *Pioneer and Democrat*, December 4, 1858, counted 1,342 houses. Of that number less than one percent were stone; nine percent were brick, and the rest were wood frame dwellings of which two-thirds were only one story in height. While traditional wood construction used mortise and tenon supports, these new wood frame buildings were built more quickly with the "balloon framing" method that had been used in Chicago in the previous decade. Balloon framing utilized a skeletal framework nailed together from milled lumber, offering construction that was both lightweight and strong.⁴⁷ (Figure 23)

In the 1850s, most construction, other than major public buildings, was completed by carpenters and contractors rather than professional architects. The 1850 federal census identified seventy-nine carpenters in St. Paul, an occupation outnumbered only by common laborers. Generally, carpenters were individual operators but some were able to develop the skill and financial wherewithal to become contractors with crews. Designs sometimes came from stock sketchbooks, with the contractors providing additional details to stylize their construction. The term "master builder" described those who filled both the designer and contractor

46 Williams, *History of the City of St. Paul*, 272, 281.

47 Hess and Larson, *St. Paul's Architecture*, 7–9.



Figure 24: St. Paul Fire and Marine Insurance Building at Third and Jackson displayed some of the city’s most elaborate business architecture when built in 1871.



Figure 25: Assumption Church, 51 West Ninth Street, designed by Munich architect Eduard Riedel and built of Platteville limestone in 1870-74. Its twin spires continue to be prominent in downtown St. Paul 150 years later.



Figure 26: Assumption School and the old Assumption church, 1865.

roles.⁴⁸

Among St. Paul’s earliest architects were Augustus F. Knight and Abraham M. Radcliffe, who arrived by the late 1850s. Both moved to other cities but eventually returned to St. Paul in the following decade and established practices.⁴⁹ The 1875 City Directory identified both men, along with Edward Payton Bassford, Monroe Sheire, and several other architects in business. Over twenty-five other carpenters, builders, and contractors listed their services in 1875.⁵⁰ Listing in the directory likely implied a certain level of experience and business and does not discount the fact that there were certainly many others employed as carpenters in the city. However, it indicated a growing technical specialization that continued in the following decades. By the 1880s, professional architects became prominent in designing commercial buildings and dwellings for community leaders.

While wood and brick were the most commonly used construction materials in the region, St. Paul also had readily available beds of Platteville limestone that resulted in distinctive commercial and residential buildings in the Pioneer Era. Limestone had been used for some of the earliest construction in Minnesota, notably buildings at Fort Snelling constructed in the 1820s, and for Henry Sibley’s 1836 house (DK-MDC-001; NRHP) and the adjacent Faribault house (DK-MDC-002; NRHP) at Mendota. As early as the 1850s, St. Paul city officials sold licenses for extracting stone from public property. Stone cutting quarries were set up around the city as contractors provided stone for buildings and public works construction. Quarries were located north of the downtown along Robert and Minnesota Street, and along Bluff Street (Cliff Street) in the West Seventh neighborhood. As the city expanded, the quarries moved farther out and were found in three main areas: north of the Capitol, across the river in West St. Paul, and along West Seventh Street where there were a number of smaller quarry operations on either side of Fort Street.⁵¹

48 Hess and Larson, *St. Paul’s Architecture*, 17.

49 Hess and Larson, *St. Paul’s Architecture*, 17–19.

50 *St. Paul City Directory for 1875* (St. Paul: St. Paul Pioneer-Press Co., Book and Job Printers, 1875).

51 Tom Schroeder and Robert Frame, Ph.d, “Limestone Properties of Saint Paul West Seventh Neighborhood,” Thematic Nomination, prepared for St. Paul Heritage Preservation Commission (HPC), August 13, 2015, 7–8. See also Don Empson, *Portrait of a Neighborhood: a History in Tour Form of the Cliff Street ITA*, prepared for Cliff Street ITA, 1980; Donald Empson, *Portrait of a Neighborhood: a history in tour form of the Cliff Street ITA, the neighborhood between West Seventh Street and the Mississippi River: between Smith Avenue and Richmond Street, St. Paul, Minnesota*, prepared for Cliff Street ITA, Saint Paul, 1980, in which he identifies former quarry locations such as the south side of West Seventh from Richmond to St. Clair Streets (p. 59) and the site of Wulff-Godbout Funeral Home at 560 West Seventh (p. 63). The 1885 Sanborn maps show various quarry sites near West Seventh. Even as late as the 1903–04 Sanborn map, there is an “abandoned” quarry site on Banfil at the intersection with Ann Street, just a half block off West Seventh; and a stone quarry filling the entire block at the north-

The quarry business was labor intensive. Wooden derricks, powered by hand crank or steam engines, held rope and pulley systems to pull the stone from the ground and pivot to place it onto wagons for hauling. Quarries employed stone workers with various skills, from quarrymen who broke the rock out of the ground, nobblers who squared off the stone, and stonemasons and stone carvers who specialized in various levels of ornamentation of the stone.⁵²

Information reported for the 1880 Census noted that approximately 324 buildings in St. Paul were constructed of limestone, especially public buildings, such as the United States custom house and post office, the Catholic cathedral, the German Catholic church (Assumption Church), the Fire and Marine Insurance Building, the McQuillan Block, the St. Paul Roller Mill, and several schoolhouses.⁵³ (See discussion of limestone residences below).

James Burbank's Saint Paul Fire and Marine Insurance Company building (1871; nonextant) was prominent on the corner of Third and Jackson and would have been the epitome of architectural fashion for the frontier city. (Figure 24) As President of St. Paul Fire and Marine, Burbank oversaw the construction of the company headquarters, which displayed a mansard roof with a "Venetian Gothic entrance arcade, giving a decidedly exotic flavor to the intersection of Third and Jackson."⁵⁴ James Burbank was a typical, but extremely successful, early St. Paul Yankee businessman. Born in Vermont in 1822, he came to St. Paul in 1850 and soon built up an express business using packet boats, hauling mail from Galena and Prairie du Chien, and eventually entering the grocery and commission trade. The relocation of Burbank's packet boats from the Upper Landing to the Lower Landing in 1854 was credited with marking the decline of the Upper Landing for the shipping business. Burbank continued to invest in transportation, including stagecoach connections as well as forwarding and commission business for the Red River trade. By 1867, he had built an Italian villa mansion (RA-SPC-3617; 432 Summit Ave.; NRHP, HPC) on Summit Hill befitting his stature in insurance, banking and railroad investments.⁵⁵

Assumption Church, one of the city's finest architectural works in the Pioneer era, was constructed of Platteville limestone in 1870–74 by the German Catholic parish (RA-SPC-5421; 51 W. Ninth St.; NRHP, HPC). Eduard Riedel, a Munich architect, designed the church in a Romanesque style that was inspired by the architecture of the Middle Ages. The church's twin spires towered over St. Paul, and it was called the "most imposing church edifice in Minnesota" by local newspapers.⁵⁶ (Figure 25) A small limestone school for the parish (RA-SPC-5423; 68 W. Exchange St.; 1861–64; NRHP, HPC) built in the Italianate style, stood adjacent to the old original church and the new 1870 church. (Figure 26)

west corner of the intersection of Jefferson, Erie and West Seventh (now McDonald's).

52 Schroeder and Frame, "Limestone Properties of Saint Paul West Seventh Neighborhood," 9, 17.

53 N. H. Winchell, *The Geology of Minnesota, Vol. 1 of the Final Report* (Minneapolis: Johnson, Smith and Harrison, 1884), 173–175, 191.

54 Hess and Larson, *St. Paul's Architecture*, 32.

55 Williams, *History of the City of St. Paul*, 298–303.

56 Hess and Larson, *St. Paul's Architecture*, 26. Larry Millett, *AIA Guide to the Twin Cities: The Essential Source on the Architecture of Minneapolis and St. Paul* (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 2007), 336. See further discussion on the Germans in St. Paul in Section II.

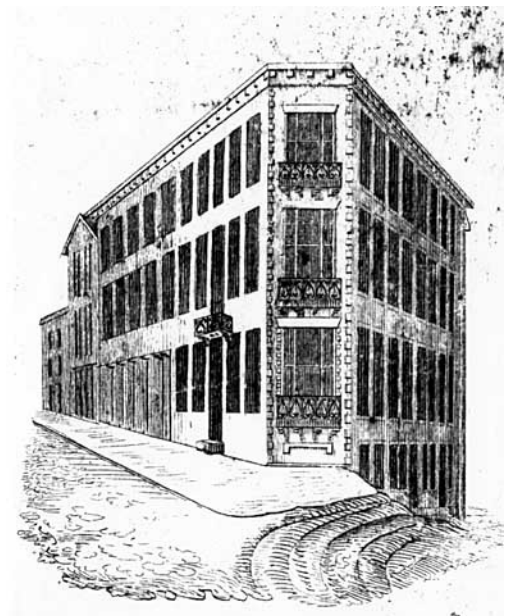


Figure 27: John R. Irvine's business block stood at Seven Corners on the triangle formed between Third and Eagle Streets, 1857.



Figure 28: The American House Hotel, which burned in 1863, stood on Third Street at the corner of Exchange.

Building the West Seventh Neighborhood

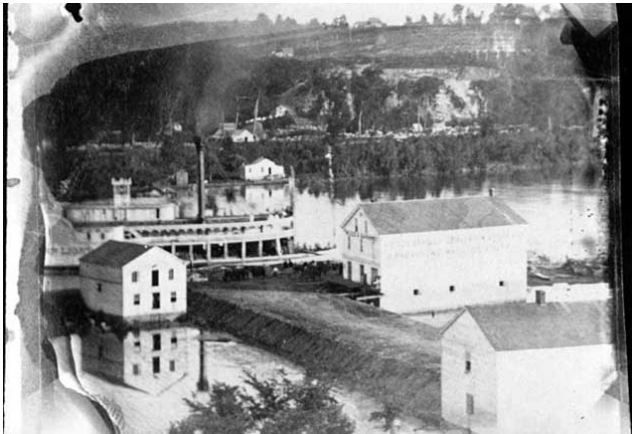


Figure 29: The Upper Levee, looking toward the West Side bluff, 1860.



Figure 30: Looking west from Third Street toward Irvine Park, ca. 1863. John Irvine's house stood on Franklin (now Ryan Street, running west through center of photo).

While Lowertown won out as the steamboat landing that created the primary business district, the settlement at the Upper Landing retained a more mixed-use character. Development in frontier cities offered little separation of land uses, and housing developed side by side with commercial and industrial uses, particularly in the mid-nineteenth century. Although some residential areas started to develop on the northern and eastern fringes of downtown St. Paul, they would be overtaken by commerce and railroad expansion beginning in the 1880s. The early residential neighborhoods that grew near the Upper Landing survived, as the only residential area from the Pioneer Era to persist until the present day. The West Seventh neighborhood included the Irvine Park area and the land to the west that became known as Uppertown, and attracted the housing of pioneer business and professional leaders but also included streets with smaller, more modest houses built by increasing numbers of immigrants and working class residents.

Early Land Development and Subdivision Platting

In the Pioneer Era, the Upper Landing neighborhood adjoined the downtown commercial district that extended west along Third Street (old St. Anthony Road) to the intersection with Seventh Street. Rice and Irvine's 1849 Plat included the Third Street commercial uses along the bluff line. An important juncture resulting from the streets joining in Rice and Irvine's plat was the amalgamation of the street grid at the west edge of Downtown St. Paul, known as Seven Corners. The western leg of Seven Corners, West Seventh Street (Fort Road) provided the primary

connection to the Upper Landing and the route southwest to Fort Snelling. Fort Road attracted early residential development before evolving into a commercial corridor and the primary roadway through the southwest quadrant of the city.

Business blocks extended on Third Street along the bluff to Seven Corners, where the Irvine Block stood at the intersection with Eagle Street by 1857. (Figure 27) In 1859, hotels were scattered through the Upper Landing district. The American House at Third and Exchange, originally built as the Rice House in 1849, burned in 1863.⁵⁷ (Figure 28) Other hotels serving Upper Levee travelers included the Washington House on Third near Fort and the Winslow House at the corner of Third and Fort (also burned 1863). A few hotels were starting to locate along Fort Road into the West Seventh neighborhood, including the Switzerland House near Chestnut and the Snelling House at the corner of Chestnut and Fort.⁵⁸

⁵⁷ Williams, *History of the City of St. Paul*, 223–224. These street names were still in use in the 1860s. St. Anthony referred to Third Street (later Kellogg Boulevard); Fort referred to Seventh Street both east and west of Seven Corners.

⁵⁸ Commercial Directory for the City of Saint Paul to Which is Added a Business Directory, 1858–1859 (St. Paul: T.M. Newson at the St. Paul Daily

Although most grocery stores, hotels, and retail businesses in St. Paul were concentrated farther east on Third Street toward the Lower Landing, the Seven Corners intersection attracted some growth. By 1866, businesses included August Matthaus, retail groceries, flour, and feed; and the St. Paul House hotel and its saloon (on Fort between Eagle and Chestnut), which appeared to be a major facility.⁵⁹ The Upper Landing proved to be popular with manufacturing firms locating below the Third Street bluff. (Figure 29) The 1866 city directory listed firms such as A. Cutter & Co., coopers and barrel materials, on the Upper Levee between Eagle and Chestnut; Jansen Brothers, chair and bedstead manufacturers, corner of Eagle and Franklin (Ryan); L. Beach and Co., soap and candle manufacturers, corner Eagle and Washington; and M.B. Farrell, sash, doors, and blinds, on Fort between St. Anthony (Third) and Chestnut.⁶⁰ These early manufacturing uses established a precedent for primarily industrial land uses that marked the Upper Landing into the twentieth century.

John R. Irvine was one of the earliest arrivals at the Upper Landing. Born in New York, Irvine had come west and established a grocery in Prairie du Chien by 1840. He was urged to come to St. Paul by Henry Jackson (for whom Jackson Street was named), and after a visit in 1843, he bought approximately 300 acres of the old Phelan claim at the Upper Landing. At his arrival, Irvine described the Upper Levee as all “heavy timber and underbrush” with only a footpath up to the bluff. He subsequently sold some of his land to Henry M. Rice in 1848, which they platted as Rice and Irvine’s Addition. Irvine continued in business in St. Paul, selling off lots, investing in business blocks, constructing a saw mill at the foot of Eagle Street, and serving on the City Council.⁶¹ By the 1860s, Irvine lived in a two-story, front gable frame dwelling (nonextant) on Franklin Street (now Ryan) facing the river. (Figure 30)



Figure 31: Irvine Park, Ca. 1895.

Frontier cities were not known for their amenities, particularly designated parkland, but both Rice Park and Irvine Park were set aside in Rice and Irvine’s subdivision. This platting would exert important effects on their surrounding neighborhoods over time (see Rice Park discussion in Section II). The platting of Irvine Park on the higher land overlooking the Upper Landing contributed to the development of an early, fine residential district by the 1860s. With the park as a centerpiece, the neighborhood would ultimately be rehabilitated and restored in the 1970s as the city’s first locally designated residential historic district (RA-SPC-1945; NRHP, HPC). In the 1860s, Irvine was probably not considering such long-term effects.

When deeded to the city, Irvine Park stood at the edge of a marsh, and remained somewhat inaccessible for its first twenty years (RA-SPC-1932; NRHP, HPC). Photographs show that most dwellings in the area faced either the river or toward downtown, stables or barns were on or adjacent to the park, and cattle roamed the grounds. The area was referred to as “the park in Uppertown” or “Franklin Square” until the 1870s when pressure from residents led to improvements including grading the parkland and installation of fencing. The park was named in honor of Irvine on March 5, 1872. Later in the decade, a sixty-foot-wide drive was graded around the park and gas lamps installed. The first fountain was added in 1881, with walks and other landscaping in the following years.⁶² (Figure 31) By that time, houses including those of Governor Ramsey and others had developed a residential character of large and often architect-designed dwellings for the area around the park.

In addition to Rice and Irvine’s plat, other early landowners subdivided land for building lots to the south-

Times, 1858).

59 McClung’s St. Paul Directory (1866).

60 McClung’s St. Paul Directory (1866).

61 Williams, *History of the City of St. Paul*, 126–129, 186; Virginia Brainard Kunz, ed., “Forgotten Pioneers IX: John R. Irvine,” *Ramsey County History* 7, no. 1 (Spring 1970): 21–22.

62 Historic Irvine Park Association, *Brief History of the Irvine Park District: The People and Architecture of an Extraordinary Neighborhood*, St. Paul: Historic Irvine Park Association, ca. 1986, 10–11.



Figure 32: Oliver H. Perry-Charles M. Boyle House, 118 Douglas Street, built 1853 .



Figure 33: John O'Donnell House, 261 Banfil Street, built 1857.

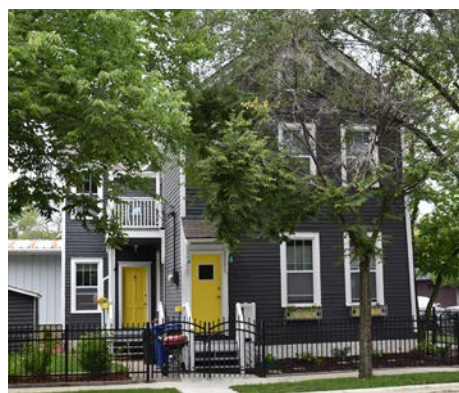


Figure 34: 425 Smith Avenue, built 1860.

west along either side of the Fort Road and to the edge of the bluff. The Irvine Park neighborhood was laid out with orientation to the river, but landowners west of Irvine Park platted according to the cardinal points of the compass. The streets in Leech's Addition west of Wilkin intersected the Irvine area streets at acute angles. Samuel Leech and partners laid out Leech's Addition in 1849 into town lots, leaving another forty-acre parcel west of Douglas and north of West Seventh for larger "Out-Lots" to be used for country estates (later replatted). Sub-division plats based on the cardinal points set the stage for later development all along West Seventh and ensured that properties along the street set at an angle would forever result in unusually angled intersections and lots in the adjacent blocks. Other land subdivision plats continued west of Leech's Addition, including James Winslow's sixty-acre tract located southeast of Goodrich and Western Avenues; and Stinson, Brown and Ramsey's Addition (thirty-nine acres) was platted southwest of St. Clair and Western in 1854.⁶³ These early plats attracted housing in the boom years of the 1850s and illustrated the type of housing constructed in early St. Paul.



Figure 35: Daniel Robertson house, ca. 1888. Robertson's 1854 dwelling originally faced Seventh at Sherman; by 1884, it was moved around the corner to 344 Sherman and replaced by the Robertson Block.

Residential Development in the West Seventh Neighborhood

In the Pioneer Era, residential dwellings in the West Seventh neighborhood included adaptations of the popular East Coast styles that were being constructed elsewhere in St. Paul residential neighborhoods. Architect-designed dwellings were rare until the 1870s, and few were ultimately built in the neighborhood outside of Irvine Park. The West Seventh neighborhood, however, was more prominent for its modest dwellings of the early period, and has retained many more of these early houses than most neighborhoods in St. Paul. The neighborhood also has a preponderance of the smaller limestone houses constructed in the nineteenth century, often the work of skilled German stonemasons. This neighborhood once had a number of alley houses (an additional dwelling unit constructed behind the main residence). Although few are believed to have survived, several were extant as recent as the 1980s. Buildings in West Seventh were also routinely moved in the nineteenth century.⁶⁴ Many of the earliest frame dwellings followed a simple front-facing gable

⁶³ James A. Sazevich, Scott D. McGinnis, and Donald Empson, *Uppertown Survey Final Report*, prepared for the Saint Paul Heritage Preservation Commission and the Minnesota Historical Society, 1992, 4.

⁶⁴ While both alley houses and moved buildings are difficult to document, they must be considered in future surveys. Some alley houses may have been converted to garages or other outbuildings. In their Uppertown Survey, Sazevich, McGinnis, and Empson estimated at least 150 buildings



Figure 36: The 1854 Fuller/Emmett house stood at 279-281 West Seventh until 1942.



Figure 37: Rodney and Elizabeth Parker house, 30 Irvine Park, built 1852. The Parker house originally stood at 35 Irvine Park, was moved to Sherman Street and moved again to this site in the 1970s when it was renovated.



Figure 38: William and Marie Spencer House, 47 Irvine Park, 1860; photo ca. 1880.



Figure 39: William and Marie Spencer House, 47 Irvine Park, 1860. Renovation of the house began in the 1970s.

form, such as Irvine's dwelling on Franklin Street. The 1853 two-story Perry-Boyle house (RA-SPC-8309; 118 Douglas St.) had a narrow frontage with only two bays; the 1857 John O'Donnell house (RA-SPC-8304; 261 Banfil St.) exhibited a three-bay façade, as did the dwelling at 425 Smith Avenue (RA-SPC-3405, 1860), which has a rear addition.⁶⁵ (Figures 32, 33, 34)

Some prominent civic buildings and dwellings exhibited classical influences, often with elements of the Greek Revival style as appeared on the Ramsey County Courthouse, the first Capitol, and the St. Paul City Hall (see Figures 5, 6, 7). Typical Greek Revival features included low-pitched gable roofs, broad pedimented gables, and entry porches supported by prominent columns. Fenestration was usually symmetrically arranged, with a central entry, and windows with six-over-six sash. On more formal buildings, entries were framed by sidelights and a transom. For dwellings, features and detailing were often more subdued.⁶⁶

In the 1860s, Fort Road had not yet become a commercial artery, and homes of early settlers and business leaders gave the road a residential setting. On the north side of Fort Road, the block between Walnut and Sherman streets held the 1854 homes of Alpheus G. Fuller (279–281 West Seventh; 1854; nonextant; later

moved within their survey area (p. 10). Because St. Paul did not have a recordation system to document building moves, it is important to consider relocations for buildings in this area of the city. Empson, *Portrait of a Neighborhood*, describes alley dwellings that existed in 1980 (p. 11) but are believed to be nonextant in 2019. In this study, moved buildings and their successive locations have been identified when known; further research will be needed for definitive information on moved buildings.

⁶⁵ Mead & Hunt, *Historic Resources Inventory: Historic Resources in Portions of the Payne-Phalen, Thomas-Dale and West 7th Neighborhoods*, prepared for Historic Saint Paul, City of Saint Paul Heritage Preservation Commission, and Ramsey County Historical Society Saint Paul, Minnesota, July 2011. This Riverview context utilizes survey photographs from the Mead & Hunt inventory to identify housing types and styles included within their study area. The Mead & Hunt survey indicates that 425 N. Smith Avenue was moved to that location although no further information is provided.

⁶⁶ Virginia Savage McAlester, *A Field Guide to American Houses*, revised ed. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2018), 250; Carole Zellie, *St. Paul Historic Context Study, Pioneer Houses: 1854–1880*, prepared by Landscape Research for the Saint Paul Heritage Preservation Commission, 2001, 3.

Figure 40: Wright-Prendergast house 223 Walnut, 1851, photo ca. 1964. Note the large Grain Terminal Association elevators blocking the view from the house to the Mississippi River.



Figure 41: The Wright-Prendergast house, 2019. The original Greek Revival dwelling was remodeled in 1906 with the addition of the two-story neoclassical portico on the façade.

the Judge Lafayette Emmett residence) and Daniel Robertson (287 West Seventh; 1854; nonextant). Both dwellings were dominated by their front porches, displaying two-story Doric columns supporting a flat roof ornamented with frieze-band windows. The Robertson house was later moved around the corner to 344 Sherman. (Figure 35) Alpheus Fuller arrived in Minnesota in 1848 and erected the Fuller House Hotel that opened in 1856 (burned 1869). Built in 1854, Fuller’s dwelling was purchased by

Lafayette Emmett, first justice of the Minnesota Supreme Court, in 1858. The Fuller-Emmett dwelling was a funeral home by the 1930s, and torn down in 1942.⁶⁷ Photographs from the 1930s show the juxtaposition of the former residential location with commerce, with the house against the west elevation of the Rochat Block, (RA-SPC-5301, 273-277 West Seventh; NRHP, HPC) a brick commercial structure built in 1884. (Figure 36)



Figure 42: Schneider-Bulera House, 365 Michigan Street, built 1850.



Figure 43: Rufus Ingersoll House, 282 Harrison Avenue, constructed 1852.

The restored two-story Rodney and Elizabeth Parker House (RA-SPC-1936; 30 Irvine Park/250 Sherman St.; 1852; NRHP, HPC) exemplified the Greek Revival style in massing, proportions and detailing, including a two-story porch, fluted Doric pilasters framing the entrance, and the regularly spaced six-over-six sash windows. The Parkers moved to St. Paul in 1849 to manage Henry Rice’s American House Hotel. Three years later, they purchased a lot fronting Irvine Park and built the Greek Revival dwelling that recalled their New Hampshire heritage. The Parker house illustrated a common trend within the neighborhood; it was moved from nearby blocks first in the 1880s and again in the 1970s before settling on its current location.⁶⁸ (Figure 37)



Figures 44-45: The Dahl house, built 1858, was moved from its original site at 136 Thirteenth Street in the 1990s due to construction of the State Department of Revenue. The Fort Road/West Seventh Federation renovated the house and relocated it to 508 Jefferson.

Two other dwellings in Irvine Park exhibited the Greek Revival style with the roofline and gable parallel to rather than facing the street. Both have undergone extensive changes and renovations over a century. The Spencer House (RA-SPC-5471; 47 Irvine Park; 1860; NRHP, HPC) (Figures 38, 39) and the Wright-Prendergast House (RA-SPC-5472; 1851; 223 Walnut St.; NRHP, HPC) (Figures 40, 41) both began as dwellings with the massing, proportions, and fenestration of Greek Revival broadside style. Built in 1860, the Spencer house replaced an earlier dwelling that burned. William Spencer was clerk of the U.S. District Court from 1863 to

⁶⁷ Millett, *Lost Twin Cities*, 68–69. Both the Robertson and Fuller/Emmett houses are visible on the 1867 Ruger’s Birds Eye View of St. Paul (Figure 15).

⁶⁸ Historic Irvine Park Association, *A Brief History of the Irvine Park District*, 42; Hess and Larson, *St. Paul’s Architecture*, 12.

1897, and he built another house in Irvine Park in 1887. The original 1860 house was subdivided and known as Walnut Flats until 1965, and later renovated. Isaac P. Wright was a city alderman from 1858 to 1863, was president of the Board of Public Works, and served on the Board of Control. Like many early residents, he was in the grocery business and a carpenter who worked on construction of the first state capitol. Wright expanded his dwelling by 1860. A major renovation occurred under the later ownership of James Prendergast in 1906 when a two-story neoclassical portico was added and changed the appearance of the original dwelling.⁶⁹

Smaller one-story and two-story Greek Revival dwellings were constructed in the subdivided lots west of Irvine Park. The Schneider-Bulera house (RA-SPC-2935; 365 Michigan St.) and Rufus Ingersoll house (RA-SPC-8306; 282 Harrison Ave.) each displayed a low-pitched gable roof with prominent gable end returns and symmetrical fenestration. Both simplified versions of the Greek Revival style, they were constructed in the 1850s. (Figures 42, 43)

The 1858 William and Catherine Dahl house (RA-SPC-5430; 508 Jefferson Ave.; removed from NRHP due to relocation) was a modest, one-story Greek Revival dwelling with the roofline parallel to the street. The Dahl house originally stood at 136 Thirteenth Street at the north edge of downtown St. Paul, but was saved from demolition and rehabilitated to its present condition and moved to the West Seventh neighborhood.⁷⁰ (Figures 44, 45)

By the late 1860s, some buildings displayed the current architectural styles appearing in Eastern cities, including French Second Empire, Italianate, and Gothic Revival. Territorial Governor Alexander Ramsey's limestone residence at 265 Exchange Street (RA-SPC-1206; 1868–72; NRHP, HPC) was designed by Monroe Sheire in the French Second Empire style. (Figure 46) The large three-story dwelling included a five-bay façade with a central entrance, covered by a one-story porch supported with delicate columns and railing. A characteristic Mansard roof supported by paired brackets marked the third floor, with projecting dormer windows and patterned fishscale shingles. Ramsey arrived



Figure 46: Ramsey House, 265 Exchange Street, was designed by Monroe Sheire in the French Second Empire style.



Figure 47: The Mannheimer double house, 270-272 West Seventh, was another of the dwellings along the street before it became a commercial corridor. The house is most identified with the Mannheimer Brothers who operated a downtown department store and resided in the double house until 1890; it was razed in 1999.



Figure 48: 1880 John Miner house at 256 Goodrich Street exhibits the Italianate style.



Figure 49: Andrew Schultz House, 298 Banfil Street, constructed 1884.



Figure 50: George Krech House, 55 Wilkin Street, constructed 1880.

69 Historic Irvine Park Association, *Brief History of the Irvine Park District*, 51–53.

70 Hess and Larson, *St. Paul's Architecture*, 10–11, 244 (footnote 27). The Dahl House was restored by the Fort Road/West Seventh Federation; see Ed Johnson; David Lanegran; and Betty Moran, *The Landscape Impact of the West Seventh Federation: A Neighborhood Tour*. (St. Paul: West Seventh / Fort Road Federation, 2016), 10.

in 1849 to assume his appointment as Territorial Governor. He built a frame dwelling facing Walnut Street on this location in 1850. Ramsey continued his political career as territorial governor, mayor of St. Paul, and two terms as Governor. It was during his terms as Governor that Ramsey ordered pursuit and punishment of the Dakota following the U.S.-Dakota War of 1862. Ramsey was elected to the U.S. Senate in 1863 and later held an appointment as Secretary of War in Washington, D.C. from 1879 to 1881. The house on Exchange Street was built while Ramsey was a senator. Ramsey and his wife Anna had three children, two sons who died young and their daughter, Marion. Marion married Charles Furness in 1875, and she and her two daughters lived in the house with Ramsey until his 1903 death. The Furness daughters, Laura and Anita, remained in the house until the 1960s when it was donated to the Minnesota Historical Society.⁷¹

The 1874 Goodkind/Mannheimer double house at 270–272 Fort Road (RA-SPC-5300; razed 1999; NRHP) reflected the French Second Empire style, although a less elaborate version than the Ramsey House. The three-story brick (later stucco) building also had a prominent Mansard roof supported by paired eave brackets, and a full width first floor porch. The Mannheimer brothers operated a prosperous dry goods store in St. Paul and resided in the double house on West Seventh until 1890.⁷² (Figure 47)



Figure 51: Henry M. Knox House, 26 Irvine Park. Built in 1860, the Knox house exemplifies the Gothic Revival style as applied to a dwelling.

Across from the Ramsey house, the 1870 Joseph Forepaugh house (RA-SPC-1207; 276 Exchange St.; NRHP, HPC) was designed in the Italianate style. Most houses in the Italianate style in the West Seventh neighborhoods were generally rectangular or square, two or three stories, with a low-pitch hipped roof with wide eaves supported by large brackets. Fenestration was symmetrically arranged, with a central entry porch or full width porch and tall first floor windows, both square and rounded, surmounted by arches or hoods. The Forepaugh house was subsequently remodeled in 1878, and again rebuilt in 1976 when a Mansard roof and *porte cochere* were added.⁷³

The 1880 John Miner house at 256 Goodrich Avenue (RA-SPC-1530) was a less elaborate Italianate style. The two-story, wood frame building has a shallow-pitched, overhanging hip roof supported by brackets. It has a typical Italianate three-bay façade with tall, first floor win-

dows and a full width porch. (Figure 48) Another variation within the neighborhood has a more steeply pitched gable at the roofline, as shown on the Andrew Shultz house at 298 Banfil Street (RA-SPC-0271; 1884) and the George Krech House at 55 Wilkin Street (RA-SPC-5079; 1880). (Figures 49, 50)

The Henry M. Knox House at 26 Irvine Park (RA-SPC-1935; NRHP, HPC) was among the few Gothic Revival buildings that have survived in St. Paul. Built in 1860 by bankers J. Jay and Henry Knox, the two-story dwelling was distinguished by a steeply pitched gable roof with a pointed arch window. The house, now rehabilitated, was clad in green siding, emblematic of the board-and-batten construction used in the Gothic Revival style.⁷⁴ (Figure 51)

Although displaying several different architectural stylistic details, the limestone dwellings of the West Seventh neighborhood are unusual because of their use of stone for smaller



Figure 52: The store and flats building at 445 Smith was constructed in 1857, and is associated with Anton Waldmann, who operated a saloon there from the 1860s. It was later converted to residential use and has recently been renovated as a restaurant/bar retaining the Waldmann name. The new first floor storefront with two entries evokes the 1850s but is not original.

71 Historic Irvine Park Association, *Brief History of the Irvine Park District*, 16–17.

72 Historic Irvine Park Association, *Brief History of the Irvine Park District*, 27.

73 Historic Irvine Park Association, *Brief History of the Irvine Park District*, 21–22.

74 Hess and Larson, *St. Paul's Architecture*, 27.

residences and their survival over time. Several limestone dwellings were built by German stonemasons, indicating both the arrival of German emigrants in the city as well as their skill as masons (see further discussion in Section II). Among the earliest extant residential examples was the Justus Ramsey house, constructed in 1852 at 252 West Seventh Street, (RA-SPC-5296; NRHP, HPC) prior to the development of Fort Road. The one-story, front-gabled Ramsey house was constructed with a central entry flanked by two windows, each with nine-over-nine sash. Ashlar limestone was used for the foundation and facade, while rubble limestone was used on secondary elevations. The west wall of the dwelling was removed when the adjacent brick



Figures 53-54: Built in 1859 at 314 N. Smith, this limestone dwelling was associated with Joseph and Lucia Brings, who operated a business along West Seventh. The dwelling was moved to a more residential location at 178 Goodrich in 1989 and renovated.



Figure 55: The Uppertown neighborhood retains a number of limestone dwellings built in the Pioneer Era. Christian Reinhardt, a German stone mason, resided at 383 Goodhue where he added a limestone addition to an existing wood frame dwelling.

building was constructed and adjoined the house. Justus Ramsey was the brother of Alexander Ramsey; his name is attributed to the house because he owned the land when it was constructed. Justus Ramsey apparently never resided in the dwelling but boarded in the nearby American Hotel, owned in partnership with his brother.⁷⁵

Five years later, stonemason Jacob Amos constructed a store and flats building at 445 Smith Avenue (RA-SPC-3406; 1857; HPC). The ashlar and rubble limestone building was purchased by Anton (Anthony) Waldmann in 1860, a Bavarian emigrant who initially operated the property as a saloon. Waldmann returned to Germany in 1885, and the next owner altered it for residential use, which changed the fenestration on the first floor and added a rear wood frame addition. In recent years it has been converted back to a brewery and restaurant.⁷⁶ (Figure 52)

The 1859 Schillinger-Brings House (RA-SPC-8341; 178 Goodrich Ave. [moved from 314 Smith Ave. N.]; HPC) is a two-story load-bearing limestone building, faced with large ashlar stone on the façade and smaller ashlar on side elevations. Flush stone lintels and projecting stone sills frame window openings. The three-bay façade with side entry and a first floor hipped roof porch reflected the symmetry of the Federal style. Built for John Schillinger, a Swiss stonemason, the dwelling was purchased by Joseph and Lucia Brings in 1863. Brings and his family operated a business along West Seventh Street. The dwelling was moved to its present location in 1989 and rehabilitated, including a new wood frame rear addition.⁷⁷ (Figures 53, 54)

Jacob Amos and his German-born partner, Christian Reinhardt, built a masonry dwelling for Martin Weber in 1867 (RA-SPC-4353; 202 McBoal St., HPC). The one-and-one-half-story, front gable dwelling was unusual in that the entire dwelling was constructed of random (uncoursed) limestone rubble. The three-bay façade had

⁷⁵ Schroeder and Frame, "Limestone Properties of Saint Paul West Seventh Neighborhood," 38–41. A 1933 widening of West Seventh Street took fifteen feet from the front yard of the dwelling.

⁷⁶ Schroeder and Frame, "Limestone Properties of Saint Paul West Seventh Neighborhood," 44–47.

⁷⁷ Schroeder and Frame, "Limestone Properties of Saint Paul West Seventh Neighborhood," 28–31. The property is also listed in SHPO database as Joseph Brings House (RA-SPC-3401; 314 Smith Ave.), based on the 1981 St. Paul survey.



Figures 56-57: One of the earliest houses built in Reserve Township, the 1860s William Davern house showed the Italianate style as applied to a rural dwelling (top photo). In an early example of respecting the historic style, the 1929 addition was so skillful that it appears the entire house was original to the 1860s.

a side entry with transom and two windows; a single window was placed in the gable end. Fenestration on the façade was accented with ashlar-cut rectangular stones for quoins, lintels and projecting sills. The gable end returns reflected the Greek Revival style. A Prussian emigrant, Weber died by 1871 although his family resided in the dwelling until the 1920s.⁷⁸ Christian Reinhardt used his skills on assembling his own house at 383 Goodhue Street at Western (RA-SPC-8334, HPC). An earlier (ca. 1865) wood frame dwelling was moved to the site and ca. 1869–70 Reinhardt built a limestone “ell” addition. Constructed with semi-coursed rubble stone, the one-story addition included a five-bay façade with an integral porch on the north end. The porch sheltered the entry and two windows, all framed with segmental arches.⁷⁹ (Figure 55)

Reserve Township

While the city of St. Paul continued to grow around the Upper and Lower Landings and residential neighborhoods were being platted, the land outside the city limits was also being settled and organized. After Minnesota became a territory in 1848, settlers again returned to this area, anticipating that the land would be surveyed and become available for purchase.⁸⁰

Like the downtown squatters, the early residents outside the city purchased their land at the Stillwater land sale in 1854. Among them was John K. Ayd, a German-born farmer who arrived in St. Paul with his brothers Theodore and Edward in 1851. Ayd purchased a quarter section of land between Randolph and St. Clair, Victoria to Lexington, where he built a house and grist mill in 1860. Ayd took advantage of Cascade Creek, a stream that began near Randolph and Hamline Streets and flowed east toward the ravine (location of Ayd Mill Road). He dammed the creek to create a millpond in order to provide power for his gristmill, which produced twenty-two sacks of corn per day. Ayd’s mill passed to his son Rudolf, who later sold it to another German emigrant, Charles Kramerath in 1866. Kramerath and his wife stocked the millpond with salmon in an effort to provide attractions for visitors, but the mill failed by the 1870s when the Short Line railroad built up the ravine and cut off the connection to the stream.⁸¹

William Davern purchased 160 acres near modern-day St.

78 Schroeder and Frame, “Limestone Properties of Saint Paul West Seventh Neighborhood,” 32–36.

79 Schroeder and Frame, “Limestone Properties of Saint Paul West Seventh Neighborhood,” 23–27.

80 Empson, “Highland-Groveland-Macalester Park,” 14.

81 Donald Empson, “John Ayd’s Grist Mill—And Reserve Township History, *Ramsey*

Paul Avenue and built an Italianate style house in the 1860s (RA-SPC-0899; 1170 Davern St.; NRHP, HPC). Davern's original 1860s dwelling was doubled in size for a new owner by carpenter Robert Elholm in 1929; Elholm so skillfully duplicated the southern two bays that the entire dwelling could be mistaken for an 1860s building.⁸² (Figures 56, 57)

Other early farmers in the region include Friedrich Rudolf Knapheide, who farmed near Randolph and Cleveland in the 1850s (RA-SPC-3137; 2064 Randolph Ave.). His farm hand, Frederick Spangenberg, built his limestone house at 375 Mt. Curve Boulevard (RA-SPC-4701; NRHP, HPC), and Thomas Crosby farmed on the river lowlands near Crosby Lake. Farmers began to adapt to St. Paul's urban expansion by the 1870s and 1880s, and instead of raising grain, they turned to dairy farming and truck farming to supply products for sale in the city.⁸³

Reserve Township government was established by the local settlers in 1858. The township included the area generally west of the city limits (Toronto Street in 1858), from Marshall Avenue south to the river, from the remaining land outside the city that had been part of the Fort Snelling reserve. In 1859, the township surveyed its first road, St. Clair Avenue, from Cleveland Avenue east to the city limits. By 1860, the township counted 249 residents and two schools were built. Webster School was located at the southwest corner of Randolph and Snelling. It was replaced in 1870 with a limestone building, renamed Mattocks School in 1887, and used as a school until 1929. (Figure 58) The building was maintained by an American Legion Post until 1960, and four years later moved to the grounds of Highland Senior/Junior High School at Snelling and Montreal Avenues. A second township school was eventually moved to the northwest corner of Montreal and Snelling. That building, known as the Quincy School, stood from 1881 until the 1930s.⁸⁴

The 1874 Andreas Map (Figure 13) showed both schools in Reserve Township along with a few more roads south of St. Clair, including Randolph and Montreal. North-south roads included Cleveland Avenue, which connected St. Anthony Avenue on the north to Fort Road on the south; and Snelling Avenue, which connected Montreal Avenue north to the St. Paul and Pacific Railroad line depot (near Hamline University). Davern Avenue, where William Davern's farmhouse stood, ran south from Montreal to Fort Road. The remainder of the earlier path from St. Paul to the Fort still ran along the bluff line from roughly Wilkin Street to the section line of approximately Snelling Avenue.⁸⁵



Figure 58: The 1887 limestone Mattocks School at Randolph and Snelling, which served students in Reserve Township. The building was moved to Montreal and Snelling, near Highland Junior/Senior High School in 1964.

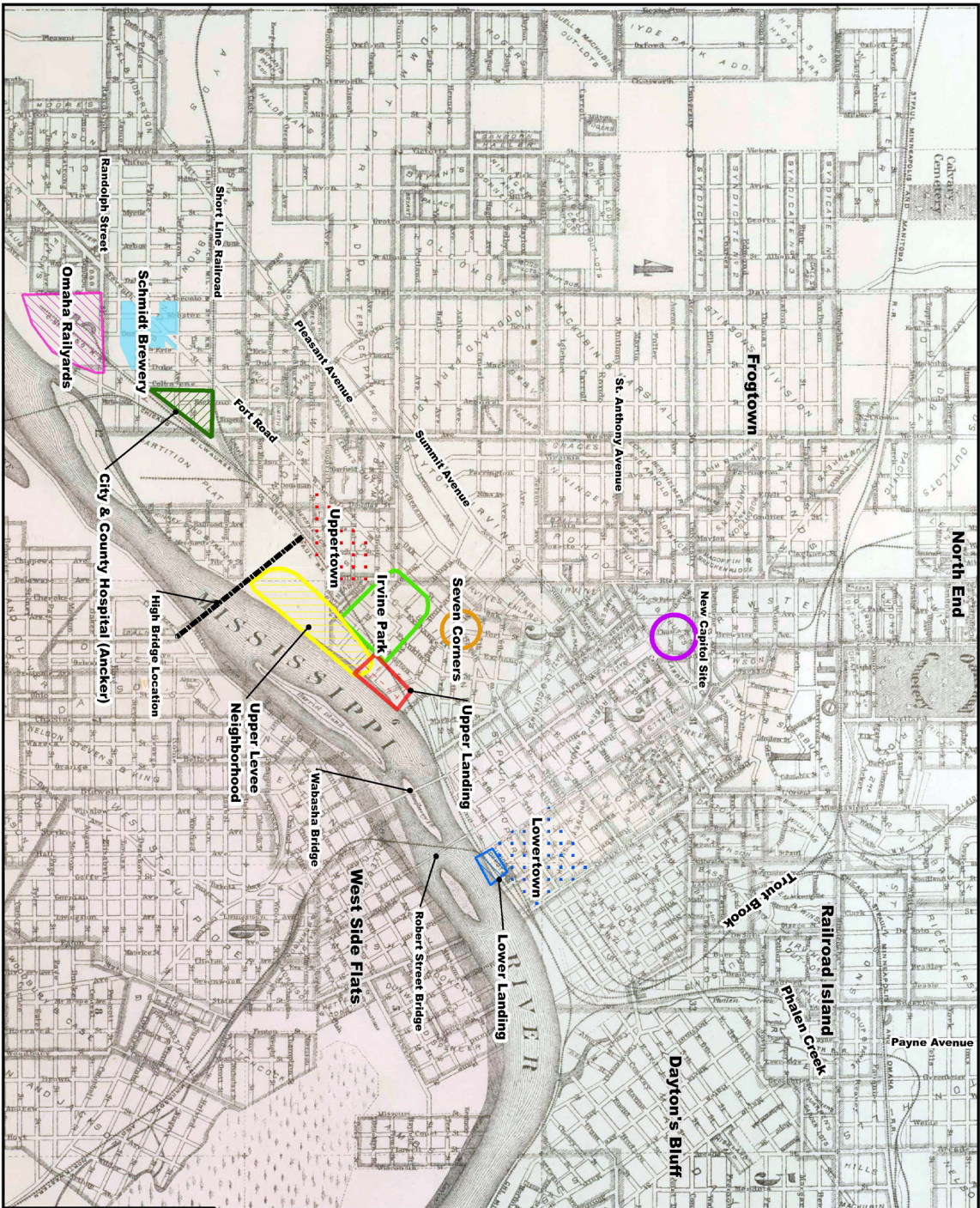
County History 11, no. 2 (Fall 1974): 3–5. From Ayd's location, the stream flowed east along the alignment of Jefferson Street and southeast toward the Mississippi River (near Western Ave.); later into the Kittsondale sewer (Greg Brick, "Stairway to the Abyss: The Diverting Story of Cascade Creek and Its Journey." *Ramsey County History* 33, no. 1 (Spring 1998): 4). See additional discussion of Cascade Creek in Section II.

82 Millett, *AIA Guide*, 531–532; Hess and Larson, *St. Paul's Architecture*, 129–131.

83 Empson, "Highland-Groveland-Macalester Park," 14.

84 Empson, "Highland-Groveland-Macalester Park," 15.



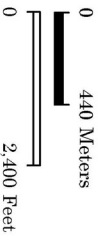
85 A. T. Andreas, *An Illustrated Historical Atlas of the State of Minnesota* (Chicago: A. T. Andreas, 1874). It appears that portions of this old road along the bluff may still be present on the alignments of Cliff Street and Stewart Avenue.



Map II
 Riverview Corridor
 The Railroad Builds the City
 1880-1900
 1886 Map of Saint Paul

- Upper Landing
- Uppertown
- Upper Levee Neighborhood
- Lower Landing
- Lowertown
- Irvine Park
- City & County Hospital (Ancker)
- Schmidt Brewery
- Seven Corners
- Omaha Railyards

Hopkins "Atlas of the Environs of St. Paul"
 1886. John R. Borchert Map Library.


 DEPARTMENT OF TRANSPORTATION



SECTION II: THE RAILROAD BUILDS THE CITY

1880-1900

Introduction

The decade of the 1880s was pivotal in the growth of the Twin Cities, bringing massive population growth and development of agriculture and industry throughout the state and the Upper Midwest. The Twin Cities rapidly expanded from frontier settlements into urbanized metropolitan cities, with the resulting infrastructure and institutions required to house, employ, and provide services to the rapidly increasing population. The population growth, economic changes and physical development that began in the 1880s would establish the Twin Cities' image and an economic base that persisted until the mid-twentieth century, when both cities would remake their future directions.

In St. Paul, the appearance of its downtown evolved as wholesale and retail businesses began to concentrate into separate districts. The 1870s pioneer city with a business district along the levee and on Third Street spread to a new core of retail businesses and financial institutions to the north along Fourth to Seventh Streets. The wholesale businesses that had begun along the Lower Landing increasingly moved east of Sibley and Jackson. New construction techniques and architectural designs provided a more impressive skyline for the capital city. By the 1890s, state government began the process to construct a new Capitol and grounds that would reconfigure city streets over the following decades. (See Map II)

The West Seventh neighborhood attracted additional residents and grew west and southwest along Fort Road. Upper Landing industries and the railroads provided jobs, as a horsecar and then the streetcar line along Fort Road connected the neighborhood with the downtown. The streetcar line also changed the character of Fort Road, as the old houses of the 1850s and 1860s gave way to business blocks and made the road the primary commercial artery of St. Paul's West End. New housing styles and types appeared, along with churches, schools, and institutions that served the neighborhood. In the West Seventh neighborhood, many of these trends had begun earlier, with the arrival of the immigrant groups that settled there as early as the 1850s.

Population and Physical Expansion in St. Paul

	1850	1860	1870	1880	1890	1900
St. Paul Population	1,112	10,401	20,030	41,473	133,156	163,065

Source: United States Census, 1880.

By 1880, St. Paul's population had doubled every ten years since 1860, and the total population of over 41,000 was approximately two-thirds native-born and one-third foreign-born. The native-born population was primarily white, with approximately 500 people of color living in the city. Of the approximately 15,000 foreign-born residents in the city, the largest groups included almost 5,000 born in the various provinces that were considered part of the German Empire (and likely including persons from what is now Poland); over 3,000 were born in Ireland; and 1,900 were born in Sweden. Approximately 700 persons from Bohemia and the same number from Norway were the next largest foreign-born groups. Also considered foreign-born

were the approximately 1,500 residents born in Canada, likely some of St. Paul's original French Canadian settlers.¹ Twenty years later in 1900, approximately 47,000 (or almost 30 percent) of St. Paul's total population of 163,065 were foreign-born. However, when including persons of foreign-born parents, that total grew to approximately 118,000, or 72 percent of the population.² The expansion of immigration brought citizens from many other countries, although predominantly from Northern and Central Europe. The largest groups still came from Germany, Sweden, and Ireland.

Country of Origin	Total population by country of birth (for countries with at least 975 St. Paul residents)
Austria	1,488
Bohemia	1,348
Canada (English)	3,557
Canada (French)	1,015
Denmark	1,206
England	2,005
Germany	12,985
Ireland	4,892
Norway	2,900
Poland (including Austrian, German, Russian sectors)	1,241
Russia	987
Sweden	9,852
1900 Total St. Paul Population	1900 St. Paul Foreign-Born Population
163,065	46,819

Table 34, United States Census, 1900

Population growth and new transportation options supported expansion of the city's physical boundaries. Beginning with the establishment of the horsecar system in the 1870s, platting of residential lots pushed out from the approximately one-mile radius around the Upper and Lower Landings that had previously defined the city. By 1874, city boundaries were expanded to include the West Side (across the Mississippi River to the south), and bounded by English Street on the east, Front Street on the north, and Lexington and Otto Avenues on the west/southwest. The population and residential boom of the 1880s pushed the boundaries from approximately twenty square miles in 1874 to fifty-five square miles by 1887 (roughly the modern boundaries of the city today).³ (Figure 1)

As transportation lines expanded, St. Paul developed residential streetcar suburbs within the city boundaries. On the way toward Minneapolis were Merriam Park, Macalester, and St. Anthony Park in the west and north-west sections of the city. The East Side included Hazel Park and Arlington Hills, and Burlington Heights in the southeast along the river.⁴ St. Paul was distinctive with the expansion of freestanding communities outside

1 "Statistics of the Place of Birth of the Population of the United States: Table XVI, Foreign-born Population of Fifty Principal Cities, Distributed, According to Place of Birth, Among the Various Foreign Countries: 1880," in Department of the Interior, Census Office, *Statistics of the Population of the United States at the Tenth Census, June 1, 1880* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1883), 538–541, available at https://www2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1880/vol-01-population/1880_v1-14.pdf?# (accessed November 15, 2019).

2 "Table 57: Aggregate, White, and Colored Population, Distributed According to Native or Foreign Parentage, for Cities Having 25,000 Inhabitants or More: 1900," in United States Census Office, *Population: Part I* (Washington, D.C., 1901), 866–869, available at https://books.google.com/books?id=EfdYAAAYAAJ&lpg=PR12&ots=Q_YRMqHJAz&dq=1900%20census%20table%2057&pg=PR11#v=onepage&q=1900%20census%20table%2057&f=false (accessed November 15, 2019).

3 Carole Zellie and Garneth O. Peterson, *St. Paul Historic Context Study, Residential Real Estate Development: 1880–1950*, prepared by Landscape Research for the Saint Paul Heritage Preservation Commission, 2001, 4; Carole Zellie and Garneth O. Peterson, *St. Paul Historic Context Study, Downtown St. Paul, 1849–1975*, prepared by Landscape Research for the Saint Paul Heritage Preservation Commission, 2001, 7.

4 See Zellie and Peterson, *St. Paul Historic Context: Residential Real Estate Development* for more information on subdivision development.

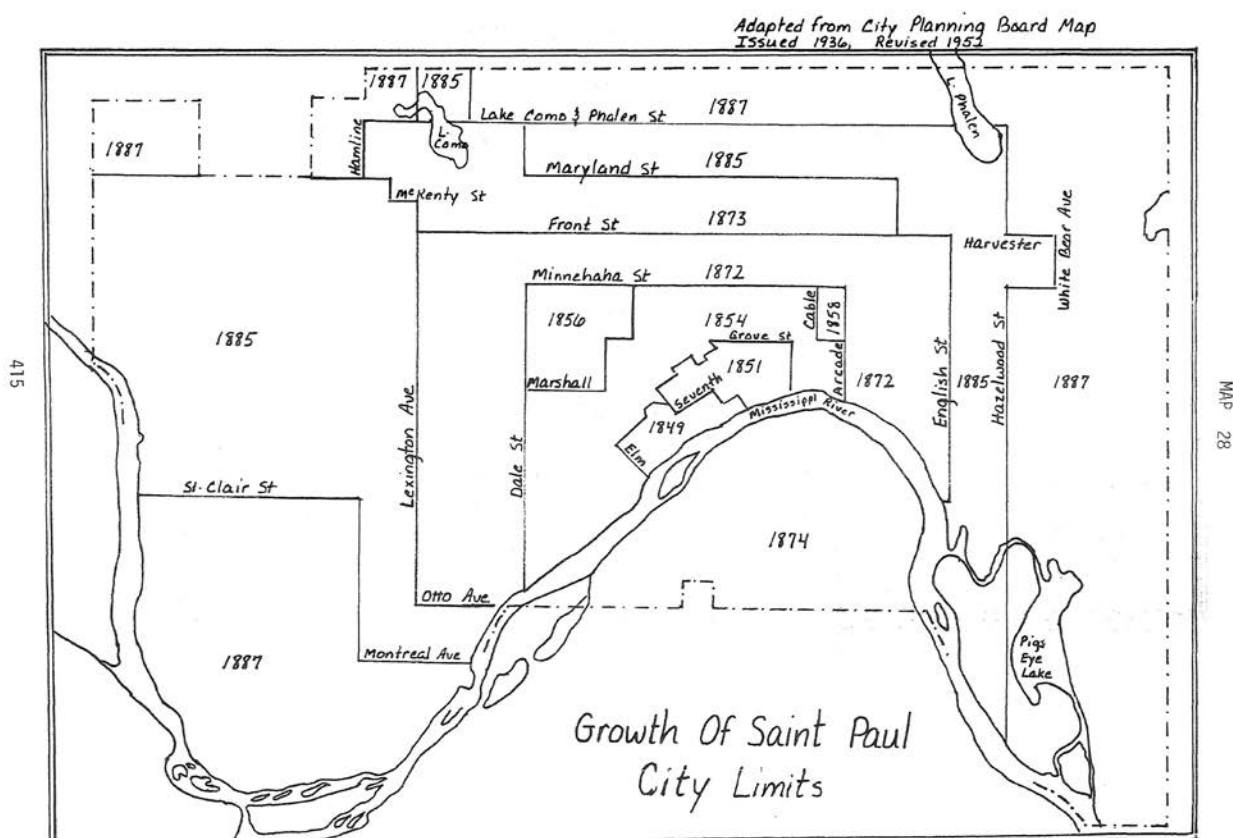


Figure 1: The city limits of St. Paul have not changed since 1887.

its borders, several of which were founded as industrial centers. In the 1880s, North St. Paul and Gladstone (now part of Maplewood) were platted as industrial suburbs, while South St. Paul was planned around the development of the stockyards industry.⁵ White Bear Lake was a railroad stop by 1870 and later developed into a resort community for St. Paul residents.

City Infrastructure

City growth brought concentrated development and expansion of municipal services, with a need to provide improved infrastructure and a means to fund it. A Board of Public Works was established in 1872 to oversee the construction, maintenance, and repairs of streets, sewers, sidewalks, and bridges, as well as to levy assessments against property owners to fund the improvements. The City Engineer served as the ex-officio commissioner of public works.⁶

Street paving and sewer lines enabled enhanced commercial and residential construction. In 1884, the city graded over sixteen miles of streets and laid approximately three-and-one-half miles of pavement. Six-and-one-half miles of sewers were constructed, along with ten miles of water mains.⁷ By 1890, these numbers had grown to fifty-six miles of streets graded, over sixty-five miles of sidewalk laid, forty miles of paved

5 Lucille M. Kane and Alan Ominsky, *Twin Cities: A Pictorial History of Saint Paul and Minneapolis* (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 1983), 81–82.

6 J. Fletcher Williams, *A History of the City of St. Paul to 1875* (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society, 1876. Reprint, St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 1983), 442; Henry A. Castle, *History of St. Paul and Vicinity* (Chicago and New York: Lewis Publishing Co., 1912), 387–388.

7 Castle, *History of St. Paul and Vicinity*, 115.

streets and approximately 102 miles of sewers.⁸

The St. Paul Water Company began in the 1860s, with water mains running from Lake Phalen to the developed area of the city by 1869. In 1882, the City purchased the company and became owner of the water works, which was administered by a Board of Water Commissioners. Water came from the lakes in northeast Ramsey County, flowing by gravity for the lower portion of the city, and from a reservoir north of Lake Como to serve the properties of the Hill District and later extended to the West Side. By 1890, the system boasted 186 miles of water mains and over 1,400 fire hydrants in the city. The Board continued to build mains throughout the city and dug wells at Vadnais and Centerville Lakes to support the system by 1900.⁹

Transportation and Building the West Seventh Neighborhood

The horsecar/streetcar system provided the early network that tied the city together and offered local mobility within the West Seventh neighborhood. The St. Paul Street Railway Company, organized in 1872, began with two miles of track used by six cars and pulled by 30 horses. First lines were built in downtown on Third Street from Seven Corners to Wabasha, and on Fourth, Jackson, and other downtown streets. In the West Seventh neighborhood, initial track extended from Seven Corners west to Ann/Goodhue Streets in 1872. The next extension occurred in 1881 when the track was built to Tuscarora Avenue and the West Seventh horsecar stables constructed southwest of Bay Street (burned 1891).¹⁰ Later reorganized as the St. Paul City Railway Company, the horsecar office and horse stables were built in 1884 at the intersection of Ramsey Street at Oak (now Smith Avenue, current location of Children’s Hospital).¹¹ By 1887, a horsecar line extended along Ramsey Street to Oakland and Grand Avenue, connecting Fort Road and the Summit Hill area. Minneapolis transit magnate Thomas Lowry took over the system and began to electrify it in 1890. The first line converted to electricity was the Grand Avenue line, running from Smith Park (Mears Park) through downtown, West Seventh and Ramsey to Grand Avenue. The Fort Road line from Ramsey Street to Tuscarora Avenue was completed later that year. In 1891, new track on Fort Road (West Seventh) was constructed from Tuscarora Avenue to the Fort Snelling Bridge, followed by the “Randolph Extension” on Randolph Avenue from Fort Road to Mississippi River Boulevard. Power for the system was provided at the Ramsey Street and Smith Avenue shops.¹²

The early streetcar system built off Fort Road at both Ramsey/Grand and Randolph Streets provided the initial framework of the line in the West Seventh neighborhood after 1900. A St. Clair Avenue line was introduced in 1915 and extended to Fairview Avenue in 1917. The Randolph line was rebuilt in 1909 and later connected to a line that ran on Snelling from Randolph to Grand Avenue. In the 1920s, the Randolph line was extended to Cleveland and Ford Parkway to serve the Ford plant (see Section III).¹³ (Figure 2)

In addition to streetcars, passenger service on the Short Line Railroad began with the completion of the CM&StP through the neighborhood after 1880. Two passenger stations located along the line were at Chestnut Street and for a time at Ridgewood Park (Victoria Street, foot of Benhill Road).¹⁴ Although built to connect to Minneapolis, the Short Line also supported the streetcar suburbs in the northwest quadrant of St.

8 *Saint Paul City Directory, 1890–91* (St. Paul: R. L. Polk & Co., Publishers, 1890), 42.

9 Castle, *History of St. Paul and Vicinity*, 355–357; *Saint Paul City Directory, 1890–91*.

10 Aaron Isaacs and John Diers, *Twin Cities by Trolley: The Streetcar Era in Minneapolis and St. Paul* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2007), 315; Russell L. Olson, *The Electric Railways of Minnesota* (Hopkins, Minn.: Minnesota Transportation Museum, 1976), 32.

11 Isaacs and Diers, *Twin Cities by Trolley*, 315; Castle, *History of St. Paul and Vicinity*, 361–365.

12 Castle, *History of St. Paul and Vicinity*, 364; Olson, *Electric Railways of Minnesota*, 32, 35, 37. The shops at Ramsey and Smith were razed in 1911 after the street railway operations relocated to downtown.

13 Olson, *Electric Railways of Minnesota*, 51–54, 57.

14 Donald Empson, “John Ayd’s Grist Mill—And Reserve Township History,” *Ramsey County History* 11, no. 2 (Fall 1974): 5–6.

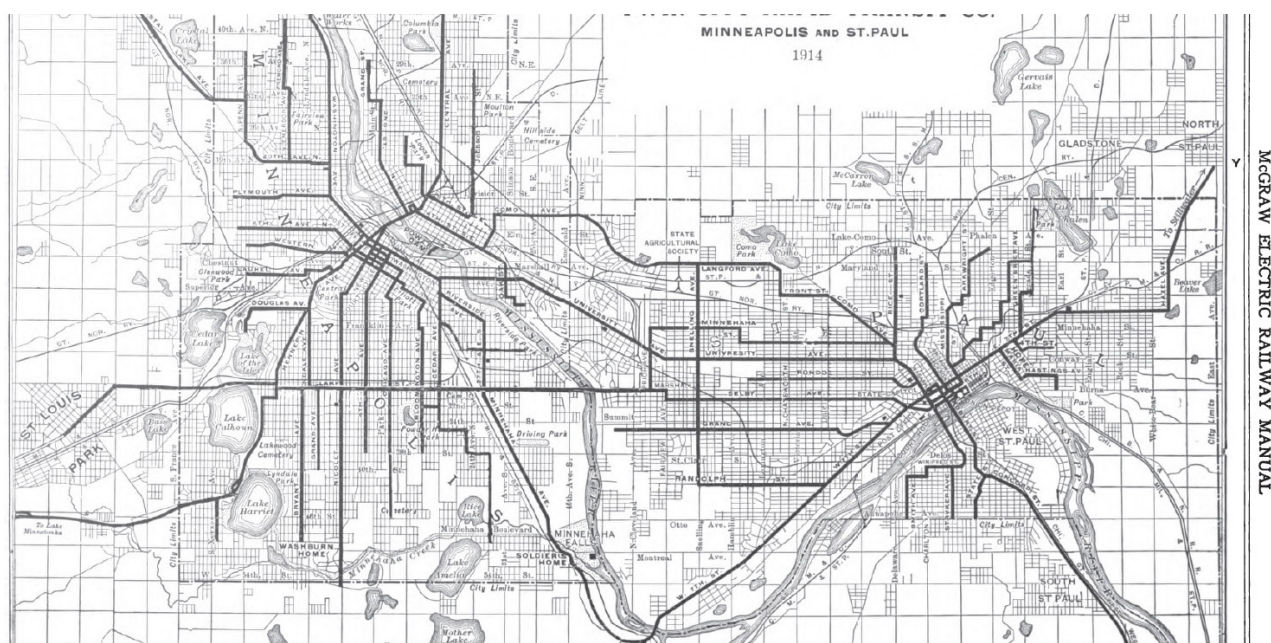


Figure 2: By 1914 the Twin City Rapid Transit Company covered both Minneapolis and St. Paul and connected to larger suburban communities.

Paul such as Union Park, Desnoyer Park, and others after that area was annexed to the city in 1885.¹⁵

The expansion of infrastructure and transportation included improved connections across the Mississippi River. Completed in 1858, the Wabasha Bridge first operated as a toll bridge. Tolls were abolished in 1874 when the area south of the river to Annapolis Street (the West Side) was detached from Dakota County and annexed into the city of St. Paul. A new cantilevered truss Wabasha Street Bridge was built in 1890 (nonextant).¹⁶ (Figure 3) The second crossing downtown was the Robert Street Bridge, a wrought-iron span constructed in 1884–85 that was designed for horse-drawn vehicles (nonextant). Streetcar tracks were added in 1893.¹⁷

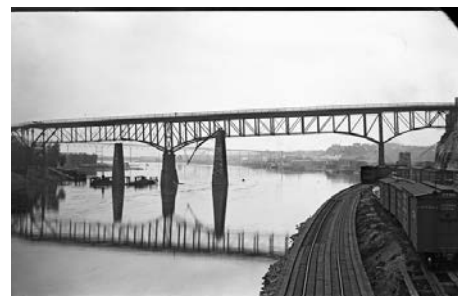


Figure 3: Looking west at the CM&StP railroad tracks under the 1890 Wabasha Bridge with the 1889 High Bridge in the distance (1895).

While the West Side flats area across from downtown St. Paul were accessible from the Robert Street and Wabasha bridges, the high bluffs of the West Side across the river from the West Seventh neighborhood were more forbidding. Rough, steep roads to the high bluffs were hard to climb with a loaded, horse-drawn wagon and inhibited settlement.¹⁸ In 1887, state senator Robert A. Smith introduced a resolution to issue bonds for the construction of a bridge to connect the Upper Landing to the high bluffs on the West Side. Smith came to St. Paul from Indiana in 1853 and held numerous public positions. He apparently held concurrent offices as a state senator (1886–90) and as Mayor of St. Paul (1887–92), giving him excellent platforms to advocate for the new infrastructure. Although several locations were considered, a commission selected the new bridge site as connecting Forbes Street near West Seventh to Mohawk Avenue on the West Side. The corridor was named Smith Avenue to honor the mayor.¹⁹

15 Zellie and Peterson, *St. Paul Historic Context: Residential Real Estate Development*, 7.

16 Williams, *History of the City of St. Paul*, 237, 449; Jeffrey A. Hess and Paul Clifford Larson, *St. Paul's Architecture: A History* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2006), 47.

17 Robert Frame, "Robert Street Bridge," National Register of Historic Places (NRHP) Nomination Form, 1989: 8-1.

18 Susan Hodapp, *St. Paul's High Bridge 1889–1985: A Photo Essay of the History of a St. Paul Landmark* (Oakdale, MN: Minnesota Department of Transportation, 1985), 8–9.

19 Hodapp, *St. Paul's High Bridge*, 13–15. Donald Empson states that "present day Forbes Avenue, a couple of blocks away, was once



Figure 4: The Smith Avenue Bridge (the High Bridge) connected to the West Side bluffs and created an improved traffic route through Uppertown (ca. 1900).

The new Smith Avenue Bridge, known generally as the High Bridge (nonextant), stood eighty feet above normal water elevation at the West Seventh Street abutment, and 191 feet above at the West Side abutment, a four percent grade when traveling to the West Side. The new bridge was an inverted and subdivided Warren deck truss bridge: the river spans used the inverted Warren deck truss design while the subdivided Warren deck truss was used where the spans were longer than normal. One million pieces of wrought iron, weighing more than 3,000 tons, were used to construct the bridge.²⁰ Twenty-five dry land piers and four river piers, built of St. Paul limestone and Mankato sandstone, supported the structure. The original twenty-four-foot roadway was surfaced with cedar blocks, which was a supposedly quieter surface for hard carriage wheels than brick or cobblestone. The new bridge opened in May 1889, and its use led to demands for grading and paving Smith Avenue on the West Side.²¹ (Figure 4)



On August 20, 1904, a tornado destroyed the five southernmost spans. These spans were rebuilt with “mild steel” rather than wrought iron, and they subsequently deteriorated more severely than the original wrought iron. By 1904, the High Bridge had become a main transportation route connecting St. Paul to the West Side and the Dodd and Mendota Roads to Dakota County.²²

Community Institutions



Figure 5: Pioneer Fire Station #3, 1 Leech Street (1936) and 2019.

Other municipal services were located throughout the neighborhood, which came to be known as the West End. St. Paul established a paid fire department in 1877 and all volunteer stations were disbanded. Engine Company No. 3 (also known as Hope No. 3) fire station was constructed at Leech and Ramsey in 1873 (RA-SPC-4229; 1 Leech St.). (Figure 5) Chemical House No. 5/ Engine House No. 10 was built at 754 Randolph Avenue in 1885 (RA-SPC-3110). Chemical House No. 5, designed by architect E. P. Bassford, was constructed to serve a growing residential area that did not yet have water mains. By 1890, Chemical Engine No. 5 was replaced with Waterous Engine No. 10. The department still used horses to pull the engines, and a horse hospital was established at this location.²³

named Smith Avenue, while the present day Smith Avenue was originally named Forbes Avenue. The names were switched in 1887 when the High Bridge was built, so that the more prominent thoroughfare would honor Robert A. Smith, a well-known St. Paul mayor.” Donald Empson, *Portrait of a Neighborhood: a history in tour form of the Cliff Street ITA, the neighborhood between West Seventh Street and the Mississippi River: between Smith Avenue and Richmond Street, St. Paul, Minnesota*, prepared for Cliff Street ITA. St. Paul, 1980, 13.

20 Hodapp, *St. Paul’s High Bridge*, 19, 21.

21 Hodapp, *St. Paul’s High Bridge*, 19–23, 40.

22 Hodapp, *St. Paul’s High Bridge*, 25.

23 Castle, *History of St. Paul and Vicinity*, 353; *St. Paul City Directory 1886–7* (St. Paul: R. L. Polk & Co., Publishers, 1886). The Hope No. 3 station has recently (2019) been renovated and opened as a coffee/breakfast shop. In the 1940s, Chemical House No. 5/Engine House No. 10 was one of the first racially integrated stations

Schools also expanded with population growth. Jefferson School was among the earliest, located at Pleasant and Sherman Avenues by 1867 (razed 1927). In 1880, the first Monroe School at Goodhue and Western (nonextant, now site of Winslow Commons) was added. Adams School, previously located downtown, received a new building at View and Armstrong in 1883 (nonextant). With the annexation of Reserve Township by 1889, Mattocks School and Quincy School joined the district.²⁴ (Figures 6, 7, 8)

The West Seventh neighborhood also had its share of facilities caring for the city's less fortunate individuals. By 1869, the Sisters of the Good Shepherd operated a female protectorate and reformatory at 90 Wilkin Street, later known as the Good Shepherd Industrial School. The three-story limestone building had been built in the mid-1850s. This location was later taken over by the Little Sisters of the Poor, invited to St. Paul by Archbishops Thomas Grace and John Ireland in 1883. The Sisters took over two buildings on Wilkin Street to open a Home for the Aged and Infirm Poor. Over a century later, the Holy Family Residence operated by the Sisters continues to care for the elderly at 330 South Exchange Street.²⁵

The Protestant Orphan Asylum was located at 698 Stewart Avenue in the former William Cullen House (RA-SPC-6328). Cullen had been Superintendent of Indian Affairs in Minnesota when the stone house was built in 1862. The Orphan Asylum purchased the house around 1872, remaining there until the asylum moved to Marshall and St. Alban's Avenues in 1886. The property originally had a second story and mansard roof with cupola that have been removed. The building later housed a dance hall and the Ran-View VFW post.²⁶

St. Luke's Hospital moved to Smith and Sherman Avenues (333 Smith Avenue RA-SPC-3402, nonextant) in 1892. Founded in 1857 in a rented house, the hospital moved in 1874 to a large brick building at 105 Eighth Street, formerly a brothel.

in the St. Paul Fire Department. See George Gause, "Chemical House #5, Engine House #10, Station #10," Staff Report, City of Saint Paul Heritage Preservation Commission, 2018.

²⁴ Gary Brueggemann, "The History of the West Seventh Street Community," in Empson, *Portrait of a Neighborhood*, 7; R.L. Polk & Co.'s *St. Paul City Directory 1889-90* (St. Paul: R. L. Polk & Co., Publishers, 1889). Jefferson School had been established in 1858 on Irvine Avenue west of Walnut, but it burned in 1866 and was replaced by the building on Pleasant. Vine School, at Goodhue, near Western was also present in the neighborhood in the 1870s, but it was gone by 1882 (see city directories for school locations).

²⁵ *Rice & Bell's Saint Paul Directory, 1869-70* (Saint Paul: Rice & Bell, Publishers, 1869); Little Sisters of the Poor, "Over One Hundred Thirty Years 1883-2013: Caring for the Aged of the Twin Cities," <http://www.littlesistersofthepoorstpaul.org/our-history> (accessed May 16, 2019). See notation added by Jim Sazevich to photo in MHS Collections Online at MR 2.9 SP 5.2 p15 indicating that the three-story limestone building had been built in 1855 as the St. Paul College and was razed ca. 1900. The Little Sisters website identifies one of their buildings as the Baldwin School that was built in 1856.

²⁶ Larry Millett, *AIA Guide to the Twin Cities: The Essential Source on the Architecture of Minneapolis and St. Paul* (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 2007), 422; Brueggemann, "History of the West Seventh Street Community," 6.

Figures 6-8: Population growth and city expansion in the 1880s brought new schools to the West Seventh neighborhood.

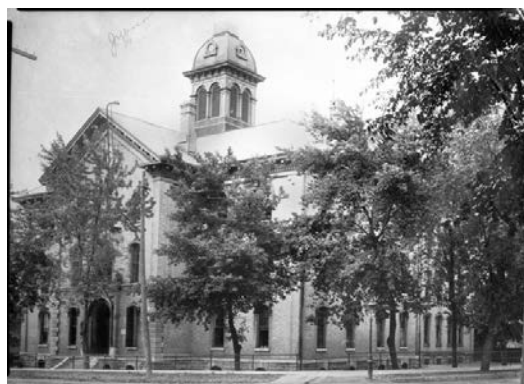


Figure 6: Jefferson School, Sherman and Pleasant Avenue, Ca. 1900



Figure 7: Monroe School built 1880, Goodhue and Western Avenue, Ca. 1900.



Figure 8: Adams School built 1883, View and Armstrong Avenue, Ca. 1900.



Figure 9: St. Luke's Hospital, forerunner of United Hospital, at Smith and Sherman, ca. 1962. This building was the primary hospital from 1892 to 1961 when the new building was constructed a block west.



Figure 10: Ancker Hospital, looking northwest toward Fort Road and Colborne, ca. 1930. Known originally as the City-County Hospital, the facility began in Dr. J.H. Stewart's residence that faced Jefferson (in foreground) and expanded over the years to a large complex of buildings. The hospital became St. Paul-Ramsey (now Regions) and relocated downtown by 1965; the old buildings were razed and headquarters for St. Paul Public Schools were built on the site.

The name was changed to St. Luke's in 1877, and the facility remained on Eighth Street until the relocation to the Smith Avenue building, which housed patients until 1961. (Figure 9) In 1961, St. Luke's constructed its distinctive cloverleaf building a block west along Smith Avenue and Pleasant. In 1972, St. Luke's consolidated with Charles T. Miller Hospital, (downtown at 125 College Ave. West and in the path of I-94) to form United Hospital and construct a new medical center at the Smith Avenue location.²⁷

The largest and most influential public facility in the West End was the City-County (later Ancker) Hospital, begun with the purchase of Dr. J. H. Stewart's residence and grounds at the foot of Richmond Street (northeast of Jefferson and Colborne Streets). The old stone mansion had been built in 1855 and was later purchased by Dr. Stewart. The building was described as "situated almost on the bank of the Father of Waters, it commands an excellent view of this great river and the picturesque wooded bluffs that border it on the south."²⁸ The City-County Hospital soon outgrew the residence, expanding with multiple buildings into a major complex over time. (Figure 10) Dr. Arthur B. Ancker, Hospital Superintendent, guided the facility for 40 years beginning in 1883. After his death in 1923, the County Board of Commissioners changed the name to Ancker Hospital to honor the long-time leader. The hospital continued at its West End site until the 1950s, when the county determined that a new facility would be a better investment than trying to upgrade the old hospital complex and its multiple buildings. The new facility became St. Paul-Ramsey Hospital (now Regions), which relocated downtown at Jackson and University within the Capitol Redevelopment Area in 1965. The former Ancker Hospital Building was razed two years later and administrative offices for the St. Paul Public Schools were constructed on the site in 1973.²⁹

Industrial Growth

The vicinity of the Upper Landing, below the Third Street bluff and east of Irvine Park, evolved into an industrial center by the 1880s as railroads assumed dominance along the river. Just west of the Wabasha Bridge at the riverbank were the St. Paul Warehouse and Elevator Co., and St. Paul Roller Mill. Continuing west and southwest, the area between the bluff and the Omaha Railroad and the CM&StP RR tracks was filled with frame dwellings and sheds, identified on Sanborn maps as "shanties" until Ontario Street. (Figure 11) Various industrial operations lined Washington Street and up Eagle Street toward Seven Corners.

²⁷ Allina Health, "History," <https://www.allinahealth.org/united-hospital/about-us/hospital-overview/history> (accessed May 24, 2019).

²⁸ Mary Alice Czerwonka, "Roots of Ramsey's Health Care Trace Back to Ancker Hospital." *Ramsey County History* 22, no. 1 (1987): 3–5.

²⁹ Czerwonka, "Roots of Ramsey's Health Care," 3–22; Millett, *AIA Guide*, 424.

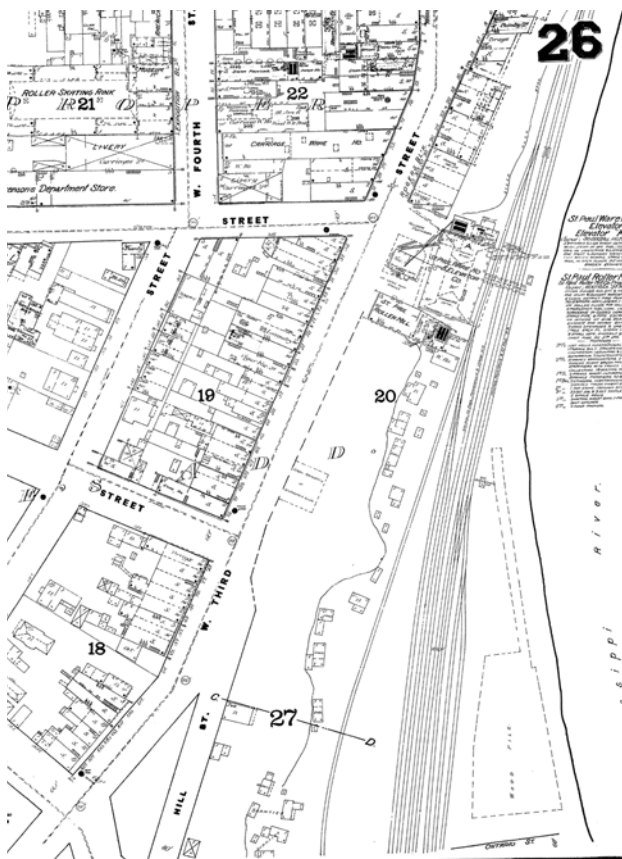


Figure 11: St. Paul Sanborn maps (1885) showed industrial uses as well as “shanties” along the railroad tracks below the Third Street bluff.

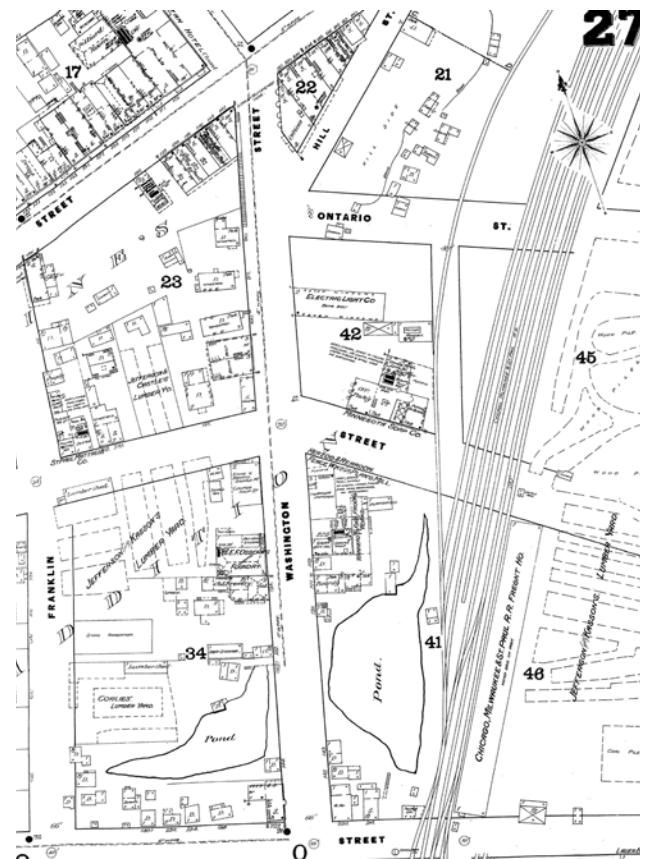


Figure 12: While railroad tracks crossed the landing in 1885, several ponds still existed among the various industries.

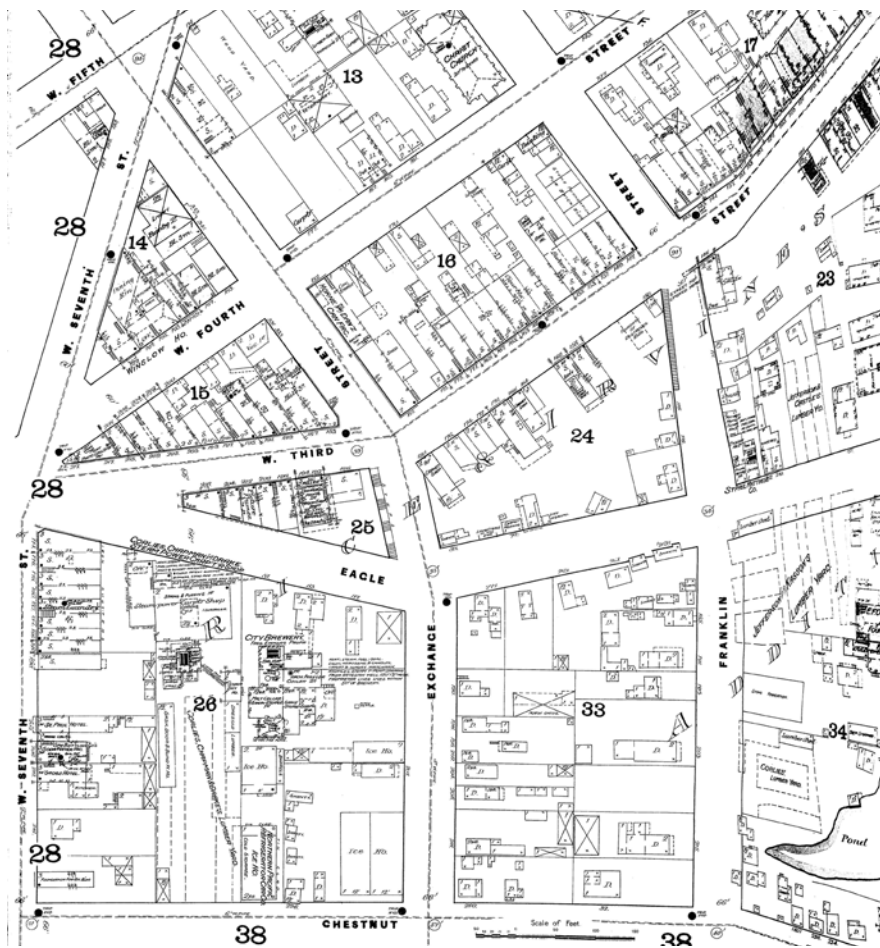
The railroads were closest to the Mississippi, and the CM&SP freight house stood east of Chestnut Street along the tracks. Jefferson and Kasson’s lumberyard occupied several parcels in the area, with buildings and numerous woodpiles. (Figure 12) The Upper Landing still housed several manufacturing firms: the Minnesota Soap Company; the Herzog & Reardon Fence Works and Planing Mill; E. F. Osborn’s Foundry, and the St. Paul Mattress Factory.³⁰ This area illustrated the continuing mix of land uses located side by side. The block bounded by Eagle, West Seventh, Chestnut, and Exchange had stores and hotels facing West Seventh, while the southern two-thirds of the block held the Corlies, Chapman and Drake Steam Power Carpenter Shop; City Brewery; and an ice house operation, all of which were approximately one block from Governor Ramsey’s residence and Irvine Park.³¹ (Figure 13)

Other companies that developed in the Pioneer Era included the Lauer Brother Stone Works yard, located at the foot of Chestnut Street near the river. The stone quarries that dotted the neighborhood continued in some locations, while other quarry areas had been used up and abandoned. Charles Lauer, an 1870 emigrant from Alsace Lorraine, operated a stone cutting yard at the foot of Chestnut Street. By 1889, Lauer employed 225 people at the yard and at the quarry along West Seventh. Lauer’s brother Henry supervised the construction of the Lauer Flats (discussed below), moving a house to 376 St. Clair in 1887 to oversee the building work. The Lauers and their sons expanded the stonework business into contracting and building. In addition to Lauer Flats, the firm participated in construction of numerous buildings, including the Schmidt Brewery (RA-SPC-5318; RA-SPC-2937 to RA-SPC-2974; 900 W. Seventh St.; 1901; NRHP, HPC); the Minnesota State Capitol (RA-SPC-0229; 75 Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. Blvd.; 1896–1905; NRHP); St. Clement’s Church (RA-SPC-4866; 901 Portland Ave.; 1895; NRHP, HPC), St. Agnes Church (RA-SPC-4105; 548 LaFond Ave.; 1897;

30 Sanborn Map and Publishing Company, *St. Paul, Minnesota, 1885, Vol. 1–3* (New York: Sanborn Map and Publishing Company, Ltd. 1885), plates 26, 27.

31 Sanborn Map. Company, *St. Paul (1885)*, plate 28.

Figure 13: A mix of industries filled the block between Exchange and Seventh Street in 1885. Note the wooden steps that connected Exchange and Franklin (Ryan) Streets up to the Third Street bluff.



NRHP, HPC), St. Louis King of France Church (RA-SPC-0554; 506 N. Cedar St.; 1909; NRHP) the Commerce Building (RA-SPC-5220; 10 E. Fourth St.; 1912; NRHP); and Cathedral of St. Paul (RA-SPC-3567; 204 Dayton/ also 201 Summit Ave.; 1915; NRHP; HPC).³²

The proximity of the railroads led to establishment of other industries, such as Henry Orme's Omaha Iron and Brass Foundry at Drake and Armstrong, which began in 1882 near the Omaha Railroad yards (RA-SPC-0121). The foundry fabricated iron castings, grate bars, machinery castings and bronze used for bearings in railroad freight and logging cars. Founder Henry Orme was born in Birmingham, England, and came to St. Paul in 1881. Orme also owned the Washington Foundry at Washington and Eagle Street near the Upper Landing (nonextant); it was operated by Henry Orme Sons Inc., (Henry H., James and Frank). Henry Orme died in 1918; his son, Henry H., remained president of the Washington Foundry until his death in 1947.³³

Ultimately, the most persistent industrial uses in the West Seventh neighborhood were breweries, established by the Germans who settled the neighborhood early on and were prominent in business and commercial activities.

32 Joe Landsberger, *West End Neighbors Garden Tour, June 7 & 9, 2018* (St. Paul: West 7th/Fort Road Federation/District 9 Community Council), 35, <http://www.josfland.com/gardens/Garden%20Book%202018.pdf>, (accessed June 19, 2019); Susan W. Granger and Patricia Murphy, *Historic Sites Survey of St. Paul and Ramsey County, 1980–1983: Final Report* (St. Paul: Ramsey County Historical Society and Saint Paul Heritage Preservation Commission, 1983), Lauer Flats HSS form; Deanne Zibell Weber, "What's Historic About This Site? The Saint Paul Building," *Ramsey County History* 31, no. 4 (Winter 1997): 21. Henry Lauer renovated the original one-and-one-half-story dwelling he moved to 376 St. Clair and added brick facing; a later addition included a second story and porch (RA-SPC-8336). Charles Lauer resided at 212 Colborne (RA-SPC-0647, 1885), a dwelling that was moved to the site. The Lauer descendants continued to reside in the West Seventh neighborhood. The Nicholas Lauer residence is located at 671 Palace Avenue (RA-SPC-4842; 1911) and the John Henry Lauer residence is at 449 South Arbor (RA-SPC-0084; 1914). Both dwellings were designed by Charles Hausler. (Mead & Hunt survey for 376 St. Clair and 212 Colborne; 1981 site forms for 671 Palace and 449 Arbor describe these properties and the connection to Hausler); Millett, *AIA Guide*, 424, 430.

33 Thomas Zahn and Ken Martin, "Omaha Iron and Brass Foundry," Local Heritage Nomination Form, prepared by Thomas R. Zahn & Associates for the Saint Paul Heritage Preservation Commission (HPC), 2014; *Star Tribune*, July 4, 1905.

Population in the West Seventh Neighborhood

The West Seventh neighborhood has never been dominated by a single immigrant population but has attracted a mix of different ethnic communities from its earliest days of urbanization. Initially, the residents most identified with the Upper Town neighborhood were those that prospered, and most were American-born. John Irvine and Dr. J.H. Stewart were born in New York; Henry Rice and James C. Burbank came from Vermont; Rodney and Elizabeth Parker were New Hampshire natives; and Alexander Ramsey and Daniel Robertson hailed from Pennsylvania. Other American-born settlers also lived in the neighborhood in more modest dwellings.

In the nineteenth century, the foreign-born population of the ward that contained the West Seventh neighborhood had approximately 30 to 40 percent foreign born in 1890 and 1900. (Figure 14) West Seventh was similar to other close-in neighborhoods: in 1890, the East Side, North End, and West Side all had similar percentages of foreign-born, and most areas declined gradually by 1900 and 1910. Some new immigrants concentrated into neighborhoods, while other groups settled throughout the city. By 1900, the largest foreign-born groups were Germans, Swedes, and Irish. Swedes rapidly concentrated on the East Side, while Irish and Germans were more prominent in West Seventh.

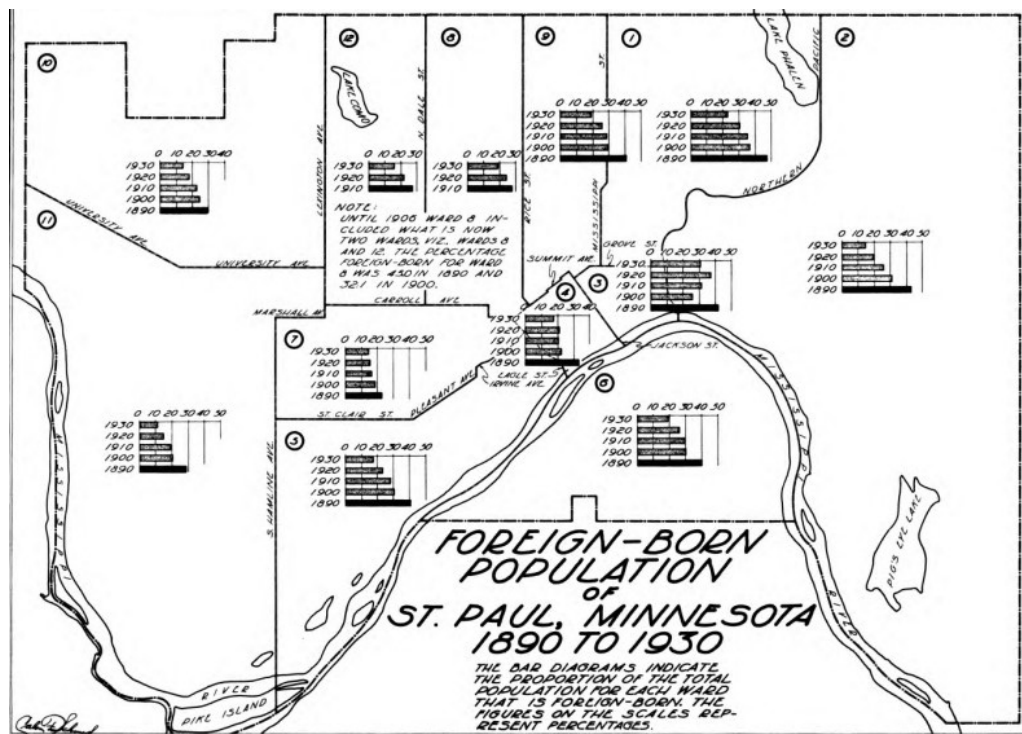


Figure 14: Foreign born population of St. Paul by ward, 1890 to 1930. (Calvin Schmid, 1937)

Irish

In 1860, Ramsey County attracted almost 2,000 emigrants born in Ireland, a number that grew to over 6,200 by 1890. Among the earliest Irish arrivals were lumberjacks who came to the St. Croix Valley as early as the 1840s, along with Irish soldiers initially stationed at Fort Snelling such as those who staked claims in what became St. Paul. The Irish soon became visible in representing their homeland, celebrating St. Patrick's Day in St. Paul as early as 1851. St. Patrick's Day societies and the Benevolent Society of the Sons of Erin were formed that same decade. Begun in Minnesota in 1879, the Ancient Order of Hibernians (AOH) organized civic activities, a mutual benefit society, and sponsored a women's auxiliary. By 1900, there was an AOH Life Insurance Company, as well as nine groups, or "divisions," that met in halls around the city. The Irish were active in other fraternal groups and mutual aid societies affiliated with the Catholic Church, most notably the

Knights of Columbus. The Knights of Columbus Hall was located downtown at the corner of Fifth Street and Smith Avenue.³⁴

In the nineteenth century, the Irish made up a higher percentage of laborers than the city average: 43 percent of Irish were laborers in 1880 when the comparable figure citywide was only 20 percent. That percentage declined over time, however, as more Irish moved into positions as clerks, railroad workers, firemen, and policemen. While many Irish began as unskilled laborers, as in eastern cities, over time they sought employment in the law and civil service jobs. Others, such as the Butler brothers and the Shiely family, were important builders and building tradesmen in St. Paul.³⁵

Author Mary Letherd Wingerd concluded that the Irish residential dispersion throughout the city helped to create multiple opportunities for political involvement. Civil service positions, along with the strong influence of the Catholic Church in St. Paul, resulted in the city's identification with the Irish as well its focus on the Democratic Party, despite the fact that Germans were more numerous in the city. The Irish were not specifically identified with one particular neighborhood, but known in conjunction with citywide institutions. In the West Seventh neighborhood, St. James Church, built at View and Randolph in 1887, was a parish church built for the Irish Catholics who lived in the former Reserve Township to the west (annexed by 1887). The church had grown to 650 members by 1900. A new St. James building was constructed on the same site in 1938 (RA-SPC-3983, 496 View St.), along with a school (RA-SPC-3984, 486 View St.).³⁶ (Figure 15)



Figure 15: St. James Church at View and Randolph was built as a parish church for Irish Catholics in Reserve Township in 1887.

Germans

In the West Seventh neighborhood, the German population left a visible stamp on the built environment with neighborhood institutions and national parish Catholic churches. Germans arrived in the 1850s and quickly became the largest contingent of foreign-born population in St. Paul and in the state, a distinction they continued to hold until 1905.³⁷

As early as 1861, the *Saint Paul Daily Press* stated that the German settlers were of the “best class of mechanics, farmers and laborers.” This complimentary statement reflected the fact that a portion of the Germans who came to St. Paul had not come directly from Germany but had most recently come from other American cities, where they had developed some employment skill. Even those who came directly from Germany had some familiarity with a capitalist economy; these workers included many artisans and shopkeepers rather than rural peasants.³⁸ In 1860, of the German immigrant males in St. Paul, 26 percent were in trade and service occupations; 27 percent were employed in manufacturing, and about 14 percent were common laborers.

34 Ann Regan, “The Irish,” in *They Chose Minnesota: A Survey of the State’s Ethnic Groups*, June Drenning Holmquist, ed. (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 1981), 140, 144; R. L. Polk and Co.’s *St. Paul City Directory 1900* (St. Paul: R. L. Polk & Co., Publishers, 1900); *Insurance Maps of St. Paul, Minnesota, Vol. 1–9* (New York: Sanborn Map Company, 1926), plate # 1.

35 Regan, “The Irish,” 142.

36 Mary Letherd Wingerd, *Claiming the City: Politics, Faith and the Power of Place in St. Paul* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2001), 39–48; Regan, “The Irish,” 130; Brueggeman, “History of the West Seventh Street Community,” 8; Landsberger, “West End Neighbors Garden Tour,” 46; R. L. Polk and Co.’s *St. Paul City Directory 1900*.

37 Hildegard Binder Johnson, “The Germans,” in Holmquist, *They Chose Minnesota*, 153. In the nineteenth century, emigrants from the various small kingdoms that eventually united as the nation of Germany were typically identified as “German” even though the country was not unified until the 1870s.

38 Quote is from Johnson, “The Germans,” 162; Wingerd, *Claiming the City*, 36.

In 1870, Germans made up 37 percent of Ramsey County's foreign-born, and Wards 3 and 4 were known as "German wards." Ward 3 was generally west of Eagle Street and old St. Anthony (Third/Kellogg Blvd.), including the West Seventh neighborhood. Ward 4 included the area to the north in Frogtown. By the 1880s, when Germans were fully established in St. Paul, they dominated the Frogtown neighborhood, and in West Seventh, they made up from 20 to 40 percent of the population.³⁹



Figure 16: The German national parish of St. Francis de Sales Church erected a building at James and Daly streets in 1884.



Figure 17: The current building at 650 Palace Avenue was constructed ca. 1950.

By the mid-1850s, there were enough German residents in St. Paul that a national Catholic parish, Assumption Church, was established with thirty families. The original wood frame church was replaced about fifteen years later with the commanding stone edifice with twin towers that has dominated downtown's skyline since 1871 (see discussion and photo in Section I). Assumption Church and its school, its mutual benefit society, and other social groups were an early, visible German presence in St. Paul.⁴⁰

St. Paul ultimately had six German Catholic national parishes. In addition to Assumption (1855) and St. Agnes (1887), St. Francis de Sales was established as a German national parish at James and Daly streets in 1883. The parish had 400 families within five years. German immigrant Frank Popplar donated the land for the church, which was constructed by contractors Curt and Bartels with support from parishioners in 1884. A priest's house, school, convent, and parish hall were constructed by 1890. (Figures 16, 17) By 1900, the church claimed a membership of 490 families, while the school, administered by the Sisters of Notre Dame, listed 510 pupils. A new school was built ca. 1938 at 426 Osceola Ave. (RA-SPC-4794) and was known for its bowling alley, which was a popular addition in German parishes. Eventually St. Francis took over the entire block, and the current church at 650 Palace Ave. (RA-SPC-4795) was built ca. 1950. Elsewhere in the city were Sacred Heart (1881) in Dayton's Bluff; St. Matthew's (1886) on the West Side; and St. Bernard's (1890) at Rose and Albemarle in the North End.⁴¹ Presbyterians constructed the German Presbyterian Bethlehem Church at 311 Ramsey Street by 1890 (RA-SPC-3030; 1890; NRHP, HPC). Designed by Cass Gilbert and James Knox Taylor, the stone church resembled a Swiss mountain chapel.⁴² The German Lutherans established St. Peter's Lutheran Church (Missouri Synod) and School at Armstrong and Victoria in 1886. By 1900, the church claimed 200 members and had a "German-English Parochial School" with forty-five pupils. The current building (RA-SPC-0124, 849 Armstrong Avenue) was constructed ca. 1949.⁴³

St. Marcus German Lutheran Church (Ohio Synod) was incorporated in 1898 in a German enclave near the intersection of Colborne, Michigan, and Goodhue Streets. The first church was a chapel moved in from

39 Johnson, "The Germans," 170–171.

40 Johnson, "The Germans," 170–171. While most Catholic parishes were established with territorial boundaries, a National Catholic parish was created to serve Catholics of a particular national group without reference to any geographical subdivision.

41 *St. Paul City Directory 1889–90*; *St. Paul City Directory 1900*; Landsberger, *West End Neighbors Garden Tour*, 45; Johnson, "The Germans," 170. See Church of St. Francis de Sales of St. Paul. "Our Parish." <https://sf-sj.org/our-parish>. On January 1, 2011, St. Francis de Sales and St. James merged to become one parish. Located at 650 Palace Avenue, the consolidated parish was named Church of St. Francis de Sales.

42 Millett, *AIA Guide*, 428.

43 Brueggemann, "History of the West Seventh Street Community," 6; *R. L. Polk and Co.'s St. Paul City Directory 1900*.

Hazel Park, ultimately to a lot at the corner of St. Clair Avenue and Duke Street. The 1903–04 Sanborn map identifies the building as “St. Markus Gemeinde,” which remained the home of the congregation until 1922. Following the anti-German feeling during World War I, the congregation changed its name to St. Mark’s and moved to the former Central Church of Christ building at the northeast corner of Leech and McBoal Streets (RA-SPC-4234; 80 Leech St.). That congregation had disbanded and sold its 1902 building to St. Mark’s. Over



Figure 18: St. Mark’s Church at 550 West Seventh was incorporated in 1898 as a German Lutheran congregation. This building was dedicated in 1955.

the next thirty years, the St. Mark’s congregation outgrew that building. In 1955, the congregation dedicated its new site at the corner of Goodhue and Ann (RA-SPC-8333; 550 W. Seventh St.) where it constructed a “modern contemporary” style building designed by Albert G. Plagens and Robert McGee.⁴⁴ (Figure 18)

In 1852, a German Reading and Education Society was among the first groups to advance German culture, eventually including choral, dramatic, and gymnastic divisions. The St. Paul Turnverein grew out of the reading group by 1858. Musical and singing groups were especially popular, and by 1890, about 100 German singing groups were present in St. Paul. The Athenaeum was built in 1859 as an early community facility at Exchange and Pine Streets. (Figure 19, nonextant) By 1860, there were five German newspapers published in the city, and numerous German benevolent and fraternal societies had been established. In 1900, the city directory listed benevolent societies such as the German Roman Catholic Aid Association, the German Christian Mutual Benevolent Society, and the German-American Red Cross Society. Another German mutual aid society known as Hermann’s Soehne (Sons of Hermann) had twelve lodges meeting at various halls around the city.⁴⁵



Figure 19: The Athenaeum, built in 1859 at Exchange and Pine (Sherman) streets, was an early community facility and hosted many German singing groups and other cultural activities. (ca. 1885)

Germans dominated the St. Paul brewing industry, which created jobs and brought wealth and civic position to the brewers. The political culture that developed around Germans and their breweries had a significant impact in St. Paul. Brewers supported a unionized workforce and tended to have a closer interaction with their workers than other large industrial operations. German brewers built their homes next to their breweries rather than in separate locations or among the civic leaders on Summit Avenue. The impact of the brewery industry and its unionized workers were an important contribution to St. Paul’s continuing Democratic political stance. The temperance movement, generally supported by Republicans in state politics, was obviously unpopular with the brewers, their workers, and their generally working class customers.⁴⁶

Beginning in the mid-nineteenth century, the West Seventh neighborhood housed many of St. Paul’s German breweries and fostered the development of nearby commercial and residential areas. In 1848, Anthony Yoerg began his brewery on the Upper Landing where Eagle and Washington Streets met (roughly the area of the Science Museum/Civic Center parking lot). Yoerg’s Washington Street brewery operated there until 1871. He then moved his operation to the West Side near Ohio Street where he could take advantage of the underground

44 Gary J. Brueggemann and Ann Schroeder, *A Century at St. Mark Lutheran Church, 1898–1998, In the City for God* (St. Paul: St. Mark Evangelical Lutheran Church, 1998) <http://www.saintmark.info/#/about-us/our-history> (accessed June 27, 2019). This history provides an in-depth study of the German settlers who founded the church and the immigrant congregation’s evolution over the two world wars that affected German life in the city.

45 Johnson, “The Germans,” 172–173; R. L. Polk and Co.’s *St. Paul City Directory 1900*.

46 Wingerd, *Claiming the City*, 94–95, 106–107.

caves that were important for the natural cooling needed to age the German lager beer.⁴⁷

The North Mississippi Company brewery began in 1853 near the intersection of Drake Street and today's Shepard Road. It was operated by a series of owners before the business was resurrected in 1871 by Frederick Banholzer and his son, William. William eventually took over the operation, and by the 1880s, it included a large operation of nine buildings and a deep, multi-chambered cave below the bluff. Banholzer's Park, the area north of the brewery near Toronto and Stewart, was an outdoor beer garden with outdoor bowling, German bands, and balloon rides. Banholzer's Second Empire style residence with its Mansard roof and central tower was built for \$10,000 in 1885 at 680 Stewart Avenue (RA-SPC-3536; NRHP).⁴⁸ (Figures 20, 21)

Christopher Stahlmann's Cave Brewery opened in July 1855 on Fort Road near Toronto Street. Born in Bavaria, Stahlmann arrived in St. Paul and quickly created the largest brewery in the state, producing 40,000 barrels per year by 1884. Like the other brewers, Stahlmann chose his location due to access to the natural spring and caves below the bluff on the property.⁴⁹ (Figure 22)

In 1865, Frederick H. Schade, a Prussian by birth, created Schade's Park and Beer Garden, bordered by Fort Road, Webster and Toronto Streets (north of Palace), and near the Stahlmann brewery. With a creek and footbridge, and outdoor bowling, the park and beer garden hosted concerts, dancing, programs, and athletic events as well as picnics held by the various societies and lodges.⁵⁰ (Figure 23)

Christopher Stahlmann served in the state house of representatives, as a Ramsey County commissioner, and was on the board of the German-American Bank. In 1883, he died of tuberculosis in his early fifties at the height of his success. Although his family continued the business for some time, the brewery and Stahlmann's stone residence across Fort Road from the brewery (855 West Seventh) were sold in 1900 to the Jacob Schmidt Brewing Company.⁵¹

An emigrant from Bavaria, Jacob Schmidt had worked as a brewer in Milwaukee, Wisconsin; New Ulm, Minnesota; and at other St. Paul breweries before purchasing control of the North Star Brewery near Phalen Creek in 1884. In 1890, Schmidt hired Adolf Bremer, who had come from Brunswick,



Figure 20: The Banholzer Brewery, 1936. The brewery stood in the vicinity of Drake Avenue and today's Shepard Road, overlooking the river. Banholzer's Brewery grew out of the former North Mississippi Company, and operated until around 1900.



Figure 21: William Banholzer built his stone dwelling at 680 Stewart Avenue in 1885, up the hill from his brewery. (1975)



Figure 22: Employees of Christopher Stahlmann's Cave Brewery. (1870)

47 Gary Brueggeman, "Beer Capital of the State – St. Paul's Historic Family Breweries," *Ramsey County History* 16, no. 2 (1981): 3–4.

48 Brueggeman, "Beer Capital of the State," 7–8; Millett, *AIA Guide*, 422. See Landsberger, *West End Neighbors Garden Tour* for newspaper citations of the various events held at Banholzer's garden. The Banholzer house is now affiliated with the Hazelden Foundation, which has expanded on the property.

49 Brueggeman, "Beer Capital of the State," 10.

50 Landsberger, *West End Neighbors Garden Tour*, 32.

51 Brueggeman, "Beer Capital of the State," 10.



Figure 23: Located across West Seventh from the Cave Brewery, Schade's beer garden offered outdoor bowling and was a popular location for picnics and excursions. (ca. 1900)



Figure 24: Jacob Schmidt Brewery, 882 West Seventh, built ca. 1901, showing the distinctive German feudal castle style and some of the work force in front.



Figure 25: Built for Christopher Stahlmann in 1874, the limestone dwelling at 855 West Seventh was the home of Jacob Schmidt, and then his daughter Marie and her husband Adolf Bremer, when Bremer took over management of the Schmidt Brewery. (1972 photo)

Germany, only four years earlier as his bookkeeper. Within a decade, Bremer married Schmidt's only child, Maria, and ascended to president of the brewery. A fire in 1900 destroyed the North Star Brewery, leading to the purchase and renovation of Stahlmann's Cave Brewery on Fort Road. Schmidt hired Chicago architect Bernard Barthel, who used the "feudal castle style" to give the brewery a distinctive Teutonic look.⁵² (Figure 24) As the Jacob Schmidt Brewing Company, the firm became a major employer in the West Seventh neighborhood (RA-SPC-5318; 900 W. Seventh St.; NRHP, HPC). Adolf Bremer brought his brother Otto into the brewery business. Otto was also an executive at the National German American Bank—eventually the American Bank of St. Paul. Adolf and Marie Bremer resided at the former Stahlmann house (RA-SPC-5316; 855 W. Seventh St.; NRHP, HPC) after Jacob Schmidt's death in 1911. The Italianate style house, built in 1874 of Platteville limestone, was donated to the Wilder Foundation in 1956. (Figure 25) The Schmidt Brewing Company was locally owned until 1955 and then owned by various out-of-state companies until 1992. Local owners tried using the complex for brewing and then ethanol production, but both ventures were unsuccessful. With leadership from the West Seventh/Fort Road Federation over the last decade, the brewery complex buildings have been renovated for artist's housing, newly constructed townhomes, and a community marketplace.⁵³

Other German breweries existed, including the City Brewery at Eagle and Exchange, which became the Frederick Emmert Brewing Company. It served the saloon district that filled the hillside from Seven Corners to the Upper Landing. After Emmert's 1889 death, his sons continued the business. His son Charles owned a "frolicking drinking spot" at 301 Eagle Street/192 South Washington Street that was known as the "Bucket of Blood" Saloon because of its numerous brawls. The Emmert brewery was sold in 1901 to the Theodore Hamm Brewing Company, the large brewery on the East Side operated by another German immigrant, Theodore Hamm.⁵⁴

52 Greg Brick, "Stahlmann's Cellars: The Cave Under the Castle," *Ramsey County History*, 41, no. 1 (Spring 2006): 12–19, p 14.

53 Millett, *AIA Guide*, 420–422; Brueggeman, "Beer Capital of the State," 10–12; Thomas J. Kelley, "The American National Bank and the Bremer Brothers," *Ramsey County History* 23, no 1 (1988): 8–12; Ed Johnson, David Lanegran, and Betty Moran, *The Landscape Impact of the West Seventh Federation: A Neighborhood Tour* (St. Paul: West Seventh/Fort Road Federation, 2016), 4–6; Tom Pfister, "Former Schmidt Brewery Hops Onto National Register," *Forbes*, October 24, 2018, <https://www.forbes.com/sites/tompfister/2018/10/24/former-schmidt-brewery-hops-on-to-national-register/#5cd00a673c25> (accessed June 26, 2019). Schmidt Brewing Company historic district is also listed under SHPO inventory numbers RA-SPC-2937 to RA-SPC-2974.

54 Brueggemann, "Beer Capital of the State," 9. Ownership of the "Bucket of Blood" is unclear, based on various sources. The 1905 St. Paul city directory records J. J. Bergkeller as the saloon proprietor at 301 Eagle Street. The Saint Paul Police Historical Society states that the "Bucket of Blood" was owned by Italian immigrants Carmine and Josephine Ruberto by 1905. City directories show Carmine Ruberto residing at 296 Chestnut Street in 1905 and 1910, but there is no indication of a saloon. The Ruberto's neighbor in 1905, Pasquale Chidichimo, lived and operated a saloon at 222 Chestnut. Suffice it to say, the neighborhood did not lack saloons to serve the public in the first decade of the twentieth century. *R. L. Polk's St. Paul City Directory 1905* (St. Paul: R. L. Polk & Co., Publishers, 1905; Saint Paul

Other smaller breweries operated by German immigrants included the Melchoir Funk Company (1865–1901), near Duke and Palace Streets. Funk’s 1887 residence was nearby at 398 Duke Street (RA-SPC-1113). (Figure 26) Conrad Wurm, also from Germany, operated a facility near Jefferson and Grace Streets that began in 1863. Frank Hornung, a native of Wurttemberg, operated a small brewery at 124 South Washington Street from 1876 to 1883.⁵⁵



Figure 26: Funk Residence, 398 Duke Street, built 1887. Melchoir Funk operated Funk Brewery, which continued until 1901, at Duke and Palace streets. (1937)

While brewers were among the most visible of West End Germans, others opened businesses along Fort Road. Joseph Brings, his wife Lucia, and their three young daughters came from Cologne, Germany, in 1857 and settled in the West End. A cooper (barrel maker), Brings operated a saloon and then opened a hay and feed business as well. Brings resided at 314 Smith Avenue (see *Section I on architecture*) until 1873. In 1870, he opened his store at 212 Fort Road (later 312–318 Fort Road) first as a cooper and grocer, and later as Brings Flour and Feed. Brings and his wife lived at the back of the store where they raised their family of eight children. After Brings’ 1899 death, his children took over and built it into the Brings and Company Feed and Seed, which remained in business at the same location until 1969. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the company sold feed for the horses that provided transportation for people and goods. When this demand declined, the company sold farm produce, animal feeds, lawn and garden supplies and later added popcorn and concession product sales. The long-time business closed in 1971, and the building was razed for construction of the Sherman-Forbes housing project.⁵⁶

Czechs/Bohemians

The Slavic-speaking peoples of the historic provinces of Bohemia and Moravia (now the Czech Republic/Czechia) came to St. Paul in small numbers as early as 1860. The 1880 United States Census reported that there were approximately 1,000 native Bohemian persons or persons of mixed Bohemian heritage in Ramsey County.⁵⁷ The earliest Bohemian arrivals have been identified with Uppertown’s squatter community near the High Bridge, where they joined earlier Polish immigrants. This squatter settlement (generally the area on either side of Smith Avenue south of Goodrich Avenue) was platted in 1881 as Bernheimer’s Addition. After 1881, Bohemians built houses in the newly-platted Bernheimer’s Addition or in surrounding neighborhoods.⁵⁸

The greatest numbers of Bohemians arrived after 1899, and the peak number of Bohemian foreign-born residents and with foreign mixed parentage was not reached until 1930. Despite relatively small numbers, they were identified with important community institutions and businesses as early as the 1870s. Czech immigrants were both Protestant and Catholic, and they founded fraternal lodges, reading societies, cemetery

Police Historical Society, “In the Beginning–4,” <http://www.spphs.com/history/2000/beginning4.php>; R. L. Polk’s *St. Paul City Directory 1910* (St. Paul: R. L. Polk & Co., Publishers).

55 Brueggemann, “Beer Capital of the State,” 13. The Funk mansion and surrounding dwellings were purchased in the 1970s and 1980s and converted to a neighborhood of mental health group homes. The mansion served as a kitchen and dining hall. This concentrated location of facilities had a negative effect on nearby housing values, and the mental health corporation eventually lost funding. Beginning in the 1990s, the West Seventh Federation worked with the city for funding and redeveloped the area by acquiring, rehabilitating, and selling thirty houses and constructing twenty new townhouses. See Johnson, Lanegran, and Moran, *Landscape Impact of the West Seventh Federation* for more detail on the transformation of this neighborhood.

56 Marcia Kremer, “Brings is Gone: The Life and Death of a St. Paul Family Business,” *Ramsey County History* 50, no. 1, (Spring 2015): 3–11.

57 C. Winston Chrislock, “The Czechs,” in Holmquist, *They Chose Minnesota*, 338.

58 James A. Sazevich, Scott D. McGinnis, and Donald Empson, *Uppertown Survey Final Report*, prepared for the Saint Paul Heritage Preservation Commission and the Minnesota Historical Society, 1992, 23; Brueggemann, *History of the West Seventh Street Community*, 7.



Figure 27: St. Stanislaus Church and priest's residence, 187 Western Avenue. Built in 1886, (photo ca. 1900) this church was destroyed by fire in 1934.



Figure 28: St. Stanislaus Church, 187 Western Avenue.



Figure 29: Cyril Congregational Church, 277 Erie Street, served Protestant Czech residents until the 1950s. (1954)

associations, and gymnastic groups. The Sokol (Falcon) fostered Czech nationalism and unity through gymnastics and educational activities, and a lodge was founded in St. Paul by 1882. These institutions and the residents of Czech descent continued to persist in the West Seventh neighborhood until after World War II, thus providing a visible heritage in the built environment.⁵⁹

Among the earliest churches was St. Stanislaus of Kostka, established by 1872 to serve both Poles and Czechs. With the arrival of a Czech priest, Polish parishioners left to form St. Adelbert's, and St. Stanislaus became identified with the Czechs thereafter. A brick church was built at Western and Superior Avenues in 1886. It reached a membership of 1,000 by 1889.⁶⁰ From 1886 to 1924, the influential Father Jan Rynda served St. Stanislaus, where he advocated for Czech national parishes and actively supported Czech societies and Czech heritage.⁶¹ In 1902, a new brick school building next door at 175 Western Avenue South (RA-SPC-5045) replaced the old frame church. The 1886 St. Stanislaus Church was destroyed by fire on April 15, 1934; it was replaced by the current brick church in 1940 (RA-SPC-5046; 187 Western Ave. S./398 Superior St.). The current church was designed by Cecil Pesek in an English Gothic style and continues to serve a congregation.⁶² (Figures 27, 28)

Protestant Czechs formed Cyril Congregation Church, which dedicated a building at 275 Erie Street in October 1887 (RA-SPC-1183). The small congregation of fifty to sixty-five families was led by Father C. J. Trcka from 1906 to 1940, and continued Czech language services until 1945. The congregation dissolved in 1958, and the building was converted to a residence.⁶³ (Figure 29)

An early and long-lasting institution was the Czecho-Slovanic Benefit Society (also known as Czecho-Slovak Protective Society, and CSPS for its Czech spelling) constructed in 1887 just south of St. Stanislaus Church, at the intersection of Michigan and Fort Road. The CSPS Lodge was founded in St. Paul in 1876 as a fraternal organization that provided sickness and death benefits for members. It soon expanded to encompass cultural and education programs, theater, music, and gymnastic activities. The red brick, three-story CSPS Hall at 605 West Seventh (RA-SPC-8339; 1887; NRHP, HPC) was designed by Emil Ulrici and has a storefront on the first floor and meeting rooms and a hall on the upper floors. In 1978, the Sokol Lodge purchased the CSPS Hall and continues the Czech tradition while serving a

59 Chrislock, "The Czechs," 339–344.

60 Kristine Ranweiler, "Our History," The Church of St. Stanislaus <https://www.ststans.org/wordpress/our-history>, (accessed May 28, 2018); *St. Paul City Directory 1889–90*.

61 Chrislock, "The Czechs," 341.

62 Ranweiler; "Our History." St. Stanislaus School was leased after 1982 and then eventually sold for use as a daycare facility.

63 Chrislock, "The Czechs," 341, 344 (footnote 28); *St. Paul City Directory 1889–90*.

large Czech community in the region.⁶⁴ (Figure 30)

Czech residents in the neighborhood included workingmen, craftsmen, and business owners. Emily Panushka Erickson described her childhood neighborhood on Armstrong Street as filled with families of Slovak and Bohemian ancestry who were employed at Schmidt Brewery or at the Omaha Railway shops. Her Bohemian parents settled in St. Paul in 1893, and her father later opened a tailoring business downtown. Erickson later moved to Jefferson Street and attended the Cyril Congregational Church. The Ericksons shopped in the neighborhood business district on West Seventh near Randolph where a number of businesses owned by Czechs and Germans were located.⁶⁵

Czech immigrant and teacher Anton Jurka came to St. Paul to teach bilingual immigrant children at Jefferson School. He built a small Greek Revival house at 16 Douglas Street (RA-SPC-1096) in 1882. Jurka and his family moved to New York City in 1900, where his daughter, Blanche Yurka (as she spelled her name professionally) became a singer and actress of stage and films.⁶⁶

Born in Bohemia (now Czech Republic), John Rachac came to St. Paul in 1873 to work as a carpenter. An independent contractor, Rachac constructed buildings in the neighborhood, including those for fellow members of the CSPA. Later in the decade, Rachac was a union carpenter for Butler-Ryan (later Butler Brothers), contractors for the superstructure and interior of the State Capitol, which was constructed in 1895–1905. After the completion of the Capitol, Rachac remained the maintenance carpenter there until his retirement in 1925.⁶⁷



Figure 30: The 1887 CSPA Hall at 605 West Seventh Street, continues to operate as a center for Czech regional culture and other community activities in the Fort Road neighborhood.

64 Chrislock, "The Czechs," 342–343; Millett, *AIA Guide*, 420. Minnesota Historical Society has an easement on the CSPA Hall to ensure the historic building is protected. NOTE: Minnesota SHPO database also gives the property the inventory number RA-SPC-4568 and the address of 383-385 Michigan Street.

65 Emily Panushka Erickson, "West Seventh Street: Czechs, Slovaks, Bohemians, and Kolache Dough Rising in the Warm Attic," *Ramsey County History* 32, no. 2 (Summer 1997): 22–26.

66 Sazevich, McGinnis, and Empson, *Uppertown Survey Final Report*, 24; Millett, *AIA Guide*, 429.

67 John Sielaff, "Who Built the Minnesota Capitol? John Rachac, Master Carpenter," *Ramsey County History* 47, no. 1 (Spring 2012): 13–18. Sielaff also notes that John Rachac, Jr. followed his father into construction as a draftsman and worked in the office of Cass Gilbert, Capitol architect. Rachac continued to work for Gilbert in New York City for twenty-five years as the office manager of Gilbert's firm. John, Jr. Americanized his name to John Rockart and worked with Gilbert on various projects, including the New York City's Woolworth Building (1910–13), the West Virginia State Capitol (1924–32), and the U.S. Supreme Court Building in Washington, D.C. (1928–35).

Architects in the West Seventh Neighborhood

The 1880s brought a pronounced visibility of architects designing both residential and commercial buildings in the city. While some architects, like Monroe Sheire and Edward Payson Bassford, arrived early on, the numbers of architects with professional training and experience greatly increased by the 1870s.⁶⁸

E. P. Bassford came to St. Paul in 1866 and established one of the city's most successful architectural firms in the nineteenth century. He designed houses, schools, and commercial buildings, and in the process, provided a training ground for other local architects, including Cass Gilbert and Augustus Gauger. Bassford's major designs included several downtown St. Paul buildings: the Germania Life Insurance Building (1889); the Gilfillan Block (1882); the Rice Block (1884); and the St. Paul City Hall/Ramsey County Courthouse (1889) (all nonextant). Still extant is the Merchants National Bank (RA-SPC-1979; 366–368 Jackson; 1890–92; NRHP, HPC).⁶⁹

Architects in the West Seventh neighborhood typically designed commercial and institutional buildings such as churches, business blocks, and major industrial facilities like the Schmidt Brewery. Some residential dwellings, particularly those around Irvine Park, also used architects. The bulk of dwellings constructed in the neighborhood, however, were likely designed by builders or carpenters.

Not surprisingly, German-born architects fared well in the West Seventh community. Augustus Gauger, George Bergmann (Bergmann & Fisher), and Hermann Kretz were all born in Germany. Gauger began as a carpenter but worked for Bassford before launching his own firm. He designed dwellings and business blocks throughout the city, including in the suburb of Warrendale where he resided and for the German community in Dayton's Bluff. Hermann Kretz had technical training in Germany that informed his work in his first great commission, the Blair Flats building (Blair House; RA-SPC-5026; 165 Western Ave. N.; 1887; NRHP, HPC). Kretz achieved success with a number of standardized brick and stone commercial/flats buildings throughout the city, hotel buildings, and with managing real estate investments. Emil Ulrici came from St. Louis with experience in Milwaukee. He stayed only a decade but brought a "German signature" to his work based on his early experience and training.⁷⁰

Commercial Development along Fort Road

The construction of business blocks along Fort Road by the 1880s reflected the spread of population and institutions in the neighborhood, as well as the access provided by the horsecar and later electric streetcar lines. The extension of the car line to Tuscarora Avenue by 1881 served destinations such as the City-County Hospital, Banholzer's Beer Garden and Schade's Beer Garden. The 1880s was a decade of prosperity and growth that encouraged construction, a sharp contrast to the financial panic and agricultural failures that had limited investment in the 1870s.

Typical commercial buildings in the neighborhood were of red brick construction and rose two or three stories. Often generally described as "Victorian," the buildings displayed Italianate, Romanesque, or Queen Anne style elements or detailing on their facades. Elaborate brickwork and cornices were common. Buildings typically had storefronts framed in cast iron on the first floor and meeting rooms or flats on the upper levels.

68 For additional information about architects, there are a number of excellent studies that provide a full picture. Alan K. Lathrop's *Minnesota Architects: A Biographical Dictionary* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010) provides basic facts about each architect's life and lists some exemplary works. Hess and Larson's *St. Paul Architecture* places the architects and their work in a framework of the city's growth and evaluates their work in a design context. Larson also wrote *Minnesota Architect: The Life and Work of Clarence H. Johnston* (Afton, Minn.: Afton Historical Society Press, 1996). Larry Millett's *AIA Guide to the Twin Cities* offers tours throughout the Twin Cities and a concise and efficient means to ferret out the wide variety of work by various architects. Millett's *Lost Twin Cities* (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 1992) also discusses the architects and their works by era, often in conjunction with their buildings that have been razed.

69 Alan Lathrop, *Minnesota Architects*, 14; Millett, *Lost Twin Cities*, 61.

70 Hess and Larson, *St. Paul's Architecture*, 51–52, 68–71, 78–79; Lathrop, *Minnesota Architects*, 133.

In the 1880s, land uses changed abruptly in the blocks just west of Seven Corners. While some 1860s dwellings persisted, business buildings went up on the adjacent lots. On the east lot line of the Fuller-Emmett house at 279–281 West Seventh Street, the three-story, red brick Rochat Building was erected in 1884 (RA-SPC-5301; 273–277 W. Seventh St.; 1884; NRHP, HPC). Designed by William H. Castner, the three-bay façade has two cast-iron-framed storefronts with recessed entrances on either side of a central double-leaf entry on the first floor. On upper levels, paired windows in the center bay are framed by the outer bays, which include oriel windows on the second floor and a trio of double-hung windows framed by an elliptical arch on the third-floor bays. An elaborate cornice with patterned brickwork and pressed metal frames the facade. Rochat was a Swiss jeweler and watchmaker who had come to St. Paul in 1859; he had a jewelry store downtown and resided in this building after its construction.⁷¹ (Figure 31)

A year later, William C. Robertson constructed the Louise Block (RA-SPC-5299; 267–269 W. Seventh St., 1885; NRHP, HPC). Designed by E. P. Bassford, the three-story red brick building also has three cast iron-framed storefronts with recessed entrances. Regularly spaced double-hung windows with segmental squared and elliptical arches are separated by patterned brick spandrels and brick pilasters that extend to the brick pediment and end in small, projecting metal rounded arch and triangular motifs. Robertson was the son of Daniel Robertson, whose 1860s house had stood to the west at the corner of Sherman. William Robertson named the building in honor of his wife, Louise.⁷² (Figure 32)

The Sauerwein Block, built in 1895, completed the trio of commercial buildings on this block (RA-SPC-5298; 261–265 W. Seventh St.; NRHP, HPC). Designed by Hermann Kretz, the Sauerwein Block continued the first floor storefront and upper level meeting rooms/flats arrangement but with less elaborate brickwork and ornamentation on the façade than the adjacent Rochat and Louise buildings. Kretz took advantage of the corner of Fort Road and Walnut to add a two-story turret over the corner entry (now infilled). German-born John Sauerwein and his wife Antonia Bittner purchased this site and operated a saloon before construction of the block. From 1902 to 1946, the Independent Order of Odd Fellows owned the building and kept their meeting rooms on the third floor.⁷³

Politician and High Bridge advocate Robert A. Smith razed his



Figure 31: The Rochat-Louise-Sauerwein Block, 261-277 West Seventh, constructed between 1884 and 1895, represented some of the early commercial blocks that began to replace the large older dwellings that previously lined West Seventh. The blocks contained first floor, cast-iron storefronts, with elaborate Queen Anne-style detailing on the upper levels that housed flats and meeting rooms.



Figure 32: Franklin Steam Laundry, located in the Louise Block by 1900.

⁷¹ Susan W. Granger and Patricia Murphy, "Rochat Building (RA-SPC-5301)," Historic Sites Survey (HSS) form, 1981; All inventory forms noted as Historic Sites Survey (HSS) were completed in conjunction with the 1983 St. Paul and Ramsey County Survey and are on file at the SHPO. Historic Irvine Park Association, *A Brief History of the Irvine Park District: The People and Architecture of an Extraordinary Neighborhood* (St. Paul: Historic Irvine Park Association, ca. 1986), 26.

⁷² Susan W. Granger and Patricia Murphy, "Rochat-Louise Building (RA-SPC-5299)," HSS form, 1981; Historic Irvine Park, *Brief History of the Irvine Park District*, 25.

⁷³ Susan W. Granger and Patricia Murphy, "Sauerwein Building (RA-SPC-5298)," HSS form, 1981; Historic Irvine Park, *Brief History of the Irvine Park District*, 25.



Figure 33: Smith Block, 225 West Seventh, built 1888. While serving as both mayor of St. Paul and as a state senator, Robert A. Smith razed his home on this location and constructed a business block instead.

home at the northwest corner of Fort Road and Chestnut Street and built a Romanesque-style business building in 1888 (RA-SPC-5293; 225–229½ W. Seventh St.; 1888; HPC). The three-story, red brick building has a pressed metal corner turret over the entrance that remains prominent in views up Chestnut Street.⁷⁴ (Figure 33)

Another commercial strip begun in the 1880s developed about three blocks southwest on West Seventh at the intersection of Douglas and Goodrich. Built in 1883, the two-story, red brick storefront and flats Hoffman Block at 449 West Seventh Street (RA-SPC-5305) is Italianate rather than the more elaborate Queen Anne style of the Rochat Building. The Hoffman Block is distinguished by its ornate bracketed cornice with brick corbeling and a triangular central pediment. Tall, narrow, double-hung windows with sandstone lintels and sills are framed by brick segmental arched window hoods. The building likely housed a grocery store when first constructed.⁷⁵ (Figure 34)



Figure 34: Hoffman Block, 101 Douglas/449 West Seventh Street, 1883. The 1883 City Directory identified Louis P. Hoffman as selling groceries, flour and feed at this location, and residing nearby at 97 Douglas Avenue.

Two lots west is the 1891 Otto Rohland building (RA-SPC-5306; 455–459 W. Seventh St.). The rounded arch central entrance is framed by cast iron storefronts. Stone belt courses divide symmetrically placed windows on the second and third floors. Projecting brick and stone finials frame the date plaque “Otto Rohland 1891” in the central bay and extend through the pressed metal cornice. (Figure 35) Designed by Bergmann and Fischer, the building housed Rohland’s meat market and grocery store from 1891 to the 1950s. A German immigrant who arrived in 1867, Rohland was prominent in the community and served as a city alderman (1902–11). He was also a Mason, and was credited with efforts to preserve Fountain Cave and to rejuvenate Fort Road. After 1898, Rohland resided in a large dwelling on the bluff at 307 Michigan (previously Von Minden) Street.⁷⁶

Another commercial node developed across West Seventh from the Cave Brewery, in the blocks from Schade’s Park at Palace Av-



Figure 35: Rohland Building, 455-459 West Seventh, built 1891. Otto Rohland was a prominent German immigrant who operated his meat market and grocery store at this location until the 1950s.

74 Susan W. Granger and Patricia Murphy, “Smith Building (RA-SPC-5293),” HSS form, 1981. Robert A. Smith, for whom Smith Avenue is named, moved to 312 Summit. See further discussion of Smith in conjunction with the Smith Avenue Bridge earlier in this section. Although the architect is unknown, the Smith Building was constructed by Mark Costello, who also built the Walsh Block at 191 East Seventh (formerly Eighth) Street in 1888 (RA-SPC-5407; NRHP, HPC) and the 1886 Armstrong-Quinlan Home at 233–235 West Fifth/225 Eagle Parkway (RA-SPC-5268; NRHP, HPC). Both buildings were designed by E. P. Bassford.

75 Susan W. Granger and Patricia Murphy, “Commercial building, 449 West Seventh (RA-SPC-5305),” HSS form, 1981. The property is also listed in the database as RA-SPC-8302 at 101 Douglas Street. In the 1880 city directory for St. Paul, Louis P. Hoffman operated Groceries, Flour and Feed at 268 Fort and resided at 68 Douglas. The 1885 city directory identified Louis P. Hoffman as residing at 449 West Seventh (no occupation), and Thomas C. Hand, grocer, at the same address. *R. L. & Polk Co.’s St. Paul City Directory 1880–81* (St. Paul: R.L. Polk & Co., Publishers); *St. Paul City Directory 1885–6* (St. Paul: R. L. & Co., Publishers, 1885).

76 Susan W. Granger and Patricia Murphy, “Otto W. Roland Building (RA-SPC-5306),” HSS form, 1981; Donald Empson, *Portrait of a Neighborhood*, 43. Anne L. Bartz, “Otto W. Rohland Building,” draft NRHP inventory-nomination form, 1983 (on file at SHPO) was based on an interview with Rohland’s granddaughter, and provides additional information about Rohland’s extensive involvement in community affairs in the West Seventh neighborhood until his death in 1956.



Figure 36: Juenemann's Hotel, 904 West Seventh, ca. 1889. Mrs. Julia Juenemann (widow of Nicholas Juenemann) operated the hotel near Stahlmann's Cave Brewery.



Figure 37: Rothmeyer Saloon, 949 West Seventh, ca. 1910.



Figure 38: Weber Building, 925 West Seventh, 1937.



Figure 39: Wasika Building, 974 West Seventh, former location of the Fort Road/West Seventh Federation offices.

enue, running southwest to roughly Armstrong Avenue. Served by the horsecar line, the area was lined with one- and two-story business buildings and served as a shopping district for the surrounding residents and workers in the nearby brewery, the Omaha shops, and the City-County Hospital. A number of the business owners were German or Czech immigrants who resided nearby.

Saloons and bars were part of the commercial corridor, often adjacent to the brewery, and sometimes owned by the brewery. Juenemann's Hotel, also identified as "Brewers Headquarters," was located at 904 West Seventh in 1889 (nonextant). (Figure 36) Jacob Lauer built a saloon for Michael Leierich, a Bohemian immigrant, at 949 West Seventh in 1899. Later the business was taken over by Andrew Rothmeyer in a building that continues to house a café or tavern.⁷⁷(Figure 37) Fredolin Weber constructed a two-story brick shop and flats building at 925 West Seventh Street (RA-SPC-5319; 1886). Originally a liquor store, it was converted to a barbershop in 1894 by German-born August Fieger. Ten years later, he built his home next door at 923 Toronto, residing in the house until his death in 1954. The building still houses an operating barbershop.⁷⁸ (Figure 38) At the intersection with James Avenue was a triangular-shaped storefront and flats building designed by architect Augustus F. Gauger for Miss Marcella Deavitt, a dressmaker. (RA-SPC-5322; 961–965 West Seventh St.; 1884). Across the intersection, a front-gabled wood frame dwelling was constructed in 1887 for use as a saloon and apartments by Frank Wasika (RA-SPC-5323; 974 W. Seventh St.).⁷⁹ (Figure 39)

77 Landsberger, *West End Neighbors Garden Tour*, 36.

78 Gary Brueggeman, "A Steady Clip West Seventh Barbershop Has Touched Three Centuries," *Highland Villager*, Dec 14, 2005, 23.

79 Susan W. Granger and Patricia Murphy, "Commercial building, 961–965 7th St. W. (RA-SPC-5322)," HSS form, 1981 and saloon/apartments, 974 7th St. W. (RA-SPC-5323), 1981.



Figure 40: Ed Hammer Building 987-989 West Seventh, 1936.
Figure 41: Current Ed Hammer Building 987-989 West Seventh.



Figure 42: Machovec Building, 997 West Seventh. Machovec's grocery operated at this site for over 100 years and was known for filling grocery orders for Mississippi River barge captains.



Figure 43: Beck Grocery, 1171 West Seventh, ca. 1902. Beck family members in front of their grocery store.



Figure 44: 1163-75 block on West Seventh retains the buildings that housed Beck's and Bartusch's Meat Markets and Horejs Bakery.

At 987–989 West Seventh Street, Ed Hammer's two-story brick building housed a storefront and flats above (RA-SPC-5325; 1885). Like the two buildings west of it, the Hammer building has an unusual, trapezoidal shape because it fronts on West Seventh and has an obtuse angle as its east elevation. (Figures 40, 41) A long-lasting business in the community was the Machovec Grocery Store, opened in 1894 at 997-99 West Seventh Street. (RA-SPC-5326; 1893). The Machovec (originally Machovets) brothers emigrated from Prague by 1882, when Frank, Amon and Joseph Machovets appeared in St. Paul. Frank Machovec and his wife Mary initially lived behind the store and later moved into a home on Warsaw (now Osceola) Avenue behind the store. The brick, two-story building, like most others on the block, had a first-floor storefront and upper level flats. Constructed by contractor Lars E. Larsen, the second story was designed with a central bay window set in a shallow pediment, flanked by round-arch windows and a bracketed metal cornice. The nameplate above the bay window says "Machovec 1893." The store remained in business until 2001.⁸⁰ (Figure 42)

Commercial nodes with everyday retail needs appeared every few blocks along West Seventh. Near the intersection with Watson Avenue in the 1100 block were Beck's Grocery and Bartusch Meat Market. Beck's Grocery had first been constructed for John Meyer in 1884. Beck, a German emigrant, operated the grocery from 1900 to the 1930s. Bartusch Meat Market occupied the building next door by 1910. Bartusch had emigrated from Germany as a child in 1882.⁸¹ (Figures 43, 44)

The sons of John Ayd, whose mill had previously operated near Jefferson Avenue (see Section I), entered business along West Seventh in the 1880s. Leonard Ayd constructed a store and flats building in 1887 at 1031-33 West Seventh (RA-SPC-5328; 1887). (Figure 45) The three-story, red brick building has elements of both Italianate and Queen Anne styles and features a cast iron storefront manufactured by Crown Iron Works of Minneapolis. The tall, narrow, upper-level window openings (now infilled) are separated by brick pilasters with stone capitals; stone entablatures, and string courses define each story. An ornate cornice with an en-

80 Janet Bartz, "The Machovec Building," December 8, 1983, manuscript on file at SHPO, St. Paul, 1, 6, 7.

81 Landsberger, *West End Neighbors Garden Tour*, 42–43.



Figure 45: Ayd Hall, 1033 West Seventh, built in 1887 by a son of the Ayd Mill family, is a well preserved example of the storefront and flats buildings along West Seventh.

tablature of corbelled brickwork and a decorative scroll motif is surmounted by dentils and a bracketed projecting cornice. A nameplate with a stylized “Ayd” appears above the second story. The building was designed by George Bergmann and John Fischer, who also designed the Rohland Block. Rudolf, John, and Frank Ayd all owned property and various businesses housed in this building and adjacent locations along West Seventh. This location housed a grocery store, saloon, and dance hall while owned by the Ayds. After 1900, the family of Anna Karger, who originally operated a confectionary in the storefront, owned the property. The building has continued to house retail uses and upper level apartments.⁸²

West Seventh was the primary business district in the West End. But streetcar lines often attracted commercial uses, since a business owner could anticipate customers walking along the street when they got on and off the streetcars. The Randolph streetcar line had a number of businesses along its length. The Columbia House Hotel at 727 Randolph Avenue (RA-SPC-3108) was constructed in 1885

down the street from the fire station, Chemical House No. 5/Engine House #10 (RA-SPC-3110), at 754 Randolph. Other early commercial buildings went up at the intersections of Randolph and View, Randolph and Victoria, and other sites. Although businesses changed over time, meat markets, saloons, and grocery stores were typical uses.⁸³

Residential Development in the West Seventh Neighborhood

Just as commercial development expanded with transportation and infrastructure investment, the city’s housing stock also spread out in all directions. Most residential building lots were within about a one-mile radius of the Upper and Lower Landings until the 1870s, except for scattered construction on Dayton’s Bluff and along the Summit Avenue bluff. In 1875, the city’s population centered in and around downtown, although the West Seventh neighborhood already had residents moving southwest along Fort Road to the vicinity of Western Avenue. (Figure 46). Ten years later, an 1885 building map revealed the effects of the economic expansion: the downtown was densely developed, and adjacent neighborhoods close to downtown began to fill in. (Figure 47) These closer-in neighborhoods were called the “walking city” because residents

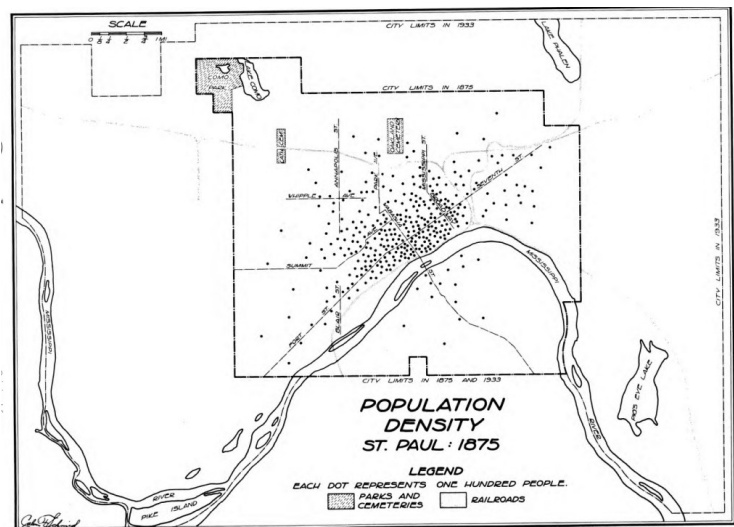


CHART 28

Figure 46: Population Density in St. Paul, 1875, when the city limits along West Seventh were at Lexington and Otto Avenues. (Calvin Schmid, 1937)

82 Susan W. Granger and Patricia Murphy, “Ayd Hall (RA-SPC-5328),” HSS form, 1981; James O. Phelps, “Ayd Hall, The Leonard Ayd Block,” draft NRHP Inventory-Nomination Form, 1981.

83 Brueggemann, *Fort Snelling to Seven Corners: A People’s History Calendar of the Fort Road Community* (St. Paul: COMPAS/Intersection, 1981).

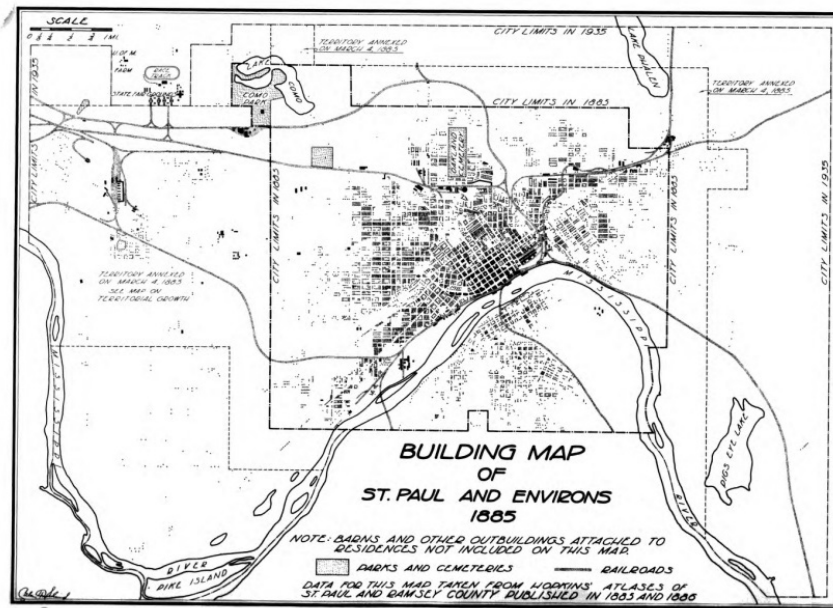


Figure 47: Building Map of St. Paul, 1885, illustrates the density of construction along West Seventh. (Calvin Schmid, 1937)

had to walk to downtown and employment before streetcar access was available.⁸⁴ These “walking city” neighborhoods, one of which was West Seventh, ringed the downtown. (see Map II) Others in this era included the West Side flats, the area south of the Mississippi from downtown that had been annexed in 1874. With the Wabasha and the Robert Street

bridges, the flats were convenient to downtown and developed both residential and industrial uses despite the low elevation of the area and possibility of flooding. On the East Side, the Dayton’s Bluff neighborhood had been platted as early as 1854. It developed slowly because of the difficulty of crossing the Phalen Creek/Trout Brook Valley and its numerous railroads. Access to the Bluff was assured with completion of the Seventh Street improvements and stone arch bridge (RA-SPC-6402; 1883–85; NRHP). The railroad corridor that followed Phalen Creek and other railroads defined other East Side neighborhoods, including the triangular “Railroad Island” neighborhood and the bridge over the railroad at Payne Avenue that led to that commercial street and the Arlington Hills subdivision. Directly north and northwest of downtown St. Paul, the North End and Frogtown neighborhoods also expanded in the areas either side of the railroad corridors and adjoining industries. The 1880s also witnessed the movement of the city’s wealthy to the heights of Summit Avenue. While many early business and civic leaders had congregated in fringe neighborhoods around downtown, including Lafayette Park, Capitol Heights and Central Park, these locations became less desirable by the turn of the century as downtown expanded. Lafayette Park, at the northern edge of Lowertown, gradually became surrounded by railroads and industrial development that led to its decline.⁸⁵

In the West Seventh community, residential development filled in the neighborhoods that had begun in the 1850s along Fort Road. Platting activity along West Seventh continued the pattern that had been established west of Wilkin Street, as plats were laid out following the cardinal points of the compass, rather than orienting to the river like the early plats of the 1850s and 1860s. New residential development included housing for all income levels, from the architect-designed Queen Anne dwellings in the Irvine Park vicinity, to worker’s housing and multi-family rowhouse buildings.

Rowhouses, in which each unit shared a common wall with its neighbors and often rose to two or three stories, were a more typical form of construction in older cities such as New York City, Boston, Philadelphia, Cincinnati, and St. Louis. As Boston expanded in the early nineteenth century, the early “suburbs” were developed with grid streets and regularly platted lots that led to a neat, precise street frontage. Attached rowhouses wasted no land and provided an orderly, urbanized look in a city such as Boston that had begun with

⁸⁴ Zellie and Peterson, *St. Paul Historic Context: Residential Real Estate Development*, 4; Calvin F. Schmid, *Social Saga of Two Cities: An Ecological and Statistical Study of Social Trends in Minneapolis and St. Paul* (Minneapolis: Bureau of Social Research, Minneapolis Council of Social Agencies, 1937), charts 28 and 101. See Mead & Hunt, *St. Paul Historic Context Study: Neighborhoods at the Edge of the Walking City*, prepared for Historic Saint Paul, City of Saint Paul HPC, and Ramsey County Historical Society, St. Paul, Minnesota, 2011 for surveys of West Seventh, West Side, Payne-Phalen, North End, Thomas-Dale (Frogtown); and Summit-University.

⁸⁵ Mead & Hunt, *Neighborhoods at the Edge of the Walking City*, 10–11; Garneth O. Peterson, *The Historic Payne Avenue Business District*, prepared by Landscape Research for the East Side Neighborhood Development Company, Inc., May 1999, 5; Hess and Larson, *St. Paul’s Architecture*, 45. Central Park was located at what is now the site of the parking ramp behind the Centennial Building along Cedar Street.

narrow, crooked streets around Boston Harbor. Midwestern cities had relatively more land to grow and typically used the grid pattern in standard subdivision plats. The regular pattern of standard size lots was readily adaptable to the use of rowhouses.⁸⁶

Rowhouses appeared in both Minneapolis and St. Paul in the 1880s but declined by the 1890s as other types of multi-family, attached buildings were constructed. In Minneapolis, the 1877 Grove Street Flats (HE-MPC-0253, 2-16 Grove St., NRHP, HPC) are one extant example. Built of limestone in the French Second Empire style, the flats originally had eight multistory units and are located on Nicollet Island.⁸⁷ The West Fifteenth Street Row Houses (HE-MPC-0205; 115 W. Fifteenth St.; 1886; HPC) are located in the Loring Park neighborhood, which continued to develop as an apartment enclave into the 1920s. Designed by Adam Lansing Dorr in a Romanesque Revival style, the 1886 buildings are three-story, and constructed of red brick.⁸⁸

Of the extant rowhouses in St. Paul, most were built in the 1880s, with a few constructed in the 1890s. Extant examples are concentrated in West Seventh, Dayton's Bluff, and the Summit Hill neighborhoods. Sanborn maps showed that rowhouses were also built on the north/northwest fringe of downtown, on blocks that have been lost to freeway alignments and other transportation uses. Most of the extant rowhouses are constructed of brick or sandstone, which may have contributed to their survival; frame buildings may have deteriorated more rapidly and left fewer examples. Rowhouses were generally architect-designed, and typically had four to eight units.⁸⁹



Figure 48: The Burbank Rowhouse at 277-283 Goodrich, built 1875 by James Burbank (1937 photo). Figure 49: The building has been rehabbed and retains Italianate and Queen Anne-style elements.

Rowhouses in the West Seventh Neighborhood

Rowhouse Name	Address	Date	Architect	Inventory No.
Burbank Rowhouse (HPC)	277-283 Goodrich Ave.	1875	—	RA-SPC-8342
Stoddart Block/Panama Flats (NRHP, HPC)	226-234 S. Exchange St.	1886	George and Frank Orff	RA-SPC-1205
Lauer Flats (NRHP, HPC)	226-240½ Western Ave. S.	1887	William H. Castner	RA-SPC-5048
Gardner Row House	89-97 Leech St.	1891	—	RA-SPC-4236

Among the earliest rowhouse construction in West Seventh was the Burbank Rowhouse at 277-283 Goodrich Avenue (RA-SPC-8342; 1875; HPC). Entrepreneur James Burbank built the two-story, wood frame building with three units. The units are elevated above street level and accessed by wooden stairs to double leaf entry doors sheltered by a shed roof porch across the lower level. Narrow windows with decorative window hoods and decorative scrollwork in gable ends provide both Italianate and Queen Anne ornamentation. While Burbank himself lived on Summit Avenue, he likely constructed this building for his parents and sisters,

86 Larry Ford, *Cities and Buildings: Skyscrapers, Skid Rows, and Suburbs* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994), 136-140; Sam Bass Warner, *Streetcar Suburbs: The Process of Growth in Boston, 1870-1900* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press and M.I.T. Press, 1962; Reprint, New York: Atheneum, 1978), 132-136. Citations refer to the reprint edition.

87 Susan Granger and Scott Kelly, *Historic Context Study for the Standing Structures Survey of the I-35W Study Area, S. P. 27828-226 (I-35W)*, submitted to the Minnesota Department of Transportation, May 1993, 33, 35-37; Millett, *AIA Guide*, 121. Granger and Kelly's I-35W study includes "Residential Development Context on Minneapolis Apartment Buildings, 1870s-1945," including a discussion of various multi-family housing types like hotels, boarding houses, and lodging houses as well as more traditional apartment buildings that became popular by the 1910s and 1920s. See further discussion on apartments in Section III.

88 Millett, *AIA Guide*, 82; The 106 Group, "Loring Park Apartment Historic District," Minnesota Architecture-History (MAH) inventory form, 2014.

89 See 1885 and 1903-04 Sanborn maps of St. Paul for evidence of rowhouse construction in the downtown frame area.

Figures 50-52: The West Seventh neighborhood retains several rowhouses and double houses, built primarily in the 1880s and 1890s.



Figure 50: Built 1885, the Stoddart/Panama Flats Rowhouse, 226-34 Exchange Street, adapted the rowhouse style with a brick exterior, three stories over a raised basement, and individual porch entries.



Figure 51: The 1887 Lauer Flats, 228 Western Avenue, were in contrast to the exuberant Queen Anne detailing of other rowhouses, and exhibit a restrained Kasota stone exterior. The Flats were constructed by longtime West End stone cutters and contractors Henry and Charles Lauer.



Figure 52: The brick Gardner Rowhouse, 89-97 Leech Street, built 1891, displayed the Queen Anne style with its decorative entry porches and second level balconies.

who initially resided in the building.⁹⁰ (Figures 48, 49)

William and Julia Stoddart constructed the red brick rowhouse on the southwest corner of Chestnut and Exchange avenues in 1886. (RA-SPC-1205; 226–234 Exchange St.; NRHP, HPC). Designed by George and Frank Orff, the Queen Anne style building originally had five units, each with three stories over a raised basement. Entries are raised above street level and accessed by steps to an individual porch. Two-story, alternating square and window bays defined a more individual look for each unit. In 1907, the rowhouse was renamed Panama Flats due to public interest in the Panama Canal construction.⁹¹ (Figure 50)

The Lauer Flats at 226-240½ Western Avenue (RA-SPC-5048; NRHP, HPC) were constructed in 1887 by stone cutters and contractors Henry and Charles Lauer (see previous discussion on Lauers). Designed by William H. Castner, the three-story Lauer Flats building exterior is Kasota stone over a raised, rusticated stone basement. The restrained, symmetrical ornamentation of the Lauer Flats is in contrast to the exuberance of many other buildings of this era. The façade is divided by piers into seven bays of two flats each. Each bay has a two-story projecting bay with rectangular windows framed by surrounds; each paired entrance is accessed by steps to a stoop under a balcony with ornamental iron railings.⁹² (Figure 51) A Lauer employee, Joseph Bourgeault, built a limestone rowhouse across the street from Lauer Flats at 241–249 Western Avenue South (RA-SPC-5049; 1889). Built in 1889, Bourgeault’s rowhouse was a two-story walkup with eight units and minimal ornamentation.⁹³

The 1891 rowhouse at 89–97 South Leech Street (RA-SPC-4236; 1891) was constructed by Elizabeth Gardner, who lived next door at 83 South Leech. Designed by Hermann Kretz, the two-story, red brick rowhouse façade had paired entrance porches that formed the basis for second-story balconies. Segmental brick arches framed bay window openings on the first floor and double-hung window openings on the second level. Each porch and balcony continued to a metal parapet with a broken pediment and central spire. The corner unit had a canted entry that followed the pattern of the other porch and balcony units.⁹⁴ (Figure 52)

Elizabeth Gardner’s own dwelling (RA-SPC-4235; 83 S. Leech St. /184 McBoal St.; 1891), also designed by Kretz, was a Queen

90 Susan W. Granger and Patricia Murphy, “Burbank Row House (RA-SPC-8342),” HSS form, 1981. The building has been rehabilitated and some exterior materials are likely not original.

91 Historic Irvine Park, *Brief History of the Irvine Park District*, 62; Millett, *AIA Guide*, 434.

92 Lauer Flats HSS form; Millett, *AIA Guide*, 424. Lauer Flats are addressed at both 226 Western Avenue and 228 Western Avenue in the SHPO inventory.

93 Susan W. Granger and Patricia Murphy, “Rowhouses, 241–249 Western Ave. S. (RA-SPC-5049),” HSS form, 1981.

94 Susan W. Granger and Patricia Murphy, “Elizabeth Gardner Rowhouse (RA-SPC-4236),” HSS form, 1981; Mead & Hunt, Gardner Row House, (RA-SPC-4236) St. Paul Heritage Preservation Commission (HPC) Inventory form, 2012.



Figures 53-55: Double houses were another popular housing option in the 1880s in the West Seventh neighborhood.



Figure 54: Architect E. P. Bassford owned the wood frame double house at 365-367 North Smith, built 1883.



Figure 55: E.P. Bassford designed the Armstrong-Quinlan double house, built 1886 at 233-235 West Fifth, but moved to 225 Eagle Parkway in 2001 and rehabbed.



Figure 56: Gronewald townhouse, 555 West Seventh, relocated to this site in the 1970s.

Anne style, wood frame double house. Double houses, typically designed by architects, were another form of attached housing in the West Seventh neighborhood. Gardner's dwelling exhibited a prominent polygonal tower with finial at the corner of Leech and McBoal, with a bay window on the McBoal elevation and a projecting gable unit and entry porch on the Leech Street elevation.⁹⁵

Nathan Myrick's double house at 103–105 Wilkin Street (RA-SPC-5084; 1886), displayed Romanesque detailing with elaborate brickwork and brick arches, a round turret with conical roof, and a square bay. (Figure 53) Architect E. P. Bassford was associated with two double houses in the area. The double house at 365–367 North Smith (RA-SPC-3403) is a two-story wood frame building with Queen Anne ornamentation on its porch and elaborate window frame. (Figure 54) The building was owned by the Bassford family, although it apparently was not their residence. Bassford also designed the Armstrong-Quinlan double house (RA-SPC-5268; 1886; NRHP, HPC) moved to 225 Eagle Parkway but originally at 233–235 West Fifth Street downtown. Bassford designed the building with the "full Victorian treatment, layering the façade with arches, pediments, turrets, finials and other flourishes."⁹⁶ (Figure 55)

William J. Gronewald, a German-born contractor, constructed his residence at 323 Banfil Street in 1871 (RA-SPC-5313, moved to 561 West Seventh). Twenty years later, he built a stylish Queen Anne townhouse nearby. The narrow, three-story red brick and sandstone building has a Mansard roof with a projecting tower (RA-SPC-8329, moved to 555 West Seventh). The 1992 Uppertown Survey credited Gronewald with construction of at least 23 structures in the area from 1884-1902.⁹⁷ (Figure 56)

95 Susan W. Granger and Patricia Murphy, "Double house, 83 Leech St. S. /184 McBoal St. W. (RA-SPC-4235)," HSS form, 1981.

96 Millett, *AIA Guide*, 424. The building was known in recent years as a remnant in the path of the Fifth Street freeway entrance near the Xcel Center. It stood alone in a vacant lot for several years until it could be moved to this site for renovation (work done by Historic Irvine Park Assn. and West Seventh/Fort Road Federation). See Hess and Larson, *St. Paul's Architecture*, 48–51, for an interesting discussion of Bassford's evolution from master builder to architect and his proficiency with an eclectic array of styles.

97 Sazevich, McGinnis, and Empson, *Uppertown Survey Final Report*, 8; Johnson, Lanegran and Moran, *Landscape Impact of the West Seventh Federation*, 34. Both the Gronewald residence and townhouse were moved to their current West Seventh location and converted

Like other St. Paul neighborhoods in the 1880s, Irvine Park and Uppertown saw construction of dwellings in the popular Queen Anne style .

Single Family Residential Construction in West Seventh



Figure 57: The Murray-Lanpher house, 35 Irvine Park, built 1887, has been rehabbed and remains one of the most exuberant examples of Queen Anne form and ornamentation.



Figure 58: The Schmitz-Rose house, 182 Goodrich, built 1889, contains a second story turret and recessed third story balcony tucked under a projecting gable.



Figure 59: The Duncan Murray house, 325 Superior Street, built 1885, displays the Queen Anne form and is distinguished by the porch, patterned brickwork and segmental arch lintels.



Figure 60: The Justus Ohage House, 59 Irvine Park, built 1889, is dominated by the three-story corner tower and spire.

The streets surrounding Irvine Park continued to attract the city’s business and professional classes in the 1880s. For these large houses, the Queen Anne style with its towers, turrets, porches and assorted ornamental finishes and elements tended to predominate. Queen Anne style ornamentation also appeared on more modest dwellings in the neighborhood, even if they lacked the more flamboyant elements arrayed on the larger dwellings.

The Murray-Lanpher House at 35 Irvine Park (RA-SPC-1938; 1887; NRHP, HPC) displays an asymmetrical design dominated by the three-story rounded corner turret with a conical cap and ball finial. The open entrance porch supports a second-story balcony with rounded arches supporting the roof. The wood frame dwelling rises two and one-half stories and displays various surface finishes on exterior walls and surrounding window openings. Designed by E. P. Bassford for Michael Murray, founder of Northern Cooperage Company, this dwelling was subdivided and experienced neglect before its reconstruction and rehabilitation in the 1980s.⁹⁸ (Figure 57)

Two other examples provide less elaborate versions of the Queen Anne style. The Harriet Schmitz (Schmitz-Rose) dwelling (RA-SPC-1518; 182 Goodrich; 1889) also designed by Bassford, is a two-story wood frame dwelling with a cross gable roof and second story turret. The front double-leaf entry retains decorative original entry doors surmounted by a transom. A recessed semi-circular balcony with a balustrade is set into the front-facing gable at the attic story.⁹⁹ (Figure 58) The 1885 Duncan Murray house (RA-SPC-3805; 325 Superior St.; 1885) displays the form and some detailing of the Queen Anne style. The two-and-one-half-story brick dwelling features a wrap around, hip roof porch supported by turned spindles, elaborate fan-like brackets, and a spindle frieze. The façade also has a large fixed window with a leaded glass transom, and a single-leaf door with a transom.¹⁰⁰ (Figure 59)

The Dr. Justus Ohage House at 59 Irvine Park (RA-SPC-1944; 1889; NRHP, HPC) displayed a more Germanic style designed by Emil Ulrici. Designed in cream brick, the solid, square dwelling is dominated by a three-story hexagonal corner turret that rises

to office use when Mancini’s Char House expanded its parking lot in the mid-1970s.

98 Historic Irvine Park Association, *Brief History of the Irvine Park District*, 46–47; Susan W. Granger and Patricia Murphy, “Murray-Lanpher House (RA-SPC-1938),” HSS form, 1981.

99 Mead & Hunt, Schmitz-Rose House (RA-SPC-1518), HPC form, 2012; Susan W. Granger and Patricia Murphy, “Schmitz House (RA-SPC-1518),” HSS form, 1981.

100 Mead & Hunt, Duncan C, Murphy House (RA-SPC-3805), HPC form, 2012; Susan W. Granger and Patricia Murphy, “Duncan C. Murphy House (RA-SPC-3805),” HSS form, 1981.

to a tower.¹⁰¹ (Figure 60) Dr. Ohage was St. Paul's Commissioner of Health from 1899 to 1907. Out of concern for public hygiene, he erected public baths on Harriet Island, which he owned and later donated to the city. Dr. Ohage had a long-tenured medical practice, conducting America's first successful gall bladder surgery at St. Joseph's Hospital in St. Paul in 1886. He continued practicing medicine until his death in 1935.¹⁰²

Most of the residential construction in the 1880s was housing aimed at the workers who were employed at the nearby breweries, railroads, foundries, and stone quarries. Worker's housing was ubiquitous in many of the St. Paul neighborhoods that developed in the late nineteenth century, including Dayton's Bluff, Railroad Island, Payne Avenue neighborhood, the North End, Frogtown, and the West Side. While houses from the 1850s and 1860s in Uppertown were some of the first worker's dwellings in the city, less is known about the overall development of this type of housing from the 1880s onward as the city expanded. In Dayton's Bluff, worker's housing in the 1880s was identified in real estate advertisements offering monthly payment options. Described as "small, substantial cottages," these houses were made available with loans from local building associations.¹⁰³

Based on the 1900 St. Paul city directory, the building association was a typical method for financing construction. The directory listed twenty different associations, including some that appeared to focus on particular neighborhoods, such as Dayton's Bluff, along with the Rice Street Building Society, the East Seventh Building Society, and the Seven Corners' Building Association. There were other focused groups, such as the German-American Building Association, the Workingmen's Building & Loan Society, and the Northern Pacific Co-operative Building & Loan Society.¹⁰⁴

Unlike the architect-designed houses of wealthier citizens, worker's dwellings were typically built by carpenters or contractors, likely using standard plans. As millwork became more standardized, carpenters could add architectural details to provide some individuality to a standard house type.

The typical dwellings built in this era commonly have a front-facing gable, are often two stories, and are usually of wood frame construction. Some dwellings were faced in red brick or had porches or other architectural ornamentation. Dwellings of this type were constructed along Butternut Avenue throughout the 1880s and were located within walking distance of the breweries, the Omaha railyards, and Orme Foundry. (Figure 61) Among the extant houses from the 1880s are several two-story, front-facing gable dwellings and some one-story dwellings. Several houses retain their original open porches supported by simple columns. Other original features include bay windows with leaded glass transoms, transoms over doors, and paired double-hung windows at the upper level. At least two dwellings were constructed of red brick and retain their open front porches with spindle railings. When constructed, these dwellings overlooked the river bluff, although Shepard Road now runs between Butternut Avenue and the bluff line.¹⁰⁵



Figure 61: Housing for worker's families tended to be one- and two-story dwellings, with both wood frame and brick exterior finishes. These front-facing gable dwellings were constructed along Butternut Avenue, a neighborhood that grew up near the Banholzer Brewery by the 1880s.

Another neighborhood in this era developed east of the Cave Brewery along Erie and Duke Streets north of

101 Hess and Larson, *St. Paul's Architecture*, 68–70.

102 Historic Irvine Park Association, *Brief History of the Irvine Park District*, 58.

103 Carole Zellie, *Dayton's Bluff Heritage Preservation District Phase II National Register Historic District Evaluation*, prepared by Landscape Research for Minnesota Department of Transportation, 31.

104 *St. Paul City Directory 1900*, 106. While there were a number of building societies identified, further research is needed to better understand how they operated and how large a role they played in housing construction in this era. The scope of this project did not allow detailed research on whether housing was built and financed by employers, individuals, or through loan associations. A neighborhood study of deeds and permits in individual subdivisions would provide a better grasp of housing construction patterns.

105 Susan W. Granger and Patricia Murphy, "711 Butternut Ave. W. (RA-SPC-0462)," "731 Butternut Ave. W. (RA-SPC-0463)," "763 Butternut Ave. W. (RA-SPC-0464)," "771 Butternut Ave. W. (RA-SPC-0465)," "775 Butternut Ave. W. (RA-SPC-0466)," "787 Butternut Ave. W. (RA-SPC-0467)," HSS forms, 1981.

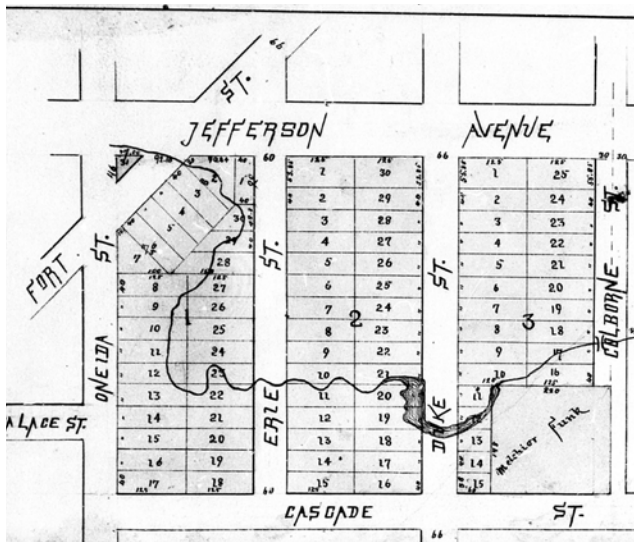


Figure 62: Stinson & Ramsey’s Subdivision southeast of Jefferson and West Seventh (Fort) in 1878 showing Cascade Creek running through it toward the river.

Figure 63: 321 Colborne, built of limestone and brick.



Palace Avenue. Sanborn maps from 1885 indicate that Erie and Cascade Streets were not yet improved. The 1878 subdivision plat showed that Palace Avenue was still called Cascade Street and ended in a ravine that ran down to the river (on the river side of the modern St. Paul Public School Headquarters). Prior to the 1880s, Cascade Creek flowed through the neighborhood and wound its way through this area, which must have led to poor soils for early construction.¹⁰⁶ (Figure 62)

South Colborne Street, both north and south of Jefferson Avenue, contains dwellings of the 1880s, as identified in the 1885 Sanborn maps. At that time, these houses faced the City-County Hospital on the east side of Colborne. The house at 321 Colborne Street has an unusual limestone first story, with a brick second story. Speculation is that it may have been built in two parts with the earliest section in the 1860s, possibly because a final grade for the street had not been established at the time of construction. Anton Novotny, a shoemaker for the Conrad Gotzian Shoe Company, lived in the house by 1883 (RA-SPC-0651). (Figure 63) Other houses on Colborne included several one-and-one-half-story wood frame cottages, two-story brick dwellings, and a series of two-story front-gable dwellings. The southern end of Colborne, where the Funk Brewery was located in 1904, has a recent townhouse development.¹⁰⁷

Other areas along West Seventh experienced housing construction in this era, including the continued filling in of the Uppertown neighborhood, as well as the increasingly Czech area around and west/southwest of St. Stanislaus and the CSPA Hall. The housing areas begun in the 1880s filled in over the next decades along West Seventh to the southwest, a pattern that continued into the twentieth century.

Planning and the Park System

James M. Goodhue, editor of the *Pioneer* until 1852, spared no criticism of St. Paul’s early leaders and their failure to plan for public improvements. He railed against the lack of foresight in erecting buildings on the bluff side of Third Street, thus ruining the view of the river. He also criticized the layout of the first platted additions, St. Paul Proper and Rice and Irvine’s Addition, saying it appeared as if they “have taken a running jump at each other, like two rival steamboats.” Goodhue suggested that “it would save immense cost and prove an eternal blessing to Saint Paul, if the whole site of the town could now be thrown into one common field, and platted as it ought to be, with large reservations of public grounds, with straight, wide, regular streets, and blocks and lots of uniform size.”¹⁰⁸

106 Greg Brick, “Stairway to the Abyss: The Diverting Story of Cascade Creek and Its Journey.” *Ramsey County History* 33, no. 1 (Spring 1998), 4–6. See also Johnson, Lanegran and Moran, *Landscape Impact of the West Seventh Federation*, for discussion of this neighborhood, now known as Brewery Town.

107 Sanborn Map. Co., *St. Paul (1885)*, plate # 41B; Millett, *AIA Guide*, 424; Johnson, Lanegran and Moran, *Landscape Impact of the West Seventh Federation*, 35; Susan W. Granger and Patricia Murphy, “321 Colborne St. S (RA-SPC-0651),” HSS form, 1981.

108 Williams, *History of the City of St. Paul*, 330–331.

Two decades after Goodhue's scathing commentary, the City Council created a parks committee to manage the blocks set aside for Rice Park, Irvine Park, and Smith Park and to acquire land around Lake Como for a park. Chicago landscape architect Horace W. S. Cleveland visited in 1872, speaking on "A Park System for the City of St. Paul," in which he shared his vision to create parks that took advantage of river views and boulevards to connect St. Paul and Minneapolis. Cleveland toured both St. Paul and Minneapolis during his trips and developed two decades' of work for each city based on these initial tours.¹⁰⁹ Park planning was influenced nationally by the belief that parks provided a healthful and wholesome benefit and that natural settings provided a retreat from urban life. With the example set by Central Park in New York City (designed by Frederick Law Olmsted and Calvert Vaux), designers such as Cleveland adapted those principles to cities in the West. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, Midwestern cities such as Chicago, Milwaukee, Omaha, and Kansas City developed park and boulevard systems.

Minneapolis in 1883 and St. Paul in 1887 jumped on the bandwagon by each establishing a Board of Park Commissioners. St. Paul's board already had Como Park (purchased in 1873) to continue development. It also began to acquire new parks including the West St. Paul Park (on the West Side), Carpenter Park (Summit Overlook), Indian Mounds Park on Dayton's Bluff, and undertook a survey for a potential parkway along the Mississippi from the Short Line Bridge to the Fort Snelling Bridge.¹¹⁰ Acquisition of land around Lake Phalen began in 1892, although the park did not officially open until 1899.¹¹¹ (Figure 64)

Although the St. Paul Board of Park Commissioners employed Cleveland from 1888 to 1891, much of the implementation of the St. Paul park system and development of its boulevards occurred under Superintendent Frederick Nussbaumer. A native of Germany, Nussbaumer first worked as a florist at Como Park before ascending to the superintendency in 1891. By the 1890s, the development of boulevards, including Summit Avenue and proposals for other "broad driveways" connecting Indian Mounds, Phalen, and Como Parks were under consideration along with other roadways along river bluffs in the city.¹¹²

Although the early park planning efforts in the late nineteenth century would not be fully realized for several decades, they represented the most visible efforts of St. Paul to address any form of urban design at a more comprehensive level.



Figure 64: St. Paul Park and Parkway System, 1907, showing early plans for a river boulevard and parkland northwest of Lexington Parkway at West Seventh. Osceola Avenue was apparently envisioned as a boulevard from Pleasant Avenue south to the River Boulevard.

109 Carole Zellie, *Historic Resources Evaluation for the North Portion of Saint Paul's Grand Round*, prepared by Landscape Research for the City of Saint Paul and SEH, Inc., June 2016, 5–8.

110 Zellie, *Saint Paul's Grand Round*, 13.

111 Tim Koran, "The Mystery of the Leaking Lake: Phalen Park and its Almost-100 Years of History," *Ramsey County History* 25, no. 4 (Winter 1990): 18.

112 Zellie, *Saint Paul's Grand Round*, 16.

Downtown St. Paul

In Downtown St. Paul, the 1880s brought the relocation of commercial activities in the business district and new construction of civic buildings, major office buildings and retail structures. The land use and design patterns established in this era would define the appearance of downtown that persisted until the mid-twentieth century. Throughout the decade, St. Paul and Minneapolis continued to compete for economic and population primacy in the region. By 1890, St. Paul had to concede defeat in the battle for population.

By the 1880s, the railroads ran east from downtown, replacing the old wooden trestles and filling in the swampy bottomlands to better support railroad tracks. Multiple lines for the numerous railroads that operated out of the city ran on the reclaimed land along the Mississippi. (Figure 65) Between 1876 and 1878, Sibley, Wacouta, Fifth, and Sixth Streets were cut through Baptist Hill (now the site of Mears Park) in the area

known as Lowertown. Old structures were razed and Lowertown “underwent a radical transformation in the 1880’s and 1890’s, changing from a residential area with a cluster of commercial buildings near the Lower Landing into the wholesaling, manufacturing and transportation center for the city.”¹¹³

New, massive four- and five-story red brick warehouse buildings rose on the streets east of Jackson. The block along East Sixth Street north of Mears Park included the Noyes Brothers and Cutler Wholesale Building at 400 Sibley Street (RA-SPC-3355; 1886; NRHP, HPC), described as the largest wholesale druggist supply company in the Midwest; the Konantz Saddlery Company Building at 227–231 East Sixth Street (RA-SPC-5271; 1893; NRHP, HPC); and the Koehler and Hinrichs Company Building (meat and groceries) at 235-237 East Sixth Street (RA-SPC-5272; NRHP; HPC). All designed by J. Walter Stevens, the structures exhibited a Richardsonian Romanesque style adapted to commercial warehouse buildings.¹¹⁴ (Figure 66)

The 1880s displayed some initial buildings designed by architects whose work would be emblematic of St. Paul for the next generation. Among the most prominent architects were Clarence Johnston, Cass Gilbert and his early partner James Knox Taylor, and J. Walter Stevens. Johnston, raised in St. Paul, built an extremely successful firm as the

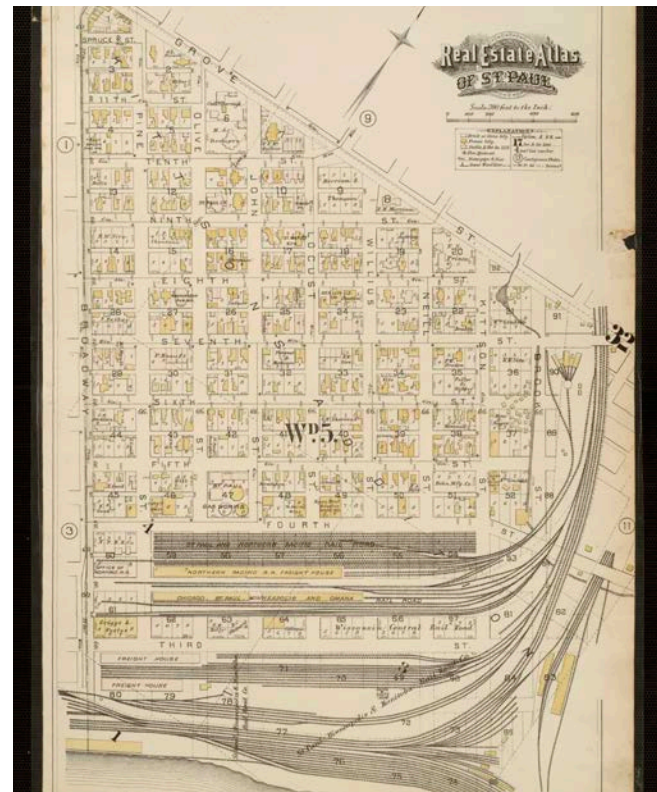


Figure 65: Hopkin's 1884 Real Estate Atlas illustrated the extent of railway construction along the river bank east of downtown and main lines running up the Trout Brook/ Phalen Creek Valley to the north.

designer of numerous public buildings in the state and large numbers of houses for wealthy residents along Summit Avenue. Gilbert and Taylor worked in St. Paul as partners from 1884 to 1892 designing commercial buildings and residences. Gilbert is renowned as architect of the Minnesota State Capitol (see Section III). After his relocation to New York City, he won fame for his designs for the Woolworth Building and his U.S. Supreme Court building in Washington, D.C. J. Walter Stevens arrived in St. Paul in 1879. Like Johnston and Gilbert and Taylor, Stevens designed buildings in the expanding Lowertown area, in addition to houses for wealthy patrons, public buildings, and downtown business buildings.¹¹⁵

113 Susan W. Granger and Patricia Murphy, “Lowertown Historic District,” NRHP Nomination Form, 1981: 8:3, 8:5. The map preceding Section I shows the topography in Lowertown and particularly Baptist Hill.

114 Granger and Murphy, “Lowertown Historic District,” 7:3–7:4, 7:18–7:19 described Noyes and Cutler as the largest wholesale drug company in the Midwest. See also Zellie and Peterson, *St. Paul Historic Context: Downtown*.

115 Lathrop, *Minnesota Architects*, 80–81, 116–117, 202–203. For additional commentary on the careers of Johnston and Gilbert in St.

In addition to the trio of buildings on East Sixth Street, Stevens designed several other buildings in the warehouse district, including the Fairbanks-Morse warehouse at 220 East Fifth Street (RA-SPC-5248; NRHP, HPC) and the Power's Dry Goods Company warehouse at 230–236 East Fifth Street (RA-SPC-5249; 1892; NRHP, HPC). Gilbert's warehouse designs included two buildings for the Gotzian family: the Conrad Gotzian Shoe Factory (RA-SPC-5250; 242–280 East Fifth St.; 1892; NRHP, HPC), the Paul Gotzian Building at 352 Wacouta Street. (RA-SPC-5461; 1895; NRHP, HPC), as well as the Boston and Northwest Realty Company Warehouse at 413 Wacouta Street. (RA-SPC-5464; 1893–94; NRHP, HPC).

By 1890, various railroad companies had built their headquarters in Lowertown. The Northern Pacific headquarters (nonextant) stood at Broadway and Fourth Street, highly visible from all of Fourth Street to the west because the blocks there were offset from the grid. The CStPM&O (Omaha Line) Building was nearby at Fourth and Rosabel (destroyed by fire in 1913). James J. Hill's large 1887 office building at 281–299 East Kellogg Boulevard reflected his dominance in the city's railroad business (RA-SPC-4522; NRHP, HPC). Designed by James Brodie, the imposing red brick structure stood one block wide and one-half-block deep. Originally five stories, it was expanded to seven in 1900. It exhibited Romanesque characteristics in its massive form, and the arched entrance built of round-faced sandstone voussoirs.¹¹⁶ (Figure 67) Third Street gradually lost its role as the primary business district downtown throughout the 1880s. While the wholesale district developed in Lowertown, new construction of banks, business buildings, and department stores shifted from Third Street north along Jackson, Robert and Wabasha, and along Fourth, Fifth, and Sixth Streets. As St. Paul grew, downtown took on the look of a more polished and developed city. The limestone construction that was prominent in the 1860s was largely replaced by brick. The advent of elevators and new construction methods supported the construction of the first skyscrapers in St. Paul's cramped downtown.¹¹⁷

In a downtown building pattern that has persisted in St. Paul, new government buildings appeared on the skyline in the late nineteenth century and were regularly replaced. The city and state, in particular, seemed unable to construct buildings of an adequate capacity or quality to last very long. As a replacement for the Greek Revival buildings of the 1850s, a new St. Paul City Hall and Ramsey County Courthouse was completed in 1884 on the block between Fourth and Fifth, Cedar to Wabasha. Constructed of Kasota stone, the building exhibited Richardsonian Romanesque features including a large clock tower. (Figure 68) Described as an "ungainly hulk of a building," the structure remained until 1933 when a new city hall and courthouse were built elsewhere.¹¹⁸

The second Capitol building, at Tenth and Wabasha, was built in 1884, replacing the first building that burned in 1881. The new Capitol borrowed from the Victorian Gothic, Romanesque, and French Second Empire styles. The LeRoy Buffington design was rapidly outgrown, and by 1893, the legislature appropriated funds



Figure 66: By the 1890s, large red brick warehouses began to create an image of the wholesale business in Lowertown, including these blocks on East Sixth, facing Smith (Mears) Park.



Figure 67: J.J. Hill's 1887 office building at 281-299 E. Kellogg.

Paul, see Hess and Larson, *St. Paul's Architecture*, 58–66.

116 Granger and Murphy, "Lowertown Historic District," 7:8–9, 13.

117 Zellie and Peterson, *St. Paul Historic Context: Downtown*, 7–8.

118 Millett, *Lost Twin Cities*, 206–207.



Figure 68: St. Paul City Hall and Ramsey County Courthouse, 1884-1933, on the block between Fourth and Fifth, Cedar and Wabasha. (ca. 1900)



Figure 69: The Old Federal Courts Building and Post Office, now the Landmark Center.

to study construction of a new building on Capitol Hill.¹¹⁹ (See Section III)

The 1873 limestone U.S. Customs House at the northwest corner of Fifth and Wabasha housed the post office, courtrooms, and offices, but it was soon outmoded. By 1892, work began on the new U.S. Post Office and Federal Courts Building at 75 West Fifth Street (RA-SPC-5266; NRHP, HPC), just two blocks west on the trapezoidal block that held the original 1856 St. Paul City Hall. The Courts Building (now known as Landmark Center) was designed by U.S. Treasury architects in a Romanesque style that was relieved by a “profusion of small towers and gables recalling Renaissance chateaus.”¹²⁰ The building was erected in two sections, with the Rice Park façade and its central tower constructed first, followed by the northern section fronting on Sixth Street. Finally completed in 1902, it was designed with its interior offices and courtrooms surrounding a large skylit atrium of the building.¹²¹ (Figure 69)

Several downtown buildings heralded the new “skyscraper” age. The 1885 Victorian Gothic Ryan Hotel at Sixth and Robert rose seven stories, only to be surpassed by the ten-story Globe Building at Fourth and Cedar two years later (both nonextant). Four major buildings in 1889 provided additional anchors: the New York Life Insurance Building at Sixth and Minnesota (non-extant); the Germania Life Insurance Building at Fourth and Minnesota (nonextant); Germania Bank Building at Fifth and Wabasha; and the Pioneer Building at Fourth and Robert.

The New York Life Insurance Company Building was a Renaissance Revival style with two asymmetric towers, each with stepped gable pediments, rising above a two story sandstone base. The Germania Life Insurance Building was designed by E. P. Bassford as a blend of Romanesque and Classical elements. The Germania also had two symmetrical towers rising above a three-story, rusticated granite base. The court between the wings held a statue of Germania, which was removed in 1918 due to WWI-era anti-German sentiment. The company also became known as Guardian Insurance at that time.¹²² (Figures 70, 71)

The Germania Bank Building (also known as the St. Paul Building after 1934) (RA-SPC-5444; 6 West Fifth St.; 1889; NRHP, HPC) exemplified early skyscraper construction, with a design divided into the tri-partite skyscraper elements of base, shaft and capital. The eight-story building was designed by Harvey Ellis for J. Walter Stevens’ firm. The rusticated exterior, stone piers, and four-story round-arch window openings displayed Romanesque styling. Decorative stone and masonry work was

119 Millett, *Lost Twin Cities*, 64–67; Zellie and Peterson, *St. Paul Historic Context: Downtown*, 10.

120 Hess and Larson, *St. Paul’s Architecture*, 75.

121 Millett, *AIA Guide*, 330.

122 Millett, *Lost Twin Cities*, 212–214, 216–217. The New York Life Building was razed in 1967 for a parking lot. Germania/Guardian was razed in 1970 and replaced with Kellogg Square Apartments.

Figures 70-72: Several major downtown buildings heralded a new image for downtown in 1889.

Figure 70: The New York Life Building, SW corner Sixth and Minnesota, 1889-1967. Razed for Capital Centre urban renewal project.



Figure 71: The Germania Life Insurance Building (later Guardian Insurance), SE corner Fourth and Minnesota, 1902-1970. Razed for Kellogg Square urban renewal project.



Figure 72: (Bottom) Germania Bank/St. Paul Building, SW corner Fifth and Wabasha, built 1889.

provided by the Lauer Brothers Construction Company from their yards at the foot of Chestnut Street. Lauer Brothers was a dealer of Bayfield brownstone, which was likely the stone used for the bank building.¹²³ (Figure 72)

Relocated from its earlier building on the southwest corner of Third and Minnesota, the Pioneer Press Building at Fourth and Robert exemplified the Romanesque Revival style with its red brick exterior, heavy rusticated base, and round-arch window openings at the tenth and eleventh floors (RA-SPC-3167, (also RA-SPC-5223; 336 N. Robert St.; NRHP, HPC). Designed by Chicago architect Solon Beman, the original twelve stories soon expanded to sixteen, making the Pioneer Press Building the tallest in the city until 1915.¹²⁴ (Figure 73)

The east side of Robert between Fourth and Fifth Streets, where the Pioneer Press, Endicott and Manhattan Buildings remain, illustrated the changing nature of downtown uses. The 1885 Sanborn map of that block showed several three-story and one-story store buildings on forty-foot lots, some vacant lots, and a livery in the middle of the block. As the block was remade, the Press Building was accompanied by the classically inspired Endicott Building (RA-SPC-5223; 350 Robert St.; 1890; NRHP, HPC) and Arcade (RA-SPC-3169; 350 Robert St.; 1890), designed by Cass Gilbert and James Knox Taylor; and then the Manhattan Building (RA-SPC-3170; 360 N. Robert St.; 1889; NRHP), designed by Clarence vaulted glass-ceiling arcade, wraps around the Pioneer Press Building with facades on both Robert and East Fourth Streets. The Renaissance Revival style Manhattan Building (façade altered in 1950s) anchors the Fifth Street corner.¹²⁵ The new block face changed from multiple small-scale buildings to massive structures of six or more stories, reflecting the changing architectural fashions for downtown business blocks. (Figure 74)

123 Zellie and Peterson, *St. Paul Historic Context: Downtown*, 9; Weber, "What's Historic About this Site?" 20–21.

124 Susan W. Granger and Patricia Murphy, "Pioneer Press Building (RA-SPC-3167)," HSS form, 1981; Millett, *AIA Guide*, 325.

125 Sanborn Map. Co., *St. Paul (1885)*; Hess and Larson, *St. Paul's Architecture*, 63; Millett, *AIA Guide*, 325.

Early Department Stores



Figures 73-74: The Pioneer Press Building anchored the corner of Fourth and Robert after construction in 1889. North of the Pioneer Press Building were the 1890 Endicott building and the 1889 Manhattan Building, all of which created a dense urban setting of modern new business blocks along Robert between Fourth and Fifth Streets.

St. Paul's early retail establishments had focused on particular types of merchandise, with a number of "dry goods" stores beginning at the Lower Landing and then moving up to Third Street. In the later years of the nineteenth century, a new form of merchandising began to combine a series of small shops into one place for shopping, creating the model for a "department" store. The grand exhibitions in the 1850s at the Crystal Palace in London and the Industrial Exhibition in Paris had shown a new scale of displaying products indoors, rather than in open-air markets or bazaars, thus setting the stage for new buildings devoted to the display of goods. While early department stores grew incrementally as merchants bought adjacent buildings and expanded their space, by the end of the century, a new department store building type evolved that enclosed all shopping within one structure. Department stores took advantage of new technology such as electric lights, elevators, indoor plumbing, central heating, and other innovations.

Unlike skyscrapers, department stores were limited to fewer stories, even with the new technology of elevators, to make certain people could find the appropriate department with a minimum of difficulty.¹²⁶ Changes in the department store building type were concurrent with the shifting locations for stores in St. Paul after 1880. This era also inaugurated the origins of department stores that would define St. Paul retail until the 1970s.

Daniel W. Ingersoll began a mercantile business in St. Paul in 1856 and built the limestone Ingersoll Block at Third and Wabasha in 1860. Ingersoll left the business by 1889, when it had been taken over by partners Frank Schlick Jr. and T. C. Field. In 1890, they opened a new Field-Schlick Department store on the block between Fourth, Fifth, Wabasha, and St. Peter.¹²⁷ (Figure 75)



Figure 75: Field-Schlick and Company, Wabasha Street entrance. (ca. 1925)

Louis Goodkind and Jacob Mannheimer operated a dry goods store on Third Street by 1871. By 1877, Robert and Emil Mannheimer led the firm, now known as Mannheimer Brothers, and in 1882, they constructed a substantial four-story business block at the southeast corner of Third and Minnesota (razed 1928). Only ten years later, they relocated to a new larger store at Sixth and Robert.¹²⁸ (Figure 76)

Samuel G. Dickinson decided to relocate his dry goods store from Third Street in 1884 but leased the former St. Paul City Railway facility on St. Peter between Fourth and Fifth. In an early example of reuse, Dickinson hired architect Leroy Buffington to remodel a brick, three-story building that had held both offices and stables for horses. Within a year, Buffington added plate glass windows, remodeled the interior, and added a new central pavilion entry. Dickinson's remained in the block-long building until 1893 when the store closed.¹²⁹ Charles Schuneman and B.H. Evans opened a dry goods store on the north

¹²⁶ Larry R. Ford, *Cities and Buildings: Skyscrapers, Skid Rows, and Suburbs* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994), 104–108.

¹²⁷ Williams, *History of the City of St. Paul*, 393–394; Millett, *Lost Twin Cities*, 41–42; Kristal Leebrick, *Thank You for Shopping: The Golden Age of Minnesota Department Stores* (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 2018), 124.

¹²⁸ Historic Irvine Park Association, *Brief History of the Irvine Park District*, 27; Millett, *Lost Twin Cities*, 104, 114; Leebrick, *Thank you for Shopping*, 112; *St. Paul City Directory for 1877–8* (St. Paul Pioneer Press. Co., Book and Job Printers/W. M. Campbell, Publisher, 1877).

¹²⁹ Millett, *Lost Twin Cities*, 114, 148–149.

side of Third Street near Robert Street in 1888. By 1891, they moved to Sixth and Wabasha, first taking over two floors and later expanding to two additional floors. Evans sold out in 1912, and Schuneman's later consolidated with Mannheimer Brothers in 1926. Eventually, the store was simply known as Schuneman's.¹³⁰

Two long-lasting department stores stood at Seventh and Robert through much of the twentieth century. The Golden Rule department store, founded in 1886 by Jacob Dittenhoffer and William and Joseph Elsinger, moved to Seventh and Robert in 1891. Its original three-story building grew with several additions designed by Clarence Johnston in 1901, 1910, and 1914. (RA-SPC-3171; 453–499 N. Robert St.) The Emporium, also at Seventh and Robert, opened on March 1, 1902. Original owners were J. T. and W. S. Kennedy, Angus McLeod, and P. McCarthy.¹³¹



Figure 76: Mannheimer Brothers Building, 115 East 6th Street. (ca. 1910)

The Downtown Frame

While office and retail uses created a new downtown core between Fourth and Seventh, Robert and Wabasha Streets, the downtown “frame” area outside the main commercial blocks contained a mix of residential, institutional, and industrial land uses in the 1880s and 1890s. Residences, from small dwellings to larger mansions in the Lafayette Park neighborhood near Lowertown, were spread all around downtown. In the Lowertown area, Eighth Street appeared to be a demarcation between commercial uses to the south and the larger residences to the north. In the other downtown frame locations, such as the areas generally northwest of Wabasha and Seventh Street, some residences were closely spaced single-family dwellings and others were attached rowhouses. Some individual dwellings were identified as “boarding” while others were single family dwellings spaced close together. Schools were also located on the downtown fringe. The first high school, opened in 1883 and named Central High School a few years later, stood on the block bounded by Tenth and Eleventh, Minnesota and Robert. Cretin High School was opened at Sixth and Fort (Main) in 1889.¹³² St. Joseph’s Hospital stood at Ninth and Exchange, north of Assumption Church. St. Luke’s had been established in a former dwelling near Eighth and Minnesota adjacent to a foundry, in what must have been an unrestful atmosphere for the patients.¹³³

In the 1880s, most of the oldest, larger churches were still downtown and would remain there for another 30 years. The Cathedral stood at the northeast corner of Sixth and St. Peter, across the street from the City Market House; House of Hope Presbyterian was located on West Fifth at Exchange Street adjacent to the armory and the state arsenal; and Christ Episcopal Church was located on West Fourth and Franklin on the same block as the St. Paul Furniture Manufacturing Company. Central Presbyterian stood on Cedar, across from the State Capitol near Tenth Street (RA-SPC-0553; 500 N. Cedar St.; 1888–90; NRHP, HPC). A synagogue stood on the same block at Tenth and Minnesota, next door to a woodwork and blacksmith shop. Three churches were located on East Ninth Street: First Baptist Church (RA-SPC-5467; 499 Wacouta St.; NRHP, HPC), First Methodist Episcopal at Ninth and Olive (nonextant), and St. Mary’s Roman Catholic Church (RA-SPC-5410; 275 E. Eighth St.). In the 1880s, this area was still part of the Lafayette Park and Lowertown residential areas, and church locations were more compatible than on the west edge of downtown.¹³⁴

130 Leebrick, *Thank You for Shopping*, 112.

131 Leebrick, *Thank You for Shopping*, 114, 120.

132 In 1906, four blocks of Fort from Seven Corners to Tenth Street were renamed Main Street by the City Council. See Donald Empson, *The Street Where You Live: A Guide to the Place Names of St. Paul* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2006), 173; Millett, *Lost Twin Cities*, 100-101.

133 Sanborn Map. Co., *St. Paul (1885)*.

134 Sanborn Map. Co., *St. Paul (1885)*.

As noted, small manufacturing companies were scattered throughout the downtown frame, and located in the midst of dwellings, churches, and some commercial buildings. In an era when horses were still a primary need for both personal and business transportation, livery stables were ubiquitous and located in both the frame area and downtown proper.¹³⁵

The western edge of St. Paul's downtown frame extended to Seven Corners, where the streets in Rice and Irvine's subdivision of the 1840s all came together and connected to West Seventh/Fort Road. In 1889, the Defiel Block, designed by Hermann Kretz (razed), was built on the triangular block created by Third and Fourth Streets. The Block became a prominent landmark for that noteworthy intersection. (Figures 77, 78) Seven Corners joined the downtown and the West Seventh neighborhood, with an almost seamless connection as commercial and service uses from the downtown frame merged with the commercial activities on West Seventh Street and the industrial uses to the south at the Upper Landing.



Figures 77-78: Seven Corners. The 1906 view (top) is looking south on Third (Kellogg). The Defiel Block is at left between Third and Fourth streets, while the Irvine Block is on the triangle between Third and Eagle Streets at right. The ca. 1934 view (bottom) looks toward Fourth Street with a line of streetcars approaching the traffic jam at Seven Corners.

Transition to the Twentieth Century

The financial Panic of 1893 had a strong effect on St. Paul, shutting down the construction boom that accompanied the population growth and immigration to the city in the 1880s. Numerous architects who practiced in the city left as the boom subsided, and those who remained built larger firms, rather than individual practices, to compete better with a changing economy. In Downtown St. Paul, the continued expansion of warehouse buildings in Lowertown provided some construction activity in the early part of the decade. For St. Paul overall, however, the latter years of the 1890s brought a slowdown in construction that lasted until 1901.¹³⁶

The decade of the 1890s also witnessed the further consolidation of James J. Hill's empire. In 1893, Hill achieved his goal of building a transcontinental railroad to the Pacific with the completion of the Great Northern, and the city was determined to celebrate the event and highlight itself as the headquarters of the enterprise. St. Paul held a grand three-day celebration with a parade, four triumphal arches, flags, and large photographs of Hill on display. A testimonial banquet invited not only the rich and famous, but ordinary citizens to the Aberdeen Hotel to fête Hill. Hill's Great Northern was the only rail carrier to show a profit during

135 Sanborn Map. Co., *St. Paul (1885)*.

136 Hess and Larson, *St. Paul's Architecture*, 79, 82, 88.

the Panic, and his transportation network was the basis of prosperity for St. Paul's wholesalers, manufacturers, and jobbers.¹³⁷

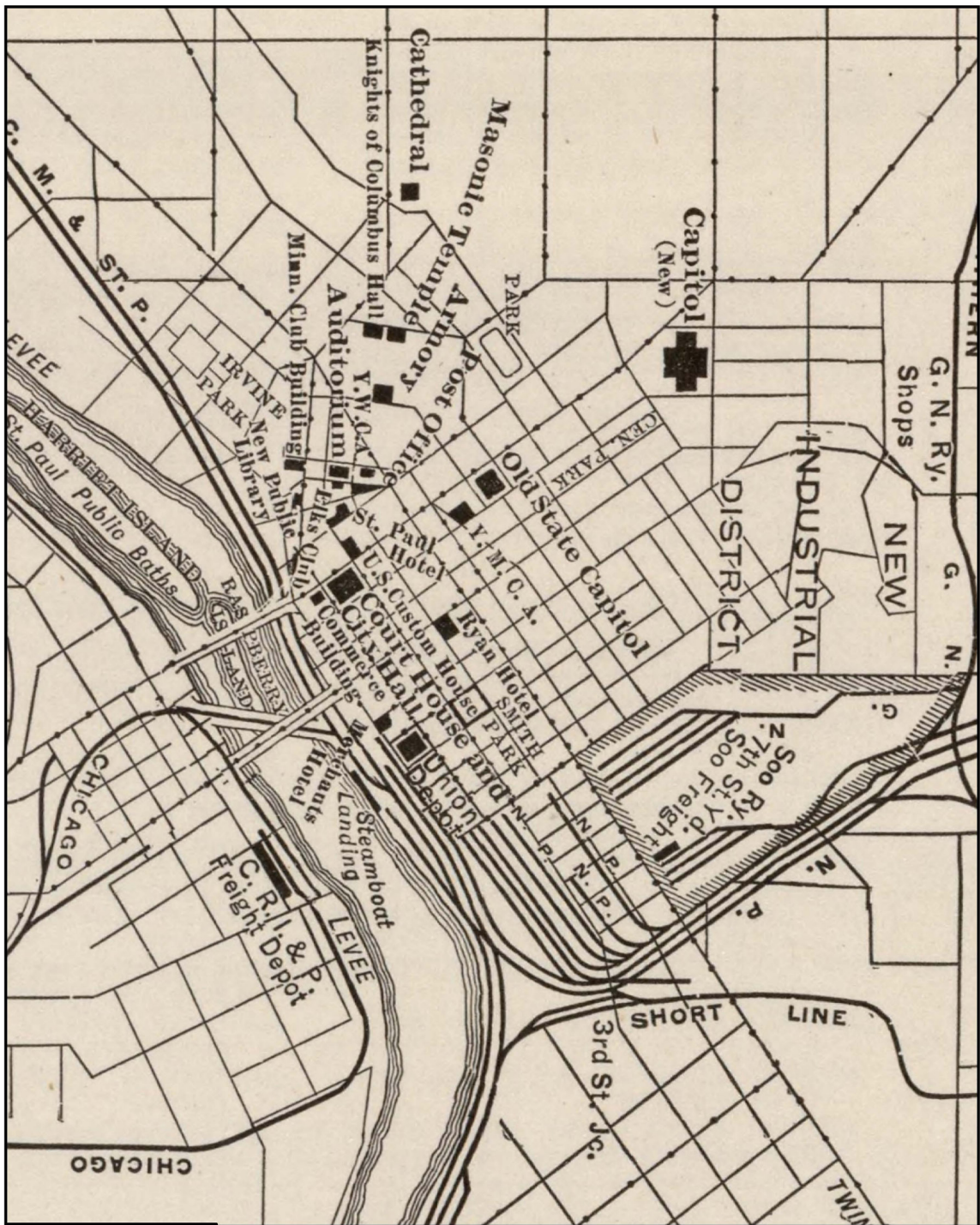
By early 1894, Hill had determined to take advantage of the depressed wage market and cut wages for his employees with the intent of diverting labor costs into capital improvements. Hill, however, seriously miscalculated the loyalty of his employees, and they soon went on strike with the support of Eugene Debs and his American Railway Union. St. Paul relied on constant traffic in goods and materials, and even a short strike would have a serious effect during the financial panic. Hill admitted defeat after two weeks and agreed to arbitration that resulted in the workers receiving 97.5 percent of their wage demands. Hill took steps to ensure that further relations with unions would be better managed. He joined with other transcontinental railroads to regularize rates and labor negotiation and also supported recognition of the skilled railroad union brotherhoods of engineers, firemen, conductors, and trainmen.¹³⁸

The acceptance of the railroad workers' unions by Hill set a standard in St. Paul and encouraged the city's businessmen to be more accepting of unions at the local level. As St. Paul sought to compete with Minneapolis, the city's leaders recognized that a supportive relationship between labor and capital was needed for the city to hold onto its economic share in the region. St. Paul had grown as a distribution center, first supported by steamboats and then by railroad expansion. By the turn of the century, new cities and towns with their own stores, mail orders, and other national expansions assumed some of those distribution functions. The major years of growth had ended, and St. Paul needed all citizens, both management and labor, to work cooperatively to keep the city's economy vital and expanding.¹³⁹

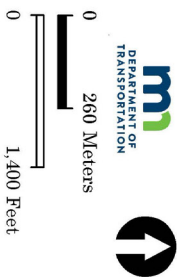
137 Wingerd, *Claiming the City*, 84–85.

138 Wingerd, *Claiming the City*, 86–88.

139 Wingerd, *Claiming the City*, 86–88.



Riverview Context
 Section III: 1900-1945
 1924 Rand McNally
 Map of Saint Paul



SECTION III: THE METROPOLITAN CITY

1900-1950

The State Capitol and Downtown St. Paul

The twentieth century opened with St. Paul's population growing to over 163,000 residents. This was an increase of 30,000 people despite the 1890s depression. The nationwide financial panic in 1893 brought a slowdown of construction activity in St. Paul, except for one major enterprise that dominated public attention for a decade: the planning and construction of the State Capitol building. The two previous capitol buildings had been located on a downtown block. Despite the location of the new capitol on a prominent site north of, and outside of the downtown business district, the capitol and the elaborate plans for grounds and circulation patterns would exert far-reaching effects on St. Paul's business district and transportation patterns and establish a vision for St. Paul in the first half of the twentieth century. Prior to the plans for the new capitol, the city government had supported some planning for new parks through a parks commission. Little urban design had been carried out in conjunction with new buildings, and virtually no building in the city had been planned to attract such attention. From the first efforts to select a site in the early 1890s until the building opened in 1905, the plans for the Capitol exemplified St. Paul's first large-scale planning to integrate urban design into a vision for downtown. The capitol created a new central place in St. Paul, a focal point that continues to affect the city's urban design and transportation planning to the present day.

The 1883 Capitol Building at Tenth and Cedar, designed by Leroy Buffington, was almost immediately too small and badly ventilated. Minneapolis's *Saturday Spectator* described Buffington's creation as a "useless, miserable and rotten pile."¹ (Figure 1) Only a decade later, in 1893, the legislature approved \$2 million in funds for a new Capitol. Governor Knute Nelson appointed a seven-member State Capitol Board of Commissioners, which was then tasked with selecting a site for the new Capitol.² The funding resolution directed the Commissioners to keep the Capitol in St. Paul on the existing site, and if not feasible, on "ground adjacent to the present square." If neither option was sufficient, the Commission should "advise a removal in order to obtain a greater area . . . [but] the new site shall not be more than three-quarters of a mile distant from the present capitol."³ The Commissioners



Figure 1: Minnesota's second capitol building, built 1883 at Tenth and Cedar.

1 Larry Millett, *Lost Twin Cities* (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 1992), 64–67. The first Capitol building, completed in 1853 and expanded in the 1870s, burned on March 1, 1881. It was replaced by the second Capitol in 1883.

2 Leigh Roethke, *Minnesota's Capitol: A Centennial Story* (Afton, MN: Afton Historical Society Press, 2005), 19–22. While this context provides a brief discussion of the Capitol, see the other sources cited herein for more detailed analysis of the building and more information about its artwork, its architect, and its importance in the state.

3 Gary Phelps, *History of the Minnesota State Capitol Area* (St. Paul: The Board, July 1985), 2.



Figure 2: View from Wabasha Avenue northeast toward the new Capitol site, ca. 1896. The John L. Merriam house at University and Cedar (later home of the Science Museum until the 1960s) is at right.



Figure 3: The third Minnesota Capitol building, 1905.

considered four locations before setting on a site bounded by Park and Cedar Avenues, from Aurora Avenue North to University Avenue. The new location was on elevated ground only three blocks from the previous capitol. Conveniently located near Wabasha Street and University Avenue, it had efficient streetcar connections to downtown St. Paul and to Minneapolis. The Commissioners bargained with landowners to reduce the price to \$285,225.⁴ (Figure 2)

The first architectural competition for design of the new Capitol produced no successful designs, so a second competition, in which only selected architects were invited to submit, was held. This process resulted in the selection of architect Cass Gilbert of St. Paul.⁵ Born in Ohio, Gilbert moved to St. Paul as a child. After completing his education at MIT, Gilbert traveled in Europe before working with McKim, Mead and White in New York City. He returned to St. Paul in 1882 and opened his own practice, designing houses and completing several major commissions such as the Bethlehem German Presbyterian Church (RA-SPC-3030; NRHP, HPC) and the Endicott Building (RA-SPC-5223; NRHP, HPC) (see Section II). The Minnesota State Capitol, however, was the commission that brought him national attention.⁶

The design for the Capitol raised St. Paul “up to the level of eastern tastes” by following the precedents set by both the U.S. Capitol Building in Washington, D. C., and the designed buildings and landscapes of the 1893 Chicago World’s Columbian Exposition. The domed splendor of neoclassical government buildings in Washington was matched by their carefully designed settings, while the Exposition highlighted the interchange of fine architecture and community planning. The Exposition laid the groundwork for the City Beautiful Movement, in which planners, government officials, and designers viewed the community itself as a work of art.⁷ Gilbert’s Capitol followed the Beaux Arts style that appeared in the designs of the Columbian Exposition. Beaux Arts used classical designs, notably large domes, and buildings with Greek and Roman elements. It became a common architectural style for civic buildings at the turn of the century because it expressed the Classical symbolism of the “inherent goodness of democratic society and the nobility of the thoughtful and progressive citizen.”⁸

Groundbreaking for the new Capitol occurred in May 1896. Kettle River sandstone from Sandstone, Minnesota, served as the material for the foundation and piers for the dome, while the basement was built with St. Cloud granite. The superstructure was constructed of Georgia marble. Its lighter color was believed to be more aesthetically pleasing for such a large building than the more somber granite coloring.⁹ The exterior work ended with the completion of the dome in 1902, while interior work continued until 1905. (RA-SPC-0229; Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. Blvd.; 1896-1905, NRHP) (Figure 3) The official opening occurred in

4 Phelps, *History of the Minnesota State Capitol Area*, 3.

5 Roethke, *Minnesota’s Capitol*, 23.

6 Jeffrey A. Hess and Paul Clifford Larson, *St. Paul’s Architecture: A History* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2006), 62–66.

7 Marjorie Pearson, “Approaching the Capitol: The Story of the Minnesota State Capitol Mall,” *Minnesota History* 65, no. 4 (Winter 2016–17), 122; Denis P. Gardner, *Our Minnesota State Capitol from Groundbreaking through Restoration* (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 2017), 12.

8 Gardner, *Our Minnesota State Capitol*, 13.

9 Gardner, *Our Minnesota State Capitol*, 19–24.

June of that year with Civil War and Spanish American War veterans marching the five blocks from the old to the new Capitol, carrying their regimental flags.¹⁰ The old Capitol at Tenth between Cedar and Wabasha Avenues was used for storage until it was razed in 1938.

Although Gilbert's original design included only the Capitol building, he soon advocated for landscaping and a mall, or capitol approach, to frame the building and its setting. Later plans included locations for additional government buildings along the various roadway approaches. As early as 1902, Gilbert presented his vision, which created an open plaza in front of the Capitol, then extended roadways straight south to a square between St. Peter and Rice Streets and continuing to Seven Corners. Axial approaches from the Capitol ran to the southwest toward St. Anthony Hill (future site of the St. Paul Cathedral), and to the southeast on an approach that used the blocks between Wabasha and Cedar Streets and extended to the old capitol at Tenth Street.¹¹ (Figure 4) Unfortunately, construction of the YMCA at Ninth and Cedar (nonexistent) and St. Agatha's Conservatory of Music (RA-SPC-1200; NRHP, HPC) both blocked the proposed southeast plaza approach by 1908.¹²

Gilbert's grand plan was not funded. The gleaming new Capitol remained surrounded by rundown commercial and residential buildings on the blocks just south of the Capitol through the 1930s. A 1936 article in *Fortune* Magazine highlighted the ramshackle neighborhood with an illustration captioned: "Cass Gilbert Designed the Capitol; the Slums Got There Unaided."¹³

Until the 1940s, only two government buildings were constructed adjacent to the new Capitol on the mall: the 1908 State Historical Society on Cedar Street (RA-SPC-0557; 25 Constitution Ave.; NRHP; now the Judicial Building); and the 1932 State Office Building (RA-SPC-6314; 100 Constitution Ave.) along Wabasha Street on the west edge of the Capitol. In the 1940s, the Capitol Mall was the subject of design plans by Clarence H. Johnston Architectural Associates, and by Morell and Nichols, a prominent landscape architecture firm. Plans moved ahead for a Veterans Service Building in 1945. It took until the 1950s for the City to demolish the approximately seventy-five buildings and structures along the roadways that ran toward the Capitol. The diagonal cut of Wabasha Street through the Capitol's front lawn was eliminated and axial roadways were built in its place. By 1955, the mall that is familiar today was largely established (RA-SPC-5619; NRHP). The Transportation Building (1956) and the Centennial Building (RA-SPC-6313; 658 Cedar St.; 1958) continued the governmental building construction on the approach streets, while the Veteran's Building (RA-SPC-6311; 20

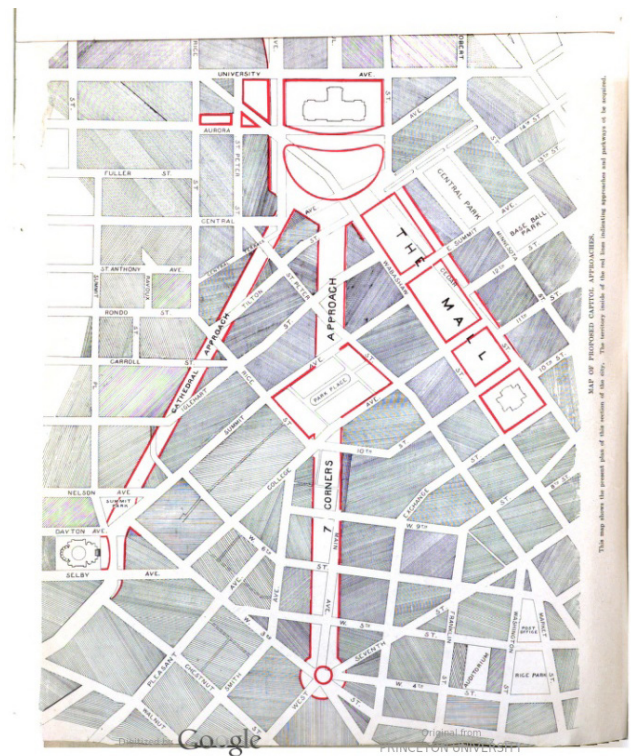


Figure 4: The 1906 Report of the Capitol Approaches Commission St. Paul mapped the plan to connect downtown to the Capitol. Had they been built as proposed, the three broad boulevards would have provided efficient access within St. Paul's challenging street grid. Only the Cathedral approach was built as planned. Buildings were constructed on the proposed Mall, blocking the connection and view from the new Capitol to the old building, before any land could be purchased. The Seven Corners approach would have provided a direct view down a landscaped boulevard from the Capitol to the river. The plan also provides a view of the residential areas just south of the capitol, showing both Central Park and the Park Place area. Note how the platting changes from the downtown street orientation at Rice and Rondo, as the subdivisions to the west are all platting according to the cardinal points of the compass.

10 Gardner, *Our Minnesota State Capitol*, 2.

11 Pearson, "Approaching the Capitol," 124.

12 George H. Herrold, "The Story of Planning St. Paul from the Beginnings to 1953," typed manuscript, 1958, on file at Minnesota Historical Society, 16.

13 Gardner, *Our Minnesota State Capitol*, 54.



W. Twelfth St.) was largely completed by the mid-1950s.¹⁴ (Figure 5)

Figure 5: By 1950, the Capitol grounds began to show the modern approach known today. This aerial view predates both the Transportation Building and the Centennial Building. Although the lower segment of Wabasha Avenue that ran through the grounds has been removed, the diagonal section of Wabasha (west of the Capitol) from Aurora Avenue to University Avenue is still in place.

Planning the City

The Capitol and Capitol approach dominated St. Paul’s urban design vision and stimulated other planning initiatives. The St. Paul City Club invited nationally known city planner John Nolen from Cambridge, Massachusetts, to prepare a plan for downtown St. Paul. Nolen’s 1912 plan originated some concepts that would reappear in St. Paul plans for the next five decades:

- Widening Seventh Street and Wabasha Street as centers of commercial and retail uses
- Widening and extending Second and Third Streets as part of the “transformation of the riverfront”
- Building a “great recreation center and stadium” on the Upper Landing at Eagle Street, from Seven Corners to the river
- Developing “Reserve Boulevard” (ultimately Shepard Road) southwest from downtown to the Fort Snelling Bridge: Beginning at Seven Corners, skirting Irvine Park along the bluff, following Cliff and Butternut streets, continuing past the Omaha Shops and using a widened Youngman Street along the bluff to the Fort Snelling Bridge and Mississippi River Boulevard.¹⁵

Nolen’s plan was never adopted. On the heels of his visit, various private city groups held a city planning conference to begin collection of data, maps, and reports to inform additional planning. They acquired space in the public library but disbanded after their collections were destroyed in the library fire of 1915.¹⁶

Fire had also destroyed the Union Depot at the foot of Sibley Street on October 3, 1913. Plans for the new Union Depot at Fourth and Wacouta were submitted to the City Council in 1915. The new Depot, described as a “large, monumental and rather somber version of the Beaux Arts style,” was constructed in 1917–23.¹⁷ (RA-SPC-5225; 214 E. Fourth St.; NRHP, HPC). The Indiana limestone façade was dominated by a large Doric portico flanked by two projecting wings. A curved entry drive around a lawn on Fourth Street accommodat-

¹⁴ Gardner, *Our Minnesota State Capitol*, 54–56. Since 1967, any proposed changes to the Capitol and its grounds are overseen by the Capitol Area Architectural and Planning Board (CAAPB).

¹⁵ Herrold, “The Story of Planning St. Paul,” 31-34.

¹⁶ Herrold, “The Story of Planning St. Paul,” 37.

¹⁷ Cleary Larkin, “St. Paul Union Depot [Boundary Increase],” National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form, prepared by Beyer Blinder Belle, Architects and Planners, 2013: 7:10.

ed automobiles for passenger drop-off at the main entrance. (Figure 6) Planners sought to extend the pedestrian plaza one block north to connect to Smith (now Mears) Park, but a private company purchased the block. As a result, the Depot lawn was foreshortened and extended only to Fourth Street. On the south side of the Depot, the passenger concourse extended over Kellogg Boulevard to connect down to track level by stairways and elevators.¹⁸

A recurrent downtown planning theme focused on transportation. St. Paul leaders wanted all proposed highways to funnel autos and trucks into the business district, despite the anticipated traffic jams on the city's narrow, crowded streets. Businessmen expressed greater fear of losing business than of traffic congestion, believing that cars could be managed by tinkering with the street system. Transportation routes were a constant issue in St. Paul planning documents, including the need to widen, reroute, or develop one-way streets, or consider establishing arterial streets for heavier traffic needs.

One typical issue concerned Robert Street, a center of the retail shopping district. Property owners on Robert Street had petitioned the city for its widening as early as 1912, because the street “was dying and rents were going down.” From Second to Eighth Street, Robert was the “high class retail district,” but “badly mixed” land uses from Eighth Street north to Central Avenue threatened investment. The Robert Street owners feared losing business to Wabasha Street, three blocks west, because most streetcar routes came from the west and traveled along Wabasha first, before making their return trip on Robert. They believed that there was greater purchasing power in the western section of the city, and those passengers would alight at the Wabasha stores without continuing on to Robert Street. Ultimately, Robert was improved on the north end of downtown by angling it to connect to University Avenue— an intersection known as the “Capitol Curve.” The new Robert Street Bridge (Bridge 9036; RA-SPC-3177; 1926) (Figure 7) connected the street to Dakota County on the south and later became a trunk highway route. Robert Street did manage to retain two department stores until the 1970s (see Section II).¹⁹

In keeping with national trends in progressive city governmental reforms, St. Paul voted to change to the commission form of government, which took effect in 1914. Under the commission form, the commissioners elected to office also served as the heads of city departments, thus merging the executive and legislative functions. The various private and quasi-public planning actions led the city to finally create a twenty-six-member City Planning Board in 1918. In March 1920, George H. Herrold was hired as “Managing Director and Engineer” to work with consulting planner Edward H. Bennett of Chicago to produce a new city plan and a zoning ordinance for St. Paul. Herrold remained the city planner until the 1950s.²⁰



Figure 6: Union Depot, 214 East Fourth Street, photo ca. 1925. The concourse extended from the rear of the building, over Third Street (Kellogg Boulevard), providing stairways down to track level. Union Depot replaced the 1880s depot at the foot of Sibley Street, which burned in 1913.



Figure 7: 1927 postcard of the Robert Street Bridge. Built in 1926, the new bridge replaced the 1884-85 structure with a Moderne design of reinforced-concrete arches, and the rainbow arch ribs that created a distinctive profile and gateway into downtown St. Paul.

18 Larkin, “St. Paul Union Depot,” 7-10; Herrold, “The Story of Planning St. Paul,” 38.

19 Herrold, “The Story of Planning St. Paul,” 40-42.

20 Herrold, “The Story of Planning St. Paul,” 60-67; James A. Stolpestad, “Building Through the Crash: St. Paul’s New Directions in the 1930s,” Ramsey County History 50, no. 3 (Fall 2015): 17.

The city plan of 1922, described as a “groundbreaking document,” reiterated some of Nolen’s concepts from 1912, while adding specific recommendations for major streets, grade separations, airport improvements at Holman Field, new bridges, and new designs for a Third Street/Riverfront Mall and the Union Depot Plaza.²¹ The 1922 plan also introduced the city’s first zoning code.

The intent of zoning was to separate the city into different land use zones, with standards for each district so that nuisance uses could be limited to specific zones—for example, keeping industrial uses separated from residential uses. The separation of uses was in marked contrast to the haphazard ways in which cities had first developed, with widely dissimilar uses next door to each other. The first comprehensive zoning ordinance in the U.S. was adopted in New York City in 1916; ten years



Figure 8: City of Saint Paul Zoning Map, 1922. Downtown St. Paul was zoned for commercial and industrial uses, with some residential zoning near the Capitol. West Seventh was a mix of industrial and commercial zoning, as were other streetcar corridors.

later, seventy-six U.S. cities had zoning ordinances. Zoning was intended to protect property values for all. While zoning was successful in trying to create better residential environments by separation of uses, it became a means to preserve single-family enclaves that ultimately resulted in class segregation. By zoning out multi-family housing along with commercial and industrial uses, zoning became a tool to exclude people with limited means and people of color who could not afford housing costs in single-family neighborhoods.²²

Over time, zoning was used with restrictive covenants as well, in which property deeds explicitly stated that no property could be conveyed to Black or Jewish people or to persons other than the Caucasian race, such as those of Middle Eastern or Asian descent. Zoning and restrictive covenants have exerted long-term impacts on communities of color in the Twin Cities by preventing them from developing wealth and equity through home ownership. Recent scholarship has been done on restrictive covenants in Minneapolis, but information in St. Paul has not yet been researched or analyzed to that extent.²³

In St. Paul, many areas in the older portions of the city had somewhat mixed land uses, but zoning had a greater effect in those areas still developing. (Figure 8) The new ordinance created three residential districts:

- “A” residence districts for single-family homes;

21 Stolpestad, “Building Through the Crash,” 18.

22 Kenneth Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier: the Suburbanization of the United States* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), 241–242.

23 For a national perspective on this issue, see Richard Rothstein, *The Color of Law* (New York: Liveright Publishing Corp, 2017). The Mapping Prejudice Project (<https://www.mappingprejudice.org>), which focuses on recording racial covenants in Minneapolis, has analyzed deed records to map the distribution of racial covenants. Although “Mapping Prejudice” may soon extend to Ramsey County, information in St. Paul has yet to be researched. A study of zoning and racial covenants in St. Paul is beyond the scope of this context, but it would be an important effort to understand trends in individual neighborhoods. To date, research in St. Paul has examined the displacement of the African-American community from Rondo Avenue for I-94 construction. Notably, students from the High School for Recording Arts in St. Paul recently created an award-winning documentary on the topic titled “Rondo: Beyond the Pavement.” (See Isabella Murray, “Student filmmaker’s documentary tells of once-thriving Rondo neighborhood disruption.” *Twin Cities.com/Pioneer Press*, November 2, 2018. <https://www.twincities.com/2018/11/02/student-filmmakers-documentary-tells-of-once-thriving-rondo-neighborhood-disruption>). A recent exhibit addressing racial segregation in St. Paul called “Owning Up” was displayed at the St. Paul Area Association of Realtors offices in 2019. The Rondo community celebrates its heritage with an annual festival and reunion. Additionally, oral histories and publications have also captured some of the history of the neighborhood.

- “B” residence district for duplexes and rooming houses; and
- “C” residence districts for flats, apartments, and tenements.
- Residence districts also included specified public uses such as parks, libraries, churches, schools, and colleges.

The rest of the districts included a commercial district, a light industrial district, and a heavy industrial district. Due to pressure from the City Real Estate Board, all properties adjacent to streetcar lines were zoned commercial and light industrial, resulting in an overabundance of commercial zoning throughout the city.²⁴

Downtown zoning was split. Areas east of Jackson and north of Eighth Street were zoned for light industry. The segment of downtown north of Eighth Street and generally west of Cedar, all the way to the Capitol, were generally zoned commercial except for the apartment district near the Capitol. Seven Corners and the area just west of Kellogg and along Seventh Street were also zoned commercial.²⁵

The West Seventh neighborhood, like other neighborhoods of the old “walking city,” had almost no single-family residence zoning. West of Ramsey Street (now Grand Avenue), West Seventh was zoned light industrial along the corridor to Richmond Street. The rest of West Seventh was zoned commercial except for the heavy industrial zoning for the two blocks where the Schmidt Brewery had facilities on either side of West Seventh. St. Clair and Randolph Streets, as streetcar lines, were also zoned commercial. The residential neighborhood on the south side of West Seventh, from Irvine Park to the Schmidt Brewery, was zoned as an apartment district. Residential areas north of West Seventh, and properties west of the brewery on the south side of the corridor were all zoned to accommodate duplexes and rooming houses.²⁶

The Ford Plant

Just as the Capitol dominated urban design and stimulated planning in downtown, the decision by Henry Ford to locate a new automobile plant on the Mississippi River Bluff stimulated development of southwest St. Paul and exerted land use development and changes through the West Seventh neighborhood for a century. The Ford plant and its location in St. Paul was one of the critical business decisions that affected the city economically as well, just as the current redevelopment of the Ford site will result in major investment and growth in the upcoming decade.

The 1922 zoning ordinance had set aside much of the old Reserve Township (the area west of Lexington and north of West Seventh Street) as a single-family residence district. The ordinance was quickly adapted however, when it became clear that Henry Ford wanted to acquire a tract on the river bluff for an Upper Midwest plant to construct automobiles. Ford had built a multi-story plant in downtown Minneapolis (HE-MPC-0120; 420 N. Fifth St.; NRHP) that opened in 1915, but by the early 1920s, he determined that large, single-story plants were a better model for mass production. Ford also decided that plants should be located outside of downtowns to provide adequate land for parking and plant expansions while still being accessible to workers. In St. Paul, Ford required water access to facilitate barge shipment of products.²⁷

When Ford was granted the hydroelectric permit for the generation of power at Dam No. 1 proposed for the Mississippi River, he was ready to purchase the site on the St. Paul river bluff (located south of today’s Ford Parkway). In early 1923, Ford announced plans for a \$10 million assembly and manufacturing plant promising “Ten Big Things” for the Twin Cities, including employment of 14,000 with an annual payroll of \$25 million; a barge line, wharves and terminal built by Ford; and a new industrial district of 700 acres south of the new Ford factory, among other anticipated results.²⁸

24 Herrold, “The Story of Planning St. Paul,” 106–110.

25 Building Zone Ordinance Saint Paul, with all amending ordinances until September 1st, 1931. Available at Minnesota Historical Society.

26 See Building Zone Ordinance map.

27 Brian McMahon, *The Ford Century in Minnesota* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2016), 103.

28 McMahon, *Ford Century in Minnesota*, 88–89.



Figure 9: St. Paul Ford Plant, 866 Mississippi River Boulevard, 1928.

Ford expected the cities of St. Paul and Minneapolis and railroad companies to construct two new bridges across the Mississippi (one vehicular and one railroad); and a new railway connection to haul materials to the factory. He also wanted St. Paul to develop a new park over six acres in size on the Mississippi River Boulevard to preserve the river view to the south and mask the view of the factory.²⁹

Planner George Herrold stated that he envisioned the Ford plant and vicinity to be “the first area in the Northwest to be laid out along city planning lines,” and encouraged the creation of a model residential community around the plant that would be affordable for plant workers.³⁰ The city rezoned and replatted the land in the vicinity of the new plant and installed utilities. Noted industrial designer, Albert

Kahn of Detroit, designed the St. Paul plant in a similar style as other Ford properties in Dearborn, Michigan. The new plant (RA-SPC-4671; 966 Mississippi Blvd.; nonexistent) was substantially completed in 1925, and the first car produced in the plant was shown to cheering crowds on May 4, 1925.³¹ (Figure 9)

In accordance with Ford’s demands and rail shipping requirements, the city and the CM&StP Railroad (the Short Line) added transportation lines that ran through the West Seventh neighborhood. The Short Line (constructed in 1880) left the river bluff alignment near Grace Street, where it ran west through the neighborhood to Lexington and then turned up the Ayd Mill valley (see Section I). To serve the new Ford plant, the Short Line built a spur line that continued southwest from Grace Street, passed between the Schmidt plant and the Omaha railyards, and continued southwest parallel to the alignment of Stewart Avenue. The line turned west at approximately the southern end of Snelling Avenue, crossing West Seventh and continuing west until Prior Avenue where the track turned north and then west into the new Ford plant site. Approx-

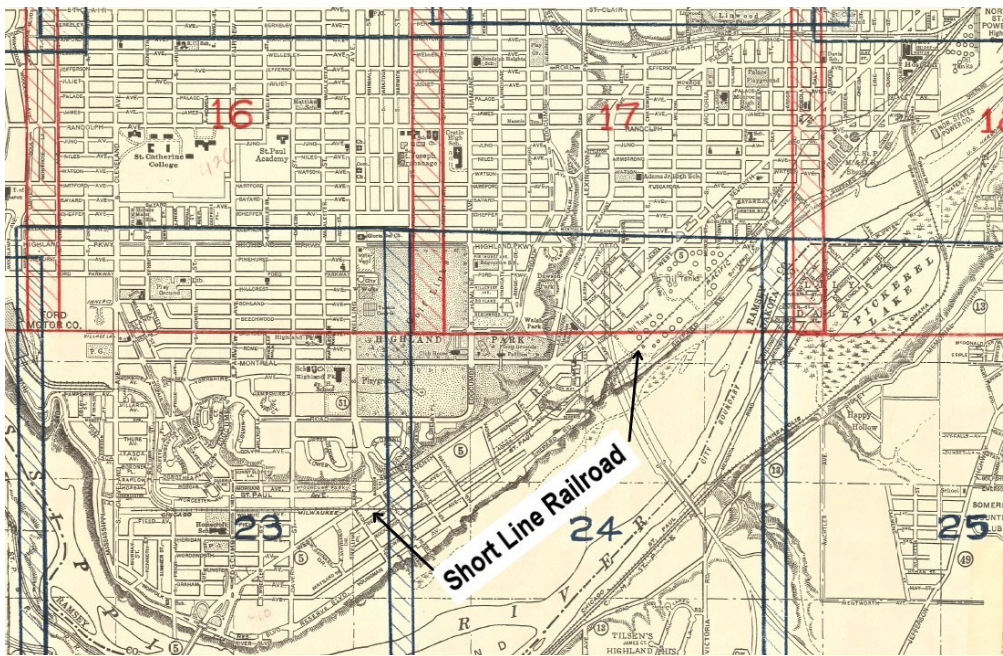


Figure 10: The new railroad line to the Ford plant ran from the existing Short Line near Grace, south of West Seventh Street, to west of Edgumbe Road and then northwest to the plant. By the 1950s the line would attract some industrial uses in the developing area west of Lexington Avenue .

29 McMahon, *Ford Century in Minnesota*, 88–89, 124. The parkland was never acquired.

30 McMahon, *Ford Century in Minnesota*, 103, 106, 108. See further discussion of residential development later in this section.

31 McMahon, *Ford Century in Minnesota*, 131. See p. 109 for photographs of the St. Paul and the Dearborn plants. The St. Paul plant ceased operation in 2011 and was razed in 2013. A high-density, mixed used development with housing, commercial, and parks and recreation space is planned for the site.

mately four-and-one-half miles of track ran throughout the West Seventh neighborhood to connect the plant to the existing rail lines.³² (Figures 10, 11)

Other vehicular transportation improvements were needed. The Randolph streetcar line was double-tracked from Snelling to Cleveland, where it turned south toward the plant. Main roadways such as Randolph and Snelling Avenues and Mississippi River Boulevard, were paved. Otto Avenue (renamed Highland Parkway in the western segment) and Cleveland Avenue were widened to 100 feet. West Seventh was eventually widened to 104 feet, and a new road, St. Paul Avenue, was constructed from West Seventh to connect it to the Ford plant. St. Paul Avenue paralleled the new Ford spur track from Seventh (just west of the intersection with Snelling Avenue) to the west until Edgumbe Boulevard and then angled northwest to the plant. The 104-foot-wide St. Paul Avenue was intended to provide an efficient vehicular connection to the plant and keep trucks from using neighborhood streets. St. Paul and Minneapolis both paid for construction of the Intercity (now Ford) Bridge (RA-SPC-1293; NRHP) that opened in 1927 and connected the two cities at the site of the new plant.³³



Figure 11: Looking north toward a bridge for the new railroad line to the Ford Plant, crossing Duke Street between James and Palace Avenues, 1923.

United Improvement Council (UIC), 1928

George Herrold and the City Planning Board identified a list of street improvements based on the concepts in the 1922 plan. However, as often occurred in St. Paul from the 1920s to the 1950s, a private group, the United Improvement Council (UIC), formed to push for greater momentum on street and highway needs. Members thought the Planning Board was moving too slowly and the city needed to come up with a better funding mechanism to pay for the improvements. The UIC proposed at least fourteen street improvements to be funded with an annual three-mill city tax, a proposal that was approved by the voters in 1928. The money from this program supported street improvements over the next decade and through the Depression years.³⁴ While not all proposals were completed, some included projects important to both downtown and to the West Seventh neighborhood:

- Pave all Central Business District streets;
- Extend the Third Street viaduct east to connect with Hastings Avenue (Hudson Road);
- Widen Seventh Street from Tuscarora Avenue on the west to Minnehaha on the east;
- Improve Lexington Avenue from St. Clair to Pleasant Avenue, and from Pleasant Avenue south to West Seventh as the Southwest diagonal traffic way;
- Connect Pleasant Avenue to Edgumbe Road.

Of these projects, only the widening of Seventh Street was never accomplished through the entire corridor, because downtown businesses would not agree to the proposal.³⁵ The plans to connect Pleasant Avenue became one primary alternative for a southwest roadway other than West Seventh, a proposal that would reappear in other forms in later decades (see discussion below).

32 McMahon, *Ford Century in Minnesota*, 121.

33 McMahon, *Ford Century in Minnesota*, 121–122.

34 Stolpestad, "Building Through the Crash," 18–19; Herrold, *The Story of Planning St. Paul*, 118.

35 Herrold, *The Story of Planning St. Paul*, 118–119.



Figure 12: North side of Kellogg Boulevard, 1941. Buildings dating back to the 1870s and 1880s still remained along Kellogg in 1941.



Figure 13: Booth Cold Storage and West Publishing Company (photo ca. 1910), located on the south side of Kellogg Boulevard, west of Wabasha, were the only buildings that remained on the south side after the boulevard improvements.



Figure 14: This unusual pieced-together photograph (ca. 1928) illustrates the future site of the Third Street Esplanade (Kellogg Mall) being temporarily used for parking after the buildings were removed on the south side between Robert and Wabasha streets. Kellogg Boulevard is not yet widened, and no work has started to build retaining walls and embankments to support the roadway and the future park.

Among the most significant building projects approved were the new City Hall and Courthouse and a bond issue for Third Street improvements. Just as the Capitol and approaches dominated downtown planning in the first decade, the remaking of Third Street into Kellogg Boulevard was a primary focus by the late 1920s.

Kellogg Boulevard and the Riverfront

Opening up the vista from downtown to the river had been suggested since the 1850s, but a line of buildings along Third Street had blocked any visual connection since the earliest days of settlement. By the 1900s, Third Street buildings no longer held major business firms but housed secondhand stores and less prosperous retail uses. (Figure 12) According to city planner George Herrold, the buildings on the south side of Third were accompanied by unsightly items such as “oil tanks, limestone foundations of abandoned buildings on Bench (Second) Street, a mass of underbrush and rubbish, a graveyard for abandoned parts of drays, wagon wheels and other utensils” that marred the river’s edge.³⁶ Below the bluff were the Twin City Rapid Transit Power House and other utility facilities. Tenement buildings, the bordello of Nina Clifford, bars, and industrial buildings lined Hill and Washington streets as they led downhill toward the Upper Landing.³⁷

The Third Street Improvement Project became a physical manifestation of St. Paul’s long effort to create a riverfront and remove the so-called “blight” remaining from the city’s earliest business district. As planners struggled to adapt downtown St. Paul’s topography and narrow streets to an automobile age, the need to widen Third Street added a practical purpose beyond the beautification effort. The Third Street Project removed all buildings on the south side of the street from Robert Street west to Seven Corners (except West Publishing and Booth Cold Storage in the block west of Wabasha). (Figure 13) In the meantime, the area was used for parking. A new esplanade park, shored up by retaining walls, was planned between Robert and Wabasha streets. Decorative plantings, railings and lighting were planned to enhance the new downtown boulevard. (Figure 14)

The project moved ahead in several stages, with construction from Jackson Street to Market Street between 1928 and 1933. The removal of the south side buildings revealed that the ground beneath sloped downward, and a flat, level mall would require foundation support. Concrete retaining walls and earth-embankments were built to support the roadway on the

36 Herrold, “The Story of Planning St. Paul,” 79.

37 Carole Zellie, *Saint Paul’s River Balcony: A Land Use History and Review of Historic Resources*, prepared by Landscape Research for the City of Saint Paul Department of Planning and Economic Development, 2015, 24–25; Sanborn Map Company, *Insurance Maps of St. Paul, Minnesota, Vol. 1–9* (New York: Sanborn Map Company, 1926), plate #14, 88. The West Publishing Building and adjacent Adult Detention Center were razed in 2015.

bluff side. For some sections, the boulevard ran on a viaduct of concrete deck girder spans supported by concrete-jacketed steel columns. (Figure 15) The primary mall, designed as the “Third Street Esplanade,” focused on the blocks from Robert to Wabasha, where a rectangular, grassy park was designed as an open promenade and river walk.³⁸ (Figure 16) A grassy median divided the traffic from Robert to Wabasha Streets. In 1932, the boulevard was renamed in honor of St. Paul resident Frank B. Kellogg, who had served in the U.S. Senate, as Secretary of State, and as U.S. ambassador to Great Britain. Kellogg was awarded a Nobel Prize for Peace in 1929 as the author of the Kellogg-Briand Pact of 1928, which sought to outlaw war.³⁹

The western portion of the project from Market Street to Seven Corners was completed between 1935 and 1937. For this portion, controversy arose over the proposed ramp designed by George Herrold to connect Exchange Street down to Seven Corners in the middle of the boulevard. Although some locals declared it a “death trap,” the ramp was included in the section to Seven Corners and completed in 1937.⁴⁰ The project ran short of local funding and WPA monies were used to complete the last section.⁴¹ (Figure 17)

Just as the Capitol Plan called for a landscaped mall of government buildings, the Kellogg Boulevard plan envisioned a new generation of civic buildings lining the boulevard. Among them were the Saint Paul City Hall and Ramsey County Courthouse (1933) (RA-SPC-4528; 15 W. Kellogg Blvd.; NRHP, HPC) and the U.S. Post Office and Custom House (1934) (RA-SPC-4518; 180 E. Kellogg Blvd.; NRHP); these were augmented by other private building investments (see architecture discussion below).

In the end, the Third Street project cleared out decaying buildings, widened an important traffic route and created a boulevard and park completed as a “self-conscious exercise along City Beautiful lines.”⁴² Kellogg Boulevard (RA-SPC-7113 and RA-SPC-7114; Bridge Nos. 92797 and 92798) brought a drastic change to the downtown face and represented the “fulfillment of the 1920s” planning in the pre-World War II era.⁴³

38 Andrew Schmidt and Kristen Zschomler, *Kellogg Boulevard Streetscape Project*, St. Paul, Minnesota, prepared by 106 Group for SRF Consulting Group, Inc. and the City of Saint Paul Department of Public Works, August 1999, 6, 12, 21; Herrold, “The Story of Planning St. Paul,” 81. No inventory number has been assigned for Kellogg Mall.

39 Donald Empson, *The Street Where You Live: A Guide to the Place Names of St. Paul* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2006), 148.

40 Herrold, “The Story of Planning St. Paul,” 80.

41 Schmidt and Zschomler, *Kellogg Boulevard Streetscape Project*, 5, 23.

42 Hess and Larson, *St. Paul's Architecture*, 169.

43 Schmidt and Zschomler, *Kellogg Boulevard Streetscape Project*, 26.



Figure 15: Construction of Third Street improvements, 1931. Second Street ran under the upper level where the Third Street Esplanade would be constructed. The Ramsey County Courthouse and St. Paul City Hall is under construction at the intersection with Wabasha Street.



Figure 16: A 1940 postcard showing a newly widened and landscaped Kellogg Boulevard and the formal Third Street Esplanade (Kellogg Park Mall).



Figure 17: Kellogg Boulevard construction, 1936, looking southeast near Seven Corners. Exchange Street ended at Third Street at left (opposite the stairway) and was not opened due to the steep grade to the Upper Levee. The project created access between Kellogg Boulevard to Exchange by constructing a vehicular ramp in the middle of the boulevard and running down to the lower grade intersection with Eagle Street. (see 1937 aerial, Figure 36, to view the completed construction.) Exchange thus became a vehicular passage to connect Uppertown residents quickly with the improved Kellogg Boulevard.

Downtown Construction: 1900–1950

Against the backdrop of transportation planning, the first four decades of the twentieth century brought new buildings with architectural designs that established an updated image of downtown St. Paul. This era was initially dominated by the two great symbols of the city: the Cathedral of St. Paul designed by Emmanuel L. Masqueray and Cass Gilbert's State Capitol. Although each structure moved out of downtown to commanding hilltop sites, the prominence of these buildings must have attracted national attention and encouraged greater awareness of architecture by a new generation of city leaders. In keeping with the quality of work exhibited by the new Capitol, more downtown buildings were designed by nationally recognized architectural firms. The Beaux Arts style of the Capitol influenced the design of some public buildings like the new Union Depot, while the ponderous Romanesque and Victorian-era structures of the 1880s and 1890s gave way to more elegant Renaissance Revival buildings. By the 1930s, elements of the Art Deco and Moderne styles made their primary impact in St. Paul in downtown construction, notably the St. Paul City Hall/Ramsey County Courthouse. (See Map III).

By the turn of the century, the old pioneers and entrepreneurs prominent in city affairs were being replaced by the businessmen of the Progressive Era. Throughout these years, downtown St. Paul was still the center of the city's business and retail activities. All streetcar routes radiated from the downtown, and the major shopping, entertainment, banks, and business buildings were located there. Although other neighborhood business districts, such as along West Seventh, East Seventh, Payne Avenue, and Rice Street, appeared along streetcar lines, they were clearly subsidiary to the central business district's (CBD) functions. In the years after World War II, these CBD functions would gradually erode, and downtown would evolve into a different sort of destination.

Figure 18: Finch, Van Slyck and McConville Dry Goods Company warehouse at 366 Wacouta, ca. 1911. Facing west toward Smith (Mears) Park, the building was expanded north to Sixth Street in 1923.



Downtown development had begun to separate itself into more defined use areas in the 1880s, with the concentration of warehouses in Lowertown, and movement of retail and office uses away from Third Street. With streetcar lines, Robert and Wabasha Streets had attracted department stores that continued to expand. After 1900, these land use trends intensified, and led to growth and expansion into other blocks of the CBD.

Figure 19: James J. Hill's Railroad and Bank Building, at 176-180 East Fifth Street, 1916. Replacing Hill's previous headquarters several blocks east, the new building housed offices of the Great Northern Railway, Northern Pacific Railway, First National Bank, and Northwest Trust Company. Hill owned or controlled all of the companies at the time of his death in 1916.



Continued Expansion and Growth of Lowertown

Lowertown's warehouse district continued to expand until about the 1920s. The new buildings, such as the Neoclassical style Finch, Van Slyck and McConville Dry Goods Company built in 1911 (RA-SPC-5462; 366 Wacouta St.; NRHP, HPC) contrasted with the Romanesque-inspired buildings that predated it by twenty years. Finch, Van Slyck and McConville merged with Lindeke, Warner and Sons in 1926 to become the largest wholesale dry goods firm in St. Paul. Facing Smith (Mears) Park, the original building was designed by Chicago architect James F. Denison, but in 1923, a two-bay addition designed by Clarence H. Johnston extended the building

north to East Sixth Street.⁴⁴ (Figure 18) This warehouse represented a technological construction innovation in its use of reinforced concrete. Previous buildings relied on a “mill construction” system in which outer brick bearing walls were tied to an interior frame of heavy timber. Minneapolis engineer Claude Allen Porter “C. A. P.” Turner, known for his work with bridges, developed a concrete frame and column system used in this building that allowed for large open spaces and room for windows to offer additional daylight for workers.⁴⁵

James J. Hill continued to expand his railroad empire, and by 1914, he undertook construction of a new downtown headquarters building at 176–180 East Fifth Street (RA-SPC-5246; NRHP, HPC). Relocating offices from the previous location at 281–299 East Kellogg Boulevard, the new \$4 million building was built to house the Great Northern Railway, the Northern Pacific Railway, and the bank and offices of the First National Bank and Northwest Trust Company. (Figure 19) The building was originally constructed as three separate buildings. Designed by Chicago architect Charles Frost of Chicago, the Classical Revival style structure was built of steel frame construction with reinforced concrete floors with exterior facing brick. The first three stories were of cut red sandstone with entrances framed by sandstone Ionic columns. Because of the site’s topography, the building had thirteen stories on Fifth Street and fourteen stories on Fourth Street. The building was believed to be the largest office building (in square footage) in the Upper Midwest until the construction of the IDS Tower in Minneapolis in 1973. Hill built his initial railroad investments into the Great Northern Railway, and later acquired minority control of the Northern Pacific Railroad. He bought the Second National Bank and the First National Bank in St. Paul in 1912 and merged them; his purchase of the Northwest Trust Company followed.⁴⁶ James J. Hill’s five-decade-long influence on the economic, political, and social life of St. Paul culminated with the construction of the Railroad and Bank Building. His death in 1916 marked the end of an era for the city. Hill’s control of railroad interests and ability to attract investment enabled St. Paul to compete with Minneapolis in some economic arenas through the railroad-building era, an achievement that will likely never be matched.

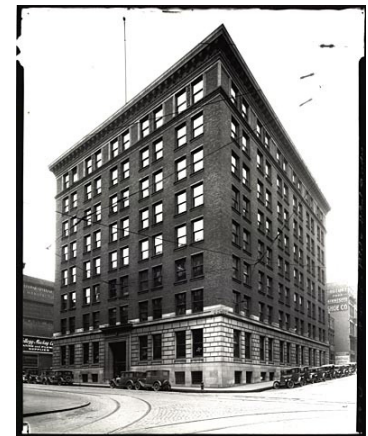


Figure 20: The Chicago, St. Paul, Minneapolis & Omaha Railroad headquarters building, 275 East Fourth Street, built 1916-17. The St. Paul railroads had their headquarters in Lowertown from the beginning; the Omaha line built this new building on the site of their 1880 headquarters that had burned. (photo 1928)

Charles Frost, architect of the Railroad and Bank Building, designed the new Union Depot and was also responsible for the 1916–17 Chicago, St. Paul, Minneapolis and Omaha Railroad Office Building at 275 East Fourth (RA-SPC-5228; NRHP, HPC). The eight-story Classical Revival style building replaced the railroad’s previous 1880–81 building on the same site, which had burned.⁴⁷ (Figure 20)

Clarence Johnston’s 1913 design of the Gordon and Ferguson Building (RA-SPC-3352, -8365; 331–341 Sibley St.; NRHP, HPC) used cream-colored brick and combined Classical Revival elements with the Commercial style. Like other buildings between Fourth and Fifth streets, the warehouse was constructed with eight stories on the Fifth Street side and nine stories on the Fourth Street side. Gordon and Ferguson, organized in 1879, specialized in leather goods including hats, caps and furs.⁴⁸

At least sixteen buildings were added to Lowertown between 1900 and 1921. Some of them included the Crane and Ordway warehouse at 281–287 East Fifth Street (RA-SPC-5253; 1904; NRHP, HPC; designed by Reed & Stem); the Northern Pacific Railroad building at 308 Prince Street (RA-SPC-3008; 1908; NRHP, HPC);

44 Susan Granger and Patricia Murphy, “Lowertown Historic District,” National Register of Historic Places (NRHP) Nomination Form, 1981: 7:5.

45 Larry Millett, *AIA Guide to the Twin Cities: The Essential Source on the Architecture of Minneapolis and St. Paul* (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 2007), 353.

46 Granger and Murphy, “Lowertown Historic District,” 7:13–7:14.

47 Granger and Murphy, “Lowertown Historic District,” 7:13–7:14.

48 Granger and Murphy, “Lowertown Historic District,” 7:2.



Figure 21: St. Paul Fire and Marine Insurance Building, 11 West Fifth, ca. 1925. By 1909, St. Paul Fire and Marine left its 1870 building at Third and Jackson, relocating to the more fashionable Rice Park vicinity.



Figure 22: The New St. Paul Hotel ca. 1911 at Fifth and St. Peter streets. The Renaissance Revival style hotel was built with the efforts of the Business League, to provide a hotel with modern features including bathrooms and telephones in each guest room. The main entrance was at St. Peter Street, rather than the modern entrance on Market Street.

the Michaud Brothers Building at 249–253 East Fourth Street (RA-SPC-5226, and RA-SPC-8839, 1909; NRHP, HPC) and the J. H. Allen Building at 287 East Sixth Street (RA-SPC-5275; 1906–07; NRHP, HPC).⁴⁹

Lowertown was built with access to railroads for hauling and shipping wholesale goods. This role continued through World War I as railroads remained busy carrying supplies and armaments. After the war, the trucking industry began to assume a larger role in hauling freight. The St. Paul Midway District grew into a center for that activity, causing some businesses to relocate to take advantage of a new site outside downtown.⁵⁰ For a city such as St. Paul that had been built on railroad distribution, this change was a fundamental economic transition that would alter transportation patterns into the post-World War II era.

Development of the Rice Park Cultural Center

While the private planning activities of the 1910s were underway, St. Paul experienced a renaissance of architect-designed buildings downtown with a new focus developing around Rice Park (RA-SPC-4423, NRHP). In 1909, St. Paul Fire and Marine Insurance Company relocated from their flamboyant 1870 building on Third and Jackson to a Renaissance Revival office building (Louis Lockwood, nonextant) at the corner of Fifth and Washington in the increasingly fashionable Rice Park area.⁵¹ (Figure 21) The St. Paul Hotel (RA-SPC-3493; 350 Market St.; 1910; NRHP) was built through the efforts of the Business League, a forerunner of the Chamber of Commerce. Led by business leader Lucius C. Ordway, the group raised funds to purchase the site of the former Windsor Hotel for the new building. The Renaissance Revival style St. Paul Hotel opened in 1910 with modern features such as bathrooms and telephones in each room. Rooms had street views, rather than facing an inner courtyard. The main entrance at Fifth and St. Peter Street had a view to the east all the way to Broadway Street. (Figure 22) The firm of Charles Reed & Allen H. Stem designed the hotel; they also designed the Crane Building at 281–287 East Fifth Street in Lowertown for Ordway, and many railroad depots. Stem later designed the St. Paul Athletic Club in 1918.⁵²

The city's library, in the old Market Hall at Seventh and Waba-

⁴⁹ See Granger and Murphy, "Lowertown Historic District" for detailed information on all buildings within the district.

⁵⁰ Granger and Murphy, "Lowertown Historic District," 8:8.

⁵¹ Millett, *Lost Twin Cities*, 233; Millett, *AIA Guide*, 337. The 1909 building was first replaced in 1961 when St. Paul Fire and Marine became the St. Paul Companies. It was replaced again in 1992 when the company became St. Paul Travelers Insurance Company.

⁵² Carole Zellie, "St. Paul Hotel," Local Heritage Nomination Form, prepared by Landscape Research for the Saint Paul Heritage Preservation Commission (HPC), 2001. Lucius C. Ordway built a fortune manufacturing steam engine parts with Crane & Ordway. He also invested in the Minnesota Mining and Manufacturing plant and was instrumental in developing the company into 3M.

sha, burned in 1915 and destroyed over 100,000 volumes.⁵³ The new public library and attached James J. Hill Reference Library were designed by New York architect Electus Litchfield as a “dignified” Beaux Arts building with Northern Italian Renaissance style architectural elements (RA-SPC-5245; 80–90 W. Fourth St.; 1917, 1921; NRHP, HPC). Litchfield’s father was an associate of James J. Hill, who paid for the library. The elegant pink Tennessee marble library was sited so that windows overlooked the Mississippi River on the south, while the façade viewed Rice Park and the Customs House/Post Office (Landmark Center) on the north.⁵⁴ (Figure 23)

Just west of the library across Washington Avenue, a new Minnesota Club went up in 1914–15. (RA-SPC-5485; 317 Washington St.). Designed by Clarence H. Johnston, the Renaissance Revival style building was three stories clad in dark red brick with a raised limestone basement. (Figure 24) A shallow, recessed central entry was framed by two large projecting pavilions with symmetrical round-arch openings framing first floor windows. Begun in 1869, in a mansion in Lafayette Park, the Minnesota Club constructed a new building at the southeast corner of Fourth and Cedar in 1883. The club was organized primarily to provide the city’s businessmen with a private setting for relaxation or conducting business with one’s social peers. The club purchased and demolished the old Metropolitan Hotel at Fourth and Washington to build the new club, a building which the Pioneer Press thought would give “added distinction” to the Rice Park vicinity.⁵⁵

Downtown Entertainment and Business Construction

While opera houses, roller rinks, dime museums and saloons had offered entertainment in an earlier era, by 1910, movie theatres and performing arts venues were being constructed. In St. Paul, the theatre district centered in the blocks around the intersection of Seventh and Wabasha. The New Palace Theatre/St. Francis Hotel was constructed in 1916 (RA-SPC-5360; now 9–17 W. Seventh Place) on the site of the former Public Market/library building. The New Palace (later the Orpheum) was located within the 215-room St. Francis Hotel block. (Figure 25) At the corner of Ninth and Wabasha, the Shubert Theatre, designed by Marshall and Fox of Chicago, was attached to and accessed via the Shubert office building. Originally it featured traveling shows, but eventually became equipped for movies and was known as the World Theatre. The World Theatre closed in the

53 Millett, *Lost Twin Cities*, 151.

54 Millett, *AIA Guide*, 331–332; Andrea M. Gilmore, “St. Paul Public Library/Hill Reference Library,” National Register of Historic Places (NRHP) Nomination Form, prepared by the Minnesota Historical Society, 1975: 7:1–7:2, 8:1.

55 Zellie, “St. Paul Hotel.” Note that consideration of an expanded Rice Park Historic District is being investigated as part of the Gold Line BRT project and would affect buildings around the park.



Figure 23: The St. Paul Public Library and James J. Hill Reference Library, 80-90 West Fourth Street, 1917 (photo ca. 1920). The library contributed to the new civic facilities facing Rice Park.



Figure 24: Minnesota Club, 317 Washington Street, 1914-15, was built just prior to the library and also overlooked Rice Park and the Mississippi River.



Figure 25: Hotel St. Francis, 9 West Seventh, built 1916. The hotel contained the New Palace Theatre along Seventh (now Seventh Place), which was renamed the Orpheum by the time of this 1953 photo. The cross street on this photo is Wabasha.

Figure 26: Looking east on Fourth Street at the new Athletic Club, 1918, 540 Cedar Avenue. The lawn of the old Ramsey County Courthouse and City Hall is in the foreground.



Figure 27: The Lowry Medical Arts Building, 358 St. Peter Street, built 1911-12, was constructed about the same time as the new St. Paul Hotel across the street.



Figure 28: The Lowry Hotel was constructed in 1927 on the opposite side of the block from the Medical Arts Building, and faced Wabasha and the courthouse.



Figure 29: Facing south toward the 1912 Commerce Building at the SE corner of Fourth and Wabasha (photo 1927).



1970s; it was renovated and later renamed the Fitzgerald Theatre and gained fame as home of the Prairie Home Companion radio broadcast. (RA-SPC-5451; 10 E. Exchange St. and 488 N. Wabasha St.; NRHP).⁵⁶

Architect Allen H. Stem designed the St. Paul Athletic Club, completed in 1918 (RA-SPC-0550; 340 N. Cedar St.; NRHP). The club had been formed just five years before to provide a clubhouse for not only promoting physical activities, but for refreshment, entertainment and social purposes. Athletic clubs were yet another variation on the growth of social clubs, such as the Minnesota Club and the University Club on Summit Avenue (RA-SPC-3615; NRHP, HPC, also designed by Allen H. Stem), that were built in St. Paul in this era. The original twelve-story Athletic Club was designed in a Renaissance Revival style, constructed of red brick with terra cotta detailing. The interior was noteworthy with lavish use of terra cotta, ornamental plaster, and marble; the local firm of Brioschi-Minuti contributed decorative plaster ornament to the Athletic Club interior.⁵⁷ (Figure 26)

A flurry of construction occurred in the area along Wabasha and St. Peter, from Fourth Street north, from 1910 to 1930. As noted, two department stores had already located along Wabasha by the 1890s: Schuneman's at Wabasha and Sixth, and Field-Schlick along Wabasha and Fifth. The block between Fourth and Fifth, Wabasha and St. Peter saw construction of the Lowry Arcade/Medical Arts Building (RA-SPC-3492; 1911-12, 350 St. Peter St.); the Lowry Medical Arts Annex (now City Hall Annex; RA-SPC-5242; 15-27 W. Fourth St.; 1932); the Lowry Hotel (RA-SPC-5441; 345 Wabasha St.; 1927), the Lowry Garage; and a remodeling of the Field-Schlick store (RA-SPC-5443; 349 Wabasha St.) that wrapped around the Germania Building (St. Paul Building) at the corner of Fifth and Wabasha. Office buildings went up along Fourth and on St. Peter, providing new buildings to link the retail area toward Rice Park.⁵⁸ (Figures 27, 28)

The twelve-story Commerce Building at the southeast corner of Fourth and Wabasha (RA-SPC-5220; 10 E.

56 Millett, *AIA Guide*, 337; Zellie and Peterson, *St. Paul Historic Context: Downtown*, 16-17.

57 Hess Roise, supplemental historic property investigations and evaluations for CCLRT Project Summary Recommendations; St. Paul Athletic Club, 340 Cedar Street, NRHP Evaluation, 31-47.

58 Carole Zellie and Garneth O. Peterson, *St. Paul Historic Context Study, Downtown St. Paul, 1849-1975*, prepared by Landscape Research for the Saint Paul Heritage Preservation Commission, 2001, 18- 19.

Fourth St.; NRHP) was constructed to provide a headquarters for the Commercial Club of St. Paul and the offices of the St. Paul Association of Commerce. Designed by Hermann Kretz and built in 1912 by Lauer Brothers construction, the building represented the strength of St. Paul's business organizations in this era in their quest to attract economic investment that would build St. Paul into a modern city. The selected site on Fourth and Wabasha was across from the Courthouse and City Hall, on a streetcar crossing, and on axis with the new State Capitol. The Commerce Building reflected a perceived image of new skyscraper construction, built with reinforced concrete, in the Commercial style with minimal ornamentation.⁵⁹ (Figure 29)

The relocation of the St. Paul Cathedral in 1911 opened up its former site at Sixth and St. Peter for commercial construction. Mannheimer Brothers began work on a potential department store in 1915, but the project stalled and construction was taken over and completed by William Hamm in 1920. Hamm was the son of brewer Theodore Hamm, and had the funds and capacity to take over the partially completed building. The building's structural framework of steel beams and girders allowed for a flexible arrangement of interior space and enabled the building to transition from a planned department store to an office building. The Hamm Building occupied a half block facing on St. Peter Street from Sixth Street to Seventh Place (RA-SPC-3495; 408 St. Peter St.; NRHP). Its distinctive terra cotta cladding in Renaissance Revival and Classical motifs was "grand in artistry and scale" and unusual in that it appeared on all major facades of the building. The Capitol (later Paramount) Theatre, designed by C. W. and George Rapp of Chicago, was constructed within the building facing Seventh Street (now Seventh Place). The Hamm Building, with its storefronts, offices and theatre, remains a distinctive and elegant architectural landmark evocative of the 1920s in downtown.⁶⁰ (Figure 30)

The 1928 UIC program enabled major public investment not only in downtown infrastructure, but in public buildings, most notably the St. Paul City Hall/Ramsay County Courthouse. Just as the Federal Courts Building (Landmark Center) on Rice Park had distinguished an earlier era of construction, the St. Paul City Hall/Ramsay County Courthouse (RA-SPC-4528; 15 Kellogg Blvd. W., NRHP, HPC) exemplified a new vision of downtown by the 1930s. Identified as "one of the great Moderne monuments in the nation,"⁶¹ the City Hall/Courthouse made a bold visual statement at its prominent Kellogg Boulevard site overlooking the river. Designed by Holabird and Root of Chicago with Ellerbe and Company as the local partner, the twenty-story

59 Carole Zellie and Amy Lucas, "Commerce Building," NRHP Nomination Form, prepared by Landscape Research, 2007: 8:8–8:10. Also see this NRHP form for the history of the various commercial clubs in the city and their roles in supporting economic growth, planning, and implementation of civic investments during the first half of the twentieth century.

60 Gabrielle Bourgerie, "Hamm Building," NRHP Nomination Form, prepared by Oertel Architects, 1997.

61 Hess and Larson, *St. Paul's Architecture*, 159.



Figure 30: Completed in 1920 on the former site of the Cathedral of St. Paul, the Hamm Building at 408 St. Peter is an elegant office building sited to address the adjacent triangular blocks where the St. Paul Proper Addition changed to Rice and Irvine's Addition. In the modern era, the adjacent triangular blocks have become plazas, reinforcing the original design and setting of the Hamm Building a century later.



Figure 31: Ramsey County Courthouse/ City Hall, 1932, 15 West Kellogg Boulevard, heralded a new Moderne style for St. Paul governmental buildings, in a prominent location on Kellogg Boulevard.



Figure 32: The interior of the Ramsey County Courthouse/City Hall houses the Memorial Hall dominated by the thirty-six-foot Vision of Peace statue by Swedish sculptor Carl Milles.

Figures 33-36: The Art Deco/Moderne architectural influences in St. Paul were most visible on downtown buildings in the 1930s.

Figure 33: Northern States Power Company building, 360 North Wabasha, built 1930



Figure 34: Tri-State Telephone Company building, 59 Kellogg Boulevard West, ca. 1935



Figure 35: Women's City Club, 305 St. Peter Street, ca. 1935



Figure 36: Minnesota Building, 46 Fourth Street East built 1929



building was defined by its aligned vertical columns of windows divided by black metal spandrels. The first three stories formed a wide base, while the fourth through seventeenth stories were setback and extended upward to another setback containing the top three stories. (Figure 31) Bas relief carvings depicting labor and governmental ideals framed entrances. The centerpiece of the building interior was the Memorial Hall dominated by the thirty-six-foot monumental onyx statue of the Vision of Peace (originally the Indian God of Peace) by Swedish sculptor Carl Milles. (Figure 32) Elevator doors in the main lobby depicted themes from Ramsey County history, while murals in the third floor Council Chambers illustrated scenes from St. Paul's history. The murals were painted by John Norton, an artist who had worked with Frank Lloyd Wright and Minnesota architects Purcell and Elmslie.⁶²

The years between 1920 and 1939 brought construction of almost thirty major new buildings in St. Paul, most reflecting the Art Deco or Moderne styles, and primarily located downtown. Like the Commerce Building and Hamm Building, many were private investments by St. Paul businesses and institutions. With the demolition of the old city hall and courthouse east of Wabasha between Fourth and Fifth, the block was sold for a potential new building. However, the Depression halted that project and the corner of Fifth and Wabasha was sold to Northern States Power Company. Ellerbe and Company designed a Moderne office building (1930) of polished Morton gneiss (granite) and Mankato stone (RA-SPC-5445; 360 Wabasha St.; NRHP). The elaborate entrance at the corner of Fifth was crowned by metal sculptures depicting figures representing Flame, Sunlight and Water Power.⁶³ (Figure 33)

The 1937 Tri-State Telephone Company building, designed by Clarence Johnston, (RA-SPC-4532; 59 W. Kellogg Blvd.; NRHP) added another architectural piece to the Rice Park environs. Built at Fourth and St. Peter streets, the telephone company building emphasized the verticality of the Moderne style with windows aligned in narrow bands between stone piers. On the opposite corner of that block, overlooking the river,

⁶² Hess and Larson, *St. Paul's Architecture*, 159–160; Patricia Murphy, "St. Paul City Hall and Ramsey County Courthouse," NRHP Nomination Form. Prepared by Ramsey County Historical Society, 1981.

⁶³ Hess and Larson, *St. Paul's Architecture*, 160; Susan W. Granger and Patricia Murphy, "Northern States Power Company (RA-SPC-5445)," HSS form, 1981. The Northern States Power Company building has been assumed to be NRHP as part of the Urban Renewal Historic District currently being evaluated.

was the Moderne Women’s City Club (RA-SPC-3490; 305 St. Peter St.; NRHP, HPC). In the shadow of City Hall, the small limestone building designed by Magnus Jemne (1931) was defined by horizontal bands of windows that followed the curved façade. The Women’s City Club was founded in 1921 and its members participated in a variety of civic activities.⁶⁴ (Figures 34, 35)

The 1929 Minnesota Building (RA-SPC-5222; 46 E. Fourth St.; NRHP) reflected a transition between earlier Classical style office buildings and influence of the Moderne/Art Deco architecture. Constructed on the site of the former Minnesota Club at the southeast corner of Fourth and Cedar streets, the reinforced concrete structure was faced with marble sheathing around entry bays and first floor display windows. Similar to other buildings of this era, the building facade was defined by vertical window strips separated by limestone piers from the second to thirteenth stories. Ornamental bands of decorative tile and terra cotta, patterned belt courses at upper levels, and stone medallions and lanterns at the entries on Fourth Street and Cedar Street enlivened the facade.⁶⁵ (Figure 36)

The Minnesota Building was designed by Charles Hausler, who served as the City Architect from 1914 to 1922. Hausler was born in the West Seventh neighborhood and studied with Louis Sullivan before receiving his architectural license in 1908. As City Architect, he designed numerous public buildings such as fire and police stations, schools, park facilities and libraries, including the three 1916 Carnegie libraries: St. Anthony Park (RA-SPC-0731; 2245 Como Ave.; NRHP, HPC); Arlington Hills (RA-SPC-1633; 1105 Greenbrier Ave.; NRHP, HPC); and Riverview (RA-SPC-1461, 1 E. George St.; NRHP, HPC). Hausler was also responsible for writing the city’s uniform building code adopted in 1921. Hausler served in the State Senate from 1923 to 1939, but continued his architecture practice and designed many private residences, churches and schools.⁶⁶ In partnership with William Linley Alban, and later Percy Dwight Bentley, Hausler designed several bungalows displaying Craftsman and Prairie influences in the Hill district. His other designs include the Mounds Park Pavilion (RA-SPC-4699; 1060 Mounds Blvd.; 1915); the Minnesota Milk Company on University (RA-SPC-3877; 370-380 University Ave. W.; 1931; NRHP); and the Kessler & Maguire Funeral Home (RA-SPC-8331; 640 W. Seventh; 1926).⁶⁷

St. Paul’s major banks had not followed the retail and office movement toward Wabasha, but had generally remained in the vicinity of Robert Street. A major, significant banking investment was the thirty-two-story First National Bank Building, the city’s “first genuine skyscraper.”⁶⁸ (RA-SPC-4645; 332 Minnesota St.; 1931; NRHP) The building faced Minnesota Street, with ten bays; there were sixteen bays on Fourth Street, broken by a light well at the eighth story. This 1931 building, designed by Graham, Anderson, Probst and White of Chicago, became the city’s tallest building, with setbacks ending in a four-story red neon “1st” beacon crowning the skyline. (Figure 37) First National Bank was owned by James J. Hill and had been located in his Railroad and Bank Building until a merger with Merchant’s National Bank in 1929. First Farmers and Merchants Bank (RA-SPC-3168; 339 N. Robert St.; NRHP) was located next to First National, in a building designed by Jarvis Hunt of Chicago and constructed in 1915.⁶⁹



Figure 37: First National Bank, 332 Minnesota Street, 1931 was the City’s tallest building for several decades, crowned by a red neon “1st” dominating the skyline.

64 Zellie and Peterson, *St. Paul Historic Context: Downtown*, 22–23.

65 Bethany Gladhill and Thomas R. Zahn. “Minnesota Building.” NRHP Nomination Form. Prepared by Thomas R. Zahn and Associates, LLC, 2008: 7:1–7:2.

66 Gladhill and Zahn, “Minnesota Building,” 8:5; Alan K. Lathrop, *Minnesota Architects: A Biographical Dictionary* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010), 94.

67 Hess and Larson, *St. Paul’s Architecture*, 96–99, 144, 156–157.

68 Hess and Larson, *St. Paul’s Architecture*, 161.

69 Zellie and Peterson, *St. Paul Historic Context: Downtown*, 22; Millett, *AIA Guide*, 324.



Figure 38: Downtown St. Paul, 1937. By the end of the Depression, downtown boasted a new Kellogg Boulevard and civic buildings that represented the culmination of the “City Beautiful” aspirations begun with the new Capitol building thirty-five years before. This view of downtown would continue for another three decades until freeway construction would sever downtown from the neighborhoods around it.

While many cities in the U.S. languished during the Depression, St. Paul emerged with a new face displaying the culmination of its “City Beautiful” aspirations and plans begun with the construction of the Capitol almost 40 years earlier. (Figure 38) A 1937 aerial view showed old Third Street (the new Kellogg Boulevard), winding along the edge of the bluff that overlooked the old Lower and Upper Landings. The Lower Landing was enveloped by railroad lines while the Upper Landing was still a mass of industry. The construction of Kellogg Boulevard clearly defined the edge of the historic bluff, with the road built on a series of concrete girder span viaducts. George Herrold’s Exchange Street ramp (the “death trap”) funneled traffic from the center of the Boulevard down to exit onto Exchange Street at the Upper Landing. The removal of the south side buildings and replacement with the open Esplanade (Kellogg Mall) from Robert to Wabasha finally opened the view to the river sought by *Minnesota Pioneer* editor James Goodhue as early as 1852. The view was complemented by the grand new civic buildings to line the boulevard. The process began with the St. Paul

Public Library/Hill Reference Library in 1917 and the Minnesota Club in 1916; the 1930s brought the construction of the Ramsey County Courthouse/City Hall and the U.S. Post Office Building. Plans called for other civic buildings along the boulevard, but they would not be undertaken for another 30 years. The downtown skyline changed dramatically with the new First National Bank skyscraper, clearly the construction of a new era, leaving behind the old nineteenth century city.

The street system downtown showed the efforts to adapt to an automobile era, not only with Kellogg Boulevard, but the Third, Sixth and Seventh Street routes leading east over the Phalen Creek/Trout Brook rail corridor to the east of downtown. On the west end of downtown all streets still came together at Seven Corners, where West Seventh led to the West End, and the new Kellogg Boulevard continued northwest toward Summit Hill. The downtown streets remained as confusing as they had ever been, but the street pattern of the earliest plats was still intact. Within a decade, plans for the new interstate highway system, as well as roadways along the river would forever alter St. Paul’s downtown and nearby neighborhoods.

West Seventh Population and Economic Growth

After the turn of the century, the West Seventh neighborhood continued to attract new immigrants, but increasingly became a mix of first generation Americans and their children. By 1930, Germans (likely including Czechs) still led in numbers of foreign-born in Ward 5, which encompassed most of the West Seventh neighborhood. Approximately half the size of the German population were the Italians, who had barely registered in 1900. Swedes and Irish came next in numbers, with smaller contingents of Norwegians, Russians and Poles in Ward 5. (Figure 39). But the ward also retained many second generation residents, especially in the neighborhoods on either side of West Seventh from Western to Lexington Avenues. The percentage of native-born, with both foreign and mixed parentage, included 40 to 50 percent of residents. (Figure 40)

In 1930, St. Paul’s Black population had relocated northwest out of downtown, their primary residential location in 1900, to the neighborhood centered on Rondo Avenue from roughly Selby to University. David

V. Taylor has noted that the presence of Germans along West Seventh made clear that “Blacks were not welcome” in that neighborhood; other close-in neighborhoods were similarly inhospitable, which led the Black community to settle in the area on the western plateau along Rondo.⁷⁰

Calvin Schmid’s research indicates a small Black population near Seven Corners and the Upper Landing in 1930. No information has been found on this group. Taylor noted that the majority of the Black population in St. Paul was single Black men, many of whom were employed by the railroads, or as waiters, porters and cooks in local hotels. Many single men roomed in private homes, boardinghouses, or hotels close to their place of work.⁷¹ Given the numbers of boardinghouses and hotels in this neighborhood and close access to work, the Black population here may reflect the single men discussed by Taylor, as opposed to the more established neighborhood centered on Rondo Avenue by the 1930s.

The Italians

The land west of the Upper Landing / Chestnut Street and between the railroad lines and the river had been identified with squatter’s houses on Sanborn maps since the 1880s. Described on maps as “low and swampy ground,” the land was not subdivided into lots and had no municipal services such as streets, water lines or sewers. Below the bluff and beyond the railroads, the area was out of sight and forgotten by most St. Paul residents. For newcomers without resources, however, this area was called the Upper Levee, with makeshift board shanties for housing as early as the 1870s when there was a “squatter settlement” of Germans and

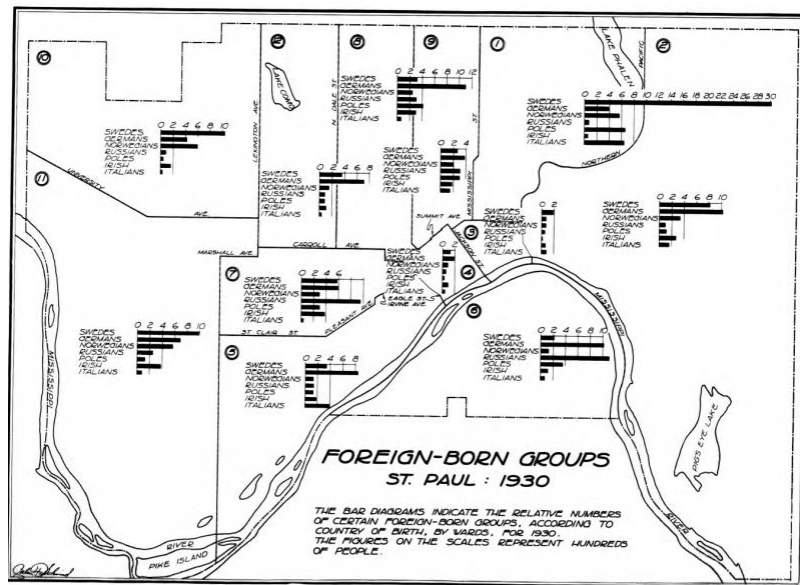


Figure 39: Foreign-Born Groups St. Paul: 1930. Calvin Schmid’s Social Study (1937) showed the largest groups of foreign-born residents, primarily Germans and Swedes, by ward in 1930.

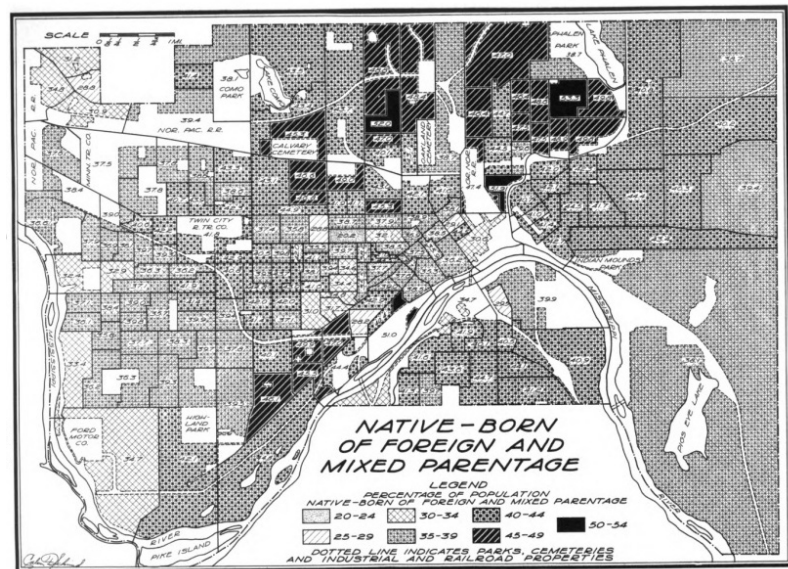


Figure 40: Native-Born of Foreign and Mixed Parentage, 1930. Neighborhoods such as West Seventh, the North End and Payne-Phalen had the highest percentages of native-born residents of foreign and mixed parentage, indicating that many emigrants had likely remained in their neighborhoods to raise families. (Calvin Schmid, 1937)

70 David V. Taylor, “The Blacks,” in *They Chose Minnesota: A Survey of the State’s Ethnic Groups*, June Drenning Holmquist, ed. (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 1981), 76–77.

71 Taylor, “The Blacks,” 77. Although beyond the scope of this context, the question of Black settlement on the Upper Levee deserves further in-depth investigation for a better understanding of the residential mix of people and housing types in this neighborhood.



Figure 41: Looking toward Downtown St. Paul with the Upper Landing settlement in the foreground, 1894. The railroad lines were adjacent to the bluff where the Irvine Park and Uppertown areas were located.



Figure 42: Little Italy in 1952 showing the density of development and proximity to the GTA elevators.

Poles there.⁷² (Figure 41)

After 1900, the Upper Levee settlement attracted a group of emigrants from the province of Campobasso in Italy's Molise region, primarily from the villages of Ripabottoni and Casacalenda. Compared to the numbers of Scandinavians, Germans and Irish, the numbers of Italians in Minnesota were fairly small, and they tended to concentrate in the cities of Minneapolis, St. Paul, and Duluth, and in the Iron Range. In 1900, St. Paul held the largest population of Italians when over 500 foreign-born Italians, and 892 Italians of foreign and mixed parentage resided in the city; by 1910, Duluth and the Iron Range had the greatest numbers of Italian-born and Italians of foreign and mixed parentage in the state.⁷³

Before 1900, Italians in St. Paul tended to reside in separate neighborhoods according to their Italian origin. The Genoese settled in the area of West Central Avenue and Summit Place (near the Cathedral); Tuscans resided near East Seventh and Rosabel Streets; and Termini Imeresani resided near Robert Street and East Summit (near today's Centennial Building on Cedar Avenue). A larger Italian community developed on the East Side in Swede Hollow, and in the adjacent Railroad Island neighborhood. Among these earlier arrivals were Italians who operated food and fruit stores, musicians and painters, and a number of artisans who performed mosaic, tile and terrazzo work. By 1900, new arrivals from southern Italy tended to be unskilled laborers who were drawn to St. Paul because of the possibility of railroad work; this group soon became identified with the Upper Levee settlement. The Upper Levee developed through a pattern of chain migration, in which one family member came, then brought another, until finally the whole family came. Eventually, entire villages emigrated to the same location. The Levee held 60 families by 1910.⁷⁴

The swampy ground of the Levee was gradually built up with fill. Residents gained title to lots, and replaced the early board shanties with houses along

Upper Levee, Mill, and Loreto Streets that provided a more established neighborhood than the earlier randomness, scattered buildings. Despite the improvements, the neighborhood was identified as one of the "lowest types of residential districts" in the 1917 housing study of St. Paul.⁷⁵

72 James A. Sazevich, Scott D. McGinnis, and Donald Empson, *Uppertown Survey Final Report*, prepared for the Saint Paul Heritage Preservation Commission and the Minnesota Historical Society, 1992, 20; Rudolph J. Vecoli, "The Italians," in Holmquist, ed., *They Chose Minnesota*, 453. See Sanborn Map and Publishing Company, *St. Paul, Minnesota, 1885, Vol. 1-3* (New York: Sanborn Map and Publishing Company, Ltd. 1885), plates 26, 27 and Sanborn Map Company, *Insurance Maps of St. Paul, Minnesota, 1903, Vol. 1-5* (New York: Sanborn Map Company, 1903), plate 33 for examples of "shanties" noted in various locations along the levee.

73 Vecoli, "The Italians," 450-453.

74 Vecoli, "The Italians," 451-453.

75 Vecoli, "The Italians," 453.

Along with the other planning initiatives in the 1910s, the St. Paul Association of Commerce (forerunner of the Chamber of Commerce) commissioned a study of the city's housing and unsanitary and overcrowded conditions. The study was conducted by Dr. Carol Aronovici, director of social services at the Amherst H. Wilder Charity. Aronovici came to the US from Romania in 1900 and in 1911 received his Ph.D. from Brown University, where he studied housing and other social conditions.⁷⁶

Aronovici's study of housing conditions found poor housing in various sections of the city, but in the West End, focused on the Upper Levee. The study described the condition of 94 dwelling units on the Upper Levee: of the houses inspected, approximately 16 percent were good; 49 percent were fair; and 12 percent were in bad condition. None of the viewed houses had running water or baths, and without any sewers, each house had a cesspool in the yard. Drinking water came from springs in the bluff, or pumps that served from five to twenty families each.⁷⁷

Aronovici used his research to support development of a city plan and creation of a housing ordinance. While the City's housing ordinance passed in 1918, it was not enforced, and Aronovici's recommendations for housing and health improvements languished.⁷⁸ The neighborhoods he studied, including the Upper Levee, Swede Hollow, the West Side and others remained in place until the 1950s.

Life on the Upper Levee

While officials questioned the quality of housing on the Upper Levee, the neighborhood was, by all accounts, reminiscent of a southern Italian village transported to the Mississippi River. Its isolation from the city enabled residents to retain their language and traditions. By the 1930s, 100 families, of which 80 percent were Italian, resided on the Upper Levee and most owned their homes. Most houses had fences, vegetable gardens and grape arbors, and large backyard ovens for baking bread.⁷⁹ (Figure 42)

Primary employers of Upper Levee men were the railroads, public works projects, or labor at the nearby J. T. McMillan meat packing plant west of the High Bridge. Among the most well-known businesses that grew out of the community were Mancini's and Cossetta's. The Mancini family lived on the Upper Levee in the 1920s before moving to McBoal Street. After WWII,

76 Gary Phelps, "Aronovici's Campaign to Clean up St. Paul," *Ramsey County History* 15, no. 1(1980), 11–12.

77 David Lanegran, "The Neighborhood River," 79–81, in *The Mississippi and St. Paul: A Planning Study of Interpretive Potentials*, Carole Zellie, ed., prepared by Landscape Research for the Ramsey County Historical Society, June 1988.

78 Phelps, "Aronovici's Campaign," 5–17.

79 Don Boxmeyer, "Italian Renaissance for Little Italy," June 26, 2001, in *A Knack for Knowing Things*, Don Boxmeyer, ed. (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 2003), 9–10.



Figure 43: Cossetta's Food Market at 226 Ryan, 1952.



Figure 44: Mill Street School, 364 Mill Street on the Upper Landing, 1931.



Figure 45: Holy Redeemer Church, constructed in 1915 on West College Avenue, served the Upper Landing Italian community (photo 1920).

veteran Nick Mancini opened a small tavern that grew into a large steakhouse and a long-time business on West Seventh.⁸⁰ Michael Cossetta emigrated from Calabria and settled on the Upper Levee. His business began with Cossetta’s grocery store in 1911 at 226 Ryan (corner of Chestnut and Ryan near Irvine Park, nonextant). (Figure 43) In 1984, the fourth generation of Cossettas started making pizza, expanded the grocery and moved to West Seventh and Chestnut where it has grown into a well-known and successful restaurant and market.⁸¹

By the 1920s, Mill Street Public School served the Upper Levee students. (Figure 44) There was no church building, but strong spiritual leadership was offered by Father Nicola Carlo Odone, who arrived in 1899 to minister to the Italian mission.

Designated as Holy Redeemer parish in 1906, the community worshipped in the basement of the Cathedral at Sixth and St. Peter. In 1915, the parish, now led by Father Giacinto D. Ciabattone, constructed Holy Redeemer Church on West College Avenue near St. Peter Street (nonextant). (Figure 45) Holy Redeemer was a center of community life for the Upper Levee community, and shared a pastor with St. Ambrose Church, which served the Railroad Island Italian community. The churches sponsored various organizations and hosted community events, festivals, bazaars and feast day observances.⁸²

Despite long-term concerns about the quality of the housing stock and regular floods, the Upper Levee survived until the 1950s. However, serious floods inundated the Levee in 1951 and 1952, causing the City to rezone the area for industrial use. In 1957, the City Council voted to purchase all houses and raise the ground above flood level for industrial use. Residents were moved out, with the last ones leaving the Levee in 1959. By the 1960s, the site became the Kaplan Scrap Iron company for the next half century.⁸³

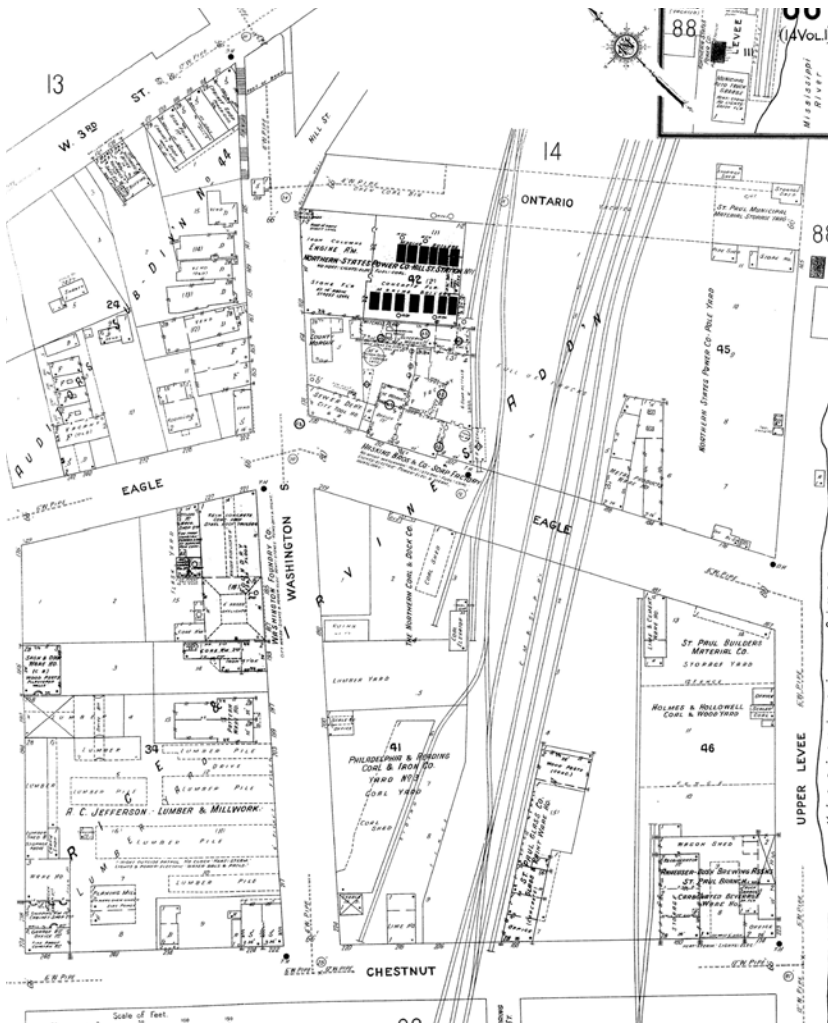


Figure 46:1927 Sanborn Map of Upper Landing showing industrial properties.

80 Boxmeyer, “St. Nick,” February 25, 2000, in Boxmeyer, ed., *Knack for Knowing Things*, 101.

81 Cossetta’s, “About Us: History,” <https://cossettas.com/home/about-us> (accessed July 23, 2019); Boxmeyer, “Italian Renaissance,” 10.

82 Vecoli, “The Italians,” 459. Holy Redeemer Church was demolished in 1967 because it was in the path of I-94 through downtown St. Paul. The parish officially moved to Maplewood but lost its Italian congregants who did not follow it to the suburbs. See Vecoli, “The Italians,” 464.

83 Vecoli, “The Italians,” 464; Greg Schach, “Transplants From Europe: Germans, Poles, Italians—Settlers on the Levee.” *Ramsey County History* 34, no. 4 (Winter 2000): 20.

Industry along the River

By the 1920s, the area below the Third Street bluff, along Eagle and Chestnut streets, contained a variety of industrial uses with a few dwellings and boarding houses mixed in. The 1927 Sanborn map identified several lumber yards, coal and iron companies, the Northern States Power Company Hill Street station, and the county morgue. There were also several manufacturing operations; Orme's Washington Street Foundry; Haskins Bros. and Company Soap Factory; the Milton Dairy Company Creamery; and the Eisenmenger Meat Company.⁸⁴ (Figure 46)

The levee west of Chestnut Street below Irvine Park held a mix of new and old uses. Southwest of the High Bridge on the river flats was McMillan's Slaughter House, which had been in operation since at least 1904. Stone cutting yards also remained; although Lauer Brothers was no longer located there, both the Willcox Cut Stone Company and the William H. Ulmer Company Stone Cutting Plant were located adjacent to railroad lines below the Irvine Park bluff.⁸⁵ (Figure 47)

The St. Paul Milling Company Flour Mills and the Equity Co-operative Exchange Grain Elevator and their large elevators dominated the riverfront just south of Irvine Park. When constructed in the late 1910s, the flour mill and grain elevator represented the farmer's cooperatives that had formed to protest the monopoly of grain and flour marketing by Minneapolis firms. Farmers charged that the grain firms and railroads rigged prices and commissions. In response, farmers organized to seek cheaper rates by shipping grain in bulk on the Mississippi. Created in 1908, the Equity Cooperative Exchange moved to St. Paul to build a grain elevator when the City promised free land along the Upper Levee. When completed in 1917, the elevator was more reliant on railroads for shipping because little grain was being hauled on the river at that time. The terminal complex included a series of grain tanks and other buildings added into the 1950s.⁸⁶ (Figure 48)

Throughout the 1920s, the Equity lobbied for

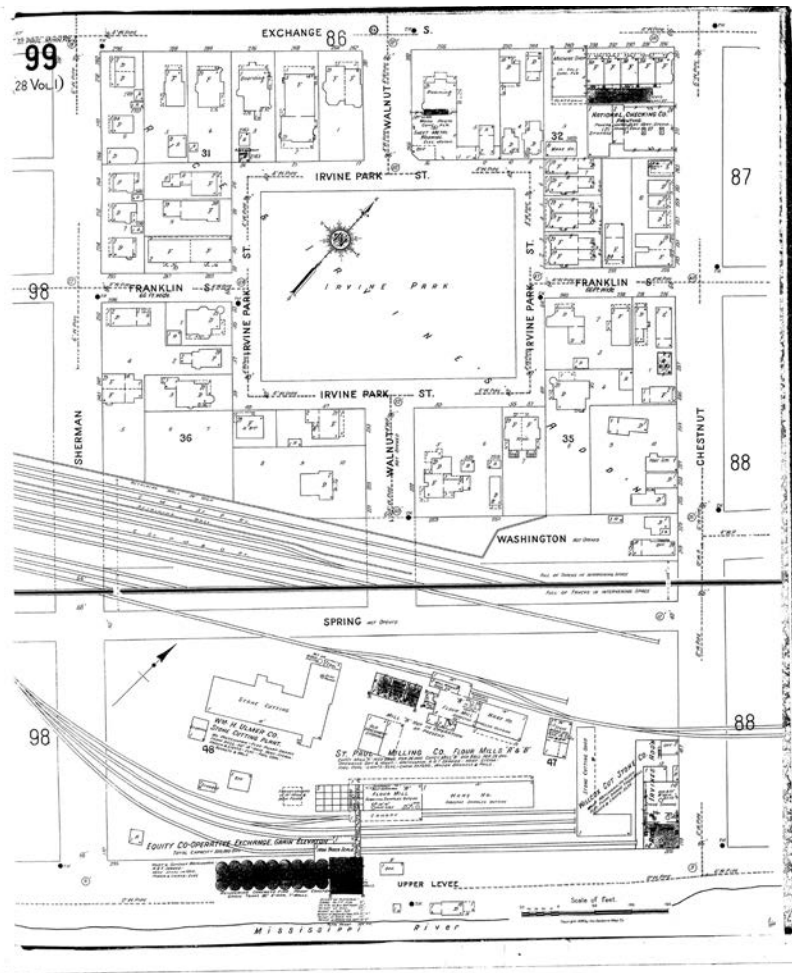


Figure 47: 1927 Sanborn map showing the stone company, elevators on the Upper Landing and proximity to Irvine Park.



Figure 48: Farmer's Union Elevator, at the Upper Landing, 1916

⁸⁴ Sanborn Map Company, *St. Paul* (1926).

⁸⁵ Sanborn Map Company, *St. Paul* (1904); Sanborn Map Company, *St. Paul* (1926).

⁸⁶ Tom Harvey, *Shepard/Warner/East CBD Bypass Historic Resources Survey*, prepared by Saint Paul Department of Planning and Economic Development, February 1987, 18; John Anfinson, Robert Frame, and Greg Page, "St. Paul Municipal Grain Terminal," NRHP Nomination Form, 2004: 8:2.



Figure 49: The facilities of the Farmers Union Grain Terminal Association at the Upper Landing, 1955. Only the Grain Terminal Head House and Sack House remain.



Figure 50: The St. Paul Gas Light Company Island Station, ca. 1924 (nonextant).



Figure 51: The Northern States Power Company plant near the High Bridge, 1978. Although NSP is at the same location, facilities have all been replaced.

Mississippi River channel improvements to encourage navigation and shipping. The City built a grain terminal that had a 22,000-bushel, reinforced concrete elevator (headhouse), a clay-tile sackhouse (warehouse), and a loading dock. The facility was completed in 1931 (St. Paul Municipal Elevator and Sackhouse; RA-SPC-3321; 266 W. Shepard Rd.; NRHP). Congress included the nine-foot river channel project in the 1930 Rivers and Harbors Act, which guaranteed a navigable channel through construction of twenty-three locks and dams along the Mississippi and thus encouraged the need for river facilities. The sackhouse and headhouse represented two ways of handling grain products. The sackhouse stored the bagged flour conveyed from the St. Paul Milling Company; from the sackhouse the bags were loaded onto barges. Later technology relied not on sacks but on grain being loaded directly from an elevator. Thus, the St. Paul operation with its elevator and its sackhouse accommodated both the old and new technology for agricultural products. St. Paul's Municipal Grain Terminal became part of the Grain Terminal Association (GTA) in 1938 and continued to operate through the 1980s.⁸⁷(Figure 49)

The Upper Levee had also become a location for the various utility companies that competed for St. Paul customers in the early twentieth century. An early electric light company building was constructed on Washington at Ontario Street below the Third Street bluff in 1885. By 1904, St. Paul Gas Light Company Hill Street Station occupied the site. In 1918, the Gas Light Company erected a gas holder and filtering facility just west of the High Bridge, followed by a 25,000-kilowatt coal-powered generating station on Ross Island (RA-SPC-3323; 850 Shepard Rd.; nonextant) near the Omaha Swing Bridge. Ross Island was a six-acre island reached by a wooden trestle at that time, but fill later was used to connect it to the mainland.⁸⁸ (Figure 50)

Northern States Power (NSP) Company (originally Consumers Power Company until 1916) was a competitor of the Gas Light Company. NSP built its first building, a coal-fired, 60,000-kilowatt generating station near the High Bridge in 1924. It then bought out the Gas Light Company in 1925 and used the Ross Island Station (usually referred to as Island Station) as a standby facility.⁸⁹ NSP continued to expand westward at their High Bridge

⁸⁷ Anfinson, Frame, and Page, "St. Paul Municipal Grain Terminal," 8:8–8:10. Harvey, *Shepard/Warner/East CBD Bypass*, pg. 18, states that the Milling Company produced "Komo" Flour until the mill burned in 1935. Only the elevator and sackhouse remain of these industrial buildings.

⁸⁸ Sanborn Map Company, *St. Paul (1904)*; Sanborn Map Company, *St. Paul (1904)*; Nicholas Westbrook, ed., *A Guide to the Industrial Archaeology of the Twin Cities*, prepared for the Twelfth Annual Conference of the Society for Industrial Archeology (Society for Industrial Archeology, 1983), 32–33; *St. Paul Gas Light Company Island Station, Part 1: Site Description* (St. Paul: St. Paul Heritage Preservation Commission Comprehensive Planning Committee, n.d.), <https://www.stpaul.gov/DocumentCenter/Views/65043.pdf>; (accessed July 31, 2019).

⁸⁹ Frederick Melo, "Apartment proposal at former Island Station power plant promises Mississippi River access," *Twin Cities.com/Pioneer Press*, August 5, 2019, <https://www.twincities.com/2019/05/26/st-paul-apartments-planned-island-station-power-plant-site-mississippi-river>, (accessed July 31, 2019). The Island Station on Ross Island had many proposals for reuse over the years. In 2013, the St. Paul

Plant, adding additional generating output in 1942, 1956, and 1959 (NSP High Bridge Plant; RA-SPC-3322; 501 Shepard Rd.; nonextant). As the gas system converted from coke oven gas to natural gas in the 1950s, the Gas Light Company's old storage facility near the High Bridge was eventually demolished.⁹⁰ (Figure 51)

Another industrial addition based on the improvements to the river channel was the 1937 construction of the Shell Petroleum and Socony Vacuum Company tank farm in 1937. The tank farm lay between West Seventh and the edge of the bluff, southwest of Otto Avenue to Montreal Avenue on either side of the Ford plant railroad spur west of the Omaha railyard. The farm required a marine base at the river level to pump oil from barges up to the tanks. The new terminal anticipated a need for 500 feet of river frontage, with rail connections; several acres on the bluff held the tanks. Shell Oil Company planned the site as their northwest distributing base and began receiving oil barges in June 1937.⁹¹

West Seventh Street Commerce

The West Seventh Street commercial corridor continued to expand after 1900, with new buildings replacing old properties or filling in vacant lots. Many business owners of German or Czech heritage remained, as those families stayed in the West End neighborhood.

Just as downtown businesses had formed a Chamber of Commerce to encourage business growth, various neighborhoods formed improvement or commercial clubs. The West End Improvement Association first met at St. Francis de Sales Church in November 1903, and grew to 50 members within a few months. The Association advocated for streetcar service and gas lights, and sought to clean up abandoned stone quarries that still dotted the neighborhood. By 1912, the group built a new, two-story, brick building constructed by Lauer Brothers at the corner of Jefferson and Erie (825 W. Seventh; nonextant). The Club had a bowling alley, library and reading room to make informative materials available for all members.⁹² (Figure 52) By 1915, the West End Commercial Club (as they were then called) was one of several such organizations listed in the city directory, along with others in the neighborhoods of Dayton's Bluff, Hamline, Midway, North Central, University Avenue, and the West Side. By 1922, druggist John P. Jelinek was president of the West End organization.⁹³



Figure 52: The West End Commercial Club, constructed ca. 1912 by Lauer Brothers at 825 West Seventh. (photo 1932).



Figure 53: Joseph A. Theissen Hardware, 214 West Seventh, ca. 1931 (nonextant)

Heritage Preservation Commission nominated the building as a local landmark. The St. Paul City Council rejected the designation, and Island Station was demolished in March 2014. The site continues to be proposed for redevelopment, primarily apartment construction.

90 Harvey, *Shepard/Warner/East CBD Bypass*, 17–18; Westbrook, *Guide to the Industrial Archaeology of the Twin Cities*, 32–33; <https://www.pca.state.mn.us/waste/cleanup-stories/xcel-energy-high-bridge-generating-plant--accessed July 31 2019>

In the last two decades, the NSP High Bridge Plant site, now Xcel Energy, has been environmentally cleaned, and the old coal burning plant replaced with a combined cycle generating facility using natural gas. The demolition of the old 570-foot-tall NSP concrete stack was a major observation event for St. Paul residents in 2008.

91 *Minneapolis Star Tribune*, "Shell will erect distribution base," March 19, 1937; *Minneapolis Star*, "Oil barges arrive," June 25, 1937. The tank farm operated until 1995. Following adoption of the Brewery/Ran-View Small Area Plan in 2000, the site was eventually redeveloped with a park, school, and housing. See Dana DeMaster, "Victoria Park: A Short History of Intentions," *Streets MN*, May 3, 2017, <https://streets.mn/2017/05/03/victoria-park-a-short-history-of-intentions/> for a summary of the planning process to create the Victoria Park urban village and how the plans changed over time.

92 Landsberger, "Garden Tour 2018," 30.

93 *R. L. & Polk Co.'s St. Paul City Directory 1915 Vol. LI* (St. Paul: R.L. Polk & Co., Publishers, 1915); *R. L. & Polk Co.'s St. Paul City Directory 1922 Vol. LVIII* (St. Paul: R.L. Polk & Co., Publishers, 1922). See Gary Brueggemann, *Fort Snelling to Seven Corners: A People's History Calendar of the Fort Road Community* (St. Paul: COMPAS/Intersection, 1981), which states that the Commercial Club building burned in 1962, and was



Figure 54: Trabert Saloon, 1209 West Seventh, ca. 1907.



Figure 55: Graaf and Cummings Clothing Store, 953-957 West Seventh, ca. 1914.



Figure 56: Interior of J. P. Jelinek Drug Store, 961 West Seventh, ca. 1900.



Figure 57: West End State Bank, (later City Bank, and Commercial State Bank) at 967 West Seventh, 1916.

A variety of businesses continued to serve the neighborhood. Joseph A. Theissen operated a harness shop at 214 West Seventh (nonextant) in 1907 and was still in business in 1931. Theissen built a house in 1912 at 258 Sherman Street (moved to 292 Ryan) near Irvine Park and resided there until the 1940s (RA-SPC-3230; 1912; NRHP).⁹⁴ (Figure 53)

The business district along West Seventh near Schmidt Brewery continued to change and expand. At the intersection with Tuscarora, the Trabert Saloon opened in 1904 at 1209 West Seventh. Frank J. Trabert was born in Germany and had emigrated in 1884. Later the saloon was operated by Louis Stransky, a Bohemian emigrant, who operated the buildings as Stransky's West 7th Recreation from 1933 to 1947.⁹⁵ (Figure 54)

Across Tuscarora, the Boehm Grocery opened in the triangular-shaped building at 1217 West Seventh (RA-SPC-5344) in March 1905 and remained until 1920. Boehm was a German emigrant who came to St. Paul as a child.⁹⁶ The years from 1910 to 1915 saw several new store buildings along the street. Herman Graaf took over a 1904 building and opened the West End Variety Store in 1914 at 957 West Seventh. Graaf later partnered with Clyde and Etta Cummings to establish Graaf and Cummings Dry Goods at the corner of West Seventh and James Street (RA-SPC-5321).⁹⁷ (Figure 55)

Another triangular-shaped property across James at 961–965 West Seventh, designed by A. F. Gauger, was built for dressmaker Marcella Deavitt in 1884. From 1898 to 1941, it was the longtime location for Jelinek Drugs. John P. Jelinek was born near Prague and emigrated with his family as a boy. He studied pharmacy and opened his first store (1898) at this location (RA-SPC-5322) (Figure 56) followed by a second store at 295 West Seventh (nonextant). Jelinek served one term (1910–12) in the legislature as a Republican, prior to his service as president of the West End Commercial Club.⁹⁸ Just west of the pharmacy was the West End State Bank at 967 West Seventh, incorporated in 1914. Two years later it was incorporated as the City Bank (1916) and, from 1933 to 1981, it was known as Commercial State Bank.⁹⁹ (Figure 57)

At 1032 West Seventh, Frank Pilney began construction of a

replaced by McDonald's in 1964.

94 Historic Irvine Park Association, *A Brief History of the Irvine Park District: The People and Architecture of an Extraordinary Neighborhood* (St. Paul: Historic Irvine Park Association, ca. 1986), 40. In the 1970s, the Theissen house was relocated to 292 Ryan Avenue and rehabbed.

95 Brueggemann, "Fort Snelling to Seven Corners," Jan. 30, 1904; Landsberger, "Garden Tour 2018," 48. The building now houses O'Reilly Auto Parts.

96 Brueggemann, "Fort Snelling to Seven Corners," March 21, 1905; Landsberger, "Garden Tour 2018," 44.

97 Brueggemann, "Fort Snelling to Seven Corners," June 4, 1913; Landsberger, "Garden Tour 2018," 36.

98 Henry A. Castle, *History of St. Paul and Vicinity* (Chicago and New York: Lewis Publishing Co., 1912), 730–732.

99 Landsberger, "Garden Tour 2018," 37.

store building for his grocery business in 1912. Pilney's original one-story building underwent a significant facelift in 1935, raising it to two stories, accented by horizontal bands that provided a Streamlined Moderne accent. The corner of the triangular building featured a stepped, zigzag Art Deco-style tower with the Pilney's name (RA-SPC-5327; 1912, 1935). The store was operated by the Bohemian Pilney family for three generations before closing in 1999.¹⁰⁰ (Figure 58)

The business corridor was particularly dense in the area around the Schmidt Brewery. However, in an era of streetcar transportation, there tended to be commercial nodes all along a street such as West Seventh. Smaller concentrations of businesses were located at the intersections of Bay and Armstrong, and at Watson and Tuscarora, and some corner commercial buildings were located in more residential neighborhoods as well. Several floral businesses operated in the West End. One of the most well-known was Holm and Olson florists, which began with a store at 336 St. Peter Street downtown. Begun by E. P. Holm and O.J. Olson in 1895, their greenhouse was located on Duke Street at Goodrich as early as 1904. Holm and Olson used illustrated catalogs and employed over 400 agents in Minnesota, the Dakotas and Wisconsin to sell flowers in small towns for funerals or other needs. Flowers were shipped via Railway Express in the years prior to World War I, when the shipping system flourished. Holm and Olson was known as the "Summit Avenue florist," with a large share of business from the city's wealthiest residents. The company operated five retail stores in the 1990s. Another florist, Charles Nedved began in 1905 and later moved to West Seventh Street. Greenhouses closed in 1967, although a Nedved retail florist shop remained on West Seventh near Davern until recent years.¹⁰¹

While Downtown began to attract grand movie theatres in the 1910s and 1920s, smaller versions were constructed in the neighborhood districts, including West Seventh. The American Theatre opened at 929 West Seventh in 1916 and changed the name to the Garden Theatre ten years later. In addition to regular movies, the Garden hosted monthly screenings of Czech films from the 1930s to 1950s. The Czech movie series was organized by Joseph Pavlicek, treasurer of the Board of the CSPS and organizer of numerous activities to support Czech culture in the community.¹⁰² (Figure 59) The Cozy movie theatre was constructed in 1913 at 397 North Smith/401 West Seventh (RA-SPC-5304;

100 Susan W. Granger and Patricia Murphy, "Pilney's (RA-SPC-5327)," HSS form, 1981.

101 Richard E. Widmer, *A History of Minnesota Floriculture, Minnesota Report 238-1997* (St. Paul: Regents of the University of Minnesota, 1997), 16, 25, 152. Holm and Olson still operates as a landscaping business. See Ed Johnson, David Lanegran, and Betty Moran, *The Landscape Impact of the West Seventh Federation: A Neighborhood Tour* (St. Paul: West Seventh/Fort Road Federation, 2016), 34 for a recent history: The Holm and Olson greenhouses at 153 Duke Street were replaced by the Superior Street Cottages, built in 1999. Led by the West Seventh Federation and local church leaders, the cottages provide 23 residential units for seniors.

102 Brueggemann, "Fort Snelling to Seven Corners," May 13, 1926; Chrislock, "The Czechs," 344.



Figure 58: Pilney's Grocery, 1032 West Seventh, built in 1912, but received a Moderne facelift in 1935. The store was operated by the Pilney family for three generations.



Figure 59: Garden Theatre at 929 West Seventh. Opened as the American Theatre at 929 West Seventh in 1916, it was renamed the Garden Theatre and hosted monthly screenings of Czech movies beginning in the 1930s. It has recently been renovated to again provide a community gathering location.



Figure 60: In the 1940s, a rail car that had served as a beer parlor in South St. Paul was moved to the West Seventh Neighborhood and used as a diner.

Figure 61:
Kessler-Maguire
Funeral Home,
640 West
Seventh Street,
built 1926.



Figure 62:
Charles A.
Godbout & Son
Mortuary, 560
West Seventh
Street, built
1940 (now
Godbout-Wolff)



nonextant). It was later known as the Tuxedo and, by 1930, the Gem Theatre. It continued to operate until 1959.¹⁰³

West Seventh received its own version of the roadside diner in the 1940s when a rail car that had served as a “beer parlor” in South St. Paul for several decades was moved to St. Paul. Unlike many diners in this era, this structure was actually built as a rail car. In 1946, Larry LeTourneau moved the car to 603 West Seventh, in the shadow of the CSPS Hall and St. Stanislaus Church, and converted it into a diner (RA-SPC-5314). In the 1970s, it was the Day by Day Diner, although that business later moved to another Seventh Street location.¹⁰⁴ (Figure 60)

Two long-time mortuary providers moved to West Seventh Street in this era. John M. Kessler and Thomas S. Maguire founded their funeral home near the Short Line tracks at 733 West Seventh in 1916. By 1926, they hired architect Charles Hausler to design their new funeral chapel and facilities at 640 West Seventh Street (RA-SPC-8331). Hausler designed the stone and timber building in the style of an English village inn with stone archways, rounded entries, a two-story bay window, and an elaborate chimney and tile roof. Hausler’s building incorporated an innovative air conditioning system using a freshwater well that pumped water into a cooling system to all areas of the building. The building interior continued the style, including a chapel with a timbered, arched ceiling, a fireplace, and terrazzo flooring. The building’s neon sign is original to the 1920s.¹⁰⁵ (Figure 61)

The Charles A. Godbout & Son Mortuary chapel was constructed at 560 West Seventh Street in 1940 (RA-SPC-5312). The one-and-one-half-story structure displayed stone walls and pointed arches that reflected the Gothic Revival style.¹⁰⁶ (Figure 62)

Seven Corners and the Transition to Automobiles

The streets that joined at Seven Corners have been a link from downtown to the West Seventh neighborhood since the first days of settlement in St. Paul. The area has always had a mix of uses, from the early dwellings of the business leaders along West Seventh, hotels and business buildings such as the Irvine Block along Old St. Anthony Road/West Third Street in the 1860s, to the mix of churches, civic buildings, livery stables and business blocks by the 1890s. After the turn of the century the Seven Corners area evolved to accommodate downtown growth and the shifting of residential uses.

103 Brueggemann, “Fort Snelling to Seven Corners,” March 20, 1913 and October 24, 1930. Now site of Salvation Army building.

104 Susan W. Granger and Patricia Murphy, “Railroad car/ Day by Day diner (RA-SPC-5314),” HSS form, 1981. The car has recently been used as a restaurant/bar.

105 Hess and Larson, *St. Paul’s Architecture*, 144, 146; Kessler & Maguire Funeral Home, “Our History,” <https://www.kesslermaguire.com/about-us>, (accessed 8/4/19).

106 *R. L. & Polk Co.’s St. Paul City Directory 1918 Vol. LV* (St. Paul: R.L. Polk & Co., Publishers, 1918); Mead & Hunt, “Godbout and Sons Mortuary (RA-SPC-5312)” inventory form, 2011; Susan W. Granger and Patricia Murphy, “Railroad car/ Day by Day diner (RA-SPC-5312),” inventory form, 1981. In 1988, the property was purchased by the Wulff Family, a long-time East Side provider of funeral services, and is now known as Wulff Godbout.

The block bounded by Smith Avenue, West Fifth Street, Fort Street (Main) and West Sixth Street (now the parking lot and transit center across from the Xcel Center) is illustrative of these changes. (Figure 63) The Smith Avenue block face held the Girard and Alice Hewitt house as early as 1867. The Hewitts had come from Pennsylvania and were old-stock American settlers; Hewitt was a real estate speculator and wrote pamphlets aimed at enticing immigrants to settle in Minnesota.¹⁰⁷ Around the corner on Fifth Street was the Queen Anne/Romanesque duplex built by John Armstrong as a rental property (the Armstrong-Quinlan house later moved to Eagle Parkway—see Section II). Hewitt’s property and its full block frontage gave way by 1927 to civic uses: the Knights of Columbus building (RA-SPC-3398; 150 Smith Ave. N.; nonextant), and the stone Renaissance Revival Masonic Temple designed by Buechner and Orth (RA-SPC-3397; 130 Smith Ave. N.; nonextant). (Figure 64) The next block of Smith Avenue, between Sixth and Ninth streets, held the Hotel Barteau designed by Albert Zschocke in a Romanesque Revival style (later the Piedmont Apartments, nonextant) and a stone rowhouse building that became the Edward Hotel (nonextant). (Figure 65) These elaborate, architect-designed buildings represented the types of residential apartment and civic buildings on the downtown edge as individual residences disappeared and either gave way to multi-family dwellings or were carved up into rooming houses.¹⁰⁸

Among the major transitions in the first two decades of the twentieth century was the amount of land use change that occurred to provide services for the ever increasing numbers of automobiles that had taken over the city streets. Just as downtown planning focused on street improvements to accommodate automobiles, the businesses to service them carved out new districts around the city.

The shift from horses to automobiles caused livery and stables in the Seven Corners vicinity to decrease and eventually disappear. The livery that had filled the corner of Seventh and Fort (Main) at Seven Corners since 1885 was gone by 1927, replaced with a printing company and a service garage. The blocks north and northeast of Seven Corners were largely residential as late as 1903–04. By 1927, the block bounded by Fort (Main), Fifth Street, Smith Avenue, and Third Street housed auto sales, a filling station, a garage with a capacity of 30 cars, and other small

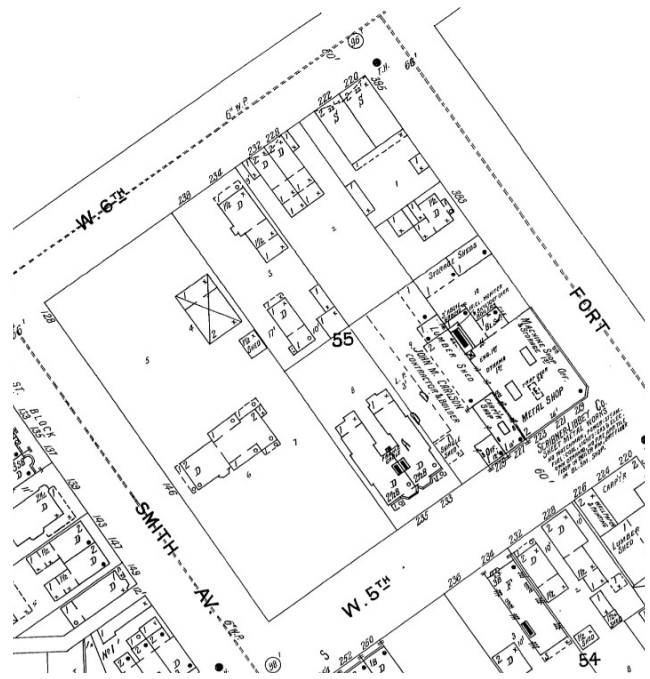


Figure 63: The mix of uses including single family dwellings, double houses and industrial uses in the blocks near Seven Corners as shown in the 1903 Sanborn map.



Figure 64: Masonic Temple designed by Buechner and Orth, 130 North Smith, built 1910 (non-extant)



Figure 65: Hotel Barteau, corner of Smith and Ninth Street, built 1889; (non-extant). Both buildings represented the types of civic buildings and residential apartments that were located on the edge of the downtown commercial district.

107 Sigrid Arnott, Andrew Schmidt, and K. Anne Ketz, *Smith Avenue Transit Hub Literature Search for Archaeological Potential and Historic Buildings Intensive Survey*, prepared by 106 Group for City of Saint Paul Planning and Economic Development, July 1999, 21; Williams, *History of the City of St. Paul*, 421.

108 Larry Millett, “Flattened by Freeways,” *Minneapolis Star Tribune*, June 1, 2019.



Figure 66: Slaby Cycle, ca. 1915.



Figure 67: Slaby Motors, ca. 1935 at 453 West Seventh; the street adapted to serve the increasing market for automobile services.



Figure 68: Olsen-Burmeister Motors was at 257 West Seventh.



Figure 69: In 1933, West Seventh was widened as one of the projects approved in the 1928 UIC bond issue.

businesses.¹⁰⁹

The 1920 City Directory identified more than a dozen firms within a five-block radius of Seven Corners as auto dealers or having auto garages. West Seventh was particularly well represented with firms such as St. Paul Motor Company at 118 West Seventh; Ruby Motor Car Company at No. 132; Holmes Motor Sales at No. 134; and National Cars Northwest Motor Car Distributors at No. 163. Auto garages were similarly located: American Auto Transit Co. at 310 West Seventh; Ramsey Garage at 349 Smith Avenue at Ramsey; Speedway Garage at No. 380; Edward Skok at No. 583; and A.R. Lauer farther southwest at 1107 West Seventh.¹¹⁰ The Joy Motor Car Company showroom fronted on 194-198 Pleasant Avenue, and the building extended south through the block to Smith Avenue where the service bays and machine shop were located.¹¹¹

was later occupied by the Yellow Cab Company. Borg's investment in the building represented the increasing change of the Seven Corners area from residential uses to auto sales, service lots, and filling stations by the 1930s.¹¹² (Figures 66, 67, 68)

The city followed through on projects approved by the 1928 UIC bond issue, and widened West Seventh in the early 1930s so the roadway would better accommodate both streetcars and increasing numbers of automobiles. (Figure 69)

T.C. Borg replaced dwellings at 190 Smith Avenue with a new garage (nonextant) in 1931. The first tenant in the building was the Blue and White Cab Company in the 1930s, and it

109 R. L. & Polk Co.'s *St. Paul City Directory 1904* (St. Paul: R.L. Polk & Co., Publishers, 1904); *R. L. & Polk Co.'s St. Paul City Directory 1927 Vol. LXIII* (St. Paul: R.L. Polk & Co., Publishers, 1927).

110 R. L. & Polk Co.'s *St. Paul City Directory 1927 Vol. LVI* (St. Paul: R.L. Polk & Co., Publishers, 1927).

111 Sanborn Map Company, *St. Paul (1904)*. See discussion of Smith Avenue Transit Hub for more detailed analysis of land use change around Seven Corners.

112 Arnott, Schmidt, and Ketz, *Smith Avenue Transit Hub Literature Search*, 56.

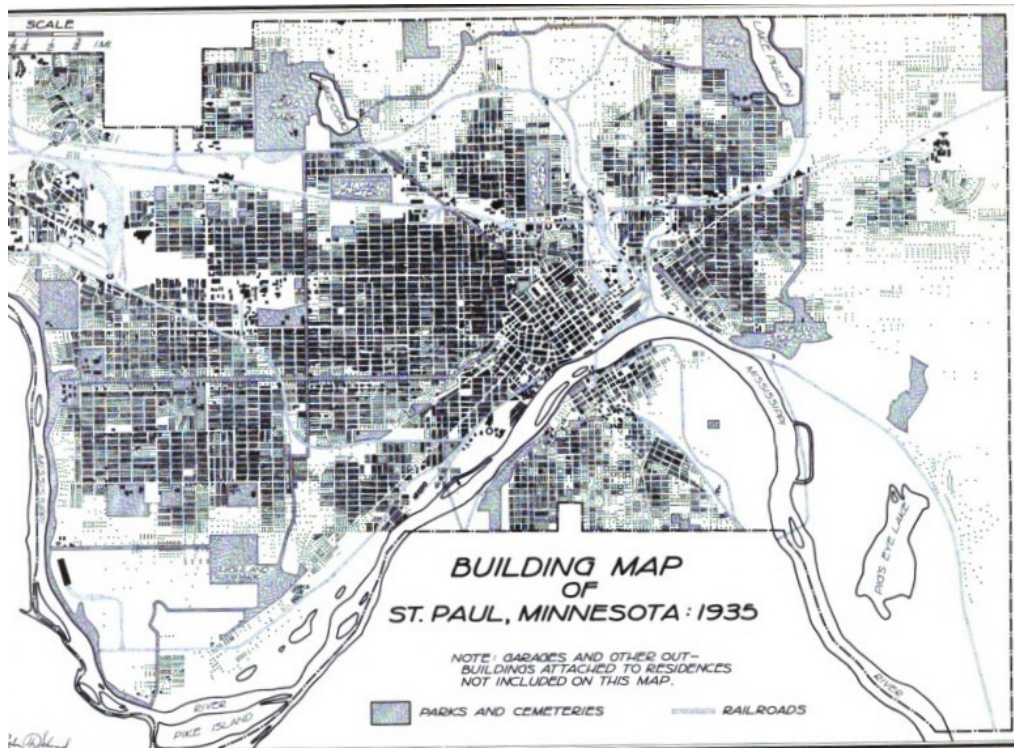


Figure 70: Building Map of St. Paul, 1935. The West Seventh neighborhood was densely built up almost to Lexington Avenue, but much of the area farther southwest was still undeveloped except for a subdivision along Edgcumbe Boulevard. (Calvin Schmid, 1937)

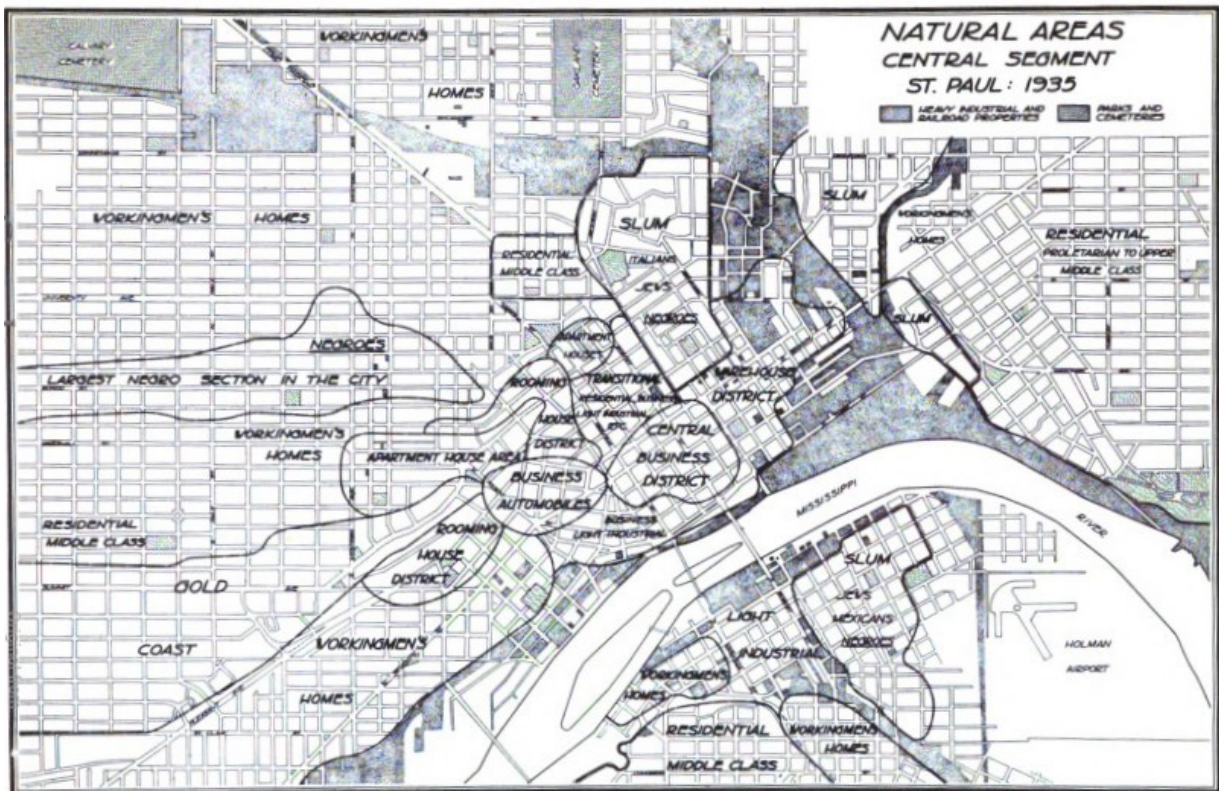


Figure 71: Calvin Schmid's identification of neighborhoods in St. Paul, 1935. Schmid used the language of 1930s sociologists to describe the residents and status of various sections of the city.



Figure 72: Housing developed in the neighborhoods west of St. Stanislaus after the turn of the century. Several housing styles including front-gable, Foursquare and bungalows filled the lots.



Figure 73: Foursquare houses in West Seventh Neighborhood, 783 Randolph.



Figure 74: Foursquare houses in West Seventh Neighborhood, 671 Palace.

Housing Expansion

From 1900 to 1930, St. Paul's population grew by over 100,000 people. Much of the growth was expanding to the west toward Minneapolis in the new suburban neighborhoods laid out on either side of Summit Avenue and along streetcar lines. West Seventh continued to attract expansion in neighborhoods first settled in the 1880s and 1890s, filling in with residents and new construction almost to Lexington Avenue. A 1935 St. Paul Building Map shows most of West Seventh densely built up except for the last several blocks adjacent to Lexington, north of Otto Street. Scattered housing development was also located to the southwest, south of West Seventh, as well as a residential subdivision along Lower Edgcombe Road, north of the river crossing to Fort Snelling. (Figure 70)

Calvin Schmid, using the sociological descriptions of the 1930s, identified the status of neighborhoods in St. Paul. Schmid identified most of West Seventh as "Workingmen's Homes," with the area near Seven Corners and along Pleasant Avenue as a "Rooming House district." (Figure 71) This area was similar to other downtown fringe neighborhoods in which older dwellings had been subdivided for rental purposes. Much of the rest of the West Seventh neighborhood had been built up since 1900 with one- and two-story dwellings expanding southwest from the earlier Uppertown settlement.

The area north of West Seventh continued to receive new housing. This neighborhood was already known for several Czech institutions, including CSPA¹¹³ Hall, St. Stanislaus Church and school, and the Cyril Congregational Church.¹¹⁴ Housing forms continued the pattern of front-gabled, frame dwellings, primarily one-and-one-half or two stories. A few of these dwellings were brick veneered, although most had some type of wood or stucco siding. (Figure 72)

Some new housing types appeared in West Seventh neighborhoods after 1900, in particular, the American Foursquare and the bungalow. These types were typically added on vacant lots in existing neighborhoods and often appear adjacent to older houses. Sometimes an entire block face of bungalows or Foursquare dwellings appeared where larger tracts of land were still available for construction.

The American Foursquare house had characteristics of both the Colonial Revival style dwellings that came into vogue after the Chicago 1893 World's Columbian Exposition, as well as the Prairie style with its simple, square or rectangular plan, low-pitched hip roof and symmetrical façade. Depending on the lev-

113 Czech-Slovak Protective Society.

114 Today, this area uses the name of the Little Bohemia neighborhood and has undertaken various housing rehabilitation projects. See also Johnson, Lanegran and Moran, *Landscape Impact of the West Seventh Federation*. A more detailed study of residential settlement by Czechs would provide insight into the extent of Czech settlement in the late nineteenth/early twentieth century.



Figure 75: Charles Hausler's Prairie style house, originally along West Seventh but moved to 526 Grace Street in the 1960s.(photo ca. 1974)

el of ornament, the Foursquare dwellings may include a full-width, single-story porch with Classical-styled porch columns and balustrade, stained glass or transom windows, or upper level dormers. Foursquare houses may also reflect Craftsman or Prairie architectural fenestration or elements applied to the basic form.

The Foursquare was well suited for urban-size lots and easily fit into existing neighborhoods.¹¹⁵ The style also worked well for more elaborate, larger dwellings, often constructed of brick. (Figures 73, 74)

While related to the Foursquare type, the Prairie style form, with its horizontal massing, was less commonly applied to typical neighborhood housing. West Seventh resident Charles Hausler built his own dwelling at 1734 West Seventh in 1917, and featured a two-story rear section with a one-story extension distinguished by a band of multi-paned windows. The stucco exterior, hipped roofs with wide overhangs and heavy corner piers displayed the characteristics that showed Hausler's use of Prairie elements in his home as well as others he designed in the Summit Hill neighborhood.¹¹⁶ (Figure 75)

Bungalows, developed from the Craftsman movement, were typically smaller houses, one or one-and-one-half stories in height. They have a low-pitched gable roof with a wide overhang supported by exposed rafters. Most bungalows have either full- or partial-width porches, supported by square columns (often tapered) that extend to ground level. Siding was often clapboard or stucco. Generally, the style was used for smaller houses that adapted well to scattered urban lots platted in an earlier era.¹¹⁷ There were also larger, two-story versions of bungalows that appeared, although they were less common. A few bungalows also showed Spanish Revival characteristics, with stucco wall surfaces, tile roofs and arched entries or windows. In general, neither Foursquare nor bungalow dwellings were designed by architects.

115 Virginia Savage McAlester, *A Field Guide to American Houses* (New York: Knopf, 1984; Revised, New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2013), 132–136. Citations refer to the revised edition.

116 Hess and Larson, *St. Paul's Architecture*, 106; Millett, *AIA Guide*, 429. In the 1960s, Hausler's house (RA-SPC-1595), was relocated from 1734 West Seventh to 526 Grace as Seventh Street became more commercial.

117 McAlester, *Field Guide to American Houses*, 567–568.

Figures 76-79: Representative examples of bungalow style dwellings in the West Seventh neighborhood.



Figure 76: 1599 West Seventh.



Figure 77: 1550 West Seventh.



Figure 78: 1759 Munster.



Figure 79: 1890 West Seventh.

Most often, they were constructed by builders or contractors using pattern book examples. (Figures 76, 77, 78, 79)

Early Suburban Development

The opening of the Ford plant and its railroad spur line through West Seventh in 1925 generated a major effect on the southwest quadrant of St. Paul. While located outside the neighborhood, the new plant's impact spurred industrial, residential and commercial growth with a long-term effect on the future of the area.

The Ford plant provided an opportunity for city planners to create not only a planned industrial development, but to develop supporting residential neighborhoods that reflected city planning ideals. Realtor Den E. Lane took the lead in developing over 600 acres in the Highland Park area, with plans to develop it between 1925 and 1928. Lane was credited with naming the area, although he may have also been referencing Henry Ford's Detroit industrial complex, also known as Highland Park.¹¹⁸

Although single family residential developed at the same time as the Ford plant in the Highland area, it is unclear whether any workers were able to afford to purchase a house. According to one source, workingmen's homes were estimated at costs of \$4,500 and \$6,000, and businessmen's homes from \$7,000 to \$15,000 at this time. With homeowners paying approximately 25 percent of income for housing with a ten-year mortgage, a minimum income of \$400 per month would have been beyond the reach of typical Ford workers.¹¹⁹

Den E. Lane's Highland Park subdivisions set the tone for suburban housing in this sector of St. Paul. Although the Ford plant and nearby housing developments were located about a mile from West Seventh, the roadway connection along St. Paul Avenue shortened the psychological distance. The impact of the Ford plant investment was so large for the city that it would inevitably affect growth and the future of the nearby neighborhoods. Housing would continue to be built in the new Highland area, and would eventually expand to connect with subdivisions closer to West Seventh.



Figure 80: Early apartment building in the West Seventh neighborhood at 1222-1224 West Seventh.



Figure 81: 462 West Seventh is a courtyard-style, stucco apartment building from 1922.

Some housing had developed near West Seventh, in the area around Homecroft School, built in 1921 just west of Edgcombe Road. Clarence W. Wigington, city architect, designed the school. Just southwest of the intersection of Lexington and Montreal avenues, some dwellings were scattered along West Seventh in the stretch southwest to the Fort Snelling bridge.¹²⁰

Multi-Family Housing Styles in the Teens and 1920s

In St. Paul, apartment buildings were built along streetcar lines like University Avenue or Grand Avenue by the 1910s and 1920s. West Seventh had developed beginning in the mid-nineteenth century. Since it was adjacent to the downtown fringe area that already housed many apartment buildings and rooming houses, there may have been less expansion of apartments into West Seventh in this era. However, a few

118 Zellie and Peterson, *St. Paul Historic Context: Downtown*, 20. McMahon, *Ford Century in Minnesota*, 103, 106, 136.

119 McMahon, *Ford Century in Minnesota*, 135.

120 Doug Belden, "Students, staff, alums say goodbye to a closing St. Paul school," *Twin Cities.com/Pioneer Press*, May 29, 2008, <https://www.twincities.com/2008/05/29/students-staff-alums-say-goodbye-to-a-closing-st-paul-school>.

multi-family buildings were constructed that illustrated some of the popular types of apartment buildings.

A simple, typical form was the two-story, rectangular, red brick apartment block. These buildings typically had symmetrical fenestration, with one exterior entrance to an interior hall, or separate exterior entrances to each unit. Adapted for two, four, or even eight units, these buildings were ubiquitous and easily fit on standard size lots. (Figure 80)

On the triangular block across from the Hoffman and Rohland commercial buildings, a two-story apartment complex (462 West Seventh) built around a courtyard took advantage of an odd-shaped parcel with an angled street frontage. The parcel had previously held two dwellings facing West Seventh and a duplex facing Goodrich. By 1927, the new courtyard apartment building stood on the site, with apartments facing inward from the street around a small lawn.¹²¹ (Figure 81)

Similar to the commercial buildings constructed prior to 1900, buildings with first floor commercial and upper level flats were also built in the 1910s and 1920s. At the busy streetcar corner of Randolph and Victoria (860 Randolph), a commercial block was built ca. 1919, with the lower commercial storefronts faced in red brick and upper level faced in stucco. A separate entrance on Randolph led to the upper level apartment units.¹²² (Figures 82, 83)

By the 1930s, the poor quality housing stock identified back in the 1917 housing study by Dr. Aronovici had only grown worse. A 1934 housing survey conducted by the Federal Bureau of the Census revealed that 40 percent of low-income housing units in the city were “inadequate for decent living conditions.” St. Paul applied for, and received a Public Works Administration (PWA) grant to replace housing in the Mt. Airy neighborhood near the Capitol. However, opposition within St. Paul to any public housing led federal officials in Washington to rescind the grant. The Mt. Airy project was not constructed until the 1950s. The only federal funding for housing in St. Paul prior to World War II was the Federal Housing Administration (FHA) mortgage, which supported construction of the Highland Village Apartments, (807 Cleveland Ave. S.). The units were constructed in 1939–40 by Walter Butler Construction at Cleveland Avenue just south of Ford Parkway. Built for middle-income residents, the 256-unit complex was made up of twelve, three-story buildings faced in red brick. Each building resembled a nostalgic Colonial style with symmetrical fenestration, doors surrounded by pilasters and pediments, and six-over-six windows framed with a flat brick arch and shutters. Further investment in larger-scale housing in St. Paul on anything other than a single-family basis would have to wait until after World War II.¹²³



Figure 82: 670 West Seventh is an example of a commercial and flats building, constructed to fit the lot frontage.



Figure 83: 866 Randolph is a typical commercial and flats building from ca. 1920 on a streetcar intersection corner.

121 Sanborn Map Company, *St. Paul (1926)*.

122 Susan W. Granger and Patricia Murphy, HSS form, 1981.

123 Hess and Larson, *St. Paul's Architecture*, 140, 172–173; Mead & Hunt, “Mt. Airy Housing Complex,” NRHP inventory form (RA-SPC-5915) prepared for Rush Line BRT project (in progress).

Figures 84-86: Jefferson, Monroe and Adams Schools all occupied new buildings in the 1920s, replacing their previous 1880s versions

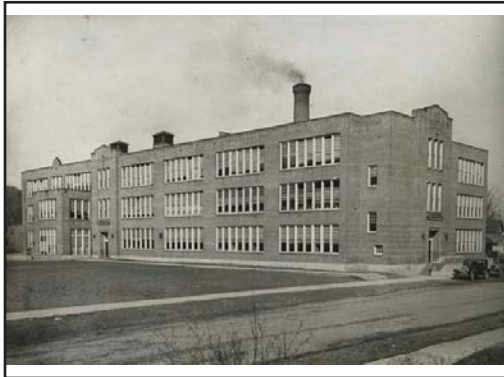


Figure 84: Jefferson School, 80 South Western, built 1922.



Figure 85: Monroe Junior High, 810-820 Palace, built 1925.



Figure 86: Adams School, 615 South Chatsworth, built 1925.

City Systems and the West End: Schools, Parks and Parkways

The city planning effort that began in the 1910s resulted in major reinvestment in schools throughout the city after the end of World War I. The 1920s marked the replacement of schools built in the 1880s, including many of the schools in the West End. The new Jefferson School (RA-SPC-5041) was constructed in 1922 at 90 Western Avenue in the Collegiate Gothic style. Monroe Junior High School was built ca. 1925 at 810 Palace Avenue (RA-SPC-4843). Adams School was built 1925 at 615 South Chatsworth (RA-SPC-0588) (Figures 84, 85, 86) Riverside Park was acquired in 1906 on a triangular parcel created by Lexington, West Seventh and Albion streets. Riverside School and playground were subsequently built on the site (nonextant).¹²⁴

The park planning begun by the Board of Park Commissioners acting on the guidance of Horace Cleveland and Superintendent Nussbaumer (see Section II) picked up again by 1910. Alpheus Beede Stickney, president of the Chicago Great Western Railway and a founder of the South St. Paul stockyards, headed a committee to plan a comprehensive system of parks and parkways in the city. The resulting 1910 plan included a system of boulevards, either using existing streets or suggesting new connections between city parks.¹²⁵ The boulevards included South Summit Avenue, also known as “West End Boulevard,” which extended from Lexington Avenue and Jefferson Street and wound its way southwest across Snelling and Davern and south to an intersection with West Seventh. In 1912, the roadway was named Edgcumbe Road by the City Council. By 1917 the City had graded and improved the road, and a reinforced concrete bridge, designed by city bridge engineer Martin Grytbak, crossed a ravine just east of Hamline Avenue.¹²⁶ (Bridge L8804; RA-SPC-6501; nonextant, replaced by Bridge 62640). City Engineer George Herrold later considered Edgcumbe as part of the “Southwest Diagonal” trafficway, and intended to provide a better traffic connection out of the central city. Plans also suggested a connection from Lexington, bridging to Linwood Park on the bluff along Pleasant Avenue. Even then, there was opposition to this traffic way close to Summit Hill and the connection was never carried out.¹²⁷ (Figure 87)

Stickney’s park plan also urged development of “Reserve Boulevard,” running along the Mississippi eastward from the Fort Snelling bridge. Reserve Boulevard was planned to continue Mississippi River Boulevard, for which land had been acquired along the city’s western edge by 1907. City planner George Herrold advocated for this road in the 1920s and 1930s, encouraging

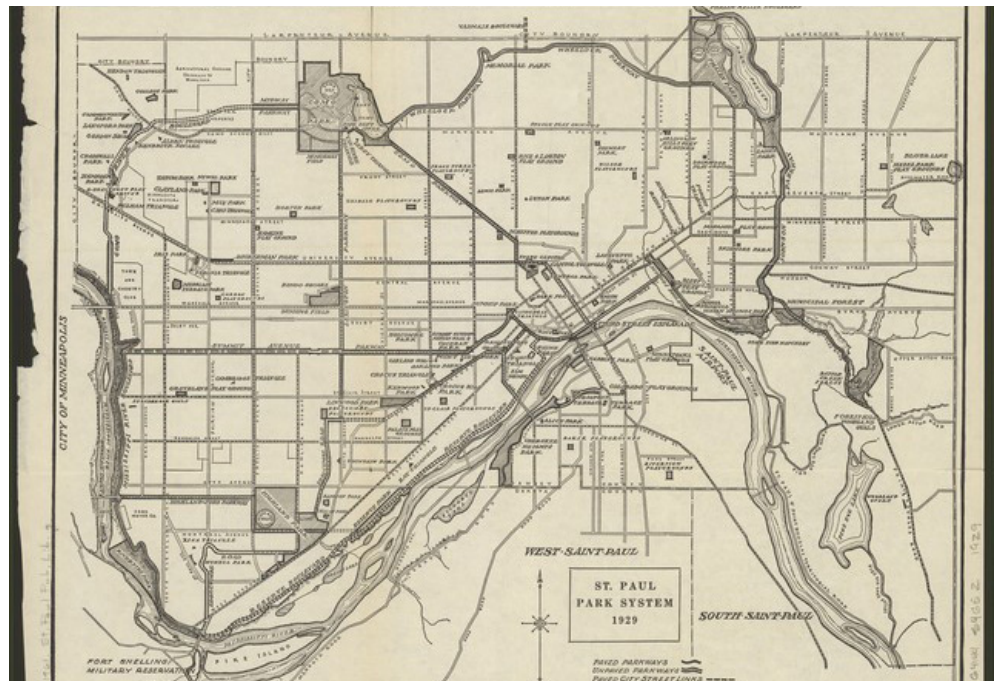
124 Empson, *Street Where You Live*, 231.

125 Penny Petersen and Charlene Roise, “History of the Edgcumbe Road Bridge (Bridge No. 18804 Over Ravine) and its Environs,” prepared by Hess, Roise and Company, for Saint Paul, Ramsey County, October 2010; Herrold, “The Story of Planning St. Paul,” 44–47.

126 Petersen and Roise, “History of Edgcumbe Road Bridge,” 4, 6–7.

127 Herrold, “The Story of Planning St. Paul,” 118; Empson, *Street Where You Live*, 85; Petersen and Roise, “History of Edgcumbe Road Bridge,” 9–10.

Figure 87: Saint Paul park system, 1929. In the southwest quadrant, the map shows the new Highland Park, Edgcombe Boulevard, and the planned “Reserve Boulevard” along the Mississippi bluff.



the city to pick up tax-forfeited properties, and to utilize existing streets to create the boulevard from the Fort Snelling bridge to the Smith Avenue Bridge.¹²⁸ While sections of Reserve Boulevard were shown on some planning maps, the boulevard concept was not carried out.

The development of the Ford Plant had resulted in a railroad spur through the West End, the construction of St. Paul Avenue to provide a truck route from West Seventh, and spurred subdivision development. Accordingly, the City Board of Park Commissioners acquired land for a large park in the southwest before all the land was gobbled up by developers. As early as 1921, the City planned a 300-acre park that included a golf course, picnic and play areas, and parking lots to accommodate driving visitors. Opened in August, 1925, the new Highland Park extended from the bluff line along West Seventh, along either side of Montreal Avenue, and northwest to include the section of land from Hamline to Snelling, Montreal to Otto Avenue (later named Highland Parkway north of the park). Park construction continued with addition of an outdoor stadium in 1927, a park pavilion in 1929, tennis courts and various athletic fields. In the 1930s, WPA improvements included a stone bathhouse and a playground building, as well as landscaping. When Montreal Street was graded to connect West Seventh to Snelling, it required a forty-foot cut through the bluff. A seven-span, reinforced concrete, open-spandrel fixed arch and concrete girder pedestrian bridge was constructed in 1927 (Bridge 62075; RA-SPC-6507; NRHP) to connect the park areas on either side of the cut.¹²⁹ (Figure 88) The city also acquired 40 acres in the park for a reservoir site.



Figure 88: Looking south at the pedestrian bridge over Montreal Avenue, built 1927. Construction of Montreal Avenue required a 40-foot cut through the bluff; the pedestrian bridge connected both sides of the park over the road.

128 Herrold, “The Story of Planning St. Paul,” 118, 150, 170; Empson, *Street Where You Live*, 228. Shepard Road ultimately was built along the river, although it serves as a traffic way rather than a boulevard. See Section IV.

129 Katie Ohland, “Bridge 62075,” Minnesota Architecture-History Inventory Form, prepared by 106 Group, 7/15/2013. Without a full survey, it is unclear what properties are extant within Highland Park. Some buildings have been surveyed, including the Highland Park Outdoor Facility (RA-SPC-4676, 1335 Montreal Ave. W.) and the Highland Park Pavilion (RA-SPC-4677, 1403 Montreal Ave. W.), but do not have a determination of eligibility. A full survey of the park and landscape, including the topography adjacent to West Seventh, should be carried out to understand better this resource and its changes over time.



Figure 89: Highland Park water tower, designed by city architect Clarence Wigington, constructed 1929.

The Highland Park Water Tower (RA-SPC-8221; 1570 Highland Parkway; NRHP), designed by city architect Clarence Wigington, was constructed in 1929 on one of St. Paul's highest points.¹³⁰ (Figure 89)

Other parks also appeared in this vicinity. A strip of land located between St. Paul Avenue and the bluff from Snelling to Davern, was named for John J. McDonough, the St. Paul mayor from 1940 to 1948.¹³¹ Stickney's 1910 parks plan called for purchasing land along the river owned by Thomas and Emma Crosby. The Crosbys had farmed along the river near the foot of Montreal Street since the 1850s. Although there were periodic efforts to acquire the property for park and environmental preservation, it did not become a city park until the 1960s (RA-SPC-10550; 2595 Crosby Farm Rd.).¹³²

Social Change

Progressive planning efforts, including city planning, new parks and infrastructure improvements formed one arena of civic life in the first decades of the twentieth century. The social order of the city, however, experience massive changes in the years from World War I to the end of World War II, in response to national politics. World War I led to statewide discrimination and harassment against Germans through the 1917 Minnesota Commission on Public Safety.¹³³ In St. Paul, German cultural activities were stifled and German public references removed. The Germania Life Insurance Company (SE corner Fourth and Minnesota, razed 1970) was renamed Guardian Insurance and the bronze statue of Germania was removed from its prominent place on the building in March 1918.¹³⁴ The city's strong German heritage almost totally disappeared, and never assumed the same cultural role again.

Passage of the Eighteenth Amendment in 1919, prohibiting the sale and production of alcohol, exerted a strong economic effect. The city's breweries and saloons were major employers, while "consumption of alcohol was an integral part of the immigrant city's cultural fabric" particularly in the West End with high levels of employment at Schmidt's and many residents of German heritage.¹³⁵ Ignoring the law was commonplace, and many residents went into home production of alcohol, which they sold locally. The small-scale activity was dwarfed by the organized production and distribution network that flourished in St. Paul throughout

130 McMahon, *Ford Century in Minnesota*, 134.

131 Empson, *Street Where You Live*, 178.

132 Empson, *Street Where You Live*, 65.

133 See Mary Lethert Wingerd, *Claiming the City: Politics, Faith and the Power of Place in St. Paul* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2001), 158-165, for a discussion of the Commission on Public Safety.

134 Millett, *AIA Guide*, 217.

135 Wingerd, *Claiming the City*, 252.

the Prohibition era. Bootlegging and gambling were not considered “real” crimes, and apparently bribes to police, aldermen, grand jury members, judges and prosecutors ensured that prosecution was limited.¹³⁶

Prohibition flourished against a backdrop of St. Paul’s welcome mat for criminals, known as the O’Connor system, devised by Police Chief John O’Connor (chief from 1900–12; 1914–20). The system ensured that criminals visiting St. Paul would receive police protection if they committed no crimes while in the city, paid a bribe, and checked in with O’Connor’s chief civilian lieutenant, Irish Danny “Dapper Dan” Hogan. Hogan, the underworld boss, operated from his Green Lantern Saloon at 545 North Wabasha. Hogan was first arrested in St. Paul in 1909, and for the next 20 years, was involved in organized crime in the city. A 1926 memo by the FBI identified Hogan as the go-to man in St. Paul for visiting criminals to check in and announce their presence. Hogan developed a specialty in money laundering and fencing stolen property, and was involved in various robberies himself.¹³⁷ Hogan’s reign ended on December 4, 1928, when he started his car in the garage behind his home in the 1600 block of West Seventh Street (RA-SPC-5358), and the vehicle exploded. Hogan died nine hours later at the hospital, leaving a leaderless vacuum in the city’s underworld. His place was taken by Harry Sawyer, who had joined Hogan at the Green Lantern by 1923 and continued to run the saloon as a headquarters for the visiting criminal element in the city.¹³⁸

The West Seventh neighborhood witnessed one of the most sensational crimes with the car bomb that killed Dapper Dan Hogan in 1928, and was related to the crime that ultimately led to the end of open hospitality for criminals. By the early 1930s, residents had begun to raise concern about the city’s reputation as a haven for crime and the new police chief began a crime crackdown. The various criminals responded with a crime wave, highlighted by two high-profile kidnappings of wealthy heirs to prominent brewing fortunes. William Hamm, of Hamm’s Brewery, was kidnapped by the Barker-Karpis gang in June 1933 and held for \$100,000 ransom. After payment, Hamm was released unharmed four days later. The kidnapping of banker Edward Bremer in January 1934, however, tipped the scales against the old St. Paul system. Bremer, son of Adolf and Marie Bremer (who still resided in the family home at 855 West Seventh) was ransomed for \$200,000 and released on Feb 7, 1934, after 21 days in captivity.¹³⁹

The O’Connor system fell apart with the trials and successful prosecution of the kidnapers, including members of the Barker-Karpis gang and Harry Sawyer.¹⁴⁰ Citizens had grown tired of the notoriety and by the late 1930s, St. Paul was no longer the gangsters’ hideaway. As Prohibition had ended, St. Paul was eager to promote its new look downtown with a sleek city hall/courthouse, Kellogg Boulevard, and the esplanade opening up views to the Mississippi River. The years following World War II continued the economic and social equilibrium in St. Paul until the city could chart a new course for the rest of the twentieth century.

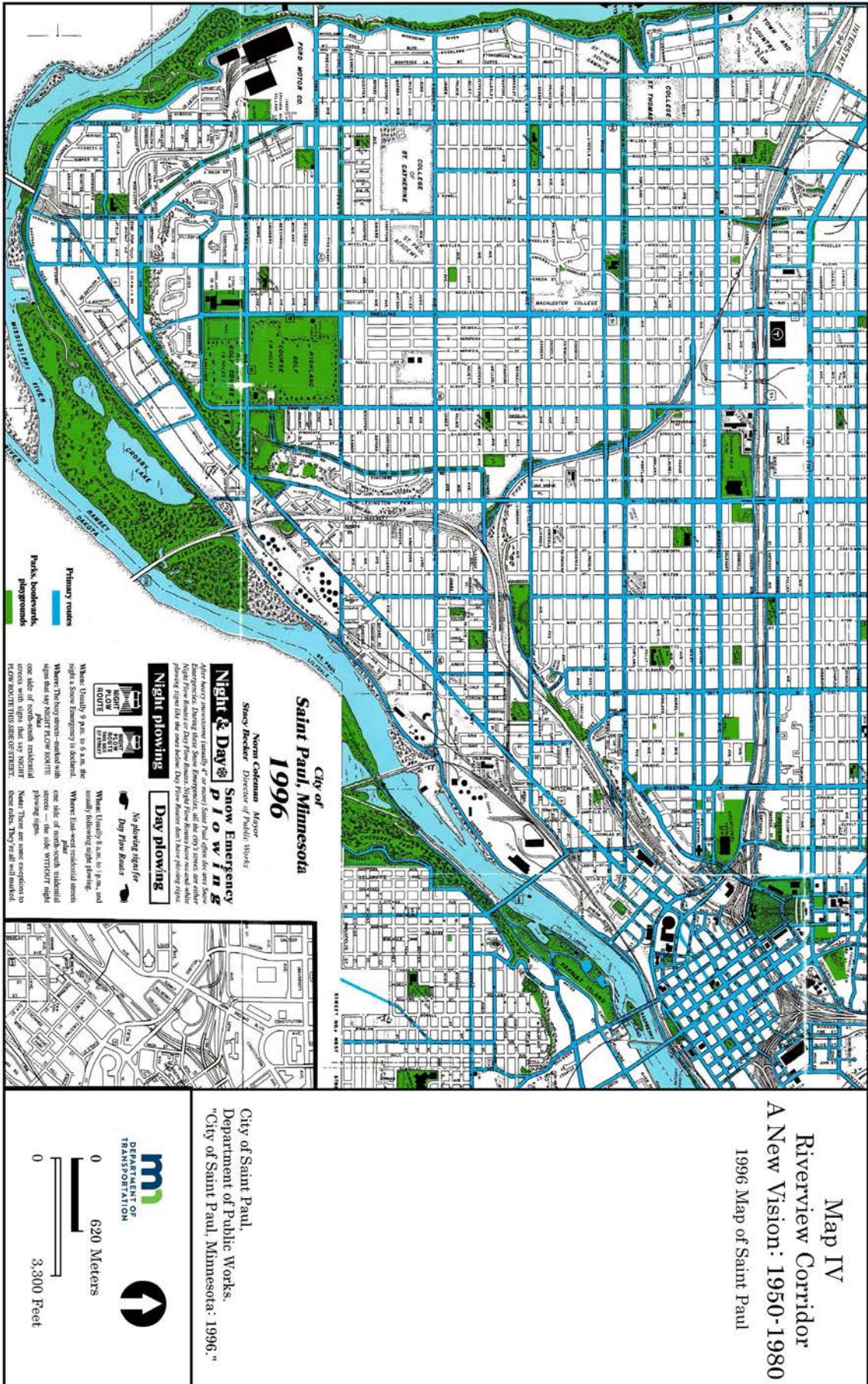
136 Wingerd, *Claiming the City*, 254.

137 Paul Maccabee, *John Dillinger Slept Here: A Crooks’ Tour of Crime and Corruption in St. Paul, 1920–1936* (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 1995), 2–7; 64.

138 Maccabee, *John Dillinger Slept Here*, 7–9, 64–69.

139 Maccabee, *John Dillinger Slept Here*, 148, 157; 193–200.

140 Maccabee, *John Dillinger Slept Here*, 274–277.



SECTION IV: A NEW VISION

1950–1980

Downtown St. Paul: Planning and Renewal

As World War II wound down, a private citizen's group again formed to improve downtown St. Paul. They hired Raymond Loewy and Associates, a firm that had designed both consumer products and department stores and had branched into city planning and design. Loewy's downtown development report was released in January 1945. Loewy's report commented that "St. Paul carries on its modern commercial activities in a downtown area built physically to accommodate the requirements of a bygone era. If St. Paul is to grow and prosper, unrestricted by a cumbersome physical structure, this district must be made into a modern business machine geared to the tempo of the era of the streamlined automobile and airplane."¹

The Loewy plans called for new highway connections, urging that Trunk Highway 13 be made a "super highway" from the southwest. In addition, Pleasant Avenue was earmarked as a "great southwest boulevard with a parking strip in the center and without trucks from Ninth Street [in downtown] to West Seventh at Highland Park, a home to town pleasure drive which will appeal to women drivers especially and tapping a fine residential area of shoppers."² Another downtown improvement proposed widening St. Peter Street (on the west side) from Fifth Street north "to provide a safer and pleasant drive for women drivers, and that the four corners of the blocks at Seventh and Wabasha be cut back ten feet in each direction to create a dominating appearance and also provide a dramatic midway point between the Capitol Civic Center and the City Hall."³ Among other proposals in Loewy's comprehensive suggestions was the development of a series of garages between Eighth, Ninth, Sibley, and Cedar Streets to connect to the stores on Seventh Street with pedestrian overpasses, citing the already constructed, glass-enclosed bridge from a parking garage to the Golden Rule Department Store.⁴

Loewy's plan particularly emphasized architecture and design improvements to attract people to the downtown by modernizing buildings and constructing new ones. It called for riverfront apartments on Kellogg Boulevard, a luxury hotel, and remodeling the old Queen Anne, Richardsonian Romanesque, and historical revival style buildings. The plan contained designs comparing existing street facades with proposed remodeled versions, a recommendation that property owners seemed to embrace. Among the downtown department stores that covered their historic facades were the Golden Rule, the Frank Murphy store, and the Emporium department store.⁵ (Figures 1, 2, 3)

1 George H. Herrold, "The Story of Planning St. Paul from the Beginnings to 1953," typed manuscript, 1958, on file at Minnesota Historical Society, 160.

2 Herrold, "The Story of Planning St. Paul," 161.

3 Herrold, "The Story of Planning St. Paul," 162.

4 Herrold, "The Story of Planning St. Paul," 164. Loewy's reference to this early skyway in use in 1945 would predate those of the late 1960s Capital Centre project; however, no other information has been uncovered about this skyway.

5 See Jeffrey A. Hess and Paul Clifford Larson, *St. Paul's Architecture: A History* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2006), 17; for a more detailed discussion of Loewy's influence on planning and downtown remodeling.

In the 1950s both the Golden Rule and Emporium department stores modernized their facades, primarily updating the first floor entries and display windows.



Figure 1: Emporium, 121-159 East Seventh, ca. 1955.



Figure 2: Emporium undergoing renovation, ca. 1958.



Figure 3: Golden Rule, Seventh and Robert, ca. 1951 after first floor renovation.

Loewy’s plan was never an official city document, but several concepts were carried forward into 1950s and 1960s plans. Another United Improvement Council bond issue, supported by a local citizen’s group, passed in 1953. It proposed funding for a number of civic buildings including a science museum, new schools and additions, parks and playgrounds, police and fire facilities and a health center building. Roadway improvements included the “Reserve Boulevard” project which evolved into Shepard Road; improvements to connect St. Clair Street to Cliff Avenue and the High Bridge; the Lafayette Street Bridge; connections from Lafond, Arch and Pennsylvania to the East Side; and other roadway cut-throughs to aid traffic flow connections throughout the city.⁶

While both city and state roadway improvements were a major focus, the downtown business community remained anxious about losing their customer base. The 1958 *Saint Paul’s Central Business District* study, prepared by the St. Paul City Planning Board, showed that downtown retail sales had slipped more than 15 percent between 1948 and 1954, and that only six of thirty-three downtown blocks had tax values higher than they had in 1930. They identified a four-block core bounded by Minnesota, Wabasha, Fifth, and Seventh as particularly deficient in land values and pedestrian volumes, characterizing it as a “hole in the doughnut.”⁷ To further worry downtown businessmen, St. Paul’s Housing and Redevelopment Authority (HRA), which managed land for redevelopment, provided a fourteen-acre tract between Marion and Rice to Sears, Roebuck and Company for their new store. Adjacent to the state capitol grounds, the site was typical of Sears’ locations outside of downtown cores and included land for abundant free parking. For downtown leaders, the new Sears site was additional erosion of their market.⁸

In the midst of anxiety downtown, the Minnesota Mutual Life Insurance Company decided to invest in a new building. Minnesota Mutual had operated in several downtown buildings including the Commerce Building from 1912 to 1934, and in the Builder’s Exchange Building (1924, nonextant) at Sixth and Jackson Streets. Following the 1933 demolition of the old 1888 City Hall and Courthouse, the block of Cedar to Wabasha, Fourth to Fifth, had been vacant. The WPA had landscaped it as “Victory Square,” and it remained mostly vacant although the 1932 Northern States Power Building had been constructed at the northwest corner. In 1955, Minnesota Mutual built an eight-story, International style building facing Cedar, along with a two-story parking ramp (Victory Ramp facing Wabasha, later expanded) to serve their employees. The Minnesota Mutual Life Insurance Building (RA-SPC-8097; 345 Cedar St.; NRHP) was among the earliest examples of the International style in down-

6 Hess and Larson, *St. Paul’s Architecture*, 169–170.

7 Judith A. Martin and Antony Goddard, *Past Choices/Present Landscapes: The Impact of Urban Renewal on the Twin Cities* (Center for Urban and Regional Affairs, Publication No. CURA 89-1, 1989), 69–70.

8 Hess and Larson, *St. Paul’s Architecture*, 199–200.

town St. Paul, and marked the beginning of reinvestment in the post-war era.⁹ (Figure 4)

The St. Paul Fire and Marine Insurance Company, which opened in 1853 at Third and Jackson, had relocated to a Classical-style building at Fifth and Washington in 1909. In 1961, it followed the example of Minnesota Mutual, and St. Paul Fire and Marine rebuilt on its site just west of the Federal Courts Building. Their five-story International style building of blue glass curtain walls and aluminum windows was designed by Childs and Smith (RA-SPC-5488, 375 Washington St.) and marked a vote of confidence in downtown St. Paul.¹⁰ Despite this private investment, additional planning efforts through private businessmen's organizations were unable to make much headway without federal funding. In addition, city plans splintered over the proposed freeway alignment that would sever the Capitol from the downtown. Ultimately, a uniting of the HRA, the City Planning Board, and a newly organized Metropolitan Improvement Committee (MIC), made up of the civic leaders from the private sector, led to the program that eventually changed the face of downtown St. Paul.¹¹



Figure 4: Minnesota Mutual, 345 Cedar, built 1955. Minnesota Mutual's International style building was an early investment in downtown in the post-war era.

Capital Centre Renewal Project

The Capital Centre Renewal Project was the culmination of various governmental, private, and business groups to rebuild downtown St. Paul. There was widespread concern that the downtown had deteriorated and eroded the city's tax base. A reporter for *The Downtowner* wrote in 1974 that "an unfair burden fell upon the residential districts when the downtown area was no longer able to pull its weight."¹² The planning effort borrowed from many previous concepts with the intent to both rebuild the financial and retail heart of the city core and encourage new growth and development to expand outward from it. The Capital Centre plans of the MIC, HRA, and City Planning Board were released in August 1962. By that time, the civic groups, commercial and business leaders, and labor all had joined in support of the renewal project.¹³ The project area contained twelve blocks containing 95 parcels. Although a few historic buildings were saved, a number of important historic and architecturally distinguished properties were demolished.¹⁴ The intent was to end

9 Marjorie Pearson, Erin Hanafin Berg, Elizabeth Gales, and Penny Petersen, *Supplemental Historic Properties Evaluations for Central Corridor Light Rail Transit Project*, prepared by Hess, Roise and Company, 2008, 51–56. The Minnesota Mutual Building has been determined individually eligible for the NRHP, but is also included in the boundaries of the urban renewal district; see Charlene Roise, Jenna Rempfert, and Katie Goetz, *A Re-evaluation of the Saint Paul Urban Renewal Historic District, Saint Paul, Ramsey County, Minnesota* [DRAFT], prepared by Hess, Roise and Company for the Minnesota Department of Transportation Cultural Resources Unit (October 2019). The Re-Evaluation of the Urban Renewal Historic District is being prepared to support the Gold Line BRT and Rush Line BRT projects and is currently in review.

10 Carole Zellie and Garneth O. Peterson, "Rice Park Historic District [DRAFT]," from *St. Paul Historic Context Study, Downtown St. Paul, 1849–1975*, prepared by Landscape Research for the Saint Paul Heritage Preservation Commission, 2001, 1-13. Known as the St. Paul Companies by the 1980s, this building was renovated with another mirrored curtain wall in 1981 that reflected the buildings around it. By 1991, Kohn Pedersen Fox Associates designed a major renovation and expansion. The building complex later housed Traveler's Insurance. Ecolab is the current tenant. See also Carole Zellie, *Rice Park Historic District Documentation*, prepared by HNTB for METRO Gold Line Bus Rapid Transit Project, June 2018, 1-14.

11 Hess and Larson, *St. Paul's Architecture*, 203–205.

12 Virginia B. Kunz, *St. Paul: Saga of an American City* (Woodland Hills, California: Windsor Publications, Inc., 1977), 168.

13 This context provides a high-level overview of the Capital Centre Plan and its impact on downtown development. See Roise, Rempfert, and Goetz, *A Re-evaluation of the Saint Paul Urban Renewal Historic District*, for a full discussion of the Urban Renewal Historic District covered under the Capital Centre Plan. The re-evaluation provides a detailed discussion of the Plan as well as information about each of the buildings and their significance within the district, and is still in review. Properties in this Riverview context are identified as NRHP according to eligibility recommendations in the Urban Renewal report, but should be revisited in future surveys to reflect final determinations regarding contributing and non-contributing status within the Urban Renewal Historic District.

14 See Map Set A of NRHP-listed and -eligible properties following results and recommendations in this report.

Both Dayton’s Department Store and the new Hilton Hotel were private investments in Downtown, rather than part of the Capital Centre Project.



Figure 5: Dayton’s Department Store, 411 Cedar Street, built 1963. Dayton’s acquired an entire block for their store and enclosed parking garage.



Figure 6: St. Paul Hilton, 11 Kellogg Boulevard, built 1965 at a prominent location on Kellogg Boulevard.



Figure 7: Warren E. Burger Federal Building and U.S Courthouse, 316 North Robert, built 1967. The new federal building was constructed within the Capital Centre redevelopment area, and added another major civic building to Kellogg Boulevard.

the “cramped, nineteenth-century feeling of the old downtown . . . through increased open space, plazas and courtyards, and building setbacks.”¹⁵ Among the earliest construction within the proposed Capital Centre boundaries was the 1962 Degree of Honor Protective Association Building, designed by Bergstedt, Hirsch, Wahlberg, and Wold (RA-SPC-8099; 325 Cedar St.; NRHP). Designed for the Degree of Honor women’s fraternal benefit society, the building was constructed on a steel frame covered by polished white granite on the upper levels and black granite on the recessed ground floor. It exemplified the new upright, rectangular high-rise style for St. Paul.¹⁶ Before other buildings anticipated for the Capital Centre project got on the drawing board, the public process was reinforced by privately developed projects on the edges of the area. The Minneapolis-based Dayton’s Department Store family purchased the entire block from Cedar to Wabasha, Sixth to Seventh and constructed their new St. Paul store in 1963 (RA-SPC-8095; 411 Cedar St., NRHP). The Dayton’s block included entrances on the Wabasha Street frontage, a lower level entrance on Cedar Street, and an enclosed parking garage within the building. Led by major corporations, banks and the Chamber, a St. Paul group convinced Conrad Hilton to construct the St. Paul Hilton at the prominent location of Kellogg Boulevard and Wabasha (RA-SPC-8090; 11 E. Kellogg Blvd.; 1965, NRHP).¹⁷(Figures 5, 6)

Along with the new Hilton, new public buildings were built along Kellogg Boulevard, as had been called for in the original plans for the boulevard. A new YWCA went up in 1961 facing Kellogg Boulevard at the corner of Minnesota Street (RA-SPC-8091; 65 E. Kellogg Blvd.; NRHP). In 1967, The General Services Administration erected a new federal courts building (Warren E. Burger Federal Building) on Robert Street between Kellogg Boulevard and Fourth Street (RA-SPC-3166; 316 N. Robert St.; NRHP).¹⁸ (Figure 7) The removal of federal courts functions from the former building at 75 West Fifth Street overlooking Rice Park left that building vacant and vulnerable to demolition. The block between the Federal Building and the YWCA provided some of the housing reinvestment in the Capital Centre plan with the Kellogg Square apartments, townhomes, and attached parking ramp beginning in 1970 (RA-SPC-8092, -8093, -8094; 111 E. Kellogg Blvd., NRHP).

The Farm Credit Banks Building (RA-SPC-6901; 375 Jackson St.; 1967, NRHP) and the Minnesota Department of Economic Security (RA-SPC-6902, -8105; 390 N. Robert St.; 1967; NRHP) were located at the eastern end of the Capital Centre district.¹⁹

15 Martin and Goddard, *Past Choices/Present Landscapes*, 73.

16 Hess and Larson, *St. Paul’s Architecture*, 208–209. The Degree of Honor Building is individually eligible for the NRHP.

17 Roise, Rempfert, and Goetz, “A Re-evaluation of the Saint Paul Urban Renewal Historic District,” 10. The Hilton Parking Ramp was inventoried as RA-SPC-11124. Eligibility of the Dayton’s Block was under evaluation as this report was written.

18 Roise, Rempfert, and Goetz, “A Re-evaluation of the Saint Paul Urban Renewal Historic District,” 21.

19 Roise, Rempfert, and Goetz, “A Re-evaluation of the Saint Paul Urban Renewal

The 1971 First Federal Savings and Loan Building (also known as Midwest Federal; RA-SPC-5940; NRHP, nonextant) at 360 Cedar Street was a midrise glass building with a two-story concrete and glass extension that made an effort to provide street-level accessibility with a hardscape plaza.²⁰ (Figure 8)

Among the most distinguished construction within the Capital Centre boundaries was the Osborn Building on the northeast corner of Wabasha and Fifth Street that served as the headquarters of Economics Laboratory Inc. (later Ecolab; RA-SPC-5446, -8096; 370 N. Wabasha St.; NRHP). Designed by the local architectural firm of Bergstedt, Wahlberg and Wold, Inc., the twenty-three-story building displayed International style elements, created by stainless steel exterior ribs, massing that rested on piers, and a designed public plaza (Osborn Plaza). The company wanted their new headquarters to be a “monument to cleanliness” to symbolize their business as the world’s largest manufacturer of detergents. The building represented an “excellent example of the collaboration between an architecture firm and a corporation determined to express its distinct identity through a landmark headquarters building.”²¹ The Osborn’s striking design and plaza contributed to Fifth and Wabasha developing as a visual focal point and symbol of the redeveloping downtown. (Figure 9)

The rest of the block supported the Osborn Building. The two-story Skyway Building (RA-SPC-11123; 56 Sixth St. E., 1969) designed by Grover Dimond Associates, linked the Osborn Building to its neighbors, including the 1969 Northwestern National Bank at 55 East Fifth (RA-SPC-8101; NRHP), and the 1973 Northern Federal Savings and Loan Building (RA-SPC-5447; now Capital Centre Building; RA-SPC-8102; NRHP) at 386 North Wabasha. (Figure 10) The Northern Federal Savings and Loan Building, also designed by Grover Dimond Associates, consisted of a glass block rising from the second story, over a concrete arch base that framed a recessed first floor entry. Its reflective glass exterior mirrored the adjacent Osborn Building. Osborn Plaza (Capital Centre Plaza, Ecolab Plaza) connected the front of the buildings and entries (RA-SPC-8100; 370 N. Wabasha St.; 1968).²² (Figure 11) Northwestern National Bank, located to the east across Cedar Street, paired “horizontal and vertical boxes faced in precast concrete aggregate [with] glass” in an effort to show “the solidarity of an institution that has

Historic District,” 47.

20 Hess and Larson, *St. Paul’s Architecture*, 214. The First Federal Savings and Loan Building was razed in June 2011 for construction of the Green Line Central Station.

21 Amy Lucas, “Osborn Building,” National Register of Historic Places (NRHP) Nomination Form, prepared by Landscape Research, 2018: 8:12.

22 Hess and Larson, *St. Paul’s Architecture*, 214. Roise, Rempfert and Goetz recommend that Osborn Plaza (now known as Capital Centre Plaza/Ecolab Plaza) be determined non-contributing to the District due to renovations that comprised its integrity. The SHPO database lists an address for the Northern Federal Building (now Capital Centre Building) as 366 Wabasha, which appears to be incorrect given its location north of Osborn Plaza at 370 N. Wabasha. The Skyway Building was also recommended as non-contributing to the Urban Renewal Historic District.



Figure 8: Midwest Federal, 360 Cedar Street, built 1971 (nonextant).



Figure 9: Osborn Building, 370 Wabasha Street, built 1968. The Osborn building was the headquarters of Economics Laboratory Inc., later Ecolab, which sought to express a distinct corporate identity in the building’s International Style design principles.



Figure 10: Northwest Crossing, Northwestern Bank Building, built 1969. The Northwest Crossing was part of the Skyway Building that linked the Osborn Building to neighboring blocks and was lined with retail stores, coffee shops and service businesses. While skyways were particularly visible when crossing streets, they created second-story retail corridors in the buildings they connected.



Figure 11: Northern Federal Building, 386 Wabasha, 1973, was built with a reflective glass exterior that mirrored the Osborn Building and shared the Osborn Plaza on Wabasha.



Figure 12: American National Bank, 101 East Fifth Street, 1974, was connected by skyway to the west to both the Northwestern Bank Building and beyond to the Osborn Building.



Figure 13: Skyway built 1972, connecting American National Bank and Twin City Federal on Sixth Street.

cared for the funds of the community for more than 43 years.”²³ Taking advantage of the rise in elevation from Cedar Street up to Wabasha, Northwestern Bank placed its main banking area on the second floor of its building—the skyway level that connected it west to the Osborn Building and later east to the American National Bank at 101 East Fifth in 1974 (RA-SPC-8103; NRHP). (Figure 12)

The Capital Centre project was not only important for new building construction but planning for the larger realm as well. Parking garages were built within buildings or nearby to ensure adequate parking. Chief among the innovations was the development and implementation of improved pedestrian circulation systems. The project ultimately led to construction of ten skyways by the mid-1970s, establishing an entirely new means of downtown connections. (Figure 13) The project had pioneered innovative planning measures such as reducing building site coverage to allow for plazas and wider sidewalks at street level. Urban design for the public realm was pursued through a plan prepared by Hammel, Green and Abrahamson (HGA) in 1964, with street signs, traffic signals, planter boxes, benches, and other infrastructure to support the vision of the Capital Centre.²⁴

Hailed in 1977 as “the city’s magnificent Capital Centre renewal project,”²⁵ the reinvestment brought by the renewal effort attracted attention to St. Paul and built the foundation for the investment in the city for the next three decades. In total, at least sixteen new buildings and parking facilities were constructed between 1955 and 1974, primarily through the impetus of the Capital Centre plan. The project illustrated that a partnership of public and private funds could result in a successful redevelopment.²⁶ In 1977, the “downtown’s innovative business leaders [were] now working on a decades-old plan for developing Seventh Street into a tree-shaded mall with benches, fountains, and bus lanes.”²⁷ A people mover was part of the plan. The desire to concentrate retail along Seventh Street ultimately failed.

In the 1970s, there was cause for optimism in city government. In 1972, St. Paul voters supported a new city charter that changed municipal government from the commission form with weak mayoral powers to a council-member structure with a strong mayoral oversight. Mayor Larry Cohen skillfully oversaw the change, ending the old system and establishing more professional standards in municipal employment and management. During his term, St. Paul developed the district council system that brought citizen participation into a more active role in

23 Hess and Larson, *St. Paul's Architecture*, 211.

24 Roise, Rempfert, and Goetz, “A Re-evaluation of the Saint Paul Urban Renewal Historic District,” 18–20.

25 Kunz, *St. Paul*, 177.

26 Martin and Goddard, *Past Choices/Present Landscapes*, 77.

27 Kunz, *St. Paul*, 172. Despite reinvestment in retail in the 1980s and 1990s, traditional retail such as department and clothing stores would eventually close within thirty years.

city government. New federal programs offered enhanced funding mechanisms to support redevelopment. In 1978, the City's Department of Planning and Economic Development (PED) combined the functions of several agencies into a more coordinated and efficient operation to support redevelopment and new development.²⁸ From a public perspective, the election of George Latimer as mayor in 1976 and his subsequent re-elections for the next decade gave the city an exuberant, influential, and creative team builder to lead the city. Latimer's leadership would be at the center of additional new investment in downtown during the 1980s.²⁹

The architecture of the Capital Centre project was not universally lauded. Other than the Osborne Building, which was praised for strong International style design, many of the other buildings were criticized for being bland, insulated from the city, and boring.³⁰ In 1985, *St. Paul Pioneer Press-Dispatch* architectural critic Larry Millett described the buildings as "works of the dullest sort." While the skyways were convenient and protected pedestrians against the Minnesota climate, they took away street activity. Urbanist William H. Whyte visited St. Paul in 1988 and called the city the "blank-wall capital of the United States."³¹

The Preservation Movement

Despite the triumphant rush to build new in downtown from the 1960s on, a few voices spoke up for preservation of St. Paul's architectural heritage and began to push back against the total destruction of older buildings. In response to Minneapolis's destruction of its 1890 Metropolitan Building, St. Paul residents determined to "prevent the complete demolition of the flavor of old St. Paul."³² The leadership came in part from Georgia Ray DeCoster, a member of the St. Paul City Planning Board who led establishment of a historic sites committee in 1960 and initiated the survey that led to the 1964 publication of *Historic Saint Paul Buildings*. DeCoster's statement in the foreword stated that while the committee supported renewal, it urged that "rebuilding programs should employ selective clearance and should gradually develop the mixture of high-quality *old and new* buildings that best serve the diverse urban function and reflect the city's unique local history. Such a mixture, combining the best architecture of the past and present, actually fosters civic pride, attracts tourists, and acts as downtown's most forceful weapon against competition from newer suburban shopping centers."³³

With prescient understanding, Mrs. DeCoster sent out a stern warning to St. Paul about its heritage. Written in 1963 before the Capital Centre project was fully underway, her efforts did not stop the urban renewal actions. She called out the threat to major downtown buildings in a 1965 article for the *Ramsey County History* magazine, identifying seven important buildings worthy of preservation that were threatened by "demolition, abandonment, or gradual attrition":

- The Guardian Building (Germania Life Insurance Building until 1918; 82 E. Fourth St.; Fourth and Minnesota; razed, 1970)
- The New York Life Building (Minnesota and E. Sixth; razed, 1967)
- The Federal Courts Building (75 W. Fifth)
- The St. Paul Building (previously Germania Bank; 6 W. Fifth Street)

28 "Cohen helped shape today's St. Paul," obituary, *Minneapolis Star Tribune*, September 12, 2016. Martin and Goddard, *Past Choices/Present Landscapes*, 77.

29 See the conclusion of this section for a brief discussion of the construction downtown that continued in the 1980s under Mayor George Latimer.

30 Larry Millett cited in Martin and Goddard, *Past Choices/Present Landscapes*, 76.

31 Larry Millett, *Lost Twin Cities* (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 1992), 272.

32 *Northwest Architect* (1961), cited in Hess and Larson, *St. Paul's Architecture*, 218.

33 Georgia Ray DeCoster, foreword, from, H. F. Koeper, *Historic St. Paul Buildings* (St. Paul: Saint Paul City Planning Board, 1964).

- The McColl Building (Merchants National Bank) (366 Jackson Street)
- The Pioneer (Press) Building (336 N. Robert)
- The Endicott Building (350 N. Robert/41 E. Fourth)³⁴

The Federal Courts Building was particularly at risk because all functions were moving to the New Federal Building at Kellogg Boulevard and Robert Street upon its completion, leaving the old building at Rice Park vacant. The Guardian Building was razed and the Kellogg Square Apartments built there in 1972. The New York Life Building at the southwest corner of Sixth and Minnesota (razed 1967) was replaced by Northwestern National Bank as part of the Capital Centre renewal.

The passage of the National Historic Preservation Act in 1966, which established the National Register of Historic Places (NRHP), provided some protection for listed historic properties. According to one account, the federal courts building had been declared surplus property by the federal government in 1969 and was a week away from possible demolition when it was saved by a coalition of city and county government officials, civic leaders, and private citizens.³⁵ The Minnesota Historical Society nominated it to the National Register. Within several years, the property was under restoration and ultimately became “Landmark Center,” a community location for arts organizations and public meeting spaces.³⁶

Neighborhood preservation movements also began to coalesce, with the Summit Hill Association forming in 1967. Old Town Restorations, a non-profit organization, was established to buy, restore, and sell homes in danger of demolition. Among the first neighborhoods to mobilize for preservation was the Irvine Park area in West Seventh. By 1971, buildings in the old historic area had deteriorated and many large houses subdivided into multiple units. The West Seventh Street Association, a neighborhood planning group, had supported redevelopment plans for about four-and-one-half blocks, which would take out some of the neighborhood’s

most historic housing.³⁷ But more preservation-minded residents challenged the demolition plans at a public meeting, resulting in the plans being voted down. Subsequently, the neighborhood activists formed the West Seventh/Fort Road Federation, which became the neighborhood district council for the area. While the St. Paul HRA sought urban renewal funds for demolition and new construction, the Minnesota Historical Society prepared a successful National Register nomination for an Irvine Park Historic District (RA-SPC-1945). Ultimately, the federal funds were frozen until a redevelopment plan could be worked out for the new historic district that would allow for preservation of historic properties as well as compatible infill for new units and homeownership within the area. An oversight group was established for the district, which developed a restoration plan that became the basis for further work in Irvine Park. The plan identified the buildings that could



Figure 14: 1986 photo of Irvine Park.

34 DeCoster, *Historic St. Paul Buildings*, 4; Georgia Ray DeCoster, “St. Paul’s Stately Old Buildings—Going, Going, Almost Gone,” *Ramsey County History* 2, no. 1 (1965): 10–16. Photographs of the threatened buildings appeared in Sections II and III.

35 Larry Millett, *AIA Guide to the Twin Cities: The Essential Source on the Architecture of Minneapolis and St. Paul* (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 2007), 330.

36 Hess and Larson, *St. Paul’s Architecture*, 220. The State Historic Preservation Office (SHPO), now part of the Minnesota Department of Administration after being located in the Historical Society until 2017, nominates historic properties for the National Register. In the early years, such as in 1969, the SHPO was not formally organized and early nominations were handled by the Minnesota Historical Society.

37 Hess and Larson, *St. Paul’s Architecture*, 221; Historic Irvine Park Association, *A Brief History of the Irvine Park District: The People and Architecture of an Extraordinary Neighborhood* (St. Paul: Historic Irvine Park Association, ca. 1986), 8–9.

be redeveloped because of historic or architectural significance, which properties could not be saved, and the lots that were available for properties of merit that could be moved into the historic district. The Irvine Park Review Committee continued to oversee the development of the district until 1982, well after the 1976 establishment of the St. Paul Heritage Preservation Commission. Irvine Park was named a St. Paul Heritage Preservation District in 1981, supplementing its NRHP listing.³⁸ (Figure 14)

Transportation Routes Restructure the Landscape

Since 1945, the need to improve transportation connections has underlaid most planning in St. Paul and its neighborhoods. Constrained by the topography that guided the development of the street system, the city has always struggled to accommodate changing transportation modes. Earliest efforts focused on building up the Mississippi's marshes and islands into steamboat landings, followed by reinforcing the riverfront, creeks and valleys to support railroad tracks and to build vehicular bridges over them. After 1910, planners consistently sought ways to cut through dead-end streets, set up one-way traffic, or widen streets in order to enable automobile traffic to get to downtown business and shopping. The redesign of Kellogg Boulevard was perhaps the greatest effort to open a vista of the river and provide a major roadway into downtown, but these plans paled in comparison to the massive road building efforts of the 1950s. First came the City's plan to get a road to the southwest, followed by the federal and state government's plans for trunk highways and interstate highways. The interstate highways would drastically change downtown St. Paul and remove the connective blocks that tied it to the Capitol, Summit Hill, and the West End.

Shepard Road and the Fort Snelling Bridge

At the same time as the interstate highways were being planned by the State Highway Department, the city and state were working to improve old bottlenecks and improve traffic ways with two major West End projects: Reserve Boulevard and the Fort Snelling Bridge. Following plans that had begun in the 1920s, the city began work on what had been called "Reserve Boulevard," which ran along the river to the southwest out of downtown. Renamed Shepard Road in honor of the city's long-time traffic engineer, George Shepard, the road was intended to connect to a new Ft. Snelling bridge, as well as the new freeway that was planned to connect to Dakota County somewhere near the south end of Lexington Avenue. Shepard Road was constructed in sections, with early portions being graded along the Upper Levee by 1949. (Figures 15, 16) The road was constructed on the river side of the railroad tracks, and required fill in downtown and west where it ran past the GTA terminal and the Upper Levee Italian neighborhood. Shepard Road continued along the edge of the river and circled around the Northern States Power plant until joining with the eastern end of Randolph Avenue.³⁹

Shepard Road was constructed in sections, with work downtown as early as 1949 and the last portions near the Fort Snelling Bridge a decade later.



Figure 15: Shepard Road construction west of the Wabasha Bridge, 1949.



Figure 16: Shepard Road construction near the Northern States Power plant, 1959.

38 Historic Irvine Park Association, *A Brief History of the Irvine Park District*, 8–9; Hess and Larson, *St. Paul's Architecture*, 221–223; Ed Johnson; David Lanegran; and Betty Moran, *The Landscape Impact of the West Seventh Federation: A Neighborhood Tour*. (St. Paul: West Seventh /Fort Road Federation, 2016), 3.

39 George Herrold's *Story of Planning* mentions various plans for what became Shepard Road on pages 150 and 170. The I-35E Environ-

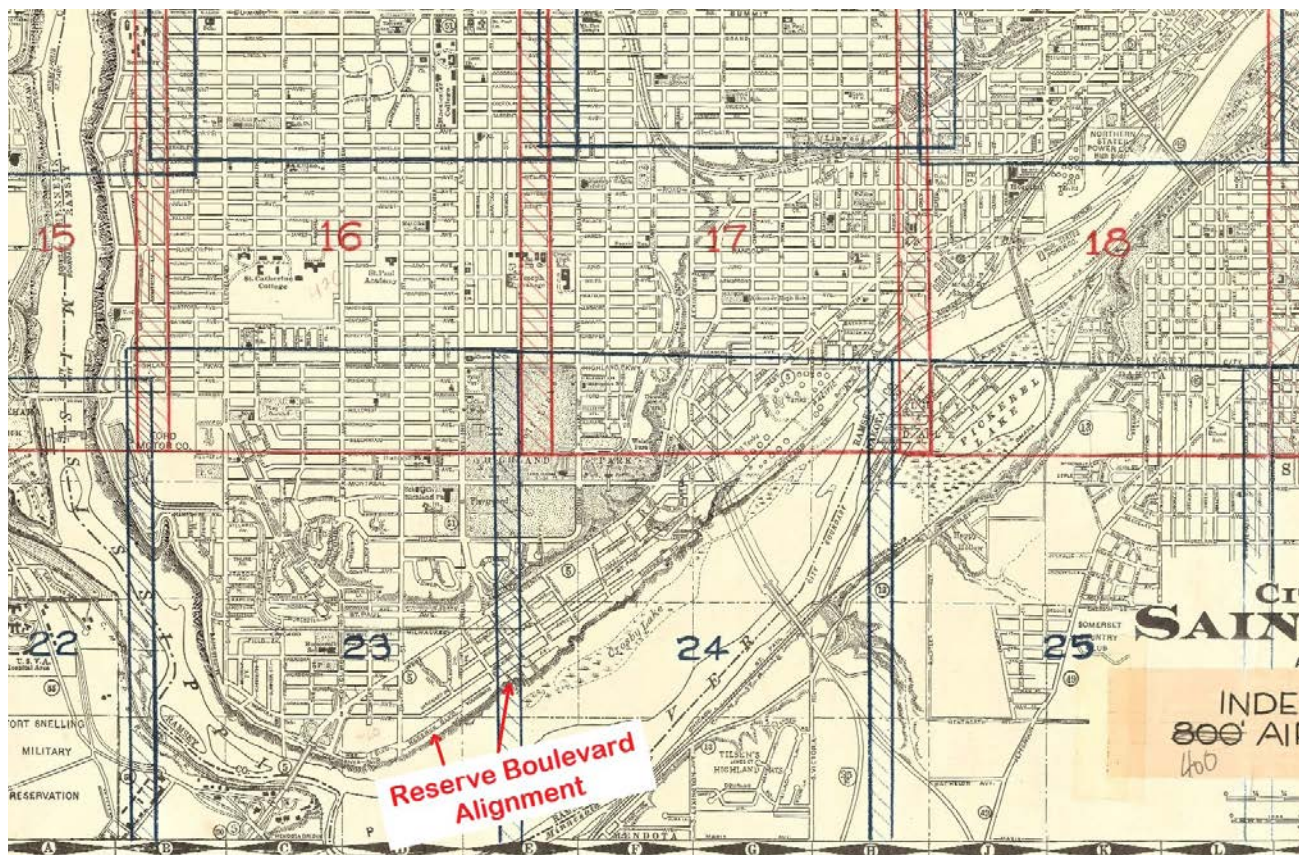


Figure 17: City of St. Paul map, 1962, showing the plans for Reserve Boulevard/Shepard Road near the Highway 5 bridge.

Traveling west, the route followed a right-of-way along the edge of the bluff, past the Omaha shops, along Butternut Avenue and from Otto Avenue traveling down below the bluff at the river level. The route climbed up onto the bluff again, rising above the area of Crosby Lake toward the intersection with West Seventh and Mississippi River Boulevard. The segment from Randolph to West Seventh was not completed until the early 1960s, since it had to be coordinated with plans for the new Fort Snelling bridge which had been under consideration through the 1950s. (Figure 17)

In the 1950s, highway construction plans required a new bridge from West Seventh Street to Fort Snelling. The need to expand Wold-Chamberlain Field (now MSP Airport), along with the State Highway Department's desire to fix the traffic bottlenecks developing in the area, placed threats on plans to preserve Fort Snelling and its setting. The preservation of the few remaining relics of old Fort Snelling, and the potential restoration of the area as an historic site had been discussed since the beginning of the twentieth century. These efforts were focused on preserving the site's military heritage, and sought to utilize the Round Tower, one of the few remaining original buildings, as a museum. Using WPA funds, the tower was developed as a museum from the 1930s until it was forced to close in 1946.⁴⁰(Figure 18)

mental Impact Statements, both draft and final, considered Shepard Road as an alternative. The later Shepard Road/East CBD bypass project examined rebuilding of portions of Shepard Road. The segment from Randolph to Chestnut was rebuilt farther inland, adjacent to the rail-road tracks after study in the Shepard Road/East CBD bypass project.

40 See Russell W. Fridley, "Fort Snelling, from Military Post to Historic Site," *Minnesota History* 35, no. 4 (Dec 1956): 189–190, for one of the earliest accounts of the highway construction era. As noted previously, this context does not include Fort Snelling, which should be addressed in a separate context that can examine its many layers of complex historic perspectives. Although many discussions of the Fort are devoted only to the military history perspective, recent studies provide a more complete view of the Fort and a fuller account of all the aspects of its history. Earliest accounts overlooked the significance of the area, known as Bdote to the Dakota, and its impact on their lives. Scholarship and discussion continues on how best to interpret the many perspectives and layers of history at the Fort. See Minnesota Historical Society's site <http://www.mnhs.org/fortsnelling/learn>; also recent work such as Peter DeCarlo, *Fort Snelling at Bdote: A Brief History*. St.

By 1958, the Highway Department's earliest road plans near the old fort called for a cloverleaf with one segment encircling the Round Tower, a plan that brought the Minnesota Historical Society and others into the roadway discussion as well as renewed efforts to preserve and restore the old fort as a historic property. With input from Governor Orville Freeman, the decision was made to run the freeway through a 450-foot-long tunnel in the area between the Round Tower and the chapel, in order to keep the highways below the old fort and preserve the land connection between the buildings.⁴¹ (Figure 19)

When constructed in 1909, the bridge from West Seventh Street had crossed the Mississippi River to the Fort and continued on a roadway within the Fort property on the east side of the old Tower. At that time, few buildings or structures other than the Round Tower remained at the Fort. Constructed in 1962, the new bridge was located farther west to connect with the new tunnel and other highway improvements (XX-BRI-054; Bridge 9300). On the West Seventh side of the river, the new bridge connected with Shepard Road on the east and Mississippi River Boulevard on the west. The old bridge roadway became Gannon Road, which preserved the access to Edgcumbe Road and West Seventh Street.⁴² The new bridge created changes on the West Seventh side as some businesses were now cut off from direct access to the new crossing. Fort Snelling became a restoration project of the Minnesota Historical Society over the following decades and the interpretation of the site continues under discussion.

Some transportation improvements occurred in the West Seventh neighborhood. Since the 1880s, the Milwaukee Road Short Line railroad had crossed West Seventh at grade, paralleling the alignment of Grace Street. A viaduct carrying West Seventh over the railroad was constructed in the mid-1960s, beginning near St. Clair and descending near Jefferson Street. The improvement required removal of commercial buildings and residences along that stretch of Seventh. The cross streets of Duke, Colborne, and Richmond were converted into cul-de-sacs ending at Seventh.

Since the 1880s, trains had the potential to block vehicular access to Ancker Hospital located off Colborne Avenue; it is ironic that the viaduct was finally built just as Ancker Hospital was planning to relocate from the West End. The city also took steps to improve another route to the High Bridge. St. Clair Avenue was widened east of West Seventh to connect to Cliff Street, which was also widened in the early 1960s to provide an efficient connection from the west to Smith Avenue and access to the High Bridge.⁴³



Figure 18: 1959 aerial view of Fort Snelling and 1909 bridge. This photograph shows Highway 5 before reconstruction of the Fort, when the road passed through the grounds of the Fort on the east side of the round tower.



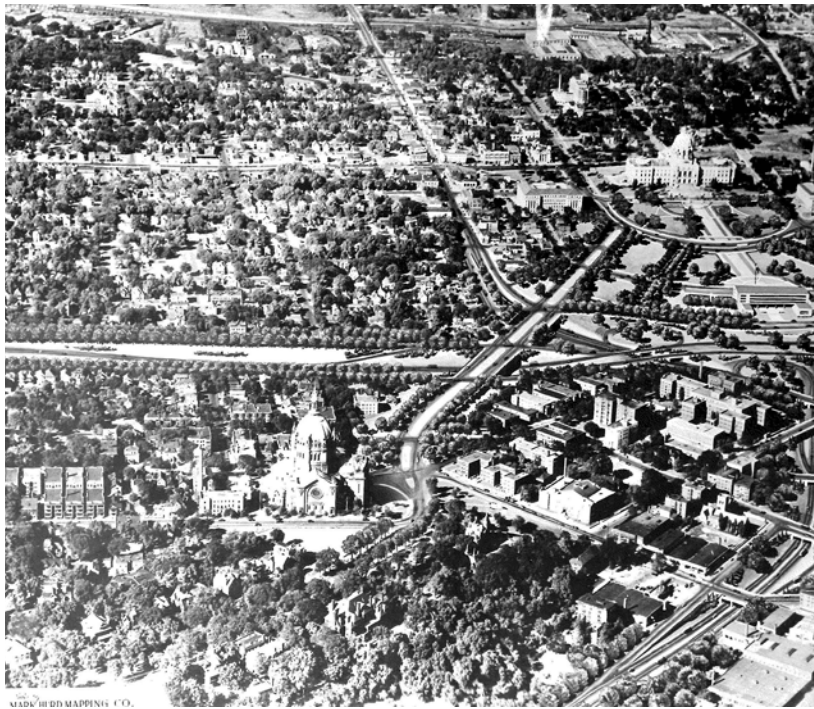
Figure 19: Ca. 1958 aerial view looking southwest over West Seventh and Fort Snelling. By 1962, the new Highway 5 bridge was constructed west of the former bridge, with a tunnel through the grounds of Fort Snelling. The former road and bridge were later removed, although the footing of the old bridge on the West Seventh side is now a river overlook. The former roadway became Gannon Road and terminated at Shepard Road, which was still being constructed past the Univac Headquarters Building (at left).

Paul: Minnesota Historical Society, 2016.

41 Fridley, "Fort Snelling," 190–191.

42 Aerial photos for Ramsey County from 1953 and 1974 also provide a before and after view of construction of the bridges.

43 Don Empson, *Portrait of a Neighborhood: a History in Tour Form of the Cliff Street ITA*, prepared for Cliff Street ITA, 1980, 46–47.



The Interstate Highway System

The City of St. Paul and the State Highway Department had identified freeway routes in the 1940s, but public discussion was limited until the following decade when funding became available and more detailed planning began. In 1947, the City Council approved the freeway route for what became I-94 in St. Paul. (Figure 20) Known at that time as the “St Anthony Route,” the alignment was chosen over a northern route (generally today’s Pierce Butler Route) supported by city planner George Herrold. (Figure 21) In 1953, Herrold wrote that the location of the east-west highway was significant and predicted “if properly located, it will be of great value to St. Paul, and if

Figure 20: Department of Highways “simulated” photograph of the freeway system, ca. 1954. Both I-94 and I-35E were drawn into this photograph, along with dozens of simulated trees, to show how the freeways might appear. The view is looking north toward the Capitol, with the Cathedral in the foreground. I-94 is running east and west through the center. I-35E was envisioned in generally its same location in a narrow corridor. Note the large number of buildings in the triangular area between the freeways to the Cathedral; this area is largely gone although the Minnesota Historical Society is on the former Miller Hospital site.

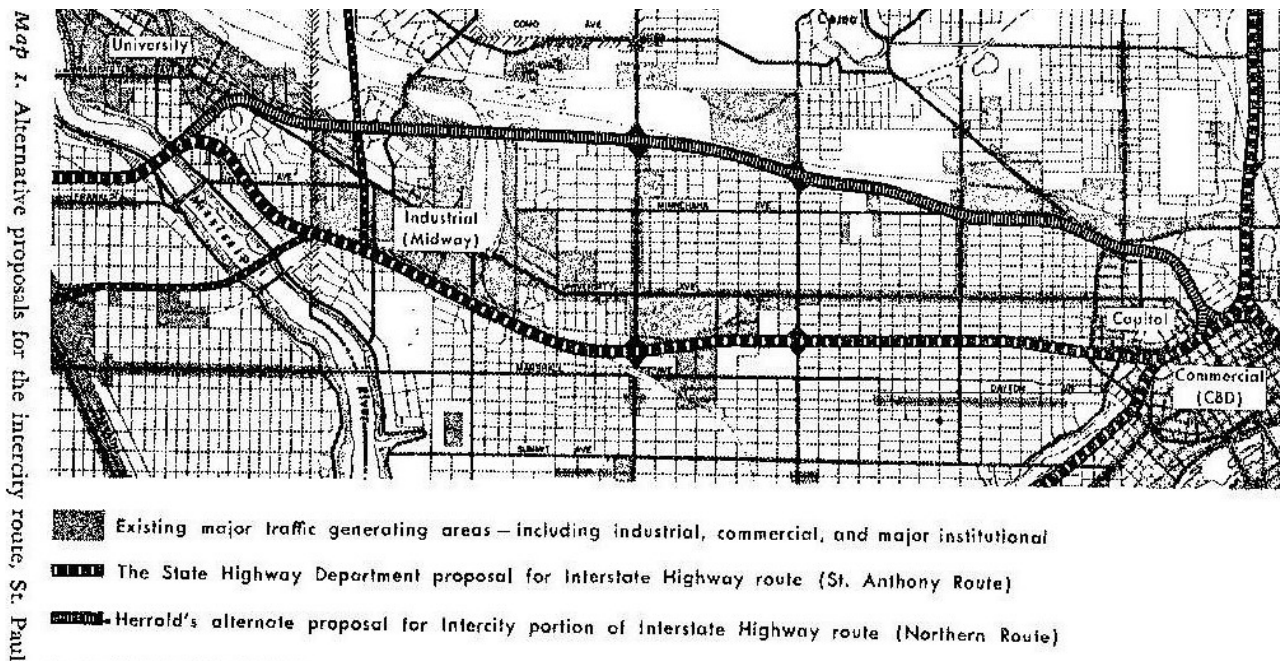


Figure 21: The St. Anthony Route, and the alternate “Northern Route” proposed for I-94 and supported by city planner George Herrold, who believed that if the freeway in St. Paul were not properly placed, “it will go down in history as a colossal engineering blunder.”



Figure 22: Beginning freeway clearance for I-94, 1962. Areas have already been cleared for freeway construction and for new buildings: in the blocks south of the Veterans' Building on the Capitol campus; for the Sears Building west of Rice Street and the Capitol; and for the Dayton's block in downtown between Cedar and Wabasha, Sixth and Seventh.



not, it will go down in history as a colossal engineering blunder.”⁴⁴ In downtown, the route followed Highway 12 from the city's East Side, the bluff line at Hoffman Avenue (in Dayton's Bluff), and the general alignment of Sixth Street toward Downtown. At roughly Broadway, the alignment snaked north for about five blocks and then west between Eleventh and Twelfth Streets around the Capitol to turn straight west at the line of St. Peter Street (the boundary line of the original St. Paul Proper subdivision of downtown in 1849). The downtown alignment cut a deep gash between the Capitol and the downtown, eliminating the Central Park neighborhood and the downtown transition neighborhood on the north edge of the business district. (Figure 22) An even larger gulf developed in the area from St. Peter Street and southwest to Kellogg Boulevard. The downtown edge in that area, which had long held apartment buildings, rooming houses, businesses, and civic buildings, was eventually taken over by transportation uses. (Figure 23) Although those changes took another forty to fifty years to complete, the initial construction of I-94 through downtown, and the subsequent connections to 35E to the southwest, caused disruption as soon as the freeway was begun and continued to define a major focus of St. Paul planning issues for the rest of the twentieth century.

The “Metro Freeway” (I-94) from Hennepin Avenue in Minneapolis to the Capitol interchange in St. Paul opened in December 1968. (Figures 24, 25) The 11.2-mile segment cost \$80 million, including engineering and right-of-way costs. It was depressed below grade in many areas and included two tunnels and eighty-eight bridges.⁴⁵ Simultaneously with

Figure 23: Construction of I-94 between Eleventh and Twelfth Streets, ca. 1967. Bridges have been constructed over the freeway path at Jackson, Robert, Minnesota and Cedar Streets to connect downtown and the Capitol area. The Transportation Building is at upper right and John Ireland Boulevard in front of it does not yet extend to the Cathedral (partially shown at top center of photo).

44 Herrold, “The Story of Planning St. Paul,” 157; Patricia Cavanaugh, *Politics and Freeways: Building the Twin Cities Interstate System*, prepared for Center for Urban and Regional Affairs (CURA) and Center for Transportation Studies (CTS), University of Minnesota, 2006, 14–15; Alan A. Altshuler, *The City Planning Process: A Political Analysis* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1965), 24–28, 40–54. This context provides a very high-level summary of the freeway, whereas each of the works cited offers a more complete analysis of all the issues related to freeway construction in St. Paul.

45 Dick Snow, “Tying the Twins,” *Minnesota Highways* (Fall 1968), 24.



Figure 24: Additional bridges have been constructed at Wabasha and St. Peter Streets to downtown, and John Ireland Boulevard has been connected from the Capitol complex to the Cathedral. Miller Hospital (now site of Minnesota Historical Society) is located at the corner of the freeway curve, and the street behind the hospital buildings is old Summit Avenue, leading to the Cathedral. The initial freeway alignment west toward Minneapolis has been graded and some bridges already constructed (1967).

work on I-94, the State of Minnesota had moved ahead on the “Southwest” freeway, destined to become I-35E.

The experience of I-35E, however, reflected a changing era in national politics and major changes in how federal projects were carried out. The late 1960s brought civil rights legislation, protests against the Vietnam war, assassinations, Woodstock, and a drastic change in national social and cultural beliefs. Against the backdrop of massive national changes, comprehensive environmental legislation was passed with the National Environmental Policy Act of 1969 (NEPA). NEPA set the basis for incorporating an umbrella of environmental protection acts and numerous other decisions and orders into any types of projects that used federal funding. The National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA) was one of the laws, and became important in mitigating impacts in the I-35E project. Since interstate highway projects were federally funded, they were mandated to follow the requirements of NEPA such as completion of Environmental Impact Statements (EIS) before a project could be built.⁴⁶

The environmental process under NEPA also responded to the consequences of urban renewal and highway building impacts on cities

and neighborhoods. In numerous cities, freeway construction and urban renewal had used federal monies to bulldoze communities of color and of lower income residents for new roadways or redevelopment. In St. Paul, the route of I-94 had destroyed the Rondo neighborhood, which had been the heart of the city’s Black population. NEPA was intended to protect both environmental resources and ensure consideration of impacts to population and civil rights issues.⁴⁷

The Metropolitan Council approved the connection of I-35E from I-94 near downtown St. Paul to TH 110 in Dakota County in 1969. The corridor for I-35E generally followed Pleasant Avenue, along the base of the Summit Hill/Ramsey Hill bluff. It continued southwest until the vicinity of the old Ayd Mill, and then turned south, paralleling the bluff line at Lexington Avenue to Seventh Street and the river beyond. In 1972, the Pleasant Avenue corridor had been graded for over two-thirds of its length, the State had acquired over 95 percent of the right-of-way and displacement of residents and businesses had already occurred.⁴⁸ (Figure 26) The road was planned as an interstate highway handling all types of traffic, with three lanes in each direction at a 55-mph speed limit. The state had spent approximately \$24 million dollars and anticipated completion of the roadway by 1977.⁴⁹

However, the I-35E project was halted in August 1972 by a joint lawsuit involving the City of Saint Paul and

46 John Watson Milton, “Citizens versus the Freeway: RIP-35E and the Pleasant Avenue Route through St. Paul,” *Ramsey County History*, 48 no. 4 (2014), 4.

47 Among the laws incorporated under NEPA were the Transportation Act of 1965, the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, the Fish and Wildlife Act of 1956, the Air Quality Act of 1967, the Endangered Species Act of 1967, and many more environmental acts and decisions in following years.

48 *I-35E Draft Environmental Impact Statement from TH 110 (Dakota County) to I-94 near Downtown St. Paul*. Prepared by Metropolitan Council; U.S. Department of Transportation-Federal Highway Administration and Minnesota Department of Transportation. 1981. (Copy on file at MnDOT Library).

49 Milton, “Citizens versus the Freeway,” 4.

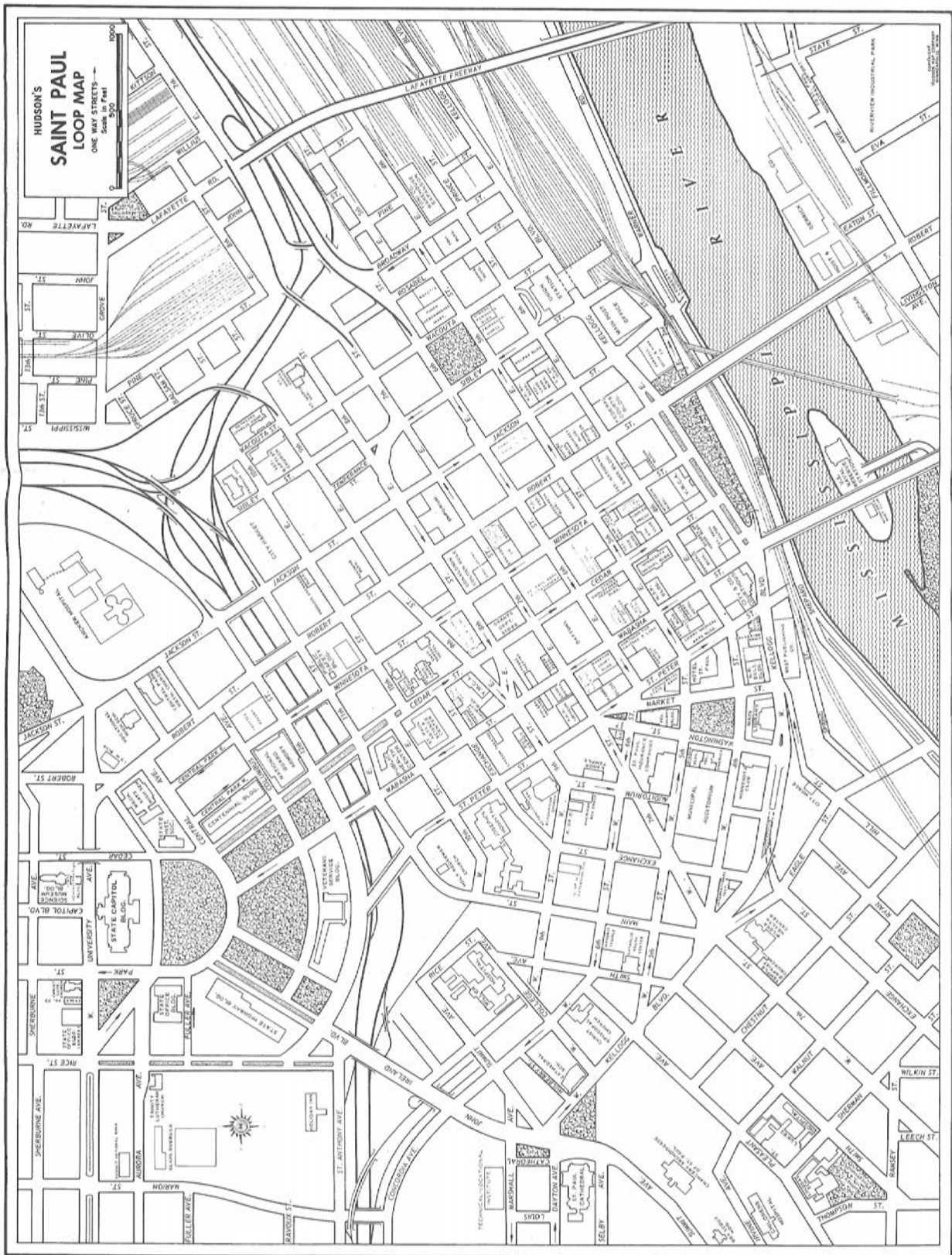


Figure 25: A Convention and Visitor's Bureau map of downtown, ca. 1968, showing the I-94 freeway corridor. The map shows downtown in the midst of the Capital Centre project; note that the Federal Courts Building at Kellogg Boulevard and Robert is shown as a construction site, while the Guardian Insurance Building at 4th and Minnesota has not yet been razed. The brochure included photographs of the new Osborn Building (1968), even though it did not yet appear on the map.



Figure 26: Construction of I-35E across the Mississippi River toward West Seventh Street, 1962.

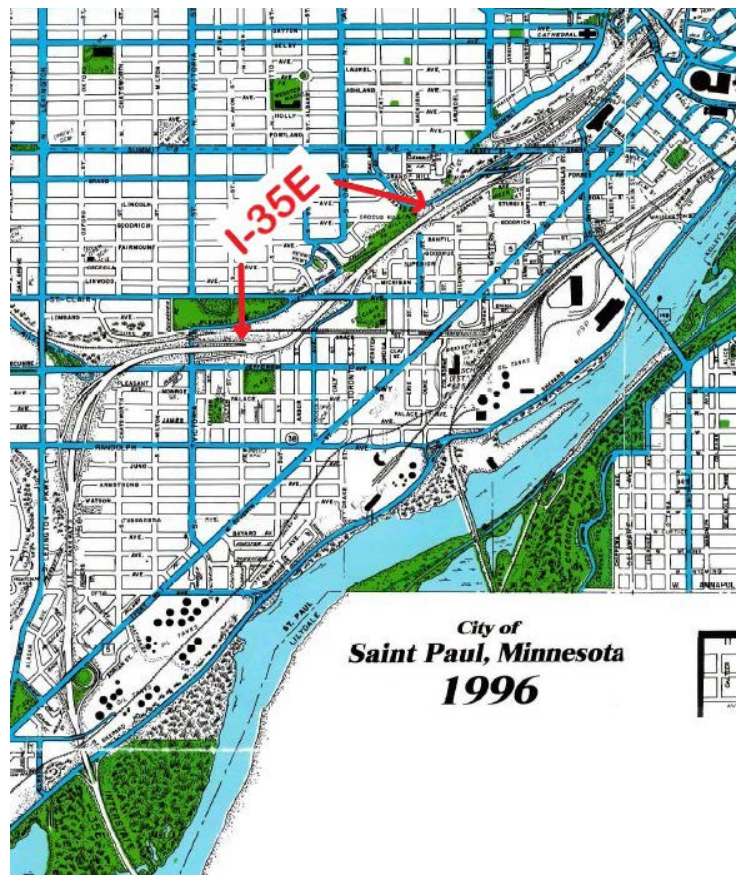


Figure 27: 1996 Map of Saint Paul showing the completed Interstate 35E routed along old Pleasant Avenue.

four neighborhood groups (known as RIP-35E--Residents in Protest) demanding the preparation of an Environmental Impact Statement (EIS) before further work proceeded. The neighborhood groups included the Summit Hill Association, the Ramsey Hill Association, and the Lexington-Hamline Association, three groups up on the bluff who “had little interest in having their sculptured backyards and tree-laden streets disrupted by the noise, pollution and visual congestion of an urban freeway.”⁵⁰ The West Seventh Business Association, formed in 1966 and succeeded by the West Seventh/Fort Road Federation in 1973, provided leadership in the West End. RIP-35E was a nonprofit corporation, and with funding from supporters, it continued to use the political process to force completion of an EIS, secure state legislative involvement, and eventually to file a lawsuit on the adequacy of the EIS.⁵¹

The RIP-35E group wanted to stop the freeway altogether, but if that was not possible, it sought a parkway with limited speed and noise levels and no truck traffic. Further, it wanted an “indirect” connection to I-94. Project opponents believed a direct connection would lead to higher speeds along the roadway and result in upgrading it to freeway status.⁵²

The Draft EIS for I-35E evaluated twelve alternatives in two corridors for the approximately five-mile segment from I-94 to TH 110. The Draft EIS examined eight alternatives in the Pleasant Avenue corridor, one alternative within the Shepard Road corridor, and two alternatives combining both corridors, in addition to the No-Build Alternative. No previous right-of-way or grading work had occurred on the Shepard Road alternative, which would exert major adverse effects on the Mississippi River and violated state noise standards. It also had greater impacts on historic properties. The Pleasant Avenue alternative also had adverse effects on historic properties including the James J. Hill House and its rear yard (240 Summit Ave.); the German Bethlehem Presbyterian Church (311 Ramsey St.); and the Armstrong House (223 W. Fifth St., later moved to 225 Eagle Parkway), among others. The impacts ultimately resulted in preparation of a Memorandum of Agreement

50 Milton, “Citizens versus the Freeway,” 5.

51 See Milton, “Citizens versus the Freeway” for a detailed discussion of the I-35E story and all the participants.

52 Milton, “Citizens versus the Freeway,” 8.

(MOA) under the NHPA to mitigate adverse effects.⁵³

To some extent, the RIP-35E group was successful in that it affected I-35E's operations even if it could not stop construction. The Final EIS, released in October 1982, identified Pleasant Avenue as the Preferred Alternative, consisting of a parkway from West Seventh Street to downtown St. Paul, with a direct connection to I-94. As a parkway, rather than a freeway as originally planned, the speed limit was 45 mph, and it prohibited trucks over 9,000 pounds on the roadway. The EIS called for a connection to the Short Line Road (Ayd Mill Road), but did not require the connection to be physically linked until the City of St. Paul had resolved other issues related to that connection.⁵⁴ (Figure 27)

The freeway finally opened in 1990. The connection to I-94 eastbound was eventually solved with a connection to the common area of I-94 in downtown, with another exit for I-35 traffic to continue north out of St. Paul. However, a direct connection from I-35E traffic to westbound I-94 was never built in the downtown area. The connection with Ayd Mill Road was finally opened in 2002 and allowed I-35E traffic to follow Ayd Mill and city streets in a roundabout fashion to get to I-94 at Snelling Avenue.⁵⁵

Post-War Development in the West Seventh Corridor

The major regional transportation improvements in the southwest quadrant of St. Paul created development opportunities for residential, commercial, and industrial expansion. The new bridge to Fort Snelling, the development of Shepard Road, and the plans for the new I-35E connection at the foot of Lexington Avenue all offered efficient access to Minneapolis, St. Paul, Bloomington, and developing areas in Dakota County. The area along West Seventh west of the planned I-35E corridor became part of the new Highland neighborhood council district, while the area to the east was part of the West Seventh Federation council district.⁵⁶

The need for adequate housing in St. Paul was still an issue after World War II. The housing demands led the city council to move 240 war-surplus Quonset huts onto neighborhood playgrounds and convert them to veteran's housing. In 1948, the city council created the St. Paul Housing and Redevelopment Authority (HRA) to manage federal funding for the construction of public housing in the city. In the 1950s, the HRA built the 320-unit Franklin D. Roosevelt Homes at Hazelwood Street and Maryland Avenue on the east side; the 512-unit John J. McDonough Homes at Jackson Street and Wheelock Parkway in the North End; and the Mt. Airy Homes at Jackson and Pennsylvania near the Capitol (proposed in the 1930s but postponed until the 1950s).⁵⁷

Other federal housing funds were also becoming available, and a Federal Housing Administration loan supported construction of the Sibley Manor apartment project on West Seventh near Davern Street. Newspapers called it "the largest housing project in the Upper Midwest," with a proposed 550 units in over fifty buildings. The project covered approximately twenty acres, from West Seventh to Stewart Avenue, east of Davern Street, and the first units opened in August and September of 1951 (extant).⁵⁸ Described as "garden

53 *I-35E Final Environmental Impact Statement from TH 110 (Dakota County) to I-94 near Downtown St. Paul*. Prepared by Metropolitan Council; U.S. Department of Transportation-Federal Highway Administration and Minnesota Department of Transportation. 1982. (Copy on file at MnDOT Library).

54 See *I-35E FEIS*, 1982, and Milton, "Citizens versus the Freeway." The EIS decision offered MnDOT's support to the City of Saint Paul for eventual study of improvements to Shepard Road and the implied connection of an East Central Business District (CBD) bypass around downtown, but did not include it in the decision. A later study of Shepard Road in the 1980s ended up rerouting Shepard Road from Randolph to Chestnut farther inland along the railroad corridor. It also identified a massive, grade-separated interchange at Chestnut and Shepard Road, which was successfully prevented by the West Seventh Federation and others who sought to preserve the area near Irvine Park. See Johnson, Lanegran and Moran, *Landscape Impact of the West Seventh Federation*, 22–23 for a discussion of the Chestnut/Shepard Road intersection. See also Thomas Harvey, *Historic Resources Survey of the EIS for the Shepard/Warner/East CBD Bypass* (St. Paul: St. Paul Planning and Economic Development Department, 1987).

55 James Walsh, "Carter Pitches Green Option for Crumbling Ayd Mill Road," *Minneapolis Star Tribune*, August 26, 2019.

56 Hal Quarforth, "St. Paul Has Plan to Revamp Facilities," *Minneapolis Star*, January 6, 1951.

57 Hess and Larson, *St. Paul's Architecture*, 199–200.

58 "Big Housing Project Set in St. Paul," *Minneapolis Morning Tribune*, July 26, 1950; "Housing Project to Open 50 Apartments," *Minneapolis Star*, August 4, 1951. No information has been found to explain the use of "Sibley" for either Sibley Manor or Sibley Plaza, although Henry

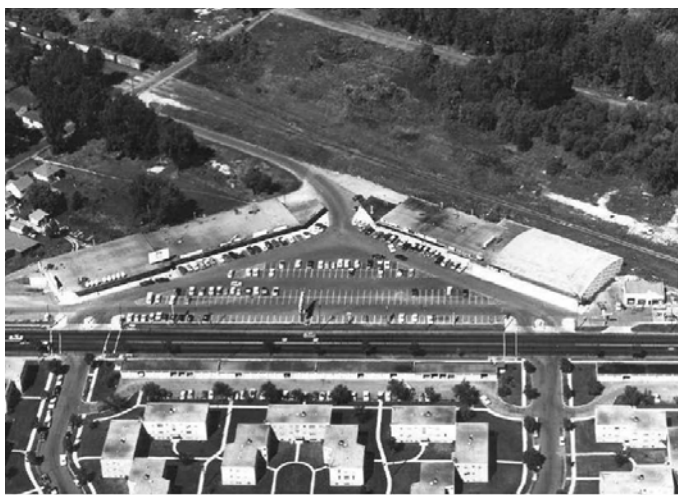


Figure 28: Sibley Manor and Sibley Plaza were both constructed in the Shepard-Davern area of West Seventh in the early 1950s. Sibley Manor (south of West Seventh) was a large housing development of “garden apartments” laid out along an interior roadway, with buildings in groups surrounding green spaces and play areas. Sibley Plaza opened across West Seventh as an early community shopping center in 1955.



Figure 29: Sibley Manor, 1307 Maynard, showing buildings around a central courtyard. Some courtyards have play areas, while this one has a Snoopy statue in the midst of the landscaping.

apartments,” each flat-roofed building contained apartments at the garden level and on two upper stories. Most buildings were faced with light brown brick at the garden level and stucco on the upper two floors, although some buildings were all brick. Fenestration was similar in each building, with a single entrance with a large glass block window above, and single and paired double-hung windows for the apartment units. The buildings were arranged along an interior circulation drive, in groupings of three, four and five buildings. Each grouping had an interior courtyard or lawn area, with trees and plantings. Playground areas and garages were interspersed within the development. Over time, trees and plantings matured, and ivy grew on some buildings. (Figures 28, 29) Originally, Sibley Manor provided housing for people employed at Fort Snelling, the airport, or who wanted to be near the Veteran’s Medical Center on the Minneapolis side of the river. In recent years, the complex has become a vibrant, multi-national community, including immigrants from Africa and Russia, as well as Hispanic, African-American and Caucasian families.⁵⁹

Following Sibley Manor’s construction, a community-level shopping center was built across West Seventh Street. Sibley Plaza opened in 1955, on the triangular parcel facing West Seventh, east of Davern Street and south of the Ford Plant railroad line.⁶⁰ Sibley Plaza consisted of two strip-mall buildings at the rear of the property, facing West Seventh in a V-arrangement with parking in front. (Figure 30) Early tenants included the Klein Super Market, which already had fifteen stores in St. Paul.⁶¹ In the 1950s, Sibley Plaza was among several community shopping centers in St. Paul: others included Sun Ray and Hillcrest on the East Side, Highland Village on Ford Parkway and the Midway Center near University and Snelling. Although the city had previous streetcar commercial neighborhoods lining thoroughfares such as West Seventh, Payne Avenue, Rice Street and Grand Avenue, these new community shopping centers provided strip-mall style buildings

Sibley High School was also being founded in 1954 in West St. Paul and the St. Paul buildings may have copied that example. Henry Sibley came to Minnesota as a fur trader in the 1830s and lived across the Minnesota River from Fort Snelling at Mendota. He served as a territorial representative to Washington, and also as the first governor of the state. However, Sibley also led the military force that captured and brought the Dakota to Fort Snelling for imprisonment after the 1862 Dakota War.

59 Curt Brown, “A Home for All,” *Minneapolis Star Tribune*, July 8, 2001.

60 “Shopping Center Set,” *Minneapolis Morning Tribune*, December 16, 1952.

61 “Klein’s Opens 20th Super Market,” *Minneapolis Star*, May 23, 1955.

housing smaller stores and offered plenty of free parking in large lots.

Sibley Plaza was developed by Paster Enterprises. Born in 1903, Herman Paster had emigrated with his family from Romania. Paster first operated the Mayflower Distributing Company, holding a distribution franchise for Wurlitzer jukeboxes and for pinball machines.⁶² By the 1950s, the Paster family began development of commercial centers, with Lexington Plaza in Roseville in 1954 and Sibley Plaza in St. Paul in 1955. Paster Enterprises went on to build community-level shopping centers in many developing suburban cities by 1960, including Northway Shopping Center in Lexington, Doddway Center in West St. Paul, Central Plaza in Hilltop, Southview Shopping Center in South St. Paul. After Herman Paster's death in 1960, his wife and sons continued the business, acquiring new properties throughout the metro area and retaining ownership of Sibley Plaza.⁶³

Another commercial enterprise in the vicinity was Gannon's Restaurant at 2728 West Seventh. Gannon's was located on the stretch of West Seventh that led to the old Fort Snelling bridge. When the new West Seventh alignment opened by 1962, it bypassed Gannon's, which was not visible or directly accessible from the new road. Gannon's sued for damages and initially won \$45,000, but other litigation followed. The old section of West Seventh was named Gannon Road in 1979. Gannon's closed in 1990, but the building survived (now Buca di Beppo restaurant at 2728 Gannon Road).⁶⁴

Several small commercial buildings were constructed in the Sibley Manor/Sibley Plaza area. The Rand Bar was built at 2516 West Seventh in 1961 (now Ethiopian Bar and Restaurant). Several small commercial buildings built from 1952 to 1961 filled the north side of Seventh west of Davern, including the 1959 service station at 2599 West Seventh, distinctive for its Goo-gie-style space-age canopy.⁶⁵ (Figure 31)

Other businesses spread east from the Sibley Plaza/Sibley Manor area, taking advantage of the traffic along West Seventh and new housing in the vicinity. A roadside motel opened in 1958 at the corner of West Seventh and Rankin (2152 West Seventh, now Highway Motel). The motel was built as a single-story rectangular building with a central office and what appeared to be six units, based on the exterior entrances. This motel represented a typical roadside style before the advent of multi-story chain motels with amenities such as swimming pools. (Figure 32) Built in 1966 at 1950 West Seventh, Mickey's was a good example of the typical 1960s roadside restaurant with its shallow front-facing gable and plate glass façade. Its neon sign, mounted on poles in the right-of-way, advertised twenty-four-hour service for the traveling public. (Figure 33) Closer to the intersection with Lexington Avenue at 1715 West Seventh was a new post office built in 1958 for the West Seventh portion of the city. With new housing construction occurring in the vicinity, Highland Nursery opened in 1960 at 1742 West Seventh with an approximately three-acre plot including a building and plant displays.⁶⁶



Figure 30: Sibley Plaza, 2401 West Seventh, showing recent renovations and new Aldi store (2019).

62 "Wurlitzer Co. in Two More Rep Changes," *The Billboard*, June 5, 1948.

63 Paster Properties, "About," <http://www.pasterprop.com/about.asp> (accessed 6/12/19).

64 "How Much Damage Did Restaurant Suffer?" *Minneapolis Star*, January 24, 1962; "St. Paul Firm Wins \$45,000 Damages: Highway Hurt Trade," *Minneapolis Star*, September 21, 1964; "Court Orders New Trial in Gannon's Damage Suit," *Minneapolis Star*, August 19, 1966; Donald Empson, *The Street Where You Live: A Guide to the Place Names of St. Paul* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2006)105.

65 Building construction dates taken from Ramsey County parcel records.

66 Building construction dates taken from Ramsey County parcel records.

Because it developed in the 1950s and 1960s, the area of West Seventh west of I-35E functioned like a suburban highway strip and also attracted typical highway commercial uses.



Figure 31: Now Van-Go Auto, this ca. 1959 gas station retains its projecting “space age” canopy.



Figure 32: Highway Motel at 2152 West Seventh, 2019. The motel was constructed in 1958 as six units.



Figure 33: Mickey’s at 1950 West Seventh, built ca. 1966, advertised 24-hour service.

Industrial Growth

In the postwar era, the West Seventh neighborhood continued to retain its major employers such as Schmidt Brewery and the Ford plant in nearby Highland. The plans for new freeway connections, however, drew new industrial investment to the open land west of the I-35E corridor along West Seventh, Shepard Road, and the Ford plant railroad spur track.

Univac was known as the “foremost leader in the design, development and manufacture of electronic computing systems, commonly referred to ‘electronic brains’.”⁶⁷ It opened a prominent headquarters building in late 1956 with the construction of the 640,000-square-foot Univac building at West Seventh and Shepard Road. Univac began in 1946 when the firm of Engineering Research Associates (ERA) was founded by a group that included some World War II Navy veterans with electronic research experience. The company developed data processing devices. By 1952, it had 1,500 employees and was building a computer with commercial applications. The company sold out to Remington Rand, Inc. (later becoming Sperry Rand) to raise capital for the expanding operations, and by 1956, it built its new headquarters. By then, William C. Norris became the Univac general manager of over 3,500 employees in seven St. Paul plants. The new plant on Shepard Road (nonextant) was a steel frame building with blue porcelain panels on the façade. Designed by Ellerbe and Co.,⁶⁸ it was described as the company’s “premier facility” at the time.⁶⁹ (Figure 34)

Although William Norris and several other ERA veterans left in 1957 to form Control Data Corporation, another path-breaking computer firm in the state, Univac continued to play a major role in the Twin Cities’ economy. By 1965, Univac purchased 200 acres of farmland in Eagan Township along Pilot Knob Road that eventually held the headquarters. By 1970, the company employed 10,000 in the Twin Cities with worldwide employment of 35,000 and paid out \$85 million in payroll and benefits. It was estimated that Univac and its predecessor ERA had made a total economic contribution to the Twin Cities of more than \$900 million from 1946 to 1970.⁷⁰ In addition to computers, software, communication equipment and other products, by the 1960s Univac had created a Defense Systems Division and expanded its development of automated weapons. In 1980, the *Minneapolis*

67 “Univac Given More Room for ‘Brainwork,’” *Minneapolis Star*, October 24, 1956.

68 “Univac Given More Room for ‘Brainwork’”; Harold Chucker, “Univac has Bright Outlook: Puts Sperry Rand ‘Over Top,’” *Minneapolis Star*, February 13, 1964; Jim Fuller, “Computer Firms Become Vital to State Economy,” *Minneapolis Tribune*, January 18, 1970.

69 VIP Club: Information Technology (IT) Pioneers, “People Chapter A & B: 3.2 Keith Behnke, 1957–,” <http://vipclubmn.org/People1.html> (accessed October 18, 2-19); Keith Behnke, “Randomly Accessed Memories.” The VIP Club website is a detailed, organized site created by alumni of the various computer companies in the Twin Cities, including Univac. It contains a wealth of information about many topics related to the industry, including the people, locations, and engineering.

70 Fuller, “Computer Firms Become Vital to State Economy.”

Star claimed that Univac, Honeywell, and Control Data Corporation, all of which were based in the Twin Cities, had become “leaders in sonar, radar, infrared, magnetic and remote sensing technology and in the computer systems that process data and control the firing of weapons” such as missiles, artillery and torpedoes.⁷¹ In all, the various companies made the Twin Cities a leading computer center through the 1970s. Beginning in the mid-1980s, the development of personal computers and the decline of the Cold War changed the computer industry, and the business model of engineering teams and mainframe companies declined or evolved into other products that matched changing technology. The headquarters plant on West Seventh and Shepard Road was razed in 2009. The Eagan facility, which had become part of Lockheed-Martin, closed in 2010.⁷²

Although Univac was a major employer, other companies also relocated to new sites in the developing Highland/West Seventh neighborhood. In 1902, P. Edward Pearson founded Pearson’s Candy Company in Minneapolis. In 1951, the company purchased the Trudeau Candy Company at Sixth and Broadway in St. Paul, but Pearson’s was already known for its Nut Goodie candy bar, introduced in 1912. In 1959, the company’s new 85,000-square-foot building opened at West Seventh and Rankin Street. The new plant was designed by Thorshov & Cerny and expanded with a 30,000-square-foot addition in 1965 (extant).⁷³ It remained a privately held corporation, with leadership by the Pearson family, until it was purchased by International Telephone and Telegraph Corporation (ITT) in 1969.⁷⁴ (Figure 35)

In 1959, the Torit Manufacturing Company relocated from three separate sites in the Uppertown vicinity to a new plant at 1133–1135 Rankin Street across from Pearson Candy. Torit began as a welding shop in 1915. The company produced a small, fine tipped welding torch for dentists, followed by a “dust collector” designed to gather gold dust when dentists ground a gold inlay, crown, or bridge. The dust collector became the basis of the industrial dust collecting business, and Torit became a major producer of anti-pollution devices. Torit merged with Donaldson Co., Inc., a producer of air cleaning devices in 1974.⁷⁵

Webb Publishing Company had its start when Edward A. Webb began publishing *The Farmer* magazine in the 1880s. The business expanded to include magazines on a wide variety of topics, eventually publishing three

71 Ralph Vartabedian, “Minnesota Systems Go to War: Computer Sentries Stand Battle-Ready,” *Minneapolis Star*, May 6, 1980.

72 VIP Club: Information Technology (IT) Pioneers. “Locations.” <https://vipclubmn.org/Locations.html> (accessed October 18, 2019); Julie Forster, “Lockheed Ends an Era in Eagan,” *St. Paul Pioneer Press*, November 18, 2010.

73 Ralph Mason, “No Windows in Candy Plant,” *Minneapolis Star*, April 16, 1959; “Candy Firm Purchased,” *Minneapolis Morning Tribune*, August 23, 1951.

74 “Candy Firm to Expand Space,” *Minneapolis Star*, September 5, 1963; “ITT to Acquire Pearson Candy,” *Minneapolis Tribune*, September 18, 1969; Pearson’s Candy Company, “The Pearson Story,” archived from June 28, 2007, https://web.archive.org/web/20070628015159/http://www.pearsonscandy.com/about_us.cfm (accessed December 5, 2019).

75 Kunz, *St. Paul*, 241; Timothy Blodgett, “New Plant to Unite Torit Operations,” *Minneapolis Star*, May 14, 1959; “Donaldson, Torit to Merge,” *Minneapolis Tribune*, March 26, 1974.



Figure 34: The headquarters plant of the Sperry Rand Corporation, UNIVAC Defense Systems, 2751 Shepard Road, built 1956. Univac was located at the intersection of Gannon Road (old West Seventh) and the newly constructed Shepard Road. Note that Shepard Road was constructed only to Davern at this time, and that new apartment buildings had been built along Stewart Avenue at the rear of the vast Univac parking lots (ca. 1962).



Figure 35: Pearson’s Candy Company and their distinctive logo as shown on their sign at 2140 West Seventh, 2019.

inflight magazines for airlines, along with catalogs and telephone directories.⁷⁶ Having been at their previous location at Tenth and Cedar since the early twentieth century, Webb Publishing moved to a new \$3 million plant at 1999 Shepard Road in 1962.⁷⁷ The company suffered some setbacks with agricultural publications in the mid-1980s as that economy faltered. In November 1986, British publishing magnate Robert Maxwell purchased Webb Publishing, and in 1989, it was sold to Intertec Publishing of Minneapolis.⁷⁸

While Pearson Candy is still in business along West Seventh, the other firms described here are no longer located along Shepard Road. Both Torit and Webb were sold or have merged into other companies located elsewhere.

Residential Construction and Development of Multi-Family Housing

The 1950s and 1960s brought suburban postwar growth in the housing, commercial, and industrial sectors. In St. Paul, the Highland neighborhood experienced new housing construction, and the nearby neighborhoods in the Shepard/Davern area also experienced some of that “suburban” boom. Older neighborhoods in the city, however, began to see the flip side of suburban growth. Populations in older neighborhoods were aging along with housing stock that dated to the 1880s and earlier in some selected areas. West Seventh, as one of the oldest neighborhoods in the city, had many small houses and commercial buildings that were seventy to eighty years old by the 1950s. During the next two decades, the neighborhood experienced both preservation and new development.

Between 1960 and 1970, the census tracts that encompassed West Seventh from downtown to Lexington Avenue largely lost population, while the newer locations in the Shepard/Davern area southwest of I-35E grew. The same census tracts along West Seventh, from Downtown to the Fort Snelling bridge, also fell below the St. Paul median income in 1970. However, the areas with the oldest housing east of Lexington Avenue, also showed remarkable stability, with most tracts showing over 50 percent of residents remaining between 1960 and 1970. Indications were that residents in the neighborhood tended to remain rather than move out to new suburban locations. Except for small exceptions, the census tracts from downtown to Lexington along West Seventh showed that all the housing had been built prior to 1919, and fell predominantly in the housing value categories of \$23,900 and below.⁷⁹

Compared to many central city neighborhoods in the postwar years from roughly 1950 to 1980, West Seventh defied the odds. Its residents tended to remain, rather than flee for new suburban houses. In the oldest areas, around Irvine Park and in Uppertown, neighborhood activists fought and won preservation battles to save some of the city’s oldest housing stock and retain the historic character that was threatened. When new construction occurred, the neighborhood’s strong district council and citizen involvement played a major role in influencing development activities. Because the residents of West Seventh tended to remain, the area was not identified with any new major population influx or settlements in the postwar years as it had been when first being settled.⁸⁰

The oldest housing units near downtown were deteriorating by the 1970s, with older dwellings becoming rundown and often subdivided. In 1971, the St. Paul Housing and Redevelopment Authority (HRA) announced plans for construction of 100 units of low to moderate income housing on the block bounded by Sherman Avenue and Forbes, Ramsey and West Seventh Streets. (Figure 36) The design by Stanley Fishman

76 Kunz, *Saga*, 243; “Publisher Buys Site to Expand,” *Minneapolis Star*, February 10, 1959.

77 “Webb Publishing completes Plant Costing \$3 Million,” *Minneapolis Morning Tribune*, November 24, 1962.

78 Susan Feyder, “Tradition at Webb Tested by Tough Times,” *Minneapolis Star and Tribune*, June 30, 1986; Susan Feyder, “Webb Workers Meet New Owner,” *Minneapolis Star and Tribune*, December 7, 1986; Susan Feyder, “Webb Publishing Says It Will Move Its Headquarters to Minneapolis,” *Minneapolis Star Tribune*, December 16, 1989.

79 David Lanegran, *Urban Dynamics in Saint Paul: A Study of Neighborhood and Center City Interaction* (Prepared for Old Town Restorations, Inc., 1977), 25–36. The statement on housing reflected the median age of housing in each tract. The median construction date for about two-thirds of the census tracts dated prior to 1899; for the other one-third of tracts, the median construction date was between 1900 and 1919.

80 St. Paul was not yet experiencing large population changes from 1950 to 1980; the large emigration from Southeast Asia, for example, did not occur until the 1990s.

Architects, Inc. included single family and townhome units with open space for recreation and a community building. Fishman grew up in St. Paul's West Side Jewish community, and was known for working with communities in housing and redevelopment projects, including designs for Concord Terrace and Torre de San Miguel, both on the West Side. Historic houses on the Sherman-Forbes site that were suitable for redevelopment were saved, while some were moved to locations around nearby Irvine Park. Several other buildings, including the 1905 Montana Flats Rowhouse and older houses from the 1860s and 1870s, were razed.⁸¹



Figure 36: The St. Paul Housing and Redevelopment Authority cleared the trapezoid-shaped block along West Seventh from Sherman to Forbes for a new housing project in the 1970s. Some houses on the block were saved and moved to other nearby locations, while other buildings were razed. The Sherman-Forbes project, designed by Stanley Fishman Architects, Inc. included units that faced inward around a central courtyard with parking lots on the outer edge next to streets.

New construction in 1978 included the Panama Flats Condominiums on the northeast corner of Irvine Park, where deteriorated housing had been removed west of the 1886 Panama Flats Rowhouse building. The redevelopment activity in the area was one of the critical factors that led to the preservation movement and the establishment of the Irvine Park Historic District in 1973 in the neighborhood. Judith Martin and David Lanegran's 1983 analysis of Twin Cities neighborhoods, *Where We Live*, classified the area around and including Irvine Park as part of the "turnaround zone," due to the investment of the HRA, supported by the strong neighborhood group presence along West Seventh that has played a persistent and significant role in keeping West Seventh vital and growing.⁸²

Some redevelopment occurred along the streets north of St. Clair and west of Western, in the vicinity of St. Stanislaus Church. Approximately 100 deteriorated dwellings were acquired and the land sold to Crown Construction Company. Crown developed ranch style dwellings that contributed to neighborhood stabilization but did not retain the historic character of the dwellings that had been homes of the Czech settlers in the nineteenth century.⁸³

Martin and Lanegran identified the area north of West Seventh and on either side of the Randolph streetcar line to Lexington/I-35, as the "Middle Ground." The area of one- and two-story houses were mainly built before World War II and were largely of frame construction, although some brick houses were also constructed. Martin and Lanegran noted that the area was insulated by West Seventh and the bluffs (as well as I-35E) from the rest of the city and tended to create a sense of place in the neighborhood. Largely a blue collar area in the early 1980s, the area was noted for its stability with a large number of retired residents as well as families.⁸⁴

Much of the single-family housing along West Seventh that was southwest of Lexington and in the Shepard/Davern area had been built in scattered locations from the 1910s until World War II. Houses in the Homecroft neighborhood west of Sibley Plaza contained a number of bungalows from this era. Some sin-

81 "St. Paul Housing Project Tentatively Approved by HRA," *Minneapolis Tribune*, June 17, 1971; Jim Shoop, "St. Paul Gangs Meet a Man Who Cares," *Minneapolis Star*, Feb. 6, 1967; James A. Szevich, Scott D. McGinnis, and Donald Empson, *Uppertown Survey Final Report*, prepared for the Saint Paul Heritage Preservation Commission and the Minnesota Historical Society, 1992, 7.

82 Judith Martin and David Lanegran, *Where We Live: The Residential Districts of Minneapolis and Saint Paul* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1983), 80–81. See also Historic Irvine Park Association, *A Brief History of the Irvine Park District*, 62, for comments on the 1979 rehabilitation of the Panama Flats Rowhouse, which took place about the same time as the new condominiums were being developed.

83 Szevich, McGinnis and Empson, *Uppertown Survey*, 7. One street with newer ranch-style dwellings is the south side of Goodrich, from Richmond to Duke; it is adjacent to the Superior Street Cottages, ca. 1999 new senior housing, developed by the West Seventh Federation and neighborhood supporters on the site of the former Holm and Olson greenhouses at Goodhue and Duke Street. See Johnson, Lanegran and Moran, 34–35 for further details.

84 Martin and Lanegran, *Where We Live*, 93–94. This area has seen new investment, with new housing and apartment buildings along the freeway, and redevelopment of Holm & Olson site.

Figures 37-38: Minimal Traditional style houses were built alongside older dwellings on West Seventh in the 1950s.



Figure 37: 2200 West Seventh, built 1947.



Figure 38: 2222 West Seventh, built 1951.

Figures 39-40: Smaller-scale apartment buildings were built in the area from Randolph to I-35E. 1230 West Seventh was built in 1964, and fit on a standard single family lot. The building at 1145 West Seventh had 19 units and was a typical style for apartment buildings when constructed in 1966.



Figure 39: 1230 West Seventh.



Figure 40: 1145 West Seventh.

gle-family dwellings from those years remained along Stewart and Youngman Avenues, although they were increasingly surrounded by new apartment buildings or other construction. Large open tracts remained after 1945, especially on the southern side of West Seventh, where new commercial and industrial properties filled in the vacant lots, and along the railroad corridor between Seventh and Shepard Road.

Along West Seventh, most subdivisions had already been platted, so lot sizes were limited for new single-family residential construction. Minimal Traditional style houses, with their compact footprint, could fit into existing lots. A few were constructed along the corridor and some remain in the area west of I-35E, where they often have older dwellings on either side. (Figures 37, 38)

From the 1950s on, apartment buildings and various multi-family buildings were becoming more popular for infill construction. In the area east of Lexington Avenue, most buildings were of a smaller scale, fit on one or two urban lots, and typically had a garden level plus one or two stories. These buildings were faced in brick with a central entrance to access all apartments. These buildings usually had fewer than ten units. (Figures 39, 40). Other apartment buildings represented a larger investment, using multiple lots, and often including more than one building. Built in 1958 and 1960, the apartment buildings at 1501 and 1511 West Seventh were three-story, brick-faced buildings with a central entrance. (Figure 41) Each apartment had a three-part window that conveyed a more spacious residence than earlier apartments. These buildings contained eleven units each and provided off-street parking at the rear of the buildings.⁸⁵ Two similar apartment buildings, constructed in 1959 at 2246 and 2254 West Seventh, had similar characteristics with more spacious units. (Figure 42)

By the 1960s, the rectangular apartment building form was accented by an updated version of Colonial/

⁸⁵ Building information for this section is largely drawn from the Ramsey County parcel information.

Georgian elements. The twelve-unit apartment building at 2390 West Seventh (1965) was a red brick building with garden level plus two upper stories. The central entrance was framed with a multi-light sidelight and a broken pediment. The entire entrance was sheltered with a two-story pedimented portico supported by four two-story wood columns. (Figure 43)

Specialized construction for elderly residents became a new and expanded housing market in the 1960s. The St. Paul Housing and Redevelopment Authority (HRA) had previously constructed larger townhouse developments aimed at family housing. By the 1960s, the HRA turned to building high-rise buildings for low-income seniors and persons with disabilities. Buildings were located throughout St. Paul and between 1959 and 1976, sixteen buildings were constructed.⁸⁶ In 1968, the HRA received over \$2 million from the US Department of Housing and Urban Development to build the 185-unit Montreal Hi-Rise. The site chosen was at the intersection of Montreal Avenue and Elway and Adrian Streets (1085 Montreal), a location overlooking the river valley and the new route of I-35E. The building, completed in 1970 (remodeled in 1997) had eighteen floors and was built in a distinctive parabola shape by William H. Weitzman Associates. (Figure 44) The parabola shape created unique units that were slightly wider at the outer, window ends than at the entry end.⁸⁷

Farther west at the intersection of West Seventh and St. Paul Avenue, the Highland Chateau nursing home was planned in 1961 with funding from the Federal Housing Administration. Designed by Kenneth J. Waljarvi of St. Paul, the building was constructed in a V-shape with two residential wings joined at a central entry building. Each wing ended with a wall of windows under a projecting gable that resembled a ship's prow. Highland Chateau offered a variety of amenities including a physical therapy department, barber and beauty shops, individual garden plots for residents, and a three-hole golf course. A central wing was added to the Chateau in later years, and followed the same style as the two original wings.⁸⁸ (Figures 45, 46) Highland Chateau was among a number of nursing homes being constructed in the early 1960s, as the Minnesota Health Department stated that "nursing homes now are THE business venture, like pancake houses and car washes were."⁸⁹ The number of nursing home beds in Minnesota had grown rapidly from 11,947 in 1961 to 19,631 by early 1966, representing a "boomlet in the construc-

86 Katie Ohland, 106 group, inventory form Wilson High Rise, context, 2014.

87 *Minneapolis Star Tribune*, "HUD Approves Aid for St. Paul Elderly Housing," August 10, 1968; see

<http://www.stpha.org/hi-rise/montreal-hi-rise>; Ohland's inventory form stated that the Montreal Hi-Rise was part of the second group of high-rise construction. Buildings that also opened in 1970 included: Cleveland Hi-Rise at 899 South Cleveland Avenue; Iowa Hi-Rise at 1743 East Iowa Avenue; Ravoux Hi-Rise at 280 Ravoux Street. Eight hi-rises had been constructed prior to 1970; four buildings were erected after 1970.

88 "FHA Approves Nursing Home," *Minneapolis Star*, June 15, 1961; "New Nursing Home to Open in St. Paul," *Minneapolis Star*, April 25, 1963.

89 David Kuhn, "Nursing Home Care is 'Hot Item,'" *Minneapolis Tribune*, February



Figure 41: Three-story brick apartment building, built 1959 at 1511 West Seventh.



Figure 42: 2246 and 2254 West Seventh, built 1959.



Figure 43: 2390 West Seventh, apartment building constructed 1965 with twelve units. Colonial-style detailing was popular, with the large pedimented portico supported by square columns, an entrance surround with a broken pediment, and shutters accenting all windows.



Figure 44: Montreal Hi-Rise, 1085 Montreal Avenue, senior housing completed in 1970.

tion industry,” and a response to Medicare availability.⁹⁰

In 1977, the Winslow Commons residence for seniors was built at 160 South Western Avenue, across from St. Stanislaus Church, on the former site of the 1880 Monroe School. The city had acquired an estimated twenty dwellings in the area to create the Winslow Commons site.⁹¹

The decade of the 1970s was pivotal in determining the future of the West Seventh neighborhood landscape. Just as clearance of dilapidated housing and new infill construction began to occur, the residents of the West Seventh neighborhood organized to oppose St. Paul’s HRA and its plans. As noted above, residents coalesced around plans to redevelop Irvine Park. Their efforts resulted in a historic district as well as an organization that saved dwellings in nearby areas from the wrecking ball. In keeping with a historic pattern in the West End, numerous houses were relocated in the 1970s to the Irvine Park area and surrounding neighborhoods.

In 1973, the West Seventh Street Federation, also known as the Fort Road Federation, was formed. A \$5,000 start-up grant from the Christian Sharing Fund supported the organization, which has provided “citizen-driven direction” for planning and development and become the district council for the area. In the 1970s,

the group took action to fight and close an adult entertainment facility at Goodrich and West Seventh. It also worked with the CSPA Hall and SOKOL Minnesota to place the Hall on the National Register of Historic Places and prevent its demolition. The organization created its own Community Development Corporation in 1978 to begin rehabilitating houses and has undertaken many housing and community development projects since that time.

27, 1966.

90 Kuhn, “Nursing Home Care is ‘Hot Item,’” Ibid.

91 Szevich, McGinnis, and Empson, *Uppertown Survey Final Report*, 7.



Figure 45: The new Highland Chateau Nursing Home, 2319 West Seventh, ca. 1963.



Figure 46: A central wing was later added to the original 92-bed facility, as shown in the 2019 photograph of Highland Chateau.

The 1980s and Beyond—A Summary

In the 1980s, the West Seventh Federation took on many additional and far-reaching projects. A few of them included the Houses to Home redevelopment in the Brewery Town neighborhood, the restoration and renovation of many historic properties in the Uppertown vicinity, redevelopment in the West Seventh business district, and housing renovation and development in the Little Bohemia neighborhood. More recently, after many years of effort by the Federation and various groups, the Schmidt Brewery has been redeveloped for housing and community space, again making it a center of community activity. The business district near Seven Corners has been remade since the nearby Xcel Energy Center became a home for the National Hockey League's Minnesota Wild team in 2000. Restaurants, bars, hotels, and housing have jostled for space in the blocks just west of Seven Corners.⁹²

The Shepard-Davern neighborhood continued to experience growth since the 1980s as well. While some industrial buildings remained, the Univac building that had represented Minnesota's developing computer industry in the 1950s was torn down in 2009. It has been replaced by apartment buildings and large remote parking facilities for airline passengers who take shuttle buses to MSP airport. Other vacant or underused sites between West Seventh and Shepard Road have seen apartment construction ranging from smaller low-rise buildings to new high-rise construction.

A diverse multi-national population thrives in the Sibley Manor/Sibley Plaza neighborhood. Although Sibley Plaza has recently been renovated, it has in recent years housed a Russian grocery store, while two Ethiopian restaurants now occupy smaller buildings along West Seventh. With much new investment in housing, the area remains vital and growing.

In downtown, the Capital Centre project was declared complete by 1977. The new mayor, George Latimer, proved to be effective in bringing together financing, business leaders, labor and investors in continuing

⁹² For a detailed discussion of the Federation's work over the last three decades, see Johnson, Lanegran and Moran, *Landscape Impact of the West Seventh Federation*.

development activity. His efforts resulted in new construction in the Capital Centre, and oversaw new investment that reached beyond that area. On the north edge of downtown, the Science Museum of Minnesota (RA-SPC- 5424; 1964; 30 East Tenth St.) expanded across Wabasha Street to a 1980 building at Tenth and Wabasha (Hammel, Green and Abrahamson, Inc.) It shared an atrium with a combined medical building and condominium tower. The Minnesota Public Radio Building (480 Cedar Street, renovation 1980, Leonard Parker Associates) was a building renovation that brought a continually updated news crawl to downtown. The Citywalk Condominiums were an early residential tower at Minnesota and Eighth Street (1983, Stageberg Partners) as downtown was beginning to carve out a niche for both new and renovated residential uses.⁹³

Lowertown and its future were also on the drawing board. In 1978, Latimer asked the McKnight Foundation for a \$10 million grant to support the redevelopment of Lowertown, which resulted in creation of the Lowertown Design Center to guide the reuse of the historic buildings. By the end of the 1980s, the new, multi-use Galtier Plaza towers were built, containing offices, retail shops, restaurants and a movie theater, as well as residential towers (175 E. Fifth St.; 380 Jackson St.). Galtier reflected the city's recognition of historic properties, incorporating two historic storefronts on Sibley Street (Bishop block, 1883; J. P. Allen building, 1888), and constructing around the former Merchant's National Bank (McColl Building) at 366–368 Jackson Street (RA-SPC-1979, 1892, NRHP, HPC).⁹⁴

Two other major mixed-use properties went up in the 1980s: the Town Square megablock complex at (RA-SPC-0551; 1980; 444 Cedar St./ 445 Minnesota Street); and the World Trade Center at Seventh (formerly Eighth) Street between Cedar and Wabasha (now Wells Fargo Place). Both projects were efforts to bring retail to downtown, as the city was still trying to capitalize on the Capital Centre project desire for a retail district. The Town Square megablock contained a shopping mall, hotel, and towers. The mall held seventy specialty shops and a Donaldson's department store, with a huge glass-enclosed solarium indoor park on the top level. Two office towers (originally the North Central Life Tower and the Conwed Tower) rose twenty-five and twenty-seven stories. Town Square connected to the skyways and had a direct connection to Dayton's to the west across Cedar Street. Designed by Skidmore, Owings and Merrill, the 1980 complex was covered in gray precast concrete panels that were widely viewed as unattractive. George Latimer later stated that he "still kicked himself" for allowing the developer to use those materials.⁹⁵ The Minnesota World Trade Center (1987) was intended to attract more international trade to St. Paul. The planned forty-story tower faced Cedar Street while a three-story shopping mall faced Wabasha and connected to Dayton's to the south. Despite the optimism of the Town Square, Dayton's, and the World Trade Center in the early 1990s, the retail uses failed to survive. The shopping malls have been largely converted to office space.⁹⁶

The area around Rice Park experienced change as well. The new Xcel Energy Center not only spawned new businesses along West Seventh, it also replaced the 1907 St. Paul Municipal Auditorium (razed, 1982) for convention and business functions. The new facility connected to the Roy Wilkins Auditorium (1932/renovated 1986) and a new River Centre convention facility (1998), which opened to the Rice Park side of the large Center. While the Central Library, Minnesota Club, and restored Landmark Center remained, the St. Paul Hotel built a new entrance fronting on Rice Park. Across the park, the 1984 opening of the Ordway Music Theatre (Ordway Center for the Performing Arts) established Rice Park as the downtown's cultural center. The Ordway was named in honor of Lucius P. Ordway, a founder of 3M (and coincidentally an early supporter of the St. Paul Hotel's construction). Ordway's granddaughter, Sally Irvine Ordway, provided one-third of the project's cost. Designed by architect Benjamin Thompson, the Ordway used brick, copper, stone, and wood to create an inviting modern building. The walls of windows in the lobby overlook Rice Park and reflect

93 Bernard Jacob and Carol Morphew, *Pocket Architecture Minneapolis and St. Paul: A Walking Guide to the Architecture of Downtown Minneapolis and St. Paul*, prepared with the Minnesota Society American Institute of Architects, 1984. See "St. Paul: 1977–1980," the addendum in Kunz, *St. Paul*. This late addition to the book identified the many projects occurring at a time when St. Paul was flush with new construction and optimism. Kunz provided more discussion on the projects highlighted here, as well as plans for some projects, like the housing complex planned for Miller Hospital, that were not carried out.

94 Millett, *AIA Guide*, 345–346. The interior shops, movie theatre, and food court survived for a few years but have since been mostly converted to offices.

95 Jacob and Morphew, *Pocket Architecture*; Kevin Duchscher, "Former Mayor George Latimer: St. Paul's Lion Still Roars," *Minneapolis Star Tribune*, February 7, 2015; Millett, *AIA Guide*, 322.

96 Jacob and Morphew, *Pocket Architecture*; Millett, *AIA Guide*, 318. Currently the World Trade Center is known as Wells Fargo Place.

gleaming Winter Carnival lights from the park in winter.⁹⁷

Rice Park and Irvine Park were first set aside as part of Rice and Irvine's Addition of 1849, in a subdivision plat notable for streets that angled to follow the old St. Anthony Road (later Third Street, and even later, Kellogg Boulevard). It is fitting that both Rice Park and Irvine Park remain central places for downtown St. Paul and the West Seventh neighborhood, continuing to convey the heritage of the earliest settlers.

97 Millett, *AIA Guide*, 332–334.

RESULTS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Results

This historic context for the St. Paul/Ramsey County section of the Riverview Corridor described the changes to Downtown St. Paul and the West Seventh neighborhood from the 1840s to 1980. Historic contexts examined residential, commercial, industrial and transportation growth that transformed St. Paul from a frontier outpost to a modern city. The contexts encompassed a larger physical Study Area than will be included in an Area of Potential Effect (APE) and Phase I survey in upcoming projects. This larger area was used in order to capture broad historic themes to better understand the built environment within the proposed Riverview Corridor.

The Study Area included Downtown St. Paul south of I-94 and the West Seventh neighborhood south of I35E to the river, and from I-35E, extending west along the bluff line and then following St. Paul Avenue to the Mississippi River. Within that area, the context has identified properties and historic districts that are listed and previously determined eligible for the National Register of Historic Places (NRHP) and all properties and districts that have been previously designated under the local St. Paul Heritage Preservation Commission (HPC).

The windshield survey conducted for the St. Paul/Ramsey County section of the Riverview Corridor photographed all properties constructed in 1980 or prior that are adjacent to the project alignment in Downtown and along West Seventh Street (see separate Windshield Survey document for more detail). The survey photographed 372 properties. Thirteen properties, including the Lowertown Historic District and the Jacob Schmidt Brewing Company Historic District, were previously listed in the NRHP. Nine properties, including the Rice Park Historic District and the Urban Renewal Historic District, have previously been determined eligible for the NRHP. The listed and previously determined eligible properties located adjacent to the corridor are shown below. The Windshield Survey includes photographs of all adjacent properties, including addresses and SHPO inventory numbers when known.

Table 1: Individually Eligible and NRHP-Listed Properties in Windshield Survey Area

Property Name	Inventory Number	NRHP Eligibility
Bridge 9300	XX-BRI-054	Eligible
Czecho Slovak Protective Society (CSPS) Hall	RA-SPC-8339	Listed
Federal Courthouse and Office Building/ Warren E. Burger Federal Building & U.S. Courthouse	RA-SPC-3166	Eligible
First National Bank of Saint Paul	RA-SPC-4645	Eligible
Germania Bank Building/ St. Paul Building	RA-SPC-5444	Listed
Hamm Building	RA-SPC-3495	Listed
Jacob Schmidt Brewing Company Historic District	RA-SPC-5318	Listed
Justus C. Ramsey House	RA-SPC-5296	Listed
Lauer Flats	RA-SPC-5048	Listed
Lowertown Historic District	RA-SPC-4580	Listed
Minnesota Mutual Life Insurance Company Building	RA-SPC-8097	Listed
Old Federal Courts Building	RA-SPC-5266	Listed
Osborn Building	RA- SPC-5446/8096/8100	Eligible
Pedestrian Bridge 62075	RA-SPC-4675	Eligible
Pioneer & Endicott Midwest Building	RA-SPC-5223	Listed
Rice Park Historic District	RA-SPC-4423	Eligible
Rice Park	RA-SPC-5245	Listed
Rochat-Louise-Sauerwein Block	RA-SPC-5298/5299	Listed
Saint Paul Athletic Club	RA-SPC-0550	Eligible
Saint Paul Hotel/Hotel St. Paul	RA-SPC-3493	Eligible
Union Depot	RA-SPC-5225	Listed
Urban Renewal Historic District	RA-SPC-8364	Eligible

Recommendations

The research for this historic context has identified several neighborhood and thematic studies that will likely require further analysis as part of identification efforts for the Riverview Corridor. Further study is anticipated because existing and potential districts extend beyond the scope of the Windshield Survey. Existing districts may require refinement of information and boundaries in order to determine potential effects. In other cases, adequate research has not been done to determine whether districts exist. Recommendations are described below, and those with specific locations are shown on Figure 1 following the text.

Fort Snelling Context

This context did not include a study of Fort Snelling/Bdote. The many layers of history at the confluence of the Minnesota and Mississippi Rivers requires an analysis that incorporates the heritage of sacred Native American beliefs at Bdote, Native American life, the changing landscape, as well as the later arrival of Euro-Americans in the fur trade and the later military history. Fort Snelling/Bdote can be viewed through many perspectives that require a separate historic context from the urban development themes of the St. Paul section of the corridor. The SHPO is currently preparing an update to the National Register (NRHP) and National Historic Landmark (NHL) listing of Fort Snelling, a document that is forthcoming and would contribute to further studies of Fort Snelling/Bdote.

Archaeology Context

Similarly, an archaeology study is necessary for the Riverview Corridor, both in the St. Paul section and the area through Fort Snelling across the Mississippi River. The Archaeological Literature Search conducted for the St. Paul section in conjunction with this context, identified five sub-areas with archaeological potential and recommended Phase I archaeology for those areas if subsurface impacts occur. These sites include (1) Hidden Falls Park; (2) Stewart Avenue; (3) Cleveland Circle; (4) Rice Park; and (5) East Fifth Street (see archaeology report for more detailed locations/descriptions). The report provided basic information about these sites but additional contextual information will be needed in conjunction with archaeology survey.¹

Irvine Park Historic District updated nomination

The Irvine Park Historic District was a very early NRHP nomination and has never been updated to provide a clear listing and description of its approximately 30 properties. The nomination does not include a description of the park landscape or character-defining features of the district. Although Irvine Park has been designated as both an NRHP district and an HPC district (both bounded by West Seventh on the north), the two district designations have different geographical boundaries at the southern corners. In addition, because many buildings were moved into and within the district in the 1970s and 1980s, and extensive renovations have occurred, an updated evaluation is needed in order to understand potential effects on the district.

Identification of the Uppertown Neighborhood Historic District

At least two previous surveys of West Seventh have recommended consideration of an Uppertown Historic District. A 1992 survey recommended a large area west of Irvine Park from the Short Line Railroad on the

¹ Michelle M. Terrell, Two Pines Resource Group, *Archaeological Literature Search for the Riverview Corridor Project – Ramsey County, Minnesota, November 2019*, 19.

south, west along Grace and Toronto to I-35E on the north.² A 2011 survey focused in on a smaller residential area south of West Seventh, generally west of Wilkin Street to Dousman and Goodhue Streets with approximately 36 historic properties identified.³ These neighborhoods contain dwellings of established American residents, and German and Czech immigrants. There are larger dwellings, but many modest woodframe dwellings as well as limestone and brick residences. Although a wealth of information has been written about Uppertown, no one has identified character-defining features and used them to support determination of district boundaries. It is also unknown whether there are particular areas that reflect particular ethnic groups, housing types or craftsmanship.

German and Czech Residential Districts

In conjunction with an Uppertown district, further analysis should determine whether there was a particular core of settlement for German or Czech immigrants. Many German immigrants settled in the West Seventh neighborhood and operated businesses along West Seventh. Although limestone houses were associated with German masons, research should determine whether there is a particular neighborhood representing the German heritage or whether there are other significant properties with the architectural, social or cultural connections to the German community.

There are references to Czech immigrants in the area around the High Bridge by the 1870s, but later Czech settlement occurred in the area near St. Stanislaus and the CSPA Hall, two of the important institutions in the Czech community. There were also many Czech business owners along West Seventh. While it is clear that Czechs have always had a strong presence that continues to be recognized, it has been more difficult to determine if there is one neighborhood core, or whether there have been a number of settlements. Additional research should determine whether there are particular property types or architectural styles associated with Czech communities and to better understand whether there is potential for an historic district associated with the Czech community.⁴

Commercial Buildings

While many downtown commercial buildings have been studied for NRHP eligibility, less is known about the city's streetcar commercial corridors and later commercial nodes. West Seventh is an excellent example of a long streetcar corridor that attracted a variety of commercial property types over time. The earliest examples are typically two- and three-story buildings with first-floor storefronts and flats or meeting rooms on upper levels. The Rochat-Louise-Sauerwein buildings east of Grand are already NRHP-listed. Along West Seventh Street, there are commercial concentrations from Douglas to Goodrich (north side) that largely date to the 1880s. Southwest of Goodrich Avenue along West Seventh, there are more scattered commercial buildings; some were razed when the viaduct was built over the Milwaukee Road near St. Clair Avenue. The larger neighborhood shopping district between James Avenue and Tuscarora contains many commercial buildings constructed as early as the 1880s and continuing to fill in until the 1910s. Many of these buildings have undergone multiple renovations and not all retain integrity, although commercial nodes of several buildings may remain. The commercial buildings deserve further study to determine whether there is individual significance for their role in the community, for their relationship to particular ethnic communities, or

² James A. Sazevich, Scott D. McGinnis, and Donald Empson, *Uppertown Survey Final Report*, prepared for the Saint Paul Heritage Preservation Commission and the Minnesota Historical Society, 1992.

³ Mead & Hunt, *Historic Resources Inventory: Historic Resources in Portions of the Payne-Phalen, Thomas-Dale and West 7th Neighborhoods*, prepared for Historic Saint Paul, City of Saint Paul Heritage Preservation Commission, and Ramsey County Historical Society Saint Paul, Minnesota, July 2011; 155-156, 166.

⁴ There is currently a neighborhood residents group, affiliated with the West Seventh Federation, that has identified the area bounded by Smith Avenue, West Seventh, Grace Street and I-35E as the "Little Bohemia Association." Over the last two decades the residents group and the Federation acquired vacated houses in the neighborhood and rehabilitated them for new owners. See Ed Johnson; David Lanegran; and Betty Moran, *The Landscape Impact of the West Seventh Federation: A Neighborhood Tour* (St. Paul: West Seventh /Fort Road Federation, 2016), 27-29.

for architecture. A commercial property context should also compare these commercial buildings to those in other streetcar corridors in the city such as Payne Avenue, Rice Street, East Seventh Street or South Robert/Concord.

The area of West Seventh west of I-35 contains commercial buildings constructed in the 1950s and after, including strip malls, individual restaurant buildings, service stations and other examples. These properties should be studied for eligibility within a broader historic context on post-war, highway strip commercial properties in St. Paul, since few have been previously examined.

Residential Construction—Multi-Family Housing

While a number of surveys have examined historic single family housing, less is known about various forms of multi-family housing along West Seventh or in the City of St. Paul. Rowhouses were built in the 1880s and 1890s and have survived as both woodframe construction and more elaborate brick examples. These properties have also survived in the Dayton's Bluff and Summit Hill neighborhoods, although it is not clear if those examples are similar or more elaborate in architectural style. Similarly, few studies have been conducted on the individuals who resided in these properties in either West Seventh or throughout the city.

As an important streetcar and later vehicular corridor, West Seventh has multi-family housing constructed in various eras. While many other neighborhoods represent one period of growth, West Seventh illustrates all eras from its eastern end with nineteenth century rowhouses, to the large apartment complexes and buildings that have been built in the last decade. The West Seventh neighborhood did not seem to attract as many 1920s apartment buildings as along some streetcar lines, such as Grand Avenue. However, it did attract many postwar (1950s and 1960s) four-plex and eight-plex buildings, as well as larger three-story apartment buildings. A number of these filled in vacant lots along the corridor southwest to I-35E. Post-war buildings west of I-35E tended to be placed on vacant land, rather than replacing earlier buildings. Sibley Manor at West Seventh and Davern Streets was among the first complexes in the early 1950s, with multiple, similar buildings placed in a setting that incorporated a curvilinear street and landscaping. Other apartments, sometimes in individual buildings, or groups of two or three buildings, also line the corridor.

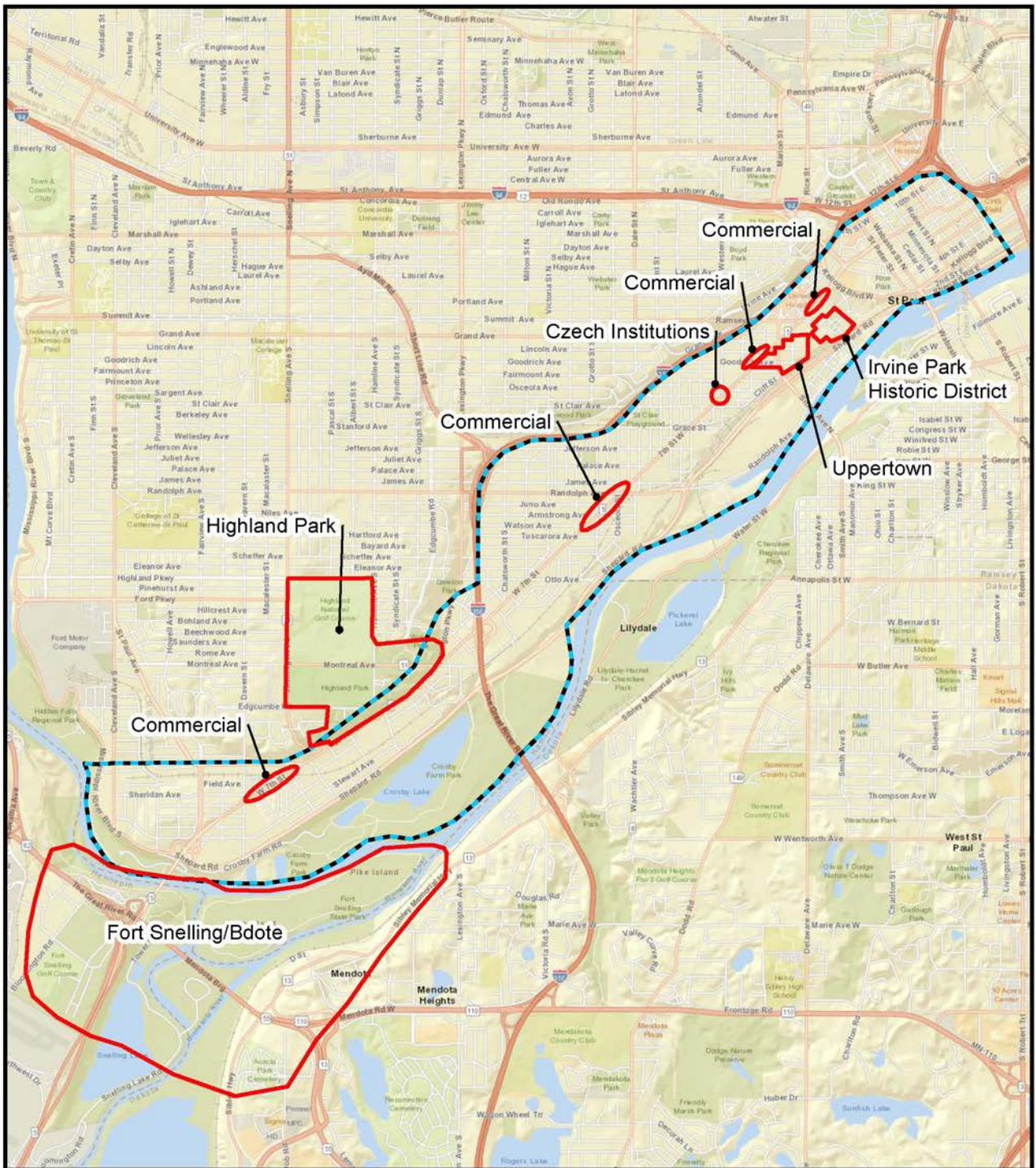
Analysis of multi-family buildings should compare the buildings along West Seventh to other multi-family housing throughout the city to determine whether multi-family development along West Seventh was merely typical or significant in density, design, purpose, or influence.

Highland Park

West of I-35E, the bluff adjacent to West Seventh Street is part of Highland Park, although not always recognized as park land. Given that it is along West Seventh Street adjacent to the Riverview Corridor, the entire park should be evaluated for NRHP eligibility to confirm whether the bluff section/open land is recognized as part of the park and to better understand the potential effects the project may have on the landscape. Although park buildings and structures have been studied individually, the park as a whole has not been evaluated as a cultural landscape, as a recreational facility, or as part of the city's park and boulevard systems.⁵


The following map shows general locations of areas described in the recommendations. Not shown are the German and Czech areas that have not yet been identified, or the multi-family buildings that occur throughout the corridor. See the Archaeological Literature Search for more analysis on the archaeological sites.

⁵ Surveyed properties in Highland Park include: Highland Park Water Tower (RA-HPC-8221) NRHP; Bridge 62075 (RA-SPC- 6507), NRHP (pedestrian bridge over Montreal); Highland Park Pavilion (RA-HPC-4677), 1403 Montreal Ave. W.; Highland Park Outdoor Facility (RA-SPC-4676 1335 Montreal Ave. W. There are no determinations of eligibility on the pavilion or outdoor facility; and other individual properties and sites should also be surveyed and evaluated along with the park, including individual elements and landscape as a whole.



**RIVERVIEW CORRIDOR
RAMSEY COUNTY
HISTORIC CONTEXT RECOMMENDATIONS
2020**

Legend
 Context Study Area

0 800 Meters
 0 3,500 Feet 1:50,000

Date Saved: 4/10/2020 9:00:04 AM

TABLE A

National Register Listed and Eligible Properties in Riverview Context Study Area

National Register Listed and Eligible Properties in Riverview Study Area (November 2019 from SHPO Database)

Inventory Number	Property Name	Address	NRHP	CEF	DOE	SEF	District
RA-SPC-0553	Central Presbyterian Church	500 Cedar St. N	Y				
RA-SPC-0554	St. Louis King of France Church	506 Cedar St. N		Y			
RA-SPC-0555	St. Louis Parish House	506 Cedar St.		Y			
RA-SPC-1200	St. Agatha's Conservatory of Music & Art	26 Exchange St. E	Y				
RA-SPC-1203	Junior Pioneer Association Building	192 Exchange St. W		Y			
RA-SPC-1979	Merchants National Bank Building	366-368 Jackson St. N	Y				
RA-SPC-3169	Endicott Arcade	350 Robert St.	Y				
RA-SPC-3170	Manhattan Building	360 Robert St. N.	Y				
RA-SPC-3177	Robert Street Bridge (Bridge No. 9036)	Robert St. S. south of Kellogg Blvd.	Y				
RA-SPC-3321	St. Paul Municipal Elevator and Sack House	266 Shepard Rd. W.	Y	Y			
RA-SPC-3407	Avery Ward Adams House	454 Smith Ave. N		Y			
RA-SPC-3490	St. Paul Women's City Club	305 St. Peter St.	Y				
RA-SPC-3493	Saint Paul Hotel/Hotel St. Paul	350 Market St. N		Y	Y		
RA-SPC-3495	Hamm Building	408 St. Peter St.	Y	Y			
RA-SPC-3536	William Banholzer House	680 Stewart Ave.		Y			
RA-SPC-4517	Farwell, Ozmun, Kirk & Company	150-160 Kellogg Blvd. E		Y			
RA-SPC-4518	U.S. Post Office and Custom House	180 Kellogg Blvd. E	Y	Y			
RA-SPC-4528	St. Paul City Hall-Ramsey County Courthouse	15 Kellogg Blvd. W	Y				
RA-SPC-4568	Czecho Slovak Protective Society Hall	381-383 Michigan St. W	Y				
RA-SPC-5048	Lauer Flats	226 Western Ave. S.	Y				
RA-SPC-5223	Pioneer and Endicott-Midwest Building (Endicott Bldg.)	332 Robert St. N.	Y				
RA-SPC-5268	Armstrong, John M., House (moved from 233-235 W. 5th)	225 Eagle Pkwy	Y				
RA-SPC-5296	Ramsey, Justus C., House	252 7th St. W.	Y				
RA-SPC-5298	Sauerwein Building	261-265 7th St. W.	Y				
RA-SPC-5299	Rochat-Louise Building (Louise Bldg.)	261-277 7th St. W.	Y				
RA-SPC-5301	Rochat Building	261-277 7th St. W.	Y				

Inventory Number	Property Name	Address	NRHP	CEF	DOE	SEF	District
RA-SPC-5360	New Palace Theater/St. Francis Hotel	9 7th Pl.				Y	
RA-SPC-5407	Walsh Building	189-191 7th St. E.	Y				
RA-SPC-5420	Mickey's Diner	36 9th St. W.	Y				
RA-SPC-5421	Assumption Church	51 9th St. W.	Y				
RA-SPC-5423	Assumption School	68 EXCHANGE ST	Y				
RA-SPC-5426	St. Paul Public Safety Building	101 10th St. E.			Y		
RA-SPC-5440	Wabasha Street Bridge (razed)	Wabasha St. N. and Kellogg Blvd. E.	Y				
RA-SPC-5444	Germania Bank Building/St. Paul Building	6 W. 5th St.	Y				
RA-SPC-5450	Fitzpatrick Building	465-467 Wabasha St. N.	Y				
RA-SPC-5451	Shubert, Sam S., Theatre and Shubert Building	10 Exchange St. E and 488 N. Wabasha St.	Y				
RA-SPC-5467	First Baptist Church	499 Wacouta St.	Y				
RA-SPC-5622	Chicago Great Western Railway Company Aerial Lift Bridge	Robert St. N and Shepard Rd.		Y			
RA-SPC-6507	Bridge No. 62075	1200 Montreal Avenue		Y			
RA-SPC-6903	Endicott Arcade Addition	142 E. 5th St.		Y			
RA-SPC-6907	Union Depot Elevated Railyards	E. Kellogg Blvd.		Y			
RA-SPC-6908	Chicago, Milwaukee and Saint Paul Railway Company Railroad Corridor Segment	240 Kellogg Blvd.		Y			
RA-SPC-7137	O'Donnell Shoe Company Building	509 Sibley St.	Y			Y	
XX-BRI-054	Bridge 9300	Carries TH 5 over Mississippi River		Y			
RA-SPC-4580	Lowertown Historic District	Kellogg Blvd. and Jackson St.	Y				Lowertown Historic District
RA-SPC-3352	Gordon and Ferguson Building	331-341 Sibley St.					Lowertown Historic District
RA-SPC-3353	John Wann Building	350-364 Sibley St.					Lowertown Historic District
RA-SPC-3355	Noyes Brothers and Cutler Wholesale Drug-gists Building	400 Sibley St.					Lowertown Historic District
RA-SPC-5464	Boston and Northwest Realty Company Wacouta Street Warehouse	413 Wacouta St.					Lowertown Historic District
RA-SPC-5461	Paul Gotzian Building	351 Wacouta St.					Lowertown Historic District
RA-SPC-5462	Finch, Vanslyck and McConville Dry Goods Company	366 Wacouta St.	Y				Lowertown Historic District
RA-SPC-5463	Engine Company No. 2	412 Wacouta St.					Lowertown Historic District

Inventory Number	Property Name	Address	NRHP	CEF	DOE	SEF	District
RA-SPC-0388	Tighe Building	364-383 Broadway St.	Y				Lowertown Historic District
RA-SPC-0389	Allen Building Annex	417 Broadway St. N	Y				Lowertown Historic District
RA-SPC-4523	Griggs and Foster's Farwell, Ozmun and Kirk Building	300 Broadway St.	Y				Lowertown Historic District
RA-SPC-4519	Unknown (Depot Bar)	241 E. Kellogg Blvd.	Y				Lowertown Historic District
RA-SPC-4520	Weyerhaeuser-Denkman Building	255 E. Kellogg Blvd.	Y				Lowertown Historic District
RA-SPC-4521	Wells Fargo Express Company Building	271 E. Kellogg Blvd.	Y				Lowertown Historic District
RA-SPC-4522	James J. Hill Office Building	281-299 E. Kellogg Blvd.	Y				Lowertown Historic District
RA-SPC-3008	Northern Pacific Railway Warehouse	308 Prince St.	Y				Lowertown Historic District
RA-SPC-5225	Union Depot	214 4th St. E.	Y				Lowertown Historic District
RA-SPC-5227	Hackett Block	262-270 E. 4th St.				Y	Lowertown Historic District
RA-SPC-5229	St. Paul Rubber Company	300 E. 4th St.					Lowertown Historic District
RA-SPC-5224	Samco Sportwear Company	205-213 4th St. E.	Y				Lowertown Historic District
RA-SPC-5226	Michaud Brothers Building	249-253 E. 4th St.	Y				Lowertown Historic District
RA-SPC-5228	Chicago, St. Paul, Minneapolis and Omaha Railroad Office Building	275 E. 4th St.	Y				Lowertown Historic District
RA-SPC-5246	Railroad and Bank Building	176 E. 5th Street					Lowertown Historic District
RA-SPC-5248	Fairbanks-Morse Company	230 5th St. E.	Y				Lowertown Historic District
RA-SPC-5249	Powers Dry Goods Company	230-236 5th St. E	Y				Lowertown Historic District
RA-SPC-5250	Conrad Gotzian Shoe Company Building	242-280 E. 4th St.					Lowertown Historic District
RA-SPC-5251	Unknown (Mike and Vic's Café)	258-260 E. 5th St.					Lowertown Historic District
RA-SPC-5252	Rayette Building	261-279 E. 5th St.					Lowertown Historic District
RA-SPC-5253	Crane Building	281-287 E. 5th St.					Lowertown Historic District
RA-SPC-5274	Unknown (Seestedt Carpets)	282 E. 6th St.					Lowertown Historic District
RA-SPC-5271	Konantz Saddlery Company Building	227-231 E. 6th St.					Lowertown Historic District
RA-SPC-5272	Koehler and Hinrichs Company Building	235-237 E. 6th St.					Lowertown Historic District
RA-SPC-5273	George Sommers and Company Building	245 E. 6th St.					Lowertown Historic District
RA-SPC-5275	J. H. Allen Building	287 E. 6th St.					Lowertown Historic District
RA-SPC-5364	J. H. Weed Building	208-212 E. 7th St.					Lowertown Historic District
RA-SPC-7466	Walterstroff and Montz Bldg.	216-220 7th St. E.	Y				Lowertown Historic District
RA-SPC-5365	Constans Block	224-240 E. 7th St.					Lowertown Historic District
RA-SPC-5369	Unknown (B & M Furniture: Western building)	252 E. 7th St.					Lowertown Historic District

Inventory Number	Property Name	Address	NRHP	CEF	DOE	SEF	District
RA-SPC-5370	Unknown (B & M Furniture: Eastern building)	256 E. 7th St.					Lowertown Historic District
RA-SPC-5371	O'Connor Building	264-266 7th St. E.	Y				Lowertown Historic District
RA-SPC-5372	Unknown (Insty Prints)	278 E. 7th St.					Lowertown Historic District
RA-SPC-5373	Super America Gas Station	296-298 E. 7th St.					Lowertown Historic District
	Oaks Union Depot Condominium	244 E. 4th St.					Lowertown Historic District
	Saint Paul Farmers Market	290 5th St. E					Lowertown Historic District
RA-SPC-1945	Irvine Park Historic District	Irvine Park	Y				
RA-SPC-1206	Alexander Ramsey House	265 Exchange St.	Y				Irvine Park Historic District
RA-SPC-1207	Forepaugh-Hammond House	276 Exchange St. S	Y				Irvine Park Historic District
RA-SPC-1932	Irvine Park	Irvine Park	Y				Irvine Park Historic District
RA-SPC-1935	Henry M. Knox House	26 Irvine Park	Y				Irvine Park Historic District
RA-SPC-1936	Parker-Marshall House	30 Irvine Park (250 Sherman)	Y				Irvine Park Historic District
RA-SPC-1937	Charles L. Wood House	32 Irvine Park (255 Sherman)	Y				Irvine Park Historic District
RA-SPC-1938	Murray-Lanpher House	35 Irvine Park	Y				Irvine Park Historic District
RA-SPC-1940	Robbins-Semple House	40 Irvine Park	Y				Irvine Park Historic District
RA-SPC-1941	Henry J. Horn House	50 Irvine Park	Y				Irvine Park Historic District
RA-SPC-1943	John McDonald House	56 Irvine Park	Y				Irvine Park Historic District
RA-SPC-1944	Dr. Justus Ohage House	59 Irvine Park	Y				Irvine Park Historic District
RA-SPC-3229	Humphrey-Willis House	240 Ryan Ave. (Also 61 Irvine Park)	Y				Irvine Park Historic District
RA-SPC-5471	William A. Spencer House	47 Irvine Park	Y				Irvine Park Historic District
RA-SPC-5472	Wright-Prendergast House	223 Walnut St. S.	Y				Irvine Park Historic District
RA-SPC-5473	John Matheis House	307 Walnut St. S.	Y				Irvine Park Historic District
RA-SPC-5474	McCloud-Edgerton House	311 Walnut St.	Y				Irvine Park Historic District
RA-SPC-5300	Goodkind/ Mannheim House (RAZED)	270 7th St. W.	Y				Irvine Park Historic District
RA-SPC-7141	William Wiesinger House	304 S. Exchange St.	Y				Irvine Park Historic District
RA-SPC-3228	Charles Symonds House	234 Ryan Ave.					Irvine Park Historic District
	John R. Irvine House	240 Ryan Ave. (Also 61 Irvine Park)					Irvine Park Historic District
RA-SPC-1942	Eaton-Mylar House	53 Irvine Park					Irvine Park Historic District
RA-SPC-1208	Frank Jansen House	278-280 Sherman St.					Irvine Park Historic District
RA-SPC-1209	Knox-Austin Rogers House	284 Exchange St. S					Irvine Park Historic District

Inventory Number	Property Name	Address	NRHP	CEF	DOE	SEF	District
RA-SPC-1210	George Hess House	288 Exchange St. S					Irvine Park Historic District
RA-SPC-7142	Otto Dreher House	300 Exchange St. S	Y				Irvine Park Historic District
RA-SPC-3230	Joseph Thiessen House	292 Ryan Ave. W					Irvine Park Historic District
RA-SPC-3348	Stillwell-Hankey House	310 Sherman St.					Irvine Park Historic District
RA-SPC-1939	Eaton-Smyth House (razed)	38 Irvine Park					Irvine Park Historic District
RA-SPC-8517	Wagner Marty House	38 Irvine Park					Irvine Park Historic District
	Freedom House (Saint Paul Fire Department)	296 7th St. W					Irvine Park Historic District
	St. Croix Cleaners	286 7th St. W					Irvine Park Historic District
	building	280 7th St. W					Irvine Park Historic District
	Commercial Building	262 7th St. W					Irvine Park Historic District
Urban Renewal Historic District							
RA-SPC-8364	(Currently in Review)						
RA-SPC-0550	St. Paul Athletic Club	340 Cedar St. N		Y			Urban Renewal Historic District
RA-SPC-3166	Warren E. Burger Federal Building & United States Courthouse	316 N. Robert St.		Y			Urban Renewal Historic District
RA-SPC-8090	St. Paul Hilton	11 E. Kellogg Blvd.		Y			Urban Renewal Historic District
RA-SPC-8091	St. Paul YWCA	65 E. Kellogg Blvd.		Y			Urban Renewal Historic District
RA-SPC-8092	Kellogg Square	111 E. Kellogg Blvd.		Y			Urban Renewal Historic District
RA-SPC-8093	Kellogg Square Parking Ramp	111 E. Kellogg Blvd.		Y			Urban Renewal Historic District
RA-SPC-8094	Kellogg Square Townhouses	111 E. Kellogg Blvd.		Y			Urban Renewal Historic District
RA-SPC-8095	Dayton's Department St.	411 Cedar St.		Y			Urban Renewal Historic District
RA-SPC-8096	Osborn Building	370 N. Wabasha	Y				Urban Renewal Historic District
RA-SPC-8097	Minnesota Mutual Life Insurance Company Building	345 Cedar St	Y				Urban Renewal Historic District
RA-SPC-8098	Victory Ramp	4th St. E and Wabasha St. N		Y			Urban Renewal Historic District
RA-SPC-8099	Degree of Honor Building	325 Cedar St.		Y			Urban Renewal Historic District
RA-SPC-8100	Osborne Plaza	370 N. Wabasha		Y			Urban Renewal Historic District
RA-SPC-8101	Northwestern National Bank	55 E. 5th St.		Y			Urban Renewal Historic District
RA-SPC-8102	Capital Centre Bldg.	366 Wabasha St.		Y			Urban Renewal Historic District
RA-SPC-8103	American National Bank Bldg.	101 5th St. E		Y			Urban Renewal Historic District

Inventory Number	Property Name	Address	NRHP	CEF	DOE	SEF	District
RA-SPC-8104	First Bank Addition	332 Minnesota St.		Y			Urban Renewal Historic District
RA-SPC-8105	Minnesota Department of Economic Security	390 N. Robert St.		Y			Urban Renewal Historic District
RA-SPC-8107	The Buttery	395 N. Robert		Y			Urban Renewal Historic District
RA-SPC-8108	Radisson Hotel Addition	Kellogg Blvd. and Cedar St.		Y			Urban Renewal Historic District
RA-SPC-8109	Farm Credit Banks	135 E. 5th St.		Y			Urban Renewal Historic District
RA-SPC-8110	Parking Structure	45 E. Kellogg		Y			Urban Renewal Historic District
RA-SPC-8111	Parking Structure	50 E. 4th St.		Y			Urban Renewal Historic District
RA-SPC-6901	Farm Credit Services Building	375 Jackson St.		Y			Urban Renewal Historic District
RA-SPC-6902	Minnesota Department of Economic Security	390 Robert St. N		Y			Urban Renewal Historic District
RA-SPC-5445	Northern States Power Company	360 Wabasha St.		Y			Urban Renewal Historic District
RA-SPC-5446	Osborn Building	370 N Wabasha St.		Y			Urban Renewal Historic District
RA-SPC-3168	First Farmers and Merchants Bank	339 Robert St. N.		Y			Urban Renewal Historic District
RA-SPC-5220	Commerce Building	10 4th St. E.		Y			Urban Renewal Historic District
RA-SPC-5222	Minnesota Building	46 4th St. E.		Y		Y	Urban Renewal Historic District
RA-SPC-4645	First National Bank of Saint Paul	332 Minnesota St		Y			Urban Renewal Historic District
RA-SPC-5940	First Federal Savings and Loan (RAZED)	360 Cedar St.		Y			Urban Renewal Historic District
RA-SPC-5318							
Jacob Schmidt Brewing Company Historic District							
RA-SPC-2937	Office Building	882 W 7th St		Y			Company Historic District
RA-SPC-2938	Keg House	882 W 7th St (historically 610 James Ave)		Y			Company Historic District
RA-SPC-2939	Well House #4	approx. 882 W 7th St		Y			Company Historic District
RA-SPC-2940	Foundation of Corn Silo	approx. Ne corner of James Ave and Toronto St		Y			Company Historic District
RA-SPC-2941	Bottling Plant	900 W 7th St		Y			Company Historic District

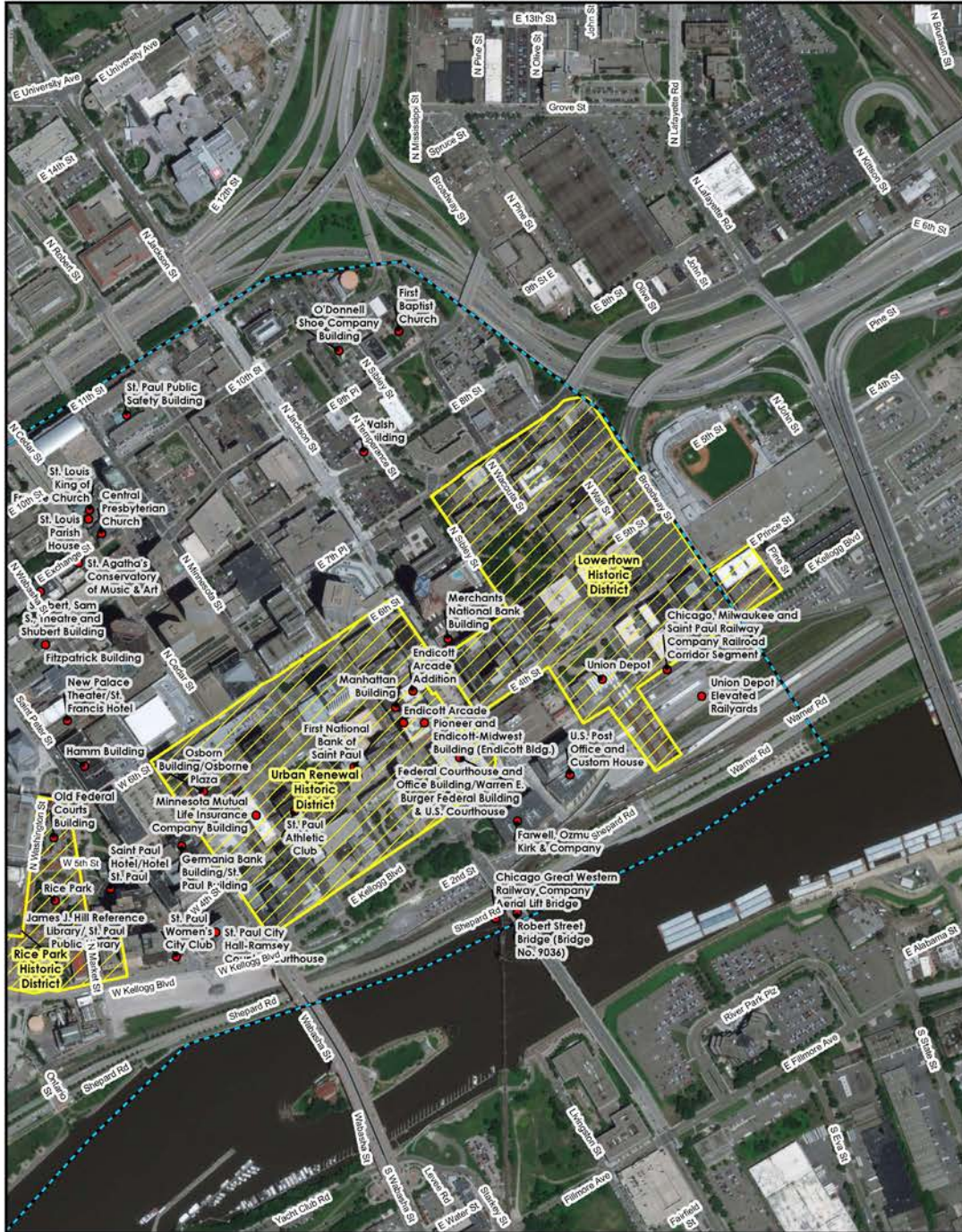
Inventory Number	Property Name	Address	NRHP	CEF	DOE	SEF	District
RA-SPC-2942	Malt House (1a) (Jacob Schmidt Brewing Company)	Oneida St.	Y				Jacob Schmidt Brewing Company Historic District
RA-SPC-2943	Malt House (1b) (Jacob Schmidt Brewing Company)	Oneida St.	Y				Jacob Schmidt Brewing Company Historic District
RA-SPC-2944	Malt House (1c) (Jacob Schmidt Brewing Company)	Oneida St.	Y				Jacob Schmidt Brewing Company Historic District
RA-SPC-2945	Generator House (1d) (Jacob Schmidt Brewing Company)	Oneida St.	Y				Jacob Schmidt Brewing Company Historic District
RA-SPC-2946	Underground Cellars	no address, under district	Y				Jacob Schmidt Brewing Company Historic District
RA-SPC-2947	Machine House (1e) (Jacob Schmidt Brewing Company)		Y				Jacob Schmidt Brewing Company Historic District
RA-SPC-2948	Brew House 1 (1f) (Jacob Schmidt Brewing Company)		Y				Jacob Schmidt Brewing Company Historic District
RA-SPC-2949	Brew House 2 (1g) (Jacob Schmidt Brewing Company)		Y				Jacob Schmidt Brewing Company Historic District
RA-SPC-2950	Lantern Room (1h) (Jacob Schmidt Brewing Company)		Y				Jacob Schmidt Brewing Company Historic District
RA-SPC-2951	Store Room (1i) (Jacob Schmidt Brewing Company)		Y				Jacob Schmidt Brewing Company Historic District
RA-SPC-2952	Wash House (1j) (Jacob Schmidt Brewing Company)		Y				Jacob Schmidt Brewing Company Historic District
RA-SPC-2953	Wash House Addition (1l) (Jacob Schmidt Brewing Company)	Webster St.	Y				Jacob Schmidt Brewing Company Historic District
RA-SPC-2954	Racking Room (1k) (Jacob Schmidt Brewing Company)		Y				Jacob Schmidt Brewing Company Historic District
RA-SPC-2955	Racking House (1n) (Jacob Schmidt Brewing Company)	Webster St.	Y				Jacob Schmidt Brewing Company Historic District

Inventory Number	Property Name	Address	NRHP	CEF	DOE	SEF	District
RA-SPC-2956	New Stock House (1o) (Jacob Schmidt Brewing Company)	Oneida St.	Y				Jacob Schmidt Brewing Company Historic District
RA-SPC-2957	Malt Elevator (1p) (Jacob Schmidt Brewing Company)		Y				Jacob Schmidt Brewing Company Historic District
RA-SPC-2958	Conveyor (1q) (Jacob Schmidt Brewing Company)		Y				Jacob Schmidt Brewing Company Historic District
RA-SPC-2959	Train Shed (1r) (Jacob Schmidt Brewing Company)		Y				Jacob Schmidt Brewing Company Historic District
RA-SPC-2960	Pipe Shop (1s) (Jacob Schmidt Brewing Company)		Y				Jacob Schmidt Brewing Company Historic District
RA-SPC-2961	Electrical Utility Building	approx. 378 toronto St	Y				Jacob Schmidt Brewing Company Historic District
RA-SPC-2962	Frank and Angela Nicolin House	847 W 7th St	Y				Jacob Schmidt Brewing Company Historic District
RA-SPC-2963	Delivery Vehicle Complex	378 Toronto St	Y				Jacob Schmidt Brewing Company Historic District
RA-SPC-2964	Nicolin Duplex	357 Oneida St	Y				Jacob Schmidt Brewing Company Historic District
RA-SPC-2965	Billboard	SW corner of W 7th St and Erie St	Y				Jacob Schmidt Brewing Company Historic District
RA-SPC-2966	Truck Unloading Dock (2e) (Jacob Schmidt Brewing Company)		Y				Jacob Schmidt Brewing Company Historic District
RA-SPC-2967	Truck Ramp (2f) (Jacob Schmidt Brewing Company)		Y				Jacob Schmidt Brewing Company Historic District
RA-SPC-2968	Bottle Warehouse Annex (2g, 2h) (Jacob Schmidt Brewing Company)	SW corner of W 7th St and Jefferson Ave	Y				Jacob Schmidt Brewing Company Historic District
RA-SPC-2969	Public Bus Shelter		Y				Jacob Schmidt Brewing Company Historic District

Inventory Number	Property Name	Address	NRHP	CEF	DOE	SEF	District
RA-SPC-2970	John and Susanna Aubele House	601 Palace Ave	Y				Jacob Schmidt Brewing Company Historic District
RA-SPC-2971	Well House #6	888 W 7th St	Y				Jacob Schmidt Brewing Company Historic District
RA-SPC-2972	Bottle Shipping House Parking Lot Retaining Wall and Fence	approx. 900 W 7th St (historically 396-440 Oneida St)	Y				Jacob Schmidt Brewing Company Historic District
RA-SPC-2973	Main Brewing Complex	900 W 7th St (historically 405-425 Oneida St)	Y				Jacob Schmidt Brewing Company Historic District
RA-SPC-2974	Ethanol Cooling Plant	approx. NE corner of Janes Ave and Erie St	Y				Jacob Schmidt Brewing Company Historic District
RA-SPC-4841	Michael and Katherine Lierich House	615 Palace Ave	Y				Jacob Schmidt Brewing Company Historic District
RA-SPC-5316	Stahlmann-Schmidt-Bremer House	855 7th St W	Y				Jacob Schmidt Brewing Company Historic District
RA-SPC-5317	Henry C and Angelina Stahlmann House	877 7th St W	Y				Jacob Schmidt Brewing Company Historic District
Rice Park Historic District (Currently in Review)							
RA-SPC-5266	U.S. Post Office, Courthouse and Customs House (Old Federal Courts Building; Landmark Center)	75 West 5th St.	Y		Y		Rice Park Historic District
RA-SPC-5485	Minnesota Club	317 Washington St.			Y		Rice Park Historic District
RA-SPC-4423	Rice Park	Between West 4th, West 5th, Washington and Market Streets			Y		Rice Park Historic District
RA-SPC-5245	Saint Paul Public Library/James J. Hill Reference Library	80-90 West 4th St.	Y				Rice Park Historic District
RA-SPC-4530,4531,4532	Tri-State Telephone Company	59 West Kellogg Blvd			Y		Rice Park Historic District

MAP SET A

National Register Listed and Eligible
Properties in Riverview Context Study Area



**National Register
Listed and Eligible Properties
Riverview Study Area
Ramsey County, Minnesota**

Legend

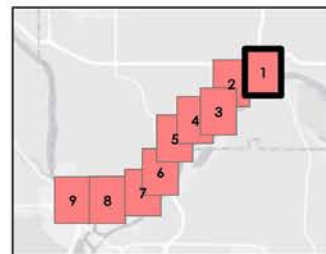
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- NRHP Listed and Eligible Properties
- NRHP Listed and Eligible Districts

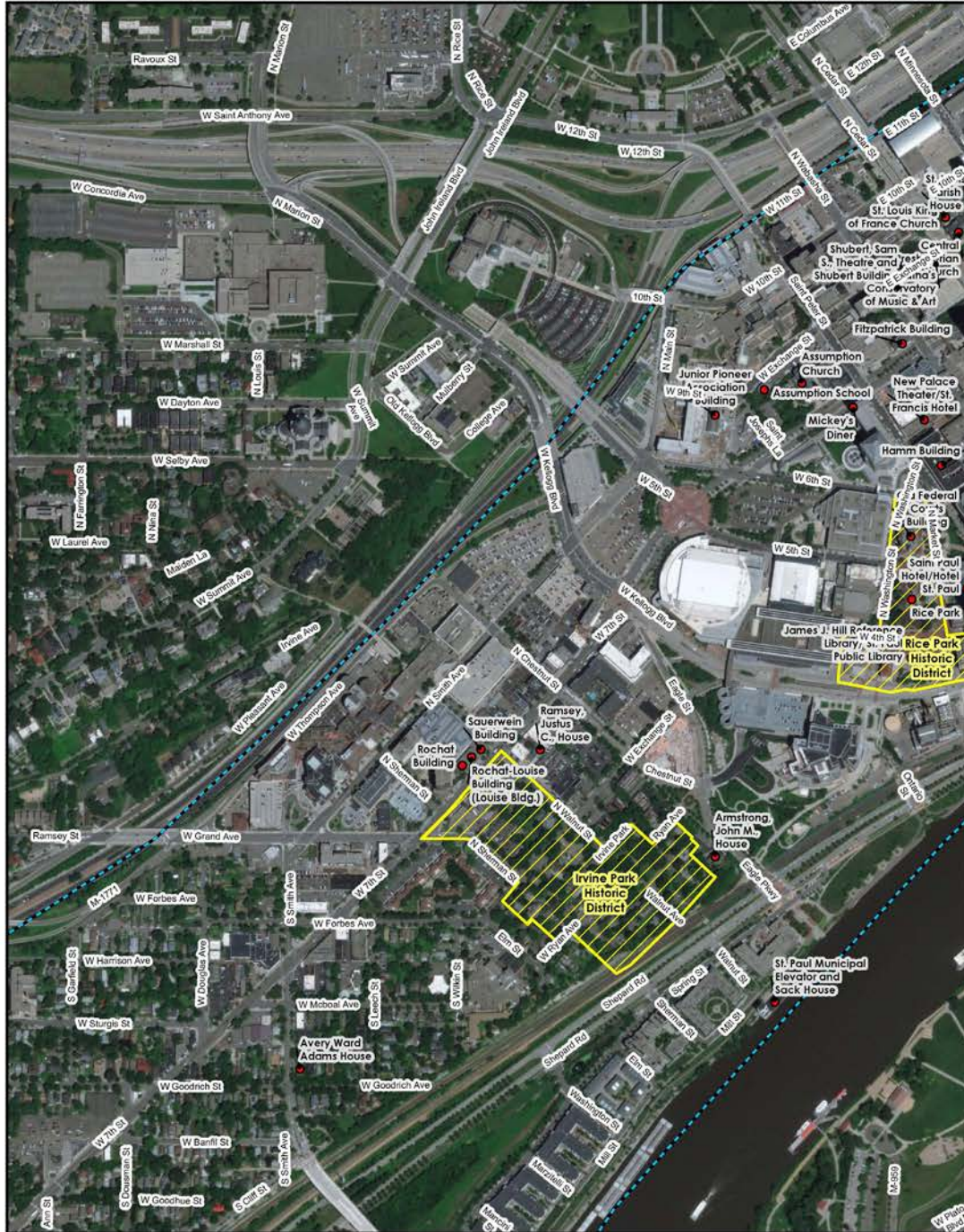
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**National Register
Listed and Eligible Properties
Riverview Study Area
Ramsey County, Minnesota**

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- Context Study Area
- NRHP Listed and Eligible Properties
- NRHP Listed and Eligible Districts

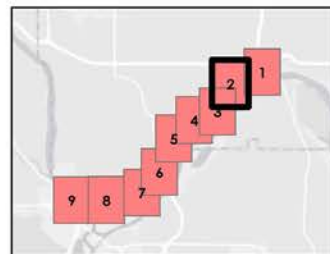
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**National Register
Listed and Eligible Properties
Riverview Study Area
Ramsey County, Minnesota**

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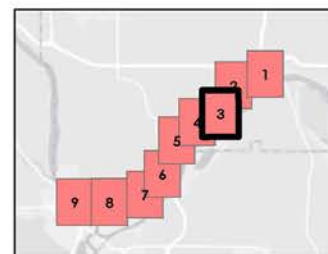
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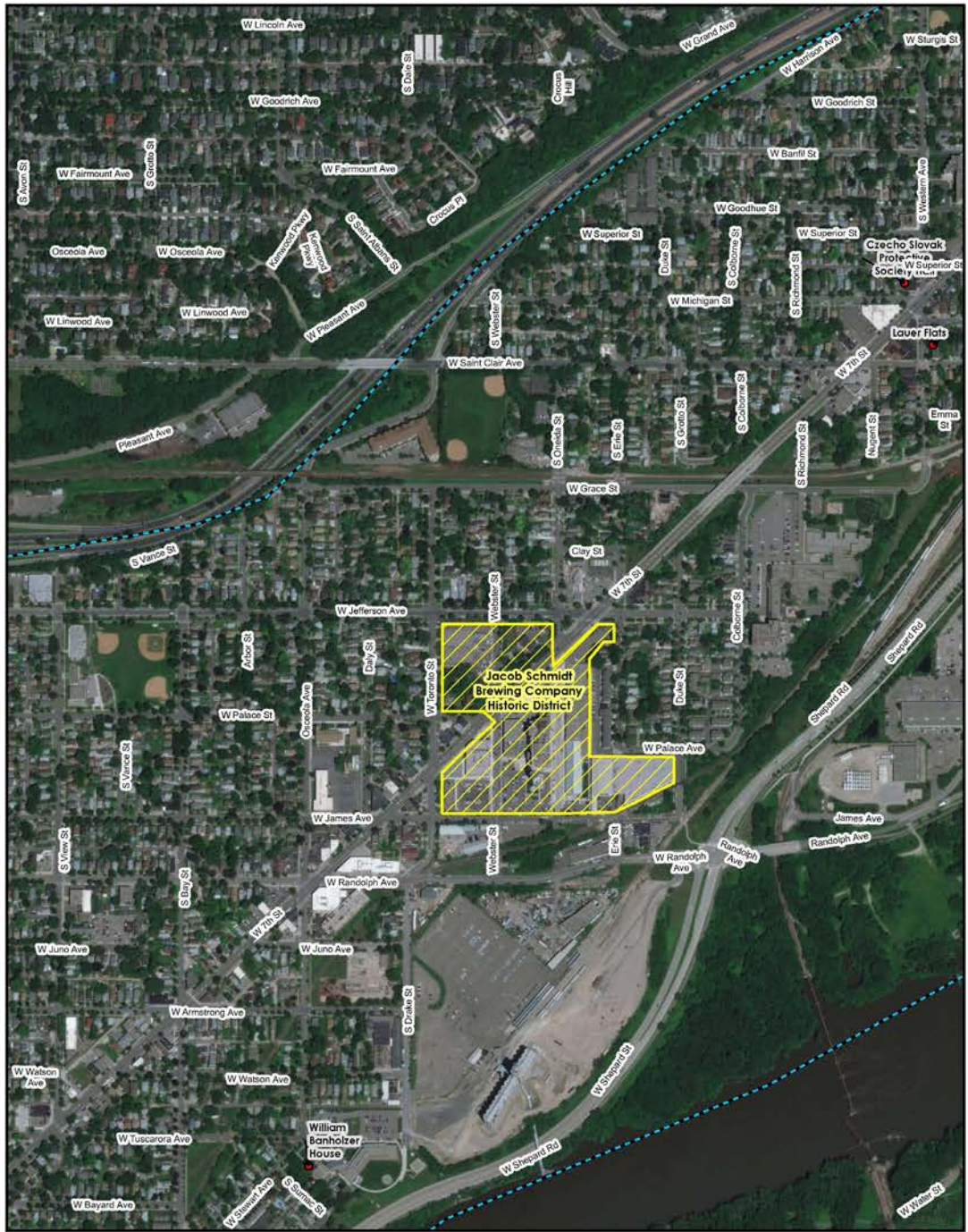
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**National Register
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Riverview Study Area
Ramsey County, Minnesota**

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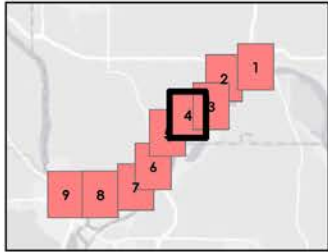
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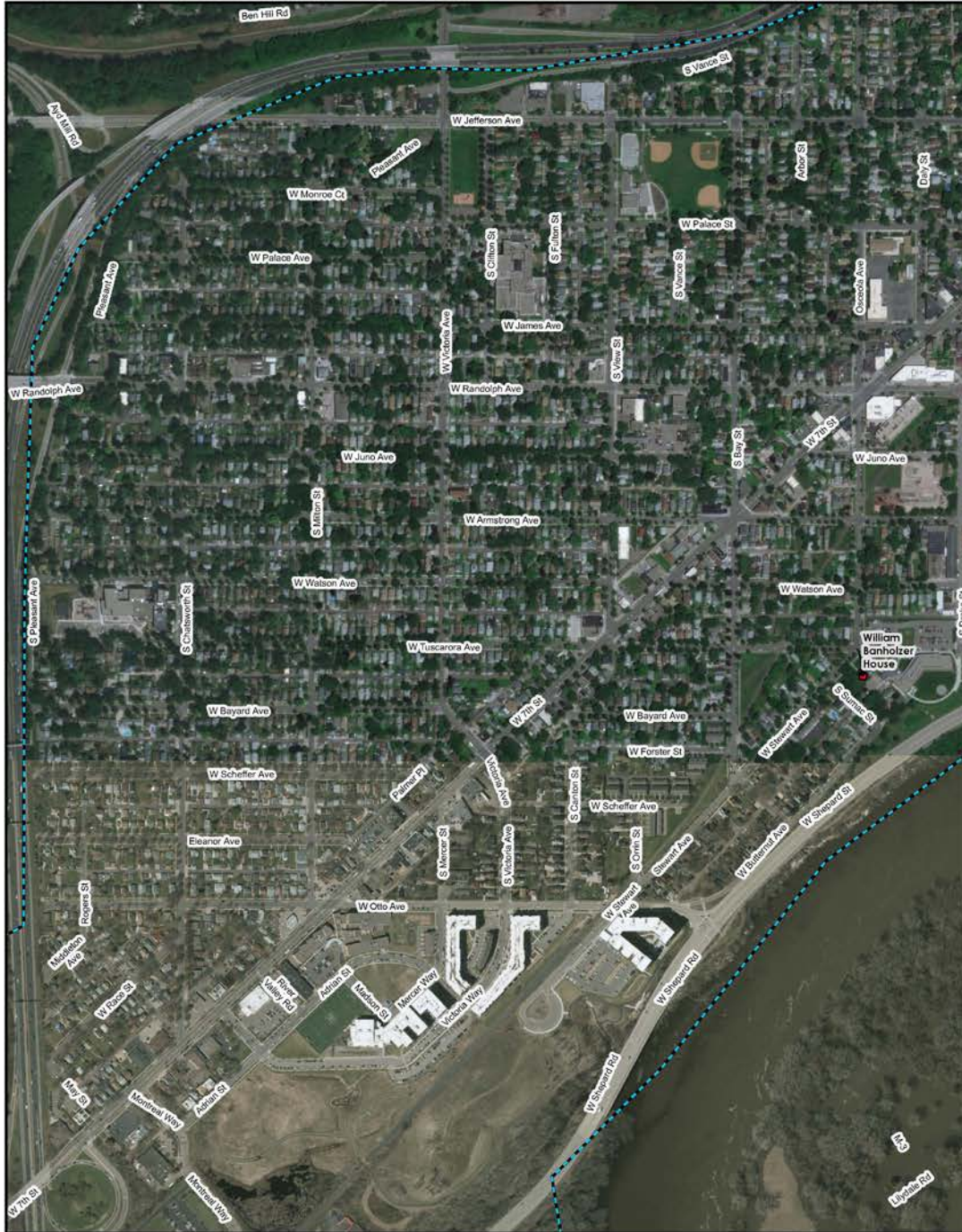
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Riverview Study Area
Ramsey County, Minnesota**

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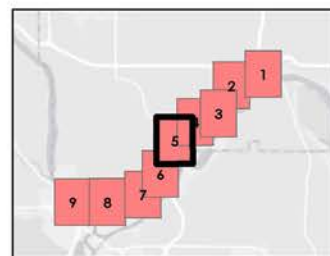
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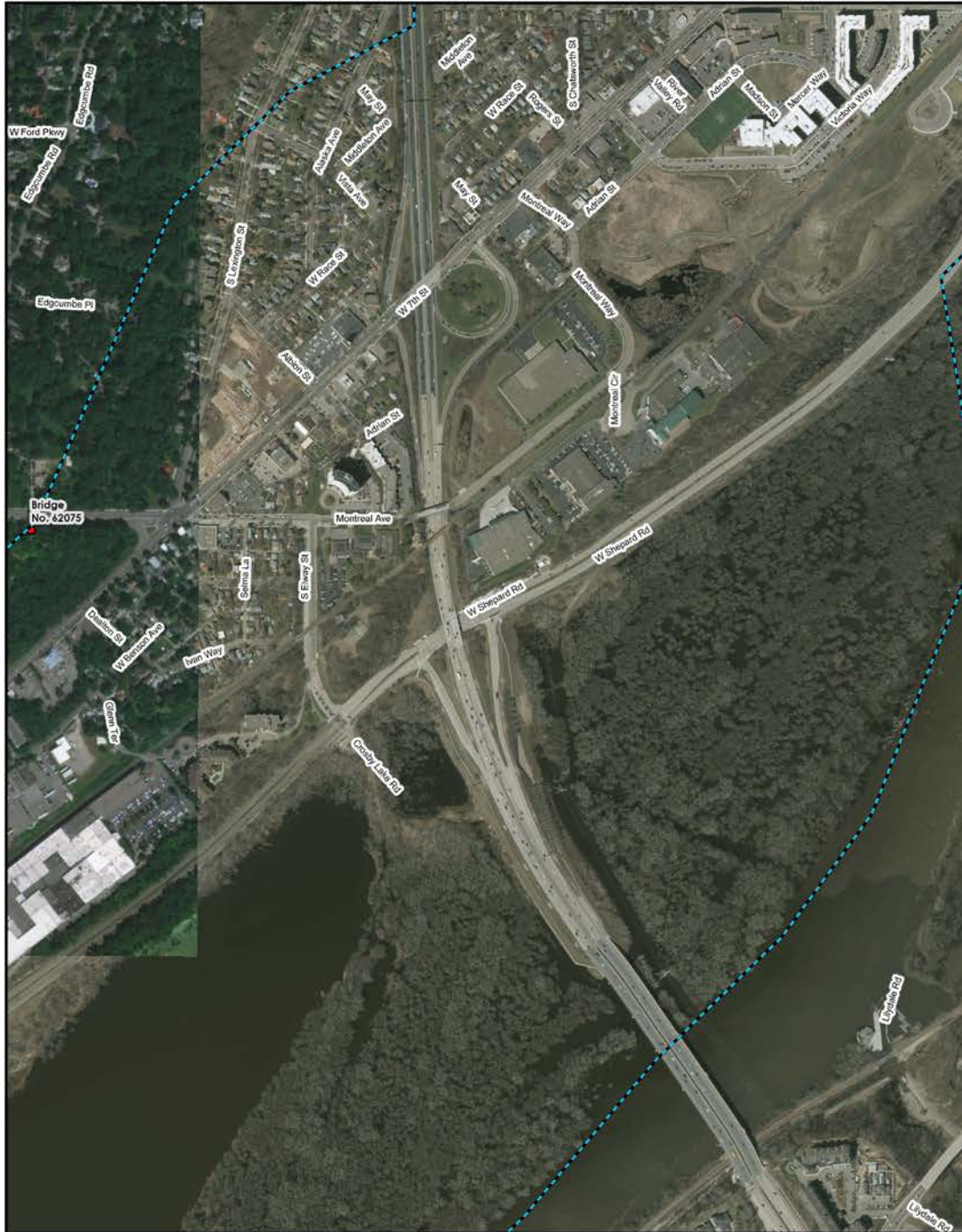
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Riverview Study Area
Ramsey County, Minnesota**

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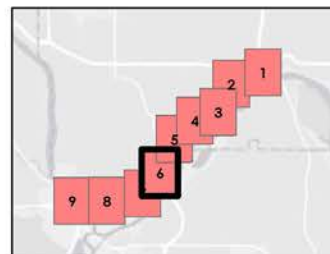
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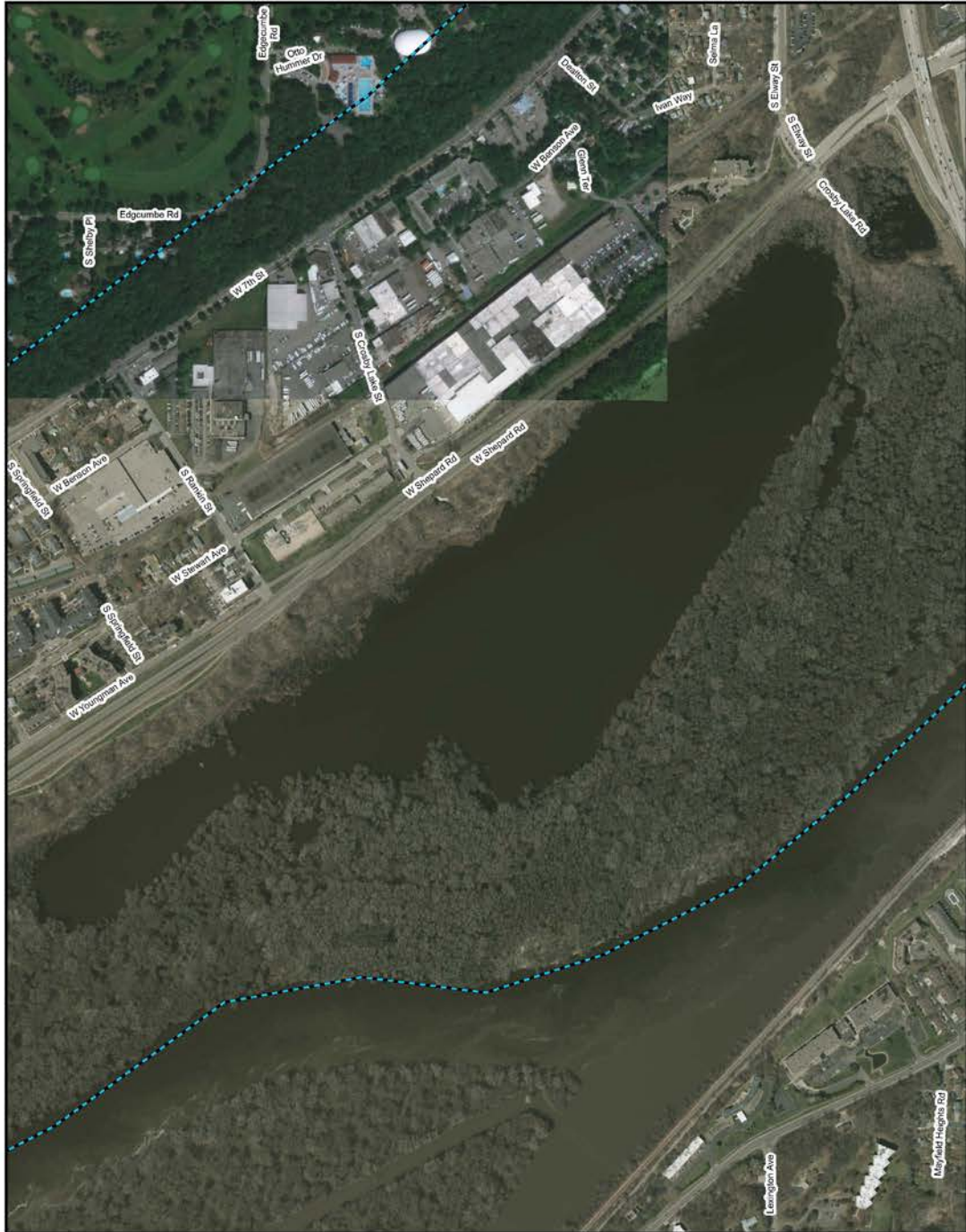


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Riverview Study Area
Ramsey County, Minnesota**

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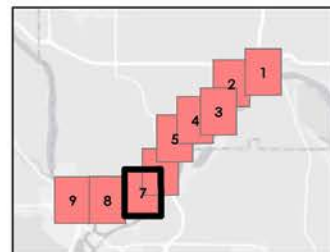
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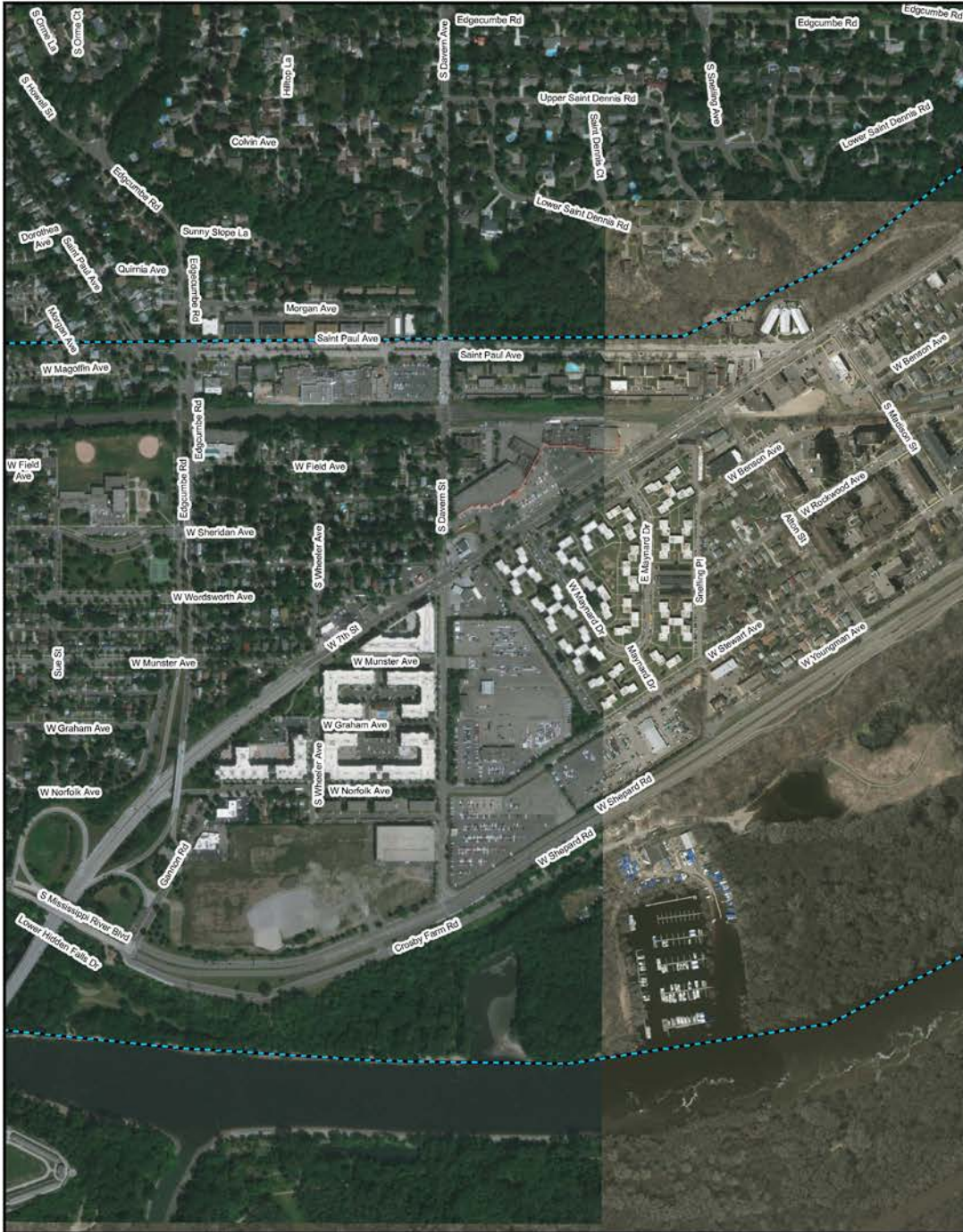
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**National Register
Listed and Eligible Properties
Riverview Study Area
Ramsey County, Minnesota**

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-  NRHP Listed and Eligible Properties
-  NRHP Listed and Eligible Districts

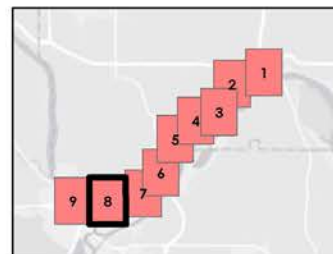
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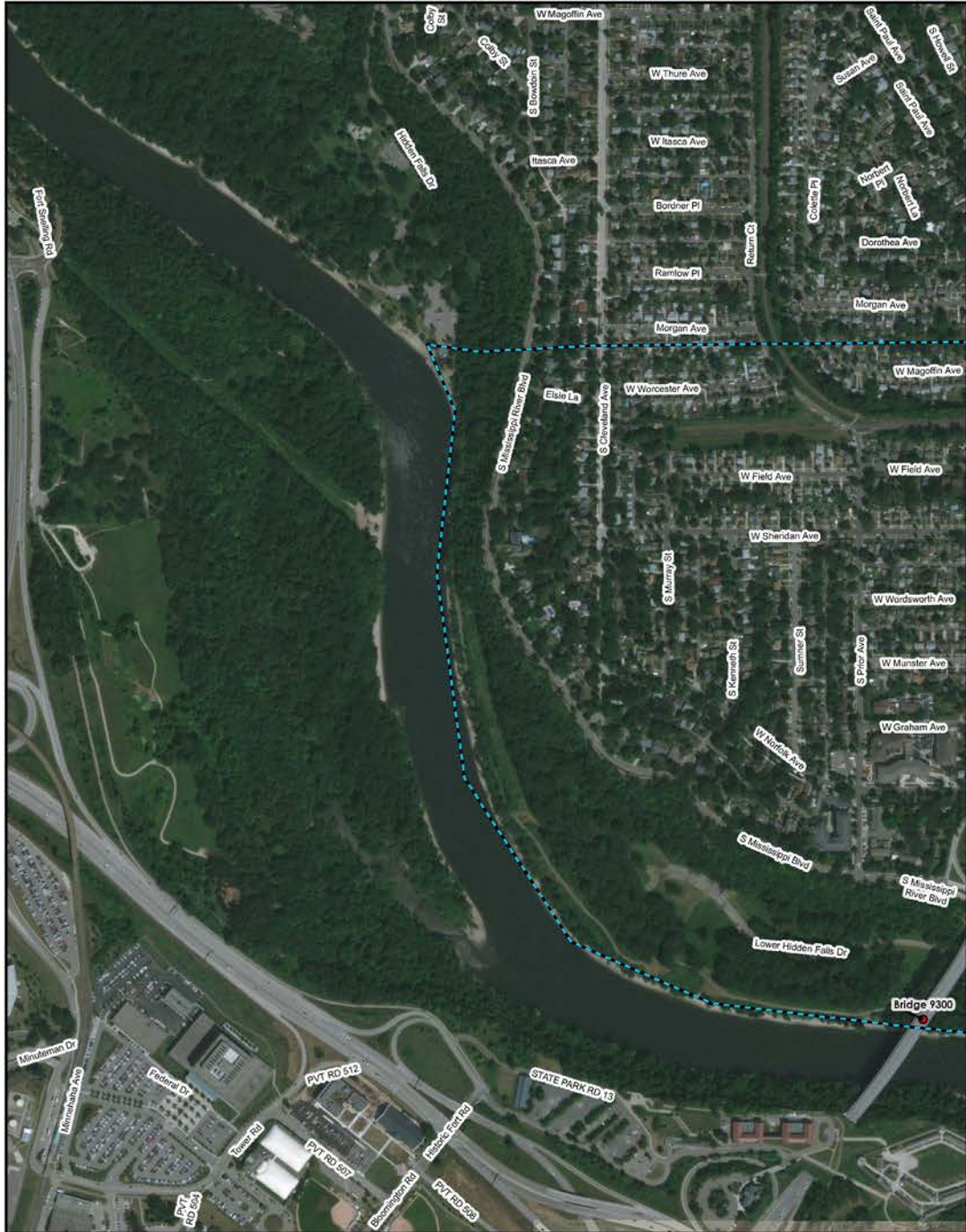


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**National Register
Listed and Eligible Properties
Riverview Study Area
Ramsey County, Minnesota**

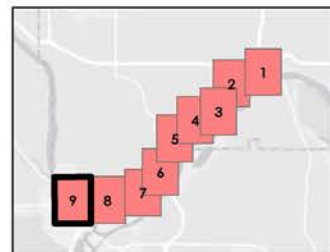
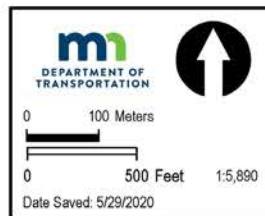
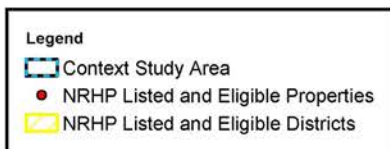


TABLE B

St. Paul Heritage Preservation Commission Locally Designated Properties in Study Area

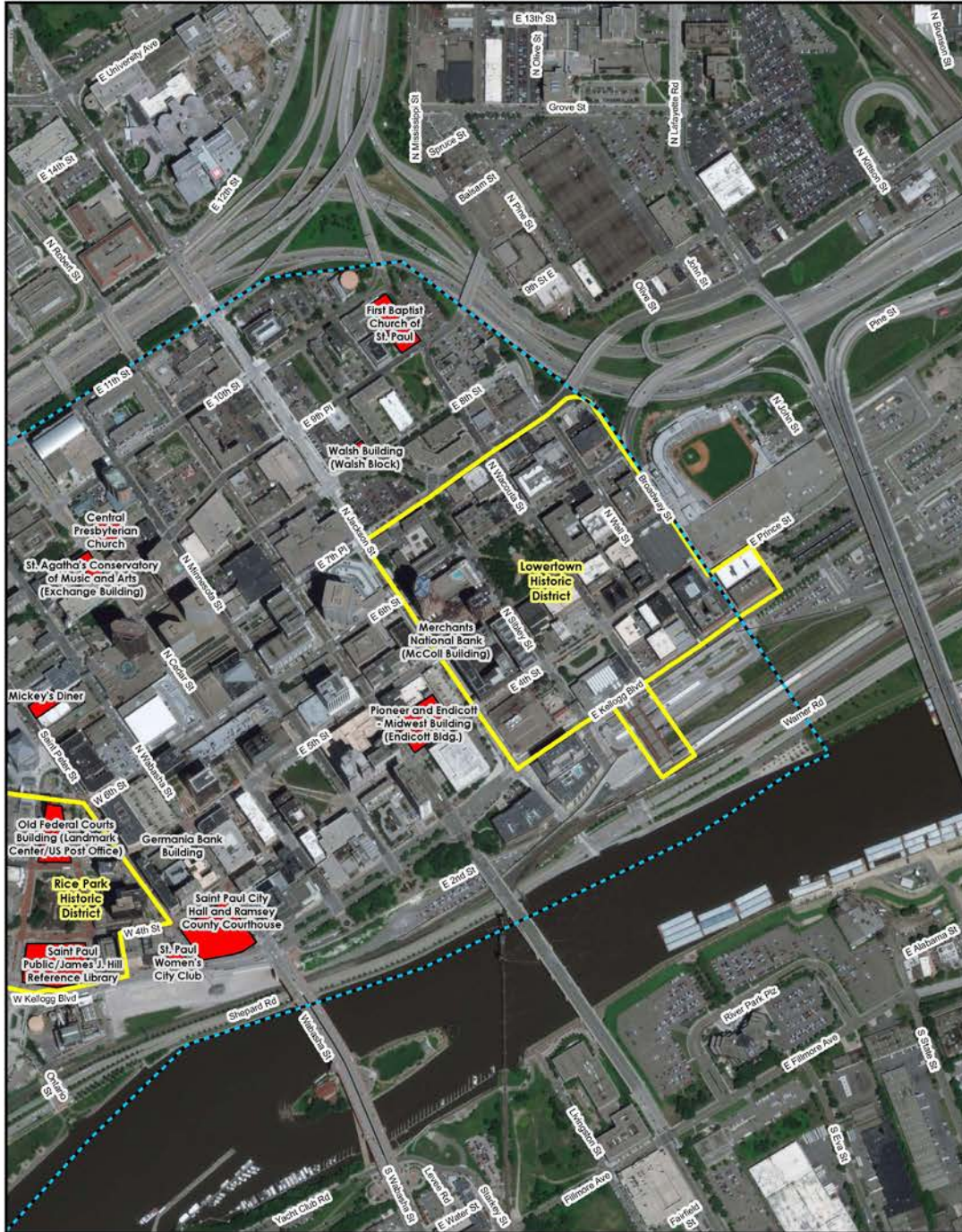
St. Paul Heritage Preservation Commission (HPC) Locally Listed Historic Properties in Riverview Study Area (November 2019)

Inventory Number	Related Inventory Number	Property Name	Address
RA-SPC-0553		Central Presbyterian Church	500 Cedar Street North
RA-SPC-1200		St. Agatha's Conservatory of Music and Arts (Exchange Building)	26 Exchange Street East
RA-SPC-1206		Alexander Ramsey House	265 South Exchange Street
RA-SPC-1979		Merchants National Bank (McCull Building)	366 Jackson Street
RA-SPC-3401		Joseph Brings House	178 Goodrich Avenue (moved from 314 N Smith Ave)
RA-SPC-3490		St. Paul Women's City Club	305 St Peter Street
RA-SPC-3496	RA-SPC-3497	Original Coney Island Cafe and Tavern (Gebhard Eck Hotel & Saloon, Vater Rhein Hotel)	444 - 448 St Peter Street
RA-SPC-4353		Martin and Catherine Weber House	202 Mcboal Street
RA-SPC-4528		Saint Paul City Hall and Ramsey County Courthouse	15 West Kellogg Boulevard
RA-SPC-5048	RA-SPC-8340	Lauer Flats	240 Western Avenue South
RA-SPC-5223		Pioneer and Endicott - Midwest Building (Endicott Bldg.)	332-352 Robert Street N, 141-143 E 4th Street
RA-SPC-5245		Saint Paul Public/James J. Hill Reference Library	90 4th Street West
RA-SPC-5266		Old Federal Courts Building (Landmark Center/US Post Office)	75 West 5th Street
RA-SPC-5268		John M. Armstrong House (Armstrong House/Quinlan Care Home)	225 Eagle Parkway (moved from 233-235 W 5th St)
RA-SPC-5293		Smith Building	225 7th Street West
RA-SPC-5296		Justus Ramsey Stone House	252 7th Street West
RA-SPC-5299		Rochat-Louise-Sauerwein Building (Louise Bldg.)	261 7th Street West
RA-SPC-5407		Walsh Building (Walsh Block)	189 8th Street East
RA-SPC-5420		Mickey's Diner	36 7th Street West
RA-SPC-5421		Church of the Assumption - Catholic	51 7th Street West
RA-SPC-5423		Assumption School	51 7th Street West
RA-SPC-5444		Germania Bank Building	6 5th Street West
RA-SPC-5467		First Baptist Church of St. Paul	499 Wacouta Street

Inventory Number	Related Inventory Number	Property Name	Address
RA-SPC-5901	Burbank Rowhouse	277 Goodrich Avenue	
RA-SPC-8339	C.S.P.S Hall	605 7th Street West	
Districts			
Lowertown Historic District			
Irvine Park Historic District			
Jacob Schmidt Brewing Company Historic District			
Limestone Properties Thematic District			
Rice Park Heritage Preservation District			

MAP SET B

St. Paul Heritage Preservation Commission Locally Designated Properties in Study Area



St. Paul HPC
Locally Listed Historic Properties
Riverview Context
 Ramsey County, Minnesota

Legend

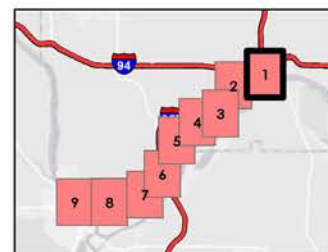
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- Locally Listed Historic Districts
- Locally Listed Historic Properties

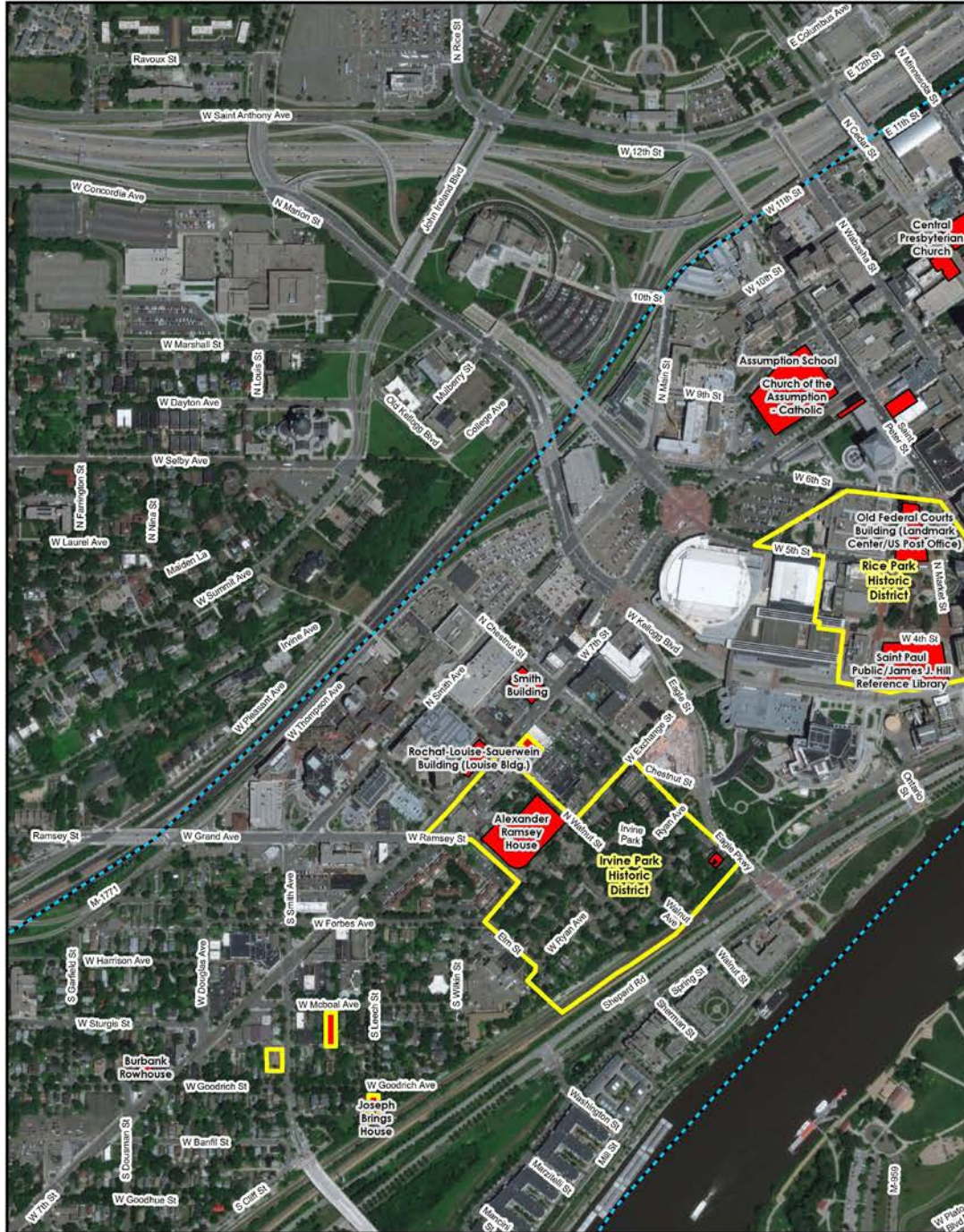
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St. Paul HPC
Locally Listed Historic Properties
Riverview Context
Ramsey County, Minnesota

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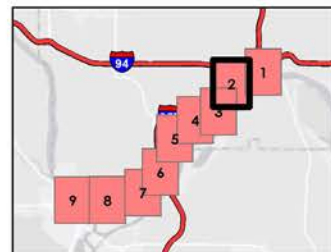
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- Locally Listed Historic Districts
- Locally Listed Historic Properties

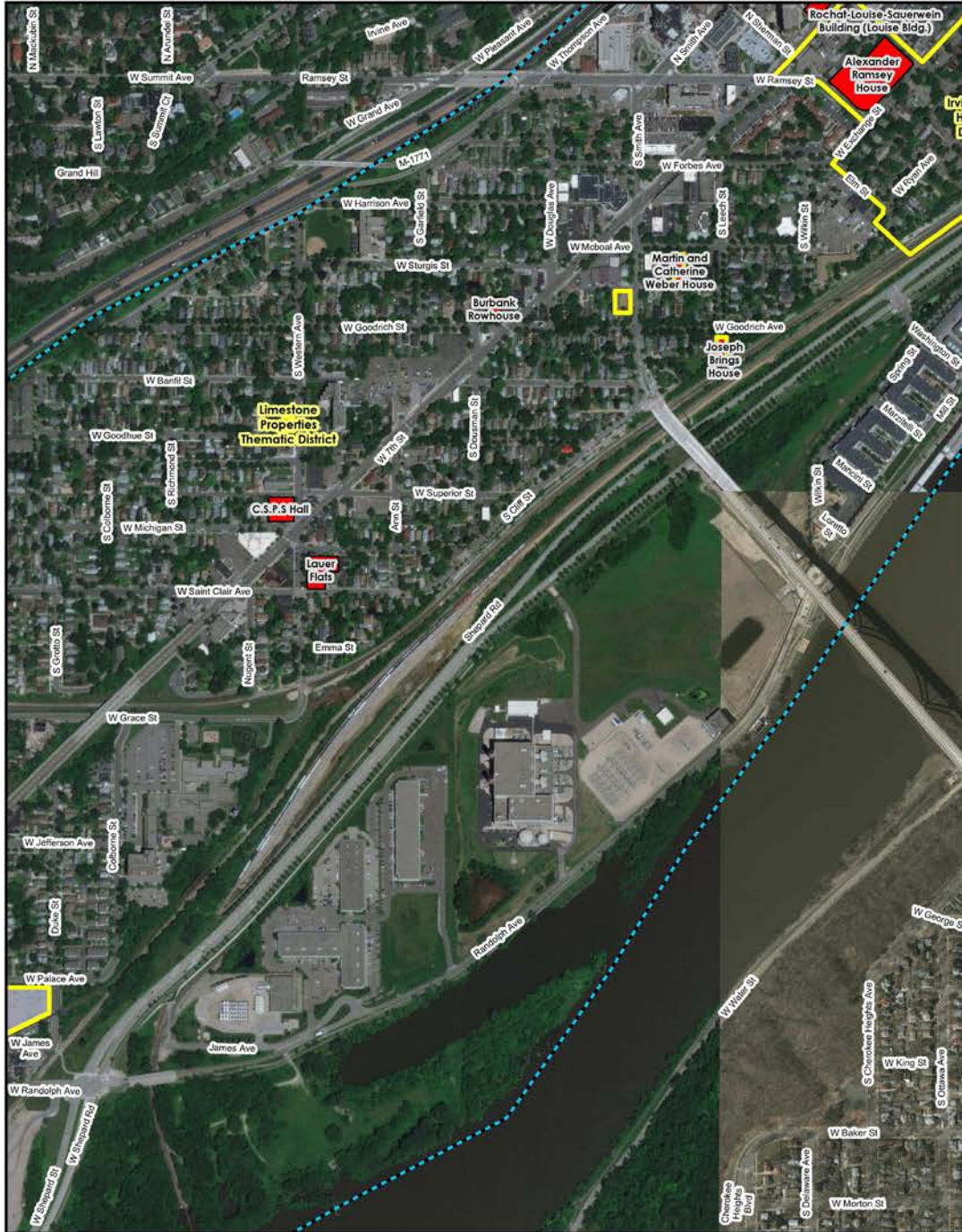
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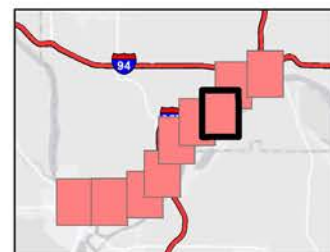
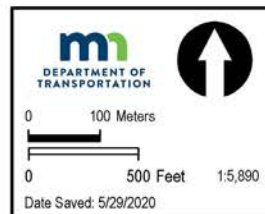
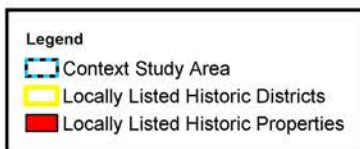
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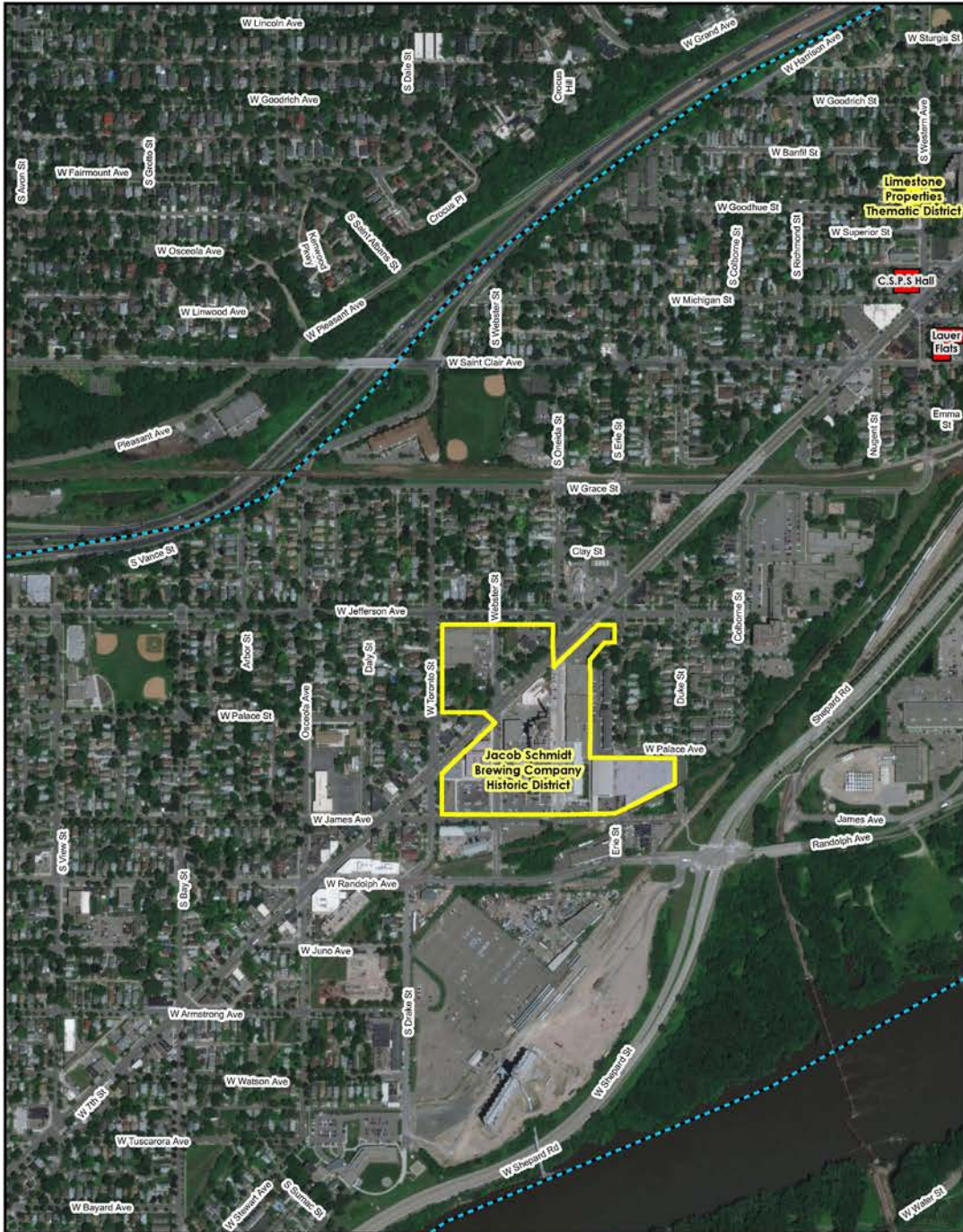
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St. Paul HPC
Locally Listed Historic Properties
Riverview Context
Ramsey County, Minnesota






St. Paul HPC
Locally Listed Historic Properties
Riverview Context
Ramsey County, Minnesota

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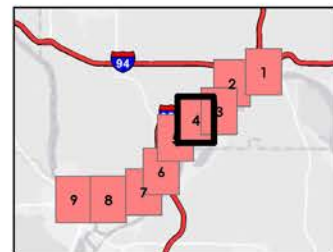
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-  Locally Listed Historic Districts
-  Locally Listed Historic Properties

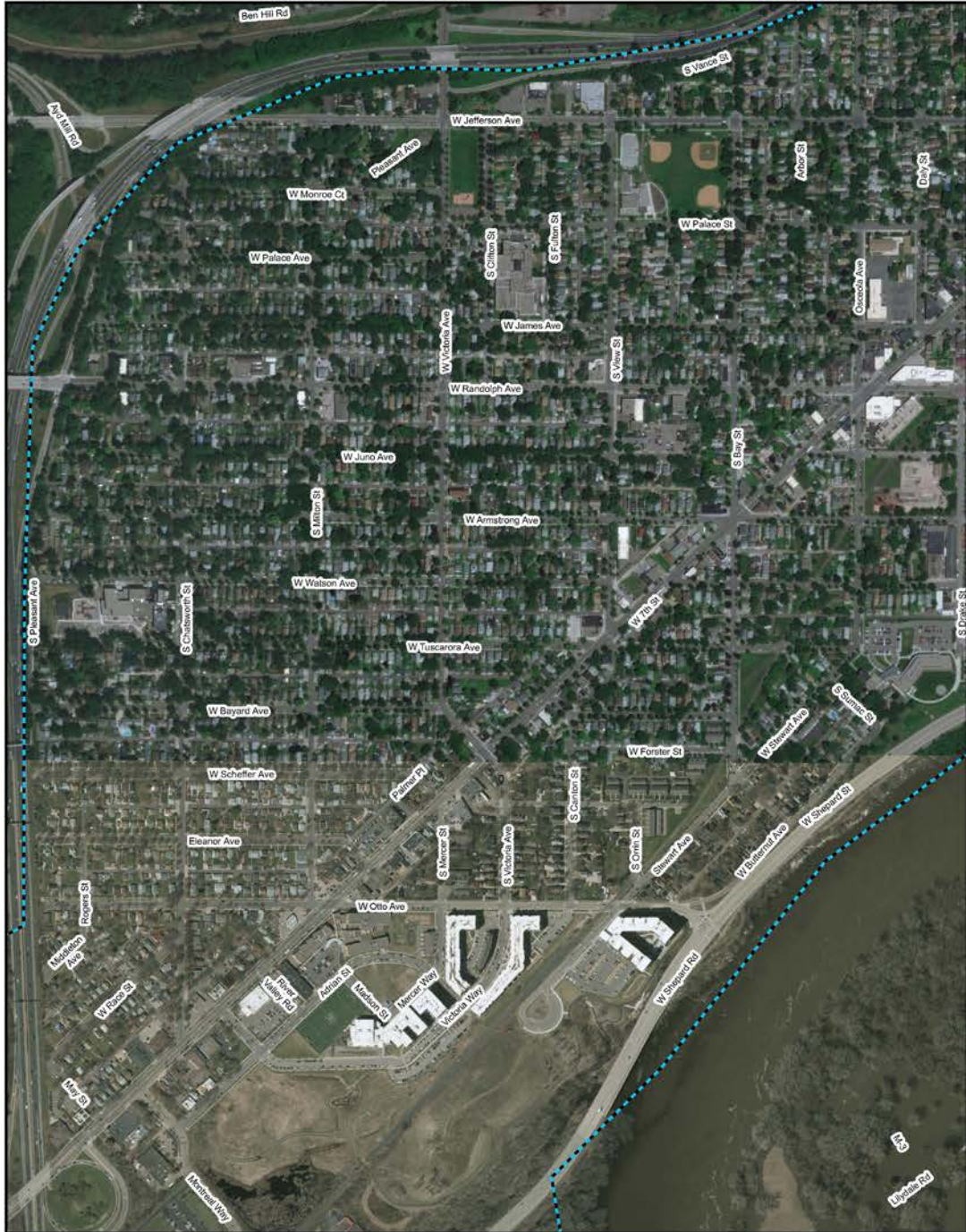

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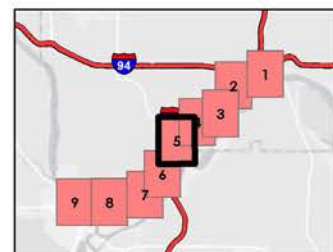
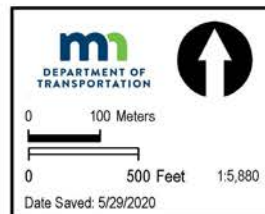
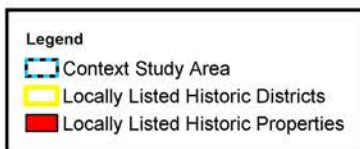
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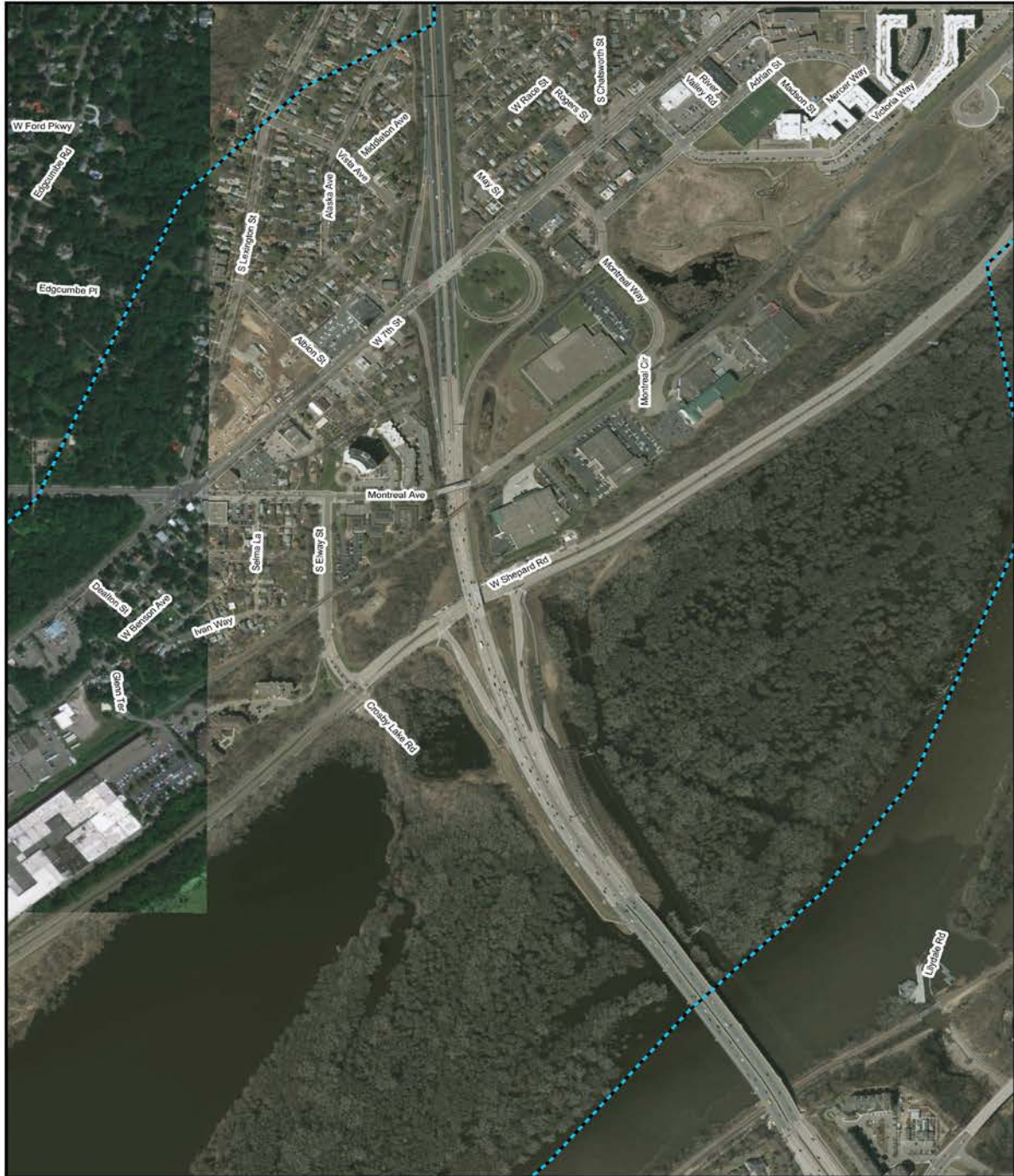
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St. Paul HPC
Locally Listed Historic Properties
Riverview Context
Ramsey County, Minnesota





St. Paul HPC
Locally Listed Historic Properties
Riverview Context
 Ramsey County, Minnesota

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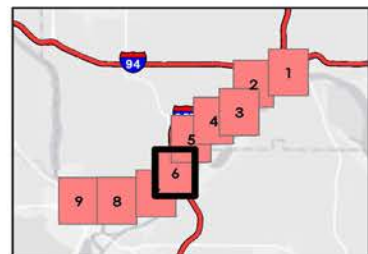
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- Locally Listed Historic Districts
- Locally Listed Historic Properties

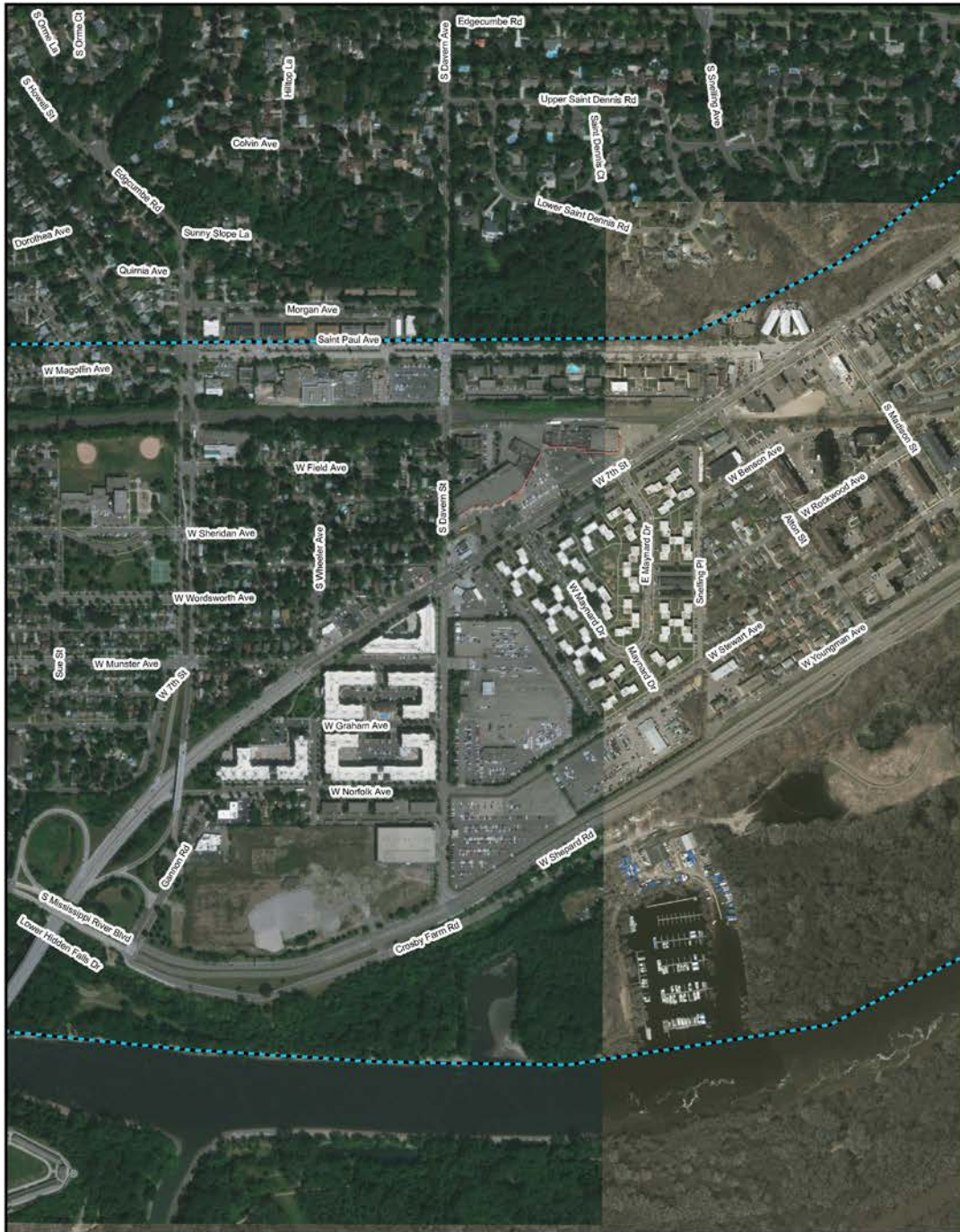
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St. Paul HPC
Locally Listed Historic Properties
Riverview Context
Ramsey County, Minnesota

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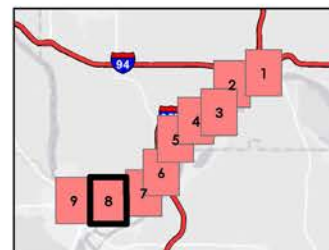
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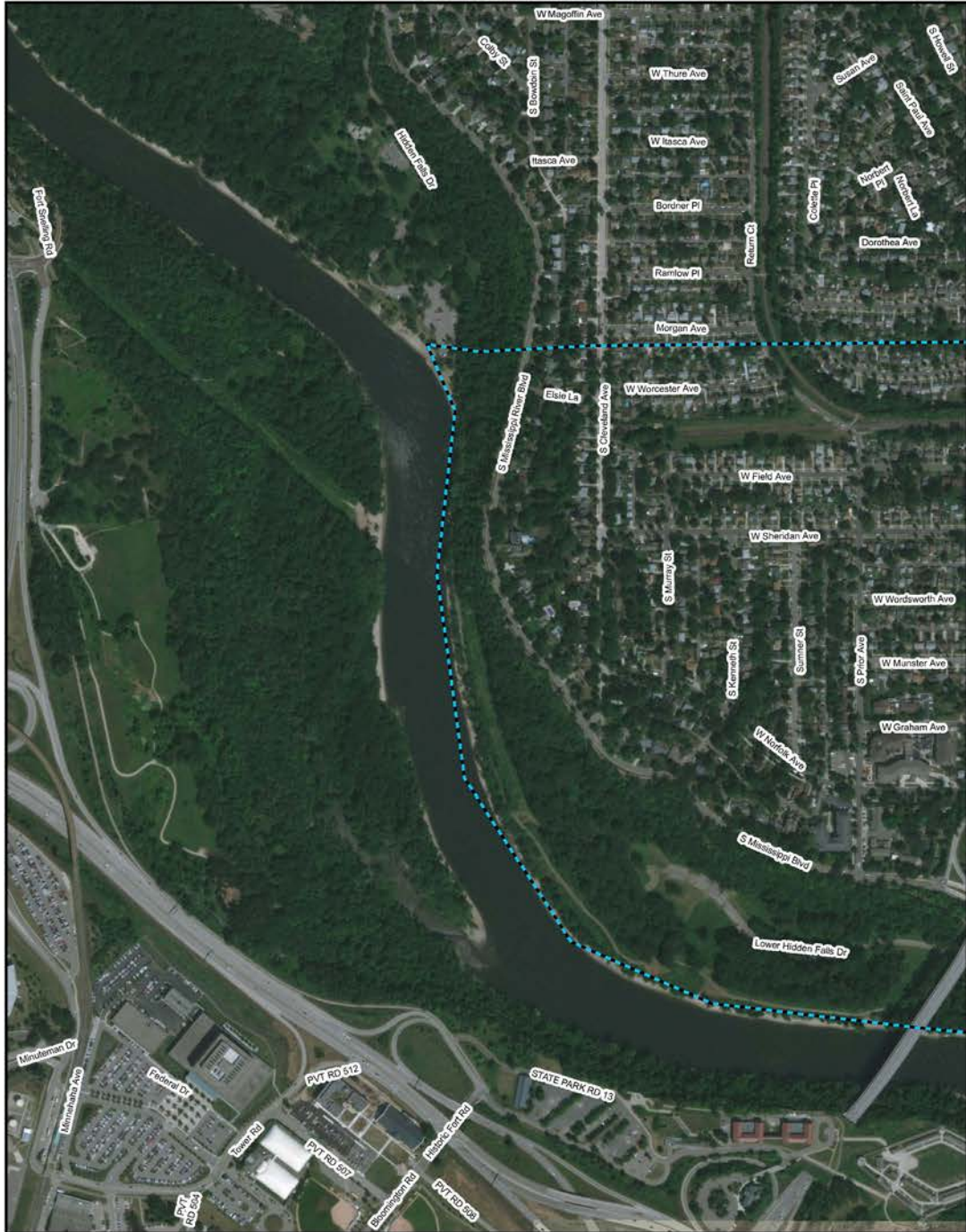
 

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St. Paul HPC
Locally Listed Historic Properties
Riverview Context
 Ramsey County, Minnesota

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-  Context Study Area
-  Locally Listed Historic Districts
-  Locally Listed Historic Properties

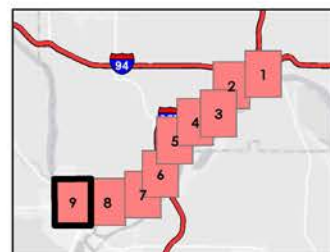
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