*From Streetcars
to Buses to Soccer*
**Creative Destruction
in the Midway**
John W. Diers
—Page 13

Build Up, Build Down, or Relocate

The West Publishing Company Buildings
and Ramsey County's Adult Detention Center

Paul D. Nelson, page 3

This is how the south side of Third Street (now Kellogg Boulevard) west of the Wabasha Bridge looked between 1908 and 1910. Prominently visible are the buildings of the Booth Company (left foreground) and West Publishing Company. By then West had been publishing law books for over thirty years and had a national clientele. Soon these buildings and the former Ramsey County Adult Detention Center (not built until 1979; located just to the east of the Booth Company) will all be gone from the bluff along the Mississippi River in St. Paul. Charles P. Gibson photo. Photo courtesy of the Minnesota Historical Society.

C O N T E N T S

A Message from the Editorial Board

Change is a constant in history. For decades, the Mississippi River bluffs in downtown St. Paul supported the massive infrastructure of West Publishing Company as it edited, assembled, and shipped law books throughout the country. And the bluffs later housed prisoners waiting for trial in a modern jail. Paul Nelson tells both of these stories, as well as how changing needs pushed those entities to new locations. Similarly, John Diers recounts the history of the Twin City Rapid Transit System shops and garages on Snelling and University, which once served as a base for 800 workers. Happily, that site will have another chapter in its history when the new Major League Soccer stadium is built.

William Beyer shares the professional evolution of Herbert Sullwold, the architect who designed the compelling chapel at the University of St. Catherine, along with its state-of-the-art 1926 science building, before he moved to California to finish his career.

Finally, on a more sober note of change, it is unsettling to realize that some early prominent St. Paul settlers used funds from their slaveholding families to help develop the city. Christopher Lehman reminds us that, although slavery was illegal in Minnesota, in practice, St. Paul hotels welcomed southern tourists traveling with their slaves until the Civil War. We can be grateful that today such events are only a distant memory.

Anne Cowie
Chair, Editorial Board

The Slaveholders of Payne-Phalen

Christopher P. Lehman

The year 2016 marks the 160th anniversary of the purchase of land known today as the eastern half of St. Paul's Payne-Phalen neighborhood. Three men from Anne Arundel County, Maryland—William Sprigg Hall, Harwood Iglehart, and Charles N. MacKubin—bought the property in 1856. Consequently, this portion of the neighborhood is one of Minnesota's few surviving relics of the state's former business ties to Southerners. In the 1850s and '60s, Minnesota sought the services and patronage of Southerners, and locals welcomed them while they were either serving in the army at one of the state's military posts or relaxing in the state's hotels. Some Minnesotans enticed them further by permitting slaveholders to bring slaves with them to these locations. For example, St. Paul's International Hotel allowed Martha Prince and her slave Henry to lodge there in 1860. All of the hotels and nearly all of the pre-Civil War forts have succumbed to either fires or wrecking balls, but Payne-Phalen still stands today.

Judge William S. Hall. Photo courtesy of the Ramsey County Law Library, St. Paul, Minn.
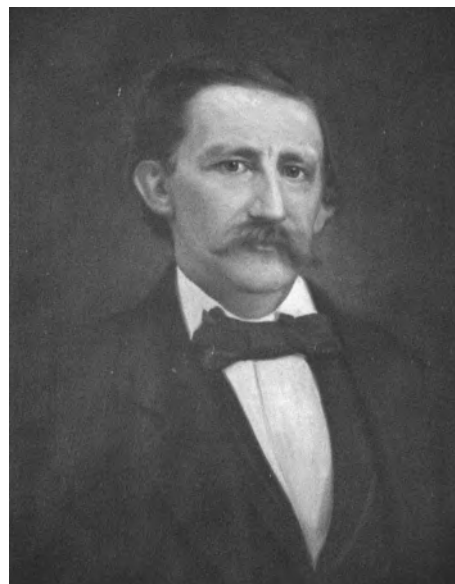
The eastern part of Payne-Phalen is especially notable as a living relic of the role that the institution of slavery played in establishing St. Paul. Both Hall (1832–1875) and Iglehart (1828–1893) were slaveholders, and their wealth from owning African Americans significantly helped to establish the city's economic foundation. MacKubin (1820–1863) did not own slaves, but he attempted to bring legal slavery to Minnesota. By owning real estate and residing permanently in the city, the three Marylanders set themselves apart from the seasonal hotel guests and military officers on temporary assignments. Because the trio of former Marylanders or their families owned slaves, they had the money to buy real estate in St. Paul.

Slaveholders were within their legal rights to buy land in Minnesota but not to keep slaves there. Two federal laws—the Northwest Ordinance of 1787 and the Missouri Compromise of 1820—prohibited slavery there before the organization of Minnesota as its own territory. Minnesota's legislature also banned the institution when the territory organized in 1849. Very few residents defied the laws, and few Southerners visited the territory until advancements in steamboat travel in the early 1850s allowed them to travel up the Mississippi River in the spring and summer months. Nevertheless, the slaveholders who violated the statues by bringing slaves with them suffered no legal repercussions, because Minnesotans needed Southerners to defend the forts and spend money at the hotels.

Roots in Maryland

The connection of Hall and Iglehart to Minnesota happened by chance. In the early 1850s the son of Minnesota's governor attended the U.S. Naval Academy at Annapolis, Maryland. Governor Willis Gorman visited him sometime between May 1853 and the fall of 1854, and there he met Hall and Iglehart. He struck up a conversation with them, and he later recalled that they talked at length about the "far West, and particularly of Minnesota." He convinced both of them to relocate to St. Paul, and by October 1854 Hall and Iglehart had moved there and established a law office. Both men were only in their twenties at the time, but they were well on their way to establishing themselves professionally in the city.[1]

By then Hall was well accustomed to spending the money generated by the slaves he owned. Because he was a child when his father died and his slave property remained in Maryland, where his mother managed these assets that he had inherited from his father, Hall was able to support himself. After he left home to study law at St. John's College in Annapolis, his mother periodically sent him money from the interest of his slaves to cover tuition and other expenses. At age twenty he successfully petitioned for an increase in his allowance from the slaves' interest, because taxes took away a significant portion of each payment. In his statement to the county's Orphans Court, he complained in the third person that "the interest on his monied property and the hire of his negroes . . . is entirely inadequate for his yearly support and to enable him to prosecute the study of the

law, about which he is now engaged." Thus, one of St. Paul's first lawyers owed his legal career to the income that resulted from owning slaves.[2]

Harwood Iglehart came from a large family headed by a slaveholding patriarch. The Iglehart household was wealthy, owning $150,000 in real estate in 1850, and with wealth came educational opportunities. Iglehart also attended St. John's College in Maryland but then graduated in 1852 from Harvard University at age twenty-four. Like his father and siblings, Iglehart practiced slavery upon entering adulthood, but he owned just one African American—a woman in her thirties named Rosetta Johnson. She remained his property while he lived in St. Paul, but he quartered her at his father's household in Annapolis.[3]

The Hall and Iglehart families of Annapolis lived near the slaveholding MacKubins, but Charles MacKubin did not pursue slaveholding for himself as an adult. His father owned at least eleven African Americans in Anne Arundel County. Upon reaching adulthood, MacKubin's six siblings followed their father's example by remaining in Maryland and acquiring slaves. MacKubin, however, left the slave state and lived in free states and territories for the rest of his life. He spent his early adult years in Massachusetts and then lived in Illinois before coming to Minnesota. As a result, he was legally prohibited from owning slaves wherever he resided. Moreover, his marriage in Massachusetts to a woman named Ellen Marietta Fay meant that he would not gain any new slaves through wedlock.[4]

By June 1854 MacKubin had relocated to St. Paul. There he found success in the world of finance. He started a bank with a New Yorker named E. S. Edgerton, and they set up a business office in the Winslow Hotel. The enterprise earned a positive reputation until Edgerton broke from him and operated the bank alone in 1858. In addition, the people of the city respected MacKubin. One resident later recalled him as having "a fine face, indicating good blood," constantly wearing gold spectacles, "quiet," and an "able business gentleman."[5]

MacKubin's family respected his abstinence from slavery, and they did not impose any slaves on him. In 1853 MacKubin's father died, and his will passed all of his slaves to MacKubin's mother, Elizabeth. Five years later Elizabeth died, but she did not leave any slaves for MacKubin in her will. She left some silver and two paintings to him, but her six other children inherited her slaves.[6]

Buying Land in St. Paul

By 1856 Hall, Iglehart, and MacKubin were acquainted with one another, and that summer they jointly bought a 160-acre tract of land in St. Paul. It lay northeast of Arlington Hills, consisting of the southwest corner of the southwest corner of section 20, the northwest corner of the northwest corner of section 29, and the northeast quarter of the northeast quarter of section 28. The land had white oak trees and overlooked Lake Phelan. They added their personal stamp to the area by naming the neighborhood's streets after the flowers of their Southern homeland. The streets were, from north to south, as follows: Ivy, Hyacinth, Orange, Hawthorn, Maryland, Rose, Geranium, Jessamine, and Magnolia.[7]

In the late 1850s, the Democratic Party ran Minnesota Territory, and the affiliation of the Maryland migrants with the party led to some political perks. In 1856 Governor Gorman appointed Hall to the position of Superintendent of the Common Schools of Minnesota, thus placing a slaveholder in charge of a free territory's public education. Iglehart entered politics and ran as a Democrat for the office of alderman in St. Paul. In the next year a number of public-spirited residents of St. Paul organized the Mercantile Library Association, and Iglehart was one of its first officers. Meanwhile, Hall won the election for the Minnesota Senate at the end of the year, and he served in the 1857–58 session.[8]

Hall and Iglehart rose to political prominence within a brief period when slavery was legal in Minnesota Territory. The U.S. Supreme Court's *Dred Scott* decision in March 1857 legalized the practice in all territories, thus allowing Hall, Iglehart, and others to keep African Americans enslaved in Minnesota if they chose to do so. Over the next four-

Harwood Iglehart in about 1880. Charles A. Zimmerman photo. Photo courtesy of the Minnesota Historical Society.

teen months, an influx of slaveholders traveled northwest for vacations, and some Southerners settled permanently in Minnesota with their slaves. Local residents, however, did not take advantage of slavery's legality by purchasing and holding African Americans in the territory, but some of them now had masters and slaves for neighbors.

The three Marylanders defied political odds by winning more appointments and elections as the 1850s came to an end. In 1859 people from the town of Faribault chose Hall as part of a group that selected the location for Minnesota's asylum for deaf and mute people. In October St. Paul's voters elected him to a second term in the Minnesota Senate, and MacKubin won his first term. They achieved two of the few electoral victories for Democrats that year, because Republicans won most of the other local offices as well as the statewide offices of governor and lieutenant governor. In addition, when Minnesota was admitted to the Union in 1858, it did so as a free state, but the ties of the three to the South and their slavery-generated wealth did not jeopardize their support from Minnesotans.[9]

Southern Sympathies

Hall and MacKubin used their time in the Senate to promote the causes of their fellow Southerners, but they overestimated the support of Minnesotans for

southern Democratic views. Abolitionist John Brown had led both slaves and free people on an unsuccessful raid upon a federal arsenal at Harper's Ferry, Virginia, in October, and people responded differently according to their political affiliation. Democrats and some Republicans spoke against the incident, but abolitionist Republicans tended to express solidarity for Brown and consider him a martyr after his execution. When the 1859–60 legislative session began weeks later, Hall introduced resolutions that strongly denounced the raid and anyone supporting it. In the House, however, a representative felt compelled to respond by adding a condemnation of people wanting secession if a Republican became President.[10]

Toward the end of the session, Minnesota's supporters of slavery tried to legalize the practice by codifying the state's unofficial acceptance of tourism-based slavery into law. By March 1860 six hundred residents of Stillwater, St. Anthony, and St. Paul signed a petition asking the state Legislature to legalize slavery just for Southern tourists. The signers included "Democratic editors, Lt. Governors, Land Office men," and others. MacKubin championed their cause in the state Senate that month and announced his bill that presented their request. MacKubin's bill reflected his position that voluntarily living without slaves did not mean opposing the institution. It had given him a childhood of privilege, and it allowed his widowed mother and siblings to survive. Moreover, his acquaintances Hall and Iglehart and their families still owned slaves. With his proposal, MacKubin was asking Minnesotans to respect the practice that gave his friends and family a living.[11]

However, the patience of Minnesota's Democrats and Republicans regarding local slavery had worn thin by then. The Senate rejected MacKubin's proposal, 29 to 5. Even Hall voted against it. After the session ended later that month, Hall and MacKubin never served in the Legislature again. Five months later, a district judge granted slave Eliza Winston's petition for emancipation after she had escaped from her master during her owner's vacation at the Winslow House, and Southerners fled

A photo of a young Charles N. Mackubin from about 1840. Photo courtesy of the Minnesota Historical Society.

St. Paul for the South with their slaves to keep from losing them. The following April, the Civil War erupted in armed conflict in Charleston harbor and Southerners stayed home in order to defend their new nation—the Confederate States of America—from the Union. The local tourism industry collapsed.[12]

Most of the Southerners living in Minnesota at the war's outbreak remained in the state. Slaves were safely in their possession there, and the state did not suffer the devastation that the Union inflicted on the Confederacy. Hotels in Minnesota remained hospitable to slaveholders after Eliza Winston's emancipation, and U.S. troops did not capture slaves from Minnesota or other Union states as contraband. In addition, President Abraham Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation in early 1863 only freed the slaves living in Confederate states. Even if slaveholders in Minnesota had wanted to return to the South, in all likelihood they would have faced certain violence by traveling through the numerous battlefields there. When the fighting ended in April 1865, and the states subsequently ratified the Thirteenth Amendment later that year, slavery's presence in Minnesota ended. The amendment's nationwide prohibition of slavery simply left Minnesota with no slaveholders to welcome.

Both Maryland and Minnesota were

Union states during the war, and the three Marylanders stayed in the good graces of their St. Paul neighbors despite their continuing ties to slavery. MacKubin lived only for the first two years of the war. He died in 1863 without having owned a single slave, but his proposal to legalize slavery in Minnesota provided a dissonant coda to his adult life. Iglehart remained involved in the St. Paul community, joining the Minnesota Historical Society in 1861 while continuing to own Rosetta Johnson in Maryland. He returned to Annapolis during the war, and there he finally manumitted and freed Johnson in 1864. Hall, meanwhile, remained in St. Paul throughout the war, and ratification of the Thirteenth Amendment in 1865 freed any slaves he still owned in Maryland. Three years later he became Minnesota's first judge of the Court of Common Pleas, and in 1869 he presided over a case that featured the state's first African American jurors. He served in the court until his death in 1875.[13]

Payne-Phalen Today

As for Payne-Phalen, the community has evolved significantly since Hall, Iglehart, and MacKubin made their fateful land purchase 160 years ago. The neighborhood's population has grown from the original three buyers to 30,000 residents. Today it hosts many businesses, over one dozen schools, and a few parks and recreational centers. In an ironic twist to the area's roots in slavery, census data shows that the Payne-Phalen neighborhood now includes an African American population of nearly 4,000 citizens, all of whom are free.

In the context of the history of St. Paul, three transplanted Marylanders came to the city in the 1850s, participated in the local community affairs by winning elective office, obtained a judgeship, and invested in real estate. By 1902 the *St. Paul Globe* counted them among the pioneers of the city and streets had been named after two of them. More importantly, however, Hall, Iglehart, and MacKubin tangibly illustrate how some Southerners could use their ownership of slaves to buy real estate in the city at the time when the nation was on the verge of deciding whether slavery would continue to exist. In 1861, only five

years after Hall, Iglehart, and MacKubin bought land in the Payne-Phalen area, Minnesota sided with the Union and then fought a bloody war that resulted in the end of chattel slavery.

By abolishing slavery, the nation made the use of slave ownership as a means for financing real estate and other investments a relic of history. Today, Harwood Iglehart

and Charles MacKubin are honored in St. Paul by streets named after them, both of which are located in the Summit-University neighborhood, but their names and that of their fellow Marylander, William Sprigg Hall, like the *Dred Scott* case, recall that critical period in Minnesota history when St. Paul was in its infancy and slave owning was present in all its forms.

Dr. Christopher P. Lehman is a professor in and chair of the Department of Ethnic and Women's Studies at St. Cloud State University. His most recent book is Slavery in the Upper Mississippi Valley, 1787–1865: A History of Human Bondage in Illinois, Iowa, Minnesota and Wisconsin *(2011).*

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Book Review

Custom House: Restoring a St. Paul Landmark in Lowertown

James A. Stolpestad

St. Paul: Ramsey County Historical Society, 2015

258 pages; photos; $45.00 hardcover

Reviewed by Alan K. Lathrop

St. Paul is blessed with a rich history—social, cultural, religious, commercial—that spans more than one hundred and seventy years of vigorous human activity. Despite its lengthy existence, however, historians have by no means thoroughly explored the city's cultural past. One of the busiest and most fruitful areas for research has been and remains its architectural

heritage. Although a number of notable books have appeared that examine various aspects of St. Paul's architecture and its practitioners, it is rare to find one that combines a well-written background history of the settlement with the history of a single structure within it. This important new book from the Ramsey County Historical Society concentrating on the St. Paul

A recent aerial photo shows the site at the intersection of Snelling and University avenues where a proposed soccer stadium will be built for the use of the professional United Football Club. Construction of the stadium is expected to begin in 2016. For more on the history of this site and its potential for the development of that area, see John Diers's article on page 13. Photo courtesy of the City of Saint Paul.