

RAMSEY COUNTY

# History

*A Publication of the Ramsey County Historical Society*

*From Streetcars  
to Buses to Soccer*  
**Creative Destruction  
in the Midway**

*John W. Diers*  
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**Winter 2016**

Volume 50, Number 4

## *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.*

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# RAMSEY COUNTY History

Volume 50, Number 4

Winter 2016

THE MISSION STATEMENT OF THE RAMSEY COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY  
ADOPTED BY THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS ON JANUARY 25, 2016:

**Preserving our past, informing our present, inspiring our future**

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- Publication of Ramsey County History is supported in part by a gift from Clara M. Claussen and Frieda H. Claussen in memory of Henry H. Cowie Jr. and by a contribution from the late Reuel D. Harmon*

## 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

# *Build Up, Build Down, or Relocate*

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

*Paul D. Nelson*

**O**ld Third Street (now Kellogg Boulevard) rode the top of a cliff. On its north side, downtown St. Paul. On its south side, a narrow strip of land, then a chasm; and in the distance the West Side bluffs.

"Embrace the river" is today's exhortation, but for nineteenth-century business owners on the south side of Third Street, embracing the river would have meant turning their backs on downtown. No one did that. Instead they faced downtown and turned their backs on the chasm, the river, and the view.

Downtown St. Paul is built on a shelf of limestone, a few yards deep, atop a slip of Glenwood shale and then hundreds of feet of white sandstone. The chasm, that spectacular canyon between downtown and the West Side, was dug by the glacial River Warren as it drained an unimaginable volume of water from the melting ice sheet retreating north.<sup>1</sup> The Mississippi, lolling placidly today, tamed by dams, is all that remains of something truly mighty. The cliffs remind us, if we let them, of our geologic history. But, to return to the nineteenth century . . .

Any business perched on the cliff's edge that wanted room to grow had three options: build up, build down, or relocate. The first to make creative use of the cliffside was the St. Paul Roller Mill, which was located a few steps west of today's Wabasha Bridge. Its owners built down. A roller mill processes grain, in stages. A vertical construction, where gravity pulls the grain from one level down to the next, ending conveniently at the river's edge for transport by boat or rail, made sense. The short-lived St. Paul Roller mill introduced the "cliff-scraper" to St. Paul.<sup>2</sup> The next to use it was the West Publishing Company.

### **The Early Days of West**

John B. West (1852–1922) came to St. Paul as a teenager, when his father,

William, took a job with a local railroad in 1869. In 1870 young John went to work for D. D. Merrill, booksellers, an outfit that sold, among other titles, law books. Law and books would prove to be the two poles of John West's genius.

In 1872 he set out on his own, selling law books from the site of his future empire, at 60 West Third Street. He traveled the Upper Midwest, selling to lawyers. And, more productively, listening to them.<sup>3</sup>

Among Minnesota lawyers, there is always a certain anxiety about this question: What, exactly, is Minnesota law? The statute books are just the beginning, for the law in practice is what the courts say it is. And how is a lawyer supposed to learn that?<sup>4</sup> In any state the final authority on that state's law is its supreme court. It is an indispensable tradition, going back to England and the common law, for courts to explain their decisions in writing. This is where courts explain the law. But in the 1870s there was no system for getting those decisions into lawyers' hands.

Did it come to John West in a flash or a slow recognition? Lawyers would pay to have supreme court decisions quickly and accurately published and sent to their offices so that they could understand what the law really was. From this an industry and many fortunes grew. He took his older brother Horatio as a partner in 1876. Later that year they published their first compilation of decisions from Minnesota's supreme court in a booklet they called *The Syllabi*. Soon they expanded its coverage to Wisconsin, Iowa, and the Dakotas and changed the name, in 1877, to the *North*



*In its early years, West Publishing Company was led by four men: John B. West, seated left, Peyton Boyle, seated right, Horatio West, standing right, and Charles W. Ames. Photo courtesy of Thomson Reuters.*

*Western Reporter*. It was an immediate success. By 1887 the West brothers had expanded their reporter volumes to cover the whole country in a series of regional Reporters.

Publishing by region, rather than by state, West guaranteed there would be sufficient material to produce regular volumes profitably. This was another bit of genius. South Dakota, with its small population, could take years to fill one volume, but combining several states into one Reporter guaranteed ample grist for the mill.<sup>5</sup> The Reporter system was a great first step. But no practicing lawyer needed to know every utterance of a particular state's supreme court. When a client walked through the door with say, a dispute over land title with his neighbor, the lawyer needed a way to find not all cases, just the relevant cases.

Official court opinions did not (and do not) announce what they were about. They gave the names of the parties, a résumé of the facts, and then the legal reasoning supporting the decision. To learn



*Easy access to rail transportation was essential to West throughout its time in St. Paul. This photo is from the early 1900s and it shows the railroad tracks along the Mississippi, the West buildings from the river side, a partially completed St. Paul Hotel in the right rear, and no other buildings between West and the Wabasha Bridge, a site once occupied by the St. Paul Roller Mill and later the Booth Company and Ramsey County's Adult Detention Center. Photo courtesy of Thomson Reuters.*

what a case was about, the lawyer had to read into it—usually a time-wasting chore. To help lawyers find the cases they needed, West developed an indexing system that covered the full range of the law. West's "Key Number System" added, at the beginning of every case report, a summary of the legal issues raised in the case, each under an identifying phrase printed in bold type along with a Key Number, which identified the content by topic. Thus with a glance the lawyer could see what the case was about: read it or move on. This monumental achievement, consisting of 412 topics and some 66,000 sub-topics, was developed over more than twenty years, and made fully public in 1908.<sup>6</sup>

Key Numbers debuted in a Digest, another soon-indispensable tool. West Digests gathered together the cases for each of the areas of law identified in its Key Number System. Let us say a St. Paul lawyer needed to know a point of personal injury law. With a Minnesota digest, the attorney could find every Minnesota Supreme Court case on the point. With a regional digest, the lawyer could expand this research to, say, the Upper Midwest, and with a national digest, the whole country. And all of this was available only in West law books because West published them all.

The impact of this cannot be overestimated. West Publishing took the indigestible chaos of American case law and turned it into a comprehensible system, available and affordable to almost every attorney. The Fergus Falls solo practitioner, who in 1870 often had to guess what the Minnesota law might be, by 1908 could readily research the law of every state, all because of the innovations of the West Publishing Company. West made better use of the cliffside than the roller mill had done.

The law book business had been a competitive one, dominated by big companies from the East Coast. West Publishing appeared, seemingly out of nowhere, and shot past its competitors. One writer proposes that West's St. Paul location (and, perhaps, Midwestern state

management of growth. Rapid growth stresses any enterprise, especially young ones. Demands arise for new capital, more sophisticated communication and distribution, increased volume of production, better machines, finding people with the right skills, and on and on. West seems to have managed all of this with remarkable agility.

For this the greatest credit probably goes to Horatio West, the plodder, and his lieutenants. John West, the salesman and visionary, left the company in 1901, for reasons never revealed. He started a rival law book company, but his business failed, and a son committed suicide. John West retired to California and died there in 1922. Though he apparently never reconciled with his brother, the two are buried near one another in St. Paul's Oakland Cemetery.

West Publishing did not miss its founder. St. Paul businessman Charles Ames had come aboard in 1882 as an investor, incorporator, and officer, and by 1908 was effectively in charge.<sup>8</sup> The cliffside complex on Third Street grew as the company grew. An illustration West used in its marketing shows the offices and factory in the early twentieth century: Brainpower—leadership and editorial work—at the top; printing and binding in the middle; law book distribution at the bottom.

In 1901 and again about twenty years later West published accounts of how its Reporters and Digests were made. The court decisions arrived by mail and were routed to a team of clerks, mostly young women, who undertook the dogged task of checking the quotes and citations within the opinion for accuracy. West would, in effect, improve and correct the original. The corrected text went next to the editors, West's elite employees and in the early decades all men. An editor read and analyzed a case, then dictated the headnotes—the important and dispositive passages—to a stenographer. From there each case went to other editors, who assigned the keynote designations and wrote the short summaries that appear at the beginning of every case in the Reporters.

Once in final form the text descended to the Linotype operators—again, almost all women—who worked at a 90-key



*Proofreading was an essential part of the process of producing law books. In this photo that is probably from the 1920s, women proofread and check for accuracy the manuscript pages for legal opinions and statutes before they are sent to typesetting. Photo courtesy of Thomson Reuters.*

of mind) was crucial to success: Not burdened with a sense of regional superiority (as a New York or Boston publisher might be), the St. Paulites might think, "Well, covering the Midwest is fine, but Midwest lawyers also need to know what the important courts elsewhere are doing. So we better cover them too." This is what happened and it transformed West from a nice regional company into a national powerhouse.<sup>7</sup>

## **The Factory**

Another expression of genius in the West operations in those early decades was the

machine that transformed the words on paper into individual lines of lead type, called slugs. Slugs were then fitted into a form to create pages, and so the first galley of the case was printed. Much more work remained. Women were still in charge. “Copy holders” then read the galleys aloud to other young women, proofreaders, who compared the galley with the original; the goal was to root out errors introduced at the Linotype stage. Any errors found were relayed to the Linotype operators for correction and production of a second (or third, if necessary) galley, called a “revise.”

When all human error had been purged, the slugs were again formed into a page and sent to the stereotypers. Using a unique paper mash and an oven, these men formed a very hard mold of the page and from that a lead plate. The plate then went down, literally, to the presses, where there were two categories of workers: the copy feeders, women, and the pressmen. With their machines they produced the printed product.

From there the pages went to be folded into thirty-two page “signatures,” and then on to be sewn and bound. The bookbinders all were men. On down the product went to the shipping room near the bottom of the cliff and the nearby railroad tracks. In the 1920s, West had 123,000 subscribers, in ten regions roughly corresponding to its Reporters. “Advance sheets,” unbound early versions of court decisions, went out to these subscribers every six days (so no one had to wait for the bound Reporter). The process was labor-intensive, meticulous, and ceaselessly busy.<sup>9</sup>

West’s location in those days worked well. At street level, in the heart of downtown, the workplace was easy for employees to reach by streetcar, and downtown St. Paul in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was a busy place, with stores, eateries, and entertainment. The top floor enjoyed plenty of natural light, to aid the clerks in their meticulous work. A few stories down, at pressroom level, West dug tunnels into the sandstone bluffs, for storage to hold the plates the stereotypers had made, in case reprints might one day be needed.

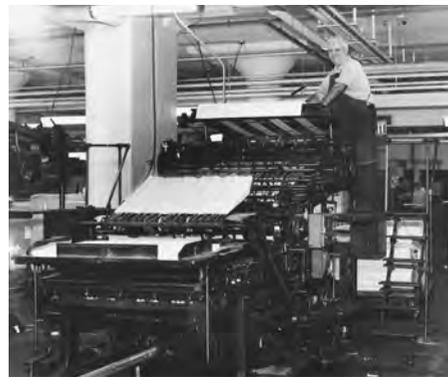
Nine stories from the top, at the base

of the bluff, the railroads made it easy to bring in heavy stuff, like machinery and paper, and ship out heavy stuff—law books. And West was able to expand physically when needed by filling up the cliffside: It built down. Between 1882 and 1964 it built five buildings on the site. It also took over and renovated the 1905 Booth Cold Storage building, immediately to the east, between the Wabasha Bridge and West’s headquarters. It became a rabbit warren, but the people of West made it work very well for a long time.<sup>10</sup>

### The Jail

For 89 of West’s 120 years in downtown St. Paul, its most faithful neighbor was the Ramsey County jail.

Jail in the United States is often misunderstood as the same as prison, a place



*By the 1930s, sheet-fed offset presses, such as the one seen here at West, dominated the market for the printing of books. Each sheet of paper is printed separately, dried, and then folded into a signature before being bound into a book. Photo courtesy of Thomson Reuters*

to punish the guilty. But in law a jail’s main function is to hold, pending trial, those accused of crime. These people are, by command of our Constitution, still innocent.<sup>11</sup> That is the theory. In fact, jail punishes people; inmates are deprived of freedom, work, association with family and supporters, and the power to participate effectively in their defense. An unsafe or unhealthy jail compounds the punishment.

Ramsey County’s current jail, just north of the Lafayette Bridge, is its fifth. The first was a small frame building at the southwest corner of Fifth and Cedar



*Once signatures for a law book from West had been printed and folded, women in the stitching department operated sewing machines, such as the ones seen here, which sewed each printed signature into a book block to which a cover was then glued. By varying the colors of the spools of thread used in sewing, each machine could be identified and the quality of the work of its operator evaluated. Photo courtesy of Thomson Reuters.*

Streets in the same block as the county courthouse. It went up in 1850. Writing in 1874, historian J. Fletcher Williams called it “about fit for a pig pen.”<sup>12</sup> It was replaced, in the same spot (where the *Pioneer Press* building stands now), in March of 1857 for \$75,000, big money for a cash-poor time. It was about ninety feet long, made of limestone, supplemented by brick, two stories tall, on each floor a row of six iron-barred cells surrounded by open space. It also held living quarters for the jailer.<sup>13</sup>

This jail lasted more than forty years, during which St. Paul grew from a frontier town of 10,000 to a city of over 160,000.<sup>14</sup> It lasted longer than it should have. An inspection in 1885 found the place “swarmed with vermin,” including bedbugs and cockroaches. “At the present time rats infest the cells and lice infest the prisoners.” To Hastings Hart, secretary of the State Board of Charities and Corrections, “the present jail is a stench in the nostrils of the city.” In 1887 Governor Andrew McGill called it “a disgrace.” Prisoners in 1894 wrote to the *St. Paul Globe* newspaper complaining of meager

food. As bad or worse than all this was the jail's inability to separate men from women and the innocent (those awaiting trial) from the guilty (those serving jail sentences).<sup>15</sup>

Ramsey County commissioners resisted all calls for replacing the jail, or even making major repairs, until 1900. An inspection in September found the south wall near collapse and the plumbing so poor that sanitary facilities could not be flushed. A smokestack threatened to topple and brain passersby. On October 11 the State Board of Corrections and Charities condemned the jail as "unsafe and liable to fall at any time . . ." <sup>16</sup> Then wrangling began over where a new jail should be built. The board voted first to build on the same site, but the many powerful aesthetes in the city protested that any jail would mar the beauty of courthouse square. The board finally chose a location on Cedar Street between Third and Fourth Streets, across Third Street from West.

And so, on March 31, 1903 about twenty-five prisoners marched from temporary quarters on the fourth floor of the courthouse to Ramsey County's first modern jail. The first two floors held the sheriff's residence and, on each, twelve cells for men, 6'-6" by 9', in two rows facing each other across a corridor. The third floor held twelve more men's cells, seven for juveniles, three holding cells for witnesses, and a library. On the fourth, eight women's cells and men's and women's medical wards filled the space. In 1904 the *Globe* presented the jail's total human capacity as 110, though how this figure computes is not clear. The newspaper explained further that

In this new building, built at a cost of nearly \$250,000 [actually, over \$270,000], the prisoners have almost every convenience to be found in a modern home. Large, airy corridors give them a place in which to walk about, while there are baths, hot, cold, and shower. . . . There are special apartments for children, and one floor is to be devoted to female prisoners only. There are padded cells for unruly prisoners and a death cell for murderers under sentence of death.

Though the *Globe* had complained in April 1902 that "the new county jail,



In 1979 Ramsey County's Adult Detention Center (ADC) opened on the river bluff immediately east of the former Booth Company building, which by then West had bought, and adjacent to the Wabasha Bridge, from which this photo was taken. Towering over the ADC on the north side of Kellogg Boulevard is the Ramsey County Courthouse and Saint Paul City Hall. Photo courtesy of Michael Cox

if it is ever finished, will remain a blot upon the history of St. Paul and Ramsey County," the money turned out to be extraordinarily well spent. This building served the public almost 75 years.<sup>17</sup>

And what stories it might have told, had its records not been hauled away in dumpsters when it came down in 1980. Alvin Karpis tarried there awaiting sentence for the Hamm and Bremer kidnappings. His partner in crime, Doc Barker, was one of many gangsters who passed a night or two inside. Jack Peifer, proprietor of the Hollyhocks speakeasy, committed suicide there after conviction for his role in the Hamm caper. How he got the poison remains a mystery. T. Eugene Thompson spent some time inside after his arrest for arranging the murder of his wife, Carol, in 1963. Try to imagine the tears shed, the plots plotted, the confessions extracted, and the curses cursed inside those walls. In spite of its occasionally boisterous clientele, the jail was a harmless neighbor to West Publishing.<sup>18</sup>

### The Fourth Jail—The ADC

It appears to be the nature of jails, like highways, to become overcrowded soon

after completion. The 1903 jail was found to be overcrowded in 1924. The county responded by evicting the sheriff and his family from their quarters, to make room for more prisoners. This helped, but between 1900 and 1970 Ramsey County's population increased from over 160,000 to nearly 310,000. Demands on county government increased apace, and by the 1970s the county needed a bigger jail, and the adjacent county courthouse needed room to expand.<sup>19</sup> The committee in charge of selecting a new jail location—Mayor Larry Cohen (in those days, also chair of the Ramsey County Commissioners) and four county commissioners—looked at four downtown sites, including the Lowry Building and the southeast corner of Fourth and St. Peter, where the Landmark Tower stands today, but chose the cliffside just west of the Wabasha Bridge.<sup>20</sup>

The words "jail" and "imagination" rarely appear together, but Ramsey County's fourth jail—officially the Adult Detention Center (ADC)—was a work of imagination. The villages of Cinque Terre in Italy, Mesa Verde in Colorado, the *casas colgadas* of Spain are all construction marvels that turn a forbidding location to advantage. The ADC did not achieve their beauty, but it shared the idea of making useless space, a cliffside, useful. As a jail site, this was brilliant in two ways. First, it was secure—prisoners wishing to escape had only two options, both infeasible—out the window, a long drop, or out the back, into the cliffside. Second, it could be (and was) connected to the courthouse across Kellogg Boulevard by tunnel, so that prisoners could make their court appearances quickly, on foot, and without going outside.

Wold Architects of St. Paul got the design contract. The cells, offices, and a courtroom were hung on the cliffside, facing south and west. The cells in particular had spectacular views of the river gorge and West Side bluffs. Completed in 1979 at a cost of about \$8,800,000, this was a truly modern facility, built to hold 134 (though according to Michael Cox of Wold, his firm had proposed a capacity of 200; the county scaled back the number of beds to save money, a decision that reduced the useful life of the building).

Prisoners were grouped in pods, a semicircle of cells around a dayroom, and supervised by guards separated from them by security glass. The pods were scaled in size and security features for different sorts of inmates; the better behaved got better accommodations. Doors were controlled by computers. Human access was strictly controlled: by tunnel from the courthouse; by stairs from the little stub of building next to the Wabasha Bridge; and for employees, by doors at the bottom of the cliff near the river. In fact there were two tunnels. There was a public one from the basement of the courthouse, that led to a large arraignment courtroom built into the bluffside along with the jail. Another tunnel, for prisoners and jail personnel only, also led to the courthouse. This one was invisible to the public.

From the river the ADC was much better looking than most public buildings of the era, with its red brick facing and big windows. It was not only the best looking building in the river gorge, it was one of the handsomest buildings downtown . . . if you could see it. From street level, it was invisible.

Deputies who worked inside still chuckle over the many times people trying to visit inmates ended up at the hotel across the street. At the corner of Kellogg and Wabasha, the only buildings to be seen were the courthouse and hotel on the north side. On the south, the river side, there were Kellogg Park, the bridge, and the sculpture plaza with the little brick stub sticking up. It was hard to fathom that that stub led down to six stories of jail. Not for nothing did Wold Architects receive a 1981 American Institute of Architecture "Honor" award—the American Institute of Architects' highest—for the ADC. The jury cited the building for its "unusual and humane conceptual organization . . . giving sunlight and spectacular views to the inmates."<sup>21</sup>

For all of its merits, the building soon proved to have some defects too. The dream of central computer control quickly died; neither the electrical system nor the software were robust enough to carry it off. The cell windows, so consistent with the ideal that the prisoners were still innocent and still connected with the world, allowed more connection



*This photo shows an interior view of one of the pods, a dayroom circled by cells for the prisoners held at the ADC. In the right rear is one of the many windows in the ADC that looked out on the Mississippi. Photo courtesy of Michael Cox.*

than the sheriff desired. Prisoners' friends and family figured out that they could send messages from nearby bridges; girlfriends sometimes reminded inmates of what they were missing by performing stripteases, on one occasion hanging disrobed from the West Publishing terrace immediately to the west.<sup>22</sup> But these quirks were manageable. What doomed the ADC, in less than thirty years, were forces beyond anyone's control or anticipation. The ADC opened in 1979, built to hold 134; then came the crack cocaine frenzy, soon followed by the "war on drugs," and, in Ramsey County, a new focus on detaining domestic abuse suspects. Felony arrests surged.

Less than three years after the ADC opened, a 1981 "capacity review" found that inmate counts already exceeded what had been predicted for 1990. "If increases in population and length of stay continue, overcrowding will become a problem." By 1988 the *Pioneer Press* was running regular jail-overcrowding stories. In May 1988, inmate population had doubled and fifty-seven cells, designed for one, were double-bunked. In April 1989, population had risen to 223 and nine inmates were sleeping on floors. In March 1994 inmates numbered 267, twice the de-

signed capacity. In June 1998 the average daily population had reached 300. In late November 1998 the county commissioners voted to build a new jail. The last inmates were moved out of the riverfront ADC in December 2003. The building had lasted less than twenty-five years.<sup>23</sup> The jail was like every other enterprise built on the cliff that needed to expand; it could go up (not feasible), down (not feasible), or relocate. It relocated.

## **West and Its Workers**

In June 1910 West president Charles W. Ames gave a speech to a gathering, estimated at 600, of West employees. Looking over the past ten years, he reflected:

There has been one great internal change with us in the past few years, the removal of a disturbing element, that of outside interference with our employees. Ten years ago the West Publishing Company was a union establishment, with the closed shop in its manufacturing departments. To-day it is free and independent. The change has not been wrought without trouble and sacrifice. We have lost in it many people whom we were sorry to lose. . . .<sup>24</sup>

Unions had been part of West in its early years, and there had been some short strikes, wrangles, and litigation. West typesetters, printers, and bookbinders had been organized going back to the 1880s, but whether West had in fact been a closed shop for all its tradesmen is impossible now to say. In 1904 Ames was quoted as saying that trade unions were necessary. He may not have been sincere, as from 1905 forward no more mentions of unions at West can be found in the press.<sup>25</sup>

St. Paul was a union-friendly city, so: What happened? Ames's speech hints at coercion: "Your union or your job, you decide." West company lore emphasizes the positive; that West so valued its people that unions were not needed. Certainly West fostered an *esprit de corps*. In Ames's time the company sponsored employee baseball and bowling teams, dances, theatrical events and dinners. In 1900 it opened a new building, next to the headquarters, housing a gymnasium, reading rooms, a ballroom,



Looking to the southwest and down on Kellogg Boulevard where it intersects Wabasha Street, only Kellogg Park, the small sculpture garden, and the brick stub (the hexagonal structure in the center) that was the street-level entrance to the ADC, are visible. Photo courtesy of Michael Cox.

restaurants, and a billiard room (men only). There was an employees' club, "for the promotion of good-fellowship and social intercourse among the employees." The annual company picnic and the Thanksgiving turkey for everyone became West traditions. And no workers in St. Paul enjoyed a better view from the company dining room atop the bluff: the Mississippi River chasm east toward Mounds Park, south to Cherokee Heights, west toward Fort Snelling.

Starting in 1903 the company offered stock options to selected employees. Around the year 1919, West's Employee Benefit Association, open to all workers after one month on the job, provided 70% of lost wages "by reason of sickness, disability, or accident." West gave an employee death benefit of \$1,000.<sup>26</sup> Company lore has it that in the Depressions of 1893–1896 and 1930–1941 the company laid off no one due to hard times (though some employees had their hours reduced). Lore has it also that if a worker's job were eliminated due, for example, to changes in technology, that worker would be kept at the same rate of pay even if transferred to a lesser position. The lore may well be

true; it just is not verifiable, as no records that might prove it survive.<sup>27</sup>

West offered some (typically male) employees the opportunity to advance. West often promoted from within. Dwight Opperman, for example, began as an editor fresh from law school and ended his career as the company president, its chief executive officer, and a rich man. John Nasseff, lacking even a high school degree, began as a laborer unloading boxcars. His long career in charge of West's buildings earned him enough to become one of St. Paul's prominent philanthropists.<sup>28</sup> While West remained in St. Paul, every one of its eight presidents rose from within. Starting in 1903, it also offered employee stock options. This was purely discretionary with leadership, but valued employees could acquire company shares.

### The 1930s and Beyond

How did the Great Depression affect West? The catastrophic fall in commercial activity must have hurt the legal profession, but according to West's internal publication, *The News Letter*, subscriptions (to its Reporters) rose throughout those dark years, and its army of salesmen continued to earn commendations.<sup>29</sup>

The law is a wordy profession. West Publishing served it with a mighty river whose volume only grew. In 1901 West's output consisted of the seven regional Reporters, two federal case Reporters, four state court Reporters, a series of twenty-two legal textbooks, and the *American Digest*. This last was a giant—a compilation of reported American cases from colonial times through 1896, in fifty volumes of 1,000 to 1,800 pages each, each one devoted to one area of law.<sup>30</sup>

By 1916 West's catalog alone ran to 255 pages, including a full twenty pages of index. By 1934, deep in the Depression, West's word torrent had added statute compilations for the United States and four states, two series of legal textbooks in many volumes, two Decennial Digests, many state Digests, legal treatises, rules compilations, forms, and law dictionaries. The rail tracks beneath the West complex never had time to rust.<sup>31</sup>

The postwar economy of the 1950s and '60s must have been very good for

West. The G.I. Bill financed education for millions, the country prospered, business boomed. Between 1956 and 1975 the number of law school graduates rose from about 9,000 a year to 39,000.<sup>32</sup> Every one of those students used West-published textbooks in law schools whose library shelves held tons—literally—of West publications.

Such figures suggest prosperity for the company, and the little information we have about it tends to confirm this. Between 1945 and 1968 the number of employees grew from 645 to over 2,000. It built a new building downtown in 1960, later took over the enormous Booth Cold Storage building adjoining it to the east (between West headquarters and the Wabasha Bridge) and in 1974 announced plans for yet another, adding 600,000 square feet to its 850,000-square-foot downtown complex.<sup>33</sup>

That building never got built. Instead, sixteen years later, West announced that all its St. Paul operations would move to suburban Eagan.

### West Leaves St. Paul

On May 9, 2015, a former high official of West, John Nasseff, was asked why West left downtown St. Paul. After forty years, his emotions were still high. He replied, "We did not leave downtown St. Paul—we were kicked out!"<sup>34</sup> However true this may seem to be from West's point of view, the evidence also supports a different conclusion.

The last West employee left downtown St. Paul in the summer of 1992, the



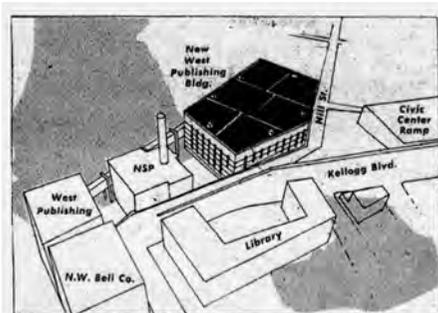
Spring floods spilled over the dykes along the Mississippi in 1965 and covered Shepherd Road, the railroad tracks, the Minnesota Boat Club building on Raspberry Island, lower right, and rose more than a foot deep on the first floors of the West and Booth buildings. Photo courtesy of Thomson Reuters.

denouement of a silent drama played out over eighteen years. What led to West's departure begins in the spring of 1974, when West announced plans to build a \$5 million addition to its downtown St. Paul complex, along Kellogg Boulevard next to the Northern States Power (later, District Heating) installation, and extending west toward where the Science Museum of Minnesota stands today. It would have been massive, rising from the rail tracks at the bottom of the bluff to a height 28 feet above Kellogg Boulevard.<sup>35</sup> West officers said the new building was vital and that they wanted to start work on it as soon as possible. They planned to move their book-publishing operations into the new building. It promised 200 to 400 more downtown jobs and \$250,000 in annual property taxes.

Mayor Larry Cohen's public response was, "It looks good to me."<sup>36</sup> The rest of city government moved forward. On June 14 the St. Paul Port Authority created an "industrial district" so that it could buy some tax-forfeited land West needed for the project. The city's planning department referred West's plan to its urban design committee. That committee took note of the obvious: If built, the structure would replace an open vista of the river and the West Side bluffs with, well, a printing plant. Still, the committee did no more than suggest two alternatives and meekly express the hope that West would design something pleasant to look at. The plan went also to the state Environmental Quality Council (EQC) for an Environmental Impact Assessment. The EQC's report noted the damage to the view but raised no objections.<sup>37</sup>

West's project first came before the council on September 27. The minutes of that meeting reveal a palpable tension within city government, and between government and West. (The quotes that follow are from the minutes and are not necessarily direct quotations from the speakers.)

John Nasseff: "West Publishing has spent well over \$600,000 . . . and it is not prepared to go one step further until it feels the proposal will be accomplished." Councilman Robert Sylvester: "[I]t would not be proper to take any action until the building design is seen." Councilman David Hozza: "[I]t is un-



*This drawing published in the St. Paul Dispatch on May 10, 1974 shows the location of the new building that West proposed erecting on land along the river bluff that today is occupied by the Science Museum of Minnesota.*

fortunate that rather than raise objections, the city has not cooperated more fully with West Publishing." Councilman Leonard Levine: "[T]he publishing company has come as far as they could go and to delay the projects is . . . unfair to the publishing company. . . ." Councilman Sylvester: "[T]he employees of West Publishing have a beautiful view of the bluffs from their dining area and . . . the Council is short-sighted to say the people of St. Paul are not entitled to the same view. . . ." Nasseff then asks "that the City Council trust West Publishing . . . . It will not construct this building if there are any objections . . . ." Comments from City Attorney R. Scott Davies clarified that the proposed West building would not violate any height restrictions. At the suggestion of West's attorney, Jack Hoeschler, the council agreed, 7-0, to review West's detailed plans for the building at a future meeting, and give them a firm yea or nay. That meeting would take place December 12.<sup>38</sup>

In the meantime John Nasseff of West met with Mayor Cohen. Though Cohen had told the newspapers, "It looks good to me," in private he opposed this or any project that obstructed the view along Kellogg Boulevard. "John," he told Nasseff, "you won't build that building." To Nasseff's response that West might then just leave downtown Cohen replied, "If you move, you move."<sup>39</sup>

The minutes of the December 12 meeting reveal still more tensions. West showed up on the agenda as a surprise, without the customary notice. This was

the handiwork of City Administrator Frank D. Marzitelli (1914–2000), an appointee of Mayor Cohen's and a friend of John Nasseff's. Councilman Sylvester objected, saying "both sides should be heard." Councilman John Christensen said no vote should be taken without hearing "from other people." Councilman David Hozza made a telling remark: "He had come to the meeting with the knowledge that the Council would make the decision and not the staff people." No objections from the public or city staff would be heard. The council voted 7-0 to go forward with West's presentation.

John Nasseff and Jack Hoeschler then showed the council detailed building plans and a model of the printing plant. More than forty-one years later, Hoeschler called the building "ugly." Jim Bellus of City Planning and Economic Development said he was "concerned about the visual quality of the area." Councilman Christensen said "aesthetics is what makes a community successful and he is concerned about maintaining aesthetics." Nasseff told the council that West had "no other choice except this plan," though he was open to further consultation with the city. Councilman Sylvester asked that the council delay a vote for one day "to give others an opportunity to appear." That motion lost 4-3. The city council then voted to approve West's plans, with a single, toothless condition: that West consult with the city about design before construction began. The final vote was 6-1. Mayor Cohen had the power to veto the approval, but he did not do so.<sup>40</sup>

All systems go? No. An extraordinary aspect of this story is that though West had gotten everything it asked for, both John Nasseff and Jack Hoeschler look back on the City Council's actions as a rejection.<sup>41</sup> How can this be? Reader, beware: What follows here is not documented fact but one writer's interpretation. From West's point of view one could see its printing plant project as a gift to St. Paul: more people, more taxes, and a firmer commitment to downtown. The city accepted the gift . . . but grudgingly. John Nasseff had told the council in September that West "would not construct this building if there were any objections." Though the

objections raised carried no legal weight, they were enough to cause West to hesitate. End of interpretation.

On January 31, 1975, West's John Nasseff announced that while the company still wanted to build downtown, "we are reassessing our expansion plans." Also, it had leased 70,000 square feet of space in suburban Eagan in Dakota County. St. Paul City Councilman Patrick Roedler warned that West might leave St. Paul entirely.<sup>42</sup>

Did the opposition of Mayor Cohen and others turn West's eyes decisively toward the suburbs? Not exactly. Seven months earlier, in May 1974, John Nasseff had said that "economics alone" might dictate moving to Eagan, so clearly West had been looking outside of St. Paul for some time. According to Nasseff in 2016, West had considered North St. Paul, South St. Paul, and western Wisconsin, where it bought over 200 acres before focusing on Eagan. Eagan came to Nasseff's attention by happenstance: On a Sunday drive he stopped at a vegetable stand there and learned that the farmer was planning to sell. A light went on; Nasseff called a lawyer that day to start work on acquiring an option to that land. While the events of late 1974 may have weakened West's allegiance to St. Paul, the company had already calculated that Eagan offered some advantages. And so, instead of the cheery sounds of construction along Kellogg Boulevard, fifteen years of silence ensued.<sup>43</sup>

Meanwhile, West's business went through a revolution. For almost a century, it had prospered in a business that had two sides, intellectual and physical. Or to put it in more contemporary terms, content and media. The content part was all the product of brainpower—the indexing, digesting, writing, and editing of reporters and law books. The physical part was the composing, printing, binding, and shipping of bulky and heavy objects—books—manufactured with even bulkier and heavier machines.

The computer was about to change the second part of this equation. West's President and CEO Dwight D. Opperman, more than any other person in the company, saw the future clearly. He pushed the development of Westlaw, the com-



*In 1976 West Publishing Company celebrated its centennial. Here West's President and CEO Dwight Opperman, left, is about to cut the cake assisted by St. Paul Mayor George Latimer. Photo courtesy of Thomson Reuters.*

pany's on-line legal research system, and this was absolutely crucial, because West had a formidable competitor. Mead Data Central, from Ohio, had also seen computerized research as the future in law and introduced LexisNexis in 1973. If this was the future, then law books were about to become not obsolete but much, much less important. West had a chance to be swept away by computer technology just as Kodak and Polaroid would be with the development of digital photography.<sup>44</sup>

West introduced Westlaw in 1976. If it succeeded, West's future was going to be very different from its past. Brainpower would be just as important as ever, but the manufacture of objects would fade to a fraction of its former prominence. The company's St. Paul cliffscrapers, adapted to the giant Linotypes, massive presses, and the vast caves of lead, would have to be converted to different sorts of machines: computers and servers. West still needed more space for growth, but, what kind of space, exactly?

As late as 1987 West officials publicly reaffirmed the company's intention to build downtown and complained of hostility within City Hall.<sup>45</sup> It is hard to make

sense of this. Between city politicians and bureaucrats and West, the power decisively tilted in West's direction. West's heft in St. Paul was enormous. It was downtown's biggest employer and admired for its support of civic and charity causes. West executives were regulars at the Minnesota Club, the premier gathering place of the most influential St. Paul business and political leaders. John Nasseff, the West executive in charge of its buildings and real estate, enjoyed friendships with city administrator (and all-around insider) Frank Marzitelli and with George Latimer, mayor 1976–1990. Had West wanted something from city politicians, its opportunities to ask, formally or informally, were countless. West's leaders knew how to get what they wanted.

What's more, this was an economically anxious time for the city. St. Paul had lost its big Whirlpool factory in 1984 and the even bigger American Hoist and Derrick in 1985.<sup>46</sup> Both these companies were born in St. Paul and had given work to hundreds, seemingly forever. To make it worse, the Hamm's and Schmidt breweries were known to be tottering. In this environment, had West made known that it needed A, B, and C to stay in St. Paul the likely response would have been, "May we also offer you D and E?"

And, in addition to the cliffside, the city had other space to offer. In the 1960s St. Paul had cleared its Lower West Side, long a mixed residential and industrial zone on the Mississippi floodplain, built up its dikes, and proclaimed it the Riverview Industrial Park, just a few hundred yards across the river from West. Brown and Bigelow, another big St. Paul company, moved its headquarters, and 2,000 jobs, there in 1980.<sup>47</sup> In the early 1980s St. Paul had also turned the abandoned railroad shops just south of Como Park into another speculative industrial zone, this one called Energy Park, with over 218 acres awaiting tenants.<sup>48</sup>

Both of these sites were big, flat, mostly empty, well served by road and rail, and, to anthropomorphize them for a moment, eager for tenants. Could West Publishing have had either of these sites? West's John Nasseff says the company never considered either.<sup>49</sup>

The city's mayor during most of the

crucial years leading up to West's departure was George Latimer, one of the most successful politicians in St. Paul history. It is not believable that if, say, Dwight Opperman or John Nasseff from West had taken Latimer aside and said, "George, we need something," Latimer would not have moved heaven and earth to provide it. But this did not happen.<sup>50</sup> Latimer recalls hearing complaints from West executives, but no requests. This suggests that very soon after insisting, in 1974, that a new building was needed, West's leadership engaged in a reassessment—just as John Nasseff had said in 1975.

George Latimer left office as mayor on December 31, 1989, succeeded by former city council president Jim Scheibel. Three weeks later, West announced that it had bought still more land in Eagan. *Pioneer Press* business writer Dave Beal wrote in May that West had definitively decided to move all its operations to Eagan, where it now owned 276 acres.

Mayor Scheibel's administration responded with an all-hands-on-deck effort to assemble a competing offer. This offer included all the land West had identified in 1974 plus almost \$8 million in city spending, \$1.5 million in grants, and over \$900,000 in tax relief. The *Pioneer Press* estimated that the square footage of this offer amounted to about one-fifth of the space available at Eagan. Moreover, Eagan offered what downtown St. Paul never could—horizontal space. On July 4 West announced its decision to move all Minnesota operations to the suburbs.<sup>51</sup>

Twenty-five years later this decision still stings, and some people have looked for blame—Who Lost West?—like the great national debate in the 1950s over Who Lost China? The simplest answer is likely to be correct. In 1990 West had at its disposal 276 acres in Eagan, to configure and build on as it pleased. In downtown St. Paul it had a fraction of that space in five different buildings constructed between 1880 and 1964. The Eagan space was flat, well suited to modern manufacturing and for the vast server space it needed. The St. Paul space was vertical, with almost no flexibility.

No one in city government "lost" West, though Larry Cohen's "John, you won't build that building" did not help.



*A 1992 aerial view of West's facilities in Eagan, located just to the west of Highway 149 and rail tracks. A six-story office building sits in front of the company's manufacturing and warehouse operations. Photo courtesy of Thomson Reuters.*

The few in city hall who criticized the construction of an ugly printing plant on the last open stretch of river bluff downtown were not wrong to do so. In any event, their objections carried no legal or political weight. The decision not to build was West's alone. Businesses on the bluffside that wished to grow have always had only three options: build up, build down, or relocate. West chose what time has proven to be its best option.

### **Back to the Cliffside**

After West completed its move from the downtown complex in 1992, it "sold" the whole thing to Ramsey County for one dollar. The county made good use of it. It moved several county offices, including County Recorder and probation services into the space and used lots of it for storage. Ramsey County occupied it until 2011.

A few years after relocating to Eagan, West's leaders decided in 1996 to sell the company to the Thomson Corporation, a Canadian newspaper and information enterprise. Thomson, which is now Thompson Reuters, continues the legal publishing and other operations that were once a part of West at the Eagan campus (see [www.thomsonreuters.com](http://www.thomsonreuters.com)).

The cliffside jail (the ADC) meanwhile, was abandoned in 2003, and the county then tried to sell it. In late 2006 it announced sale of the site to David Bernard Builders for \$3.9 million. Bernard planned to build 312 condominium units to be sold

at prices between \$200,000 and \$1 million each. This deal fell apart in April 2007.<sup>52</sup> Then came the stock market crash of 2008 and the succeeding recession: All quiet on Kellogg Boulevard. Ramsey County Commissioners decided to sell the combined sites, ADC and West, everything from the Wabasha Bridge to the District Heating plant, but found little interest in sites so cluttered with old buildings. In 2014 they surrendered: to sell it Ramsey County would have to clear it. Demolition work began in the summer of 2015.

It is quirk of human memory that a building, once gone, vanishes from recall. The West complex and the ADC soon will be forgotten. "What used to be there?" we will ask ourselves. Let us detain that forgetting for a little while. Let us resolve to remember that remarkable events took place on this short stretch of cliffside in St. Paul, Minnesota. Here the people of West twice revolutionized the practice of law in the United States, and dominated a national industry for a century. And here the people of Ramsey County, and Wold architects, built an innovative jail that raised standards for treatment of the accused.

At some yet to be identified time in the "deconstruction" of the ADC and West cliffside, portions of the limestone and sandstone bluffs will reappear for the first time in over a century. (Go to [www.ramseyriverfrontproperties.com](http://www.ramseyriverfrontproperties.com) for video and other information on the site.) At which time, Ramsey County plans to secure the cliffside with concrete to make it ready for the next generation of cliffscrapers.

*Paul D. Nelson is a member of the Society's Editorial Board and the author of Fredrick L. McGhee (2002). He and RCHS thank the Ramsey County Commissioners, Tom Walrath and Gretchen DeSutter of Thomson Reuters Corporation, John Siqveland of Ramsey County; and George Beran, Larry Cohen, Michael Cox, Ruby Hunt, Jack Hoeschler, George Latimer, Len Levine, John Nasseff, Jim Scheibel; and John Eastham and Ken Urbiba of the Ramsey County Sheriff's Department, for their willingness to be interviewed.*

## Endnotes

1. Edmund C. Bray, "Millions of Years in the Making: The Geological Forces That Shaped St. Paul," *Ramsey County History*, 32 no. 2 (Summer 1997): 13–15.
2. The roller mill was invented in the early 1870s by John Stevens of Neenah, Wisconsin. It replaced the grinding action of a heavily scored millstone with the crushing action of steel cylinders, or rollers. The roller mill processed wheat in successive steps. Publius Virgilius Lawson, *The Invention of the Roller Flour Mill* (Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1908). Very little is known about the St. Paul Roller Mill enterprise.
3. Robert M. Jarvis, "John B. West: Founder of the West Publishing Company," *American Journal of Legal History*, 50, no. 1 (January 2008–2010): 1–22.
4. This identification of "anxiety" is the author's presumption, based on practicing law in Minnesota for eleven years.
5. Jarvis, 4–7. The regional Reporters were, and are: Atlantic, Northeast, Southeast, Southern, Northwest, Southwest, and Pacific. West later added state-specific reporters for big states like California and New York, and for the Supreme Court and federal Courts of Appeal. *The Romance of Law Reporting* (St. Paul: West Publishing Co., 1934).
6. *Ibid.*; Thomas A. Woxland, "'Forever Associated With the Practice of Law': The Early Years of West Publishing Company," *Legal Reference Services Quarterly*, 5 no. 1 (Spring 1985); *The Romance of Law Reporting*, 21–23.
7. Woxland, p. 118.
8. Jarvis, 12–17.
9. *The Making of Law Books* (St. Paul: West Publishing Co., 192–?); *Law Books By the Million* (St. Paul: West Publishing Co., 1901).
10. *West Publishing Company, Origin, Growth and Leadership* (St. Paul: West Publishing Co., 1969).
11. The phrases "innocent until proven guilty" and "presumption of innocence" do not appear in the Constitution, but these principles, derived from the Common Law, were held by the U.S. Supreme Court in 1895 to be "undoubted . . . axiomatic, and elementary." *Coffin v. United States*, 156 U.S. 432 (1895).
12. J. Fletcher Williams, *A History of the City of Saint Paul to 1875* (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society, 1876; reprint edition, 1983), 280–81, 336 (quote).
13. Williams, 373; *St. Paul Globe*, January 12, 1885, p. 6; *St. Paul Pioneer Press*; October 28, 1887, p. 1.
14. Population data is from the U.S. Census for 1860 and 1900.
15. *St. Paul Globe*, January 12, 1885, p. 6; October 20, 1885, p. 2; October 31, 1887, p. 2. Paul D. Nelson, "Early Days of the State Reform School," *Minnesota History*, 63:4 (Winter 2012–13): 133.
16. Ramsey County Sheriff, Jail Construction Records, 1883–1939, Minnesota Historical Society, 131.I.15.6F.I. The courthouse square then was the block bounded by Wabasha, Cedar, Fourth, and Fifth streets. Today this is where the Victory Ramp, Pioneer Press, and Ecolab buildings now, with little beauty, dominate.
17. *St. Paul Globe*, April 6, 1902, p. 6 [This "blot upon history" complaint was about supposed corruption and favoritism and high costs—altogether, "criminal mismanagement"—in jail construction. The article repeated an unlikely claim that the old jail could have been repaired for \$4,000]. *St. Paul Globe*, May 3, 1903, p. 18; Ramsey County Sheriff, Jail Construction Records, 1883–1939, blueprints at Minnesota Historical Society A3/ov4.
18. Paul Maccabee, *John Dillinger Slept Here: A Crooks' Tour of St. Paul, 1920–1936* (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society, 1995), 267–271; *St. Paul Pioneer Press*, June 22, 1963, p. 1; author interview with Ramsey County Deputy Sheriff John Eastham, August 5, 2015, this and all other transcripts of interviews are in the Research Center, Ramsey County Historical Society, St. Paul, Minn.; *Pioneer Press*, September 16, 1980, p. 17 (demolition).
19. Mayor Lawrence Cohen proposed what became the Adult Detention Center in July 1972. *St. Paul Dispatch*, July 24, 1972, p. 1; *St. Paul Dispatch*, December 23, 1974, p. 15.
20. Author interview with Michael Cox, a designer of the Adult Detention Center, September 23, 2015, transcript in the Research Center, Ramsey County Historical Society, St. Paul, Minn.
21. This description is based in part on the author's guided tour of the building on May 9, 2015. *Proceedings, Ramsey County Board of Commissioners*, 25 August 25, 1975, pp. 184–88; *St. Paul Dispatch*, June 25, 1979, p. 1 (cost of jail). Prisoners moved to the new ADC on June 13, 1979. *St. Paul Dispatch*, June 13, 1979, p. 26; author interview with Michael Cox. American Institute of Architects Honor Awards, May 1, 1981, copy in possession of the author. Author interview with sheriff's deputies John Eastham and Ken Urbha, August 5, 2015.
22. *Ibid.*
23. Undated "Capacity Review" found in the files of Ramsey County Commissioner John T. Finley, Minnesota Historical Society, 117.A.8.2F, box 11, file marked Jail (Adult, 1981); *St. Paul Pioneer Press* May 27, 1988, p. 1B; April 22, 1989, 1B; March 15, 1994, 1B; June 17, 1998, 3B; November 25, 1998, 3B; August 22, 2003, 1B.
24. West Publishing Co., *The News Letter*, Employees Souvenir Number, vol. 4, no. 19, June 1910.
25. *St. Paul Globe*, March 1, 1889, p. 8; March 9, 1890, p. 8 (typographical workers union); March 20, 1892, p. 3; October 26, 1892, p. 8 (strikes); June 8, 1893, special edition, p. 6 (St. Paul Trades and Labor); October 8, 1893, p. 2 (wage agreement); November 19, 1902 (brief strike); April 24, 1904, p. 26 (Ames); 17 September 17, 1904 p. 2 (litigation with bookbinders); *Labor World*, November 15, 1902, p. 4
26. West Publishing Manuscript Collection, Minnesota Historical Society, P2558. This small box contains two West style books (one from 1894), a copy of its original articles of incorporation, and some papers related to its employee benefits association and employees' club.
27. *Pioneer Press*, March 18, 1985, p. 1B. The West officers quoted, John Nasseff and Dwight Opperman, described some events and policies that existed from before they joined the company.
28. *Pioneer Press*, May 6, 2007, p. 14.
29. West Publishing Co., *The News Letter*, September 17, 1937, p. 2.
30. *Publications of the West Publishing Company* (St. Paul: West Publishing Co., 1901).
31. *Catalog of Law Books* (St. Paul: West Publishing Co., 1916). *The Romance of Law Reporting*, 28–29.
32. A Pennsylvania study from 1971 [<http://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/ED055564.pdf>] showed that national law school graduation number increased from just over 9,000 in 1956 to over 22,000 in 1971. In 2013 the *Wall Street Journal*, using figures from the American Bar Association, reported law school enrollment grew from 22,7000 in 1964 to 39,000 in 1975. Jennifer Smith, "Crop of New Law Schools Opens Amid Lawyer Glut," *Wall Street Journal*, accessed 26 August 2015 <http://www.wsj.com/articles/SB1001424127887323926104578276301888284108#project%3DLAWSCHOOL20130201%26articleTabs%3Dinteractive>]
33. *West Publishing Company, Origin, Growth and Leadership* (1969); *St. Paul Dispatch*, May 10, 1974, p. C34 (600,000 sq. ft.); *Pioneer Press*, February 1, 1975, p. 18C (850,000.)
34. The author was present at a press event, May 9, 2015, in the former West headquarters. At the same event, Vance Opperman, son of then–West CEO Dwight Opperman, added that Eagan offered some advantages of space and topography that St. Paul could not match.
35. *Pioneer Press*, May 10, 1974, p. 1; *St. Paul Dispatch*, May 10, 1974, p. C34. This would have fallen well within zoning regulations, which would have allowed West to build to 42 feet.
36. *Pioneer Press*, May 10, 1974, p. 1.
37. *Pioneer Press*, June 14, 1974, p. 19; *St. Paul Dispatch*, December 14, 1974, p. 3; minutes of the [St. Paul] City Council, September 27, 1974 and December 12, 1974; Council File 264737, December 12, 1974, Paragraph 10 in Proceedings of the Council of the City of Saint Paul, 1974, 613–14. The language of the condition, paragraph 10 of the ordinance adopted by the Council, is: "That the petitioner [West] agrees to work with such personnel as the City Council of St. Paul may designate to review any reasonable alterations to its current plans and incorporate into its final plan such portions of the alternative suggestions as are feasible, given the economic and management constraints of the project." See also *Pioneer Press*, February 1, 1975, p. C18.
38. Minutes of the [St. Paul] City Council, September 27, 1974.
39. Author interview with Lawrence Cohen, October 26, 2015.
40. Minutes of the [St. Paul] City Council, December 12, 1974; *St. Paul Dispatch*, December 14, 1974, p. 3; author telephone conversation with Jack Hoeschler, January 10, 2016.
41. Author interview with John Nasseff, January 12, 2016 and author telephone conversation with Jack Hoeschler, January 10, 2016.
42. *Pioneer Press*, February 1, 1975, p. C18.
43. *Pioneer Press*, May 10, 1974, p. 1; author interview with John Nasseff.
44. Kendall F. Svengalis, *Legal Information Buyers Guide and Reference Manual* (Barrington, R.I.: Rhode Island Law Press, 2005).
45. *Pioneer Press*, June 18, 1987, p. 1.
46. *Pioneer Press*, April 27, 1984, p. 1; January 20, 1985, p. 1.
47. *Riverview Business Plaza Land Use Analysis: Riverview Industrial Area, St. Paul, Minnesota* (Bloomington, Minnesota: Bordner Consultants, 1980), copy available at the Minnesota Historical Society.
48. Larry Millett, "Energy Park Mixes Success with Failure," *Pioneer Press*, May 6, 1984, p. D1.
49. Author interview with John Nasseff, January 12, 2016.
50. Interviews with former Mayor George Latimer and former member of the St. Paul City Council Ruby Hunt. Latimer said that he and John Nasseff, both Lebanese-Americans, were friends who socialized often; in the nearly fourteen years of Latimer's incumbency, Nasseff never raised any issues about West's treatment at city hall. Ruby Hunt, city council chair in 1974 and a member into 1982, concurs.
51. *Pioneer Press*, May 15, 1990, p. 5C; July 4, 1990, p. 1.
52. *Minneapolis Star Tribune*, December 15, 2005, p. 3B; November 8, 2006, p. 14B; April 20, 2007, p. 7B; October 3, 2007, p. 3B.

Published by the Ramsey County Historical Society  
323 Landmark Center  
75 West Fifth Street  
Saint Paul, Minnesota 55102

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*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.*