

RAMSEY COUNTY
History
A Publication of the Ramsey County Historical Society

*St. Gaudens' New York Eagle:
Rescue and Restoration
of a St. Paul Icon*

Page 12

Fall, 2002

Volume 37, Number 3

Lost Neighborhood

**Borup's Addition and the Prosperous
African Americans Who Lived There**

—Page 4



A duplex at 555–561 in one of St. Paul's Lost Neighborhoods. This and other houses in the long-since razed Borup's Addition were the homes of pioneer African Americans who came to St. Paul after the Civil War. See article beginning on page 4. Photo by Camera Shop, Minnesota State Archives, Minnesota Historical Society collections.

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RAMSEY COUNTY History

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A Message from the Editorial Board

In February 1998 the Board of Directors of the Ramsey County Historical Society reviewed the Society's Mission Statement and reaffirmed and adopted the following statement:

The Ramsey County Historical Society shall discover, collect, preserve, communicate and interpret the history of the county for the general public, recreate the historical context in which we live and work, and make available the historical resources of the county. The Society's major responsibility is its stewardship of this history.

This issue of our quarterly magazine once again carries out the Society's goal of discovering and communicating Ramsey County's past. Historian David Riehle gives us a fascinating look at another of St. Paul's "Lost Neighborhoods," known as "Borup's Addition" in the late nineteenth century when this area was home to prosperous African Americans. Next, Christine Podas-Larson describes the construction of the ten-story New York Life Insurance Building, completed in 1889 at Sixth and Minnesota, and the creation of its magnificent sculpture, the *New York Eagle*, by the renowned Augustus St. Gaudens and his brother Louis. Although the building was torn down in 1967, the *Eagle* has survived and soon will soar again over St. Paul at Summit Overlook Park.

Long-time Society member and family historian Joanne Englund's "Growing Up in St. Paul" essay focuses on her grandmother Minda's experiences in spiritualism while living in the Midway district. Included is a remarkable photograph of Minda and the other women who worked at the Bohn Refrigerator Company about the time of World War I. Finally, *Ramsey County History* returns to an earlier era in state and local history with an account of the life and times of the colorful fur trader and entrepreneur. Norman W. Kittson.

John M. Lindley, Chair, Editorial Board

Lost Neighborhood

Borup's Addition and the Prosperous Pioneer African Americans Who Owned Homes There

This is the second in an occasional series of articles on St. Paul and Ramsey County's Lost Neighborhoods.

David Riehle

Cities are made up of neighborhoods, they say. And neighborhoods, of course, are made up of brick and mortar and flesh and blood: buildings, streets, parks, and people. But buildings are demolished, people move on. Even memory often fades away. So what happens to vanished neighborhoods? Do only their ghosts linger on to remind us of the people and structures that once were?

Sometimes we are fortunate enough to have something more tangible to take us back to a different time and place. In the records of the City of St. Paul's Valuation Department's Building Assessment and Project Files at the Minnesota Historical Society is a bountiful collection of photographs and other information methodically documenting scores, if not hundreds, of houses and other structures, many long since razed for new development. The buildings recorded in this archive were located along streets slated for city projects such as street improvement, sidewalks and so on. Much of the information was gathered in the period ranging from the 1920s to 1940s, and in many cases literally provides an irreplaceable snapshot of lost neighborhoods.

One lost neighborhood whose image is captured in this collection was home in the nineteenth century to a significant number of pioneer African Americans who had arrived in St. Paul before the Civil War or shortly thereafter and settled in a section of downtown St. Paul enclosed approximately by Robert, Seventh, and Broadway Streets, and, in the present day, Interstate Highway 94 to the north. These were prosperous African American residents and many of them owned their own homes, long before the city's black community became centered in the Rondo district.¹

In 1923 the venerable African American elder, John Hickman Sr., recalled for

an interviewer that "in the downtown section there was an addition to the city proper, known as Borup's Addition, in which a good number [of African Americans] bought lots and erected homes."²

Black property owners Hickman mentioned included Rachel McWilliams, Ed Buck, Ann Slate, Anderson Peters, Fielding Combs, the Pilgrim Baptist Church, David Talbert, Abby Jackson, Andy Hoover, and Edward James.

Hickman also discussed others who bought land and built homes near this core community, such as the much-loved and respected tailor and musician James K. Hilyard, who was until his death in 1891, the archetypal elder of his community. Hilyard, along with barber Blakely Durant, resided on Robert Street near Jackson, on property where the Emporium and Golden Rule department stores eventually were constructed. Other ante-bellum pioneers included successful barbers Joseph Farr, Joseph Taylor, and Andrew Jackson, who owned property on Fifth Street between Wabasha and Cedar.

Borup's Addition was the official description for a plat of land that lay between Cooper (now part of Sibley Street), Temperance, Tenth, and Norris Streets. An irregularly shaped rectangle less than two square blocks in area, in 1884-85 the plat included thirty residential structures, various outbuildings, and one church. Although the legal boundaries of the plat



John Hickman Sr. Minnesota Historical Society photograph.

remain constant, today the northern segment lies in the I-94 trench dug through the downtown area in the 1960s.³

In the "Sibley Street" folder in the Project Files are about a dozen photos and evaluation sheets for properties in Borup's Addition and some contiguous locations dating from the mid-1930s. All the homes are of wood frame construction and appear to have been built in the late Victorian era, with windows, siding, and gingerbread filigrees all typical of that period, although in many cases the evaluators and current owners could only guess at the dates the buildings were erected.

Hickman described St. Paul's early African American community as an amalgam of pre-Civil War pioneers composed of free people of color from northern states, and ex-slaves, called "contrabands,"

who arrived during the Civil War.⁴ Hickman himself came to St. Paul in 1863 with a group of contrabands from Missouri led by his father, Robert Hickman, the founder of Pilgrim Baptist Church.⁵

Numerous sources of information, including city directories, real estate, probate and census records, support John Hickman's reminiscences. Not all documentary sources are necessarily consistent or uniform in recording names, addresses, occupations, and so on. In some cases the enumerator got the address wrong, and often simply guessed at the spelling of names. Over time some buildings were torn down and new ones erected that might have kept the same street addresses.

The directory publisher R.L. Polk Co., also produced a so-called *Dual City Blue Book* for Minneapolis and St. Paul which, based on some unknown selection criteria, catalogued certain citizens deemed worthy of inclusion. Very few residents of Borup's Addition are present in these volumes, and those found there are invariably white and middle class.

Nonetheless, taken as a whole these records are urban history's basic templates. Along with the remarkable cache of photos in the Valuation Department records, they help to bring into focus one of the crucial formative elements of today's African American community in St. Paul.

Among the first black people to come to St. Paul in the years before the Civil War were adventurous young men who found work on the fleet of riverboats plying the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers, transporting passengers and freight before railroads were built.⁶

Three of these arrivals, James K. Hilyard, Edmund James, and John Daubin, grew up together in Lancaster, Pennsylvania. Departing their home city as young men in the 1840s, they worked the eastern resorts such as Saratoga Springs, and then on riverboats from Cincinnati to St. Louis, eventually settling in St. Paul in the 1850s.⁷

541 Sibley

In 1881 Ed James and his wife Louisa purchased a home at 541 Cooper Street, taking out a five-year mortgage of \$1,000 at 7 percent interest from the Northwest-



The home of Ed James and his wife at what was then 541 Cooper Street (now Sibley). Unless otherwise noted, all photographs with this article are by the Camera Shop, and are from the St. Paul Valuations Department, Building Assessment and Project files, Minnesota State Archives, Minnesota Historical Society collections.

ern Mutual Life Company for Lot No. 5, Borup's Addition.⁸ James was employed for many years as head porter at the Merchant's Hotel, a position probably equivalent to bell captain.

The Valuations Department's 1934 photograph of 541 Sibley Street shows a pleasant square, hip-roofed, two story balloon-frame home shaded by overhanging trees, with a sign advertising "Furnished Rooms" placed on a front porch pillar.

The evaluation sheet for 541 Sibley Street describes a single-family two-story dwelling built in 1880, with a stone foundation and a basement. The floors are pine. The house has four rooms on each floor, gas lighting (in 1934!), one toilet, and stove heat. City sewer and water service appear to have been available at least from 1884.⁹ Plainly the home had seen better days, and no basic improvements apparently had been made since its original construction. The city's estimate of its market value had declined from \$5,950 in 1918 to \$1,650 in 1934.

But when Ed and Louisa James and their six children moved into this home in

1881, it was only a year old. The paint would still have been fresh and bright, the structure itself redolent of its recent origin, perhaps reinforcing an optimism about the future that many African Americans in St. Paul felt in this period, still the immediate aftermath of the Civil War. Emancipation had been followed, not without struggle, by the extension of the suffrage rights to black males in most Northern states. St. Paul pioneers Ed James, David Talbert, Robert Hickman, Phelan (Fielding) Combs Sr., and James Griffin of Buffalo, Minnesota, the stepfather of Louisa James, all had been leaders in the successful effort to win African American suffrage in Minnesota shortly after the close of the Civil War.¹⁰

Although Federal occupation troops had been withdrawn from the former Confederate states in 1877, African Americans were still representing southern states in Congress and holding numerous other Federal and state governmental positions. The Jameses' oldest son, Charles, was a prominent activist in city and county Republican party politics as well as a skilled leather



The Sibley Street home of Rabbi Barnet Rosenthal of the Sons of Jacob Congregation.

cutter employed over the years in several of the city's shoe factories, emerging as a national leader of the Boot and Shoe Workers Union. He eventually would be elected president of the St. Paul Trades and Labor Assembly, while his friend and associate Frank Wheaton became, in 1898, the first African American elected to the Minnesota State Legislature.¹¹

545 Sibley

Immediately to the north of the James home, this somewhat smaller structure of approximately the same age and construction housed various inhabitants over the years, including, in the early 1890s, Rabbi Barnet Rosenthal of the Sons of Jacobs congregation, about whom little seems to be known.¹²

547 Sibley

The house at 547 Sibley Street belonged to a white dentist, Albert Upham, who resided there for many years, apparently in harmony with his many African American neighbors. Upham, a New England Yankee and member of the Universalist Church, lived here with various members

of his family for thirty years, until his death in 1914 at the age of eighty-two.¹³ By the time Upham moved into his home, built in 1884, most of the other houses on the street already had been constructed and occupied by their black owners. Upham's home, only a few years newer, is clearly differentiated from the slightly older adjacent houses by its gingerbread Victorian woodwork, and its third floor.

551 Sibley

Abbie Jackson, another old time settler whom John Hickman had reminisced about, lived at 551 Sibley, three doors north of the James family, in what was no doubt the most modest house in Borup's Addition. As with many of the Addition's homes, the city assessors filling out the property evaluation forms in the mid-1930s simply agreed that it was "very old," and let it go at that. When Abbie died in 1918, she still owned the tiny house, only fourteen feet wide, with just three rooms.¹⁴ The city's estimate of the value of the land and building in 1918 was \$2,025, and sixteen years later about one-third that amount, only \$650.

553/553-½ Sibley

The much larger building looming up on the right in the photo of Abbie Jackson's house is the home of David Edwards Talbert, a cook and caterer, and his wife Julia at 553 Sibley, four doors north of the James house, at the corner of Sibley and Spruce Street. David Talbert came to St. Paul in the 1850s and is said to have aided in the escape to freedom of numerous slaves whose Southern owners were visiting St. Paul.¹⁵ This two-story building was home to many African American boarders over the years, in addition to the Talbert family. The 37' x 42' building had two small storefronts, numbered 553 and 553-½, on the first floor, as well as living quarters for the owners. In 1890, besides the Talberts, there were seven adults listed as residents, all apparently single males, who must have occupied the four large bedrooms on the second floor. Employed as waiters, railroad and hotel porters, barbers and elevator operators, and more rarely clerks, their varied but limited range of occupations illustrates the pervasiveness of Northern *de facto* segregation.¹⁶

Housing segregation, however, unlike in the decades to follow, was highly permeable. Until the banks and real estate companies organized and imposed the residential apartheid that characterized urban America in most of the twentieth century, black and white housing, as in the instant case, was almost indiscriminately intermingled, the requirements of the racial caste system being expressed in separate dwellings, not neighborhoods. While Borup's addition had an almost 50/50 ratio of black and white, it is evident the races never occupied the same buildings. The only discernable exceptions in this period that census records disclose are resident domestic servants, interracial marriages, and some brothels. Interracial marriages were, as might be expected, uncommon and almost always involved a white spouse who was an immigrant.¹⁷

553-½ Sibley

In 1896, the grocery at 553-½ Sibley, operated by white neighborhood residents Samuel Clark and Charles McIntosh, was taken over by African American entre-

preneur William Roberson.¹⁸ Roberson was the son of Lucy Roberson, who lived for a time at 541 Sibley with the James family.¹⁹ While the enterprise was short lived, filing for bankruptcy the next year, the court records provide an intriguing glimpse of the operations of a typical corner store in the city at that time.²⁰ The store was well stocked, with hundreds of items on the shelves, ranging from anachronisms, such as washboards and juniper oil to more familiar fare such as cans of Van Camp macaroni and cheese, Heinz baked beans, Vienna sausage, and Castile soap. The inventory included showcases, a cash register and bay horse along with a sleigh and wagon for deliveries. The long list of neighborhood customers with unpaid bills provides the likely explanation for store's failure. The Talberts, Hilyards, Mortons, as well as many others of both races were on the books as owing money. Even Bethesda Hospital owed something. Perhaps fortuitously, Roberson's primary creditor was his mother, Lucy, who had loaned him \$600 to finance the enterprise.²¹

555-561 Sibley

This symmetrical structure, apparently intended to be a side-by-side duplex, seems to have served only intermittently as such. Three *Blue Book*-registered residents lived here at different times, including Charles McIntosh and Michael McMahan, a shoe factory foreman, and Arthur Trenholm, a railroad freight agent, but its later use seems to have been as a boarding house. By the mid 1890s both sides were occupied by black residents. The 1895 census shows 561 Sibley, the duplex on the right side of the building, with four African American barbers and their families at home there, while 559 Sibley, on the left, has three black railroad porters, two of whom are married.

Fielding Combs Sr., another one of the pioneer arrivals discussed by John Hickman, lived next door at 563 Sibley for more than twenty years with his large family. No photo of the house is available, since it had been replaced by a city market shed by the time the survey was taken. Combs was long employed as a porter at the Union Depot. He had arrived from



Dr. Albert Upham's home at 547 Sibley. A white dentist, Upham lived here for many years, apparently in harmony with his many black neighbors.



Abbie Jackson's small house at 551 Sibley Street.



David Talbert's house at 553 Sibley. Talbert was a cook and caterer. He arrived in St. Paul in 1850 and is said to have helped slaves, who came to St. Paul with their Southern owners, escape to freedom.

Missouri in 1862 with the “contrabands” and was deeply immersed in the affairs of the African American community until his death in 1927. He reportedly served as a bodyguard to General Henry Sibley, after whom the street on which he resided was named, during the latter part of the Civil War.²² Among others enumerated by John Hickman was Annie Slate, at 567 Sibley. She died tragically in 1912 at age ninety-four, when her home at 293 Edmund burned. Her Borup’s Addition house had been replaced by a livery stable. She had come to Minnesota with the contrabands and had been employed as a domestic servant by Governor William R. Merriam.²³

Andy Hoover lived until 1909, working for many years as a Northern Pacific railroad clerk. On his death, he left considerable property, including real estate, to his family.²⁴ Anderson Peters worked as a janitor for neighbor James J. Hill’s railroad, conveying a handsome estate to his survivors on his death in 1905.²⁵ Ed Buck worked for many years alongside his neighbor Edmund James at the Merchant’s Hotel, where he was employed as a watchman. No information could be found on Rachel McWilliams.

Other residents of Borup’s addition had their homes on the east side of Temperance Street. One of the few surviving seg-

ments of the grid of streets such as Norris, Canada, Pearl, and Spruce that made up this lost neighborhood, Temperance Street now runs for one block between Eighth and Ninth Streets.

When the city acquired and condemned these buildings in the mid 1930s to make room for expansion of the city market, the last remaining owner from the earlier era was schoolteacher Annie Corcoran at 552–550 Temperance, located directly behind Abbie Jackson’s house at 551 Sibley. Annie and her older sister Margaret had taught at nearby Franklin School from the 1870s onward, sometimes sharing their home with boarders.²⁶



David E. Talbert. St. Paul Pioneer Press photo from 1887.

ROBERSON'S

Cor. Sibley and Spruce.
Telephone 539.

The prices do the work in this store. They are our best helpers. We know how to sell and sell cheaply.

Rose Queen Soap, given away free next Tuesday.

Apples \$1.50 to \$2.00 a Barrel.

Special Sale every Friday.

Salt 3 cts. a sack.

Bread 2 cents a loaf.

You can save money by a visit to my store.

Ginger snaps and crackers 5 cents a pound.

Everything first class clean, complete, fresh and new.

Heinz Baked beans are delicious for lunch.

Buttermilk 2 quarts for 5 cents.

ROBERSON'S
Cor. Sibley and Spruce

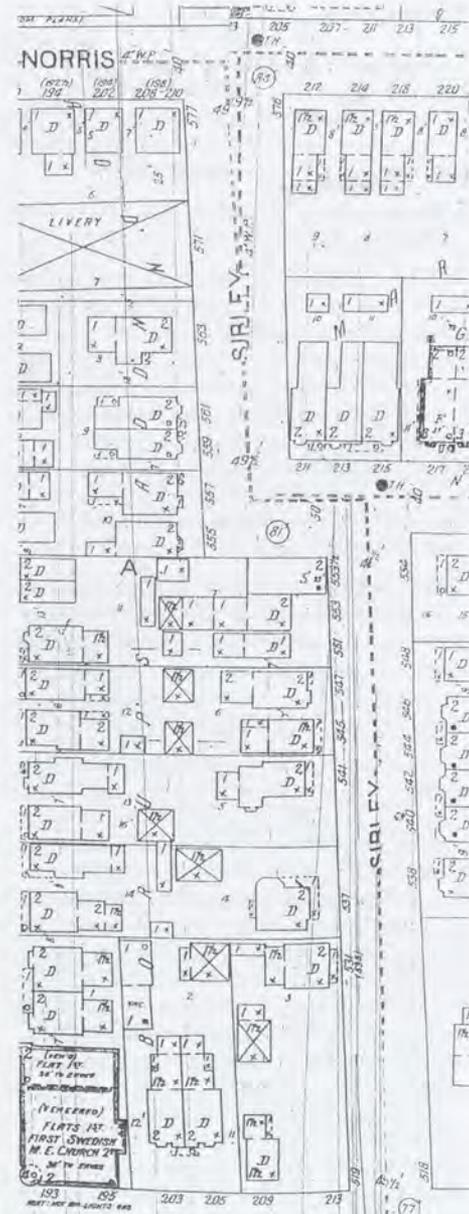
A Roberson ad in the October 31 issue of The Appeal.

By 1900 most African Americans in the Borup's Addition area had joined the great migration from Lowertown to the city's western plateau. Their wealthier neighbors lead by James J Hill, whose home for much of the nineteenth century was only two blocks away on Ninth Street, moved up to Summit Avenue, while, as is well known, the core of twentieth century black settlement was in the Rondo district.

As the Valuations Department's evaluation sheets and photographs testify, the Borup's Addition neighborhood was shabby and rundown by the time the city acquired and demolished the houses. There was nothing inevitable in this. St. Paul today is still fairly well stocked with houses of this vintage, most in decent shape or better. The homes depicted in this article were only about fifty years old when they were documented, but many of them apparently had not been painted since they were built, and had not managed to acquire electric lighting, central heat or other amenities over that span of years. The surviving records indicate that absentee landlords owned them, took what they could out of them in rent, and let it go at that. A contemporary sociological study of the Twin Cities unambiguously categorized the area as a "slum."²⁷ Its passing was, one can assume, not accompanied by much regret, if any.

In the full compass of time, the lifetime of this neighborhood was just an eyeblink. Even in terms of the existence of this city, fifty years is not so great a span, and the few decades that the community flourished even less. But the experience and memory of the inhabitants adds something important to the collective being of African Americans in St. Paul. At least John Hickman thought so. He remembered an optimistic and self-reliant community, vigilant in defense of its rights, which prospered under difficult circumstances, and whose example, at the time he spoke in 1923, seemed to him to provide an important counterpoint to the cruel slander and denigration he saw heaped on African Americans throughout this society.

And, as someone who throughout his life sought to chronicle the life and experience of his community, it is clear that history mattered to John Hickman, his friends and associates.²⁸ The small



Plat map of Borup's Addition from the 1903 Sanborn Insurance Map. Norris Street intersects with Sibley at the top of the map. Ramsey County Historical Society archives.

African American community of St. Paul has a rich legacy of memory, and, as this chapter suggests, there is still more to tell.

David Riehle is a locomotive engineer and Local Chairman of United Transportation Union Lodge 650. His articles on labor and African American history in St. Paul have appeared in numerous publications.

Endnotes

1. Minnesota State Archives/Ramsey County/St. Paul/Valuations Dept. Building Assessment & Project Files (BAPF), 124.F.7.3(B), Box 2, Folder: Sibley Street (Minnesota Historical Society collections).
2. Reminiscences of Earlier St. Paul," *Northwestern Bulletin*, May 5, 1923, p. 1.
3. In the mid-1880s Cooper Street, running four blocks northward from Eighth Street, was designated an extension of Sibley Street and renamed accordingly. The route of Norris Street now lies beneath the I-94/I35E interchange, as does about half of Borup's Addition. The Embassy Suites Hotel parking lot occupies the southern part. Borup's Addition was platted in September 1854 by Charles W.W. Borup, Elizabeth Borup, Charles Oakes and Julia B. Oakes (Ramsey County Register of Deeds Office, records).
4. As Union armies moved into the South, thousands of slaves fled to their camps. Since slaves were considered property, the Union army could accept the slaves as contraband (captured war material). Howard O. Lindsey, *A History of Black America* (Secaucus, NJ: Chartwell Books, 1994) pp. 64-67.
5. Earl Spangler, *The Negro in Minnesota* (Minneapolis: T.S. Denison & Co., 1961), pp. 52-53. There is a story that Hickman and his followers boarded a raft adrift on the Mississippi River and that the raft was towed by steamboat upstream to St. Paul. Calling themselves "pilgrims," Hickman and his group at first held their services in their homes, but by 1863 they had succeeded in renting a lodge room from the Good Templars, located in a Concert Hall on Third Street. A year later the group was granted mission status by the First Baptist Church, although members continued to worship separately under Hickman's guidance.
Pilgrim Baptist Church was formally organized on November 15, 1866, by Hickman and others, an act celebrated by a baptism service on the shores of the Mississippi. It was the climax of three years of hard work. Charter members then asked First Baptist for help in acquiring, for \$200, a lot on Sibley near Norris Street, and here they built their first house of worship at a cost of another \$2,200. It was a stone and wood structure with a seating capacity of 300. At the same time, a portion of the First Baptist Church of St. Anthony, in what would become Minneapolis, was being razed and the white congregation donated its salvaged building materials to Pilgrim Baptist. According to several sources, money to pay for moving the lumber was raised during an entertaining evening, chaired by D. E. Talbert, in Odeon Hall. The second Pilgrim Baptist Church was built in 1886 at Cedar and Summit Avenue. The congregation finally came to rest in 1928 at 732 West Central Avenue near the state Capitol.
6. "Reminiscences," *NWB*, *op cit*. African American workers on riverboats were restricted to occupations such as cook, waiter and steward. They often transferred these skills to employment in hotels when they left the river trade.
7. "Gone Ahead Again," obituary of Edmund James, *St. Paul Appeal*, December 6, 1890, p. 4.
8. "Mortgage, 21 March, 1881." Ramsey County Civil Court Case 34350, Minnesota State Archives 130.C.11.3 (B), (Minnesota Historical Society collections).
9. "Real Estate Atlas, City of St. Paul," (Philadelphia: C.M. Hopkins, 1884).
10. "Proceedings of the Convention of Colored Citizens of the State of Minnesota," (St Paul: Press Printing Co., 1869); see also "Negro Suffrage, Memorial of Colored Citizens of Minnesota to the Legislature," *St. Paul Daily Press*, 20 Jan. 1865.
11. For James, see David Riehle, "When Labor Knew A Man Named Charles James," *St. Paul Union Advocate*, December 22, 1997. Wheaton's campaign is described in Spangler, p. 69.
12. 1890-91 R.L. Polk *St. Paul City Directory*; see also W. Gunther Plaut, *The Jews in Minnesota, the First 75 Years* (New York: American Jewish Historical Society, 1959).
The Sons of Jacob Congregation, or Chevrah B'nai Ya'akov, existed as somewhat of an informal organization before the arrival in St. Paul in 1873 of Aaron Mark. At a meeting at his home, Mark and others organized the orthodox Jews in the community and Sons of Jacob was formally incorporated in March, 1875. They met for a time at the Eibert Block on Wabasha and College Avenue, then moved to a large home at Eleventh and Minnesota Streets. They built their first synagogue in 1881 on College Avenue between Wabasha and St. Peter Streets, the site today of the St. Paul Health Department. Again, it quickly became too small, so in 1888 a larger synagogue, designed to seat 600 worshippers and including a library and Hebrew school, was built on the same site. Since orthodox Jews were required to walk to their synagogue on the Sabbath, it's not surprising that Rabbi Rosenthal lived nearby at 545 Sibley.
13. Upham obituary, *St. Paul Pioneer Press*, 29 April, 1914.
14. At her death Abbie Jackson was the owner of the southern 18 & 5/8 feet of Lot 7, Borup's Addition. Under the provisions of her 1903 will, the property and \$237 were left to a friend. (RCPC records, 27182)
15. "Reminiscences of the Underground Railway" *St. Paul Pioneer Press*, May 5, 1895, p. 1, quoted in "Joseph Farr Remembers the Underground Railroad in St. Paul," *Minnesota History*, by Deborah Swanson, Fall 2000.
16. The wholesale house of Auerbach, Finch, Van Slyke and Co. employed John Hickman as a clerk for fifty years. He had his own office. See David Vassar Taylor, "Pilgrim's Progress: Black St. Paul and the Making of an Urban Ghetto, 1870-1930," Ph. D Thesis, University of Minnesota, 1977 for a review of employment statistics.
17. In some instances prosperous black households employed white servants, again usually immigrants. The 1900 Federal census records Lucy Roberson employing Ida Anderson, age seventeen and born in Sweden, as a servant at her home at 1823 St Anthony Ave.
18. Samuel Clark, a native of Scotland, lived at 546 Sibley Street (R.L. Polk Co. *Dual City Blue Book*, St. Paul, 1890/91, Minnesota State Census, 1895. Charles L. McIntosh was reported living at 555 Sibley, *Dual City Blue Book*, 1893/94.
19. Lucy's daughter, Celia Roberson, married Charles James in 1889. The Roberson, Hilyard, Godette, Elliott, and several other prominent St. Paul African American families were linked through connections originally made at Oberlin College in Ohio. See "James-Roberson Nuptials," *Appeal*, December 7, 1889.
20. Ramsey County District Court Case No. 68176, filed October 14, 1897, Minnesota State Archives, MHS.
21. Lucy Roberson was the widow of William Roberson, a wealthy St. Louis barber. See *New York Daily Tribune*, July 6, 1871. Nova Scotia native Arthur Trenholm held many positions, including serving as vice president and chief operating officer, in his forty-five-year career with the St. Paul-based Omaha Railroad. See *St. Paul Sunday Pioneer Press*, November 1, 1925: 1, 2-3.
22. *St. Paul Echo*, Apr 9, 1927.
23. *Twin City Star*, Feb 17, 1912, p.1.
24. RCPC records, 18051; R.L. Polk directories, 1886, 1888.
25. RCPC records, 26783; *Appeal*, Jan 21, 1905, p.3; R.L. Polk directories, 1884, 1885, 1887, 1888.
26. Valuations Dept., 124.F.8.1.F, MHS; R.L. Polk Directories; St. Paul Board of Education Annual Report, 1890.
27. Calvin F. Schmid, *Social Saga of Two Cities* (Minneapolis: Council of Social Agencies), 1935.
28. Among his other accomplishments, John Hickman reported in the 1880s on the affairs of his St. Paul community as a correspondent of the African American weekly, the *New York Globe*, writing under the pen name "Veritas."



Minda was a Spiritualist and apparently subscribed to the Spiritual Science Magazine, copies of which were found among her belongings after her death. See Growing Up in St. Paul article on page 17.

R.C.H.S.
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