



# History of the Trout Brook Valley

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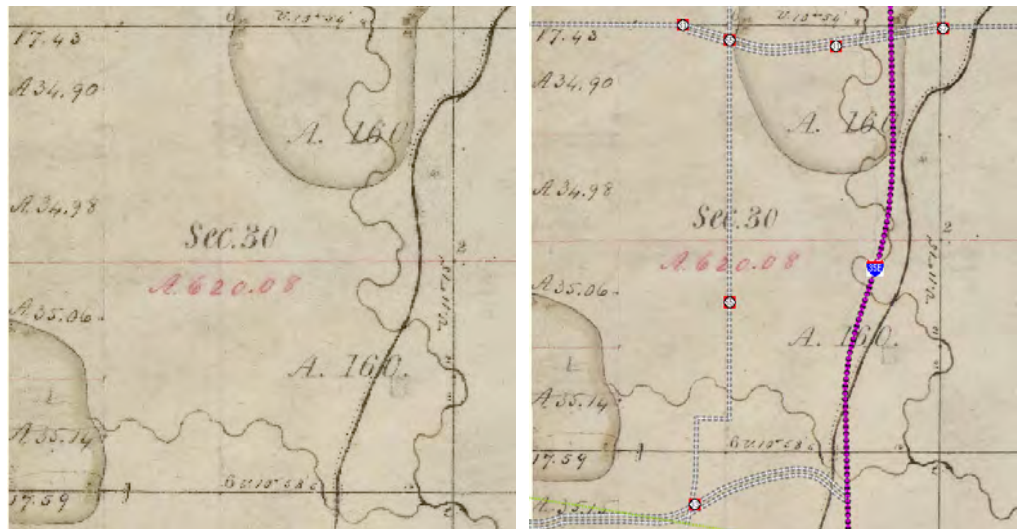
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# Home of the Mdewakanton

[Pre-Settlement, ~1700-1837]

*“As picturesque a ravine as one can find.”*

For generations, Trout Brook and the present-day St. Paul area were home to the Mdewakanton Dakota. By 1800, the Mdewakanton had built the large village of Kaposia near the confluence of Trout Brook/Phelan Creek and the Mississippi River. The Trout Brook Valley had food resources that were important to the Mdewakanton diet: wild rice and maple sugar, as well as the fish in the stream and the game that travelled through the valley. During the maple sugar season and wild rice season, Dakota from the many nearby villages gathered together to collect and process the food, and to feast and play games.



These two maps show the Trout Brook Area as it was recorded in the original land plat survey, in 1856. The right one overlays Interstate 35E and the County Roads (Maryland on the North, and Jackson Street on the east). The pale green diagonal line on the southwest shows the location of a Red River Ox Cart Trail. Note the faint square marking the location of a residence near the upper crossing of the footpath and Trout Brook. This may mark the location of the Edmund Rice home. (Minnesota Historical Society)

The valley was an important travel route for the Mdewakaton, as they travelled north to visit relatives or to hunting and fishing grounds. Other villages brought their deceased to the sacred burial grounds located at the top of the bluff now known as Mounds Park. Carver's Cave, at the base of the bluff, was a popular location for children to explore.<sup>1</sup> Though it is difficult to know how the vegetation appeared during this time, early settlers recalled the downtown area was "a tangled jungle a wilderness of trees and bushes and rocks and long swamp grass and reeds a spot almost inaccessible except for musk rats and aquatic fowls."<sup>2,3</sup> Other records describe the fox, duck, deer, bear, and buffalo, trees over 600 years old, maple sugar groves, oaks, and several varieties of fish in the brook and its feeder lakes.<sup>4</sup> It was said "that Trout Brook flowed through as picturesque a ravine as one can find this side of the Rockies, and that all the residence hills which now round out the city were once studded with little lakes, clear as crystal and splendid places to camp near."<sup>5</sup>



*This watercolor by Seth Eastman, created in 1846-48, shows the Kaposia village of the Mdewakanton Dakota, when it was located in what is now South St. Paul. A decade earlier, when the village was located closer to Trout Brook, it would have had much the same appearance. Note the burial scaffolds on the top of the bluff, and the brick structure on the left. ("Little Crow's Village on the Mississippi" Minnesota Historical Society)*

# The Settlement and Boom Era

[1838-1880]

*“A ready market is found in the city for all the flour they can make.”*

By the 1840s, the valley had begun to change. A 1837 treaty between the Mdewakanton and the United States government required the Mdewakaton to move off any lands east of the Mississippi, and the inhabitants of Kaposia shifted to a location in what is now South St. Paul.<sup>6</sup> By 1838, new settlers began to inhabit the St. Paul area, including notable settlers such as Pierre “Pig’s Eye” Parrant, Edward Phalen, and Benjamin and Pierre Gervais.



*The small dip in the horizon is the only reference to the Trout Brook valley in this 1867 panorama. St. Paul, Minnesota, drawn by A. Ruger. (Library of Congress)*

In 1849, Minnesota became a U.S. Territory, and a boom was on. Within a year, St. Paul would grow from about 200 people to 1,294.<sup>7</sup> The new settlers to the area valued many of the same qualities about Trout Brook as the Mdewakanton had — the abundance of natural resources available to use for food, shelter, or heating needs.

## Market Farming

For many settlers, the valley represented an opportunity to cultivate food. By 1865, Irish immigrants Robert and Elizabeth McMenemy had started a farm on the eastern edge of the valley.<sup>8</sup> The booming city of St. Paul needed food, and the McMenemys established a business supplying produce for its residents. Other farmers joined them, and soon farmers and market gardeners up and down the valley's fertile grounds kept busy feeding the growing city.<sup>9</sup>



*Irish immigrants Elizabeth and Robert McMenemy established their home along the Trout Brook valley by 1865, and she lived in this house until her death at age 97 in 1925. (Minnesota Historical Society)*

## Mills

Other settlers saw the Trout Brook as something else — a source for water power. In 1851, Mr. Nobles built the first grist mill on Trout Brook, which was able to grind five hundred bushels of grain per day. Later that year, a grist mill called the “City Mill,” was built just above the confluence of Phalen Creek.<sup>10</sup> The following year, newcomer James M. Winslow built the



*Lindeke Roller Mills, 522/540 East 7th, 1914. This mill was located in downtown, just above the confluence of Trout Brook and Phalen Creek. (Minnesota Historical Society)*

Winslow mill on Trout Brook.<sup>11</sup> These mills, and others in the area, were critical to the early settlers — the only way to transform grains and trees into food and building materials. But Trout Brook’s flow could not match demand — the falls of St. Anthony, just a few miles north on the Mississippi River, were much more powerful, and the milling industry that would usher in the growth and prosperity of Minneapolis would be centered there.

Meanwhile, to increase the Trout Brook mills’ capacity, mill races – channels conducting water to the water wheel – were constructed, and the City Mill built a wooden race 1,500 feet long.<sup>12</sup> Trout Brook was not easily controlled, however, and during a rainstorm on July 4, 1879, an immense volume of water rushed into Trout Brook and flooded the surrounding country, carrying away gutters and sidewalks. The flood poured into City Mills through the front door, carrying the door with it, and damaged 2,000 bushes of wheat, besides a “quantity of flour.”<sup>13</sup>

## Edmund Rice Family

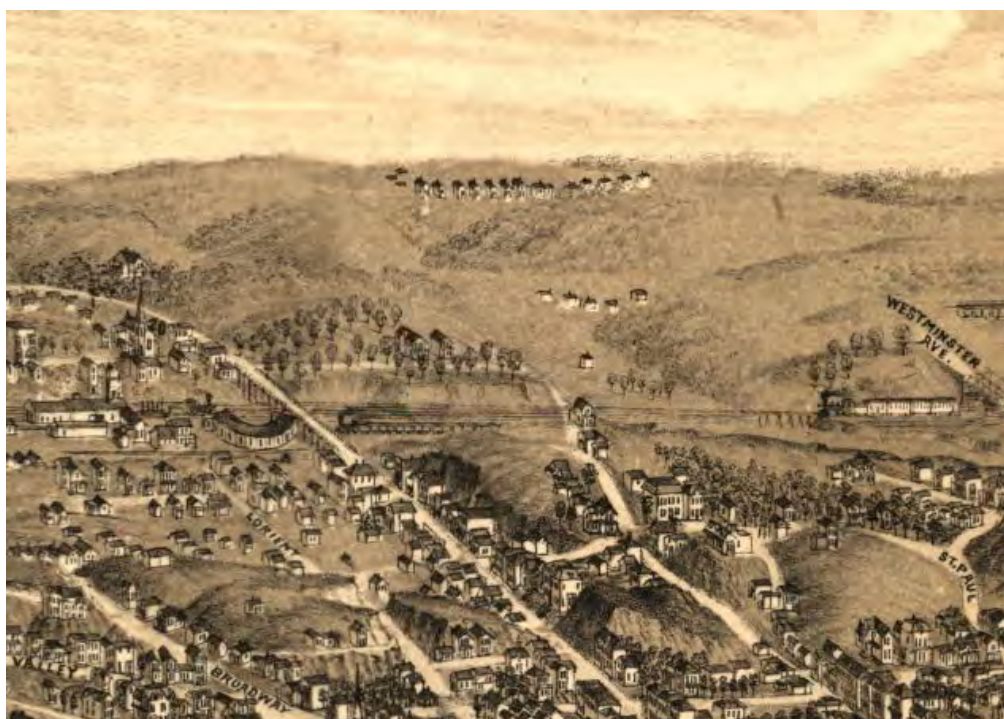
Among the arrivals in 1849 was Edmund Rice, who purchased a claim for 45 acres along Trout Brook from Edward Phelan for \$400.<sup>14</sup> Rice raised his large family of 11 children in a beautiful home on a hill in the center of the property. With the help of a German gardener,

the property was landscaped with a summer house, rustic bridges, a plum orchard, and gravel walks. The brook was dammed to create an artificial lake covering nearly an acre. In the summer, the family enjoyed swimming or boating, and hosted croquet parties. In the winter they illuminated the grounds and hosted popular skating parties for the “Trout Brook Skating Club” with live bands. For extra fun, they harnessed the two large black Labrador dogs Moody and Sanky to the sleigh for adventurous rides across the property.<sup>15</sup>



*Rice girls: Jessie (b. 1851), Rachel (b. 1855), Maria (b. 1865), and Virginia (b. 1866), daughters of Edmund Rice, and cousin Mathilda (b. 1854), daughter of Henry Rice. (Minnesota Historical Society)*

Edmund Rice probably had more than parties on his mind when he purchased his Trout Brook property from Phalen in 1849. Trout Brook’s low-lying valley must have spawned some ideas for him. Edmund Rice founded his first railroad in 1853, and in 1857, immediately after



*This 1883 panorama shows the Trout Brook valley as a serene, pastoral mix of homes, fields, and woods. Within a year, a railroad line would be cut through the valley, forever changing the landscape. St. Paul, Minnesota: State Capitol and County Seat, drawn by H. Wellge (Library of Congress)*

Minnesota became a state, he helped to establish five more. He was president of only one of these, the Minnesota & Pacific Railroad, which began grading a line between St. Paul and St. Anthony (Minneapolis) in 1857- along the Trout Brook valley. In 1862, this railroad company became the St. Paul & Pacific. In 1862, the St. Paul & Pacific completed the first tracks from downtown St. Paul up through Trout Brook, jutting west at Pennsylvania Avenue, just south of the future A Nature Sanctuary, through what would become the Jackson Street Roundhouse and towards the Como shops and to St. Anthony.<sup>16</sup> The first train trip in the state's history took place on June 28, 1862, when the William Crooks puffed its way from St. Paul to St. Anthony, in just over an hour.<sup>17</sup>

This was the first railroad in the valley, and well from the last. Within a decade, the bucolic valley would be transformed into a heavily-used transportation corridor, as it remains today.



*Edmund and Anna Rice hired an east coast architect to design their home on Trout Brook. It had indoor plumbing– which only worked during warm weather. (Minnesota Historical Society)*



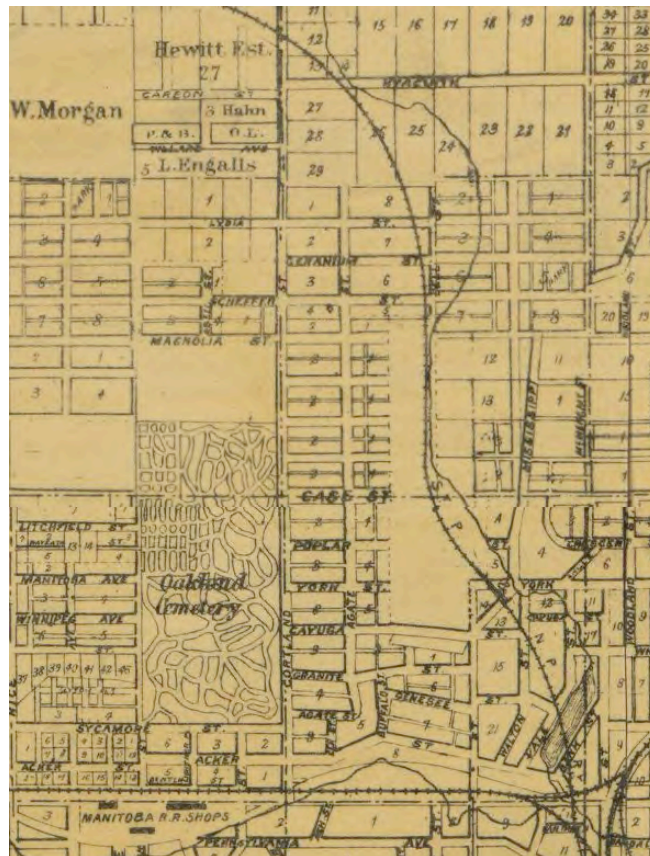
# The Railroad Era

[1880-1970]

*“To the betterment, no doubt, of the salubrity of the atmosphere and health of her citizens...”*

The arrival of the railroads brought the complete transformation of Trout Brook. No longer viewed as a corridor of natural beauty and resources, it was simply the most efficient route for travel. The wild rice marsh at the outlet was now considered a “quagmire.”<sup>18</sup> Baptist Hill and other nearby hills were viewed as impediment to progress, and flattened out. The landscape was flattened and filled, the valley floor was lifted by up to ten feet.<sup>19</sup>

This massive transformation was considered good for business — and health. By the 1880s, many small lakes, ponds, and streams had become conduits for raw sewage and industrial



By 1885, the St. Paul and Northern Pacific line had been constructed. (Minnesota Historical Society)



*This 1887 panorama shows Maryland running across the valley bottom, and a scattering of homes along the ridgeline. The construction of the roundhouse at the southern end of the valley is also apparent. St. Paul, Minn: Ice Palace and Winter Carnival Souvenir, Marrs-Richards Engravers. (Library of Congress)*

waste. Until a sanitary system was created, they were also conduits for diseases such as typhoid and cholera. It was believed that filling in the lakes, ponds, or wetlands would help eliminate these diseases, and the new land could be put to human use. By 1912, one author boasted, "Hundreds of acres have added to the land area of St Paul within the past forty years by drainage or filling up of lakes and ponds besides the forty or so acres reclaimed from the river by and for the railroads. Our splendid sewerage system is responsible for draining many of these shallow ponds to the betterment, no doubt, of the salubrity of the atmosphere and health of her citizens."<sup>20</sup>

Even as early as 1880, some residents were complaining about the changes. A group appealed to the city "to devise some means to protect life at the railroad street crossing, and to abate the whistling, steam puffing, etc., along Trout Brook."<sup>21</sup> Though efforts to improve safety were made, most notably the construction of the Jessamine Street Bridge in 1890, it was too late for many.<sup>22</sup> A "rapid hegira for the hills was well under way" as residents fled the noise and pollution for more pleasant neighborhoods.<sup>23</sup> In 1883, the Rice family joined the exodus, selling their Trout Brook home to the expanding Northern Pacific Railway.<sup>24, 25</sup>

Within a year, the Northern Pacific had built a line through the upper Trout Brook Valley- the area that will become A Nature Sanctuary. At the north end of the valley, the line split west to head to Minneapolis as the St. Paul and Northern Pacific, and northeast to go to White Bear Lake and St. Croix Falls, Wisconsin as the St. Paul and St. Croix Falls. The Northern Pacific became the dominant rail line in the valley as they established a coach yard in the valley

floor, filling it with switch tracks, storage tracks, ice houses, coal sheds, and other support structures.<sup>26</sup>

In 1909, another line was built in Trout Brook. The Minneapolis, St. Paul & Sault Ste. Marie Railroad (eventually called the Soo line) was established by a group of Minneapolis millers in 1883 to reach the east coast by connecting with the Canadian Pacific, circumventing Chicago and thereby avoiding the required – and inflated – Chicago prices for transporting their grain.<sup>27</sup> In the Trout Brook Valley, the western tracks running parallel to Agate St. were built in 1909 as part of a long-planned “St. Paul Loop”. These tracks were in use for almost seventy years before they were abandoned beginning in 1978.<sup>28</sup>

Even with the railroads dominating the landscape, many settlers were still drawn to the valley. In 1884, Austrian immigrants Joseph and Catherine Kinberger and their young daughter settled on the western edge of the valley, joining a small worker’s neighborhood of other immigrants from Austria, Germany, Bohemia, Canada, Ireland, and Norway. By 1900, many in the neighborhood were employed for the railroads as firemen, laborers, machine operators, and bookkeepers. Joseph worked as a day laborer and wood sawyer, and Catherine as a laundress and seamstress. As late as 1907, market farming was still common in the valley, and the Kinbergers farmed horseradish on the slopes of the creek bed.



*This 1906 panorama shows workers housing sprouting up on the western edge of the valley, and industrial buildings in the valley floor—likely related to the railroads. St. Paul, Minn, by Robert Saint. (Library of Congress)*

On the south end of the valley, another significant development would alter the neighborhood. Many of the plots immediately west of the new tracks were still vacant, and



*A 1906 view shows the Kinberger home (on the right of this photo, underneath the Jessamine Bridge) near the time they were raising horseradish for sale. Note the livestock grazing on the hill at the left. (Minnesota Historical Society)*

in 1915 a “Soo Line” officer convinced Harry C. Palmer and Thomas M. Comfort to establish their new St. Paul Structural Steel Co. in the valley.<sup>29</sup> Palmer and Comfort needed to be proximate to downtown St. Paul and they needed access to a railroad, but they had been discouraged by steep price tags at other lots.<sup>30</sup> In 1915, at the urging of the Soo Line, the St. Paul Structural Steel Company bought six empty plots from the Iowa Land Company for \$600 apiece. They immediately began building the factory that still stands at the southwestern edge of the valley.<sup>31</sup> The company fabricated the steel skeletons for many local buildings, including the former Northwestern Telephone Exchange Co. building.<sup>32</sup> They also began fabricating ornamental ironworks in the 1920s and their work is still visible on the door at St. Luke’s on Summit Ave.<sup>33</sup> The company continued buying land and in 1950-51 they expanded their factory to the north, parallel to the Soo Line tracks.<sup>34</sup>

By the mid 1900s, the Trout Brook Valley’s characteristics were fairly established. Like the broader North End area, the neighborhood’s residents were mostly employed in industrial, manufacturing, and railroad-related jobs. The residences themselves were mostly modest, single-family one- or one-and-a-half wooden or brick homes, with scattered boarding houses included. (Some of the garages and homes were constructed with wooden boards salvaged from box cars.)<sup>35</sup> Rice Street was the closest commercial corridor, and a variety of churches and schools served the neighborhood, including the Rice School on Agate Street and Smith School on Geranium Street and Sylvan Street.



*Playing Marbles, North End, 1925. (Minnesota Historical Society)*

# The Freeway Era

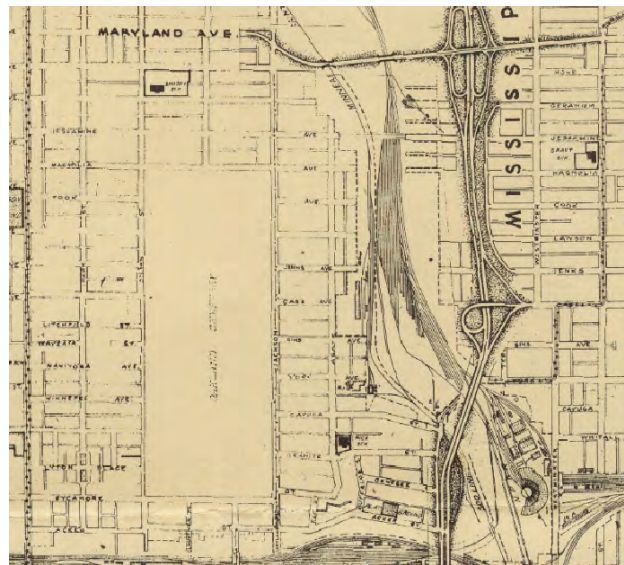
[1970 – 2000]

*“In our office, we are Highway-conscious—because this is the way of the future.”*

*– Governor Orville Freeman, 1957*

By the 1950s, much of the brook was buried underground, the area had become completely dedicated to railroads and industry. With the burial of the stream, neighborhood kids no longer were attracted to “Pollywog Pond.” Only the bravest were willing to trespass and risk the danger of the moving trains and “the Railroad Dicks, who were patrolling with guns— and who would haul you in.” For the many children of parents who worked for the railroads, the threat that their parents would lose their jobs because of their mischief was a real and effective deterrent. A few brave kids took their chances anyway, exploring the area and trying to trap the numerous pheasants that lived there.<sup>36</sup>

By 1961, Trout Brook residents were accustomed to rail traffic



*By 1945, planners were looking for paths for a new interstate freeway. These plans show the path for 35E following along Mississippi Street- the original footpath marked in the 1857 plat map. (Minnesota Historical Society)*



*This 1947 aerial shows the area clearly. (MN Landview website)*

from the Northern Pacific, the Great Northern, and the Soo Line. The valley had been the city's dominant north/south transportation corridor for more than one hundred years by the time the federal Interstate Highway System arrived in the 1960s.

The interstate highway that was built through St. Paul, I-35E, passes over Trout Brook, and was intended to serve the same function the railroads and the previous foot path once had: to provide access to and from downtown St. Paul. The new highways were also meant to relieve the area's traffic congestion, which had been a concern for planners as early as 1938. Plans for I-35E were begun in the 1940s, and construction began in 1964. The section north of St. Paul, running from the city through Trout Brook and to Forest Lake, was completed by 1970. Its completion is notable in part for being comparatively uncontroversial. Though the West 7th Street neighborhoods organized and spent almost twenty years protesting the section of

I-35E immediately south of downtown, and the loss of the predominantly African American Rondo neighborhood west of St. Paul was felt acutely for decades, Trout Brook's section of the freeway was built without significant local protest. Because the corridor had been dedicated to the railroads for 80 years, there was a fairly barren course available for the new interstate. Just a few homes on the western edge of the valley (along Mississippi Street) and the southern end (near Genesee) were removed for the freeway. However, the freeway further separated the two sides of Trout Brook. Even today the only pedestrian or car path across this section of the valley is on Maryland Avenue at the north, or Cayuga street on the south.



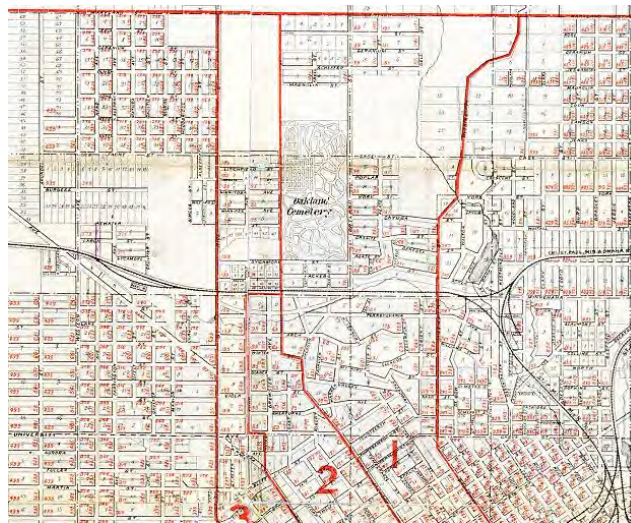
*By 2003, the railroads had begun to recede from the valley floor, creating an open space for nature to return.  
(True North website)*

Ironically, the arrival of the freeway did eventually cause a positive change for the valley. As commuters, freight, and travellers switched from train to car travel, demand for rail service declined. When the Soo line abandoned its track along the western edge of the valley in the late 1970s, neighbors began their efforts to re-claim the land. Initially, their efforts focused on preventing the re-use of the land for a school bus parking area, or a polluted soil storage and burning site. Eventually, with the support of State Legislator C. Thomas Osthoff, and the City of St. Paul, local citizens successfully advocated for the creation of the A Nature Sanctuary.<sup>37</sup>

# Appendix

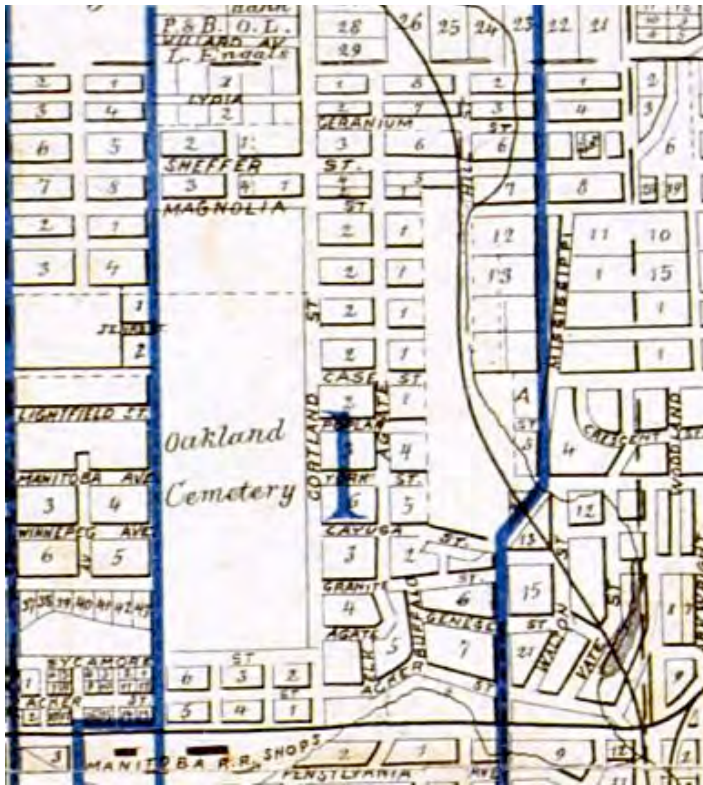


By 1873, the streets around Trout Brook had begun to fill in. Mississippi Street followed the route of the earlier territorial road. At the bottom, the map shows the first railroad to St. Anthony curving west from Trout Brook, following a small tributary towards the Como Shops. Rice's Map of the City of St. Paul (Minnesota Historical Society)



This 1883 St. Paul ward map shows the area in the year that Edmund Rice sold his land to the Northern Pacific. It shows a man-made pond on Trout Brook, just north of the St. Paul and Pacific line. This may be a remnant of the pond the Edmund Rice family constructed. (Minnesota Historical Society)





In 1886, the man-made pond still remained, though the neighborhood was filling in. (Minnesota Historical Society)



By 1893, the man-made pond was gone, and the mapmaker failed to even mark the streambed. St. Paul Ward Map, Globe Index Co. (Minnesota Historical Society)



*This 1900 mapmaker also failed to mark the streambed. (Minnesota Historical Society)*



*This 1908 map includes both the man-made pond and roundhouse that had been excluded in early depictions, but fails to note the Jessamine Street Bridge. (Minnesota Historical Society)*



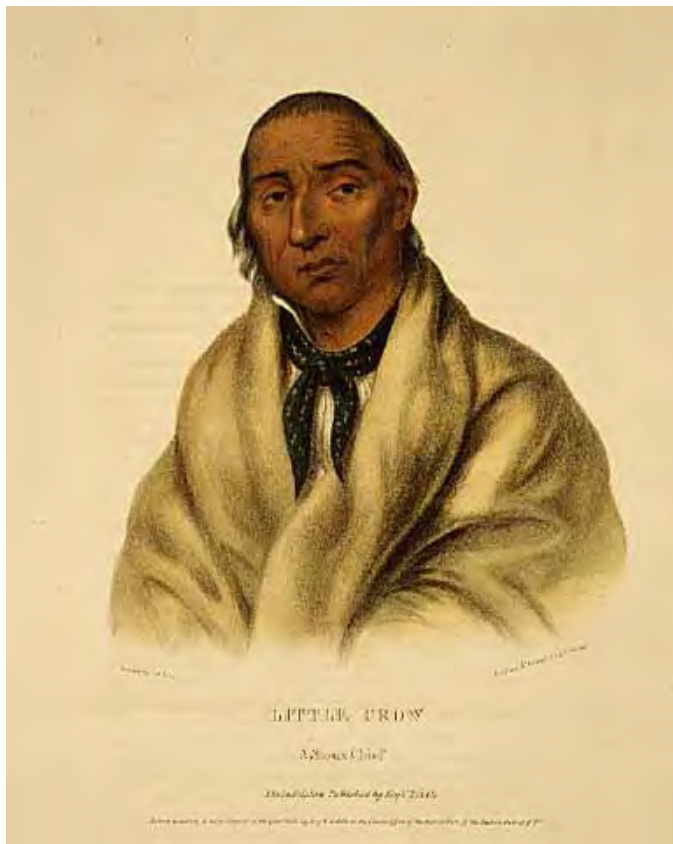
This 1918 ward map includes the new tracks for the Sault Ste. Marie line, as well as the roundhouse, and Jessamine Street Bridge. (Minnesota Historical Society)



This 1926 ward map shows not much change since 1918. (Minnesota Historical Society)



By 1988, Interstate 35E had been constructed, and the valley was heavily used by trains and cars. (Minnesota Historical Society)



Chief Big Thunder, or Little Crow IV, around 1835. (Minnesota Historical Society)



*Smith School. (Minnesota Historical Society)*



*Students at the Smith School. (Minnesota Historical Society)*



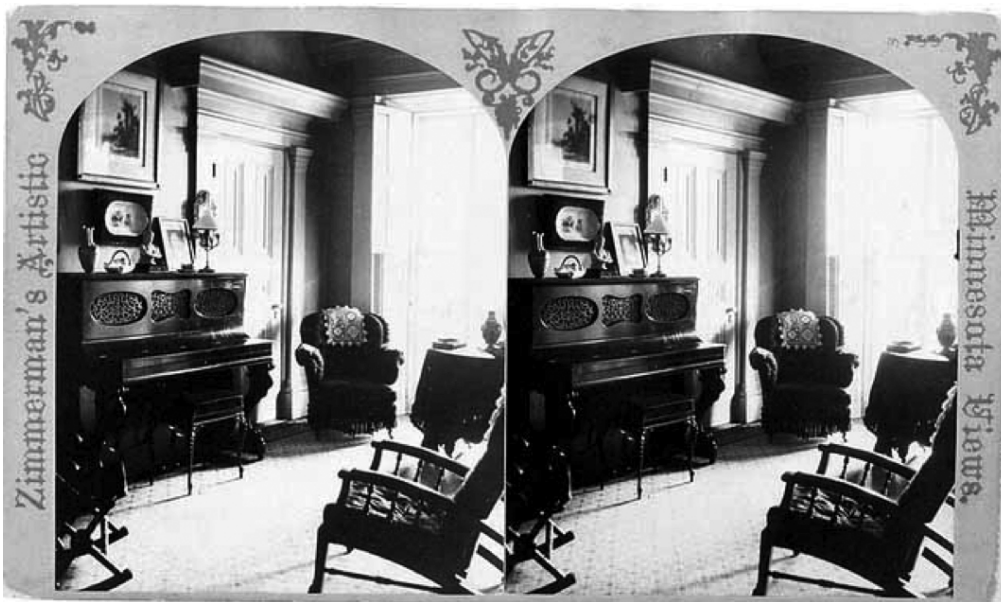
*Rice School. (Minnesota Historical Society)*



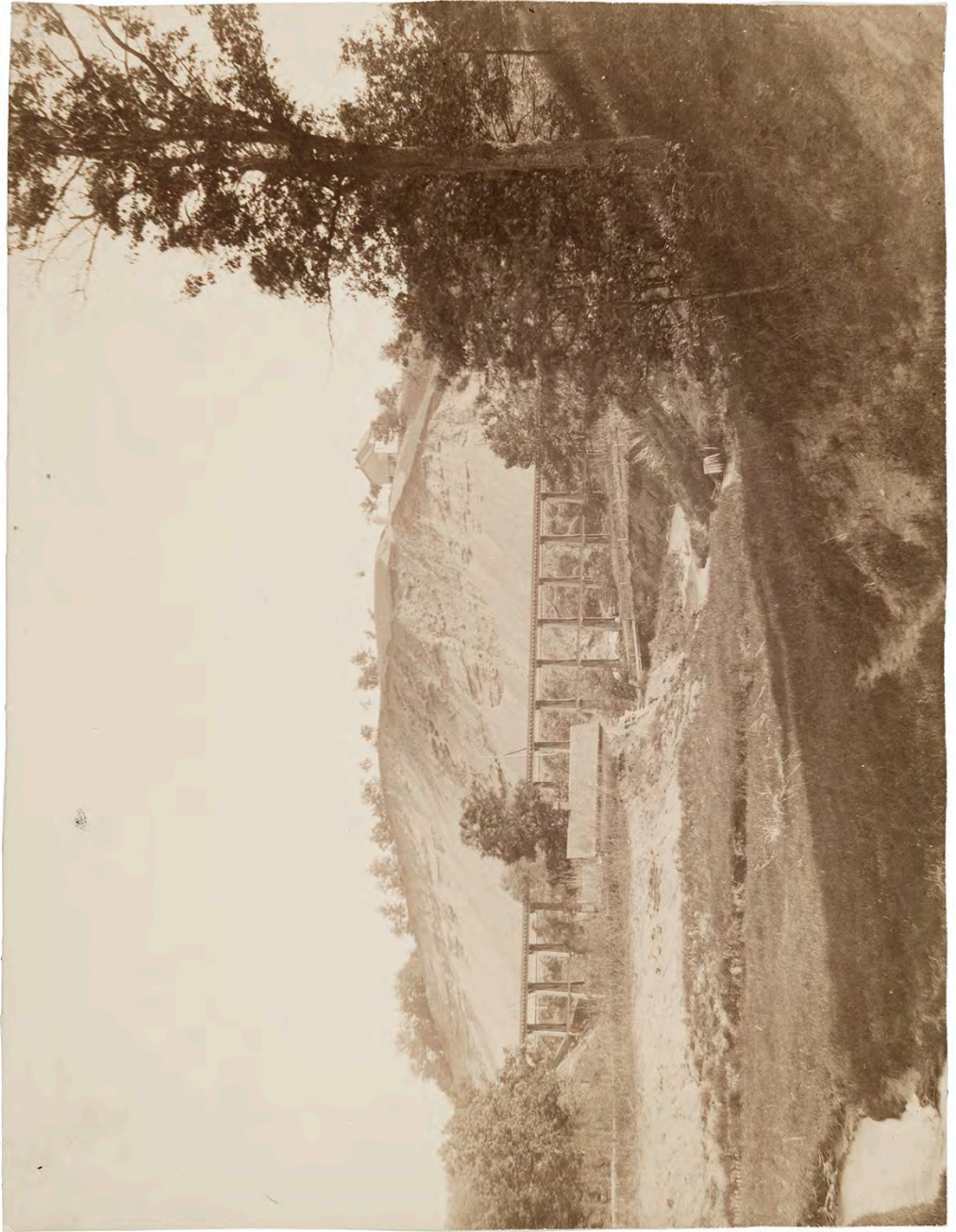
*The Rice home circa 1875. (Minnesota Historical Society)*



The Rice children (possibly Virginia and Philip here) enjoyed fishing in the brook in summer, and harnessing their dogs to the sled in winter. See if you can find the canine victim in this circa 1875 photo. (Minnesota Historical Society)



Interior, Edmund Rice Home, circa 1875.



*The Edmund Rice Trout Brook estate, showing railroad tracks, circa 1875. (Minnesota Historical Society)*





*The Edmund Rice Trout Brook estate, circa 1875. (Minnesota Historical Society)*



*The Edmund Rice Trout Brook estate, showing railroad tracks, circa 1875. (Minnesota Historical Society)*



*The Edmund Rice Trout Brook estate, circa 1875. (Minnesota Historical Society)*



*Looking toward capitol from top of hill- McMenemy (Westminster) and Cook, 1906. View looks over Trout Brook and rail lines. (Minnesota Historical Society)*



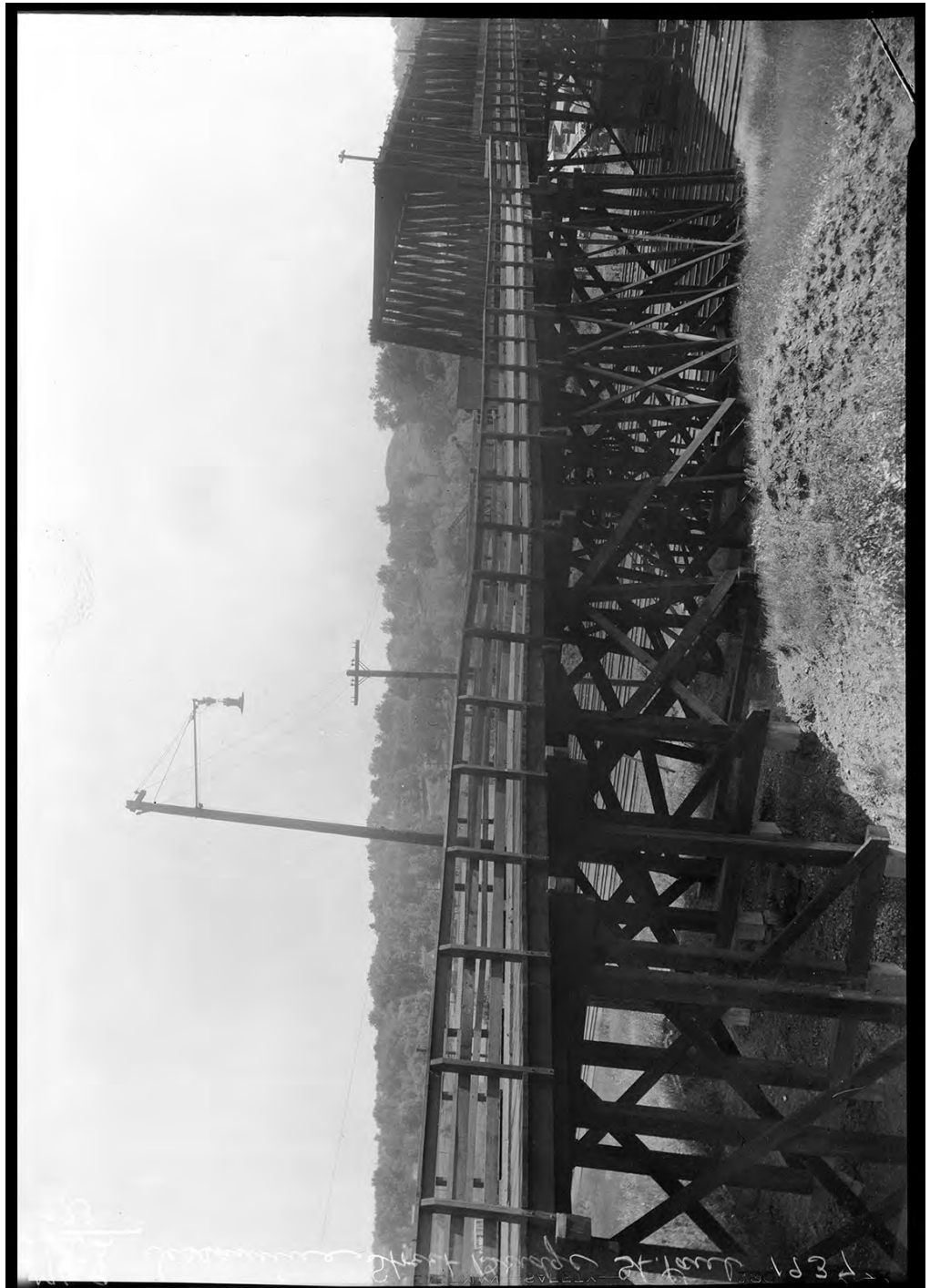
*Jessamine Street Bridge, 1906, looking west over Trout Brook and railroad tracks. The cluster of buildings under the bridge is the Rinberger home, the white house in the foreground is the McMenemy homestead. (Minnesota Historical Society)*



*Looking southwest from hill on Cook between McMenemy and Mississippi Street, circa 1910. Minnesota Historical Society)*



*Lindeke Roller Mills, 522/540 East 7th, 1914. This mill was located in downtown, just above the confluence of Trout Brook and Phalen Creek. (Minnesota Historical Society)*



*The Jessamine Bridge as it appeared in 1937. (Minnesota Historical Society)*





Jessamine Street Bridge, looking west, 1937. (Minnesota Historical Society)

# Endnotes

- <sup>1</sup> Nicollet, Joseph N., 1852, Notices of the natural caves in the Sioux country, on the left banks of the upper Mississippi River, in: Schoolcraft, Henry R., ea. ,p. 97.
- <sup>2</sup> History of St. Paul and vicinity: a chronicle of progress and a ..., Volume 1, 1912. By Henry Anson Castle, p. 4.
- <sup>3</sup> For additional information about the likely vegetation status pre-settlement, see "Trillum Site: Trout Brook Greenway Natural Resource Management Plan," Emmons & Olivier Resources, St. Paul, 2004.
- <sup>4</sup> "Early Bridges and Changes of Land and Water Surface in the City of St. Paul," Josiah B. Chaney, Minnesota Historical Society Collections, Vol. 12, p. 147, History of St. Paul and vicinity: a chronicle of progress and a ..., Volume 1, 1912. By Henry Anson Castle, p. 4. Maria Dawson,"A Letter to my Grandchildren about my Childhood Home, 'Trout Brook,'"
- <sup>5</sup> Mead, Frank J., History of the Police and Fire Departments of the Twin Cities, 1899, chapter 3.
- <sup>6</sup> The Kaposia band did not stay here long. The 1851 treaties required them to move from much farther west, to a reservation established on the Minnesota River.
- <sup>7</sup> History of St. Paul and Vicinity, Vol. 1,1912, Henry Anson Castle, p. 85-87.
- <sup>8</sup> Robert and Elizabeth were married November 4, 1858 in Ramsey. He is listed as a porter living on Robert Street in the 1863 City Directory, and as living there again in 1864. However, the 1865 State Census and 1867 City directory list him as living in New Canada, at the home on Trout Brook. From 1873 on he is listed as a packer and gardener, and eventually grocer.
- <sup>9</sup> 1880 Census.
- <sup>10</sup> History of St. Paul and Vicinity, Vol. 1,1912, Henry Anson Castle, p. 274. History of Ramsey County and the city of St. Paul: including the Explorers ..., 1881 By George E. Warner, Charles M. Foote, Edward Duffield Neill, p. 473.
- <sup>11</sup> Pen Picture of old St. Paul, Minnesota and Biographical Sketches. ... Thomas McLean Newson, Vol. 1, p 371.
- <sup>12</sup> History of Ramsey County and the city of St. Paul: including the Explorers ... , 1881, By George E. Warner, Charles M. Foote, Edward Duffield Neill, p. 473.
- <sup>13</sup> July 4, 1879, Daily Globe, p. 1.
- <sup>14</sup> Williams, A History of the City of Saint Paul, and of the County of Ramsey, Minnesota,1876, 146. "A Letter to my Grand Children About my Childhood Home 'Trout Brook'", p. 1

- <sup>15</sup> "A Letter to my Grand Children About my Childhood Home 'Trout Brook'", p. 1, 2, 6, 7. Daily Globe, February 10, 1878, p. 4. Daily Globe, February 5, 1878, p. 4.
- <sup>16</sup> Soon after the sale, just as Edmund Rice was suing them for breach of contract.
- <sup>17</sup> History of the Trout Brook Watershed, Paul Nordell, 2010, p. 8.
- <sup>18</sup> History of St. Paul and Vicinity, Vol. 1, Henry Anson Castle, 1912, p. 7.
- <sup>19</sup> History of St. Paul and Vicinity, Vol. 1, Henry Anson Castle, 1912, p. 7.
- <sup>20</sup> History of St. Paul and Vicinity, Vol. 1, 1912, Henry Anson Castle, 1912, p. 9.
- <sup>21</sup> Daily Globe, January 3, 1880, p. 2.
- <sup>22</sup> St. Paul Globe, August 31, 1902, p. 24.
- <sup>23</sup> History of St. Paul and Vicinity, Vol. 1, Henry Anson Castle, 1912, p. 392.
- <sup>24</sup> "A Letter to my Grand Children about my Childhood Home 'Trout Brook,'" p. 7.
- <sup>25</sup> His daughter reported that he sold the home property in 1883. By 1885, Edmund's home was listed as 187 E. 9th street in the city directory.
- <sup>26</sup> Map of St. Paul, Sanborne Company, 1904.
- <sup>27</sup> History of the Soo Line Railroad, James W. Lydon, 1961, pp. 5-10.
- <sup>28</sup> History of the Soo Line Railroad, James W. Lydon, 1961.
- <sup>29</sup> 40 Years of Steel Fabricating, Saint Paul Structural Steel Co., 1955, p. 10.
- <sup>30</sup> 40 Years of Steel Fabricating, Saint Paul Structural Steel Co., 1955, p. 10.
- <sup>31</sup> 40 Years of Steel Fabricating, Saint Paul Structural Steel Co., 1955, p. 11. *See also*, Map of St. Paul, Sanborne Co., 1926 (showing factory location). This is the property now owned by Tilsner Carton.
- <sup>32</sup> 40 Years of Steel Fabricating, Saint Paul Structural Steel Co., 1955, p. 18.
- <sup>33</sup> 40 Years of Steel Fabricating, Saint Paul Structural Steel Co., 1955, p. 12.
- <sup>34</sup> 40 Years of Steel Fabricating, Saint Paul Structural Steel Co., 1955, p. 39.
- <sup>35</sup> Nancy O'Brien Wagner conversations with Linda Jungwirth, February 10, 2013.
- <sup>36</sup> Nancy O'Brien Wagner conversations with Linda Jungwirth, February 10, 2013.
- <sup>37</sup> Nancy O'Brien Wagner conversations with Linda Jungwirth, February 10, 2013.