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Although an important Wisconsin city developed at the head of the lakes, it has not become as large nor important. This study has attempted to cover the story of Superior, Wisconsin from its establishment in the early eighties until 1900. The later date has no significance save for the fact that by 1900 Superior was well-established as a thriving western city and looked forward optimistically to an even greater future. Superior is located on the southern shore of the extreme western point of Lake Superior in latitude $46^{\circ} 30' 31''$ north and longitude $92^{\circ} 4'$ west of Greenwich. It is situated on St. Louis, Superior and Allouez bays.¹ The last two named are formed by Wisconsin Point and Minnesota Point, two narrow peninsulas jutting out from Wisconsin and Minnesota, respectively, which form a natural breakwater for the harbor.

¹ "Beginning at the southeast corner of section 1, in township 48 north, of range 13 W in the county of Douglas and state of Wisconsin, running thence W on the section line to the SW corner of section 6 in township 48 N of range 14 W; thence running N along the township line to the intersection of said line with the state line between the states of Wisconsin and Minnesota, thence following said state line down the river St. Louis and through St. Louis Bay, and through the bay of Superior to the mouth of the St. Louis river between Minnesota and Wisconsin Points; and thence easterly to the meander line on the northernmost point of said Wisconsin Point; thence along said meander line of Lake Superior and following the shore line of said lake southeasterly and easterly to the section line on the east side of section 36 in township 49 N or range 13 W; and thence south to the place of beginning." Charter of the City of Superior, Democrat Printing Company, Madison, Wisconsin, 1891.

Although an important Wisconsin city developed at the head of the lakes, it has not become as large nor important as the early settlers expected. Panics which swept the entire country during the nineteenth century effectively checked its growth; the Civil War likewise depleted the population and turned the eyes of investors from the newly established city. Hearsay blames the selfish desire of a few men to force industrialists to pay exorbitant prices for land in Superior for the failure of Superior to develop. The history of Superior is interesting as illustrating the effect of national economic forces on a group of people located far from the point of origin of those same forces, for when prosperity existed in the East, Superior boomed and when speculation slackened, due to panics and depressions, people left Superior and the town stagnated for years. By the eighteen nineties the city was permanently established so the panic of 1893 did not have as much effect on it as had those of 1857 and 1873.

This rise and decline in the fortunes of Superior is clearly shown by the population statistics which follow:

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|----|--|
| 10 | Report on Population of the United States at the Eleventh Census: 1855 Part I, 385 ² |
| 11 | Tabular Statistics of 1,500 |
| 2 | <u>Annual Report of the Secretary of State of the State of Wisconsin for the Fiscal Year Ending September 30, 1876</u> , E. B. Bolens, State Printer, Madison, Wis., 1876, Appendix O, p. 177. |
| 3 | The Superior Chronicle, January 20, 1857. The Chronicle was the first newspaper published in Superior. |

| | |
|------|----------------------|
| 1860 | 812 ⁴ |
| 1865 | 532 ⁵ |
| 1870 | 1,122 ⁶ |
| 1875 | 741 ⁷ |
| 1880 | 655 ⁸ |
| 1885 | 2,704 ⁹ |
| 1890 | 11,983 ¹⁰ |
| 1895 | 26,168 ¹¹ |
| 1900 | 31,091 ¹² |

For centuries the head of the lakes had been the stopping place for Indians, white traders, explorers and missionaries. The Sioux occupied the prairie country west of the lake district and the Chippewas that territory east

4 Annual Report of the Secretary of State of the State of Wisconsin Fiscal Year Ending September 30, 1876.
5 Ibid. and Father Marquette came to Christianize the
6 Ibid.
7 Ibid.
8 Statistics of the Population of the United States at the Tenth Census, (June 1, 1880), Government Printing Office, Washington, 1883, p. 368.
9 Tabular Statements of the Census Enumeration, and the Agricultural, Mineral and Manufacturing Interests of the State of Wisconsin, Democrat Printing Company, State Printers, Madison, Wisconsin, 1886, p. 9.
10 Report on Population of the United States at the Eleventh Census: 1890, Part I, Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C., 1895, p. 360.
11 Tabular Statements of the Census Enumeration, and the Agricultural, Mineral and Manufacturing Interests of the State of Wisconsin, Democrat Printing Company, State Printers, Madison, Wisconsin, 1895, p. 11.
12 Twelfth Census of the United States Taken in the Year 1900, Population Part I, United States Census Office, Washington, 1901, p. 415.
13 Frank A. Flower, The Eye of the North West, First Annual Report of the Statistician of Superior, Wisconsin, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, 1890, p. 37.

The Northwest Company also made settlements at and south of Lake Superior. The present site of Superior frequently figured both as a place of battle and a place of treaty-making as the two tribes fought first each other and then the white man.

In 1600 an unidentified Frenchman, the first visitor to the head of the lakes, found many Chippewas on the site of Superior and in 1632 some Frenchmen from Quebec, in search of furs, stopped at the head of the lakes. From 1654 to 1660 Radisson and Groseilliens made a number of journeys through this territory and perhaps even camped on the site of Superior. Later the French returned to develop trading and their reports led to the eventual establishment of the Hudson Bay Company in the Lake Superior region.

During the same century Father Menard, Father Claude Allouez, and Father Marquette came to Christianize the natives.¹³ They were followed shortly by Daniel Greysolon DuLhut, who discovered the Brule-St. Croix route to the Mississippi river in 1673 and six years later made peace pacts with the Sioux, Objibway and Assineboin Indians. In 1680 DuLhut established a trading post at Superior and one at Solon Springs on Lake St. Croix. These posts were the foundation of the Hudson Bay Company's interests and were later taken over by John Jacob Astor's American Fur Company.

¹³ Frank A. Flower, The Eye of the North West, First Annual Report of the Statistician of Superior, Wisconsin, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, 1890, p. 37.

The Northwest Company also made settlements at Superior and, in 1787, drove the Hudson Bay Company away. The headquarters of the Northwest Fur Company were on Superior Bay, at the base of Conner's Point near the present intersection of Winter and Second (Main) streets.¹⁴ The post was abandoned in 1816 after a law was passed forbidding British trading posts on American soil and the American Fur Company moved it to Fond du Lac. Although the main post was moved away from Superior, a subsidiary post was maintained for a number of years.¹⁵ Vincent Roy, Sr.,¹⁶ Osaga, Bungo and other chiefs were employed as traders.

British interest in the region continued, however, and the first survey of the harbor, made between 1823 and 1825, was made by Captain Batfield of the British navy,¹⁷ whose chart was the only guide until the eighteen sixties when an official survey was made by the United States.

- ¹⁴ Three accounts of this fort exist--one in Bardon's Pamphlet,
²⁰ John A. Bardon, A Short Story of "Fond du Lac", Superior
²¹ and Duluth, Superior, 1930; one in the Collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, edited and annotated by Reuben Gold Thwaites, Democrat Printing Co., State Printers, Madison, Wisconsin, 1892, Vol. 19, p. 173; and the third appears in an interview with Hiram Hayes one of the early settlers, in The Superior Telegram, December 13, 1902.
- ¹⁵ The Historical Atlas of Wisconsin, Snyder, Van Vechten and Co., Milwaukee, Wisconsin, 1878, p. 263.
- ¹⁶ Mr. Roy was a Chippewa merchant in Superior who helped Father Verroyst, a Franciscan missionary, write The Missionary Labors of Fathers Marquette, Menard, and Allouez in the Lake Superior Region, Wisconsin Historical Collections, Vol. 12, p. 390.
- ¹⁷ The Superior Telegram, December 15, 1906.

Twice after the United States occupation of the territory, Governor Lewis Cass of Michigan, his secretary, James Doty (later governor of the Wisconsin Territory), Henry R. Schoolcraft and other gentlemen from Detroit visited the head of the lakes.¹⁸ These visits seem to have been incidental to making explorations of northern Minnesota and later to making treaties with the Indians.

That some interest was aroused in the wilderness of Wisconsin is shown by the fact that a group of men from Milwaukee, as early as 1836, proposed the incorporation of a railroad to run from Milwaukee to the "city of Superior" which had not as yet even been surveyed.²⁰ This interest evidently proved profitable to sharp speculators who sold shares in non-existent development companies long before the actual city was platted.²¹

¹⁸ Douglas County was part of Michilimakinac county in the Michigan territory from 1818 to 1826.

¹⁹ The Superior Telegram, December 15, 1921.

²⁰ The Milwaukee Advertiser, September 15, 1836.

²¹ The Milwaukee Sentinel for April 24, 1921 published a news article dealing with a Mr. R. M. Smythe, a member of the New York Stock Exchange, who said he had shares in a Wisconsin Land Company owning the site of Superior. The company had been established in 1836 (according to the shares); the bonds, issued in 1837, having a par value of \$500. There was no record of such a company in Milwaukee or Superior so the territorial records were searched, because at that date a company had to have legislative action through the territorial government in order to incorporate. There was no information to be found in the files and Mr. Smythe was forced to give up any idea he may have had of realizing any profit on the shares.

In the eighteen forties and fifties, treaties were made with the Indians by which the federal government acquired the title to the 300 acre peninsula with the understanding that the Indians might live there until the government ordered them off, after which they were to be transferred to the reservation at Fond du Lac, Minnesota.²² However for a few more years Superior remained unsurveyed, some undeveloped wilderness, but it was soon to attract the attention of profit-seeking speculators in the East and securing settlers. The beginning of the construction work on the Sault Ste. Marie Canal in June, 1855, brought the attention of the east favorably to bear upon the head of Lake Superior and aroused the interest of a man who became a promoter of the region. This man was Stephen A. Douglas who had perfected the organization of the Minnesota territory while chairman of the Senate committee on territories thus becoming familiar with the investment opportunities the northwest offered. Douglas was especially interested because of the increased railroad construction which was the basis of so many fortunes in the nineteenth century and he

¹ Douglas' name is not even mentioned in the list of proprietors of Superior given by James S. Ritchie in The City of Superior, Superior, Wisconsin, May 1, 1859,
²² Historical Atlas of Wisconsin, p. 206. in The History of Northern Wisconsin, The Western Historical Company, A. T. Andreas, Proprietor, 1881, p. 269. Perhaps because of his committee position Douglas preferred to remain in the background at first.

Chapter I. The northern terminus of a

The Establishment of a City at the Head of Lake Superior

Daniel A. Robertson of St. Paul to secure the land around

the head of the lakes for him. Robertson interested

The head of the lakes provided an excellent location for a city, for at this point navigation could meet land and sea transportation in the development of the vast northwest.

However, for rapid development it was necessary to have some person or group of persons sufficiently interested in the claim shanty (which was the first building in Superior) and site to spend time and money advertising the location and made claim to the lands near the mouth of the Nemadji river, securing settlers. The beginning of the construction work on the Sault St. Marie Canal in June, 1853, brought the attention of the east favorably to bear upon the head of Lake Superior and aroused the interest of a man who became

a promotor of the region. This man was Stephen a Douglas¹ who had perfected the organization of the Minnesota territory while chairman of the Senate committee on territories thus becoming familiar with the investment opportunities the northwest offered. Douglas² was especially interested because of the increased railroad construction which was the basis of so many fortunes in the nineteenth century and he

¹ Douglas' name is not even mentioned in the list of proprietors of Superior given by James S. Ritchie in The City of Superior, Superior, Wisconsin, May 1, 1859, p. 7, but it appears in a later list in The History of Northern Wisconsin, The Western Historical Company, A. T. Andreas, Proprietor, 1881, p. 269. Perhaps because of his committee position Douglas preferred to remain in the background at first.

envisioned this location as the northern terminus of a transcontinental line.² Wasting no time, he employed Daniel A. Robertson³ of St. Paul to secure the land around the head of the lakes for him. Robertson interested Rensselaer R. Nelson and Daniel A. J. Baker⁴ in the project and sent two agents, John Talleyrand Morgan and Joseph Addison Bullen, to Superior to claim land. These men left St. Paul on June 20, 1853, walked to Superior, built a rough claim shanty (which was the first building in Superior) and made claim to the lands near the mouth of the Nemadji river, the only land that had been officially surveyed.⁵ As their departure from St. Paul had been kept secret, no one else came to settle until they had pre-empted the best lands.

² George Fort Milton, The Eve of Conflict, Cambridge, 1934, p. 106.

³ Robertson evidently wanted to keep his connection with Douglas secret for on November 21, 1853 he wrote to him from Willow River, Wisconsin: "Know nothing, say nothing about our affairs to any one." : Milton, The Eve of Conflict, p. 105.

⁴ Col. Robertson was the editor and proprietor of The Minnesota Democrat; Judge Baker was a school teacher and lawyer; and Judge Nelson later became a justice of the U. S. District Court of Minnesota. Flower, The Eye of the Northwest, p. 47.

⁵ "In 1852 George R. Stuntz took a contract to run the township lines in this part of the country, including the state boundary, and filed with the land office at Dubuque a rude map of the head of the lake, on the Wisconsin side, in December of that year." Ibid., p. 50.

⁶ Lett
⁷ Considerable litigation took place over this land as it was not developed by the men pre-empting it and eventually they lost all claim to it. Ibid., pp. 53-60.

⁸ The Superior Telegram, November 11, 1927.

Robertson, Baker and Nelson joined Morgan and Bullen late in 1853 to direct the procedure of keeping the land already claimed and getting more if possible. Two other groups followed shortly. One consisted of James Stinson, Benjamin Thompson and William H. Newton who were acting for Henry M. Rice, an Indian trader and congressman from Minnesota who had helped make a treaty with the Indians around Lake Superior in 1847.⁶ The other group, from Michigan, headed by Benjamin Brunson and R. Slaughter, settled farther up the bay, platting a city called "Endion" which never became more than a city on paper.⁷ A few other men came in the fall of 1853, attaching themselves to one or another of the three groups already there. All the land at the head of the lakes was a wilderness and any supplies these first men had, they brought with them. They barely had enough food for themselves and there was so little variety in the diet that scurvy appeared. There was one milch cow kept by John B. LeFevre on Minnesota Point and R. R. Nelson later said that he once gave a city lot for a gallon of milk.⁸ Provisions were so scarce that when

⁶ Letter from Mr. Henry M. Rice written in October, 1889, reprinted in Flower, The Eye of the Northwest, p. 47.

⁷ Considerable litigation took place over this land as it was not developed by the men pre-empting it and eventually they lost all claim to it. Ibid., pp. 59-60.

⁸ The Superior Telegram, November 11, 1927.

Bright, United States senator from Indiana; George W. Cass, Mr. Stuntz noticed the arrival of the third group of men, he sent a notice to St. Paul which was printed in The Minnesota Democrat, warning prospective settlers to stay away until new supplies could be secured at the opening of navigation.⁹

Life was rough, crude and lonely, but these men were used to frontier conditions and, buoyed up by thoughts of the future, remained optimistic.

While these twenty or thirty inhabitants were claiming land, building cabins and discussing their future prospects, Douglas was publicising his new venture so successfully that he secured the support of a number of influential men.¹⁰

This list of proprietors¹¹ included the following individuals:

W. W. Corcoran, Washington banker; Robert J. Walker, from Mississippi, Secretary of the United States treasury; John L. Dawson, United States senator from Pennsylvania; Jesse D.

⁹ Flower, Eye of the Northwest, p. 52.

¹⁰ A footnote in Milton, The Eve of Conflict, p. 106 states that memoranda in the Corcoran Mss. indicates that Douglas Breckinridge and Rice had each borrowed "\$5,000 from Corcoran, Riggs and Company for the Superior speculation."

¹¹ The proprietors seem to have included all those having shares of stock in the company whereas a group known as the syndicate, (Douglas, Breckinridge, Bright, Rice and Robertson) evidently organized the company and sold shares to the others. Ibid.

¹⁶ Milton, The Eve of Conflict, p. 105.

¹⁷ This may have been because his agents had already claimed some land near Superior that Douglas perhaps wanted.

Bright, United States senator from Indiana; George W. Cass, later president of the Northern Pacific Railroad; John C. Breckenridge, Kentucky;¹³ and W. A. Richardson, United

States senator from Illinois.

Douglas seemed anxious for his friends to share in what he regarded as a very profitable investment and personally persuaded at least one individual to invest in the company. This man was John Weiss Farney who tells of Douglas' having arranged for him to buy half a share of the northern part of the state which was generally considered wilderness unworthy of attention. Farney later divided his half a share several

times and was still able to make a good profit on his investment.¹⁵

Henry M. Rice who had sent agents to the head of the around Superior almost led to bloodshed as the men tried to claim the same land. They followed closely behind advantage of friendship with Douglas. He was a resourceful Mr. Stunts, the surveyor, erecting rude claim shanties and unscrupulous politician and Robertson warned Douglas from fallen timbers as soon as the survey was completed that Rice had attempted to "pirate" his acres. Finally, because Rice, in some unexplained way, seemed in a position they thought too timid to object. These men at Superior,

¹² Andreas, History of Northern Wisconsin, p. 269.

¹³ The Superior Telegram, December 26, 1929.

¹⁴ The Superior Times, July 18, 1903. The above three sources give lists of proprietors which include other men, but I have mentioned only the most important ones.

¹⁵ John Weiss Farney, Anecdotes of Public Men, New York, 1873, p. 19.

¹⁶ Milton, The Eve of Conflict, p. 105.

¹⁷ This may have been because his agents had already claimed some land near Superior that Douglas' perhaps wanted.

to cause trouble, he was admitted to the syndicate on an equal basis with Douglas. subsequently formed, was known as the "All of this organization and investing took place in the East in 1853 while most people in Wisconsin and Minnesota had little interest in this spot destined to be so vital to the development of the northwest. Indeed, few realized that the location was desirable for, as there was no road farther north than Hudson, little was known about the northern part of the state which was generally considered wilderness unworthy of attention. line with their policy When the first pre-emptions had been made in 1853, there had been only one group claiming land so no disputes had arisen, but in the spring of 1854, further surveys over around Superior almost led to bloodshed as the men tried to claim the same land.¹⁸ They followed closely behind Mr. Stuntz, the surveyor, erecting rude claim shanties from fallen timbers as soon as the survey was completed and in some cases actually jumping the claims of those they thought too timid to object. These men at Superior, being ignorant of the organization Douglas had started, considered themselves rivals and hurried to Hudson to get their claims in first, but, upon their arrival, they

¹⁸ Lillian Kimball Stewart, A Pioneer of Old Superior, Boston, 1930, p. 104; Edmund F. Ely, Diary and Tribune Letters, 1833-1854 (Copy made for the Superior Public Library by June D. LaChapelle, July 7, 1936. W.P.A. Project 3264), pp. 371-372. except to file their intentions of claiming the land after it was surveyed and paying \$1.25 an acre for it, (footnote continued page 14)

discovered that Douglas and Rice had decided to pool their holdings.¹⁹ The company subsequently formed, was known as the "Proprietors of Superior"²⁰ and was never formally incorporated.²¹ The membership of the company was held in high esteem and at every opportunity, the settlers would refer to the titles or positions of the proprietors.²² These proprietors, however, did not propose to settle on the land themselves, being chiefly interested in persuading others to do so, and in manipulating the stock of the company to increase their profits. In line with their policy of getting others to settle on the land they carried on a publicity campaign which, judging from the population growth, was highly successful. Settlers came from all over the United States and from many sections of Europe. New York, Michigan, Minnesota, Pennsylvania, Ohio and the New England states were well represented,²³ while Kentucky, Virginia and Maryland led for the southern part of the country, with Canada, Ireland,²⁴ Sweden and various German

¹⁹ Flower, The Eye of the Northwest, p. 60.

²⁰ Information for Emigrants (no author). Chronicle Book and Job Printing Office, Superior, 1858, p. 23.

²¹ Flower, The Eye of the Northwest, p. 62.

²² E. R. Otis, editor of the Minnesota Point Democrat, quoted in The Superior Chronicle for November 13, 1855.

²³ Wisconsin led the list because of the children who had been born in the state.

²⁴ The company may have sent agents abroad to encourage immigration to Superior for in 1857 The Chicago Tribune printed an article saying that the original proprietors of Superior had persuaded "'a rabble of Irishmen'" to settle on the land, fulfilling all the requirements except to file their intentions of claiming the land after it was surveyed and paying \$1.25 an acre for it, (footnote continued page 14)

Provinces providing the bulk of the foreign born residents.²⁵

References are made in early accounts to the number of southerners²⁶ in Superior, but in actual numbers they rank low. Possibly their very strangeness in this frontier region made them more conspicuous. Although considered from the standpoint of years, the population growth was steady,

and thus the proprietors were able to buy it when it was offered for sale. This article was reprinted in The Chronicle with a vehement denial, on October 20, 1857.

25 The following figures are taken from the Manuscript County Census Reports for Douglas County, June 30 through July 7, 1860, located in the library of the Wisconsin Historical Society, Madison, Wisconsin, giving the birthplaces of the inhabitants in that year. Wisconsin, 176; Canada, 78; New York, 74; Minnesota, 61; Ireland, 57; Michigan, 40; Sweden, 39; Pennsylvania, 36; Ohio, 35; Prussia, 21; Massachusetts, 20; Maine, 16; England, 15; Vermont, 14; Wirttemberg, 13; Kentucky, 12; Illinois, 11; Indiana, 8; New Hampshire, Virginia, Wales and Scotland, 7; New Jersey and Maryland, 6; Connecticut, Bavaria, France, 5; Saxony, 4; Muchlenberg, Hamburg, Holstein, 3; Norway, Hanover, Tennessee, 2; and one each from Missouri, District of Columbia; Rhode Island, Baden, Denmark, Hesse Cassel, Bad Durkheim and "Rio Janerio."

26 Around 1870, Mr. Jay Cooke was told that the town had been founded after the repeal of the Missouri Compromise by a number of men who wished to establish "a new watering place where they could be free to take their slaves with them. . . deserting Saratoga, Newport and other northern resorts where such an accompaniment as a slave was not permitted." Ellis Paxson Oberholtzer, Jay Cooke, Financier of the Civil War, Philadelphia, 1907, Vol. II, p. 106. "During the year 1856, wealthy and enterprising Kentuckians, with their pockets, as Judge Nelson said, literally full of money, swarmed up to Superior, bringing blooded horses and cattle, carriages, gigs and other vehicles galore. Each and every one had his satchels as well as his pockets, to use the words of an old settler, 'crammed full of Kentucky bank-notes'; and during that year the man who did not have at least on pocketful of this kind of money was considered "pretty small potatoes". Flower, Eye of the Northwest, p. 88.

actually it jumped at definite intervals whenever boats arrived from the lower lakes bringing settlers, while at the same time there was an almost constant trickle of settlers from St. Paul.

In the early part of 1854, the only buildings in Superior were the seven claim shanties erected by the men who had come the previous summer.²⁷ These one-story, one-room cabins, little better than lean-to's, were built of logs chinked with moss, with fireplaces daubed with mud, wooden chimneys, puncheon floors and roofs made of shakes. R. R. Nelson's house was eight by ten feet and only as high "as a stove-pipe hat on a man."²⁸ Though the houses were small and accommodations meager, typical frontier hospitality prevailed. Those who had cabins gladly shared them with the new arrivals, providing meals as well as shelter for the prospective settlers. This necessitated a great deal of extra work on the part of the hosts as there were few women to do the housework until the middle of 1854.²⁹ One gentleman says that on April 8 and 9 in 1854, they entertained 17

27 Flower, The Eye of the Northwest, p. 52. These belonged to Col. Robertson, R. R. Nelson, D. A. J. Baker, John T. Morgan, Frank Perfect, Denis Dean and James A. Markland.

28 Andreas, History of Northern Wisconsin, p. 270.

29 Letter from Mrs. Mary C. Fassett of Ashtabula, Ohio, quoted in Flower, The Eye of the Northwest, p. 67. The per cent of women was small in the community. Robert McLean says that out of the 40 people who came to Superior on the same boat with him, only five were women. Interview in The Superior Telegram, March 13, 1920.

to 20 at their meals and adds rather forlornly ". . . I have to set table three times and then wash the dishes every change."³⁰

This year of 1854 saw Superior acknowledged as a possible place of settlement, but little else. Though the population increased to over a hundred³¹ and the number of houses to around 35,³² the real growth did not start until the following spring. Naturally, however, some improvement could be observed. Though the population was small it was varied enough so that by the end of the summer all the occupations so essential to a town's growth were represented in Superior. There were land agents to sell land, lawyers to prove claims and clear titles, carpenters and contractors to build homes, merchants to sell supplies and draymen to transport the settlers and supplies to the head of the lakes. In this first year of settlement, three stores were

Some of the residents, especially the immigrants, were undoubtedly interested in settling permanently on the lands they acquired, but most of the people came to buy land and sell it at a great profit in order to re-invest in more land whose value would increase with the establishment of the railroad they confidently expected. This great interest

³⁰ Ely, Diary, p. 377, April 12, 1854. Resources; with

³¹ Letter from Daniel A. Robertson, dated August 7, 1854, reprinted in Flower, The Eye of the Northwest, p. 65.

³² Information for Emigrants, p. 25.

in speculation led to a fictitious prosperity and tended to hinder permanent progress later as none of the growth of the town sprang up spontaneously in response to demands of the trade and agriculture already existing.³³ The dependence on a future railroad and the continued expectation of one is a thread which runs through the whole history of the city. The rather sententious slogan, "Where Sail Meets Rail", adopted for the city in the late 1890's expresses the hopes of the settlers from the conception of Superior. If it had been definitely known that no railroad would reach the city until 1881, development would have ceased immediately, but the thought that perhaps next year the railroad would come kept some people there in spite of later panics, depressions and continued disappointments. In this first year of settlement, three stores were opened. One belonged to Orrin W. Rice, another to George E. Nettleton and a third to A. C. Stockton. These stores sold groceries and dry goods, most of which were brought by the two steamboats and five sailing vessels that arrived during the summer.³⁴

³³ Letter written by Mr. Williams, editor of the Toledo Blade from Superior, reprinted in The Superior Chronicle, October 16, 1855.

³⁴ James S. Ritchie, Wisconsin and its Resources; with Lake Superior, Its Commerce and Navigation, Philadelphia, Chicago, 1858, p. 239.

Needless to say, the merchandise was extremely limited in quantity.³⁵

The boats were forced to dock at Minnesota Point across from Superior because it was not possible for boats of any size to dock at Superior itself until a pier was built.³⁶ The first pier, known as the "Quebec Pier" was begun by order of the syndicate in October 1854, but was not finished until the following year.³⁷

The most pretentious building in Superior was the Superior Hotel. \$100,00.00 worth of land (according to the estimates of the time) had been set aside for the hotel by the proprietors, and Messrs. Corcoran and Bright were to finance the job.³⁸ August Zachau³⁹ was put in charge of the construction which, in the absence of saw mills and machinery, had to be done by hand. The building was larger than the other cabins, but equally unfinished. The second story was not, at first, partitioned at all; "guests,

³⁵ The Early History of Superior, Collection of material made by pupils of the Sociology and English classes of the Pattison Junior High School, p. 22 (pages are not numbered). Located in the Library of the Wisconsin Historical Society, Madison, Wisconsin.

³⁶ Information for Emigrants, p. 24.

³⁷ Achille H. Bertrand, Recollections of Old Superior, (Indexed by W.P.A. Project 6227) Superior, Wisconsin, 1938, p. 30.

³⁸ "Infusion of New Life," in St. Paul Journal of Commerce, St. Paul, Minnesota, March 23, 1889, p. 7.

³⁹ Mr. Zachau, who arrived at Superior in 1853 was a contractor and builder and made many of the houses in Superior. The Superior Telegram, December 13, 1902.

country. A few years later packages of corruption boarders, ladies and gentlemen had no cause for complaint for each could have his share of the best room in the house."⁴⁰

The biggest improvement made in 1854 was the construction of a better road to Superior, for, although the town was located on Lake Superior which made navigation possible, it was almost isolated as far as land travel was concerned. In December, 1853, only an Indian trail existed to the head of the lakes,⁴¹ but in January, 1854 some of the men from Superior began cutting out a road⁴² and in February, Robertson, Baker and Nelson returned to St. Paul on foot using this road and brought back a group of people who became residents.⁴³ Through the efforts of Henry M. Rice and other proprietors, Congress later appropriated \$20,000.00 for the road. It was called the Military Road as the chief argument for its construction was the necessity

of having a better means of transporting soldiers to the head of the lakes in case of Indian attacks. Although the road was not completed for several years, it was used continuously because it was the only road in that part of

⁴⁰ Quotation from The Ashland Press, January 31, 1874, reprinted in Andreas, The History of Northern Wisconsin, p. 269.

⁴¹ John Bardon, Early Days in Superior, (Indexed and organized by W.P.A. Project 3264) Superior, 1936, p. 282.

⁴² Andreas, The History of Northern Wisconsin, p. 269.

⁴³ The Chronicle, June 12, 1855.

⁴⁴ Flower, The Eye of the Northwest, p. 84.

⁴⁵ George N. Smith, interview in the Superior Sun, May 25, 1908.

the country. A few years later charges of corruption were made against the company that built this road and, if these charges were true, this corruption may explain the length of time it took to construct the road.⁴⁴

Many men walked from Superior to Hudson or even to St. Paul in the early days. August Zachau walked to St. Croix Falls and then to Kettle River on his way to St. Paul and Hiram Hayes walked to St. Paul in late December to enter the law office of Wilkinson, Babcock and Brisbane.⁴⁵ Travel by land was better during the winter when the ground was frozen, for in the summer it was very damp and muddy. Transportation was made even more difficult by the fact that there were no horses available within the city itself. "In their absence, pairs of trained dogs hitched to sleds were used,"⁴⁶ but they were not very satisfactory for ordinary travel; perhaps because the white men were not used to managing them.

Some business was carried on in a dilatory way. Cordwood was cut to sell to the boats that came which burned only wood,⁴⁷ a little fur trading was carried on by Alexander

⁴⁴ Quotation from The Superior Republican printed in the Monroe Commercial and reprinted in The Chronicle, March 9, 1858.

⁴⁵ Several times on this particular trip he had to wade through half-frozen streams. He took off his trousers, waded through the stream, and then dressed again. Hayes made the trip to St. Paul seven or eight times on foot over the old Military Road. His cavalry boots had eighteen notches with each notch standing for a hundred miles. The Superior Telegram, December 16, 1915.

⁴⁶ Flower, The Eye of the Northwest, p. 84.

⁴⁷ George M. Smith, Interview in The Superior Sun, May 25, 1906.

Paul;⁴⁸ merchants sold supplies; and above all, real estate was sold.

William N. Newton, one of Rice's representatives, had been appointed the agent for the company and he and Thomas Clark, a surveyor, came from St. Paul in the summer of 1854 to lay out the town. They arrived on June 16, 1854, started work immediately,⁴⁹ and the plat of the town was recorded on November 6, 1854. It contained 24 avenues, named for the proprietors, 100 feet in width and 480 feet apart; and 33 streets, 80 feet in width and 256 feet apart. The lots were all the same size, 25 feet by 120 and regularly numbered. Land was generously donated by the proprietors to build up the city so that, at least on paper, it would be attractive to settlers. Lots were set aside for churches, schools, county buildings, parks and a cemetery. "Twenty-five hundred lots were placed in the hands of the agents of the company, to be sold for the benefit of the town, . . . and the remainder of the lots were divided equally into twenty-seven shares, about nine hundred and seventy-five lots to the share--and distributed among the members of the company according to their respective interests."⁵⁰ Some of the

land had been put on the market at Hudson in 1853⁵¹ and

⁴⁸ Andreas, The History of Northern Wisconsin, p. 271

⁴⁹ Hiram Hayes, Interview in The Evening Telegram, December 16, 1905.

⁵⁰ James S. Ritchie, The City of Superior, Philadelphia, 1859, p. 9.

⁵¹ Andreas, The History of Northern Wisconsin, p. 270.

until 1855 the settlers had to go to Hudson to file claim to their land.

Although squatters in 1854 could still buy some land at \$1.25 an acre, most of it had been pre-empted and much higher prices were obtained. Lots on Second Street, a muddy trail filled with stumps, were sold at from \$300 to \$500 apiece.⁵² In this first year Mr. Newton sold 300 lots to settlers who agreed to build houses on them. This land was sold on the installment plan with the purchasers being given three years to pay for it.⁵³

The price of shares in the company followed the increase in the land values. "By September, 1854, Douglas was asking \$10,000 cash for a half share and claiming it was worth double that sum as an investment."⁵⁴

Although isolated, the Superiorites were not entirely cut off from the outside world for a post office was established with Denis Dean as postmaster and Indian and white packers serving as the delivery system for a weekly mail from St. Paul. Unfortunately, these agents could not be depended upon.

From the first conception of Superior, railroad development was emphasized. The proprietors themselves

⁵² Ritchie, Wisconsin and its Resources, p. 235.

⁵³ Ibid., p. 238.

⁵⁴ Milton, The Eve of Conflict, p. 106.

⁵⁵ Flower, The Eye of the Northwest, p. 64.

He surveyed the route from Hudson to Superior and the re- were seriously interested in building railroads from Superior. On January 27, 1854 Robert J. Walker wrote from New York to Douglas in regard to the proposed northern railroad, stressing the practicality of running a line from the head of Lake Superior to Pudget Sound,⁵⁶ while Mr. Rice, though he shared Walker's enthusiasm, was more interested in a railroad to Iowa to link with the Illinois Central.⁵⁷ In the same year, the Superiorites hoped that their town would become the terminus of a Minnesota line which had been given a land grant by Congress, but the grant was withdrawn in August because of the fear that the act would be manipulated so one company would benefit, and the company was forced to stop work.⁵⁸

Though disappointing, this was not blighting for other railroad schemes were on foot. An act had been passed by the Wisconsin legislature incorporating the St. Croix and Lake Superior Railroad, giving it power to construct a road from Hudson in St. Croix county to some point on the St. Louis River, with branches to La Pointe and Iron Bay on Lake Superior⁵⁹ and on August 22, Col. Robert Patten, who was the chief engineer in charge of the survey, arrived at Superior.

⁵⁶ Andrews, The History of Northern Wisconsin, p. 208.
⁵⁶ Milton, Eve of Conflict, p. 105.
⁵⁷ Idem.
⁵⁸ Hayes, The Superior Telegram, December 16, 1905; 38 Congress, 1st Session, March 3, 1864, p. 923.
⁵⁹ The Chronicle, July 3, 1855.

The year 1855 was the backbone of the early development of Superior although as yet the settlement was not well known even in other parts of the state. The route followed an Indian trail and was to be 137 miles long, only 5 miles longer than by air. Two surveys were made by private subscription.⁶⁰ Governor Barstow was chosen president of the road, arrangements were made with a Canadian company to furnish the iron for the road⁶¹ and the president of the company planned to make a trip east in the fall to interest eastern capitalists in the venture. All this planning was followed with great interest by the residents of Superior who saw the predictions of the promoters coming true before it had been thought possible and the year ended with the certainty that a railroad was assured for the following season.

As a general rule, Superior remained quiescent during the spring, fall and winter months, coming to life in June when activities would flourish until about October. These periods of growth correspond very closely to the periods of navigation on the lakes which is natural, as the lake boats brought settlers, food and necessary equipment--the life blood of the settlement.

⁶⁰ Andreas, The History of Northern Wisconsin, p. 268.

⁶¹ T. D. Hall, "Hudson and Neighborhood 1857", Collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1892, Vol. 6, pp. 475-476.

⁶² Edward M. Hunter, "Civil Life, Services and Character of William A. Barstow", Collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1908, Vol. 6, p. 100.

The year 1855 was the backbone of the early development of Superior although as yet the settlement was not well known even in other towns near at hand. "Rumors had reached Ontonagon that a new town called Superior had been started at the head of the lake, but nothing definite was known about it."⁶³ By the end of the year, Superior was at least known of. More steamboats arrived, more houses were built, continued emigration brought the population to 385⁶⁴ and the town in general, took on a more permanent aspect. 1856 and 1857 saw even a greater growth, but it was along the lines already established in 1855.

The lack of lumber had retarded building at first in spite of the abundance of pine near at hand.⁶⁵ There was no saw mill at the head of the lakes for a year after the first settlement, but late in 1855 two mills and a brick yard started operations.⁶⁶ Frame buildings began to appear among the log cabins, improving the living conditions of the people as well as the appearance of the city. In

- ⁶³ Rev. John Morrison Barnett, Annals of the Early Protestant Churches at Superior, 1907, p. 218. This may also be found in the Proceedings of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1907. It will hereafter be referred to as Barnett, Annals.
- ⁶⁴ Annual Report of the Secretary of State of the State of Wisconsin, for the Fiscal Year ending September 30, 1855, Madison, Wisconsin, p. 67.
- ⁶⁵ Letter written by Daniel A. Robertson, dated August 7, 1854, reprinted in Flower, Eye of the Northwest, p. 65.
- ⁶⁶ The Chronicle, June 12, 1855; One was owned by Mr. William Mann, the other by Messrs. Woodbury, Bothwick and Shaylor.

June, five houses "sprang into actual existence"⁶⁷ within a week and during the summer, about twenty or thirty "good and a drug store. Almost every⁶⁸ substantial houses" were built. Thompson Ritchie purchased the hotel from the syndicate and added a frame structure to the log building thus making it twice as large as before.⁶⁹

Construction work had been resumed on the "Quebec" pier which was completed by fall. The pier was made in the form of a "T" with a warehouse at each end of the cross piece. In the middle of the summer, this pier was augmented by a small wharf "at the foot of Hollingshead avenue, directly in a line with the hotel".⁷¹ Progress in building of all kinds was steady and so rapid⁷² that by the end of the year, over a hundred buildings had been finished. Three of these buildings had two-stories and another two-story structure at the annual meeting of the Supervisors of Douglas County, held on November 13, 1855, it was ordered that two county saloons, carpenter shops, a blacksmith shop, a bakery, a highway were to be laid out, one to go from Wisconsin

⁶⁷ The Chronicle, June 26, 1855.

⁶⁸ Ibid., August 14, 1855.

⁶⁹ The Superior Telegram, December 19, 1895.

⁷⁰ Bertrand, Recollections of Old Superior, p. 30.

⁷¹ The Chronicle, July 31, 1855.

⁷² In a letter written by A. S. Mitchell to Crocker in Oswego, he says, "I have been here two weeks and I believe a dozen houses have gone up in that time."

Letter reprinted in The Chronicle, August 7, 1855.

⁷³ Andreas, History of Northern Wisconsin, p. 270.

⁷⁴ In the first issue of The Chronicle, June 12, 1855 there were about six columns of advertising material and by the issue of October 8, 1855 this had increased to 12 columns.

⁷⁵ R. B. McLean, Reminiscences of Early Days at the Head of the Lakes, no Publisher, no date, p. 1.

⁷⁶ The Chronicle, November 30, 1855.

wages averaging two to three dollars a day. This was a brick yard, a sash and blind factory, a shoemaker shop and a drug store. Almost every edition of the first newspaper in the summer of 1855 had a notice of some new firms being established.

The most profitable business was still undoubtedly mining prospects as well as railroads were used to attract investors and various parties of men scouted the surrounding territory for signs of minerals, particularly copper, with no success. Glowing prospectuses were even selling for \$1000 a lot. This increase was based on the speculative value, which, in turn, pre- had been made, but no company seemed to get any farther than supposed early railroad development. When it became known the issuance of the results of these surveys which were always most gratifying. Evidently the leaders of the community had some faith in the mining prospects because at the annual meeting of the Supervisors of Douglas County, amounted to almost one hundred thousand dollars. Close to held on November 13, 1855, it was ordered that two county a thousand lots were sold by Newton and this figure does highways were to be laid out, one to go from Wisconsin Point to the place where the mining activities were being The establishment of a government land office in Superior started, the other running southwest to meet the Military was a great convenience for the settlers. In July Road.

President Buchanan appointed George Vyer as Register and Employment in trades was plentiful. Carpenters and E. B. Dean, Jr. as Receiver and his office opened August 9, mechanics found immediate employment upon their arrival at

⁷⁴ In the first issue of The Chronicle, June 12, 1855 there were about six columns of advertising material and by the issue of October 2, 1855 this had increased to 12 columns.

⁷⁵ R. B. McLean, Reminiscences of Early Days at the Head of the Lakes, no Publisher, no date, p. 1. 235.

⁷⁶ The Chronicle, November 20, 1855.

wages averaging two to three dollars a day.⁷⁷ This was a slight decrease from the wages paid in 1854 for, then the men who helped build the hotel were paid three and four dollars a day, but no complaints were made. population growing, The most profitable business was still undoubtedly in real estate. As more people desiring land arrived, the price of lots increased. City lots sold at prices that were out of all proportion to their actual worth sometimes even selling for \$1000 a lot.⁷⁸ This increase was based purely on the speculative value, which, in turn, presupposed early railroad development. When it became known that the St. Croix and Lake Superior Railroad had been given a land grant, "Second street lots could not be had at any price."⁷⁹ In one week in July, the sale of property amounted to almost one hundred thousand dollars.⁸⁰ Close to a thousand lots were sold by Newton and this figure does not include lots previously purchased which were resold.⁸¹ The establishment of a government land office in Superior was a great convenience for the settlers. In July, then President Buchanan appointed George Hyer as Register and

E. B. Dean, Jr. as Receiver and the office opened August 8,

⁷⁷ The Chronicle, June 12, 1855.

⁷⁸ The Superior Telegram, March 30, 1907, "Lots on Second street were selling for \$2,000." Stewart, Pioneer of Old Superior, p. 174, "Single lots 25 feet wide, were \$1000 to \$1500".

⁷⁹ Ritchie, Wisconsin and its Resources, p. 235.

⁸⁰ The Chronicle, July 31, 1855.

1855.⁸² However, following the panic of 1857 the office
 Superior, but in 1855, ships began to run directly from
 was moved to Bayfield, and, sixteen years later, to
 Chicago.⁸³ The first steamer to arrive in 1855, the "Sam
 Ashland."

"Herd" reached the head of the lakes on May 20th, and on
 June 19th, the "Manhattan" touched at the still unfinished
 ing, improvements in transportation and communication were
 Quetez Pier. The first steamer from Cleveland, the
 also being made. Though the Military Road had been used in
 "North Star" arrived on Monday, July 2, with about 180
 1854, it was not formally opened to traffic until 1855.
 passengers and the "Superior", the first boat from
 As soon as this occurred, Carlisle Doble started a wagon
 Chicago, arrived on July 5, 1855 with passengers and water-
 route which carried mail, express and passengers between
 ials for a light house, which was built upon Minnesota
 Superior and St. Paul.⁸⁴ This was not operated regularly
 Point. On July 19, the "Superior" returned to the head
 and was completely abandoned when an express company began
 of the lakes, having made the run from Superior to Chicago
 dispatching messengers from Detroit and Chicago.⁸⁵ This
 and back in twelve days. Regular steamboat communication
 company in turn, discontinued its service when the stage
 with Chicago was now an established fact and the settlers
 coach line of Burbank, Merriam and Company of St. Paul
 were overjoyed at this new evidence of the permanence of
 began business. The time for the trip was steadily reduced
 their settlement. During 1855, 20 steamboats arrived from
 until by 1859 the stage went three times a week and made the
 the lower lakes and the total amount of imports and exports
 trip in 36 hours.⁸⁶

Up to the spring of 1855, most of the freight con-
 signed to Superior was brought to Cleveland or Detroit, then
 better than land travel for James Markland, who was chosen
 to Ontonogon, from there to La Pointe and finally to
 as the delegate to the Democratic convention in Madison, took

⁸² The Chronicle, August 14, 1855.

⁸³ Flower, The Eye of the Northwest, pp. 74-76.

⁸⁴ The Superior Telegram, December 9, 1908.

⁸⁵ The Chronicle, July 24, 1855.

⁸⁶ McLean, The Superior Telegram, March 13, 1920.

⁸⁹ Ibid., July 10, 1855.

⁹⁰ Ibid., July 24, 1855.

⁹¹ Information for Emigrants, p. 25.

⁹² The Chronicle, August 28, 1855.

Few improvements were made on the harbor, but the Superior, but in 1855, ships began to run directly from entrance to the St. Louis river was buoyed in 1855⁸⁵ and a Chicago. The first steamer to arrive in 1855, The "Sam Lighthouse was begun on Minnesota Point.⁸⁶ Ward", reached the head of the lakes on May 20th, and on June 19th, the "Manhattan" touched at the still unfinished establishment⁸⁷ of the first newspaper, The Superior Chronicle, Quebec Pier. The first steamer from Cleveland, the "The press for the paper was brought by the steamer "Sam Wood", "North Star" arrived on Monday, July 2, with about 150 passengers⁸⁸ and the "Superior", the first boat from young men from Maryland, Washington Ashten and John C. Wise Chicago, arrived on July 5, 1855 with passengers and materials for a light house⁸⁹ which was built upon Minnesota Point. The first subscription list was eight hundred and the Point. On July 19, the "Superior" returned to the head circulation extended to Boston, Portland, New York, Baltimore, Washington, Philadelphia, St. Louis and Louisville, and back in twelve days. Regular steamboat communication with Chicago was now an established fact⁹⁰ and the settlers hotels and reading rooms throughout the country as publicity were over-joyed at this new evidence of the permanence of their settlement.⁹¹ The Chronicle was a vital agency in the advertising of Superior, but it seems to have striven for fairness as it published criticisms of the city along with glowing prophecies of future greatness. One of the points

Transportation by water evidently continued to be better than land travel for James Markland, who was chosen as the delegate to the Democratic convention in Madison, took long articles on the subject, particularly bringing out the steamer "Planet" to get there instead of going overland.⁹²

⁸⁷ Andreas, History of Northern Wisconsin, p. 271.

⁸⁸ The Chronicle, July 3, 1855. the trip would be three

⁸⁹ Ibid., July 10, 1855.

⁹⁰ Ibid., July 24, 1855.

⁹¹ Information for Emigrants, p. 25. 243.

⁹² The Chronicle, August 28, 1855.

Few improvements were made on the harbor, but the entrance to the St. Louis river was buoyed in 1855⁹³ and a lighthouse was begun on Minnesota Point.⁹⁴

One of the most important events in 1855 was the establishment of the first newspaper, The Superior Chronicle. The press for the paper was brought by the steamer "Sam Wood". The editors of this four page, six column weekly were two young men from Maryland, Washington Ashton and John C. Wise who had been induced by the proprietors to come to Superior. The first subscription list was eight hundred and the circulation extended to Boston, Portland, New York, Baltimore, Washington, Philadelphia, St. Louis and Louisville. In addition, two hundred free copies were sent to various hotels and reading rooms throughout the country as publicity for Superior.⁹⁵ The Chronicle was a vital agency in the advertising of Superior, but it seems to have striven for fairness as it published criticisms of the city along with glowing prophecies of future greatness. One of the points that received particular attention in the columns of the paper was that of the railroads. The Chronicle published long articles on the subject, particularly bringing out the fact that freight costs would be \$12.50 less on the trip to St. Paul from New York and the trip would be three

⁹³ The Chronicle, June 12, 1855.

⁹⁴ Bardon, Early Days in Superior, p. 243.

⁹⁵ Ritchie, City of Superior, p. 10.

or four days shorter if goods were sent by the Great Lakes to Superior and then by rail to St. Paul instead of directly by rail from New York to St. Paul.⁹⁶

By August 7, 1855, \$400,000.00 had been subscribed for the St. Croix railroad⁹⁷ and land had been secured for depots, warehouses, docks, shops, etc. The line of the road was to be completed in three months; Thomas Clark was appointed the principal assistant in charge of the northern surveys, and on October 8, 1855, the final surveys were commenced.⁹⁸ During the same period The Chronicle devoted some attention to a Minnesota and Northwestern Railroad Company, but this line did not even complete a survey.⁹⁹

The mail service continued to be unreliable although for a time, when the stage coach was established it came fairly regularly. Routes were arranged between Superior and Ontonagon, Fond du Lac, Crow Wing and Beaver Bay, and every steamer arriving and departing carried mail, but the slowness of delivery was continually mentioned.¹⁰⁰ In 1855 a plan was proposed of sending mail from the east by way of Toronto, but this plan was opposed by the Postmaster General and could not be put into effect.¹⁰¹ The irregularity of

⁹⁶ The Chronicle, August 7, 1855.

⁹⁷ Ibid.

⁹⁸ Ibid., October 9, 1855.

⁹⁹ Ibid., October 23, 1855.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., June 12, 1855.

¹⁰¹ Ibid., November 6, 1855.

delivery was especially hard on The Chronicle for the major part of its news consisted of letters and articles from other newspapers. The service grew so poor that in the fall of 1855, a notice appeared to the effect that unless the mail service grew better the publication date of the paper might have to be changed.¹⁰²

1856 dawned bright and clear for Superior. The population rose to 582 by the end of the year¹⁰³ and business correspondingly increased. The number of houses almost doubled¹⁰⁴ and the percentage of frame buildings increased as a third saw mill had now been established.¹⁰⁵ However, even the three mills were not able to meet the demand for lumber and 800,000 feet were imported in 1856 alone.¹⁰⁶ By January 1, 1857, five saw mills were in operation in and around Superior but even yet prospective citizens were advised to bring lumber already cut to insure speed in building.¹⁰⁷

The real estate sales continued with 500 lots sold by the company's agent.¹⁰⁸ Even though this was less than in 1855, it does not follow that speculation fell off for

¹⁰² The Chronicle, October 16, 1855.

¹⁰³ Information for Emigrants, p. 24.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., p. 25.

¹⁰⁵ Flower, The Eye of the Northwest, p. 86.

¹⁰⁶ The Chronicle, January 20, 1857.

¹⁰⁷ Letter from R. Washington to Dr. A. W. Holden, re-

¹⁰⁸ Asht printed in The Chronicle, March 23, 1857.

¹⁰⁸ Ritchie, Wisconsin and its Resources, p. 238.

¹¹² Ritchie, Wisconsin and its Resources, p. 238.

private individuals sold at a profit lots they had acquired during the previous two years. By 1856 there was no vacant land in Superior and the land near the city sold for from fifty to a hundred dollars an acre.¹⁰⁹ One thousand eight hundred and forty eight lots had been disposed of by Newton in the years from 1854 through 1856 at a total of \$141,786 of which \$113,200 had been collected¹¹⁰ showing that the early purchasers had been able to meet their payments. In addition to Newton's agency, there were now six other real estate offices well established in the city.¹¹¹

Again the stock in the company increased in price as the land rose in value and a railroad seemed assured. After the news of the railroad grant in 1856, "quarter shares which had been offered in July at \$9,000, were then scarce at \$15,000."¹¹² Indeed, tradition credits President Franklin Pierce with the statement that he would rather be the owner of a share in Superior than be President.

Navigation and trading kept pace with the land sales. In 1856, forty steamboats and sixteen sailing vessels arrived with the imports amounting to 35,000 barrels which

¹⁰⁹ The St. Louis Intelligencer, October 30, 1856.

¹¹⁰ Ritchie, Wisconsin and its Resources, p. 238. The money from the sale of the land was used in the purchase of more land, in surveying, clearing streets, building the hotel and the pier, and making loans to individuals and railroads.

¹¹¹ Ashland Press, February 7, 1874, reprinted in Andreas, History of Northern Wisconsin, p. 270.

¹¹² Ritchie, Wisconsin and its Resources, p. 235.

the hostility of the La Crosse and Milwaukee road¹¹⁷ which were valued at \$420,000.00.¹¹³ This compared very favorably with the previous year when the value of both imports and exports had been less than half that sum. Business of all kinds showed a corresponding growth and it was estimated that by June 24, 1856, "the amount of capital invested in mercantile and manufacturing business was about \$190,000."¹¹⁴

Even the mail service improved to the extent that some of the settlers collected a fifty dollar purse for the mail packers. This generous act led to an unexpected result for the men celebrated the event, not wisely, but too well and for a month no mail was received. As this was during Buchanan's election, the lack of news from the rest of the country was felt more keenly than ordinarily.¹¹⁵

The year 1856 started auspiciously for the St. Croix Railroad for congress included it in land grants that were being made, bringing the total amount of land it received to close to a million acres.¹¹⁶ A contract was let to Dillon, Jackman and Jarnett of New Jersey and Pennsylvania who sent materials and food to Superior and expended from ten to twelve thousand dollars on the road.

Now, however, the St. Croix Company ran up against

¹¹³ Ritchie, City of Superior, p. 10.

¹¹⁴ Information for Emigrants, p. 24.

¹¹⁵ Flower, The Eye of the Northwest, p. 92.

¹¹⁶ Ritchie, City of Superior, p. 15.

Historical Publishing Company, 1893, pp. 305-8.

¹¹⁸ Infusion of New Life, p. 7.

the hostility of the La Crosse and Milwaukee road¹¹⁷ which fraud and plunder, the total value of the stocks and bonds feared competition. By now Kilbourn, President of the that were given away amounted to \$800,000 and the individuals Milwaukee road, opened negotiations with Mr. Dillon (head receiving them included 35 members of the assembly, three of the construction company for the St. Croix): "The con- senators, lobbyists, one judge of the Supreme Court, the tractors of the Superior road received \$69,000 in cash to Governor's private secretary, Governor Bashford himself and reimburse them for their outlay and a second mortgage bond other state officials. Governor Bashford was the only one of the La Crosse and Milwaukee company, (which was in due to realize on the bonds for the company went bankrupt within time repudiated and judicially declared void) and the work two years. Bashford called at Kilbourn's office to ex- of clearing and grading the Superior railroad was abandoned, change bonds for cash, and actually received \$15,000.00." leaving the grant forfeited when the next legislature Following this investigation and the ensuing adverse pub- assembled. The St. Croix and Superior Company applied for licity, the affairs of the St. Croix languished until the an extension of time, but it was minus cash, its bonds had next year.

no market value and Milwaukee influence was strong. The The St. Croix, while the most important, was not the land grant conditioned on building the road, was conferred only railroad company used as a lure to settlers. The St. on the Milwaukee Company, which, after a time refused to Louis Falls and Menomoni River Railroad, the Point Douglas accept the grant and build the road."¹¹⁸ and St. Louis Railroad, and another northwestern railroad.

Charges were made that Kilbourn had bribed members were planned and advertised, but never built. All of these of the assembly and other government officials so that his of the assembly and other government officials so that his company would be given the land grant and an investigating committee was appointed. This committee finally concluded that the railroad company had been guilty of numerous and unparalleled acts of mismanagement, gross violation of duty,

¹¹⁷ The La Crosse and Milwaukee Railroad Company may have been backed by either the Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul Railroad or the Chicago and Northwestern. Clark S. Matteson, The History of Wisconsin, The Wisconsin Historical Publishing Company, 1893, pp. 305-6. in Mr.

¹¹⁸ Infusion of New Life, p. 7.

¹¹⁹ Letter reprinted from the Minnesota Democrat in The Chronicle, September 18, 1882.

fraud and plunder. The total value of the stocks and bonds that were given away amounted to \$900,000.00 and the individuals receiving them included 59 members of the assembly, three senators, lobbyists, one judge of the Supreme Court, the Governor's private secretary, Governor Bashford himself and other state officials.¹¹⁹ Governor Bashford was the only one to realize on the bonds for the company went bankrupt within two years. Bashford called "at Kilbourn's office to exchange bonds for cash, and actually received \$15,000.00."¹²⁰ Following this investigation and the ensuing adverse publicity, the affairs of the St. Croix languished until the next year. The St. Croix, while the most important, was not the only railroad company used as a lure to settlers.¹²¹ The St. Louis Falls and Nemadji River Railroad;¹²² the Point Douglas and St. Louis Railroad, and another northwestern railroad¹²³ were planned and advertised, but never built. All of these

¹¹⁹ Matteson, The History of Wisconsin, pp. 305-6; Henry Collin Campbell, Wisconsin in Three Centuries, New York, 1906, Vol. III, p. 67.

¹²⁰ William F. Raney, "The Building of Wisconsin Railroads", Wisconsin Magazine of History, June, 1936, Vol. XIX, No. 4, p. 391.

¹²¹ Andreas, The History of Northern Wisconsin, p. 269, mentions ten railroads having secured charters but does not mention specific companies.

¹²² The Chronicle, June 19, 1855 has a notice of a meeting of the directors and stockholders to be held July 19 for the election of officers. The original proprietors must have supported this company for D. A. Robertson was president and the election was to be held in Mr. William Newton's office.

¹²³ Letter reprinted from the Minnesota Democrat in The Chronicle, September 18, 1855.

projected lines were heartily supported and eagerly awaited in Superior. The coming of a railroad would assure the city's future; its delay would retard the growth indefinitely. The road itself was immaterial. Proprietors and settlers alike favored them all, but with no lasting results for no railroad reached Superior for twenty years and the investments of those who had bought stock in the companies were lost. No definite information is available as to finance in this frontier settlement. No mention appears in the early issue of The Chronicle of a bank or of any individual's acting as an agent for an outside bank.¹²⁴ There was at least one safe in the city and this may have been used as a vault with one of the pioneers possibly handling financial transactions to a greater extent¹²⁵ than the rest of the settlers. Taxes, likewise, are difficult to ascertain. Douglas county frequently sent in no returns of its taxable property and thus was taxed the minimum. Up to the end of 1855 it had paid no taxes at all and it was listed as delinquent in the report of the Secretary of State, but by the following year, the tax had been sent in.¹²⁵ An assessment office was opened in Mr. Nettleton's office, but no reports of the tax

¹²⁴ Bertrand, Recollections of Old Superior, p. 135.

¹²⁵ Secretary of State Reports, 1854, p. 54; 1855, p. 55;

¹²⁶ The 1856, p. 93.

¹²⁷ Flower, The Eye of the Northwest, p. 84.

¹²⁸ The Chronicle, July 24, 1855.

¹²⁹ Bertrand, Recollections of Old Superior, p. 167.

list were published.¹²⁶

Because of its isolated position the merchants were more and larger buildings and a steady demand for labor all able to place arbitrary values on currency, giving nickels and dimes "the fictitious values of six and one quarter cents and one shilling each, respectively. The stranger who tendered a dollar in payment of a ten cent purchase received as change but seven dimes. Of course, he vigorously but unavailingly protested against this unprecedented custom, the protests continuing until a shrewd yankee speculator flooded the town with nickels and dimes."¹²⁷ As a result of this, fifteen leading merchants published an agreement to receive all United States coin at its nominal value, with the exception of "crossed" quarters which they considered worth only twenty cents.¹²⁸ All currency was limited in amount and was chiefly obtained outside of Superior "from the lumber exports, non-resident tax payers and the annual Indian payment made by the government. The real coin of the realm, however, was county and town orders received by most citizens in payment of labor and supplies, and [which] served as a medium of exchange in general business transactions."¹²⁹

Superior's development had been steady during this period from 1854 to 1857. Each year had seen an increased

¹²⁶ The Chronicle, July 24, 1855.

¹²⁷ Flower, The Eye of the Northwest, p. 84.

¹²⁸ The Chronicle, July 24, 1855.

¹²⁹ Bertrand, Recollections of Old Superior, p. 137.

population, higher land prices, more steamboat arrivals, more and larger buildings and a steady demand for labor all of which seemed to presage a continued growth and a prosperous future. Now we shall turn to the social aspects of life at the head of the lakes and see how people lived while the town was being built.

Characteristics of a civilized community for many years. Deer, partridge and wild pigeons were thick during the first year of settlement and deer meat was often sold. Although the recollections of some of the pioneers on this question cannot be verified, it seems that game was very plentiful.

As we have seen the houses were of the crudest sort. Various inconveniences resulted from the speed of building and the lack of lumber. The roughest, were the facts that as some of the buildings were made of green wood, the floors warped and that practically every roof in the whole community leaked badly. In the school house, the floor which had been made of twelve green basswood boards, shrank as it weathered and a new board was added until twelve more boards had been set into the original floor-space.¹ The roof of the building used by The Chronicle leaked so badly the press and type became very rusty.²

¹ Flower, Eye of the Northwest, p. 35.

² Ibid., p. 72.

The difficulties in transportation made it impossible for the pioneers to bring any furnishings with them. Because of this, the materials at hand were used for the furniture within the houses as well as for the houses themselves.

Chapter II.

Life in Early Superior

In spite of the brilliant pictures of Superior's future drawn by the promoters, the site itself possessed few of the characteristics of a civilized community for many years. Deer, partridge and wild pigeons were thick during the first year of settlement and deer meat was often sold. Although the recollections of some of the pioneers on this question cannot be verified, it seems that game was very plentiful. Some people made tables out of boards which As we have seen the homes were of the crudest sort. Various inconveniences resulted from the speed of building and the lack of lumber. The commonest, were the facts that as some of the buildings were made of green wood, the floors warped and that practically every roof in the whole community leaked badly. In the school house, the floor which had been made of twelve green basswood boards, shrank as it weathered and a new board was added until twelve more boards had been set into the original floor-space.¹ The roof of the building used by The Chronicle leaked so badly the press and type became very crusty.² Beds were, they were a distinct improvement.

¹ Flower, Eye of the Northwest, p. 85.
² Ibid., p. 72.

The difficulties in transportation made it impossible for the pioneers to bring many furnishings with them. Because of this, the materials at hand were used for the furniture within the houses as well as for the houses themselves. One of the pioneers gives a description of the interior of his first home in an early diary. "The shanty is 22 by 24 inside, with pine stakes, puncheon floor of hewed balsams; my kitchen table is white birch hewed into planks; on the sides double bunks are put up one a little above the floor and another above it. [the] Table consists of one two inch plank and a dog train turned bottom side up and placed on three trestles."³ Some people made tables out of boards which were found floating in the bay, while chairs were "Blocks with pole legs or small boxes obtained from the grocery store. Beds were frequently pole bunks with mattresses of balsam or pine boughs; bed clothing consisted of Indian blankets; [and] curtains, carpets and upholstered furniture were unknown."⁴ All of these discomforts were endured cheerfully, especially by those who arrived in 1854, for in that year, conditions had been even worse. For example, a number of new arrivals in that year had been forced to sleep on the sands of the lake shore so that until however crude the beds were, they were a distinct improvement.

³ Ely, Diary, p. 375, April 8, 1854.

⁴ Flower, Eye of the Northwest, p. 81.

⁵ Ibid., p. 82; The Superior Telegram, January 20, 1910.

⁶ Barnett, Annals, p. 219.

...somewhat helped the situation. The road through the town
 was... Clothes were necessarily coarse and durable. Even the
 women wore fur lined coats and mocassins although one lady⁵
 did bring fine clothes with her because she had been misled
 by looking at the company's maps and the newspaper accounts
 which convinced her Superior was a large modern city; a few
 hours in the town showed her she had been more than a little
 gullible.⁶

The men wore heavy woolen shirts and trousers with
 mocassins or, if they could afford them, boots. No one had
 many clothes. Most of the men, seemingly, had only those
 which they wore to Superior because references are made to
 their having washed their shirts at night before some
 special occasion.⁷

The plat of the town presented a very unattractive
 appearance judged on the basis of its being advertised as an
 established city. Clearings had been made around each small
 cabin, but the stumps remained all over the town and the
 one-wagon road through the town resembled a canal.⁸ The
 few cattle were allowed to roam freely adding to the general
 disorder.

Little attempt was made to remedy the conditions until
 1855. Then the proprietors made a few improvements which

⁵ The Superior Telegram, July 23, 1910.
⁶ Flower, The Eye of the Northwest, p. 84.
⁷ Ibid., p. 84; The Superior Telegram, January 23, 1910.
⁸ Barnett, Annals, p. 219.

somewhat helped the situation. The road through the town was graded and planks laid from the hotel to the Quebec pier.⁹ Plank side-walks were constructed along the main street (Second Street) which, though somewhat treacherous to walk on were at least better than the street.¹⁰

Wild animals frequently came into the city itself as the animals were probably still unable to see much difference between the "city" and the undeveloped forests. No one was harmed by these visitors although several bad frights were given the women and children. On one occasion, a bear walked into a cabin in which a woman and child were sleeping, ate some food and went to sleep under a table. He awoke shortly after the woman did, shook himself and waddled back into the woods.¹¹

Hunting and fishing were two of the diversions in the early days, but ordinarily, recreation was meager. There wasn't a great deal of entertainment for a man unless he went to the saloons. However, its lack was not greatly felt, for Pat Simons; one of the pioneers, was quite matter-of-fact in his statement that "a man just done his day's work and went home and sat down."¹²

⁹ The Chronicle, June 24, 1855.

¹⁰ Ibid., October 9, 1855 and May 12, 1857.

¹¹ The Superior Telegram, July 23, 1910; Flower, The Eye of the Northwest, p. 82, retells an incident of a "lady artist" sketching a bear in Thomas Clark's yard which was shot as soon as she finished her drawing.

¹² The Superior Telegram, November 11, 1927.

¹⁶ Flower, Eye of the Northwest, p. 82.

As more people arrived, greater opportunities for amusement were presented. Here, again, the community spirit showed up for everyone took part in any celebration that went on. In 1853 and 1854 entertainments usually consisted of eating, drinking and "speech-making." The first real celebration was held on Christmas, 1853 in the building that later became the Chronicle office. The menu included salt pork, beans, rabbit meat, partridge, "dainties", and "a nice little keg of rum" which George R. Stuntz had brought from Crow Wing by dog train. As there were no women in the community, a stag dance was held. A week later another, equally successful party took place on New Year's Eve.¹³ The opening of the hotel in June, 1854 was marked by another banquet and dance with the Fourth of July providing the occasion for the next celebration. This time a group of local women¹⁴ provided the refreshments and Hiram Hayes¹⁵ "... dressed in real boots and a flowing red shirt which had been washed and partly dried. ... the previous evening", delivered a stirring patriotic oration.¹⁶

¹³ The Superior Telegram, December 19, 1895.

¹⁴ Mrs. George C. Nettleton, Mrs. O. K. Hall, Mrs. Post, Mrs. O. W. Rice, Misses Metcalf, Hall, Smith and Richmond.

¹⁵ Mr. Hayes is a good illustration of the extreme youth of the men who became important in this city for he was only 22 when he reached Superior in June, 1854, yet he made this address on July 4 and in a few months became the clerk of the board of county supervisors. In 1855 he was elected District Attorney of Douglas County to succeed R. R. Nelson. Hiram Hayes, Diaries, Letters, Addresses, Picturing Life in Superior 1865-1880, W.P.A. Project 3264, Copy in Public Library, Superior, Wisconsin.

¹⁶ Flower, Eye of the Northwest, p. 68.

All this social life was disorganized and very informal but at least one society did attempt some union. In 1854 a group of Southerners organized a Masonic Lodge, purchased lots and subscribed stock for the erection of a hall.¹⁷ Some meetings were held and the lodge building was started, but in 1859 the state charter was withdrawn because no member of the lodge had appeared at the state Grand Chapter to return a document called a "dispensation" which was evidently a preliminary report that had to be filed before the organization could become permanent.¹⁸

1854 was also the year of the first political organization. On February 8, a legislative act was approved creating Douglas County which was to consist of the portion of country then in La Pointe county lying west of range nine west. The act further provided for the location of the county seat in Superior. Nothing was published in *The Chronicle* about Republican rallies or conventions, whereas the editors of the paper continually encouraged the voters to attend of the county officers in November.²¹ Governor Barstow

¹⁸ The Superior Telegram, June 13, 1927.

¹⁹ Douglas County was part of Michilimackinac County in the Michigan territory from 1818 to 1826, then under Chippewa County, Crawford County, St. Croix County, and La Pointe County.

²⁰ According to Robert McLean in an interview in The Superior Telegram, March 13, 1920, the county board and the town board were the same because there was only the one town in Douglas County.

²¹ Flower, Eye of the Northwest, pp. 30-32.

²² McLean, interview, The Superior Telegram, March 13, 1920.

appointed a district attorney, a coroner, a sheriff and a register to hold office until November,²² and elections were duly held in April and November.²³ There was no definite meeting place for the officials, so the meetings were held in the various officials homes and the official records kept there.²⁴ By 1855 a more elaborate slate of officers was deemed necessary for the town and in the election of April 3, three supervisors were elected, two justices of the peace, two constables, a sealer of weights and measures, an assessor, town treasurer, superintendent of schools and overseer of highways.²⁵ However, while they

The Chronicle was definitely a Democratic paper and the whole community seems, from the later election returns, to have been equally Democratic. This may very possibly have been due to the fact that the leading promoters of the town were Democratic. Nothing was published in The Chronicle about Republican rallies or conventions, whereas the editors of the paper continually encouraged the voters to attend

²² Flower, Eye of the Northwest, p. 32.

²³ The Chronicle, June 12, 1855. As a result of the town election the following civic officials were chosen:
 James A. Markland, register of deeds; Denis Dean, justice of the peace; and Carlisle Doble, sheriff. In addition, Markland, George W. Perry, Hiram Hayes and Marcus M. McCracken made up a counsel whose duties were not defined. The new county officials, elected in November were J. A. Markland, county judge; Asa A. Parker sheriff; Rensselaer R. Nelson, district attorney; Rheuben H. Barrett, coroner;
²⁶ F. J. Whittaker, register of deeds; Bradley Salter, county treasurer; C. H. Kingsbury, clerk to the supervisors and clerk of the circuit court; and Thomas Clark, county surveyor.

²⁴ McLean, interview, The Superior Telegram, March 13, 1920.

Democratic meetings and take an interest in civic affairs. The principles of the Democrats of Douglas county were first expressed in a group of resolutions adopted by the county convention held in 1855 to choose a delegate to the state convention. The first of these was: "That we regard self-government as the peculiar, prominent and vital element of this confederacy of states, and therefore we can have no sympathy or affinity in common with the would-be reformers of the day, the success of whom would be a blow struck at the liberties inherent in the American mind and grown dear to each patriot's heart."²⁵ However, while they supported the theory of "self-government", which seems to imply states rights, they also favored a homestead act, saying it was the duty of congress to grant quarter sections of the public land to actual settlers, while a third resolution was adopted against putting obstacles in the way of immigrants becoming citizens. These later policies were in accord with the position of Superior as a new territory and the interest of her citizens in the development of the frontier. In a later edition of the Chronicle, the editors stressed the fact that the Madison convention, to which they were sending a delegate, should uphold the Kansas-Nebraska Bill.²⁶

²⁵ The Chronicle, August 7, 1855. All the resolutions were printed there.

²⁶ Ibid., August 12, 1855.

²⁸ Ibid., July 24, 1855.

In spite of the space devoted to politics in the newspaper, the general run of citizens were not overly interested in politics and political meetings were often poorly attended. In 1855 no delegate from Douglas county attended the Hudson convention to nominate a candidate for the state assembly, but before the election, the Democrats of Superior met, selected their own candidate and proceeded to vote for him in the election saying, inconsistently, that the southern counties always tried to dictate to them.²⁷ This was done in spite of the fact that The Chronicle, usually very influential, criticized them severely because they were not supporting the regular party organization.

The political relations between Superior and northern Minnesota were rather tangled. On one occasion at least, the Democrats of Superior went outside the territorial boundaries and elected a delegate to the Democratic convention that was held in St. Paul,²⁸ but later delegates went to Madison. On a cursory examination of the first issues, it would seem that The Chronicle was almost as interested in Minnesota elections as in Wisconsin. The fact that northern Wisconsin and northern Minnesota had the same difficulties to contend with at this time, or merely the scarcity of news to publish may account for this. Relations were not always friendly, however,

²⁷ The Chronicle, October 23, 1855. at council elected in

²⁸ Ibid., July 24, 1855.

³¹ Ibid.

³² Printed September 6, reprinted in The Chronicle, October 2, 1855.

For example, some newspapers in Minnesota, including The
Minnesotan and "other abolition papers"²⁹ were protesting the
election that had recently been held in Minnesota because
M. W. McCracken,³⁰ who was elected to the territorial council,
had a law office in Superior though, according to The
Chronicle,³¹ he had made his claim in Minnesota before; and
because Mr. Culver, who was doing business in Superior,
though he was a citizen of the Minnesota territory, had been
an election judge. This policy of maintaining an individual
business in one state and at the same time being involved in
politics in another, was perfectly natural to these men,
though it would seem unusual to us. Many of the citizens
of Superior who had come from Minnesota undoubtedly felt
much more closely bound to Minnesota than to the government
at Madison, which, in any event, was much farther away than
that at St. Paul.

Later charges were also made by the Minnesota Pioneer³²
that the Superior people wanted Mr. Henry Rice elected to
congress because he seemed to have favored Superior at the

Both the county court and the circuit court were
expense of Minnesota in his previous term and the Minnesota
paper stated that probably many Wisconsin men would come into
Minnesota to vote for him. Mr. Rice was accused of inserting

²⁹ The Chronicle, November 6, 1855.
³⁰ He had been a member of the first council elected in 1854.
³¹ Idem.
³² Printed September 6, reprinted in The Chronicle, October 12, 1855.

organized in 1855³⁷ and terms held spasmodically. Here in the money bills for roads, a proviso that the terminus again the lack of interest on the part of the citizens of the Point Douglas and St. Louis road should not be in Minnesota; and in the railroad bill giving land grants, he resigned or simply did not appear at the terms of court. Even specified that the railroad should terminate at the mouth of the left-hand (Nemadji)³³ river in Wisconsin. "Well", said The Chronicle, "what if he did?" He was actually aiding the inhabitants of northern Minnesota by choosing some distance away. S. S. N. Fuller, the first judge of the eighth judicial district had to walk about eighty miles to a terminus by which they would have easy access to the East. "Where, on the shores of Lake Superior, other than at this point; is there so fitting a terminus?" asked The Chronicle, "ed to come to Superior ³⁴ was able to get there. Sometimes innocently. The editors stated further, "We know not of he sent word that court would be open on ³⁵ certain date and his owning one foot of land at Superior." This may have then he would later send word to open and adjourn the court been true, but, as a member of the original syndicate in Superior, he at least had owned stock and he must have re-

Although a Superintendent of Schools had been elected in April, 1855, there were no schools for him to superintend town was laid out. The Chronicle was very much in favor of and education was neglected until the fall when Mr. Fry, Rice,³⁶ and considered his subsequent election only the just State Superintendent of Schools, visited Superior with the reward of his fine statesmanship.

idea of establishing a school if there was enough interest.

Both the county court and the circuit court were

Parents who wanted a school were advised to see Mr. Fry

³³ This river was called the "left-hand" river by the Indians who because it was on their left as they entered the bay.

"Nemadji", its present name, means "left hand".

³⁴ The Chronicle, October 2, 1855. court was held June 4,

³⁵ Idem, 55. The Chronicle, June 12, 1855. The District

³⁶ Rice did not remain Superior's friend, for three years later The Chronicle stated in the issue of October 12, 1858 that a report in the St. Paul papers that the land office was to be moved to Bayfield was without foundation and probably had been started by Mr. Rice who had land interests in Bayfield.

organized in 1855³⁷ and terms held spasmodically. Here again the lack of interest on the part of the citizens shows up for many of those who were elected as court officials resigned or simply did not appear at the terms of court. Even the regular panel of grand jurors was not filled at the first court term. As Superior was the only place within a large district where court terms were held, the judges came from some distance away. S. S. N. Fuller, the first judge of the eighth judicial district had to walk about eighty miles to his court. Court terms were held whenever Judge Fuller wanted to come to Superior or was able to get there. Sometimes he sent word that court would be open on a certain date and then he would later send word to open and adjourn the court at the same time as he would be unable to be present.³⁸

Although a Superintendent of Schools had been elected in April, 1855, there were no schools for him to superintend and education was neglected until the fall when Mr. Fry,

State Superintendent of Schools, visited Superior with the idea of establishing a school if there was enough interest. Parents who wanted a school were advised to see Mr. Fry who was staying at the Superior Hotel so that a school could

³⁷ The first session of the county court was held June 4, 1855. The Chronicle, June 12, 1855. The District Court term was held August 2, The Chronicle, August 7, 1855.

³⁸ McLean, Interview in The Superior Telegram, March 13, 1920.

⁴³ McLean, Interview in The Superior Telegram, March 13, 1920.

be opened.³⁹ Evidently some parents did so because in The Chronicle for October 16, 1855 the following quotation appears: "A building intended for a school house is being erected on Fourth Street and will probably be completed this week. We shall have a day school throughout the winter, but who will conduct it, we have not yet learned." The school, built of logs, was located at the corner of Becker Avenue and Fourth street.⁴⁰ It opened on January 7, 1856⁴¹ with seventeen pupils and Miss N. C. Barnett as the teacher.⁴² Among her pupils was Robert McLean who went to school, though he was a grown man to learn geometry which he thought might help him in his surveying.⁴³ The school house was used for many public meetings as well as for education, and later became the regular meeting place for the first church services.

Although many missionaries had visited the head of the lakes before Superior was established, clergymen were slow to follow the promoters and it was not until June 10, 1855

³⁹ The Chronicle, September 11, 1855.

⁴⁰ Ibid., October 30, 1855.

⁴¹ "Mr. Thomas Clark, one of the directors, who was deeply interested in the school, was present and at his request the first session was opened with prayer." Barnett, Annals, p. 223.; One of the early settlers gives an amusing account of the election held to choose three trustees for the public school. According to him, only nine people voted and of the three elected, two couldn't read or write. Letter from S. Williams Nelson to H. O. Fifield, Bayfield Press, March 30, 1872, reprinted in Andreas, History of Northern Wisconsin, p. 270.

⁴² Miss Barnett was the sister of the first Presbyterian missionary, the Rev. John Morrison Barnett, D. D.

⁴³ McLean, Interview in The Superior Telegram, March 13, 1920.

that the first sermon in the English language was preached by a Methodist Episcopal minister in the carpenter shop of the hotel.⁴⁴ One of the most important of the early clergy was the first Presbyterian minister, the Rev. Mr. Barnett from Pennsylvania who⁴⁵ came to Superior intending to remain only a short time as a minister of the U. S. Presbyterian church had signified his intention of coming to the new district. However, while Barnett was in Superior, the other minister wrote to one of the members of his church saying that he was not coming so Barnett stayed and organized a church.⁴⁶ Clergymen of other churches came and held services intermittently⁴⁷ but for a time, Barnett was the only Protestant clergyman within a hundred miles.⁴⁸

44 Ritchie, City of Superior, p. 9.

45 Flower, Eye of the Northwest, p. 76; Barnett's Annals which was published as a pamphlet in 1908, gives a full account of the organization of the early churches. This may also be found in the Proceedings of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1907.

46 Barnett, Annals, p. 219. John W. Wise gives an interesting side-light on the organization of one of the churches (not identified) and, incidentally, brings out their need: "I remember when the first church organization was effected. A party of four gentlemen were engaged in an interesting game of poker, which they were induced to suspend to take part in the election of trustees. At least two of the poker party were among the officers elected, after which the game was resumed." Flower, Eye of the Northwest, p. 78.

47 The Chronicle, August 7, 1855; Barnett, Annals, p. 219; Ritchie, Wisconsin and its Resources, p. 243.

48 Barnett, Annals, p. 221.

49 Barnett, Annals, p. 225.

50 Ibid., p. 222.

51 The Chronicle, July 24, 1855.

52 Ibid., October 30, 1855.

As churches were organized, other activities connected with them developed. A prayer meeting was held one evening at Mr. Barnett's home and, though the attendance dropped from nine to one at the next meeting, it was continued for several months, though with questionable success.⁴⁹ A small Sunday School was also organized, and this had much stronger support.

Before the church buildings were erected, services were held in offices and buildings of all kinds, often under rather adverse conditions. Not only did they have to contend with leaky roofs, but the near-by businesses interfered with the conduct of services. Some services were held in the Mintner building "the first floor [of which] . . . was occupied by a saloon and the third by a gambling room, so the preacher could often hear the jingle of the glasses below and the noise of the card tables above."⁵⁰

The first group to begin construction of a church was the Episcopal. Early in the summer, a subscription was circulated "and very liberally signed" to erect a church on Second street.⁵¹ The lots were cleared in July and construction work started in October.⁵² This church was named the Church of the Redeemer and was for several months the only church building in the town.

⁴⁹ Barnett, Annals, p. 225, 228, 231, 233.

⁵⁰ Ibid., p. 222. June 12, 1855.

⁵¹ The Chronicle, July 24, 1855.

⁵² Ibid., October 30, 1855.

These evening skating parties were very picturesque, the gentlemen being dressed largely in buckskin suits and caps, and payment, in the traditional frontier fashion. Evidently while the women were no less comfortably and gayly attired, collections were taken up at irregular intervals for Barnett large fires kindled in circles on the ice to give light and warmth added much to the character and attractiveness of the scene. In one year a missionary box was sent from the east and divided among the Presbyterian missionaries at Ontonogan, Bayfield and Superior.⁵³

Recreation at the head of the lakes continued in the same fashion as before, but it did tend to become slightly more sophisticated. A Fond du Lac Historical Association⁵⁴

was founded at Superior in 1855 and a singing class was started which continued through the winter. Mr. A. Behrendt and three other German citizens formed a quartette club and performed several times a week,⁵⁵ although no information is

given as to where they sang. Another important social group was the Yacht Club which sponsored races on the bay. Four boats entered in a race sponsored in July for which three prizes of fifty dollars, thirty five dollars and fifteen dollars were offered. The "Maria", owned by Denis Dean won having made the twelve miles of the race in one hour and forty minutes.⁵⁶

During the winter the bay remained the scene of recreation. "Racing and skating upon the ice in the bay, and sleighing parties and snow-shoe matches were common.

⁵³ Barnett, Annals, pp. 223, 228, 231, 233.
⁵⁴ The Chronicle, June 12, 1855.
⁵⁵ Ibid., July 24, 1855.
⁵⁶ Ibid., July 24, 1855.

These evening skating parties were very picturesque, the gentlemen being dressed largely in Mackinaw suits and caps, while the women were no less comfortably and gayly attired. Large fires kindled in circles on the ice to give light and warmth added much to the character and attractiveness of the scene."⁵⁷

Plays of some sort must also have been given because an old warehouse was referred to as being the building in which community entertainments and the "first theatrical performances" took place.⁵⁸

Lectures on varied topics were given by local people, chiefly by the clergymen. "Mormonism, Priest-craft and Witchcraft" was the subject of one address; "The Duty of the Workingman to Educate Himself", another and "Temperance", of a third.⁵⁹

Public balls were given for the important people who came to Superior such as the proprietors or their friends.⁶⁰ One of the most brilliant of these balls was given on January 1, 1856 by the Yacht Club at the hotel. An eight course dinner was served consisting of over a dozen different kinds of meat,⁶¹ fish, vegetables, relishes, and fourteen different

⁵⁷ Flower, Eye of the Northwest, p. 96.

⁵⁸ McLean, Interview, The Superior Telegram, March 13, 1920.

⁵⁹ Barnett, Annals, p. 223.

⁶⁰ The Registers of the Superior Hotel show the names of Charles Sumner, Senator Bright, Stephen A. Douglas, W. W. Corcoran, John C. Breckinridge, W. A. Richardson, John C. Forney and many others. The Superior Telegram, December 19, 1895.

⁶¹ Pheasant, partridge, beaver's tails, pigs' feet, bear, venison, rabbit, chicken, turkey, ham, mutton, lamb, tongue, and beef.

desserts all washed down with champagne, sherry and claret.⁶²
 This meal contrasts strikingly with the New Year's menu at
 the party two years before and is all the more surprising
 considering the distance from supplies.

In contrast to the many beverages served at this banquet,
 is the formation of a Temperance League of 13 original members
 in the same year.⁶³ 1856 also saw some religious development.
 A sewing circle, to help pay for the Presbyterian church
 went into action in December and worked valiantly until about
 1860, and⁶⁴ another Sunday school consisting of three teachers
 and twelve pupils was begun.⁶⁵ On July 6, the first service
 was held in the Episcopal church even though the building was
 not yet completed. Many outsiders attended this service as
 well as parishoners so that the congregation totalled sixty-
 two.⁶⁶

There seems to have been little conflict or jealousy
 between the various churches, and on one occasion a joint
 communion service was held of the O. S. Presbyterian, N. S.
 Presbyterian, Methodist Episcopal and Episcopal churches

⁶² Flower, Eye of the Northwest, p. 95.

⁶³ Barnett, Annals, p. 227.

⁶⁴ Ibid., p. 228.

⁶⁵ Ibid., pp. 220-221, 243; Ritchie, Wisconsin and its

Resources, p. 243.

⁶⁶ "A number of their people who had worshipped with us and
 kindly aided us in our services, went of course, to
 their own church and others were drawn thither by
 curiosity. We had only one lady left to sing, Mrs. J.
 Warren Smith, who although very timid led the singing
 well. Their congregation numbered sixty-two and ours
 twenty-five." Barnett, Annals, p. 226.

least officially, for any of these fires, but, because of showing an almost singular spirit of cooperation for that evidence discovered at the time, it seems certain they were period.⁶⁷

not entirely accidental.

Local elections continued to be held at regular intervals, but the only election of importance in 1856 was the presidential election which was the first one in which the lake boats for the bulk of their supplies, much hardship Superior citizens voted. The result followed other elections was experienced in the spring before navigation was resumed. closely for the Democratic electoral ticket got a majority We have already seen that new salt⁶⁸ were not encouraged of 146 votes out of the 194 polled.

Terms of court were held a little more regularly and because of the dependence on the post for food. As the judges were coming to the head of the lakes from both Hudson quantity available decreased, prices rose so that flour some- and St. Paul although the sessions of court were still rather times sold⁶⁹ for a hundred dollars a barrel. informal.

Conditions during the winter of 1856 were especially One of the important city departments organized in hard because two vessels (one the "Superior") which were 1856 was the fire department. This group of thirty members bringing the winter's supplies were wrecked on their last with Peter Dean as foreman, was organized as the result of trips of the season to Superior. One more boat (the "Lady the burning of Thomas Hayes' house, but fires continued to Elgin") sank that fall, told them of the wrecks and said the occur and arson was suspected. The county jail was destroyed people all the extra provisions they⁷⁰ which, however, was by a fire which had obviously been set⁷⁰ and some one tried not as much as they needed. Some food was brought by ox- to burn the Coddington block the night before, but the flames team from Hudson, but many citizens⁷¹ their families went. were discovered and the fire put out.⁷¹ In December another to other cities to spend the winter. Doughcake with possibly serious fire took place when one of the warehouses on the a few potatoes or a⁷² piece of salt pork made up the diet of Quebec pier burned.⁷² No explanation was ever found, at

⁶⁷ Barnett, Annals, p. 224.

⁶⁸ Ritchie, Wisconsin and its Resources, p. 236.

⁶⁹ Andreas, The History of Northern Wisconsin, p. 271.

⁷⁰ The Chronicle, September 1, 1857. pp. 92-93.

⁷¹ Ibid., August 25, 1857.

⁷² Ibid., December 22, 1857.

least officially, for any of these fires, but, because of evidence discovered at the time, it seems certain they were not entirely accidental. their way through with loads of
 Food for the settlers at the head of the lakes had always presented a great problem. As they were dependent on the lake boats for the bulk of their supplies, much hardship was experienced in the spring before navigation was resumed. We have already seen that new settlers were not encouraged to come to the head of the Lakes while navigation was closed because of the dependence on the boat for food. As the quantity available decreased, prices rose so that flour sometimes sold for a hundred dollars a barrel.⁷³
 Conditions during the winter of 1856 were especially hard because two vessels (one the "Superior") which were bringing the winter's supplies were wrecked on their last trips of the season to Superior. One more boat (the "Lady Elgin") came that fall, told them of the wrecks and sold the people all the extra provisions they had which, however, was not as much as they needed.⁷⁴ Some food was brought by ox-team from Hudson, but many citizens and their families went to other cities to spend the winter. Doughcake with possibly a few potatoes or a piece of salt pork made up the diet of those who remained.⁷⁵

⁷³ The Superior Telegram, September 12, 1916.

⁷⁴ Stewart, Pioneer of Old Superior, pp. 169-170.

⁷⁵ Flower, The Eye of the Northwest, pp. 92-93.

"Sometimes half-breeds would pack flour and pork through from the upper St. Croix, and then teams from Hudson and Stillwater would work their way through with loads of provisions, all of which met with ready sale. There was a general scarcity of flour, pork and like articles, while with many families, butter, eggs and small groceries were wholly unknown. Potatoes, too, were scarce, and the fish which [the] lake so bountifully furnished were used not only for food, but the oil and fryings of the fattest varieties served useful purposes as a substitute for lard."⁷⁶

A Frenchman who brought some flour up from St. Croix, was able to sell all he could spare for fifty cents a pound. Strangely enough, food prices did not increase in the communities near Superior. Two men who went to Grand Portage in a boat were able to buy four barrels of flour (all the boat would hold) for sixteen dollars a barrel⁷⁷ and even the captain of the "Lady Elgin" who was in a position to demand exorbitant prices for his cargo, did not do so. However, the citizens of Superior themselves did not hesitate to make as much profit as they could on the supplies they were fortunate enough to have. The first boat of each season was always greeted with great joy, but in 1857 when the first boat arrived, the happiness of the hungry Superiorites was almost

⁷⁶ Quotation from John C. Wise in Flower, Eye of the Northwest, p. 90.

⁷⁷ McLean, Reminiscences, pp. 7-8.

out of bounds.⁷⁸

This dependence to such a great extent on outside supplies was not entirely necessary by 1856 for if agriculture had been developed as was possible, much of the food for the community could have been raised. Some people did raise a few vegetables, but discussions of land values and the great profits to be made in speculation were much more popular than farming.⁷⁹ The lack of tools to clean the land was, of course, a drawback, but even that disadvantage could have been overcome. Agriculture became increasingly necessary because the amount of game, so plentiful at first, declined rapidly, perhaps because of the slaughter of the animals by early hunters.⁸⁰

The water of the community, though plentiful, was not of the best quality due to the lack of any purifying process. Practically all the population depended on the lake for their drinking water although a few wells were later dug. Visitors frequently commented on the poor water at Superior.⁸¹

⁷⁸ John C. Wise in Flower, Eye of the Northwest, p. 93.

⁷⁹ Flower, Eye of the Northwest, p. 98.

⁸⁰ The Superior Telegram, September 12, 1916.

⁸¹ An article reprinted from the Ontonogon Miner in The Chronicle for August 4, 1857, praises Superior's progress, but deplors their drinking water. In April, 1857, The Chronicle had reprinted a letter from the Pioneer and Democrat signed "Spectator", March 9, 1857, which had the following to say about the water: "The greatest drawback experienced during our sojourn here is the water; of a bad quality, very much the color of cologne or diluted whiskey, and not by any means such as we would like to have as a general thing to imbibe." The Chronicle, April 4, 1857.

Religion and education continued to develop in 1857 with the dedication of two more churches (the N. S. Presbyterian and the Methodist Episcopal),⁸² the organization of the First Baptist Church,⁸³ and the division of the town into two school districts.⁸⁴ There was also a "select school, liberally patronized"⁸⁵ with a total attendance for the three schools of eighty pupils.⁸⁶

The indifference to elections continued through 1857⁸⁷ with the Democrats still being elected consistently although another party had appeared. It was referred to variously as the People's Party and the Republican⁸⁸ and did not become important in Superior until the election of 1860. In national politics The Chronicle also supported Democratic views by advocating adherence to the Dred Scott decision⁸⁹ and opposing negro rights or negro suffrage.⁹⁰

82 Barnett, Annals, pp. 229, 231.

83 The Superior Telegram, December 12, 1917.

84 Flower, Eye of the Northwest, p. 117.

85 The Chronicle, March 31, 1857.

86 Ritchie, Wisconsin and its Resources, p. 243.

87 "The annual spring election in Wisconsin took place on Tuesday last at this place but little interest was manifested as to the result, and a small vote was polled." The Chronicle, April 14, 1857.

88 Idem.

89 The Chronicle, April 14, 1857.

90 Ibid., November 10, 1857.

4 A. J. Wentzel, The Report of the City Comptroller, Superior, Wisconsin, January 1, 1897.

5 "Infusion of New Life", St. Paul Journal of Commerce, March 23, 1899, p. 7.

could not be had for less than from twenty to twenty-five thousand dollars each" by the end of March. The number Conditions at the Head of the Lakes During the Panic and the Civil War forty-four, and price of lots as a basis, the

prices mentioned for shares do not seem entirely unbelievable as lots were selling for prices ranging from a hundred of Superior. Its rapid growth was succeeded by an equally rapid decline. Statistics for the year show the great advancement that was made before the panic. The population of Superior for 1857 was estimated at two thousand;¹ fifty-nine steamboats arrived from the lower lakes as compared with forty in 1856 and twenty-three in 1855; 35,000 barrels of freight, with a value around \$420,000² were transported to Superior and the number of buildings exceeded 800.³ During the month of August, the real estate sales averaged over \$200,000.00 a week. The twenty-seven shares of the land company's stock were worth \$6,000,000.00 and "it is said" that one share sold in Philadelphia for \$160,000 cash,⁴ while Douglas was reported to have sold his share for \$135,000.00.⁵ Sales of quarter shares had been made at sixteen thousand dollars each and the editors of The Chronicle believed "that quarters

¹ The Chronicle, January 19, 1858.
² Ritchie, Wisconsin and its Resources, p. 239.
³ The Chronicle, January 19, 1858. The paper may have
⁴ A. J. Wentzel, The Report of the City Comptroller, Superior, Wisconsin, January 1, 1907.
⁵ "Infusion of New Life", St. Paul Journal of Commerce, March 23, 1889, p. 7

could not be had for less than from twenty to twenty-five thousand dollars each" by the end of March.⁶ The number of lots in a quarter share was about two hundred and forty-four, and taking the price of lots as a basis, the prices mentioned for shares do not seem entirely unbelievable as lots were selling for prices ranging from a hundred dollars to a thousand depending on the location.⁷ Superior now had two drug stores, one book store and two practicing physicians in addition to the buildings and industries already mentioned as existing there in 1856. Buildings were hard to obtain and rent was comparatively high. A store, twenty-five by thirty feet, rented for twenty-five dollars a month. Board was from five to six dollars a week without a room and with a room, six to ten dollars.⁸ The town even had another newspaper, The Superior Republican, a short-lived publication which was issued for a few months toward the end of the year.⁹

⁶ The Chronicle, March 31, 1857.¹⁴ A new survey was made

⁷ The Chronicle for March 31, 1857 records the following real estate sales: a house and lot on third street, \$1,600; 4 lots on second street, \$4,000; 3 lots on ninth street, \$650; 2 lots on sixth street, \$200; 2 lots on west second street, \$2,000; one lot and building on second street, \$2,000, and 9 lots on west ninth street, \$1,800.

⁸ Letter written by R. Washington to Dr. A. W. Holden, March 23, 1857, in Manuscript Room of the library of the Wisconsin Historical Society, Madison, Wisconsin.

⁹ The Chronicle, December 15, 1857. The paper may have been suspended because of the panic or because the Republican following wasn't strong enough to support it.

¹⁴ Ibid., March 24, 1857.

¹⁵ Ibid., June 9, 1857.

¹⁶ Ibid., October 29, 1857.

Improvements continued to be made in buildings, the road failed to prosper; it was unable to meet its piers and warehouses¹⁰ with more projects outlined for debts and in December a notice was published in The Chronicle the following summer. A Mr. Riggs of Washington planned to build a new hotel for which the proprietors had already given him a bonus;¹¹ the St. Croix and Lake Superior railroad was planning to build a dock and a warehouse; and a second dock was to be constructed by the proprietors.¹²

Even the newspaper grew dubious about the chances of In addition, congress had appropriated \$31,425,50 to complete the Military Road, and the St. Croix railroad had cut out a wagon road along the line of the railroad survey¹³ to accomplish this, they should concentrate on the wagon road which was still uncompleted. The Chronicle further however, transportation had not flourished as had been pointed out that the government appropriation of \$31,000 hoped and the expectations of the settlers in regard to would not be sufficient to finish it and the citizens of railroads failed to materialize. There was a temporary revival of interest in the St. Croix route when one of the directors of the La Crosse Railroad Company visited

There were other flaws in the general situation, too, Superior and published his intention of re-surveying the route and starting construction.¹⁴ A new survey was made in June,¹⁵ but there the project stopped, and in October it was reported that the St. Croix and Lake Superior Railroad had gone into the hands of a new board of directors from Brooklyn, New York.¹⁶ In spite of this reorganization,

¹⁰ The Chronicle, July 21, 1857.

¹¹ Ibid., January 19, 1858.

¹² Ritchie, Wisconsin and its Resources, p. 242.

¹³ The Chronicle, March 31, 1857.

¹⁴ Ibid., March 24, 1857.

¹⁵ Ibid., June 9, 1857.

¹⁶ Ibid., October 20, 1857.

the road failed to prosper; it was unable to meet its debts and in December a notice was published in The Chronicle that the food and equipment which had been shipped to Superior by the company would be auctioned off by the sheriff to satisfy the claims of creditors to the relatively small amount of \$2,037.10.¹⁷ Even the newspaper grew dubious about the chances of getting a railroad to the head of the lakes and suggested that, as it probably would take at least three more years to accomplish this, they should concentrate on the wagon road which was still uncompleted. The Chronicle further pointed out that the government appropriation of \$31,000 would not be sufficient to finish it and the citizens of Superior and St. Paul should, therefore, take up a collection for this purpose.¹⁸ There were other flaws in the general situation, too, and for, though lots were bought and sold at high prices, only a small part of them had been cleared.¹⁹ However, this did not seriously detract from the expectations of the settlers. "Money and men were coming in from the large cities, and financial matters of every kind were prosperous and the people hopeful."²⁰

¹⁷ The Chronicle, December 29, 1857.

¹⁸ Ibid., July 28, 1857.

¹⁹ Ibid., April 14, 1857.

²⁰ Flower, The Eye of the Northwest, p. 96.

²¹ Wentzel, Report of the city controller, p. 30.

watchword of the day; speculation increased; and, using the progress of the past three years as a guide, Superior's future appeared unlimited. The panic of 1857 put a decided check upon the hope of establishing a metropolis at the head of the lakes for some time. There was the very abrupt curtailment of all development consequent on the grasping of the fact that there was little use building a city to be the seaport of an empire until that empire had some other sort of inhabitant than Sicux and Chippewas. The pioneers had the key to the commerce, but they were slightly in advance of the commerce."²¹

Superior was hard hit by the depression. Stores were closed, and industries abandoned their optimistic plans for expansion.²² Even discounting the panic, the city did not come up to the proprietors' descriptions and with the additional changes brought by the depression, the city presented a gloomy appearance. New settlers were very disappointed at the unexpected dearth of business. One of these, George Sherman, wrote to a friend called Benj (no surname given) on December 11, 1857, showing he felt he had

²¹ A Souvenir of Superior Containing a General Review and a Compilation of the Resources, Terminal Advantages, Local Industries, and the Climate of the "City of Destiny" and the Country Tributary to it, published by the Superior Evening Telegram, West Superior, Wisconsin, 1891, p. 13.

²² Wentzel, Report of the city comptroller, p. 20.

been misled by accounts of conditions in Superior. Sherman had evidently sold off his land in the east²³ to establish himself in Superior having been encouraged by reports from "John" (no surname) who was already in Superior and who appeared very shamefaced because conditions were not as he had pictured them. Sherman and his family had a difficult passage on Lake Superior and were bitterly disappointed in the town itself. Indeed, Mrs. Sherman wanted to leave at once. Sherman says there were only one thousand inhabitants instead of the two thousand boasted and that there was no business, at least no paying business for a doctor.²⁴ (This last remark may refer to either his or Benj's profession.)

winter Hiram Hayes, one of the most prolific letter writers of the early settlers wrote to his brother in Boston saying that times were "awful" in Superior, and that the most important consideration was how to weather the winter.²⁵

Real estate transactions decreased greatly in quantity but the prices of individual lots remained about the same

²³ He doesn't state specifically from what town he came, but there are references to East Boston so he may have come from there.

²⁴ This letter is in the Manuscript Room in the Library of the Wisconsin Historical Association, Madison, Wisconsin.

²⁵ Hiram Hayes, Diaries, Letters, Addresses picturing life in Superior, 1865-1880, copied from original manuscripts in Frank Hayes' possession by W.P.A. project 13264, typewritten copy in the Superior Public Library, Superior, Wisconsin, letter to Rev. Stephen H. Hayes, October 24, 1857, p. 185.

giving weight to the theory that the high prices demanded for land in Superior even during depressions, caused later investors to go to other sections of the state, or over into Minnesota.²⁷ Actually, the land had little value as many people soon realized. "The property of the town site company which had sold at the rate of \$164,000 per share, cash, became worthless and went for taxes, or was lost, hypothecated, given away--scattered literally to the four winds."²⁸ Mortgage notices, summonses for debt trials, and notices of lands to be sold for taxes appeared in The Chronicle in increasing numbers.²⁹ Even The Chronicle was forced to face reality and published notices through the winter of 1857-8 that "due to the tightness of the times and the difficulty in making collections, "cash had to be paid for work done."³⁰ Toward the end of 1857 the Board of Supervisors began issuing county orders to pay the county debts. Some merchants gave only fifty and sixty cents on the dollar for them and continued to show their lack of faith in the region in spite of criticism from the newspaper editors.³¹ In January, 1858, the county debt was \$12,000 and the Supervisors had

²⁷ The Chronicle, January 19, 1858.

²⁸ Souvenir of Superior, p. 132.

²⁹ These began to appear in the issues during the fall of 1857.

³⁰ The Chronicle, November 17, 1857 through February 2, 1858.

³¹ Ibid., December 8, 1857.

³⁴ Annals of Superior, p. 10.

³⁵ Barnett, Annals, p. 227.

money collected, a public appeal was made in The Chronicle.³² levied a tax of 12 mills to the dollar on taxable property. The following year the Presbyterian minister went east and in the county to meet this debt with an additional 7 mills was able to get over eight hundred dollars for the church for roads, 1/2 mill for schools and 2 mills for the state tax.³³ However, in spite of the difficulties of maintaining the churches, resident ministers remained in all pieces of forfeited school land were advertised for non-payment of interest in August of 1858 and from then on, such notices appeared in almost every issue of the paper.³³ In the fall of 1858 the tax rate was increased to 25 mills for county purposes, 2 mills for school and 2 1/2 mills for the state tax with a total of \$12,354.15 in taxes to be raised.³⁴

The churches, along with every other phase of the town's life, were seriously affected by the panic. The O. S. Presbyterian church had been partly completed in 1857, but the room for a prayer meeting and Sunday School which had been promised by a railway contractor was not built because

"... the collapse of the railroad took him away before his promise was fulfilled and no further work was done on the building."³⁵ Pledges to build one of the churches (not named) had over subscribed the amount necessary for construction, but these pledges were not met promptly and the trustees were being sued. In an attempt to get some of this

³² The Chronicle, January 19, 1858.

³³ Ibid., August 31, 1858. However, these conditions must have been prevalent all over the state, for in 1862

³⁴ a state law was passed stating the any lands sold in 1859 for unpaid taxes levied in 1858 could be re-deemed up to December 1, 1862. Ibid., June 14, 1862.

³⁴ Ritchie, The City of Superior, p. 10.

³⁵ Barnett, Annals, p. 227.

money collected, a public appeal was made in The Chronicle.³⁶ The following year the Presbyterian minister went East and was able to get over eight hundred dollars for the church in Superior.³⁷ However, in spite of the difficulties of maintaining the churches, resident ministers remained in all of them until at least 1859.³⁸

The decrease in all lines of business brought unemployment with the consequent problem of caring for those who could not support themselves. Relief measures were instituted to care for the poor in the form of an embryonic Works Progress Administration. About three hundred dollars was subscribed in the spring of 1858, a portion of which was to be used in giving employment to those who were able to work. These people were to earn their money by making improvements on the Quebec Pier which was in need of repairs.³⁹

Although the settlers realized almost immediately what the effects of the panic would be as far as the growth of the city was concerned, the impetus given it in 1857 carried over for a little while. Many of the "better" people remained in the community over the winter and the social season went on as usual. "The anniversary of the battle of New Orleans was celebrated" . . . by a cotillion party at the Superior

³⁶ The Chronicle, January 12, 1858

³⁷ Barnett, Annals, p. 237.

³⁸ Information for Emigrants, p. 25. Mr. Barnett, the Presbyterian minister left on November 2, 1861 because times were so bad. Barnett, Annals, p. 237.

³⁹ The Chronicle, February 23, 1858.

House",⁴⁰ several horse races and dog races were held,⁴¹ and a series of concerts was given by Hayward's Ethiopian Minstrels.⁴² Even during the ensuing years of depression culture did not entirely disappear for by 1860 Superior had three libraries with a total number of six hundred books available.⁴³

A few leading spirits also took up the organization of a city charter which had been started shortly before the panic.⁴⁴ This charter was copied from the charter granted to the city of Hudson and provided for three wards and the following officials: a mayor, three aldermen from each ward, a treasurer, a marshall, three justices of the peace and three constables.⁴⁵

Although in the first three years of settlement, the Democrats had held almost undisputed control of the government in Superior with the only important contests occurring between rival factions of the same party, the years of depression show a great deal of vacillation with the elections being exceptionally close in local matters. Two parties appeared in the first election held after the charter was

⁴⁰ The Chronicle, January 12, 1858.

⁴¹ Ibid., January 5, 1858; February 16, 1858.

⁴² Ibid., March 2, 1858.

⁴³ One of these was a private library, one was connected to the Episcopal Sunday School and the third to the Union Sunday School. Manuscript Reports of the County Census for Douglas County, 1860, Schedule 6.

⁴⁴ The Chronicle, September 15, 1857; September 22, 1857; Flower, The Eye of the Northwest, p. 86.

⁴⁵ The Chronicle, January 12, 1858; January 19, 1858; April 13, 1858; June 22, 1858.

the little settlement survive.⁴⁵ The publicity campaign obtained. One of these was called the "Citizens Ticket", the other, the "Independent Ticket"; the candidates for each party were nominated in open meetings which were very informal in their procedure. In the election itself, neither party seems to have voted a straight ticket and men were elected from both groups.⁴⁶ The "Democratic" and "People's Party" designations were not used in this election, but they reappear in the county election in the fall in which the Democrats again triumphed and filled all the offices with their men to the great satisfaction of the newspaper.⁴⁷

Although four years of agitation had failed to secure a railroad to Superior, some of the hardier spirits continued to be optimistic. Members of the community held enthusiastic meetings in February and March, and adopted resolutions to be sent to congress stating that the Pacific railroad should be aided by congress and urging that the northern route, through Superior, be given consideration because it would be the shortest and most practicable.⁴⁸ The settlers lacked the support of the proprietors in this action because following the panic, the proprietors seem to have practically dismissed Superior from their minds and did nothing to help

⁴⁶ The Chronicle, April 6, 1858; April 13, 1858.

⁴⁷ Ibid., November 9, 1858.

⁴⁸ Ibid., March 12, 1858. published a twenty-six page pamphlet entitled Information for Emigrants, The City of Superior and the Lake Superior Region; in the same year James S. Ritchie wrote Wisconsin and its Resources; with Lake Superior, its Commerce and Navigation; and the following year he wrote The City of Superior.

⁵¹ Information for Emigrants, p. 3.

the little settlement survive.⁴⁹ The publicity campaign dwindled, but the local residents managed to do a little to advertise their town and encourage settlers to come to the head of the lakes. Pamphlets were published and distributed free of charge, stressing the growth that had taken place before the fall of 1857 and though admitting that the general depression had affected Superior, skipping lightly over the sad details.⁵⁰ Cheap land and the bright railroad prospects were the facts particularly emphasized. President Buchanan had signed a proclamation which would bring about one and a half million acres of land near Superior into the market in May, 1859, and people evidently did not even have to claim the land in person to secure title to it for in the inside cover of The City of Superior the following notice appeared: "Persons desiring to locate, and unable to attend the land sale in person, can procure the location of warrants through correspondence at Superior." The minimum price was \$1.25 an acre with lands within six miles of the railroad selling at \$2.50 an acre. However, with land warrants at the current value, a good farm could be secured for about a dollar an acre.⁵¹

⁴⁹ The fact that they had already made money by their speculation, the "impending crisis", and Douglas' presidential aspirations probably account for their lack of interest.

⁵⁰ In 1858, the Chronicle published a twenty-six page pamphlet entitled Information for Emigrants, The City of Superior and the Lake Superior Region; in the same year James S. Ritchie wrote Wisconsin and its Resources; with Lake Superior, its Commerce and Navigation; and the following year he wrote The City of Superior.

⁵¹ Information for Emigrants, p. 9.

Ritchie in Wisconsin and its Resources also mentioned the Chicago, St. Paul and Fond du Lac Company, the Milwaukee and Horicon railroad and the Milwaukee and Superior Railroad Company as being interested in building lines to Superior and treated the matter with an air of assurance that was almost convincing.⁵² But at the same time, the only railroad that had been at all apt to reach the head of the lakes was not fulfilling its obligations and the commissioner of the General Land Office gave notice that unless the railroad survey was made and construction started, the land that had been granted to the railroad would be open for public sale.⁵³ This notice evidently referred to the rehabilitated St. Croix and Lake Superior railroad which, Phoenix-like, seemed about to revive. The contractors for the St. Croix road, however, refused to start construction in the spring of 1858 because the La Crosse and Milwaukee Railroad Company had been denied their land grant by Governor Randall who said they had not complied with the terms of the act by which they were to receive the grant. However, the route of the St. Croix and Lake Superior railroad was approved in September, 1858, after it had been surveyed; a contract was let to a Mr. M. S. Noyes and supplies, groceries and stores were again sent to the head of the lakes.⁵⁴ On January 1, 1859 the contractors

⁵² Ritchie, Wisconsin and its Resources, p. 231.

⁵³ The Chronicle, March 16, 1858.

⁵⁴ Ritchie, City of Superior, p. 15.

had about one-hundred men at work on the road and over a mile was graded through the bluffs at Hudson at a depth of thirty to fifty feet; about the first of January they reached the prairie which needed little grading so the citizens of Superior expected a great deal to be accomplished in 1859. As the contractor was to receive all of the land grant, the road could be built very inexpensively as far as the construction company was concerned.

Of the other railroads mentioned, the Superior and State Line Railroad seemed the most likely to materialize. This company was chartered by the Wisconsin legislature in January, 1859 and shortly afterwards had arranged for depot grounds which were to be located near the mouth of the Nemadji River. Again the enthusiasm and hopes of the settlers and prospective settlers had been aroused prematurely for neither of these railroads, nor any of the others, built lines to the head of the lakes.

Agitation was carried on not only for railroads but for all means of transportation. One of the few things the proprietors did after 1857 was to appropriate \$25,000.00 to open a stage to Crow Wing on the Mississippi in order to get the trade of the Red River of the north and the Hudson Bay region for Superior,⁵⁵ and by 1859 new roads were being

⁵⁵ Ritchie, The City of Superior, p. 16.

planned by various companies, some of which were built. The Superior and State Line Plank Road Company was chartered for the purpose of making a plank road running out Nettleton Avenue on the United States Military road to the state line. This Military Road, incidentally, was still unfinished.⁵⁶

The first stages over the Superior, Mille Lac and Crow Wing Road, which was, according to the advertisement, in The City of Superior, the road to Pembina and the Pacific Ocean,⁵⁷ left Superior on July 1, 1859. In the same pamphlet Carlisle Doble announced that "a comfortable stage" would leave St. Paul on every Monday, Wednesday and Friday morning at six o'clock for Superior, and leave Superior on Monday, Wednesday and Friday morning at the same hour for St. Paul. The fare was ten dollars, meals could be obtained at "first class hotels" along the road and each passenger was allowed 40 pounds of baggage.⁵⁸

House Steamers running from Cleveland to Superior were also advertised in the City of Superior.⁵⁹ The trip from Cleveland to Superior took four days one way or eight days for the round trip with boats leaving for Superior every eleven or twelve days from the last of April to the first of

⁵⁶ Ritchie, The City of Superior, p. 32. made trips from
⁵⁷ Idem. from April 27 to October 29; the Iron City, J. E. Turner,
⁵⁸ Idem. master, from April 21 to October 26; and the Northern
⁵⁹ Ibid., p. 31. Spaulding, master, from April 19 to November 2; the dates for the schedule of the Illinois, Capt. Brazley, master, were not given.

⁶¹ Ritchie, The City of Superior, p. 32.
⁶² The Chronicle, July 23, 1850.

but, according to The Chronicle, there was no stage running
November. Cabin fare was nineteen dollars and steerage
ten.⁶⁰

Neighboring communities had been embarking on publicity
drives of their own at the expense of Superior and travellers
were warned about the false publicity they were apt to en-
counter. Civic pride is apparent in every sentence in
Ritchie's advice to visitors. "The travelling public are
cautioned against the misrepresentations of runners and
agents on some of the steamboats and at Marquette, Ontonogan
and other lake ports. Last season, many travelers were dis-
suaded from visiting Superior and stopped at some of the
mining towns, where, after one has seen the mines and walked
through the sand, he has seen everything. There is nothing
to do. Superior and Bayfield are the only watering places
on Lake Superior worth visiting. There are numerous yacht-
ing, trout fishing and other excursions, etc. The Superior
House is one of the best hotels in the Northwest."⁶¹ A
similar point was made in The Chronicle,⁶² in which an
editorial was published stating that some steamship lines
had been discouraging traffic to Superior by advising
passengers to get off at Bayfield and go to St. Paul by wagon.

⁶⁰ The North Star, B. G. Sweet, Master, made trips from
April 27 to October 29; the Iron City, J. E. Turner,
master, from April 21 to October 26; and the Northern
Star, John Spaulding, master, from April 19 to Novem-
ber 2; the dates for the schedule of the Illinois,
Capt. Frazier, master, were not given.

⁶¹ Ritchie, The City of Superior, p. 32.

⁶² The Chronicle, July 28, 1860.

⁶³ Beatwand, Recollections of Old Superior, pp. 32-33.

But, according to The Chronicle, there was no stage running that route and no houses except those belonging to the Indian agency. Those people who wished to visit Superior were advised to take the North Star which was the only ship coming the whole distance to Superior.⁶³ The steamer Cleveland had advertised that it would go to Superior and many individuals took passage on it only to discover that the vessel did not go to Superior. When they asked the captain to land so they could take the North Star to Superior, he laughed and "informed them that Superior was a bubble which had long since burst, and in fact that there was no one there, the town being deserted."⁶⁴ The Chronicle was righteously indignant over such treatment and it does seem that the captain's opinion was a little unjustified for there were several hundred people in Superior even though the prophecies made in the first years of settlement had not been fulfilled.

However, by the end of 1859, deterioration was apparent even to the most sanguine. Laborers were discharged from the various businesses at the head of the lakes,⁶⁵ the population decreased until there were only 534 people left in 1860⁶⁶ and those remaining existed only by practicing rigid economy.⁶⁷ One of the most noticeable things in the

⁶³ This ship must have been the only one coming directly from Chicago as schedules for a number of boats were still in effect in 1859.

⁶⁴ Idem.

⁶⁵ Quotation from The Philadelphia Enquirer, November 28, 1857 telling of a visit of Mr. James S. Ritchie, reprinted in The Chronicle, January 5, 1858.

⁶⁶ U. S. Census, 1860, p. 535.

⁶⁷ Bentwand, Recollections of Old Superior, pp. 32-33.

city was the great number of empty buildings.⁶⁸ Out of the 504 houses, 271 were unoccupied by 1860.⁶⁹ "Fences rotted down, chimneys toppled over, houses rocked this way and that, windows were broken out or taken from unoccupied houses and placed in those that were inhabited, farms were abandoned except in two or three instances, and even the gardens in and around the village were allowed to grow up to weeds."⁷⁰ Business likewise deteriorated although the picture drawn by one of the pioneers is undoubtedly extreme. He says, "Nothing was sold for practically two years. A man knew that if he had a piece of bacon or a barrel of flour that it was good, but if he accepted money for it he did not know but what it was a total loss and for that reason business was practically as good as wiped out."⁷¹ By 1860 the expense for relief was five hundred dollars a year,⁷² and in 1862 the tax for poor relief had tripled, being \$1,500.⁷³

Though we see that the city could not be said to be getting back on its feet very quickly, a few industries did continue. There was still some fur trading, for example,⁷⁴ and a little lumbering, fishing⁷⁵ and agriculture. Two

- ⁶⁸ Bertrand, Recollections of Old Superior, p. 26.
⁶⁹ Manuscript Census Report for Douglas County, 1860.
⁷⁰ Flower, The Eye of the Northwest, p. 100.
⁷¹ George M. Smith, interview in The Superior Sun, May 25, 1906.
⁷² Manuscript Reports of the Douglas County Census, 1860, Schedule 6.
⁷³ The Chronicle, April 5, 1862.
⁷⁴ Ritchie, The City of Superior, p. 17.
⁷⁵ Bertrand, Recollections of Old Superior, p. 47.

breweries were established, but one moved to Duluth and the second one was discontinued in the late seventies.⁷⁶ No other industries of any importance appeared for many years. The chief concern of the inhabitants was how to dispose of their property at a profit in order to leave the city, or, failing that, how to live from one season to the next.

In 1860 there seemed to be a possibility that something might turn up to brighten the city's outlook,⁷⁷ but in 1861 Hiram Hayes, who was then in Washington, D. C., was writing to his brother in Boston, "My plans are to go West in the spring, but not to Superior; that town is used up beyond present resurrection."⁷⁸ Hayes had earlier tried to interest Senators Bright, Hunter and Breckenridge, Mr. Corcoran and some of the other original proprietors to organize in a railroad company to build a railroad to Superior, but he had no success.⁷⁹

Local politics remained Democratic in 1860, but a change occurred in the presidential election of that year. In April, 1860 all the Democratic candidates were elected to the town offices,⁸⁰ but in the county election in November the Republicans captured some positions and the votes for

⁷⁶ Bardon, Early Days in Superior, p. 232.
⁷⁷ Hayes, Diaries, Letters, Addresses, letter to Rev. Hayes, sometime in 1860 (no date), p. 197.
⁷⁸ Ibid., December 23, 1861, p. 231.
⁷⁹ Ibid., Letter to Rev. Stephen Hayes, October 20, 1860, p. 196.
⁸⁰ The Chronicle, April 7, 1860.

to capture eight of the thirteen offices although the presidential elector stood 70 for Lincoln, 66 for Douglas, 15 for Breckenridge and 2 for Bell.⁸¹ The Chronicle explained this election by saying some Democrats had sold out their party, but the question of slavery may have caused the switch. Another matter of local interest was said to have strengthened the Republicans. That was the fact that the Indian agency and the Land Office had been removed from Superior by the Democratic administration so the Republican gains may have been due only to anti-Democratic votes.

The slavery controversy and the Civil War actually had little effect on the town. Hardly anything relative to the war appeared in the weekly paper and nothing at all in the way of editorial comment or local opinion. When war was declared, the population decreased slightly as some of the young men left for the South to enlist in the confederate armies while others joined northern regiments.⁸² The residents of Douglas County offered to raise a company of soldiers, but Governor Harvey wrote informing them that it would be better for them to stay at home to protect their families in case the Indian attacks in Minnesota spread to Wisconsin.⁸³

The Republican cause gained during the first years of the war and in the election of 1862 the Republicans were able

⁸¹ The Chronicle, November 10, 1860.

⁸² Some of the latter walked to St. Paul and joined Minnesota regiments. The Superior Sun, May 25, 1906.

⁸³ Flower, The Eye of the Northwest, p. 99.

to capture eight of the thirteen offices although the election was very close with most of the totals differing by only from one to five votes.⁸⁴

In the fall of 1862 the clouds again broke momentarily because a Minnesota railroad secured land grants, the copper mines were promising, and lumber was in great demand. The spurt was only temporary and all three activities gradually slowed down and stopped, leaving the city in 1863, a little worse off than it had been before.⁸⁵

Though The Chronicle was still being published, its optimism diminished. The paper had been operated by Mr. Ashton alone since 1858⁸⁶ and had been somewhat reduced in size. After 1863 it was known as The Gazette and continued publication until 1870.

One thing that considerably detracted from the importance of the Civil War was the fear of attack by the Indians mentioned by Governor Harvey. Accounts of raids by the Sioux in Minnesota had been frightening the Superiorites for years. Newspaper reports of Indian massacres and attacks on travelers going to St. Paul aroused great alarm.⁸⁸ The Wisconsin settlers feared that the Chippewa Indians, hitherto

⁸⁴ The Chronicle, April 5, 1862.

⁸⁵ Letter written by H. M. Peyton to Hiram Hayes, dated June 16, 1863, Hayes, Diaries, Letters, Addresses, p. 289.

⁸⁶ Mr. Wise sold out to his partner in 1858.

⁸⁷ The Superior Times, July 18, 1903.

⁸⁸ The Chronicle, September 21, 1858.

⁸⁹ The Superior Telegram, November 10, 1911.

Pickets were stationed around the town and friendly, would be incited by the Sioux and rise against Superior which was the only large settlement in the region. During the Civil War the situation became acute for it was popularly believed⁸⁹ that the British in Canada were encouraging the Indians to fight against the United States during the Civil War as many of the English supported the southern cause. Guns, powder and promises of help were said to have been given to the Sauntees or Mississippi Sioux by the English, and a plan was said to have been formed to attack the whites along the Missouri River as far south as Sioux City. Little Crow, chief of the Sauntees, tried to get Chief Hole-in-the-Day of Superior to cooperate in the attack, but he refused.

Fear was particularly strong in 1862 because of the New Ulm massacre. The "Douglas County Home Guards" were formed under the state militia law and a stockade was built.⁹⁰ The stockade was built on Second Street close to the lake shore inclosing between two and three acres of land.⁹¹ Holes or trenches were dug in the ground and timbers were set in which reached ten or twelve feet above the

⁸⁹ The Chronicle, December 20, 1862, reprinted from The St. Paul Pioneer, December 11.

⁹⁰ The officers of the local militia were Washington Ashton, captain; Daniel Waterman, 1st lieutenant; August Zachau, 2nd lieutenant; Robert McLean, corporal; Vincent Cournagen, sergeant. Flower, The Eye of the Northwest, p. 99.

⁹¹ The Superior Telegram, November 10, 1911.

ground.⁹² Pickets were stationed around the town⁹³ and according to those who were in Superior, "The man who attempted to shoot one of these muskets was in far greater danger than any one who might be shot at." Evidently the committee of safety on August 31, 1862⁹⁴ had the following provisions: first, all men between the ages of 18 and 60 were to take turns at guard duty from 9 P.M. to 5 A.M. or provide a substitute; second, all families are required to sleep between St. John's and Thompson Avenues and 4th Street to the bay; third, there was to be no sale of ammunition to Indians or the store would be closed; fourth, those selling or giving liquor to Indians would be arrested and their property taken.

A company of the 8th Wisconsin Volunteers which had been captured at Shiloh had been paroled and these men, as they no longer could take part in the Civil War, were sent to Superior to fight the Indians if they started attacking. They were stationed in Superior for almost a year and then, in the summer of 1863, were sent to the front and their places taken by Company G of the 30th Wisconsin, which remained in Superior several months.⁹⁵ The soldiers from Madison brought extra muskets with them which were exceedingly dangerous to handle because they kicked back so that,

⁹² McLean, interview in the Superior Telegram, March 13, 1920.
⁹³ The Superior Telegram, July 23, 1910.
⁹⁴ The Early History of Superior, Pattison Junior High School, (no page).
⁹⁵ The Superior Telegram, November 10, 1911.

according to those who were in Superior, "The man who attempted to shoot one of these muskets was in far greater danger than any one who might be shot at."⁹⁶ Evidently the danger from the Indians was not grave enough to make constant vigilance necessary for the soldiers formed a literary and debating society which held weekly meetings in the First Methodist Church.⁹⁷

The danger of attack disappeared when H. M. Rice sent Vincent Roy to interview Chief Osaga of the Chippewas. Conferences were held at La Pointe on Madeline Island and the Chippewas agreed to be friendly, but warned the white men against the Sioux of Minnesota.⁹⁸ The Chronicle⁹⁹ summed up the whole situation in a tolerant and unprejudiced manner by saying that if the treaties had been upheld and honest men put into the positions in the Indian Office, all would have been well, but the Indian bureau was used for the purpose of rewarding certain politicians. Certainly the Indians should be punished for any outbreaks, but the dishonest and inefficient Indian bureau officials should be discharged. The article concludes with a naive expression of racial discrimination: "not only is justice required of us in our

⁹⁶ McLean, interview in The Superior Telegram, Mar. 13, 1920.

⁹⁷ Ibid., November 10, 1911.

⁹⁸ Ibid., March 13, 1920.

⁹⁹ The Chronicle, December 20, 1862.

¹⁰⁴ Clara C. Lenroot, Long, Long Ago, Superior, Wisconsin, 1929, p. 14.

¹⁰⁵ The Superior Gazette, November 9, 1864.

dealings with each other, but even with the heathen who may be round about us and in our midst."¹⁰⁰

In spite of all the publicity given the blood-thirsty Sioux and Chippewas, no attack was ever made on Superior and, after general fear had subsided, the stockade was torn down by the citizens of the east end and used for firewood.¹⁰¹ The only casualty of the whole affair was the death of Godfrey Schaar, a white man, who was shot by one of the guards when he failed to obey the command to halt.¹⁰²

Going back to the Civil War, we find that the country had voted a tax to be used as bounties for volunteers and to care for the families of those who volunteered or were drafted,¹⁰³ while the women had organized a Soldiers Aid Society and met in the churches to sew and "scrape lint" for the soldiers.¹⁰⁴ There was doubtless much local debating about the war and its probable outcome, but no expressions of opinion were printed. The conduct of the war had an effect on politics in the county for in 1864 the county gave McClellan 67 votes to Lincoln's 37 as well as electing a majority of Democrats to the county offices,¹⁰⁵ and there was general rejoicing the next spring when Lee's surrender

¹⁰⁰ The Chronicle, December 20, 1862.

¹⁰¹ The Superior Telegram, December 26, 1929.

¹⁰² Bertrand, Recollections of Old Superior, p. 57.

¹⁰³ Report of the Secretary of State, 1863, p. 97. The Superior Gazette, March 5, 1864; January 14, 1865.

¹⁰⁴ Clara C. Lenroot, Long, Long Ago, Superior, Wisconsin, 1929, p. 14.

¹⁰⁵ The Superior Gazette, November 5, 1864.

was known and they realized the war was over.¹⁰⁶

During the war period taxes had increased greatly due to the effects of the continued depression and in 1864 the non-resident taxpayers of whom there was a large number, began complaining about the high tax rate. A circular letter was sent out from St. Paul asking all the non-resident taxpayers to work together in getting the rates lowered. The chief complaints were that the county board was paying unnecessarily high prices for legitimate expenses such as roads, bridges, repairs and the regular board expenses; and that the chairman of the county board had discouraged bids on the repairing of the pier and had given the contract to his own partner. The town levy came in for criticism also. The major item of expense in the town taxes was poor relief. \$4,000 out of a total of \$7,950.00 was to go for this purpose; with roads getting \$500, schools \$800, the state \$1,150 and the miscellaneous fund, \$1,500.¹⁰⁷ The administration of the poor fund was criticized on the grounds that those receiving aid were living better than the taxpayers. Comments were made on the extremely high prices of the goods bought for the poor, the inference being that prices were raised in the report to conceal misappropriation of funds, the best quality

¹⁰⁶ James Ritchie was said to have rung the bell in the Methodist church so vigorously that the bell was cracked. The Superior Telegram, May 22, 1926.

¹⁰⁷ The Superior Gazette, April 30, 1864.

of merchandise was purchased when it may not have been necessary, or local merchants made higher profits than ordinarily by increasing the prices on goods bought for the poor.¹⁰⁸ In January the editors of the Gazette replied to the charges saying that the bounty was the explanation of the high taxes. The editorial concluded grandiloquently with the sentence, "These are war times, gentlemen! and every one must expect to share in paying the bill."¹⁰⁹

Another point of dispute was raised by an unidentified non-resident who wrote to The Gazette saying he had always paid his taxes in Superior promptly and now he learned that those who were in arrears were having their taxes commuted by as much as twenty-five cents on the dollar. He protested that this was unfair and said he would not pay the next tax assessment until someone in Superior wrote to him

¹⁰⁸ The following prices were itemized in the complaint: butter, 80 cents a pound; tea, \$4.80 a pound; white sugar, 90 cents a pound; tobacco, \$1.20 a pound; candles, \$1.00 a pound; syrup, \$4.00 a gallon; and flour \$36.00 a barrel. These prices may have been due to the difficulty of getting supplies and, in any event, they were lower, at least in the case of flour, than they had been in the early spring a few years before.

¹⁰⁹ The Superior Gazette, April 30, 1864, reprinted the circular letter which was dated February 15, 1864 at St. Paul and signed by P. P. Wintermute, Geo. L. Becker, J. W. Lynde, R. R. Nelson, and Jas. Stinson. Stinson had been among the earliest settlers at the head of the lakes.

¹⁰⁹ The Gazette, January 14, 1865. The Mississippi Valley Historical Review, number, 1918, vol. V., pp. 130-132.

telling him what adjustment the board proposed to make. Here again, no information is available as to the solution of the problem,¹¹⁰ but the incident shows that the officials were having a difficult time collecting the taxes which they levied. Superior was in debt \$6,661.62 in 1864 and the editors of The Gazette protested against the continual overdrafts of the town officials which had led to the deficit.¹¹¹

While all this trouble over taxation was going on in Superior, the question of a railroad to the head of the lakes came up in Congress. A bill was brought up in the Senate concerning a grant of land to be made to the Lake Superior and Mississippi Railroad Company to make a railroad from St. Paul to Duluth. The bill was naturally opposed by James R. Doolittle, the senior senator from Wisconsin, on the grounds that a grant had been made for a railroad from Hudson to Superior, that the company had made the surveys and only stopped work because of the panic of 1857 and then the war, and therefore, another grant was unnecessary. The Minnesota senators said that this company only pretended to work to keep the trade for the Chicago and Milwaukee roads which controlled it.¹¹²

¹¹⁰ The Superior Gazette, June 11, 1864.

¹¹¹ Ibid., April 9, 1864.

¹¹² Lester B. Shippee, "The First Railroad between the Mississippi and Lake Superior", The Mississippi Valley Historical Review, September, 1918, Vol. V., pp. 130-132.

Mr. Doolittle replied that work had been started again on the railroad from Hudson so that forty miles would be completed in a year.¹¹³ Ramsey of Minnesota said nothing further had been heard of the railroad from Hudson until Minnesota started agitation for a railroad. St. Paul had already voted \$250,000 to assist the road and the state had made grants of swamp lands. Doolittle wanted the bill sent back to the committee, but Harlan, of Iowa, the chairman of the committee on public lands, said that the committee had already considered the bill carefully. The question of the grant to the Minnesota railroad was brought up again four days later when Senator Howe of Wisconsin introduced the question of whether there really was such a company as the Lake Superior and Mississippi Railroad Company to which a charter had been given by Minnesota.¹¹⁴ However, this point, which seemed to be mere quibbling, was settled to the satisfaction of the rest of the Senate, if not to that of the Wisconsin Senators.

On April 20, 1864, ex-Senator Rice of Minnesota wrote a letter from New York to William R. Murray, who was in Washington lobbying for the St. Paul Railroad, in which he discussed the railroad debate and advised Murray as to his

¹¹³ 38th Congress, 1st Session, March 3, 1864, p. 924.

¹¹⁴ 38th Congress, 1st Session, March 7, pp. 961-969.

next move. By this time, Rice, in spite of his having been in the original syndicate to develop Superior, was much more interested in developing Minnesota land than Wisconsin. Rice said he had talked to Col. Berthaud, the president of the St. Croix and Lake Superior road and with the Hon. E. March Prest of the Morris Canal and Banking Company, Jersey City, one of the trustees and largest stockholders and discovered that these gentlemen were not opposed to the railroad from St. Paul but were just anxious to get additional grants for their own company. Murray evidently followed up this hint for when the grants were finally made to the Lake Superior and Mississippi Railroad Company by the act of May 5, 1864, ten sections per mile were given the St. Croix road so the grants would be equal.¹¹⁵ In spite of these extra grants the company remained inactive to the great disgust of the Superiorites many of whom not only openly favored the Minnesota line, but even brought up a suggestion that had been made before to the effect that the northern part of Wisconsin, at least Superior, should be annexed to Minnesota.¹¹⁶

¹¹⁵ John Bardon, Paper read before the Northern Wisconsin Press Association, The Superior Times, July 18, 1903.

¹¹⁶ Letter written by James S. Ritchie from Superior, dated March 21, 1864 to Ignatius Donnelly, the representative from the second district of Minnesota, quoted in Shippee, "The First Railroad Between the Mississippi and Lake Superior," The Mississippi Valley Historical Review, 1918, Vol. V., p. 135; The Chronicle for July 6, 1858 had a notice of a meeting to be held August 25, at Ontonagan, to discuss the formation of a state to include the upper peninsula of Michigan, the northern part of Wisconsin and the lake counties of Minnesota. A Senate bill introduced by Ramsey to annex Douglas Co. to Minn. was opposed by the Legislature. Superior Gazette, Jan. 14, 1865.

Chapter IV.

A Period of Stagnation

The years from the end of the Civil War until 1882 showed no signs of revival for Superior. The town did not disappear entirely and spasmodic efforts were made to bring a return of interest in Superior, but again the attempts failed as they had in the early sixties. When Col. Hiram Hayes came back from the Civil War he felt there wasn't much change from the site that Radisson and Grosseillers saw. The handful of people who were left were living chiefly on potatoes and fish.

The one big event in this period brings the familiar Superior even though Superior was not the terminus by giving the city an outlet for goods. Encouraged by the possibility of a railroad, charters were obtained in 1866 for Lake Superior and Mississippi Railroad Company, with Mr. William L. Banning as President, began negotiations in 1865 with eastern capitalists to obtain financial backing for a railroad to the head of the lakes. In May, Mr. Banning wrote to Jay Cooke to enlist his interest in this road which was to run 140 miles from St. Paul almost due north to the western end of Lake Superior. "If you are willing to take hold of it", wrote Banning to Mr. Cooke, "I will look no farther."² The road had a liberal land

¹ The Superior Telegram, December 13, 1902.
² Oberholtzer, Jay Cooke, p. 99.

grant of 10,880 acres per mile, a total of 1,523,200 acres, nearly all of which was heavily timbered with pine, cedar and oak. Mr. Cooke did nothing in the matter, however, until the following year when, in September of 1866, Rice Harper an agent of Jay Cooke went to Minnesota and under the direction of Mr. Banning bought large tracts of land along the railroad route for Cooke, Moorhead and a few other associates. At the same time the St. Paul and Lake Superior railroad was actually being built from St. Paul, although progress was very slow. Frequent articles concerning the construction of the road appeared in The Gazette, for it was thought this railroad would benefit Superior even though Superior was not the terminus, by giving the city an outlet for goods. Encouraged by the possibility of a railroad, "charters were obtained in 1866 for water-works and a gas company, but nothing was done toward establishing either."³ Improvements were also made on the harbor of Superior after the government in 1867 appropriated \$63,000 for this purpose. The piers were extended and the depth of water near them was increased.⁴ Excitement was provided the citizens of Superior in 1867 by a rumor that gold had been

³ Flower, The Eye of the Northwest, p. 100.

⁴ Ibid., pp. 143-144.

⁶ Oberholzer, Jay Cooke, p. 100.

ago, and the appearance of the town is dilapidated, dilapidated, discovered in the vicinity of the Pike River in Vermillion. rude, etc., and half-filled with Indians."

This brought a number of men to the head of the lakes. A

Mr. Cooke returned from his voyage of discovery and crude road was built and in the winter several parties of inspection deeply interested in the Lake Superior and men started out for the gold fields. However, the gold Mississippi road and very hopeful of its future, but deposits were small, the weather was extremely cold and, The Clarks joined him in the outright purchase of a large lot of Banning's bonds and in the autumn of 1868, Zahrestock miners returned empty-handed.⁵

In June, 1868, Mr. Cooke himself went to the head of connection with Isaac Minckley, who was at work upon the the lake by boat from Detroit to inspect the lands which same project to place a few millions of the road's securities his agents had purchased for him, and "to form his own ties with European bankers." Their attempts to persuade judgments as to the future prospects of this richly favored Europeans to invest in United States railroads failed and rapidly developing section."⁶ In contrast to this description, we find that the town had declined to such an extent that there were no tugs nor other means of conveyance on the bay so Mr. Cooke and his party employed Grand Trunk Railroad in Canada and some western United States railroad project so they hesitated to invest any more.

"The old town of Superior in Wisconsin or Superior Bay, President Banning himself "went to Europe to seek a market where he (Jay Cooke) had his headquarters, had some three for his bonds in the financial centres of the old world, hundred inhabitants. . . . It now presented a dilapidated appearance, many houses being untenanted. . . . This but the trip was futile and left the road as friendless as place, Bayfield and Duluth", wrote Jay Cooke to his brother before." The Europeans were interested enough to send Henry, from Superior while on his northwestern visit, over a committee to investigate the company and its 'remind me of Sandusky, Toledo, Huron, etc. forty years

⁵ The Superior Telegram, December 19, 1924.

⁶ Oberholtzer, Jay Cooke, p. 106.

ago, and the appearance of the town is ludicrous, zigzag, rude, etc., and half-filled with Indians."⁷

"Mr. Cocke returned from his voyage of discovery and inspection deeply interested in the Lake Superior and Mississippi road and very hopeful of its future value. . . . The Clarks joined him in the outright purchase of a large lot of Banning's bonds and in the autumn of 1868, Fahrestock and Henry Cooke while in Europe made diligent efforts in connection with Issac Hinckley, who was at work upon the same project to place a few millions of the road's securities with European bankers."⁸ Their attempts to persuade Europeans to invest in United States railroads failed dismally for a number of reasons. For one thing, the bankers feared that Napoleon III and Bismarck might start a war; and for another, Europeans had already lost money in the Grand Trunk Railroad in Canada and some western United States railroad project so they hesitated to invest any more. President Banning himself "went to Europe to seek a market for his bonds in the financial centres of the old world. He asked for letters to influential European financiers, but the trip was futile and left the road as friendless as before."⁹ The Europeans were interested enough to send over a committee to investigate the company and its

⁷ Oberholtzer, *Jay Cocke*, p. 106.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 107.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 104.

prospects, but, though the report was favorable, they would still not invest in the project.

As Cooke mentions in his letter, much of Superior in 1868 was still uncleared forest which, even though referred to by some settlers as "charming, woodland growth",¹⁰ was not a good recommendation for the city's future. Transportation, after ten years, was still poor and "overland travel, in spite of severe cold and deep snows, was much more comfortable in winter than summer when muddy roads were often impassible, when myriads of voracious mosquitos and even more vicious deer flies swarmed on man and beast."¹¹

The Gazette had by this time, definitely decided that the St. Croix Railroad company would never complete a railroad to Superior in spite of another reorganization in 1868. The editors declared that this railroad had had more than sufficient time to construct a road and that now that company should be willing to step aside so some other group could be interested in a railroad to the head of the lakes. In the summer of 1868 another company, which had been organized before, did become active in railroad matters. This was the Superior and State Line Railroad which now had W. W. Corcoran and George W. Cass as directors. Mr. Cass and a party came to Superior for a

¹⁰ Lenroot, Long, Long Ago, p. 39.

¹¹ Ibid., p. 36. August 15, 1868.

¹³ Idem.

meeting "to devise ways and means for obtaining communication by rail between this town and the Mississippi. . . . Conferences were had with the executive committee of the St. Paul Railroad, and movements put on foot"¹² which were expected to bring a railroad to Superior within two years.

Though several thousand dollars had been spent on the Superior harbor, it was evidently still in poor condition as one of the lake boats, the "Keweenaw", went aground almost every time it came to Superior. The officers of the boat were criticized for their lack of ability in navigation and the point was made that the "Keweenaw" shouldn't have so much trouble, when larger boats were able to dock in the Superior harbor with ease. These officers had evidently criticized the harbor of Superior at the other ports they touched at along the lake shore. This the Superiorites deeply resented and retaliated by ridiculing the efforts to disparage their town in such terms as the following: "We warn these people that no amount of abuse can check the destiny of this place; it is certain to outstrip in growth and business any other port on this lake, and the very men who now villify us, will long beg for our business."¹³

The one business that remained flourishing was also connected with the bay--that of fishing.¹⁴ Several times the

¹² The Gazette, August 15, 1868.

¹³ Idem. Wisconsin, Madison, 1877, p. 406.

fishermen caught such quantities of fish in the pounds that they did not entirely empty them for fear the fish would spoil before they could be cleaned and packed:

"then only a boat-load (about thirty barrels) would be taken ashore, and the balance left for the next day's lift."¹⁴

The food problem, always acute, became more so when one of the three grocery stores burned to the ground. Food prices increased and the meager diet of the settlers' became even more restricted.¹⁵

The end of the civil war had eliminated the tax for bounties and the total taxes for 1868 were only \$8,000 which included appropriations of \$1,000 for roads, \$4,000 for the county tax, and \$3,000 for the miscellaneous fund."¹⁶

The presidential election of 1868 showed that the Democrats were regaining some of the ground they had lost during the Civil War although they could not be said to have crushed the Republicans as the vote for Superior was tied with both Grant and Seymour getting 73 votes.¹⁷

Recreation of all kinds continued as before. Walking to the post office for the mail which was distributed at 5:30 was a favorite occupation. Choir practices and

¹⁴ The Gazette, July 11, 1868.
¹⁵ The Superior Telegram, December 23, 1924.
¹⁶ The Gazette, August 15, 1868.
¹⁷ R. M. Bashford, The Legislative Manual for the State of Wisconsin, Madison, 1877, p. 406.
²¹ The Gazette, December 4, 1868.

prayer meetings provided opportunities for "love's or an young dream" as did boating and skating on the bay.¹⁸ For the men, gambling and drinking continued as the major sources of amusement. One of the saloon keepers ran an advertisement in The Gazette¹⁹ to the effect that he had received a pidgeon hole table "for the accomodation of his guests" and invited everyone who desired "a little sport, to give him a call and try the game." There was to be no charge for playing if the "refreshments" were "called regularly."²⁰ The first public library association was organized on April 17, 1869 by a group of the leading citizens. The association was to be supported by subscriptions of one dollar, and a circular was sent out by the clerk asking people outside Superior to send them old magazines and books for the library.²¹ In April, 1869, Rice Harper made another trip from Sandusky to buy lots in Superior. The settlers were still demanding high prices for real estate even though the prices were not as unreasonable as in the eighteen fifties. Lots on the main street were selling "for \$500 without of houses, and further back from \$100 to \$50."²¹ Much of the

¹⁸ Lenroot, Long, Long Ago, p. 10.

¹⁹ The Gazette, August 15, 1868.

²⁰ The Superior Telegram, February 7, 1903. This library perished in the panic of 1873 and the books were scattered.

²¹ The Gazette, December 4, 1869.

land was owned by non-residents who were waiting for an
 Superior. The jealousy of the two rival towns was laugh-
 even greater rise in prices. It was difficult for an
 able. The Duluth people designated the residents of
 ordinary person who wanted to settle in Superior "to do a
 Superior, who lived on low flat ground as "swamp-landers"
 legitimate business as a merchant or a mechanic" to obtain
 while the Duluthians were "hill-climbers" and "city
 a home or lot at a fair price as values were so inflated
 dwellers" to the Superior."²² While Superior's develop-
 by talk of the railroad." Mr. Wintermute, representing
 ment had been outstripping that of Duluth, a co-operative
 the Superior and State Line Railroad Company, came to
 rather than critical attitude characterized its attitude
 Superior to try to get Douglas County to issue bonds as
 toward Duluth, but now that Superior was retrogressing
 a bonus to aid the railroad even though the line had done
 while Duluth advanced, a lack of harmony was very evident
 little but plan construction work.²³ Four other lines
 even though the similarity of their²⁴ interests might have
 were planning to build to Superior among which were the
 been expected to bring them closer together. At various
 Northern Pacific and the Portage City and Superior.

times unsuccessful attempts had been made to unite the two
 Mr. Cooke and his associates were, however, adding
 cities under one government and now in the late sixties,
 to their holdings around Duluth and neglecting Superior.
 Jay Cooke held conferences with representatives of the
 Jay Cooke stated in a letter to General Max Woodhull,
 Wisconsin and Minnesota state governments in his office
 August 22, 1871, that he and Mr. Moorhead together had
 in Philadelphia in a vain endeavor to have a small strip
 become owners of some forty thousand acres in and around
 of territory ceded from one state to the other so the
 Duluth.²⁵ As Cooke began to show his preference for
 towns could be merged.²⁶ Nothing was accomplished by any
 Duluth, Superior became very jealous of her neighbor. Like-
 of the proposals to unite the two towns and the hostility
 wise the residents of Duluth were afraid Superior would be
 between them not only continued, but grew more bitter.
 able to influence Jay Cooke so that the first terminus of

In 1869 the Lake Superior and Mississippi Railroad
 the Lake Superior and Mississippi railroad would be in
 Company was reorganized and immediately embarked on an in-

²² The Gazette, December 4, 1869

²³ Ibid., January 9, 1869.

²⁴ Letter written by Capt. W. W. Nevins, one of the editors

²⁶ of Forney's Philadelphia Press, reprinted in The
Gazette, December 4, 1869.

²⁵ Oberholtzer, Jay Cooke, p. 110.

San Wilkinson, employed by a New York publishing house, Superior. The jealousy of the two rival towns was laugh- and John Russell Young of the New York Tribune able. The Duluth people designated the residents of articles concerning the railroad, printed Superior, who lived on low flat ground as "swamp-jumpers" papers; these young men, who seemed to be in while the Duluthians were "hill-climbers" and "cliff-dwellers" to the Superiorites. While Superior's develop- ment had been outstripping that of Duluth, a co-operative rather than critical attitude characterized its attitude toward Duluth, but now that Superior was retrogressing while Duluth advanced, a lack of harmony was very evident actually constructed a railroad from St. Paul to the head even though the similarity of their interests might have of the lakes! The Lake Superior and Mississippi Railroad, been expected to bring them closer together. At various later known as the St. Paul and Duluth Railroad, reached times unsuccessful attempts had been made to unite the two Duluth in 1870. To the very last Superior had hoped the cities under one government and now in the late sixties, railroad would end in her own city limits, but "out of Jay Cooke held conferences with representatives of the 27 deference to Minnesotans who had interests in the road", Wisconsin and Minnesota state governments in his office it ended in Duluth. A formal opening of the road was held in Philadelphia in a vain endeavor to have a small strip in 1870 and a large number of guests inspected the route of territory ceded from one state to the other so the from St. Paul to Duluth towns could be merged.²⁶ Nothing was accomplished by any of the proposals to unite the two towns and the hostility been chosen as the terminus for the first railroad. Some between them not only continued, but grew more bitter. people blamed this upon the fact that the St. Croix Railroad

In 1869 the Lake Superior and Mississippi Railroad had not been left under the control of Governor Barstow Company was reorganized and immediately embarked on an in- saying that then the St. Croix would have been built first tensive campaign to sell its stock. Jay Cooke persuaded

²⁷ The Superior Leader, October 1, 1869.
²⁶ Oberholtzer, Jay Cooke, p. 253.

Sam Wilkinson, employed by a New York publishing house, and John Russell Young of The New York Tribune to get articles concerning the railroad, printed in the daily newspapers; these young men, who seemed to be in charge of all the publicity that was given the railroad, did their work efficiently for the bonds sold rapidly. On one day alone in the middle of March, a million dollars worth of bonds was disposed of through Cooke's various houses. This railroad company not only sold stock, but actually constructed a railroad from St. Paul to the head of the lakes. The Lake Superior and Mississippi Railroad, later known as the St. Paul and Duluth Railroad, reached Duluth in 1870. To the very last Superior had hoped the railroad would end in her own city limits, but "out of deference to Minnesotans who had interests in the road",²⁷ it ended in Duluth. A formal opening of the road was held in 1870 and a large number of guests inspected the route from St. Paul to Duluth.²⁸ Naturally Superior resented the fact that Duluth had been chosen as the terminus for the first railroad. Some people blamed this upon the fact that the St. Croix Railroad had not been left under the control of Governor Barstow saying that then the St. Croix would have been built first

²⁷ The Superior Leader, October 1, 1899. Vol. VI, p. 100.

²⁸ Oberholtzer, Jay Cooke, p. 244. The Superior Leader,

³¹ Flower, The Eye of the Northwest, p. 147.

and Superior would have flourished.²⁹ This St. Croix town railroad had received an extension of time for constructing a railroad to Superior by an act passed on May 4, 1864, but the grant expired around 1869 because the railroad was not begun. In 1870 the citizens of Superior were still hoping that Jay Cooke would use his influence to get the grant renewed and also to persuade some company to build a railroad from Milwaukee to Superior.³⁰ In connection with this interest in railroads a Board of Trade was organized "for the purpose of promoting the interests of the town and exerting influence favorable to the construction of rail-roads to the place in accordance with early land grants. Circulars and pamphlets were issued and lobbyists sent before legislative bodies, and altogether a great deal of time energy and means expended pro bono publico!"³¹

From the county census reports in 1870 we can draw an accurate picture of Superior then. There were now less than three hundred houses with 48 vacant ones instead of the five hundred that had existed ten years before, while the levy for poor relief was still over a thousand dollars. County taxes had risen tremendously in the two years since 1868, to a total of \$19,348.56 with a county debt of

²⁹ Edward M. Hunter, "Civil Life, Services and Character of William A. Barstow", Collections of the State

³⁶ Historical Society of Wisconsin, Vol. VI, p. 100.

³⁰ R. W. Boyd, "Ancient History", The Superior Leader, October 1, 1899.

³¹ Flower, The Eye of the Northwest, p. 147.

\$2,000.00. State taxes were only \$1,354.19, but the town was voted upon. The suggestion had been that \$300,000.00 levy was \$8,269.00.³² There were only seventeen business establishments³³ but the city still had five churches,³⁴ a school system and two newspapers.³⁵ The school system but it was defeated by a vote of 44 to 36. A short time actually showed an increase for there were now 2 graded later Douglas county decided to make its own railroad to reach the Northern Pacific junction. The county was bonded for three hundred thousand dollars and Horace Walbridge private school with one teacher and twenty pupils.³⁶

An impartial observer of Superior in 1870 still was not successful, however, and twenty-five thousand dollars thought the site was a very good investment. R. W. Boyd was left by the investors when the company collapsed. The came to inspect the town to see if some land left by General Northern Pacific Railroad was also depended upon to supply McQueen of South Carolina should be kept in the estate or railroad connections with the rest of the world. This sold. He decided the property should be kept because he thought the high taxes Duluth would have to levy to pay for Superior to be a harbor. On February 11, 1870,³⁷ making a harbor would force people to go to Superior.

Railroads received the attention of Superior's citizens in 1875 when there was such popular agitation for the municipal financing of railroads that the proposition

³² Manuscript Reports of the County Census, June 1, 1870.

³³ U. S. Census, 1870, p. 582.

³⁴ The U. S. Census, 1870, p. 559 lists only four (2 Methodist, 1 Presbyterian, and 1 Roman Catholic) but the Episcopal church was still there as it had been built in the first years of settlement and the same building is still standing.

³⁵ The Superior Gazette, an independent weekly and The Superior Tribune, a republican paper. Both of these newspapers had circulation lists of over 500.

³⁶ Manuscript Reports of the County Census, 1870.

³⁷ Boyd, The Superior Leader, October 1, 1899.

little occurred to check the desirability of the town. After
 was voted upon. The suggestion had been that \$300,000.00
 Jay Cooke chose Duluth as the terminus of the Lake Superior
 worth of bonds should be issued, the proceeds from the
 and Mississippi road, the last feasible planer of bonds
 sale of which would be invested in the State Line Railroad,
 immediate business increase faded and the sale of bonds
 but it was defeated by a vote of 84 to 95.³⁸ A short time
 later Douglas county decided to make its own railroad to
 reach the Northern Pacific junction. The county was bonded
 for three hundred thousand dollars and Horace Walbridge
 and State Line Railroad. In 1873, a proposal to make a
 of Toledo placed in charge of the construction. The project
 was not successful, however, and twenty-five thousand dollars
 was lost by the investors when the company collapsed.³⁹ The
 Northern Pacific Railroad was also depended upon to supply
 railroad connections with the rest of the world. This
 company had actually started to lay tracks from Lake
 Superior to Brainerd in 1870. On February 15, 1870, Col.
 J. B. Culver shoveled the first burrow of dirt and Col.
 Hiram Hayes dumped it. Speeches were given painting the
 future of Superior in roseate hues, but attempts to float
 a loan in Europe were checked by the Franco-Prussian war
 and the project came to an abrupt conclusion when Jay
 Cooke and Company failed.⁴⁰

The period from 1870 to 1880 was even less notable
 for accomplishment than the preceding five years had been.

38 The Superior Times, October 27, 1870.
 39 Hayes, The Superior Telegram, December 16, 1905.
 40 Idem. Miscellaneous documents, including the report of W. R. Newton to Gov. Cassburn, 1873.

Little occurred to check the decline of the town. After Jay Cooke chose Duluth as the terminus of the Lake Superior and Mississippi road, the last feeble glimmer of hope of immediate business increase faded and the panic of 1873 simply added to their burden of misfortune. In 1872 the county had issued \$75,000 worth of bonds which were given to the railroad contractors of the Superior and State Line Railroad. In 1873, a proposal to make a levy of \$6,000 to meet the interest was defeated on the grounds that the railroad had not complied with the terms by which they had been granted the bonds.⁴¹

The hostility Superior continued to feel for Duluth found expression in 1872 when W. H. Newton made a report to C. C. Washburn, governor of Wisconsin, on the Superior harbor. His report proved that the building of a canal in Duluth had changed the current of the St. Louis River and had produced rapid oscillations in the harbor.⁴² The canal had been cut near the base of Minnesota Point because the natural entrance to the harbor was miles from Duluth. The owners of Superior started injunction proceedings and the government decreed that a dyke should be built across the bay from Rice's Point to Minnesota Point so that water flowing from Fond du Lac to its natural outlet shouldn't

⁴¹ The Superior Times, December 13, 1873.

⁴² Miscellaneous documents including the report of W. H. Newton to Gov. Washburn, Madison, 1875.

be diverted. Thousands of dollars were spent by Duluth on the dyke which soon was washed away and nothing more was done about it.⁴³

By the fall of 1872, the Democrats not only were equal with the Republicans in Douglas County, but actually had forged ahead of them so that in the presidential election, Greeley received 96 votes to Grant's 72.⁴⁴

The nation-wide panic of 1873 had a great effect on politics in Wisconsin and Douglas County and caused the defeat of the Republicans, who were blamed for the poor business conditions.⁴⁵

As a result of a state appropriation of \$3,800 of "swamp money" some improvements were made in spite of the period of hard times. This money was used to extend Sixth Street and improve the roads leading to Bayfield and St. Croix.⁴⁶ These roads definitely needed repair for they were muddy and so obstructed by trees and fallen timber that it was difficult in many places for travellers to see very far ahead.⁴⁷

The returns for the state election in 1876 show a strictly partisan vote for seventy-seven votes were cast for the Democratic candidates for governor, lieutenant

⁴³ Oberholtzer, Jay Cooke, p. 253.

⁴⁴ Bashford, Legislative Manual, 1876, p. 367.

⁴⁵ The Superior Times, November 15, 1873.

⁴⁶ Ibid., September 19, 1874.

⁴⁷ The Superior Telegram, December 19, 1895.

1880 showed encouraging business activity although the governor and secretary of state, and thirty-four for each of the Republican nominees for these offices.⁴⁸ However, the national returns show that the Democrats were again in the lead for the Democratic nominee, Tilden, got a major-organized in 1880 and the firm of Peyton, Kimball and Barber it of twenty-five votes. The voters in Superior remained loyal to the two major parties and no votes were cast for the other parties that put up tickets.⁴⁹

The usual occupations continued to be carried on at Superior, with fishing, lumbering and the buying and selling of goods still being the most important. In 1878 alone, \$80,000.00 worth of exports had been sent out,⁵⁰ while

imports⁵¹ amounted to \$100,000.00. In addition, logs amounting to \$50,000.00 in value had been sold to Duluth.⁵² The first steamboat built at Superior, the "Minnie and Le Mont" was built in the same year, and until ferries were built and the railroad arrived, it had almost a complete monopoly of trade on the lake near Superior. This fact again, shows the city's lack of progress, for boats from the lower lakes were not as common as they had been.⁵³

48 Report of the Secretary of State, 1876, p. 170.

49 Bashford, Legislative Manual, 1876, p. 406.

50 Fish, furs, hides, wool, lumber, cattle, hay, wheat, butter, eggs, fruits, fence posts, railway ties, etc.

51 Merchandise, dry goods, groceries, flour, feed, machinery.

52 Jno. M. McCabe, Superior Annual, Superior, Wisconsin,

January 1, 1896, (no page numbers).

53 Flower, The Eye of the Northwest, p. 138.

54 Journal of Commerce, March 25, 1889, p. 1.

55 The Superior Telegram, December 16, 1905; Flower, The Eye of the Northwest, pp. 134-135.

1880 showed encouraging business activity although the population had fallen to 655 by this time.⁵⁴ The demand for lumber was good and the saw mills were all doing a rushing business.⁵⁵ One of the firms operating a saw-mill was re-organized in 1880 and the firm of Peyton, Kimball and Barber was formed. The general revival of industry, the settlement of delinquent taxes and the selling by the county, of a large amount of tax titles raised the value of the county orders from 40 cents to 90 cents on the dollar.⁵⁶ Town taxes were extremely low this year for the complete budget was only \$2,600 with the road and miscellaneous funds each getting \$1,000 and the poor fund the remainder.⁵⁷

Railroads to Superior continued unsatisfactory although the St. Croix company had undergone still another reorganization and now had Superior men as officers. Unfortunately, this company came into conflict with the North Wisconsin Company, which was taken over by the St. Paul and Omaha Company. "The Superior men had to give up, after grading and building twelve miles of their line."⁵⁸ The Chicago Air Line which had also started some work crashed and "a thousand ill-clad workmen lived off the city the rest of the winter."⁵⁹

⁵⁴ United States Census, 1880, p. 368.

⁵⁵ The Superior Times, September 14, 1880.

⁵⁶ Ibid., September 14, 1880.

⁵⁷ Idem.

⁵⁸ "Infusion of New Life", St. Paul Journal of Commerce, March 23, 1889, p. 7.

⁵⁹ The Superior Telegram, December 16, 1905; Flower, The Eye of the Northwest, pp. 124-125.

The old land company was also reorganized and re-named "The Superior Consolidated Land Company", and some of Superior's leading citizens began the task of collecting titles to the land in the original plat of Superior.⁶⁰

In 1881 Superior finally got a railroad after twenty-five years of struggle and continued disappointment, when the Northern Pacific built a line from the junction at Duluth to Superior. "The first train over the new line, consisting of one baggage and express car and one passenger coach, reached Superior at noon of December 17, 1881. The people turned out en masse to see the first iron horse on Superior Bay and welcomed the party accompanying it. . . . Col. Hiram Hayes, T. F. Dokes, Judge Solon H. Clough and others made speeches, while the citizens shouted joyously and hugged themselves."⁶¹ In order to get this railroad built to Superior, the railroad had been given about 230 acres of land on the bay to be used for depots, docks, and other purposes.⁶²

During the years 1867-1881, the federal government frequently appropriated funds to be used to improve Superior's harbor. By 1881 over \$300,000 had been used for this purpose,

⁶⁰ Wentzel, in The Superior Telegram, March 30, 1907.

⁶¹ Flower, The Eye of the Northwest, p. 127.

⁶² Ibid., p. 141; "Infusion of New Life" in St. Paul Journal of Commerce, March 23, 1889, p. 8.

another appropriation was made sometime between 1873 and 1876, of \$3,432; August 14, 1876, \$3,000; June 18, 1878, \$3,000; March 3, 1878, \$5,000; June 14, 1880, \$5,000; March 3, 1881, \$10,000. Annual Report of the Board of Public Works of the City of Superior, Wisconsin, February 1, 1886.

but a great deal still remained to be done.⁶³

Aside from the few instances already noted, lack of growth and a general diminution of outside interest in Superior characterized this entire period. The settlers themselves were helpless without strong support from wealthy business men and left Superior or waited there for someone else to stimulate industrial activity. Fortunately, within the next few years, an individual appeared who, spurred on by thoughts of speculative profit, was willing to do this.

With the intention of buying land, he decided that development there would be too extensive and went over to Superior. Though the land at Superior seemed very wet and marshy, after levels had been taken he discovered that actually the ground was 25 to 30 feet above the bay instead of below it as he had thought.

In 1875 he purchased no land, and evidently gave up that idea as his intention. By 1876 he had arranged to plan with some of the men at Superior and with some of his associates in St. Paul.⁶⁴ About the same time he purchased a few acres of land in the old site of Superior and 177 acres west of that location. The next

⁶³ The following appropriations had been made: March 3, 1867, \$63,000; April 10, 1869, \$45,000; June 7, 1870, \$60,000; June 10, 1872, \$50,000; March 3, 1873, \$63,950.80; another appropriation not dated but sometime between 1873 and 1876, of \$5,433; August 14, 1876, \$3,000; June 18, 1878, \$3,000; March 3, 1879, \$5,000; June 14, 1880, \$5,000; March 3, 1881, \$10,000. Annual Report of the Board of Public Works of the City of Superior, Wisconsin, February 1, 1893.

Chapter V.

A Renewal of Development at Superior

With the 1880's Superior came to life again, and the subsequent progress resulted in its becoming the second city in size in Wisconsin before the end of the century. This time the development started four miles west of the site of Superior proper with Mr. John Hammond as the guiding spirit. In 1878 Hammond, who had visited Duluth with the intention of buying land, decided that development there would be too expensive and went over to Superior. Though the land at Superior seemed very wet and marshy, after levels had been taken he discovered that actually the ground was 25 to 35 feet above the bay instead of below it as he had thought.¹

In 1878 he purchased no land, and evidently gave no hint that such was his intention. By 1881 he had discussed his plans with some of the men at Superior and with three or four of his associates in St. Paul.² About the same time he purchased a few acres of land in the old site of Superior and 137 acres west of that location. The next year he and Col. Charles B. Lamborn drew up an informal

¹ Flower, The Eye of the Northwest, p. 103.

² Ibid., pp. 104, 112.

³ The Autumnal Review, 1899, "The Head of Lake Superior: The Great Bay of Prosperity," West Superior, Wisconsin, November 31, 1899, p. 1.

⁴ Ibid., p. 16; A Souvenir of Superior, 1891, p. 47.

agreement relative to the development of this tract. Ten men were to be asked to join the company, each to contribute \$10,000. The men who became associated with Hammond and Lamborn were T. F. Oakes, R. L. Belknap, James J. Hill, James B. Williams, Frederick Billings, William H. Starbuck, George R. Howell, and Herman Haupt.³ The money collected from these gentlemen was to be used to purchase more land and the investors were to receive six per cent annually on the money they advanced and one half of all the profits from the company.⁴ To speed up the process of clearing the land, which would require considerable time, Hammond and George Baxter simply set it on fire and burned the timber off.⁵ While Hammond was thus planning the erection of a new city, Superior itself experienced a slight extension of business. The first bank was started in Superior in 1882,⁶ another liquor store was established,⁷ and the first dock was built by the Northern Pacific railroad. This dock had a length of 1,000 feet and a capacity of 200,000 tons and became a great source of satisfaction and encouragement to the Superiorites.⁸

³ Mr. Haupt's subscription was afterwards filled by William P. Clough and Allen Marvel. Flower, The Eye of the Northwest, p. 104.

⁴ Idem.

⁵ Ibid., p. 107.

⁶ Charles Lagro, Bird's Eye View of Superior, Superior, Wisconsin, no. d., no p.

⁷ The Autumnal Review, 1899, "The Head of Lake Superior Its Great Wave of Prosperity," West Superior, Wisconsin, November 11, 1899, p. 16.

⁸ Ibid., p. 10; A Souvenir of Superior, 1891, p. 47.

Increased interest in the harbor of Superior appeared about the same time and in 1882, \$40,000 was appropriated by Congress for the harbor whereas only around \$31,000 had been appropriated in the eight years previous to this date.⁹

Toward the end of 1882, Hammond became ill, so the men interested in West Superior¹⁰ decided to organize a company to prevent the division of property in case of the death of one of them. The Land and River Improvement Company was organized under the laws of New Jersey under the names of George Baxter, Edward Buchanan, and Charles Lincoln, all of New York. The company was incorporated on April 20, 1883 with a capitalization of \$500,000. However, they actually started business with \$3,000 of paid in capital stock and 5,000 shares with a par value of \$100. The company was very low on cash to start with as the men who had formed it turned over land in exchange for stock instead of paying out currency.¹¹ Belknap became the company's president, Baxter secretary and Hammond, general manager.¹² Land continued to be bought by Hammond until 4,000 acres had been purchased, but the sale of land to settlers was not promoted vigorously for over a year. The organization of the Land and River Improvement Company and its acquisition of land was in great contrast to that of the first pre-emptions,

⁹ Report of the Board of Public Works, p. 893, p. 22.

¹⁰ The land acquired by Hammond was named West Superior, while the original plat was called either "Old Superior", or the East End."

¹¹ Flower, The Eye of the Northwest, p. 106.

¹² Ibid., p. 107.

for now there were not hostile groups to circumvent. Although there was an air of secrecy surrounding the company's activities until enough land had been purchased to secure control of the one group, it was a casual secrecy and the whole process of organization was carried on in a leisurely fashion.¹³

Other business was attracted by the renewal of interest in Superior, and in 1883 the Chicago, St. Paul, Minneapolis and Omaha Railroad Company completed a railroad from Hudson to Superior.^{13a} This railroad received the land grant that had originally been granted for the Hudson, Superior and Bayfield.¹⁴ In the same year a company called the Lake Superior Terminal and Transfer Company was organized by some of the members of the Land and River Improvement Company, to furnish side-tracks and switches to any part of the city for the railroads already constructed or to be constructed later. Mr. Hammond also collected money for a

¹³ Though Hill's name is not mentioned as the guiding force behind the West Superior development, he may very possibly have been responsible for it. In 1886 Hill and his associates secured control of the Lake Superior and Southwestern charter which had terminal facilities at West Superior. Hammond himself, was closely connected with the Hill interests for in 1888 he became president of the Eastern Minnesota Railroad which Hill had acquired. The Lake Superior and South Western Railroad was added in the same year. Flower, The Eye of the Northwest, p. 130. Pyle, Joseph Gilpin, The Life of James J. Hill, Vol. I, N. Y., 1917, pp. 286-287, 329-332, 416, 420-422.

^{13a} Raney, "Building of Wisconsin Railroads", Wisconsin Magazine of History, June, 1936, p. 397.

¹⁴ "Infusion of New Life", St. Paul Journal of Commerce, March 23, 1889, p. 8.

¹⁵ Jno. M. McCabe, Superior Annual, Superior, Wisconsin, January 1, 1896, p. 1.

117.

Union Station which was erected in the name of the Lake Superior Terminal and Transfer Company.¹⁵ On October 3, 1884, Hammond appointed W. H. Webb as the agent of the company. The next day Webb made the first sale of real estate which was made on the site, when Iver Anderson bought two lots on John Avenue for \$325 for fifteen dollars down and an agreement to build on the lots.¹⁶ A two story office building for the Land and River Improvement Company was built on the corner of the present Tower Avenue and Winter Street and the encouragement of land sales was begun. A postoffice, which was really a branch of the East End office, was also operated by W. H. Webb in a "shanty boarding-house" and on December 1, the first grocery store in West Superior was opened.¹⁷ The first government customs office was located at East End Superior in 1884 and the imports and exports for the year amounted to \$300,000.00.¹⁸ A second dock, constructed by the St. Paul and Western Coal Company greatly increased the capacity of Superior to carry on lake commerce adequately.¹⁹

¹⁵ By 1891 the following railroads belonged to this company: The Northern Pacific; the Chicago, St. Paul, Minneapolis and Omaha; the St. Paul, Minneapolis and Manitoba; the Duluth, South Shore and Atlantic; the St. Paul and Duluth; and the Lake Superior and Southwestern (Eastern Minnesota) Railroad Companies. Flower, The Eye of the Northwest, p. 136.

¹⁶ Flower, The Eye of the Northwest, p. 112.

¹⁷ Ibid., p. 115.

¹⁸ Ex-Governor Swineford, "Superior, Past, Present, and Future", in Greetings from the City of Superior to the Minnesota Conference of the Scandinavian, Evangelical, Lutheran Augustana Synod of North America, Telegram Printing Company, West Superior, Wisconsin, 1892, p. 24.

¹⁹ Jno. M. McCabe, Superior Annual, Superior, Wisconsin, January 1, 1896, no. p.

By 1885, Hammond's land purchases were completed and in February, the first plat was filed with the Register of Deeds. The plat consisted of 320 acres of land located on St. Louis Bay, although the company owned more land south and southwest of the plat.²⁰ There was quite a distance between East and West Superior and, as the two sections were platted at different times and along different plans, the points of junction still fail to coincide. The system of East Superior is diagonal being based on relationship to the bay, while West Superior follows the section lines.²¹ The streets, as in East Superior were named after the men connected with the Land and River Improvement Company or with the the railroads.²²

Just before the town plat was filed, Hammond made a public offer to give ten lots to the first ten individuals who each bought a lot and erected a building. The first man to do this was Anders Pederson who got lots ten and eleven. He paid \$500 for a corner lot, but after erecting the required building, got a rebate of \$175 and the other lot free.²³ In addition to being generous to private individuals, the company tried to encourage industries to

²⁰ "From Prophecy to Performance", St. Paul Journal of Commerce, March 23, 1889, p. 13.

²¹ Flower, The Eye of the Northwest, p. 107.

²² Claire L. Wildner, Handbook, Short Resume of Superior and Douglas County, Wisconsin, Superior, Wisconsin, 1928, pp. 8-9.

²³ Flower, The Eye of the Northwest, p. 112.

come to Superior by offering them land. Six hundred lots were offered to a car works, but the project fell through as did Hammond's negotiations with some Englishmen who were thinking of establishing a bank, a packing house and construction companies.²⁴ Land was also given for a hotel which was constructed in 1885.²⁵ This policy continued as other industries began to consider Superior as a possible location. Every railroad in the city was given a right of way through the company's land and large manufacturing concerns were given outright all the land they needed for their plants. Smaller companies were sold sites at very nominal sums or granted leases at low rates in order to get them started.²⁶ The progress of the new settlement was much slower in the first years than the original head Superior had been in the fifties. The early town had been platted shortly after the first lands had been purchased while in the case of West Superior, four years elapsed between the purchase of the first lots and its formal organization and in 1885, the population of the entire city was only 2,704.²⁷ The post office in West Superior,

²⁴ Flower, The Eye of the Northwest, p. 109. First gain

²⁵ Ibid., p. 115.

²⁶ Souvenir of Superior, 1891, p. 127.

²⁷ State Census Report, 1886, p. 37. "lands", Wisconsin

³⁰ Souvenir of Superior, 1891, p. 40.

³¹ Flower, The Eye of the Northwest, p. 110.

³² Souvenir of Superior, 1891, p. 41.

established in January, 1885, reported a total receipts for the first year of only seventy-five dollars. Though progress was slow, there was some evidence to support the theory that Superior was going to become important. The Bank of Superior, organized out of the unnamed financial institution established in the East End in 1882, began business in 1885. The Northern Pacific constructed a bridge across the St. Louis Bay²⁸ while the Great Northern purchased a large tract of land in West Superior.²⁹ Plans were made for the Great Northern grain elevators, but they were not built until the end of the following year and therefore did little business until 1887.³⁰

The first important industry which located at West Superior was the Lehigh Coal and Iron Company. The head of the company had personally investigated the site of Superior in the winter of 1885-6 before signing contracts for the location of the company.³¹ This company was one of the concerns which was given a large land grant by the Land and River Improvement Company and justified the land grant by building a dock 300 by 2,500 feet at a cost of \$300,000.³² 1886 was also important for the first grain

²⁸ Souvenir of Superior, 1891, p. 50.

²⁹ Raney, "Building of Wisconsin Railroads", Wisconsin Magazine of History, June, 1936, p. 402.

³⁰ Souvenir of Superior, 1891, p. 63.

³¹ Flower, The Eye of the Northwest, p. 110.

³² Souvenir of Superior, 1891, p. 47.

the real estate transfers totalled \$5,700,000.³³ Another
 shipments³³ which presaged the important commerce which
 was to follow. A general merchandise company was establish-
 ed³⁴ and the Bank of West Superior was incorporated in
 October, with an authorized capital of \$500,000.00 and a
 paid up capital of \$50,000.00.³⁵ However, East Superior
 seems to have still been more important than West Superior,
 because the gross earnings of the Superior post office
 were \$2,076.51 in 1886, while those for the West Superior
 office were only \$843.15.³⁶ At some time before 1887, the
 Douglas County Street Railway, whose carriages were drawn
 by mules, was organized and proceeded to carry passengers
 from one section of the town to another.³⁷

1887 was notable for the incorporation of the two
 sections of the town into one village under a charter,
 which was adopted June 1, 1887 by a vote of 106 to 3.³⁸
 The boom in the city started gradually, but by 1887, real
 estate values had increased so that lots purchased for a
 thousand dollars each were later sold for \$14,000,³⁹ and

³³ Swineford, "Superior, Past Present and Future", p. 24.

³⁴ McCabe, Annual, 1896.

³⁵ A. F. McKay, The Climatic and Picturesque Features of
 the Lake Superior Region, Duluth, 1888, No. p.

³⁶ Pen and Sunlight Sketches of Duluth, Superior and Ash-
 land, Phoenix Publishing Company, Chicago, 1892, p.
 127.

³⁷ Autumnal Review, 1899, p. 2.

³⁸ The Superior Times, September 3, 1887.

³⁹ Souvenir of Superior, 1891, p. 16.

the real estate transfers totalled \$5,258,055.⁴⁰ Another bank, that later became the First National Bank, was established and industry flourished more and more.⁴¹ The St. Paul and Duluth Railroad Company extended its line to Superior by building a bridge across St. Louis Bay⁴² and the St. Paul and Kansas City Company planned a double track railroad from St. Paul to Superior which was not, however, built.⁴³ The Northern Pacific began short line schedules to Duluth, providing transportation two or three times a day between the two cities. The other important companies were the West Superior Iron and Steel Company, organized with a capital of \$2,500,000⁴⁴ and a boat building company which located at Superior after the Land and River Improvement Company offered it a bonus of \$200,000 including twenty acres of land on Howard's Pocket. This plant built whalebacks, cigar-shaped barges, which were used to carry coal, ore, oil, etc. and provided employment for several hundred workers at Superior.⁴⁵ The Great Northern now had two

40 Greetings from the city of Superior to the Minnesota Conference of the Scandinavian Evangelical Lutheran Augustana Synod of North America, p. 30.

41 Souvenir of Superior, 1891, p. 140. In April, 1888 the bank was turned over to the Marien and Mercantile bank and in October, the directors got a charter for the First National Bank of West Superior. A year later the name was changed to the First National Bank of the city of Superior.

42 Ibid., p. 50.

43 "Infusion of New Life", St. Paul Journal of Commerce, March 23, 1889, p. 8.

44 Souvenir of Superior, 1891, pp. 23-24.

45 Ibid., pp. 75-91.

elevators at Superior which together had a capacity of 3,500,000 bushels. Just across from the Great Northern elevators, was the Sawyer elevator system which consisted of an elevator and two warehouses with a total grain capacity of 5,000,000 bushels.⁴⁶ The Lehigh docks, the St. Paul and Pacific and the Ohio Coal Company's docks were receiving large shipments of coal⁴⁷ and the combined post office receipts increased by almost five times what they had been the year before to a total of \$3,307.81.⁴⁸ The Tower Hotel was built in West Superior in 1887. Although it must have been rather crude, it provided shelter for visitors and prospective settlers. It was wholly remodeled and enlarged only two years after being opened.⁴⁹

Each year showed a great advance over the previous years as far as businesses established, grain and coal shipments and commercial receipts were concerned. In 1888 the Marine and Mercantile Bank was organized, the Great Northern Railroad entered Superior, the Standard Iron Works was organized,⁵⁰ the West Superior Iron and Steel Company

46 "From Prophecy to Performance", St. Paul Journal of Commerce, March 23, 1889, p. 11; McCabe, Annual, 1897, no. p.

47 "From Prophecy to Performance", St. Paul Journal of Commerce, March 23, 1889, p. 12.

48 Souvenir of Superior, 1891, p. 105.

49 Ibid., p. 97.

50 McCabe, Annual, 1897.

"From Prophecy to Performance", St. Paul Journal of Commerce, March 23, 1889, p. 12.

put a pipe foundry into operation⁵¹ and another brick company started business.⁵² There were grocery stores, investment companies, attorneys, and even a jewelry store and a milliner's shop.⁵³ Several more railroads also entered Superior. The Eastern Minnesota Railroad from Hinckley (connected with the Great Northern Railroad Company), the St. Paul and Duluth Railroad, and the South Shore and Atlantic Railroad Company (connected with the Canadian Pacific)⁵⁴ now had lines to Superior. These railroads, with the Northern Pacific and Great Northern Railroads received over a million dollars for freight handled at West Superior in this year.⁵⁵ The grain shipments had increased somewhat, but not as much as had been expected because of the failure of the wheat crop due to the early frost.⁵⁶ The Lehigh Coal and Iron Company built a plant of fifty coke ovens adjoining its dock on St. Louis Bay in the summer of 1888, and fired up in November.⁵⁷ 786,000 tons of coal were received at Superior by the four docks now in existence. The Northwestern Fuel Company had by

51 Souvenir of Superior, 1891, pp. 123-4. Journal of

52 Flower, The Eye of the Northwest, p. 171.

53 Souvenir of Superior, 1891, p. 153.

54 Ibid., p. 50; Flower, The Eye of the Northwest, pp. 130-132.

55 "From Prophecy to Performance", St. Paul Journal of Commerce, March 23, 1889, p. 14.

56 Souvenir of Superior, 1891, p. 63.

57 "From Prophecy to Performance", St. Paul Journal of Commerce, March 23, 1889, p. 12.

this time completed its dock. The Eastern Railroad of Minnesota also began building a dock in 1888 which was to handle as much as a million tons of coal when completed.⁵⁸

In 1888 the question of a city charter was brought up by the West Superior Chamber of Commerce,⁵⁹ and a committee met at the end of the year to form a charter.⁶⁰ The first city election was set for April 2, 1889 at which time a mayor, treasurer, comptroller, two constables, assessors, two aldermen in each of the seven wards (one to serve a one-year term, the other a two year term), one supervisor in each ward and a justice of the peace for each ward⁶¹ were to be chosen. The election was duly held and the city organized as a unit.

The city grew rapidly from this time on and land speculation was again rampant leading to increased land prices. The valuation of the 4,000 acres purchased by the Land and River Improvement Company had now reached about \$9,000,000, including all the improvements made on it,⁷² while the real estate transfers had risen to \$7,637,462.⁶³

58 "From Prophecy to Performance", St. Paul Journal of Commerce, March 23, 1889, p. 12.

59 The Superior Times, July 14, 1888.

60 Ibid., December 22, 1888.

61 Ibid., March 30, 1889.

62 "From Prophecy to Performance", St. Paul Journal of Commerce, March 23, 1889, p. 14.

63 Souvenir of Superior, 1891, p. 108.

69 Ibid., pp. 9, 11.

Several more real estate companies had been organized so that now there were eight⁶⁴ besides the Superior and Duluth Loan and Debenture Company which was to act as agent in the purchase and sale of real estate, mortgages and corporate and municipal bonds.⁶⁵ The total valuation of property was \$9,751,103; the total taxes, \$394,047; and the bonded debt, \$166,494.⁶⁶ Business for the banks had increased to such an extent because of the growth of population and the real estate transactions that they now had deposits totaling \$607,070.⁶⁷ Superior in some new railway venture, but he was 1889 saw the addition of an adamant manufacturing company and a Standard Oil Supply Depot while the Eastern and Manitoba Railroad merchandise docks had increased their capacity to one million barrels of flour.⁶⁸ This railroad company spent over \$750,000 on improvements in 1888 and continued to buy land with the intention of adding to its holdings. Besides its railroad, the company also operated six steamboats with a carrying capacity of 8,000,000 bushels of grain a year.⁶⁹ Railroad traffic in

64 "From Prophecy to Performance", St. Paul Journal of Commerce, March 23, 1889, p. 14.

65 Souvenir of Superior, 1891, p. 143.

66 McRae Administration is Recalled by Butler, newspaper clipping, no name, no date, in the Library of the Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin.

67 Ibid.

68 "From Prophecy to Performance", St. Paul Journal of Commerce, March 23, 1889, p. 12.

69 Ibid., pp. 9, 11.

70 Flower, The Eye of the Northstar, p. 104.

71 Ibid., p. 136.

general had increased so much that now fifty passenger trains came into and went out of the West Superior Union Depot every day,⁷⁰ and in 1889 alone the railroads handled 362,321 tons of freight. Two other railroads were being projected to Superior, both of which were in charge of Superior men. One was to follow the old line of the St. Croix and the other was to be a belt line road around the bays to connect with the terminal and belt lines of Duluth.⁷¹ Hammond also tried to interest the Northern Pacific Company in including Superior in some new railway venture, but he was unsuccessful.⁷² On December 1, 1889, the charges that formerly had been made for switching and exchanging freight by the Lake Superior Terminal and Transfer Company were abolished as far as the industries receiving the merchandise were concerned, and the charges were to be made against the railroad in whose favor the freight might be billed.⁷³

In November, 1889, the South Superior Improvement Company was organized with a capital of \$250,000 and a 450 acre tract of land located at the junction of the Great Northern and Northern Pacific Railroads.

⁷⁰ "From Prophecy to Performance", St. Paul Journal of Commerce, March 23, p. 14, Ten of these trains were short line trains running between Superior and Duluth.

⁷¹ "Infusion of New Life", St. Paul Journal of Commerce, March 23, 1889, p. 8.

⁷² Flower, The Eye of the Northwest, p. 104.

⁷³ Ibid., p. 136.

Two new hotels were constructed in 1889. The West Superior Hotel, a four-story building, was built by the Land and River Improvement Company⁷⁴ and the Euclid, a smaller structure, was opened in East End. This hotel had been able to secure substantial aid from the owners of the town property in East End.⁷⁵ In spite of the building and general improvement in the town, there must have been much social unrest which was characteristic of this period following the Civil War. Labor strife, due to unexplained causes, grew so bad that at last the mayor had to appeal to the governor to settle one of the strikes without bloodshed.⁷⁶ The population of Superior was now over 11,000⁷⁷ and new businesses were being established every day in both the East and West ends of town. During the years preceding 1890, James Bardon and Anson Maltby were purchasing the shares in the original land company of East Superior and reorganizing the company. By 1890, 16,000 lots or 2,000 acres were again brought under one ownership and manager by deeds to a corporation known as the Superior Consolidated Land Company.⁷⁸ The East Superior Development

⁷⁴ McCabe, Annual, 1899.

⁷⁵ "Infusion of New Life", St. Paul Journal of Commerce, March 23, 1889, pp. 8-9.

⁷⁶ The Daily Call, April 12, 1890.

⁷⁷ United States Census, 1890, p. 360.

⁷⁸ Souvenir of Superior, 1891, p. 132.

Company was also organized in 1890, owning 2,000 acres of land just outside the city limits. As the land was intersected by three railroads, it was very attractive to companies that needed trunk line accommodations.⁷⁹

1890, 1891 and 1892 were boom years for Superior. People were encouraged to come to the city by real estate agents⁸⁰ and there was a great demand for both houses and business buildings. In the spring of the year, carloads of furniture were on the tracks at Superior, awaiting the completion of houses,⁸¹ and in 1890, 838 buildings were erected in eleven months.⁸² The price of land again rose. Mr. Wise, one of the former editors of The Chronicle got \$30,000 for 150 acres of land for which he had paid \$1.25 an acre in 1857.⁸³ More land companies started operations and a building company began planning two business blocks on Tower Avenue.⁸⁴ The number of real estate companies was now 16 and real estate transfers were now 3 1/2 times what they had been in 1889.⁸⁵ As industry increased and the town boomed, expenses grew and the debts of the city were larger. Bonds were

⁷⁹ Souvenir of Superior, 1891, p. 132.

⁸⁰ One real estate company persuaded 25 families from Osage and about 200 people from Iowa, to settle in Superior.

⁸¹ Souvenir of Superior, 1891, p. 159.

⁸² Ibid., p. 11.

⁸³ The Superior Times, July 18, 1903.

⁸⁴ Souvenir of Superior, 1891, p. 174.

⁸⁵ Ibid., p. 108.

continued and the town experienced a rapid growth. issued for a village hall, for sewers, fire protection, culture was still neglected and only two hundred bridges and streets until the total bonded indebtedness of land were under cultivation in all of Douglas County was over \$900,000.⁸⁶ However, at the same time, cash

Because the business of the post office was collected and city deposits of \$324,628.66 were in the to \$12,600,000 it was made a special class post office various city banks. The Douglas County Bank and the Keystone National were among the new banks organized in 1890.⁸⁷ There were now also four railroad stations⁸⁸ which handled 1,235,998 tons in 1890.⁸⁹

Rockefeller and his associates became interested in the industrial opportunities in Superior and purchased one half the entire stock of the West Superior Iron and Steel Company. The same group now controlled the American Steel Superior Barge Company and the Faeger and Durants Brick Company each employing around 100 people, were the most important concerns. Here, too, a modern hotel was built Superior Iron and Steel Company gave employment to around 1,500 people, and the American Steel Barge Company employed 700, the Rockefeller interests were very important to the

future prosperity of Superior.⁹⁰ There was also the Buffalo Oil Company,⁹¹ the Duff Forge Works, a cut stone works, several commission houses, plumbing companies, and a number of brewing and liquor businesses.⁹² Although speculation

⁸⁶ Souvenir of Superior, 1891, p. 29.

⁸⁷ Ibid., p. 149.

⁸⁸ Flower, The Eye of the Northwest, p. 136.

⁸⁹ Pen and Sunlight Sketches, p. 120.

⁹⁰ Souvenir of Superior, 1891, p. 71.

⁹¹ McCabe, Annual, 1897.

⁹² Autumnal Review, 1899, p. 16; McCabe, Annual, 1896, 1897.

continued and the town experienced a rapid growth, agriculture was still neglected and only two hundred acres of land were under cultivation in all of Douglas County.⁹³

Because the business of the post office had increased to \$18,623.90⁹⁴ it was made a second class post office in the summer. At the same time a free delivery system was inaugurated and a branch office established in South Superior.⁹⁵ The population of this suburb alone was now 2,500 and several important industries had located there. The La Belle Wagon Company which employed 200 people, the Webster Chair Company which had 500 workers, the Racine Malleable Iron Works with 150 employees and the Superior Buggy Company and the Saeger and Gurniss Brick Company each employing around 100 people, were the most important concerns. Here, too, a modern hotel was built by the company which had sponsored the development of Superior.⁹⁶

Population increases can not be gauged accurately except for the census years because there was so much exaggeration in the advertising leaflets which are available, but the population naturally must have grown as more and more

⁹³ The Lake Superior Farmer, September 15, 1895, p. 293.

⁹⁴ Souvenir of Superior, 1891, p. 105.

⁹⁵ Pen and Sunlight Sketches, p. 127.

⁹⁶ Souvenir of Superior, 1891, pp. 156, 99.

plants located on the Wisconsin side of the head of the lakes. In June, 1891, the city census was reported at 21,215,⁹⁷ and it was estimated that about 5,500 workmen were employed.⁹⁸

Speculation became more excessive in the early nineties and investments were made exactly as they had been made forty years before. The real estate transfers amounted to \$13,431,817 in 1891 and two more building and loan companies appeared to finance the city's development.⁹⁹ Houses costing only \$800.00 to build rented for \$25.00 a month with board and room not less than \$5.00 a week. The stock of the Land and River Improvement Company was quoted at \$600, having a par value of \$100.¹⁰⁰

The town still presented a rough appearance, for it was noted that \$100,000 buildings were erected next to lots with stumps in them, completely undeveloped. Several apartment houses were available for living quarters. Some of these were three, four and five stories high and most of them were built in West Superior which became the industrial center of the city.¹⁰¹ Several companies

⁹⁷ Pen and Sunlight Sketches, p. 117.
⁹⁸ Scouvenir of Superior, 1891, p. 15.
⁹⁹ Ibid., p. 105.
¹⁰⁰ Ibid., p. 108.
¹⁰¹ Ibid., pp. 119-120. These buildings included "a livery stable, three stories high and oriental in design."

connected with the steel industry were located in Superior by 1891. These included such concerns as the Standard Elevator, Iron Works, the Superior Steel Tool Company, the Steel Plate Rolling Mills, the Superior Malleable Iron Works, the West Superior Smelting and Refining Company besides the West Superior Iron and Steel Company.¹⁰² Three lumber companies, Peyton, Kimball and Barber, the West Superior Lumber Company and the Charles S. Murray and Co., a number of furniture and construction companies and the Duluth Milling Company, provided employment for the rest of the labor supply of the city.¹⁰³ Banking facilities expanded and now business men could take their choice of ten banks which had a total capitalization of \$1,035,000.¹⁰⁴ Taxes paid in 1891 amounted to \$529,000 with the sewers, police and engineering departments receiving large shares of the city's income.¹⁰⁵

Industrial construction near the lake shore continued with the Land and River Improvement Company building a merchandise dock while the St. Paul and Pacific Coal

- ¹⁰² Pen and Sunlight Sketches, pp. 120-121.
- ¹⁰³ The Scouvenir of Superior, 1891, pp. 71-72 gives a complete list of the companies then in existence, with their products, capital and number of employees.
- ¹⁰⁴ The Scouvenir of Superior, 1891, p. 105 gives a list of all the banks, their capital, surplus and undivided profits, deposits, and loans and discounts.
- ¹⁰⁵ Ibid., p. 29.
- ¹⁰⁶ Scouvenir of Superior, 1891, p. 106. Each day the Ozark Railroad had 2 trains to Chicago, 2 to St. Paul; the Northern Pacific, 1 to Chicago, 2 to the Pacific coast; the Northern Minnesota, 1 to St. Paul; the St. Paul and Duluth, 4 to St. Paul; the South Shore and Atlantic, 1 to Boston and the East.

Company extended its dock so that 300,000 tons could be stored there. The Great Northern Elevator Company's elevator, leased to the Northwestern Fuel Company had a capacity of 250,000 tons while the Great Northern Railroad Company's dock, operated by the Ohio Central, and Silver Creek and Morris Companies, had a capacity of 400,000 tons.¹⁰⁶

Customs records reveal a total of \$55,000,000.00 for the value of imports and exports for 1891.¹⁰⁷ The amount of commerce was large and necessitated good service on the lakes which was supplied by eleven companies which operated a total fleet of about eighty vessels.¹⁰⁸ Harbor appropriations continued to be made by the government with \$70,000 being appropriated in 1892 alone. This appropriation brought the total spent on the harbor for the years since Hammond began buying land to \$292,500.¹⁰⁹ By this time most of the railroad companies at Superior had one or more daily connections with Chicago and several trains left each day for St. Paul.¹¹⁰ Another association to facilitate railroad

¹⁰⁶ Souvenir of Superior, 1891, p. 47. selling for \$666.00

¹⁰⁷ Swineford's address, in Greetings from the city of Superior to the Minnesota Conference of the Scandinavian Evangelical Lutheran Augustana Synod of North America, p. 24.

¹⁰⁸ Souvenir of Superior, 1891, p. 49.

¹⁰⁹ Annual Report of the Board of Public Works, 1893, p. 22.
 August 2, 1882, \$40,000; July 5, 1884, \$45,000;
 August 5, 1886, \$22,500; August 11, 1888, \$50,000;
 September 19, 1890, \$65,000; July 13, 1892, \$70,000.

¹¹⁰ Souvenir of Superior, 1891, p. 59. Each day the Omaha Railroad had 2 trains to Chicago, 2 to St. Paul; the Northern Pacific, 1 to Chicago, 2 to the Pacific coast; the Eastern Minnesota, 2 to St. Paul; the St. Paul and Duluth, 3 to St. Paul; the South Shore and Atlantic, 1 to Boston and the east.

traffic besides the Lake Superior Terminal and Transfer Company, was the Lake Superior Car Association formed by all the railroads to force consignees to unload freight cars quickly, thus saving the companies a great deal of money in the busy season.¹¹¹

In 1892 the population was estimated at 44,306¹¹² and the assessed valuation of the city was \$25,876,801.95.¹¹³ The city had bonded itself to such an extent that it was now \$1,308,880.55 in debt.¹¹⁴ That is, the city officials believed they were that much in debt. The city treasurer's books were hopelessly confused with the county accounts and a committee was appointed to investigate the methods used in other counties with a view to changing the book-keeping methods in Douglas County. The defense of the city treasurer, that he had just been doing what others before him had done, while sincere, was not very helpful.¹¹⁵ However, no one seemed especially concerned over the amount of the debt for business was flourishing and land prices remained high. Land was reported to be selling for \$666.00 a front foot and a corner lot on Tower or Belknap could be sold for \$125,000.00.¹¹⁶ New shops were opened at the

¹¹¹ Souvenir of Superior, 1891, p. 57.

¹¹² Pen and Sunlight Sketches, pp. 117-118.

¹¹³ Wentzel, Comptroller's Report, 1907, p. 9.

¹¹⁴ Mayor Scott's address printed in The Superior Times, April 23, 1892.

¹¹⁵ The Superior Times, August 27, 1892.

¹¹⁶ E. F. Hopkins, Superior Facts, Superior, Wisconsin, 1893, no. p.

head of the lakes until we note printing companies, meat markets, photography shops, tailors, a retail coal company, livery stables, and shoe stores, all having advertised wares in a publicity pamphlet issued in 1892.¹¹⁷ The State Trust and Savings Bank was opened in 1892 making a total of eleven banking institutions now in operation.¹¹⁸ The Duluth Milling Company had evidently been merely a branch of a Minnesota concern, for the Lake Superior Mill, which established its own elevator and pier, in 1892, is referred to as the concern which started the flour industry in Superior.¹¹⁹ The Anchor Mill, William Listman Mill and the Russell and Miller Milling Company (with a capacity of 5,500 barrels of flour daily) also began operations.¹²⁰

The flourishing condition of the liquor business during this period is attested by the fact that in April 72 persons applied for licenses, although only 27 were granted at that council meeting because of the lateness of the hour.¹²¹

Five coal companies were operating seven docks with a capacity of 1,700,000 tons of coal, and annual imports

117 Pen and Sunlight Sketches of Duluth, Superior and Ashland.

118 Ibid., p. 128.

119 At the Head of the Lakes, Superior, The New Flour City, published by the Edward P. Allis Co., Milwaukee, Wisconsin, 1893, no. p.; McCabe, Annual, 1896.

120 Pen and Sunlight Sketches, p. 133.

121 The Superior Daily Call, April 27, 1892.

of 1,045,000 tons.¹²² The Lehigh Coal and Iron Company had the largest business receiving 75,000 tons more than any other company. 3,173,164 bushels of flour were exported. Superior was again at the crest of the speculative wave, but in the national panic of 1893, the wave broke. As A. J. Wentzel, the city comptroller, put it, "The financial storm that swept the country in 1892¹²³ struck the good ship 'Superior' with all sails set, she keeled almost to the point of losing all under the terrific blow. Many of her manufacturing industries and captains of finance were washed from her deck and sank from sight in the watered stocks that rolled and broke on every shore."¹²⁴ Several of the banks failed and the city itself ran into financial difficulties because much of its money had been deposited in these banks.¹²⁷ The mills and elevators were not hit by the depression as much as the real estate and investment firms and Superior shipped more wheat and flour in 1893 than in 1892 while Chicago, Milwaukee and Duluth shipped less.¹²⁶ In fact, in 1893 Superior shipped more barrels of flour than any of these other ports did. Most of the mills at Superior were only about half finished and were able to store only 50 per cent of the grain they would be able to in the future. There were three mills in

¹²² Pen and Sunlight Sketches, p. 118.

¹²³ This is an error; should be 1893.

¹²⁴ Comptroller's Report, 1907, p. 23. Duluth, Minnesota,

1895.

¹²⁵ Dickson and Eddy, The Coal Trade Journal, p. 277.

the West End and three in the East End with a total capacity of 12,000 barrels of flour. In 1893, 10,757,150 bushels of wheat and 2,173,164 bushels of flour were exported from Superior.¹²⁵

Though the panic had not been fatal to Superior, the citizens decided to try to avoid booms and just aim for steady growth which would be more permanent.¹²⁶

At the beginning of 1894 as in 1855, all the important industrial concerns were located at Superior and the next years were concerned with the development of these industries rather than the formation of others. If the estimates made of the population in 1893 and 1894 were correct, the panic did have a great effect on the town for the population in 1895 according to the state census was 26,118,¹²⁷ in place of the 44,000 estimate for 1893 and the 30,000 estimate for 1894.¹²⁸ The city itself had taken on a much more civilized appearance within the past ten years for now there was a complete system of electric lighting, thirty-five miles of paved streets, forty-three miles of water mains, and forty-seven miles of sewers. The panic had weeded out the banks so that only seven remained, but these had a capital and surplus of \$1,500,000.¹²⁹ As usual, selling real estate was an

¹²⁵ Lagro, Bird's Eye View of Superior, no. sp. and a

¹²⁶ The Superior Telegram, March 30, 1907. Each pocket

¹²⁷ State Census, 1895, p. 11. an standard ore cars,

¹²⁸ The Tourist's and Sportsman's Guide, Duluth, Minnesota, 1895. at one time. The city had over \$500,000.

¹²⁹ Dickson and Eddy, The Coal Trade Journal, p. 277.

important business and the West Superior Index waxed almost lyrical in its descriptions of real estate opportunities in Superior. Lots were sold on easy terms for prices that ranged from \$500 a lot, to \$300 per front foot for lots in the business district. Although the city of Superior had \$411,326.33 cash on hand, there was some question about the value of the deposits because of the bank failures. The Superior National, the Douglas County, and the South Superior banks had already failed and on November 30 the Keystone National Bank failed. The Superior National offered to pay fifty cents on the dollar of deposits and, evidently, the other banks later made similar offers. This proposed settlement was first rejected and then accepted by the council, but the mayor vetoed the bill.¹³⁰ The Superior Times was of the opinion that the banks could pay the full amount of the deposits, but the case dragged along for years.

The greatest activity in Superior was along the water front. Eight coal docks,¹³¹ saw-mills, five railroad

¹³⁰ The Superior Times, September 28, 1895; October 26, 1895; November 30, 1895.

¹³¹ A picture of the Mesaba Ore Dock on St. Louis Bay appears on page 14 of the West Superior Index. It was 2,304 feet long, 52 feet wide and 52 feet 8½ inches above the water surface. It had 384 ore pockets, with a capacity of 175 tons each and a total storage capacity of 67,200 tons. Each pocket could hold the contents of seven standard ore cars, so that 2,688 carloads could be dumped into the dock at one time. The total cost was over \$500,000.

elevators, merchandise docks, a dry dock of the American Steel Barge Company's (the only dry dock on Lake Superior), and the shipyards of the same company, oil docks, etc. were the center of the commercial life of the town. Two more flour mills had been started so the daily output of the mills was 24,000 barrels,¹³² with a total output for 1895 of 3,018,200 barrels valued at \$9,206,140. The value of all the manufacturing plants was \$6,883,828; the number of employees in such plants was 2,535 with a wage roll of \$1,234,237; in addition about 3,000 men were employed by the railroads, on the docks, or in the building trades. Besides those industries already mentioned, there was manufacturing of wagons, carriages, sleighs, iron articles, leather articles, wooden articles of all sorts, woollen fabrics, tobacco products, brass goods, tin, copper, etc.¹³³

The number of industrial concerns remained about the same in 1897 although the total number of laborers and their wages had decreased slightly. Additions and improvements were made by many businesses. The new railroad, the Duluth, Superior and Western entered Superior and the Great Northern extended its plant while the American Steel Barge

¹³² The Coal Trade Journal, p. 277.

¹³³ Figures taken from the State Census, June 1, 1895, reprinted in the West Superior Index, p. 10.

¹³⁴ The Evening Telegram, July 10, 1895.

Agriculture at last was being developed somewhat for in 1895 there were about 5,000 acres under cultivation in Douglas County with over 1,000 acres in the city of Superior being planted to vegetables and small fruits.¹³⁵

In 1896 the value of the plants, their stock and fixtures and wage payments amounted to about the same as in 1895, although the total value of imports and exports had risen to \$64,000,000.¹³⁶ The most important business additions were two new iron works companies.¹³⁷

The first appropriations for the Superior and Duluth harbor had been made separately, but after 1896 the harbors were considered as a unit in federal legislation. In 1896, only \$50,000 was expended on the harbor at the head of the lakes, but the following year this was increased to around \$437,000.00.¹³⁸

The number of industrial concerns remained about the same in 1897 although the total number of laborers and their wages had decreased slightly. Additions and improvements were made by many businesses. One new railroad, the Duluth, Superior and Western entered Superior and the Great Northern extended its plant while the American Steel Barge

¹³⁵ The Lake Superior Farmer, September 15, 1895, p. 293.

¹³⁶ McCabe, Annual, 1896.

¹³⁷ Ibid., 1897.

¹³⁸ Ibid., 1899.

Company built a large machine shop and installed a traveling crane in the yards.

According to the Superior Annual, 1898 was the best year the city had had since 1892. The population was estimated at 32,000, the three saw-mills of Peyton, Kimball and Barber, the McCord Lumber Company, and the West Superior Lumber Company cut seventy million feet of lumber; 155,000 loaded freight cars were handled; and \$75,000,000.00 worth of business was transacted.

Nine elevators had now been built with a capacity of 13½ million bushels, and \$700,070 was spent on the combined Duluth-Superior harbor.

The following year again, showed little change in business. Real estate had not gone back to the prices which had been common in 1892, but lots still cost anywhere from \$500 to \$1,400 depending on the location, and in one week the real estate sales amounted to \$75,000.¹⁴¹

There was a great demand for property near the steel plant and near Allouez Bay because of the business improvements that were being made there. By 1899 the American Steel Barge Company occupied 32 acres of land, had built fifty boats and paid out over ten million

¹³⁹ McCabe, Annual, 1898.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid., 1899.

¹⁴¹ Autumnal Review, 1899, p. 10.

dollars in wages. They were still only three saw-mills, but their capacity had increased so that they could now produce 100,000,000 feet of lumber each year, while they employed over 1,000 men in the sawing season. In the winter time most of the mill employees went to work in the woods.¹⁴² Flour milling had been consolidated so that all the mills but the Commander Flour Milling Company, were owned by the United States Flour Milling Company.¹⁴³

In 1899 mining again began to be considered as a possible source of profit and articles were published expressing the belief that both gold and copper mining would become important at the head of the lakes in the near future.¹⁴⁴ The general prosperity and importance of the city is shown by the fact that there were now five separate post offices within the city limits. These were West Superior, Superior, South Superior, Itasca and Allouez. The West End was continually forging ahead of the East End and in 1899 only one of the five banks in the city and one of the five largest hotels were located in the East End. The oldest section of the town was also the

¹⁴² Autumnal Review, 1899, p. 12. February 20, 1899.

¹⁴³ Ibid., p. 9. Superior, Second

¹⁴⁴ The Superior Leader, March 19, 1899; Autumnal Review, 1899, pp. 12-13.

least progressive and the West End drew to itself more and more business.

The population growth had been steady since 1885, with the exception of the increase and decrease from 1892 to 1895, and in 1900 the inhabitants numbered 31,091 which made Superior the second city in size in the state.¹⁴⁵

To summarize this second period of financial growth we can turn to the figures given for the lake traffic and the freight handlings. Few figures are available before 1883 or for 1899 itself, but a fairly complete record may be obtained for the years from 1889 to 1899.

As a generalization we may conclude that growth was steady and continuous with the panic of 1893 producing but a slight retardation to Superior's industry. The actual number of boats arriving at and departing from Superior shows this growth. Although each year did not show an increase over the year immediately preceding it, where there was a drop, the difference was slight.¹⁴⁶ In the same way, coal receipts increased from 266,289 tons

¹⁴⁵ Wentzel, Comptroller's Report, p. 26.

¹⁴⁶ The years from 1883 to 1897 saw the following number of arrivals and clearances: 1883, 21; 1884, 189; 1885, 200; 1886, 313; 1887, 436; 1888, 1,270; 1889, 898; 1890, 1,256; 1891, 1,610; 1892, 1,940; 1893, 1,891; 1894, 2,000; 1895, 2,892; 1896, 2,920; 1897, 2,829. The Evening Telegram, February 26, 1898. By 1900, 3,000 boats arrived. Superior, Second City in Wisconsin, Ten Year's Growth, Pamphlet, (no date, probably 1900) no page, no publisher, in the Library of the Wisconsin Historical Society, Madison, Wisconsin.

in 1887 to 1,800,000 tons in 1898 with each year, with the exception of 1895, seeing an increase over the year before.¹⁴⁷

Though flour shipments did not start until 1889, the same generalization holds good, for each year, with the exception of one, 1897, showed an increase over the year preceding until 4,105,761 barrels were being exported.¹⁴⁸ From a consideration of the available figures, it seems that the panic of 1893 had an effect only on shipments of grain. In 1891 twice as many bushels of grain were shipped as in 1890 while in 1892 and 1893, the shipments fell off a great deal.¹⁴⁹ The one trade was even more variable, evidently responding to conditions that had no effect on other types of produce.¹⁵⁰ The total amount of goods shipped and the value of the goods likewise showed a steady increase.¹⁵¹

The year 1897 was a representative year for the types of articles involved in all this commerce. In that year, coal, salt, cement, sugar, pitch, oil, brick, limestone, burlap, wire, manufactured iron, iron pipe, logs, stoves, canned goods, merchandise, coffee, nails, steel rails, cedar and oak ties were imported, while

¹⁴⁷ See Appendix A, Plate I.

¹⁴⁸ See Appendix A, Plate II.

¹⁴⁹ See Appendix A, Plate III.

¹⁵⁰ See Appendix A, Plate IV.

¹⁵¹ See Appendix A, Plate V.

wheat, other grains, flour, mill stuff, wool, copper, merchandise, adamant, manufactured iron, shingles, lathe, lumber, salmon and iron ore made up the exports of Superior.¹⁵²

Turning to the taxes of the city and the city expenses, we note a distinct change, for here instead of increasing, the tax levy actually decreased so that in 1899 it was \$250,000 less than in 1890. The highest tax levied was \$1,305,163.93 in 1892 which corresponded to the business boom and the expectations of continued and increasing prosperity, and the highest amount of delinquent taxes was the following year with \$656,377.91 uncollected. The per cent of delinquency, was highest in 1894 for then only \$767,576.57 was levied in taxes and \$490,050.38 was not paid. The assessed valuation of property in 1899 was also less than half what it had been in 1890, but this was probably due to the sobering effects of the panic on the assessors and not to deterioration of property as the major industries continued to employ about the same number of men and the payrolls were decreased only slightly.

The largest appropriations in the departments of the city were made in the early eighteen nineties to build

¹⁵² Thomas B. Mills, "Superior's Commerce", The Evening Telegram, February 26, 1898.

¹⁵³ Wentzel, Report of City Controller, p. 19. See Appendix B.

up the town rapidly. The largest appropriation for streets was \$98,720.06 in 1890; the sewer fund got its biggest grant of \$116,527.62 in 1891 and the general fund received \$393,510.54 in 1892 alone. The engineering department got the biggest share of its money in the three years from 1890 to 1893 with a total of \$97,288.57 being granted. After 1894, this department got less than \$5,000 a year, evidently just enough for maintainance. The police department and fire department showed less change than the others, the former receiving no more than 37,000 in any one year, and no less than "20,000 while the latter received large appropriations, but likewise got no less than \$20,000.¹⁵³

Early part of the 1880's out the growth of the city may be clearly traced in the elections of 1881 and 1882. In the state election of 1881 there were only 117 votes; in April of 1882, 213 votes were cast while in the November election of 1882, 615 ballots were counted.² There was little excitement over these elections, but in the annual city election in 1883, a bitter contest was waged between those who represented the Whiskey faction and those who opposed this element. The Whiskey group tried to get some illegal voters in, but they were rejected

¹ The Superior Times, April 8, 1882.

² Ibid., November 11, 1882.

Chapter VI.

Superior: A Modern City

In 1900 Superior was a modern city equipped with all the things necessary to assure future prosperity. Not only did it have a strategic geographical position and numerous prosperous industrial concerns, but it was well-established politically and, from educational and religious standpoints farther advanced than many older, settlements. Of these various phases of a city's growth, political activity is perhaps the most interesting.

Information is meager concerning conditions in Superior in the early part of the 1880's but the growth of the city may be clearly traced in the elections of 1881 and 1882. In the state election of 1881 there were only 117 votes: in April of 1882, 211 votes were cast¹ while in the November election of 1882, 315 ballots were counted.² There was little excitement over these elections, but in the annual city election in 1883, a bitter contest was waged between those who represented the Whiskey faction and those who opposed this element. The Whiskey group had tried to get some illegal voters in, but they were rejected

¹ The Superior Times, April 8, 1882.

² Ibid., November 11, 1882.

by the election board, and the opposition, "representing law and order" triumphed,³ to the complete approval of The Superior Times. For some years after its establishment⁴ The Times remained the only newspaper, but in 1883 another paper called the Inter-Ocean began publication. This paper, according to The Times⁵ was started only to ruin The Times, but it did not succeed.

After the platting of West Superior, improvements were made in both sections of the town. \$500 was appropriated by the town to be used to set out trees to beautify the city and the town board also built the Detroit pier between the Northern Pacific dock and the Quebec pier. After some discussion, land was cleared and a county poor farm was established.⁶

The first school house in West Superior was a two-story frame house built in 1885.⁷ This building was severely criticized as it was larger than had been expected and it was located some distance from the settlement proper.⁸ Even by 1886 there were only five teachers employed in the public schools with an enrollment of 142 pupils.⁹

³ The Superior Times, April 7, 1883.

⁴ Established in 1870 when the Superior Tribune, which had replaced the Gazette (the old Chronicle), moved to Duluth.

⁵ The Superior Times, March 15, 1884.

⁶ Ibid., July 11, 1885.

⁷ McCabe, Annual, 1897.

⁸ Flower, The Eye of the Northwest, p. 118.

⁹ Pen and Sunlight Sketches, p. 126.

The city, especially the West End, was still almost untouched by civilization. Streets were unpaved and there were, as yet, few sidewalks so that clothing was often ruined because of the mud,¹⁰ but by 1887, \$1,450,000 had been spent on improvements which made a great difference in the appearance of the town and the daily life of the inhabitants.¹¹

After 1882, the republicans controlled the politics of Superior almost as completely as they controlled national politics. A special election at the beginning of 1887 to choose a senator was interesting because of the personal decisions the voters had to make on the candidate from Superior. Only 305 votes were cast as the Republicans stayed away because they didn't want to vote against Bardon who was the Superiorite, nor for him because he was a democrat. Because of their failure to vote against him, he was elected.¹² The same year saw an election held for village officers in which the republicans were able to elect 11 of the 14 officials, with a total vote of 560 being cast.¹³

¹⁰ The Superior Telegram, December 12, 1907.

¹¹ Greetings from the city of Superior to the Minnesota Conference of the Scandinavian Evangelical Lutheran Augustana Synod of North America, p. 29.

¹² The Superior Times, January 22, 1887.

¹³ Ibid., October, 1887.

¹⁴ Monroe Administration is available in Butler, newspaper clipping in the library of the Wisconsin Historical Society, Madison, Wisconsin.

Outside of the organization of the village government in 1887, probably the most important thing that happened was the granting of a franchise to the Superior Water Works Company which began plans to supply the city with water from the bay of Superior.¹⁴ The following year the Daft Electric Light Company,¹⁵ and the Superior Light and Fuel Company were granted franchises.¹⁶ The former company did nothing, but the latter began developing a lighting system at once. A franchise was granted to the Superior Telegraph and Telephone Company which had been granted rights before, but did nothing.¹⁷

The village board also allowed the village engineer's first estimate on the Tower Avenue sewer which amounted to over \$2,538.93.¹⁸ In a special election in April, a majority of the voters had supported the issuance of \$25,000 worth of six per cent bonds to erect a village hall. The Land and River Improvement Company donated land at the corner of Winter Street and John Avenue and the building was completed in the fall;¹⁹ at the same time, a

¹⁴ Charter and Ordinances of the City of Superior, compiled by Kellogg and Durley, Superior, Wisconsin, 1896, pp. 169-183.

¹⁵ Ibid., pp. 189-198.

¹⁶ Ibid., pp. 199-206.

¹⁷ Major W. Dietrich, Annual Message to the Common Council, Superior, Wisconsin, January 1, 1900, p. 5.

¹⁸ The Superior Times, May 5, 1888.

¹⁹ McRae Administration Is Recalled by Butler, newspaper clipping in the Library of the Wisconsin Historical Society, Madison, Wisconsin.

jail was built at East End.²⁰ The Land and River Improvement Company donated lots for the Matt Carpenter School which was begun in 1888 and completed in 1889.²¹ An opera house was also built in West Superior by the land company. Including these buildings and other improvements, \$2,457,000 was expended for public and private improvements in Superior.²² These improvements also included the building of a fire hall, the laying of water mains for fire protection, the construction of a sewer, and the grading of streets.²³

The government of Superior under the village charter must have been corrupt for a newspaper in 1890 refers to the "notorious village council,"²⁴ while its efficiency is criticized again by The Daily Call which says that the village officers gave away the franchises for water, gas, electric light and street railway privileges.²⁵

In the spring of 1888, several political groups were mentioned in the newspapers. There was a saloon keeper's association, a prohibitionist party and a labor party with whom some republicans tried to ally themselves in order to get elected.²⁶ However, in the village election, the

20 The Superior Telegram, March 13, 1920.

21 Polk, City of Superior Directory 1891-2, p. 29.

22 Greetings to the Minnesota Synod, etc., p. 29.

23 "Infusion of New Life", St. Paul Journal of Commerce, March 23, 1889, p. 8.

24 The Superior Times, April 5, 1890.

25 Ibid., April 12, 1890.

26 Ibid., May 5, 1888.

republicans were defeated. In the same election a majority of the voters voted in favor of the establishment of a public library²⁷ and a library was located in a building on Tower Avenue.²⁸

The location was changed several times in the 1890's, but there was always a public library and each year more books were added to the collection.

Corruption became apparent in the new village officers and in June the dismissal of the Chief of Police and the village attorney was referred to by The Superior

Times as the result of a reform movement. Before the November election, three voting districts were set up by the village board. The first one was in East Superior, the second in West Superior, and the third one on Connor's Point.²⁹ In this election, Blaine got a majority of twenty-six in Douglas County and the Republican candidates for the county and state positions, also won.³⁰ Although the republicans had won a majority of the offices before, this was the first time they had been able to capture all the county positions.³¹

The Republican party was not free from machine politics, for it was said that the first city election following the granting of the city charter in 1889, in which the republicans obtained a majority of one

²⁷ The Superior Times, May 5, 1888.

²⁸ McRae Administration is Recalled by Butler, newspaper clipping in the Library of the Wisconsin Historical Society, Madison, Wisconsin.

²⁹ The Superior Times, November 3, 1888.

³⁰ Ibid., November 10, 1888.

³¹ The Superior Wave, December 28, 1888.

in the council and elected 7 of the officials including the mayor, was determined by the bosses before the election was held.³²

One important department which was reorganized after the city charter went into effect was the fire department. Four fire halls were established, one in each of the various sections of the city and "twenty-four men were employed full time with ten volunteers ever subject to call."³³

In 1889 the St. Francis Hospital was opened under the control of the Roman Catholic Church. It was a good sized hospital for the time, for it could accomodate a hundred patients.³⁴ Improvements continued with about a mile of Tower Avenue "paved" with cedar blocks and curbed with granite, over eleven miles of streets graded, almost nine miles of sidewalks built and four miles of sewer laid.³⁵ There were also several parks built in the East End and a driving park on Tower Avenue.³⁶

The Matt Carpenter School in the West End was opened in the spring of 1889 while the Nelson Dewey School in the

³² The Superior Times, April 6, 1889.

³³ McRae Administration is Recalled by Butler, newspaper clipping in the Library of the Wisconsin Historical Society, Madison, Wisconsin.

³⁴ Souvenir of Superior, 1891, p. 116.

³⁵ Ibid., p. 21.

³⁶ McRae Administration is Recalled by Butler, newspaper clipping in the Library of the Wisconsin Historical Society, Madison, Wisconsin.

⁴³ The Superior Times, April 5, 1890.

East End was opened in the fall. Both schools were of pressed brick with brown stone trimmings.³⁷ In District Number 1 in the East End, there was only the one school with five teachers whereas in District Number 2 there were six schools, and seventeen teachers.³⁸ 1889 was the year in which a great many franchises were granted. The Superior Arc Light and Power Company,³⁹ the Douglas County Street Railway Company⁴⁰ and the Superior Water, Light and Power Company⁴¹ all were given charters in that year. The Superior Water, Light and Power Company was organized in 1889 and controlled all the property, franchises and rights of the Superior Water Works Company, the Superior and Duluth Electric Light Company, the Superior Light and Fuel Company and the Superior Arc Light and Power Company thus becoming very important in the development of the city and practically monopolistic in regard to public services. In 1890, The Superior Leader

(cited) An unusually large vote was cast in 1890 to elect a republican mayor and a council consisting of nine republicans and five democrats.⁴² This election was the first time the Australian ballot was used and it was hoped this procedure would help limit the possible fraud in

³⁷ Flower, The Eye of the Northwest, pp. 117-118; Souvenir of Superior, 1891, p. 113.

³⁸ Flower, The Eye of the Northwest, pp. 117-120.

³⁹ Ordinances, 1896, pp. 207-212.

⁴⁰ Ibid., pp. 215-224.

⁴¹ Ibid., pp. 213-214.

⁴² The Superior Times, April 5, 1890.

elections.⁴³ In the new mayor's inaugural address which he read at the first council meeting on April 15, he criticized the quality of the water supplied by the newly organized company; stating that he would dismiss any public official who accepted bribes and gave it as his opinion "that he did not think that the moral tone of the city could be attained by legislation, but he would try to suppress the conducting of open gambling places, low dives and public prostitution."⁴⁴

By 1890, there were seven or eight newspapers in Superior, some dailies, some weeklies, and at least one foreign language paper. A labor paper was published for a few months in 1889 and 1890 but it was forced to suspend publication after a few issues. Several of the newspapers were published for only short spaces of time, and the most important and permanent were the Inter-Ocean (renamed the Inland Ocean in 1891), The Superior Leader (established in 1890), the Evening Telegram (established in 1890), the Daily Call (established in 1887), the Superior Times (1870), and the Superior Wave (1886).⁴⁵

⁴³ The Superior Daily Call, April 1, 1890.

⁴⁴ Ibid., April 15, 1890.

⁴⁵ Flower, The Eye of the Northwest, pp. 120-121; Ada Tyng Griswold, Annotated Catalogue of Newspaper Files in the Library of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin, 1911, pp. 445-447.

Although sewers had been laid and streets graded and paved, transportation was sometimes as primitive as in the earliest days and occasionally dog-teams were still seen on the streets.⁴⁶ Public schools remained about the same, with a Superior Business University offering courses from 1890 on.⁴⁷

By 1891, nineteen churches were in existence with a total membership of 3,546 and property valued at \$279,500.⁴⁸ The two Roman Catholic churches had the largest membership of 1,800, while the five Lutheran churches ranked next with 368.

Labor in Superior was beginning to organize and there were now five labor organizations--the Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, the Longshoremen's Assembly, the Painter's Union, the Queen City Assembly and the Federated Trades Council.⁴⁹

An electric street railway having 6 miles of track and providing fifteen minute service between the East and West Ends of town was a great convenience to those living at the head of the lakes.⁵⁰ The water supply was somewhat improved by running an intake pipe into Lake Superior

⁴⁶ Flower, The Eye of the Northwest, p. 64.

⁴⁷ The Autumnal Review, 1899, p. 18.

⁴⁸ Souvenir of Superior, 1891, pp. 111-112.

⁴⁹ Ibid., p. 117.

⁵⁰ Ibid., p. 59.

itself instead of using the water from the bay as had been done previously. The American District Telephone Company was granted a franchise in 1891;⁵¹ 35½ miles of water mains, 1,700 incandescent lights and 235 arc lights were now in use while 11½ miles of gas mains met the daily consumption of 55,000 cubic feet of gas.⁵² The city had also been divided into 4 sewer districts and a fifth one was to be made. All these districts drained into either St. Louis Bay or Superior Bay.⁵³

Land was given by Frederick Billings, the ex-president of the Northern Pacific Railroad, by the Land and River Improvement Company, James Bardon and Catlin and Butler to be used for a park to be called Billings Park. The city also appropriated \$13,000 to be used to build a boulevard in this park which would connect Superior Bay and St. Louis Bay.⁵⁴

Both the Land and River Improvement Company and the Consolidated Land Company built moderately priced residences which were sold to settlers on the installment plan. By 1891 there were 3,300 homes with the largest house, which cost \$80,000 to build, belonging to Mayor Pattison.⁵⁵

51 Ordinances, 1896, pp. 225-228.

52 Souvenir of Superior, p. 99.

53 Ibid., p. 21.

54 Ibid., p. 33.

55 Idem.

56 Ibid., October 10, 1891.

57 Souvenir of Superior, 1891, p. 114.

Pattison had been re-elected mayor on the reform ticket of the Union Labor Party in April 1891.⁵⁶

As its permanent development came late in the nineteenth century, frontier conditions prevailed in Superior after other localities had acquired at least the veneer of nineteenth century decorum. Superior was notorious as being "wide-open"; saloons, gambling hells and commercialized vice flourished.⁵⁷ Ninety-five liquor applications were granted at one council meeting in May, 1896,⁵⁸ to the despair of the reformers.

The newspapers criticized the extravagance of the city government, implying that the appropriations which were made were unnecessarily large. \$15,00 was appropriated for stationery, printing, etc., while \$71,000 was supposedly spent on bridges which were poor and few in number.⁵⁹ No definite accusations of corruption were made until the middle of the decade, but the implication was made that being close to the administration was financially very beneficial.

In 1891, many churches, as enthusiastic over the city's future as the real estate agents, planned new buildings or additions to the ones they had built.⁶⁰

⁵⁶ The Superior Times, April 11, 1891.

⁵⁷ The Superior Telegram, December 12, 1917.

⁵⁸ The Superior Times, May 9, 1896.

⁵⁹ Ibid., October 10, 1891.

⁶⁰ Souvenir of Superior, 1891, p. 112.

The 34 school teachers and 1,333 pupils of 1890 had increased within a year to 82 teachers and 2,930 pupils with six new school-houses planned for the next year;⁶¹ as the city had developed so rapidly it had outgrown the buildings that had been provided for education. In addition to the public school enrollment, the parochial schools provided education for several hundred students.⁶²

Many lodges and fraternal organizations had been organized and played a large part in the social life of the town. A Boat Club was started in the West End in 1887 and the Superior Yacht Club in the East End was formally incorporated the following year.⁶³

In the first few months of 1892, many small business buildings, six large business blocks and hundreds of houses were built.⁶³ A large city hall was also constructed at a cost of \$2,230,000.⁶⁴ Twenty-one miles of streets had been paved with cedar blocks with sandstone or granite curbing while sixty four miles of sidewalks had been laid.⁶⁵ Transportation was much improved as the electric railroad doubled its track mileage and increased the number of its cars to twenty-six.⁶⁶ A franchise similar to the one

⁶¹ Pen and Sunlight Sketches, pp. 126-127.

⁶² Souvenir of Superior, 1891, p. 113; in 1883 the first parochial school called St. Joseph's and later re-named the St. Francis Xavier School, was built.

Flower, The Eye of the Northwest, p. 162.

⁶³ Pen and Sunlight Sketches, p. 127.

⁶⁴ Greetings from the city of Superior to the Minnesota Synod, p. 30.

⁶⁵ Pen and Sunlight Sketches, p. 126.

⁶⁶ Ibid., p. 128.

granted the Douglas County Street Railroad was granted to the Superior Street Railroad and the North American Telegraph Company was given the right to place poles and string wire along Hammond Avenue.⁶⁶

Water mains had been extended across Superior Bay into the lake itself so that the water supply was supposed to be greatly improved. Thirty-four miles of mains had been built,⁶⁷ but some people continued to use well water as the system of pipes was not as good as had been anticipated.

Because of the increased growth in Superior, two new wards were created. One was in South Superior,⁶⁸ and one in the steel plant district.⁶⁹ 4,743 Votes were cast in the municipal election which the Republicans again won. The Daily Call explained the Republican victory by saying that this party secured the Scandinavian votes, which were large, by placing a Scandinavian on the ticket for treasurer and thus gained their support for the whole slate of officers.⁷⁰ In the national election in the fall, Harrison secured more votes in Superior than Cleveland.⁷¹ This may have been

⁶⁶ The Superior Daily Call, March 8, 1892.

⁶⁷ Pen and Sunlight Sketches, p. 128.

⁶⁸ The Superior Daily Call, March 2, 1892.

⁶⁹ Ibid., March 8, 1892.

⁷⁰ Ibid., April 6, 1892. According to the newspaper, "the Swedes, Norwegians and Scandinavians" outnumber other nationalities three to one.

⁷¹ The Superior Times, November 19, 1892.

because of the tariff question as before the election, 2,000 iron and steel workers had a parade for the republicans, because the Democrats opposed the tariff.⁷²

Charges of corruption were again made in the spring of 1892 when it was alleged that men in the street department were paid for working when they hadn't worked. A special council committee was appointed to investigate the charges,⁷³ but within a week interest in the whole investigation had ebbed.⁷⁴ The committee did report later that the foundations of the streets were poor and that inferior blocks had been used,⁷⁵ but no one seemed interested in beginning an attack on any official or construction company.

In 1892, \$180,000.00 was appropriated for the school fund to provide for the 95 teachers and the 3,500 children who were enrolled.⁷⁶ There was still not enough room in the regular buildings for all the classes and the board was renting 44 rooms at a cost of \$983.00 per month,⁷⁷ even though new schools were to have been constructed before this. A great many churches had been built or partially completed by 1892. There were four Methodist Episcopal

⁷² The Superior Times, October 22, 1892; November 19, 1892.

⁷³ The Daily Call, May 14, 1892.

⁷⁴ Ibid., May 31, 1892.

⁷⁵ The Superior Times, July 30, 1892.

⁷⁶ Hopkins, Superior Facts, no. p.

⁷⁷ The Superior Times, April 23, 1892.

churches, two Congregational churches, two Baptist, one Swedish Baptist, two Roman Catholic, 2 Episcopal, 2 Presbyterian, One Unitarian, one Swedish Lutheran, two German Lutheran, or Evangelical German and a Swedish Mission.⁷⁸

The panic of 1893 affected churches as had the one in 1857. The First Baptist Church lost its parsonage because the congregation didn't have the two hundred dollars necessary to save it and it was reported that 40 per cent of the membership and 50 per cent of the income of the church left the city.⁷⁹

The panic also led to the establishment of a mission to help the unemployed by providing rooms, meals and clothing for them.⁸⁰ The panic had its influence upon the election in 1893. Although the republicans kept many offices, a democrat was elected mayor. In this campaign, the Labor Party combined with the democrats and the People's Party combined with the republicans in some cases.⁸¹ However, the election of 1894 put the republicans completely in power again.⁸² Shortly after the election, charges of corruption were made once more. This time The Inland Ocean said that The Telegram had been made

⁷⁸ Pent and Sunlight Sketches, p. 127. Beginning to make
⁷⁹ The Superior Telegram, December 12, 1917.
⁸⁰ The Lake Superior Mission, A Workingman's Home, printed
 by the Evening Telegram, Superior, Wisconsin, 1913,
 no. p.
⁸¹ Inland Ocean, April 9, 1893; The Superior Times, March
⁸² Inter-Ocean, April 8, 1894.

the official paper at full legal rates even though a lower bid was submitted by The Wave.⁸³ This charge, like the others before it, was not pushed even by the papers of the opposition. One point that gave Superior more concern than internal corruption and graft was the growing prominence of Duluth at the expense of Superior and in 1894, a Board of Trade was formed to encourage Superiors to support their own business men and see that from Superior was given credit for the business she actually did.⁸⁰ and a Superior Choral Society.

In 1894 the Western Union Telegraph Company was given a franchise⁸⁴ and the following year, the council debated withdrawing the franchise from the Superior Water, Light and Power Company because it had not supplied the city with pure drinking water and the pressure was still insufficient for effective control of fires. The franchise was withdrawn by a 14 to 7 vote,⁸⁵ but it was evidently later returned to the company as at the end of the 1890's the city is still bickering with this company over the quality of water it provides. The churches had been hard hit by the panic, but by 1895 they were beginning to make improvements again.⁸⁶ The school system, too, had grown.

⁸³ Inland-Ocean, April 22, 1894.

⁸⁴ Ordinances, 1896, pp. 229-231.

⁸⁵ The Superior Times, September 28, 1895.

⁸⁶ The Evening Telegram, January 1, 1895.

⁸² Ibid., January 1, 1895.

The 94 teachers, with an average salary of \$58 had 4,055 pupils and there were ten school buildings, including at least one high school.⁸⁷ The Superior State Teachers College was located at Superior in 1895,⁸⁸ after the city had given a bonus of \$130,000 which was used in purchasing land and making buildings. The college, however, was not opened until September of 1896.⁸⁹

Recreation and society had changed very little from the 1870's. There was a Reading Club, a Current Topics Club, a Superior Whist Club,⁹⁰ and a Superior Choral Society,⁹¹ while yachting, ice boating, skating and dancing were the mainstays of society during the various seasons of the year. Plays, such as "Charley's Aunt" were presented at the Grand Theater, and special trains were run over to Duluth so that Superiorites might attend the theatrical performances there.⁹²

1895 provided the one instance of corruption that seems to have been thoroughly investigated and publicized when the mayor was impeached for various misdemeanors. Mr. Starkweather was elected mayor of Superior, running on the democratic ticket despite the fact that the

87 The Evening Telegram, January 5, 1895.

88 It had been authorized by the legislature on April 15, 1893.

89 Wildner, Handbook, p. 13.

90 The Evening Telegram, January 5, 1895.

91 Ibid., January 2, 1895.

92 Ibid., January 1, 1895.

republicans elected a majority of the other officers.⁹³ In June one of the democratic aldermen introduced a letter into the records of the council meeting in which he brought charges against the mayor. By July 3, he had decided to change the charges slightly and the following specific accusations were made: first, the alleged permitting of faro banks, roulette wheels and crap tables to run at 724 Tower Avenue, 401 Tower Avenue and at 402 Tower Avenue; second, allowing the Gem Theater to sell liquor without a license; third, that he received money with the understanding that his official action would be influenced by it; fourth, he forced policemen and firemen to pay him money; fifth, he allowed certain saloons to sell liquor on Sunday; and sixth, he did not enforce the laws and ordinances according to his oath of office.⁹⁴

At the same meeting the council passed a resolution to see that the laws were better enforced in regard to drinking, gambling, selling liquor, etc. At this time The Telegram referred to investigations that had been made in the administrations of Pattison and Scott saying they had been "grand fizzles", and implying that this investigation would be the same.⁹⁵ However, this investigation was well

⁹³ Inland Ocean, April 6, 1895.

⁹⁴ The Evening Telegram, July 3, 1895.

⁹⁵ Ibid., July 6, 1895.

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supported. At the first council meeting to investigate the charges, Mayor Starkweather presided, and refused to let anyone else take the chair. When some of the aldermen insisted on his leaving, the Mayor and seven aldermen retired, leaving ten aldermen to continue the hearings. Special hearings were held almost daily at which policemen and firemen testified that they had been forced to contribute money to Starkweather to keep their positions. The amounts were not large, ranging between five and ten dollars apiece, but the scandal was just as great as if thousands of dollars had been involved. Gamblers and saloon keepers had also taken up a collection in order to get longer hours, but these negotiations had fallen through before the inquiry began because the mayor wanted more money than the gamblers were willing to give.⁹⁶

In the middle of the investigation a committee of business men presented a petition to end the investigation because of the effect it was having on Superior's reputation, but the aldermen disregarded this request. When he was finally called upon to testify, Starkweather said that his campaign expenses had been large and he thought it no more than right to have the city employees help bear this expense. He denied, however, that he had ever forced

⁹⁶ Inland-Ocean, July 13, 1895.

assessments from anyone.⁹⁷ During the course of the inquiry the aldermen who had left the first council meeting returned and in August, by a vote of seventeen to one, Starkweather was found guilty and removed from his office.⁹⁸ Starkweather took the case to the state Supreme Court, where the decision of the council was upheld.⁹⁹ All during 1896 Starkweather tried to vindicate himself, but he was not able to do so until the next year.

The Superior Water, Light and Power Company extended its influence in 1896 so that by the end of the year it was the owner of all the water, gas and electric franchises that had been granted.¹⁰⁰

The election of that April was another decisive republican victory, for the republicans elected the mayor, twelve members of the board of aldermen and a majority of the board of county supervisors.¹⁰¹

The election of 1897 was one of the most exciting Superior ever had for Starkweather ran again, this time as an Independent. He had tried unsuccessfully to be nominated in the democratic convention, but the opposition machine was in control, and Starkweather's delegates from

⁹⁷ Inland-Ocean, July 27, 1895.

⁹⁸ Ibid., August 3, 1895.

⁹⁹ Ibid., September 26, 1895.

¹⁰⁰ Ordinances, 1896, p. 197.

¹⁰¹ The Superior Times, April 11, 1896.

the various wards weren't even seated. Starkweather then delayed filing until the last day, when he came out as an Independent candidate. Though the Populists had united with the democrats and ran the same candidates,¹⁰² they seemed, from the newspaper accounts to be going into the election half-heartedly, with the not unwarranted expectation of defeat. Starkweather carried on a highly original campaign. He openly acknowledged that his one reason for running was to secure vindication at the hands of the voters and to get revenge on his enemies who had been responsible for his removal from office two years before. Instead of providing liquid refreshments at his political rallies, Starkweather threw bags of candy to his audiences so that the wives of his listeners could not accuse him of sending their husbands home intoxicated.¹⁰³ The Telegram, a strong republican paper, treated his campaign with amusement stating that a republican victory was a foregone conclusion; the only point at issue, was the majority the republicans would get.¹⁰⁴ To the unconcealed amazement of everyone except Starkweather and a few of his most loyal supporters, Starkweather was elected by a large majority. His explanation of his victory was that

¹⁰² The Evening Telegram, March 29, 1897.

¹⁰³ Ibid., April 2, 1897.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., March 29, 1897.

the people realized he had been unjustly treated in his first term; but a sounder explanation lies in the fact that he identified himself as one of the oppressed common people and secured the support of the workers and the labor unions.¹⁰⁵ In spite of their failures as prophets, the editors of The Telegram had enough sportsmanship, and good sense, to admit their mistake and even reprinted some of the cartoons they had published before the election, with the slogans or pictures changed slightly to bring out the fact of his victory instead of the defeat they had predicted with such assurance. Although newspapers in other cities made caustic comments on the voters of Superior and warned them of their folly in re-electing a man who had once been removed from the same office, Starkweather seemed to have learned from the mistakes he made in 1895 and his administration passed off with no noticeable ill effects to the city.

This same year saw Superior involved in tax litigation with both the leading land companies, the Consolidated Land Company and the Land and River Improvement Company, as a result of which the companies were to pay \$480,000 in cash as full settlement for the \$750,000 they owed the city.¹⁰⁶ In the same year the American Telephone and

105 The Evening Telegram, April 7, 1897.

106 The Superior Times, January 2, 1897.

Telegraph Company was given a franchise to place poles and electrical conductors on the streets.¹⁰⁷ By this time there was arc lighting in all parts of the city, incandescent electric lights in West Superior and the East End and gas in West Superior.¹⁰⁸

In the Spanish American War the citizens of Superior took a more active part than they had in the Civil War. Stories of the Cuban situation were printed before the war began and a company of Superior men actually saw active fighting in Cuba.¹⁰⁹

Some difficulty was experienced with the Superior Water, Light and Power Company because its contract expired in 1898 and before another franchise satisfactory to both the city and the company could be made, the town was without street lights two months.¹¹⁰

McCabe 1899 brought the settlement of another controversy with this company. The city of Superior had paid no hydrant rentals since February 1, 1897¹¹¹ because of the same two complaints that had been made before--the poor quality of the water, and the lack of sufficient pressure for fire protection. The company brought suit against the

¹⁰⁷ Ordinances, 1908, p. 137.

¹⁰⁸ McCabe, Annual, 1898.

¹⁰⁹ The Superior Telegram, April 28, 1921.

¹¹⁰ Dietrich, Annual Message, p. 8.

¹¹¹ Ordinances, 1896, p. 177. Rentals were \$75 apiece for the first eight, \$60 for the next eight, and \$50 for all the rest.

city first and then the city started a counter suit on the grounds that the terms of the franchise had not been carried out. An ordinance passed by the city council arranged a settlement which seems, on the face of it, to have been a victory for the company. Both sides were to stop court action, the company was to build a filtration plant for the water supply, the rentals were to be reduced to \$40 a hydrant and 575 were to be used, rates to consumers would be gradually reduced, the taxes of the company for 1896, 1897, 1898 would be cancelled, and the city would pay \$15,000 to the company for the back rental of the hydrants if the company carried out its part of the agreement.

Another franchise brought out the fact that in spite of their open hostility, Duluth and Superior were very closely bound to each other. Duluth, being dissatisfied with its telephone service, gave a new franchise to a Mr. Evans. As the Douglas County Telephone Company which operated in Superior, was controlled by the Bell Telephone Company which disliked private telephone companies, with an independent company in Duluth and a Bell Telephone subsidiary in Superior, they would not be able to call from one city to the other. To avoid this situation, Superior granted a franchise to the People's Telephone

112 Ordinances, 1900, p. 159; Gieslich, Annual Message,

pp. 4-5.

113 Autumnal Review, 1899, p. 2.

Company which, being an independent company, would be able to do business with the Duluth concern.¹¹²

The Superior Rapid Transit Railway Company also succeeded the Douglas County Street Railway Company with a street car system that included 40 cars used on 26 miles of street railway.¹¹³

Superior by 1900 thus presented the aspect of a modern industrial city. Paved streets, excellent railroad connections, good internal transportation, large and well-planned buildings, an adequate school system, newspapers and a general air of optimism and faith in the future characterized this community which, though the second city in Wisconsin in size, was the first in enthusiasm for its coming development.

Following the panic, the possibility of greater development on the Minnesota side of Lake Superior worked to the disadvantage of Superior's future at the same time it led to the establishment and development of

¹¹² Ordinances, 1908, p. 139; Dietrich, Annual Message, pp. 4-5.

¹¹³ Autumnal Review, 1899, p. 2.

the city of Duluth. Conclusion the first railroad to
 the As the head of the lakes was an ideal situation as
 a point of exchange for goods coming into and going out
 of the awakening northwest, the establishment of a city
 there was a natural development of the 1850's. Lake
 transporation was available after the completion of the
 Sault St. Marie canal and it was generally expected that
 railroads would be constructed quickly and easily be-
 cause of the great investment opportunities they offered.

Possible panics had not been considered in the
 proprietors' planning and the new city suffered when the
 panic of 1857 checked railroad construction. Many of
 the leading proprietors of Superior were prominent
 figures in the democratic party so that the political
 supremacy of the republicans in the 1860's as well as
 the death of Douglas, its leading promotor, kept Superior
 from immediate recovery from the effects of the panic.
 The Civil War also helped distract the attention of
 speculators from the head of the lakes.

Following the panic, the possibility of cheaper
 development on the Minnesota side of Lake Superior
 worked to the disadvantage of Superior's future at the
 same time it led to the establishment and development of

the city of Duluth. The fact that the first railroad to the head of the lakes terminated at Duluth caused Superior to remain undeveloped until Mr. Hammond's interest in 1882 led to the projection of a new town.

Again Superior boomed, this time on a larger scale, and again a national panic in 1893 slowed up development. However, the town was large enough and its industries well enough established so that this panic was not as disastrous as the one in 1857 had been.

Following 1895 Superior regained much of what had been lost in 1893 and established itself on an even firmer foundation. At the turn of the century, the citizens' hopes that an actual metropolis would develop seemed almost certain to be realized. Superior, with its railroads, ore docks, saw-mills, and manufacturing plants, looked into the future serenely, secure in the belief of its importance and its destiny as a prosperous transportation center.

| Year | Exports | Year | Imports |
|------|-----------|------|-----------|
| 1899 | 976,825 | 1894 | 3,077,038 |
| 1890 | 1,200,000 | 1895 | 3,611,063 |
| 1891 | 1,600,000 | 1896 | 4,112,665 |
| 1892 | 2,107,161 | 1897 | 3,973,162 |
| 1893 | 3,041,800 | 1898 | 4,701,761 |

Appendix A.

Plate I.

Coal Receipts McCabe, Annuals, 1896, 1897, 1898, 1899.

| <u>Year</u> | <u>Tons</u> | <u>Year</u> | <u>Tons</u> |
|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| 1887 | 266,289 | 1893 | 1,196,919 |
| 1888 | 786,000 | 1894 | 1,456,400 |
| 1889 | 720,000 | 1895 | 1,371,340 |
| 1890 | 875,000 | 1896 | 1,440,000 |
| 1891 | 1,082,864 | 1897 | 1,471,200 |
| 1892 | 1,139,224 | 1898 | 1,800,000 |

Plate II.

Flour Exports McCabe, Annuals, 1896, 1898, 1899.

| <u>Year</u> | <u>Tons Shipped</u> | <u>Year</u> | <u>Tons Shipped</u> |
|-------------|---------------------|-------------|---------------------|
| <u>Year</u> | <u>Barrels</u> | <u>Year</u> | <u>Barrels</u> |
| 1889 | 978,565 | 1894 | 3,077,038 |
| 1890 | 1,383,390 | 1895 | 3,611,053 |
| 1891 | 1,600,000 | 1896 | 4,112,855 |
| 1892 | 2,177,164 | 1897 | 3,873,382 |
| 1893 | 2,642,820 | 1898 | 4,105,761 |

Annals

Annual Report of the DISTRICT COMMISSIONER

Plate V.

Collections

Goods Shipped McCabe, Annals, 1896, 1897, 1898.

| <u>Year</u> | <u>Tons</u> | <u>Value</u> |
|-------------|-------------|--------------|
| 1880 | 15,730 | \$115,105 |
| 1881 | 86,423 | 306,120 |
| 1882 | 213,127 | 791,778 |
| 1883 | 200,724 | 1,217,286 |
| 1884 | 346,794 | 3,319,754 |
| 1885 | 730,942 | 5,684,571 |
| 1886 | 889,408 | 7,959,675 |
| 1887 | 1,083,938 | 14,454,869 |
| 1888 | 1,676,755 | 20,236,585 |
| 1889 | 2,050,319 | 26,875,610 |
| 1890 | 2,429,801 | 39,758,440 |
| 1891 | 2,596,514 | 42,416,712 |
| 1892 | 3,362,000 | 64,956,054 |
| 1893 | 3,137,575 | 59,635,999 |
| 1894 | 4,266,745 | 69,542,744 |
| 1895 | 4,314,373 | 75,000,000 |
| 1896 | | |
| 1897 | | |
| 1898 | | |
| 1899 | | |

Appendix B.

Annual Report of the City Statistician for the Year 1912,
J. A. Little, Statistician

| <u>Collections</u> | | | |
|--------------------|------------------|---------------------|-----------------------|
| <u>Year</u> | <u>Levy</u> | <u>Rate per 100</u> | <u>Assessed Value</u> |
| 1890 | \$735,869.46 | \$1.67 | \$23,482,475.00 |
| 1891 | 1,163,313.95 | 2.15 | 25,340,000.00 |
| 1892 | 1,305,163.93 | 2.35 | 25,867,801.95 |
| 1893 | 1,170,147.16 | 2.74 | 22,453,453.27 |
| 1894 | 767,576.57 | 2.07 | 19,262,007.35 |
| 1895 | 771,295.35 | 2.98 | 17,335,930.00 |
| 1896 | 553,916.50 | 3.27 | 12,545,129.00 |
| 1897 | 533,132.24 | 4.90 | 10,333,533.70 |
| 1898 | 492,326.20 | 4.56 | 9,996,183.34 |
| 1899 | 476,463.84 | 4.05 | 10,604,150.89 |
| <u>Year</u> | <u>Collected</u> | <u>Delinquent</u> | |
| 1890 | \$ 637,226.59 | \$ 98,642.87 | |
| 1891 | 874,666.09 | 268,647.86 | |
| 1892 | 891,773.77 | 416,538.32 | |
| 1893 | 513,769.27 | 656,377.91 | |
| 1894 | 257,526.10 | 490,050.38 | |
| 1895 | 284,501.82 | 486,793.53 | |
| 1896 | 243,526.40 | 310,390.04 | |
| 1897 | 355,002.19 | 177,530.05 | |
| 1898 | 379,005.92 | 113,320.25 | |
| 1899 | 391,682.03 | 84,781.81 | |

Expenditures

| <u>Year</u> | <u>General Fund</u> | <u>Police</u> | <u>Fire</u> | <u>Engineer</u> |
|-------------|---------------------|---------------|-------------|-----------------|
| 1890-1 | 194,055.87 | 25,558.28 | 38,154.74 | 41,354.54 |
| 1891-2 | 159,982.79 | 30,888.71 | 66,047.79 | 37,206.93 |
| 1892-3 | 393,510.54 | 36,130.86 | 60,703.36 | 18,727.10 |
| 1893-4 | 153,875.27 | 36,112.30 | 51,120.22 | 7,263.07 |
| 1894-5 | 180,606.49 | 24,371.56 | 38,436.92 | 5,107.94 |
| 1895-6 | 105,700.30 | 24,377.02 | 33,391.72 | 3,749.31 |
| 1896-7 | 99,801.43 | 22,691.78 | 24,852.27 | 3,236.44 |
| 1897-8 | 63,603.25 | 20,692.96 | 25,768.38 | 2,500.16 |
| 1898-9 | 62,546.16 | 21,730.94 | 30,742.72 | 3,026.49 |
| 1899-0 | 99,685.69 | 23,979.87 | 35,600.74 | 3,198.44 |

| <u>Year</u> | <u>Health</u> | <u>Park</u> | <u>Street</u> | <u>Sewer</u> |
|-------------|---------------|-------------|---------------|--------------|
| 1890-1 | 1,320.68 | ----- | 98,720.06 | 111,260.52 |
| 1891-2 | 3,108.10 | 6,308.85 | 42,789.14 | 116,527.62 |
| 1892-3 | 2,561.16 | 7,030.49 | 28,276.68 | 54,218.61 |
| 1893-4 | 3,634.84 | ----- | 21,392.20 | 2,373.38 |
| 1894-5 | 4,267.52 | ----- | 17,310.20 | 2,013.66 |
| 1895-6 | 3,798.78 | ----- | 17,377.13 | 7,398.44 |
| 1896-7 | 3,155.00 | 70.00 | 18,651.89 | 1,747.95 |
| 1897-8 | 3,886.85 | 175.00 | 20,554.52 | 1,908.42 |
| 1898-9 | 4,656.57 | 150.00 | 20,058.78 | 2,225.34 |
| 1899-0 | 20,069.30 | ----- | 27,534.12 | 2,915.43 |

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iii.

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Lake Superior Farmer (Superior)

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