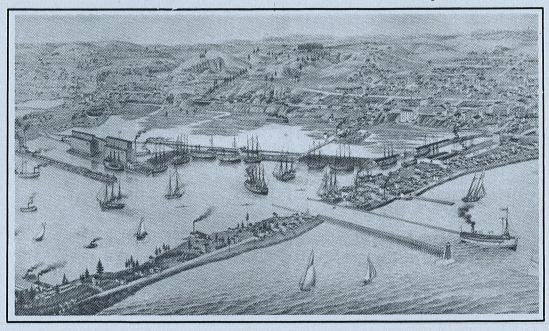
The Zenith City of the Unsalted Sea

Duluth Historic Contexts Study



Duluth Heritage Preservation Commission

Prepared by Nancy Eubank

August 1991

Cover: View of Duluth, 1883.

THE ZENITH CITY OF THE UNSALTED SEA -DULUTH HISTORIC CONTEXTS STUDY-

Prepared by Nancy Eubank

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INTRODUCTION



Photo 1. An early view of Superior Street.

The contexts in this report describe Duluth's broadest patterns of development. They encompass what is unique about the city and what is typical of many American cities of its age and region. The time frame begins in the mid-1850s and extends to approximately 1940. The report also contains a description of the city's geographical and historical relationship to Lake Superior, certainly the most character-defining aspect of the "Zenith City of the Unsalted Seas."

Duluth has, in nearly a century and a half, enjoyed several periods of rapid growth and prosperity, and times of decline and depression. In 1855 people were hurrying to a newly opened region which looked like a land of promise; during the panic of 1857 nearly all abandoned their claims and departed to a place where they could make a living. In 1870 "Jay Cooke's Town" seemed destined to become "another Chicago"; in 1873 its fortunes crashed along with its benefactor's. Finally, in the 1880s and 1890s, the harbor's potential was realized as cargo after cargo of lumber, grain, and ore left for eastern ports and cargo after cargo of coal and manufactured goods entered and were shipped by rail across the

plains and prairies of the west. But by the 1920s things were slowing down, and in the disaster of the Great Depression Duluth went bust along with everybody else.

When first the lumber and then the ore were no longer pumping money, Duluth's growth stopped. Perhaps it was a period of no-growth that preserved so much of its history in its built environment. Much of its industry has indeed disappeared, along with the docks and warehouses that once hummed with activity. The atmosphere of a hard-working industrial city remains in the small frame houses and the brick and stone row houses that march up and down its hillsides and in its remarkable company towns. Its rich ethnic diversity is reflected in its churches and in its older neighborhoods. The fantastic wealth it created for its owners and managers can be guessed at by its many elaborate residences, its handsome monumental buildings, and its well-endowed parks and public areas.

Duluth is unique among Minnesota's cities, and rare among American cities, in the peaks and valleys of its past and the breathtaking beauty of its surroundings. It is our task to preserve both.

This study was undertaken as a step in the process of historic preservation in Duluth. It is intended to provide frames of reference that help in the evaluation of cultural resources and the decisions taken about their management. The contexts defined and described here make it possible to organize information about related properties by looking at their roles in the overall development of the city and their importance to a particular place or time.

The six historic contexts defined and described in this report are closely related to several of the state's historic contexts as developed by the State Historic Preservation Office (SHPO) of the Minnesota Historical Society. The ore, lumber and grain described in "Minnesota's Iron Ore Industry, 1880s-1945,""Northern Minnesota Lumbering, 1870-1930s," "Railroads and Agricultural Development, 1870-1945," are the ore, lumber, and grain that made "Shipping, 1870-1940" a major historic context in Duluth. "The Fur Trade Around Western Lake Superior, 1650-1840" played an important role in the "Early Settlement, pre-1870" context in this report. Duluth's urban development, described in the "Industry and Commerce, 1870-1940," "Community Institutions, 1870-1940," and "Neighborhoods, 1870-1940" contexts, has many points in common with statewide "Urban Areas" context now under development by the SHPO.

Duluth has already made a substantial beginning in the study of historic resources. At this writing some 24 properties are on the National Register of Historic Places, and several more are moving through the listing process. In observance of the nation's bicentennial, the city recognized "the urgency of preservation" and, with financial help from the Department of Housing and Urban Development, undertook a study of Duluth's architectural resources. The resulting 1974 publication, <u>Duluth's Legacy: Volume 1 Architecture</u>, includes a historical account of the city's development, maps, an illustrated guidebook of 98 significant structures, and a digest of 98 additionally significant buildings.

The Duluth Historic Resources Survey Project, completed in 1984, is a part of the ongoing survey of state historic resources conducted by the SHPO. The study, published by the St. Louis County Historical Society, includes a historical overview of Duluth's development, maps, and listings by address of commercial, public, religious, school, residential, and miscellaneous structures noted in the survey. More detailed survey data is available at the Northeast Minnesota Historical Center in the University of Minnesota Duluth library.

The Duluth Preservation Alliance, a volunteer group of citizens concerned with issues in historic preservation, has been active since 1978. In 1989 the city passed a historic preservation ordinance and established a Heritage Preservation Commission (HPC) to work with the Duluth City Council on preservation issues. This context study was undertaken by the HPC to further organize and to publicize the important work of historic resource recognition.

PROLOGUE

LAKE SUPERIOR: THE UNSALTED SEA

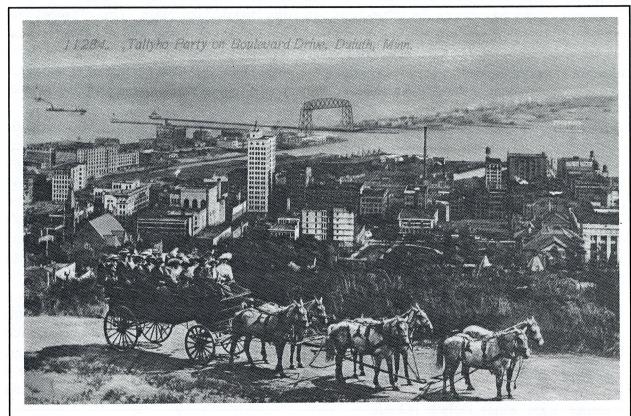


Photo 2

Duluth has been called the "San Francisco of the Midwest," because, like San Francisco, it is defined by its embrace of the water. The presence of Lake Superior is assertive, even when it is out of sight. The lake steamers, the ship canal, and the Aerial Lift Bridge seem always there, even when one cannot see them. The light in the city changes with banks of clouds or fog, and it is nearly always "cooler by the lake."

More than three billion tons of iron ore, along with millions of tons of grain, lumber, fish, coal, and other products have passed through the Duluth-Superior harbor since the beginning of Minnesota's great Iron Age. Protected by what may be the longest fresh-water bay mouth bar in the world, the harbor was for much of the twentieth century second in total tonnage only to New York City among U.S. ports, even though it was open to shipping only about eight months a year.

Lake Superior is the largest fresh-water lake by area in the world. The rock that makes up its basin and is visible along the North Shore and within the city of Duluth, is perhaps a billion years old, but the events that created the harbor happened relatively recently in geological time. Six hundred million years ago the earth's crust folded or sank, creating a depression along whose axis the subsequent glaciation would take place. The advances and retreats of the ice sheets created, during their retreats, a lake that rose and fell and rose and fell again until the present lake emerged. Some 14,000 years ago the Cary Superior ice lobe scoured the northwestern end of the lake down to the ancient bedrock, and as it retreated an ancestor of the St. Louis River flowed into it, depositing sediment and forming a delta.

After the glacier's last advance and retreat, about 10,000 years ago, Glacial Lake Superior was considerably higher than it is today. Some 9,200 years ago the water level dropped below the modern-day plateau, and the river cut a sharp valley as it flowed more steeply into the lowered waters. The lake gradually rose again and the river flowed more slowly, filling in its own valley with sediment. Sands eroded from bluffs along the lake's south shore were moved by wind and waves to create the bar across the river's mouth. The earth's surface warped somewhat, causing the lake to tilt, adding more water to the river and completing the formation of a harbor that would require only a few changes to shelter thousands of cargo-carrying ships building a new country.

Lake Superior has been called "the most dangerous body of water in the world." Its storms are legendary, and it has taken many lives while serving as a commercial highway. It has suffered pollution from factories along its shores, and creatures carried into it from distant seas have threatened the life within its depths. Today it is studied and managed to keep it safe from the ravages of civilization. And it remains the ever-changing, ever-moving presence upon which Duluth is built.

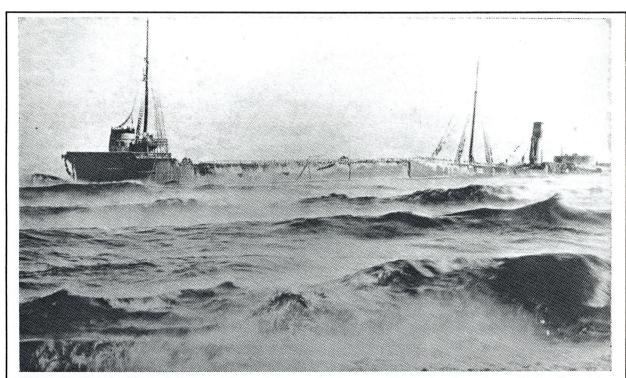


Photo 3 The bulk freighter, Mataafa, wrecked at the Duluth piers by a Lake Superior storm in November, 1905.

I. THE FIRST ONES HERE

• EARLY SETTLEMENT CONTEXT, PRE-1870

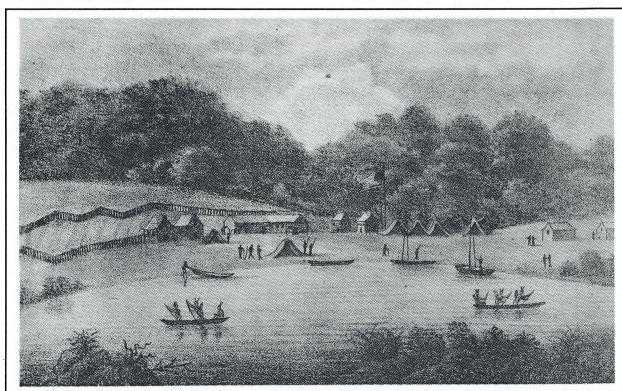


Photo 4 The American Fur Company Post at Fond du Lac about 1826.

Lake Superior played a major part in the fur trade highway from Montreal, and the St. Louis River was an active trade route into the rich fur country of the Upper Mississippi River for nearly two centuries before Duluth became a city. French traders followed hard upon Daniel Greysolon Sieur du Lhut's crossing of the "Little Portage" on Minnesota Point in June, 1679. Well before 1700 the French were trading in the region around Lake Superior from a base at Mackinac and another at nearby Chequamegon Bay.

The Ojibwe Indians, who had been driven west by European settlement in the Atlantic seaboard and eastern Great Lakes regions, seem to have been well established around Lake Superior by the time these early explorers and traders entered the area. The Dakota (Sioux) had villages inland, centered around the Mille Lacs Lake area. There was active conflict between these two tribes for decades, and by the time the British traders took over the interior trade after the French and Indian War, the Ojibwe had built their villages around the Mississippi River headwaters from Sandy to Leech Lake. The Dakota moved south along the Mississippi and Minnesota Rivers, and except for occasional raids were gone from northern Minnesota from Lake Superior to Crow Wing River by the time of the American Revolution.

Although there were undoubtedly wintering trade posts in the vicinity of Duluth much earlier, the first permanent post was probably that built in 1793 by Jean Baptiste Perrault and his crew in present-day Superior not far from the natural entrance to the harbor. Called Fort St. Louis, it was occupied by the North West Company until the company withdrew from American territory shortly after the War of 1812. For more than half of those years it served as the headquarters for the entire Fond du Lac trade region.

By 1815 the young American nation was growing strong enough to assert claim to the lands around the Head of the Lakes. In 1816 John Jacob Astor's American Fur Company had a well-established post at the present-day site of Fond du Lac on the north side of the St. Louis River. But the booming days of the fur trade were ending. In the 1840s the company withdrew from its post, and the diminished fur trade was in the hands of private traders individually licensed by the government.



Photo 5 The lighthouse at the end of Minnesota Point marked the natural entrance to the harbor.

George R. Stuntz, a former surveyor generally considered the first permanent white settler in Duluth, was such a licensed trader. In 1853 he built a post and dock in the midst of an Ojibwe encampment on the bay side of Minnesota Point near the natural harbor entrance. He was soon joined by other men who operated as traders but were also hoping to make fortunes in land speculation, timber, and minerals.

When the opening of the canal at Sault St. Marie in 1855 made Lake Superior a part of the Great Lakes commercial shipping highway, it took only a glance at a map of North America to imagine the future of the lakehead would be a profitable one. Lecturing in Boston, George B. Sargent noted that "at the mouth of the St. Louis River will grow a great city, where Europe and Asia shall meet and shake hands. At this very point must center the trade of twenty American States yet unknown."

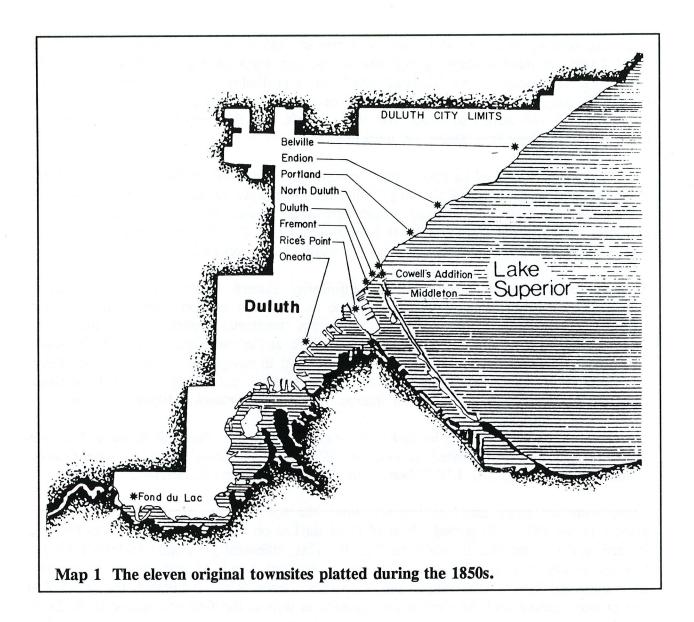
Also in 1855 the Treaty of La Pointe with the Ojibwe Indians was ratified, opening the north shore to white settlement and allowing Duluth an opportunity to "catch up" to Superior, first platted as a town site in 1854 and already grown to a town of some 500 people and 50 buildings. Most of the early settlers in both Superior and Duluth were drawn by a "copper rush" and hoped to stake valuable claims in nearby inland regions.

Although copper riches proved illusory, influential eastern businessmen and financiers realized the lakehead would eventually become an important and profitable marketing and shipping center. In the early 1850s Minnesota territorial politicians obtained U.S. government financing for a road from Point Douglas, at the confluence of the St. Croix and the Mississippi rivers not far from St. Paul, to the head of navigation on the St. Louis River. The so-called "military road" was never more than a rough trail along most of its northern half, but its construction helped keep interest in the new northern settlements alive.

The settlement called Duluth, located at the base of Minnesota Point on Superior Bay, was platted in 1856 and incorporated as a city in 1857. Among its early organizers were George E. and William Nettleton, J.B. Culver, O.W. Rice, and Robert E. Jefferson.

There were ten other small settlements along the north shore across from Superior, all platted in the 1855-1857 period. East of Fond du Lac on the St. Louis River was Oneota, located in the region that is now West Duluth. This settlement's earliest residents included Edward F. Ely, a former Fond du Lac mission teacher; Lewis Merritt, whose sons would later open the Mesabi iron range; and missionary James Peet. It boasted the area's first non-mission school and the first steam sawmill, as well as the first post office in St. Louis County.

Rice's Point, the peninsula jutting out from the Point of Rocks between St. Louis Bay and the harbor, was also known briefly as Port Byron and entertained hopes of becoming the county seat when the territorial government organized St. Louis County in 1855-56. It was beaten out by its eastern neighbor, Duluth. Fremont, platted mostly on floating bogland near the present site of the Duluth Union Depot, later broke loose from the mainland and disintegrated in the stronger harbor currents created by the opening of the ship canal in 1871. Portland, east of Duluth and for a time the largest of the settlements east of Oneota, contained the area's first brewery, later Fitger's Brewing Company.



Endion, platted into "suburban" lots for "capitalists doing business in Superior," was located east of Portland, and Belville, just a short distance west of Lester River, was the easternmost of the string of settlements. Three further communities--North Duluth, Cowell's Addition, and Middleton--were located on Minnesota Point.

The short-lived boom that led to the formation of these north shore communities came to a sudden end in 1857, a year of national financial panic brought about by eastern bank failures. The panic "flattened" settlements on both sides of the bay, according to one early



Photo 6 An early view of settlement on Minnesota Point.

settler, who recalled that on the Minnesota side "there was not one place of business open." By the time the lighthouse at the end of Minnesota Point was completed in 1858, Superior had only a few hundred residents and Duluth was essentially a ghost town. The few who stayed "did anything to keep alive." They trapped beaver and mink, raised potatoes, hunted and fished. It was not until the coming of the railroad more than 12 years later that the "infant Chicago" at the head of the lakes came alive once more.

Property Types

Aside from archaeological sites, which were not included in the scope of this study, there are very few extant pre-1870 sites in present-day Duluth.

Some sites now designated or under consideration include:

The American Fur Company post site in Fond du Lac The Minnesota Point Lighthouse

Expected property-type sites in this context would include:

Indian village sites, hunting locations
Fur trade encampment locations
Homes and public buildings erected or used by early settlers
Pre-1870 business sites
Early docks and harbor improvements

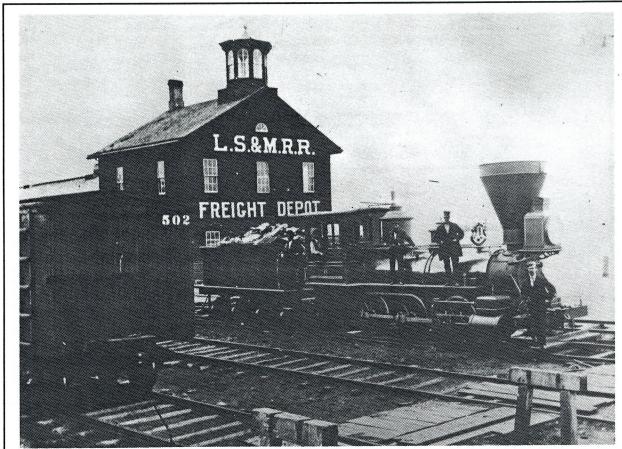


Photo 7 The Lake Superior and Mississippi Railroad's new freight terminal in the 1870s.

II. WHERE SAIL MEETS RAIL

• SHIPPING CONTEXT, 1870-1940

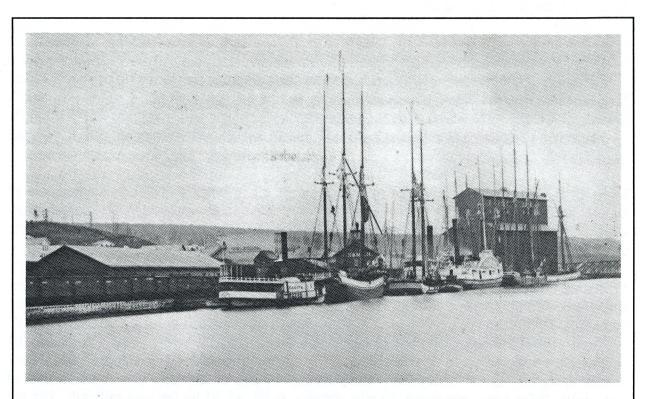


Photo 8 Elevator A on Lake Superior at about Third Avenue East, in the 1870s.

It was, perhaps, lucky for its future that Duluth vanished so completely in the bust years following the Panic of 1857. For when Philadelphia financier Jay Cooke, whose loans to the U.S. were said to have funded the Union Army in the Civil War, visited the harbor in 1868 to look over the area where he planned to build a railroad, he decided Duluth's "six or seven frame houses beside a land office and a school house" held more promise that the larger town of Superior, which "presented a dilapidated appearance, many houses being uninhabited." Duluth, not Superior, became "Jay Cooke's Town," and soon entered a new era of prosperity.

The head of the lakes was already connected with other Great Lakes by the opening of the Sault Ste. Marie Canal in 1855. What Duluth needed to become the transportation hub that its early boosters had envisioned was a railroad connecting it with St. Paul and the more settled areas of the state. Minnesota legislators recognized this need and in 1861 incorporated the Lake Superior and Mississippi Railroad (reorganized as the St. Paul and Duluth in 1877 and absorbed into the Northern Pacific system at the turn of the century). But it was not until after the Civil War that construction began. When William L. Banning,

a prominent banker and real-estate man in St. Paul, interested Cooke in the project, the financial backing needed to complete the railroad was found. By the time the rails reached the lakehead in August, 1870, its financial control was entirely in the hands of Cooke and other Philadelphia-based interests.

Even before the railroad reached Duluth, Cooke and others were rushing to create the facilities that the new city would need. The Cooke interests built a grain elevator with a capacity of 550,000 bushels, constructed the DeCosta dock on the west side of Rice's Point, financed the city's first bank, and even underwrote the city's first church building, St. Paul's Episcopal Church. The ever-active Cooke also became the Northern Pacific Railroad's financial agent in 1870 and raised some \$5 million to begin the construction of a major line from Duluth to the Pacific.

From 14 families living at the base of Minnesota Point in January, 1869, the population of Duluth swelled to 3,500 by the Fourth of July. The new residents were construction workers, businessmen, and lumbermen from distant Maine ready to harvest the pine forests and ship timber to eastern markets.

When the city of Duluth was chartered in 1870, it immediately created the Minnesota Canal and Harbor Improvement Company, again with enthusiastic support of Jay Cooke and numerous Duluth businessmen working with him. The construction of a canal through the northern end of Minnesota Point had been contemplated by the region's early pioneers and authorized by the legislature as early as 1857, but the financial panic stopped the project before it began. Later, enterprising businessmen built a breakwater into the lake east of Minnesota Point and constructed a grain elevator to be served by the new railroad. But the breakwater fell victim to Lake Superior's storms, and it was clear that a canal providing entrance to the harbor was required if Duluth were to grow as its optimistic backers expected. In 1870 the vigorous new city undertook the project over protests of the city of Superior and the state of Wisconsin, whose citizens feared the cut through Minnesota Point would turn the St. Louis River's currents from the site of Superior's docks and damage improvements already made to the Superior harbor entrance.

The canal went ahead, even as its opponents petitioned the War Department and the Corps of Engineers to stop it. After construction halted during the winter, it began as early as possible in the spring of 1871 and continued apace until "the water poured into Lake Superior--first a tiny stream, which steadily increased in volume." The legal conflicts continued for years, but the Duluth ship canal was a reality, crossing the point at more or less the same spot that Sieur du Lhut had portaged from lake to bay two centuries earlier. The legend of the canal's construction, supposedly completed by the overnight work of hundreds of Duluth citizens only hours ahead of a restraining order, is firmly fixed in Duluth's folklore.

Now, finally, all the necessary elements were in place. Duluth had a railroad connecting it to the south and another pushing toward the "western grain-clad prairies" of the Red River

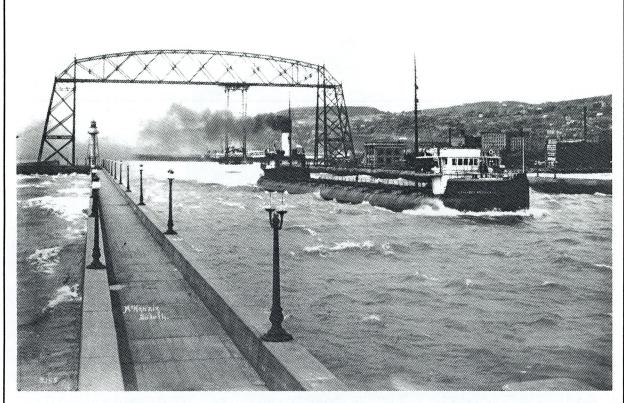


Photo 9 The unusual "aerial transfer" bridge, completed in 1905, spanned the Duluth Ship Canal. This view shows the bridge's suspended car moving across the water as a "whaleback" freighter leaves the harbor.

Valley and beyond. Ships had direct access to the railhead through the new canal into "the largest, most easily accessible and safest harbor in the great chain of lakes." More than 500,000 bushels of grain were shipped in 1871, a total that had grown to almost 2 million bushels by 1873. One optimistic Duluthian, noting that "no city in the country had such brilliant prospects," added that "nothing connected with the city has ever been delayed an hour for lack of funds. Capitalists controlling more of money and influence than any other body of men, are fully determined to make Duluth what nature intended it to be--a giant city."

By the fall of 1873, however, "Jay Cooke's Town" was feeling the results of its patron's financial failure, brought about by his inability to sell the bonds and meet the interest payments for the Northern Pacific Railroad. The closing of Cooke's banks caused a crash that was felt across the nation and had much the same results in Duluth as had the earlier panic of 1857. Within 60 days more than half the city's businesses were closed, and the population dropped in a year from over 5,000 to 1,300 people. All work on the Northern Pacific stopped, and Duluthians again became "fish eaters" in the years from 1874 until signs of recovery appeared in 1878. In 1877, with the state's agreement, the city fathers reduced Duluth to village status in order to get a settlement on its heavy load of debt. The second

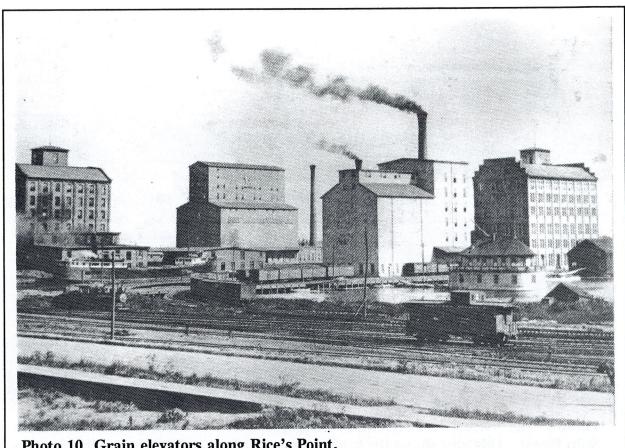


Photo 10 Grain elevators along Rice's Point.

boom had gone bust.

Even while the lakehead suffered through its second depression, however, railroads were carrying new settlers to the Dakotas and beyond--farmers eager to turn the prairies into the breadbasket of the nation. By 1878 wheat grown in western Minnesota and North Dakota began arriving in Duluth for shipment to Buffalo, New York. As fast as the railroads penetrated the prairies on into Montana, wheat from the northwest returned to the port. The flour mills in Minneapolis offered stiff competition for the grain shipping trade, but in 1884 the federal government deepened the Sault canal to 16 feet. Since ships no longer had to lighten their cargos to use the Lake Superior ports, shipping rates from Duluth, which had been 30% higher than from Chicago, suddenly dropped to 30% lower. In 1885 some 18 million bushels of wheat passed through the Duluth-Superior port and a series of major new elevators were under construction along the east side of Rice's Point on what became known as "elevator row." By 1886 the grain business in the harbor, presided over by the Duluth Board of Trade, shipped some 8 million bushels more than the established market at Chicago.

The boom of the 1880s and 1890s brought Duluth the greatest growth it had ever experienced. From a population of about 2,200 in 1878, Duluth grew to an estimated 30,000 in 1887, when it regained city status and redeemed much of its earlier debt. It was to grow even more rapidly after the first shipment of iron ore left the harbor in 1892.

The presence of iron ore in northeastern Minnesota had been known early in the nineteenth century, but most early prospectors were more interested in the possibilities of gold, silver, or copper. Cooke recognized the opportunities iron ore offered, but like many another expected that the mills to process the ore would be built in Duluth. A blast furnace was constructed on Rice's Point in 1872, but the pig iron for its smelting process had to be brought from the lower lakes and the project was soon abandoned.

Serious ore mining began on the Vermillion Range, and in 1884 the new Duluth & Iron Range Railroad carried the first ore to Two Harbors, where the first ore docks in Minnesota were built and the first shipments made to the lower lake ports of Cleveland and Pittsburgh. Two years later the D & IR was extended to Duluth, but it lacked dock facilities at the harbor. It remained for the sons of early Duluth settler Lewis H. Merritt to open the huge resources of the Mesabi Range and to build their own railroad, the Duluth, Missabe, & Northern.

In 1893 the Merritts shipped over 500,000 tons of ore to a new ore dock on the Duluth side of the harbor. The massive wooden structure boasted 384 ore pockets, each with a 150-ton capacity. But the Merritts' costs in constructing the new railroad, combined with a financial panic the same year, forced them to seek financial help from John D. Rockefeller, whose interests formed the Lake Superior Consolidated Iron Mines Company.

By 1896 the D M & N was shipping more ore from Duluth than that brought to Two Harbors by the D & IR. A second Duluth dock, with a capacity of 69,100 tons, was built beside its predecessor, and they were joined by a third in 1900. The wooden structures were torn down and replaced by steel docks before 1920.

After continuous financial rivalry between the Rockefeller and Carnegie Steel Company interests, a compromise in 1901 created the powerful United States Steel Corporation and its subsidiary, the Oliver Iron Mining Company, with offices in Duluth. The newly formed corporation united the D & IR and the DM & N into the Duluth, Messabi and Iron Range Railroad, a road that would haul millions of tons of ore into the Twin Ports.

By the turn of the twentieth century Duluth was fulfilling the most optimistic dreams of its founders and financiers. The city's population had grown to 53,000, and the Duluth-Superior harbor rivaled the cities at the Ruhr-Rhine confluence in Germany as one of the largest freshwater ports in the world.

Bulk shipping of grain and iron ore to the eastern Great Lakes ports, the import of commercial coal to fire the factories and run the railroads of the midwest, and the

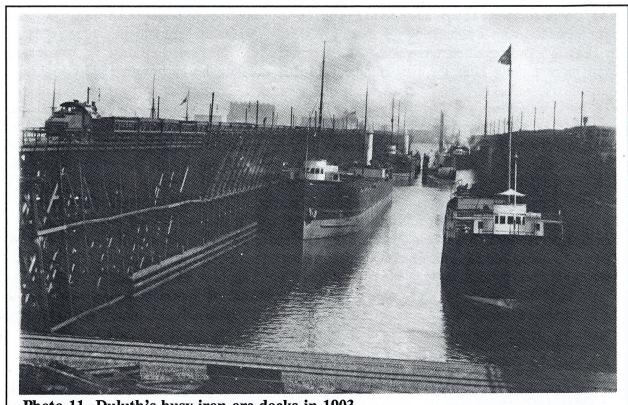


Photo 11 Duluth's busy iron ore docks in 1903.

processing and shipping of Minnesota's huge timber resources were the key elements of Duluth's "golden age."

As shipping continued to grow, harbor improvements were urgently needed. In 1896 an act of Congress joined the harbors of Duluth and Superior under one administration and authorized \$3 million to enlarge the harbor and rebuild the Duluth ship canal. When the work was completed some 21 million cubic yards of clay, mud, and sand had been dredged off the harbor bottom and used to fill docks, and the harbor had 17 miles of channels excavated to a depth of 20 feet. The canal was widened to 300 feet, its old wooden piers were replaced by stone-filled timber crib substructures and concrete superstructures, and a new lighthouse was constructed on the south pier. The harbor's natural entrance at Superior was also widened to 500 feet and its wooden piers replaced with concrete.

As the two port cities grew, transportation links between them required bridging the harbor. The Northern Pacific completed the first rail bridge in 1885, spanning the distance between Rice's and Connor's points with a distinctive bend. A second rail bridge was built two years later, from Grassy Point on the upper channel of the St. Louis River into Superior. Both structures had swing spans to allow ship passage. In 1897 a new general traffic bridge was opened between Rice's and Connor's points at a gala ceremony billed as a "steel wedding." The interstate bridge made the transition from horse-drawn vehicles to automobiles and

remained the chief traffic connection between the Twin Ports for more than 60 years.

The Duluth ship canal had created a gap between the city and Minnesota Point, and at first only a rowboat crossed between them. Eventually a steam ferry replaced the rowboats, but the need for a better connection was apparent. The problem was designing a bridge that would create no obstruction to the harbor. Swing bridges, draw bridges, and roller bridges were all considered and rejected. Finally city engineer Thomas F. McGilvray suggested a suspended car similar to the Anodin Bridge at Rouen, France, the only one of its kind in the world. Opened in 1905, the bridge had a clear height of 135 feet to permit the passage of the highest sailing masts. The suspended car platform was capable of carrying 125,000 pounds--the equivalent of a fully loaded double truck street car, two loaded wagons with teams, and 350 passengers. Powered by electricity, the car ran about four miles an hour and completed the passage in a little over one minute.

With the ever-increasing use of automobiles, the remarkable aerial transfer bridge could, by the late 1920s no longer handle the traffic between the point and the city. In 1929 it was remodeled into a lift bridge, with its center span raised and a lift span added. Over time, it has become a symbol of Duluth recognized across the northwest.

The year the aerial lift span was raised for the first time turned out to be the peak shipping year of the city's history. More than 10,000 ships entered or left the harbor in 1929, most via the Duluth ship canal. Half the cargo was iron ore, with outbound grain and incoming coal accounting for most of the other half. Along some 20 miles of harbor frontage shipping facilities sprawled among the rocks, scrub woodlands, and marshes.

Already by 1929, however, the city had felt the decline of the once flourishing lumber industry as the seemingly endless virgin pine forests of Minnesota were depleted. And while some 50 million tons of iron ore moved through the port in 1929, with the Great Depression that number dropped in a few years to just over 2 million tons. The coal import business was not as seriously affected, since buildings still had to be heated and railroads fueled. Grain shipments also continued throughout the depression years, and by 1941 the harbor had 25 grain elevators and a storage capacity of nearly 50 million bushels.

Even though the Duluth shipping business continued strong with the industrial stimulus of World War II, the rapid growth it sustained in the first decades of the twentieth century ended in the 1920s. The port's importance, based in significant part on the bulk shipment of raw materials during the years of the nation's industrial growth, declined with that growth in the second half of the twentieth century.

Property Types

Not many of the docks and elevators that built so many fortunes in Duluth are still standing. Such structures are often abandoned or destroyed when there is no profit to be made with them or when there is a need for newer, larger, and higher tech buildings.

Some sites now designated or under consideration include:

Duluth South Breakwater Inner Lighthouse
Freighter William A. Irwin
Aerial Lift Bridge
Duluth Union Depot
Duluth, Missabe and Iron Range Ore Docks
Duluth Board of Trade
Elevator A at Garfield and waterfront
Endion Passenger Depot

Expected property-type sites in this context would include:

lighthouses
harbor bridges, both rail and roadway
breakwaters
grain elevators
coal docks
iron ore docks
ships
railroad depots, yards, shops, and roundhouses
highways and trucking facilities
Coast Guard facilities

III. SMOKESTACKS AND PACKING CRATES

• INDUSTRY AND COMMERCE CONTEXT, 1870-1940



Photo 12 A Stone-Ordean-Wells wagon delivering groceries about 1917.

Duluth's location at the western end of the Great Lakes highway almost assured its success as a transportation center in the age of America's industrial growth. The vast plains and prairies of the west served as virtual colonies of the industrial eastern states. The west provided raw materials that were processed in the east and sent back in the form of manufactured goods to supply the colonists' ever-increasing demand. Grain, ore, and lumber were the materials that built the port, and thus the city.

As Duluth grew, the men who were making fortunes in the extraction and shipment of raw materials began to invest some of their capital in local industries designed to process those same raw materials. Their most successful efforts in the early years were sawmills; planing mills; sash, door, lath, and shingle factories; and related lumber industries.

The first sawmill, built in 1855 by Henry W. Wheeler, was stocked with machinery brought up by boat from Detroit through the newly opened Sault Canal. This and other mills supplied lumber for the short-lived building boom in Duluth and Superior. Although the boom ended suddenly in 1857, two mills in the region remained in operation during some of the bust years, shipping small amounts of lumber by schooners to Cleveland and other Great Lakes ports.

The arrival of the railroad at Duluth created new local demand for lumber, and new mills sprang up to supply it. By the 1880s the Duluth lumber industry was well established and supplying building materials to the settlers on the treeless expanses of the Red River Valley and Dakota Territory. By the 1890s several Duluth businesses, including Mitchell, McClure & Company and Merrill and Ring, two of the largest in the entire region, were exploiting timber markets not only at home and in the west, but also in Chicago, New York, and along the shoes of Lake Erie. In 1894 Duluth's lumber industry included 15 mills employing 3,700 men. The 220 million feet of lumber cut that year, mostly from logs harvested on the North Shore, was valued at nearly \$4.5 million.

A number of manufacturing companies related to the lumber business added to Duluth's prosperity. The Union Match Company employed over 150 men to turn three million feet of white pine into matches of "superior quality, non-explosive, and free from odor." The Duluth Log Company turned out telephone and telegraph poles to serve the nation's communication revolution. And Duluth's giant Marshall-Wells Company grew into one of the nation's largest hardware businesses in part through the manufacture and jobbing of tools and machinery used in lumbering throughout the United States and Canada.

Many of these subsidiary companies eventually grew larger than the declining lumber processing industry that helped bring them into existence. The years around the turn of the century saw a peak in cutting and shipping white pine. The Duluth mills, led by "the largest white pine mill in the world" operated by the Alger-Smith company in West Duluth, cut some 463 million feet in 1902, but by 1924 the total had declined to 12 million feet. Although some lumber products continued to be shipped out of the harbor through World War II, imports of wood and wood products from Canada began during the 1930s. The great days of pine logging in the upper Midwest, and the great days of the lumber industry in Duluth, were over.

Commercial fishing was preceded only by fur trade as a source of revenue at the head of the lakes. Ojibwe people traded fish as well as furs at the American Fur Company post in Fond du Lac, and some 300 barrels of salted trout and whitefish were shipped out in 1836. But in 1841 the bottom dropped out of the fishing business, and low prices kept it from reviving until the local population boomed in the early 1880s. In 1885, 195 fishermen were running 5 steamers and 40 smaller craft out of the harbor. Two firms sent steamers out to collect fish and deliver provisions along both the north and south shores of the lake from the Apostle Islands to Isle Royale. Most of the fish camps along the shore were run by Norwegian immigrants who had been fishermen before they came to America.

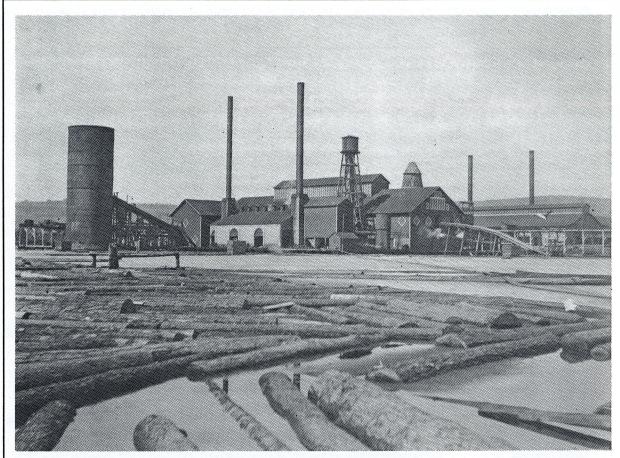


Photo 13 Mitchell-McClure sawmill on Rice's Point, later owned by Alger-Smith Company.

The local fish dealers traditionally provided fishermen with barrels and salt to preserve their catch. The major market was the Twin Cities, which took nearly three-quarters of the salted fish. In 1889 A. Booth and Sons bought out an earlier company and expanded the business to employ about 120 fishermen along the north shore. Its major fish and merchandise wharf was located just inside the Duluth Harbor Basin. In the 1930s the company was sold to another long-established company, Hans Christiansen & Son, which continued runs to Isle Royale into the early 1940s.

The nature of the fishing catch and methods of packing it for shipment changed over the years. Whitefish peaked in yield about 1885, lake trout reached a peak in 1903, and herring reached first place in 1908. Concern for the preservation and replenishing of the fish stock led to the establishment of a hatchery in Lester Park in 1910. But, like lumbering, commercial fishing had reached its peak by the 1920s, and declined slowly thereafter until the catch was not enough to supply local markets and fish became an import at the Duluth harbor.

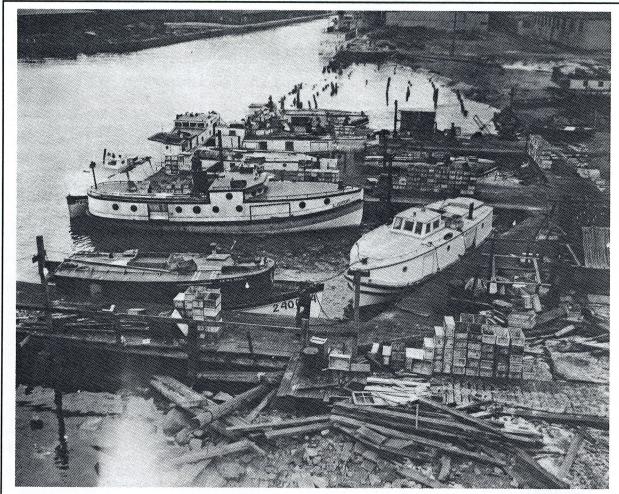


Photo 14 Fishing docks, about 1940.

While most of Duluth's profit from iron ore came from shipping the raw material to eastern cities for smelting, there was always hope that the city could take its place as a steel manufacturing center. Early settler William C. Sargent remarked in 1912 that he and other pioneers expected "to see steel plants lining the shores of Lake Superior from Fond du Lac to Two Harbors and from the Euclid Hotel to Iron River, each striving to outdo its neighbor with smoke and noise."

While the early settlers' dream never became a reality, and Duluth never became a "second Pittsburgh," it did turn out a respectable amount of steel and pig iron during the first half of the twentieth century. The West Duluth Blast Furnace Company erected a plant "up to date in every respect" soon after the opening of the Mesabi range, but it shut down within a few years. In 1902 it was reopened as the Zenith Furnace Company by A. B. Wolvin, with the backing of the Pittsburgh Steamship Company, and became a "three-unit plant" which included a wholesale coal trade, the production of pig iron, and the coaking of bituminous coal.

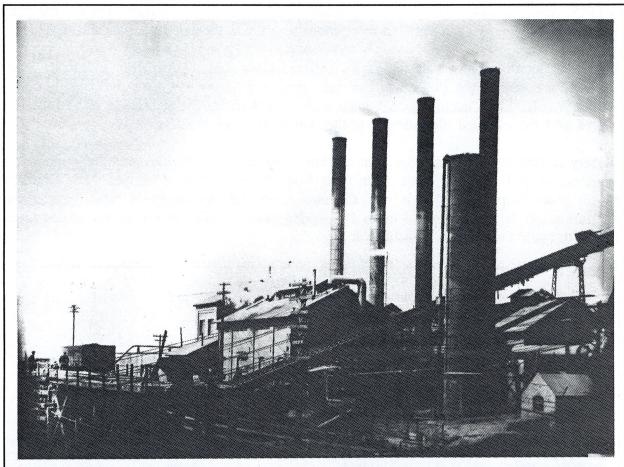


Photo 15 By the early years of the twentieth century, the Zenith Furnace Company covered some 80 acres along the St. Louis River in West Duluth.

Among other early twentieth century businesses allied with iron and steel, several of them subsidiaries of Marshall-Wells, were the Duluth Corrugating and Roofing Company, later reorganized as the Sheet Metal Products Company; the Clyde Iron Works, organized in 1899 for the manufacture of derricks, boilers, hoists, and logging machinery; the Duluth Boiler Works; the Diamond Caulk Horse Shoe Company; the Gogebic Steam Boiler Works; and the American Carbolite Company, which used the slag refuse from smelters and blast furnaces to manufacture calcium carbide, required to produce acetylene gas for illumination.

The construction of the United States Steel Corporation's large plant on the western edge of the city was a long-awaited and much-lobbied-for event. Duluthians of the time hailed it as the "largest individual enterprise in Minnesota" and were convinced it would put Duluth in the ranks with such steel manufacturing cities as Gary, Joliet, Youngstown, Pittsburgh, and Bethlehem. The huge plant included coke ovens, blast furnaces, open-hearth furnaces, a power plant, a wire and nail mill, and various other operations. Universal Portland Cement Company built a plant alongside the steel operation to use the slag from the furnace in the process of cement making. The U.S. Steel facility, which became operational

in 1915, created an explosion in the populations of Gary and New Duluth, and the company built its own town, Morgan Park, to accommodate many of its managers and skilled laborers.

Although Duluth's iron-related industries suffered along with all American industries in the Great Depression of the 1930s, many of them remained active and grew significantly during World War II. Their decline would come with the exhaustion of high-grade ore on the iron ranges and the eventual slow-downs of the American steel industry.

Closely related to Duluth's other iron ore and steel-making activities was the shipbuilding industry, which flourished in the Twin Ports from the early days of wooden vessels built by N. Grignon Shipyard. But it was Captain Alexander McDougall's steel vessels that revolutionized lake carriers and made Duluth a significant shipbuilding center on the Great Lakes through the years of World War II.



McDougall opened his American Barge Company in 1889 on the Duluth harbor basin, where he constructed the first five of his "whaleback" vessels that proved themselves in bulk cargo shipping on the Great Lakes. He himself later described the whaleback as "a boat with a flat bottom designed to carry the greatest cargo on the least water, with a rounded top so that the water could not stay on board, with a spoon-shaped bow to best follow the line of strain with the least use of the rudder, and with turrets on deck for passage into the interior of the hull." The design was also used for passenger steamers in an age when travel on the Great Lakes was popular.

McDougall's confidence in the future of the Mesabi iron range led him to combine his interests with those of the Merritt brothers and thus to lose more than 30 freighters to the Rockefeller interests. He moved his shipbuilding operations to Superior, but later built a second shipyard on his initial Duluth site, then with partner Julius Barnes, expanded upriver to what is now the Riverside area during World War I. Riverside, like Morgan Park, was a company town, built for Barnes & McDougall's employees while they were constructing some 25 coastal freighters for the government. Other shipbuilding concerns in Duluth also provided vessels for the war effort. Whitney Brothers Wharf launched 10 tugs, and the Globe Shipyard built 19 260-foot ocean freighters. The businesses languished between the wars, but most of them were reactivated and expanded during World War II, when more than 10,000 men and women in both the port cities helped build a fleet of coastal freighters, corvettes, and ocean cargo ships.

A major port is built not only on exports but also on imports. Speaking in 1868, Dr. Thomas Foster, the publisher of the <u>Minnesotian</u> newspaper and the man who christened Duluth as the "Zenith City of the Unsalted Seas," predicted that one day, "the commercial freight from the eastern cities, destined to supply a vast region westward, will make tall warehouses groan with their burden while awaiting here their gradual distribution over the railroad to St. Paul and the great farther beyond."

Dr. Foster's forecast proved accurate. In 1909 Duluth received by water more than \$60 million worth of general merchandise, and its harbor was lined with jobbing warehouses to receive the goods and dispatch them to the farther beyond. The huge Marshall-Wells Hardware, built by Albert Morley Marshall, who took over the struggling Chapin-Wells Company in 1893, dominated the business of Duluth for decades. Marshall-Wells both manufactured and imported goods, and its salesmen solicited business throughout the northern states, Canada, and Alaska. It eventually established warehouses in Winnipeg, Vancouver, Portland, and Spokane, and its products were sold as far away as Indonesia and Australia. "Zenith" brand hardware and machinery carried a guarantee backed by scientific testing, and by 1915 its general catalogue was bigger than that of Sears.

As part of their service to dealers, Marshall-Wells salesmen offered advice about displays, and to supply the resulting demand the company bought Duluth Showcase, which made store fixtures. Eventually it added the manufacture of wooden ice boxes with an air circulating "coolerator" device to improve the boxes' performance. A pioneer in the manufacture of electric refrigerators, the Coolerator Company eventually was sold to the Gibson Appliance Company, and later became part of International Telephone and Telegraph's company holdings. In 1954, the McGraw Electric Company bought the Coolerator interests and closed the two Duluth plants one year later.

Among Duluth's other giants in jobbing was the Stone-Ordean-Wells wholesale grocery, founded in 1872 by William R. Stone. By the early 1900s his company had absorbed the competition and was manufacturing its own products under the brand name "Nokomis" as well as importing grocery items from around the nation. F. A. Patrick and Company, a

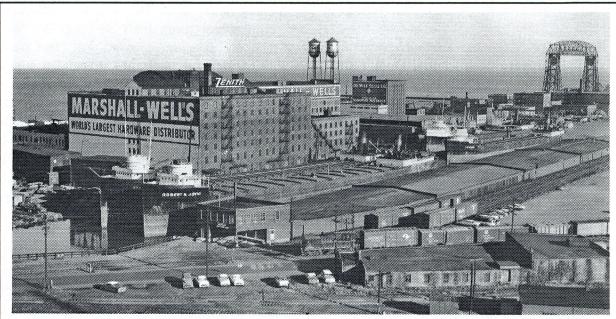


Photo 17 The Duluth warehousing scene was dominated by the huge Marshall-Wells Company.

wholesale dry goods business, specialized in mackinaws "bigger than the weather" and other woolen products. The DeWitt-Seitz Company imported furniture and manufactured mattresses sold across the Midwest.

Shipping costs on the Great Lakes, compared to railroad and later trucking rates, played an important role in the success of Duluth's jobbers, as did the demand for the goods they imported. With fluctuating prices and financial booms and busts, older companies went out of business and newer ones took their places throughout the 1920s and 1930s. The giant Marshall-Wells survived the depression with the aid of extensive bank financing, and by 1953 was the largest wholesale hardware firm in the world. It was sold to Ambrook, Inc. of New York and closed only a few years later.

While the fortunes to be made in the forests and mines of northeastern Minnesota and the ships regularly departing the Duluth-Superior harbor often went to eastern financiers with heavy investments in the region, enough money stayed in Duluth to make the city a major banking metropolis in the boom years around the turn of the century. While the community's first bank, backed by Jay Cooke and run by General George B. Sargent and George C. Stone, was buried in the collapse of the Cooke financial empire in 1873, bigger and better things were to come. By 1900 the banking institutions included the First National, American Exchange, Commercial, St. Louis County, Bank of West Duluth, and New Duluth Bank. These and others continued to consolidate and reformulate throughout the early years of the century, and several failed, as did banks across America, during the years of the depression in the 1930s.

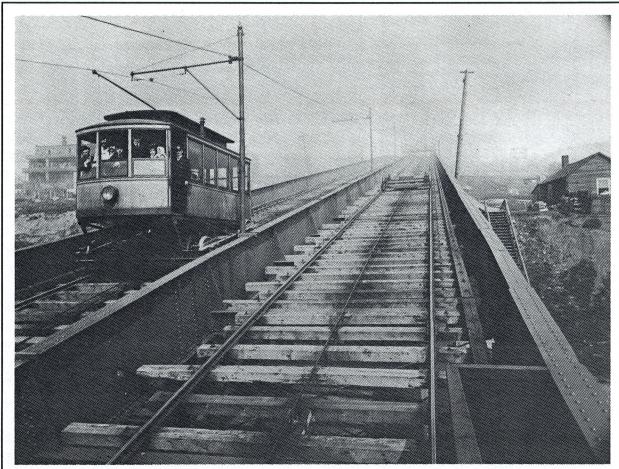


Photo 18 The Seventh Avenue Incline Railway.

A variety of retail sales businesses and service professions met the needs of Duluth's population, which continued to grow until the 1920s, when it leveled off through the next several decades. The Duluth Street Car Company received a franchise under an act of the legislature in 1881 to "lay tracks on any street in Duluth, run cars, and give adequate transportation facilities." Its first line was a single track of "a little less than one mile" on Superior Street from Eighth Avenue West to Third Avenue East. Cars were pulled by mules until the line was electrified in 1890, by which time the company had 19 miles of railway in operation. Duluth's famous Incline Railway, which climbed about 500 feet in the distance of half a mile and provided access to the summit of the hill upon which the city is built, made its first run in 1891, with company president G.G. Hartley as one of the passengers.

The telephone came early to Duluth through the interest of Walter Van Brunt, who read of the invention in 1876 and sent for two instruments which he connected between C.H. Graves & Company offices and nearby Elevator A. Later on Van Brunt connected five other places of business on the line, and from this the first telephone exchange was

established in 1881.

The riparian rights to the water power of the St. Louis River had attracted the early interest of Jay Cooke, who wanted to develop hydraulic power above Fond du Lac. Later, others laid down plans to use the power of fast-moving water for industrial growth and the generation of electrical power. An elaborate scheme was developed in 1893 by Henry M. Spaulding of the Minnesota Canal Company, who proposed a dam on the river above Cloquet and a 25-mile canal to the hilltop above Eighteenth Avenue West. Power generated by this plan would cost about one tenth the amount required by steam power. The idea proved so "alluring" that a rival company was soon formed, and maneuvering for the rights set the project back until a franchise was finally given over to the Great Northern Power Company in 1903. The Thompson dam plant, furnishing 30,000 horse power, was completed in 1906 and a substation erected at Duluth to transform the current for distribution. Later reorganized as Minnesota Power, the company built a new steam electric generating station in West Duluth, the location chosen for its proximity to coal sources.

From its very early days Duluth was well supplied with newspapers, the first being the Minnesotian, which Dr. Thomas Foster brought from St. Paul to Duluth in 1869. Foster was a lively writer of strong opinions, with which the "directors of Duluth's destiny" often did not agree. They consulted Jay Cooke about who they might get to start a rival newspaper with more agreeable ideas, and Cooke remarked that a new editor over in Superior might suit them well. Thus editor Robert C. Mitchell was persuaded to move his Tribune to Duluth, ferrying his equipment across the bay to elude active efforts and a threatened injunction to stop him. The Minnesotian merged with the Tribune in 1878, as did the Weekly Lake Superior News in 1892 when the News-Tribune was formed. The Duluth Herald began publication in 1883.

Handsome hotels, opera houses, and theaters lent a cosmopolitan air to the fast growing city in the years from 1890 to 1920. Many of these and other business buildings of the city were built in the popular monumental Richardson-Romanesque style, constructed of red sandstone quarried nearby. Others employed the Neo-Classical and Neo-Renaissance Revivalism styles. Those still standing today are among the structures that give Duluth the distinctive look of a booming late-nineteenth century industrial city.



Photo 19 A view of Superior Street in the 1930s, featuring the Lyceum Theater and the Congress and Palace hotels.

Property Types

There are some examples of Duluth's business from the late ninetieth and early twentieth centuries, but they are disappearing fast with the construction of freeways and other facilities along the waterfront. A careful look at such properties in West Duluth should result in additions to those already known.

Some sites now designated or under consideration include:

Historic buildings in the Canal Park district including:
DeWitt-Seitz
Marshall-Wells Warehouse
Marshall-Wells Oil House and Stable
Clyde Iron Works and
McClain Foundary Building
Alworth Building
U.S. Steel, Duluth Works, Morgan Park
Fitger Brewing Complex
Diamond Tool
Minnesota Power & Light
Hotel Duluth

Expected property-type sites in this context would include:

warehouses and other storage buildings sawmills and lumber yards iron works and foundries shipyards fishing docks, boats, and fish hatcheries private utilities office buildings stores professional offices houses associated with owners and employees archaeological sites related to industrial activities

IV. A CIVILIZED PLACE TO LIVE

• COMMUNITY INSTITUTIONS CONTEXT, 1870-1940

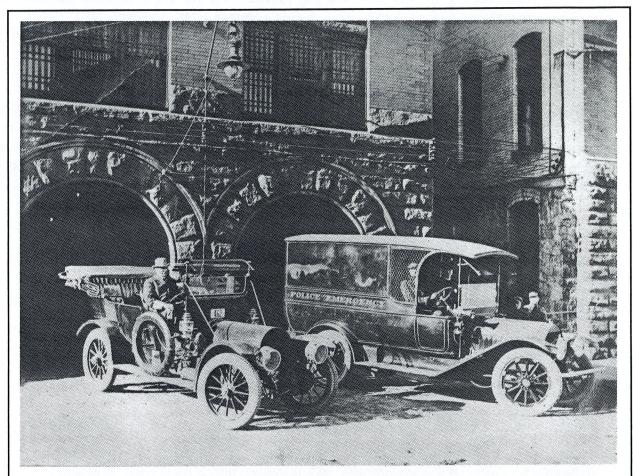


Photo 20 Police vehicles in front of the old city jail on East Superior Street between First and Second avenues.

Although it was not until the 1870s, with the growth of "Jay Cooke's Town," that Duluthians began the serious business of building schools, churches, hospitals, and other institutions that accompany the development of a settlement into a city, there were a few "firsts" in the scattered settlements of the 1850s. The first frame school on the north shore was built at Oneota in 1857, and another was constructed at Portland the following year. Duluth became accepted as a post office address in 1857, with J.B. Culver acting as postmaster. A warehouse built by Sidney Luce can be said to have been the first courthouse, post office, and county office building. It also served as a meeting place for the school board, county commissioners, township officers, and various other public and private groups. The missionary settlement at Oneota also saw the founding of the Young Men's Christian Temperance Society in 1856.

With the railroad's arrival imminent and its population exploding, Duluth became a city (for the first time) on March 6, 1870. Col. J. B. Culver was elected the first mayor, and at the first city council meeting a week later the city fathers were reluctant to come up with \$50 to purchase record books for the city clerk. A few meetings later, however, they agreed that if they were going to have streets they must have money and voted for city bonds totaling \$50,000.

Although there had been police protection on a piecemeal basis before the area achieved city status, an organized police force consisting of 14 men and a chief was established in 1870. The first chief of police absconded with a sizeable construction payroll a few months later and was never seen in Duluth again. After the crash of 1873 the police force dwindled to one man, who was paid no salary but was allowed \$1 for every arrest made. When good times returned in the 1880s the force grew as needed and the first uniformed officers

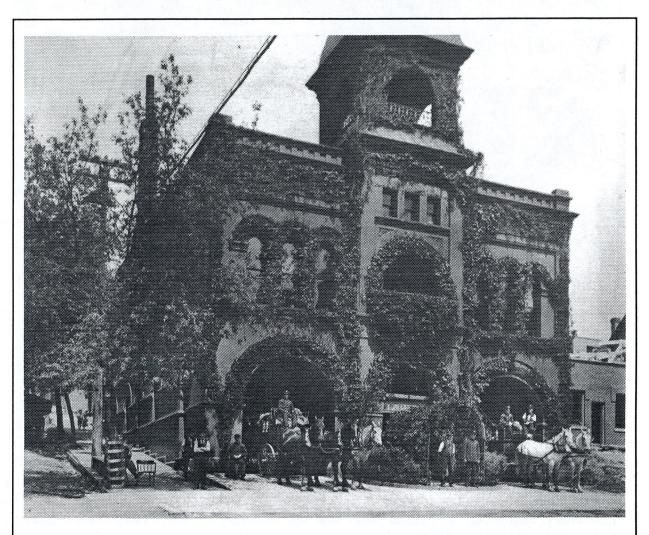


Photo 21 Firehouse Number One on Third Street at First Avenue East.

appeared.

When the city purchased a Silsby fire engine in 1870, volunteers organized the Duluth Hose Company No. One. It suffered a serious setback a year later when the firehall and fire engine were destroyed by fire, but it continued in service until 1886, when the city required a paid fire fighting force. A fire hall and headquarters building was constructed at First Avenue East and Third Street, and new stations were added as the need arose.

The boom of the 1880s brought a movement for a new county court house and city hall building in 1883, but, perhaps grown cautious by the two busts that had already stunted the city's growth, the citizens rejected a bond issue. The county built a frame "shack" to house its business, and the city rented quarters for its officers and police court over a saloon on Superior Street until 1889, when a new city hall and jail were completed on Superior Street and Second Avenue East.

The jail was later the scene of a tragedy which the Duluth <u>News-Tribune</u> called "a horrible blot" upon the city's name. On June 15, 1920, a mob estimated between 5,000 and 10,000 people broke into the jail, wrecked several floors, removed three young black men accused of rape, and hanged them from a lamppost on First Street and Second Avenue East.

The county courthouse, finally constructed in 1909, was designed as the centerpiece of a planned civic center, which would eventually include a new city hall and a federal courts building, both constructed in the 1920s. Together they were an example of the "City Beautiful" movement which gained popularity in the years around the turn of the century. The movement encouraged the reorganization of cities to make their downtown areas more "livable" with additional malls, green spaces, and handsome civic buildings. In keeping with that intention, Duluth's first municipal Christmas tree was lighted on the court house square in 1914.

Schools grew at a pace with other institutions in the early 1870s. School enrollment was 103 in the winter of 1869-70, but within a year there were five times that many, a new Superintendent of Schools had been appointed, and there was mention of the need for a high school. The financial disaster of 1873 put an end to the growth, but in 1877 a high school course program was organized, and the first class graduated in 1879. At the outset of the second boom in 1880, the construction of a series of new brick and stone buildings named for early American presidents began. Washington, Jefferson, Adams, and Jackson were located in the central areas of the city; the frame Madison took the overflow from Adams, and the Monroe was located at the west end of the city. The Franklin was soon added, as were Lincoln and Endion before 1890.

High school classes were held first in Washington School, then in Liberty School until the completion of Central High School in 1892. That handsome building, still a Duluth landmark, and an industrial high school opened in West Duluth the same year, served as the city's public high schools until Denfeld, named after long-time superintendent R. E.

Denfeld, was constructed in 1925-26. (Morgan Park had its own high school in the 1920s but was not part of the city system.) In 1920 the Duluth Public Schools teaching staff included 53 male teachers, paid an average salary of \$171 per month, and 539 female teachers, earning an average of \$120 a month.



Photo 22 Denfeld High School.

Several parochial schools also helped educate the children of Duluth. Benedictine sisters opened a school in a former carriage shop in 1880 and added a music class the following year. St. Mary's Star of the Sea, a Polish parish, opened a school in 1883, St. Thomas School opened in 1885, and the large Cathedral School, which included a gymnasium, billiard room, and meeting rooms for public use, was completed in 1904.

The influx of foreign-born workers and their families in the years from 1880 to 1920 created a demand for night schools in which the new residents could learn English and become

active participants in the community. In 1920 Duluth had 1,660 men and women enrolled in general night school classes and 514 in English and civics classes.

Under Superintendent Denfeld the Duluth school system established its own normal school to educate teachers in 1892. The city urged the State of Minnesota to locate a State Normal School in Duluth, and in 1901 construction began on a building for the school, one of six established throughout the state. Entering students were required to teach at least two years after they completed the two-year course or pay a \$30 per year tuition fee. Two dormitories were added and the normal school building expanded within a few years of its opening.

The Roman Catholic Sisters of St. Benedict opened an academy and boarding school in the Munger Terrace building in 1892. The Villa Santa Scholastica, which eventually became the College of St. Scholastica, accepted students of all religious beliefs. It soon outgrew its original quarters and in 1909 opened a large new building on Kenwood Avenue, where its campus continued to expand with numerous additions to Tower Hall and the construction of several new buildings.

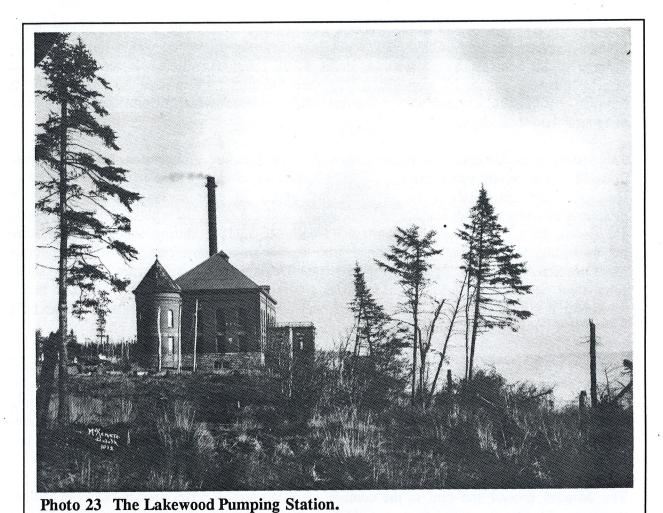
The Sisters of St. Benedict were also responsible for founding Duluth's St. Mary's Hospital in 1888, some seven years after the city's Episcopal church had established St. Luke's Hospital. Both hospitals were primitive institutions in their early years, plagued with problems of water supply, inadequate equipment, and the threat of typhoid and other highly contagious diseases. Indeed, it was a typhoid outbreak in 1881, during which sufferers were put up in hotels and visited from time to time by the county physician, that led to outcries for a hospital. St Luke's began operations that October in a "ramshackle old blacksmith shop," and church members helped to provide furnishings by driving from house to house for donations of sheets, towel, dishes, chairs, and beds. One week after opening the six beds were filled, five of them with typhoid victims.

In 1883, while expanding its services into a new building, St. Luke's initiated a prepaid health insurance plan. The St. Luke's Association sold certificates for \$5, mostly to loggers and railroad workers, which would entitle them to medical care for one year. The mid-1880s saw a "spell of healthfulness" which meant a decline in patient numbers in the new hospital, but by 1888 typhoid had erupted again. Fortunately, by that time, St. Mary's had opened and provided 100 beds to alleviate the crisis.

The decades around the turn of the century were periods of rapid growth for both Duluth hospitals. St. Mary's moved to a new 200-bed facility in 1898, and St. Luke's followed with a new facility in 1902. There were also several other hospitals in the city, including Women's Hospital, Maternity Hospital, and Smallpox Hospital, all catering to the poor and homeless. Both St. Mary's and St. Luke's introduced surgical operation facilities in the 1890s. The first appendectomy in Duluth was performed at St. Mary's in 1891, by 1901 it had the city's first intern program, and in 1903 it purchased the city's first x-ray machine.

Duluth's two large and competing hospitals no doubt played a significant role in the city's

development as a major medical center in the northwest. In 1915 Dr. E. L. Tuohy of St. Mary's and Dr. W. A. Coventry of St. Luke's established the Duluth Clinic, with the intention of bringing attributes of the Mayo Clinic in Rochester to the northland. Both doctors urged the two hospitals to provide necessary laboratories and more professional equipment, and the region's excellent facilities in turn brought more and better trained physicians to the area. By the 1920s, in addition to the "big two" hospitals, both expanding with addition after addition, there were a number of smaller institutions including the new Miller Hospital and a clinic/hospital built by U.S. Steel to serve the citizens of Morgan Park.



The typhoid epidemics which led to the founding of Duluth's early hospitals were also an issue in improving the city's water supply. The Duluth Water and Gas Company, a private corporation, drew water from Lake Superior at a point about five miles northeast of the harbor near the Lester River. The company's refusal to move the intake pipe further out into the lake, build a new pumping station, and improve the screening of gross pollutants eventually led the city to propose buying the waterworks for over \$2 million. A public

election to approve the purchase was called, but the president of the Board of Public Works, Casper Henry Truelsen, objected to the city's paying such a high price to a company that he felt had deliberately let its equipment deteriorate.

When voters approved the purchase, Truelsen sued to have the result overturned, which the court did after finding some 2,000 fraudulent ballots. Truelsen's victory made him a celebrity, particularly among working class citizens in the central and western districts. He was put forward as a "people's candidate" for mayor in 1896, running on a platform promising pure water at a reasonable cost. In the midst of a serious typhoid breakout, "Typhoid" Truelsen won in a surprising upset over the business establishment's candidate. After a period of intense negotiation between the mayor, the business-controlled city council, and the Water and Gas Company, the Lakewood pumping station was completed and the city purchased the utility's facilities for \$1.2 million. Truelsen's handling of the water question won him another term before he was defeated in 1900 in the closest election of the city's history.

Like all American communities, Duluth saw the establishment of numerous churches of many denominations as it began to prosper and grow. Religious services had been carried on by missionaries from the fur trade days onward, and the Reverend James Peet, a pioneer Methodist minister, preached regularly in Oneota from 1855 to 1860. Jay Cooke, an Episcopalian, helped with the construction of a "fair-sized church" in 1869, and the Presbyterians began work of constructing a new church that same year. The first Catholic Church, a wooden frame structure, was erected in 1870 on the site where Sacred Heart Cathedral rose in 1896.

A look at Duluth's churches in the early twentieth century shows much about the ethnic diversity of the city. By 1930, foreign-born still accounted for a quarter of Duluth's population, and the various ethnic groups formed their own communities, often centered on the neighborhood church. There were Swedish, Norwegian, German, and Finnish Lutheran churches; German, French, Polish, and Italian Catholic churches, Greek and Serbian Orthodox churches and several churches, including St. Elizabeth's in New Duluth, whose congregations were predominately Slavic groups from eastern Europe. St. Mark's African Methodist Episcopal Church, established in 1895, was a center for the city's small African-American community, and four synagogues, three located on Third Avenue North between Second and Ninth Streets East, served the Jewish population by 1900.

In addition to the churches, there were several Christian social and charitable organizations active in Duluth. The Young Men's Christian Association, organized in 1872 for "educational and philanthropic influences," opened a substantial building in 1908. In addition to complete athletic facilities, it offered courses in business, various types of shop mechanics and sciences, and even lake navigation. The Young Women's Christian Association began its work in 1902. Among its services were room and board for young women, an employment agency and boarding house directory, classes in English for foreigners, and various domestic arts.

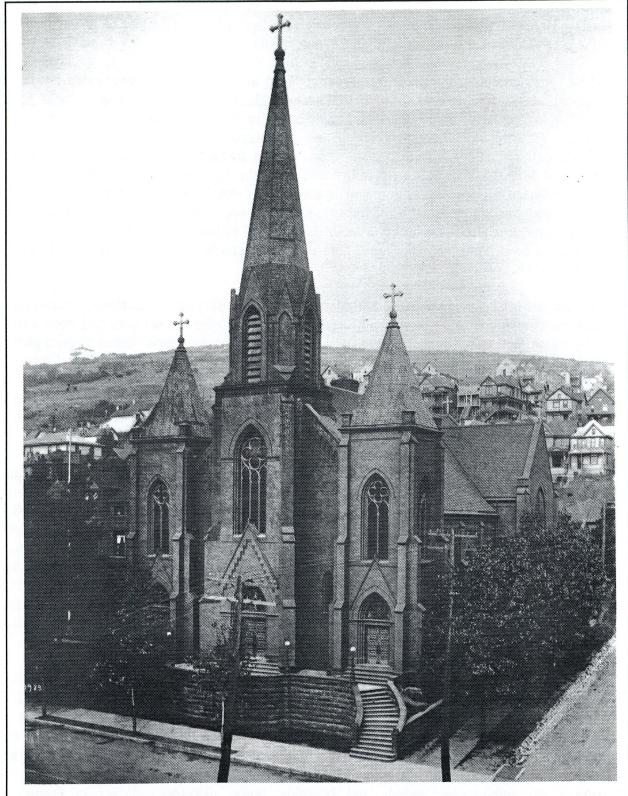


Photo 24 Sacred Heart Cathedral, 211 West Fourth Street.



Photo 25 The German Evangelical Lutheran Church, erected at 926 East Third Street in 1872. Converted for housing, it is the oldest surviving church building in Duluth.

The work of the Duluth Bethel Society among Duluth's mass of sailors, loggers, railroad laborers, miners, and other segments of the "floating" population was particularly impressive. Begun in 1873 by Robert Smith with the assistance of Captain Kitwood and the pastors and businessmen of the city, the association's members preached to the "lawless, roaring sailor horde" from a dry-goods box on the corner of Superior Street and First Avenue East. It also housed and fed the homeless men; offered food, fuel, shelter, clothing, and medical attention to needy families; ran a shelter for "unfortunate and fallen girls"; and carried on many other charitable activities. In 1912 it built a large facility at 31 Mesaba Avenue to accommodate sailors and others in dormitory halls and private rooms.

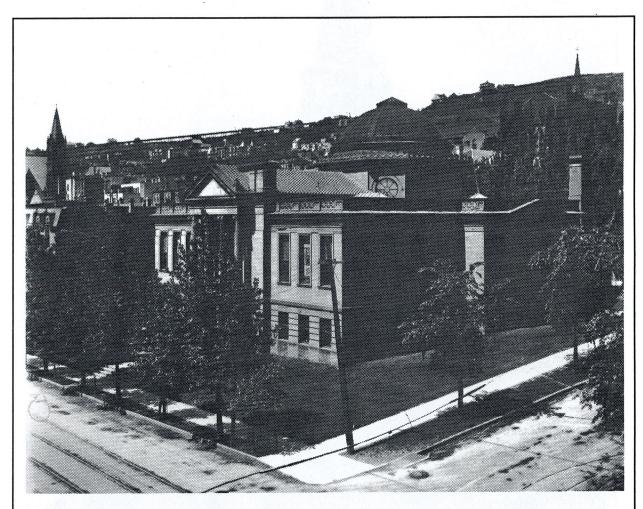


Photo 26 The former Duluth Public Library at 101 West Second Street.

The <u>Minnesotian</u> in 1869 carried notice of "a meeting of citizens... for the purpose of organizing a library organization." From that meeting came a modest reading room supplied mainly with donated magazines. A more formal organization of the Duluth Public Library took place in 1890, and by 1895 it had 18,000 volumes in circulation. First housed in the Masonic Temple building, the library soon moved into a handsome Carnegie library building

with two "art windows" designed by Anne Weston and made by Tiffany Company of New York (now on display at the Depot). The library housed other works of art at various times, either donated to the city or loaned for exhibit.

Masons, Elks, Odd Fellows, Moose, Woodmen, Knights of Columbus, and veterans organizations, including the Grand Army of the Republic and the American Legion, were all active in Duluth, as were a number of ethnic social clubs. Some of these built halls that were important gathering places for their members and other groups seeking space to hold social events. Other clubs included the Duluth Boat Club, the Curling Club, the Kitchi Gammi Club, and the Northland Country Club, all active before 1920.

Labor union organizations began, as in most parts of the United States, with trades. Among the early trade unions in Duluth were printing trades, maritime trades, and the railroad operators' brotherhood. Among the city's earliest labor confrontations were 1883 strikes by longshoremen and by drivers of the mule-powered streetcars. But it was not until 1889 that Duluth saw its first major strike.

The trouble began early in July, when workers building new sewers on Michigan Avenue demanded a raise from \$1.50 to \$1.75 per day. Apparently other workers joined a procession of some 2,000 men, and a number of special police were called out to control the crowd. The following day strikers, perhaps joined by "ruffians" from Superior, met the police in a pitched battle on West Michigan, where there were serious casualties on both sides from gunfire, rocks, and clubs. Three rioters and a young boy were killed, and eventually the state militia was called out.

There were severe labor conflicts in the lumber camps and the iron mines on the range, led by the Industrial Workers of the World in the early years of the twentieth century, and these had an effect in Duluth. The city's first industrial union was formed by the workers at the Fitger's Brewery in 1892, but other industrial organization was slow to follow even as trade unions grew stronger. A 1912 strike of streetcar workers against the Duluth Streetcar and Railway Company, which lasted for many weeks, brought the union widespread sympathy because the company refused to negotiate and used strikebreakers to run the cars. Even some of the strikebreakers found themselves in agreement with the strikers, and groups of Duluthians formed walking clubs to avoid riding the cars. Eventually a court order against the company for better service and the intervention of county and state officials led to a settlement.

Early in the 1930s the employees of Western Paint Company of New Duluth, a subsidiary of Marshall-Wells, and those of Diamond Tool and Horseshoe formed plant-wide unions, which after some struggle were recognized by both the AFL and the fledgling CIO. But it was not until 1937 that employees at the U.S. Steel plant and its subsidiaries were organized into an industrial union.

Duluth's Labor World newspaper was a voice for the labor movement, and union halls were

among the important gathering places for the city's trade and industrial workers as they were for the diverse ethnic populations on the range and elsewhere.

Property Types

Duluth is well-endowed with handsome community buildings, most constructed during the 1890-1920 boom years. More work should be done to learn about labor halls and other labor-related structures.

Some sites now designated or under consideration include:

Duluth Civic Center
State Normal School Historic District
Central High School
Denfeld High School
Masonic Temple Building
Carnegie Public Library
Firehouse Number One
Sacred Heart Cathedral and School
City Hall & Jail on Superior Street
Bethel Society Center
Tower Hall, College of St. Scholastica
Lakewood Pumping Station
Kitchi Gammi Club
Endion School

Expected property-types in this context would include:

government office buildings courts and jails public utilities churches and church schools public schools colleges hospitals and clinics libraries club buildings union halls

V. SIDE BY SIDE BY SIDE

• NEIGHBORHOODS CONTEXT, 1880-1940



Photo 27 Chester Terrace, 1210 - 1232 East First Street.

In Duluth's pioneer days, the settlements that eventually would come together as a city were scattered along the north shore of Lake Superior and the St. Louis River from Fond du Lac to Belville and for several miles along Minnesota Point. Several of these small villages (discussed in Chapter 1) formed the nucleus of later neighborhoods.

Duluth was fated by geography to become a long and narrow city, clinging to the hillsides and divided by the Point of Rocks. The western areas offered more flat acres for building large industrial complexes, while the eastern lakeside areas outside the harbor proved well suited to residential development. Geography and distance separated west from east and led to very different kinds of communities and to a strong sense of rivalry and occasional disdain that often outstripped the expected competition with the city of Superior across the bay.



Photo 28 Rice's Point in the early 1880s shows a mix of houses and the industries that attracted workers.

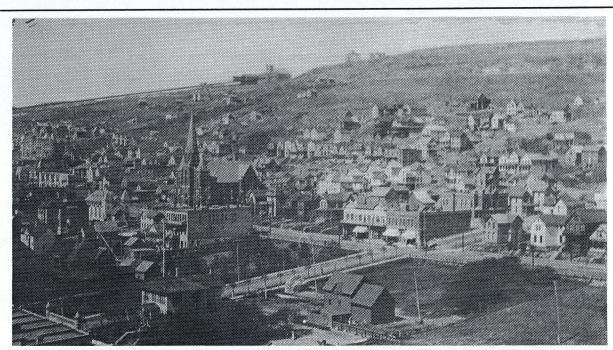


Photo 29 Duluth's Central Hillside around the turn of the century, probably taken from the Central High School tower. At the upper left, the Hilltop Pavilion at the top of the Incline railway.

As the city developed around Rice's Point and the area just inside the ship canal after 1871, most residents lived in frame houses close to their workplaces along the waterfront. But when the port boomed in the 1880s, and paved streets and streetcar service offered the necessary transport, many of the city's businessmen, managers, and other white collar workers began to place some distance between workplace and home. Ashtabula Heights on the hillside along First, Second, and Third streets from Fifth Avenue West to Fifth or Sixth avenues east was the first such neighborhood.

Building houses on the hillside was not an easy undertaking. The slopes were quite steep in some places and the rock had to be blasted and elaborate stone retaining walls constructed. Nevertheless, the streets above Superior Street soon boasted a number of imaginatively carved latticed, gabled, and turreted frame homes of the well-to-do, along with the smaller but still comfortable residences of downtown shopkeepers, clerks, salesmen, contractors, and some skilled workers.

In 1886 the Duluth and Iron Range Railroad link with Two Harbors was completed, allowing the upper middle class citizens of Duluth a new way to commute out of the noise and bustle of the harbor. The Lakeside Land Company, organized by bankers William Sargent, George Stone, and others, acquired title to the land between the Lester River and the former settlement of Belville, and by 1890 there were over 75 spacious new homes in Lakeside, New London, and Lester Park. The land company offered a total set of services to the home buyers, including design and construction, financing, water, sewer, gas, electricity, and even schools. The area thus became quite early a "most fashionable and popular residence place," as the company's ads described it, and London Road was among the city's best known streets.

By the 1890s, after the Superior Street streetcar line was extended to 22nd Avenue East, Duluth's business elite were also moving east, and in the next twenty years built large and elegant homes along Superior, First, and Second streets beyond 13th Avenue East. Many of these were designed by Boston, New York, or Chicago architectural firms, others by Duluth architects Oliver G. Traphagen, I. Vernon Hill, W. T. Bray, William A. Hunt, and Carl E. Nystrom.

Meantime the streets above the commercial center were filling up with the small cottages, duplexes, and row houses of the working classes, which followed streetcar development in the western, central, and east hillside areas. Many of these were frame, but brick was also popular for multiple dwellings. At the crossings of major streetcar lines, small groceries and other neighborhood shops sprang up to accommodate those changing cars on their way home from work.

Among Duluth's neighborhoods, Park Point was perhaps the most unusual. The long sandy bar known as Minnesota Point was the site of several early platted town sites, including Middleton, Cowell's Addition and North Duluth, in the early years of north shore settlement. It also contained several Indian villages, and indeed continued as a village site

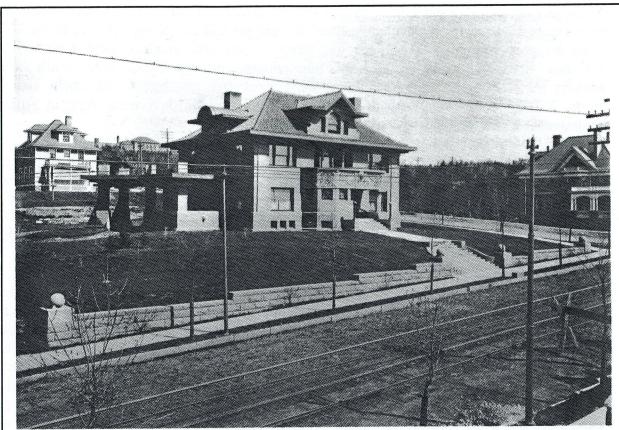


Photo 30 The Crosby House and other large new homes on East Superior Street and 21st Avenue in the early 1900s.

for Ojibwe people well into the twentieth century.

By 1870 the point had been annexed by the city of Duluth, but it was abruptly severed both physically and politically only a short time later, first by the cutting of the Duluth ship canal in 1871, and again in 1877 when the former city of Duluth reverted to village status and left the area "lying across" the canal outside the village boundaries. In 1881 the region organized itself as Park Point.

Having been cut off, Park Point was not especially eager to become part of its larger neighbor again even after Duluth regained city status in 1887. The big question to those "on the other side" was establishing a dependable means of transportation across the canal. Finally being promised a bridge, Park Point again joined with Duluth in 1890, but it took 15 more years to get the bridge. In the meantime travelers to the point were carried across the canal by a row boat ferry, later upgraded to steam power.

Even though transportation to Park Point was a problem until the aerial ferry bridge opened in 1905, settlement of the area moved forward after construction of a street railway running some three-and-a-half miles along the point in 1890. The line, built by the Interstate

Traction Company, was at first a single track, with occasional switches for horse- or muledrawn cars to pass in opposite directions. The space between rails was lined with planks since the sand was too deep to provide footing for the animals.

Within a year or two after the streetcars began running, Park Point had a number of year-round residents, as well as many summer visitors. From 1906 to 1908 there was even an amusement park with vaudeville and other entertainment, run by the ITC. There were also a number of saloons, billiard halls, brothels and gambling rooms.

Among the point's permanent residents were a number of Finnish settlers, some of whom had been fishermen in the area as early as 1870. By 1910 there were nearly 3,000 foreign-born Finns living in Duluth, and although many of them were established in the west end and West Duluth, a large number resided on Park Point, where the community saunas they brought with them from their homeland flourished.

Once the point was firmly connected to the rest of Duluth by the bridge, Duluth residents and visitors from elsewhere, many seeking relief from hay fever and other respiratory complaints, built small summer homes on Park Point.

As Duluth grew, its foreign-born population increased, and certain areas attracted large numbers of a particular ethnic group, often centered around a neighborhood church and a parochial school. French Canadians, among Duluth's earliest residents, after 1884 clustered around their own French national church, St. Jean Baptiste, and by 1893 the parish claimed some 250 families, most of them supported by laborers or workers in the building trades. The city's small African-American community, made up mostly of waiters, porters, and hotel service employees, centered around St. Mark's African Methodist-Episcopal Church. More than 1200 Jewish families, most of them immigrants from Eastern Europe, lived in the "Barg" neighborhood along Third Avenue between Second Street and Ninth Street East. Many of them were tailors or workers in Duluth's flourishing garment industry.

A number of Italian families lived on the edge of the business district, especially from Fifth to Sixth avenues west, and in "Little Italy" on Point of Rocks within walking distance of the railroad yards and coal docks on Rice's Point where many of them worked. The Catholic parish of St. Peter was largely Italian.

Some of these Italian immigrants brought exceptional skills in stone masonry with them, and their handiwork can be seen in the well-constructed stone foundations of many homes, the handsome stone walls in Cascade Park and the distinguished red sandstone structures built in the booming metropolis around the turn of the century. The Glen, also known as "Skunk Hollow" and "Goat Hill," was a part of Little Italy on the Point of Rocks area.

Poles made up a large segment of Duluth's foreign-born, and both St. Josephat and St. Mary's Star of the Sea churches had largely Polish congregations in 1910. There were also a substantial number of Poles living near Fairmount Park in West Duluth. The city's Greek



Photo 31 St. Mark's African Methodist Episcopal Church, 530 North Fifth Avenue East.

population struggled until 1918 to build Twelve Holy Apostles Greek Orthodox Church.

West Duluth's growth was also explosive in the boom of the 1880s and beyond. Workers flocked in to the new factories of all kinds springing up along the St. Louis River. Many Swedes and Norwegians moved into the Denfeld area, where there was also German settlement. Balts, Serbs, Croats, Slovenes, Poles, Bohemians, Slovaks, Greeks, Italians, and Romanians could be found throughout West Duluth, Gary, and New Duluth, often enjoying the comfort of neighborhood social clubs and places of worship. Raleigh Street, in the heart of the industrial area, was a thriving business street renowned for its saloons and for the rich ethnic mixture of Italians, Austrians, and Serbs who worked at such industries as American Carbolite and Zenith (later Interlake) Steel.

Meantime, the streetcars continued to expand their service, and several "streetcar suburbs" grew up in the eastern areas well above the lakeshore. Glen Avon and Hunter's Park, developed in 1893, possessed "all benefits of the city without the discomforts." These areas were soon populated by successful downtown store owners, professional men, brokers, and others who had stable employment, whose families did not work, and who had no need to remain close to the workplace.



Photo 32 West Fifth Street at 20th Avenue North.

Among the earliest settlers in Glen Avon was Angus. R. Mcfarlane, and soon others of Scottish descent found it a congenial location, and the region became known as "Oatmeal Hill." In 1914 Waverly Park, "an Ideal Site for an Ideal Home in an Ideal Part of the City," opened within a block of the streetcar. Buyers in these communities agreed to build homes of over \$3,500 in value, and not to construct flats, double residences, or business blocks.

Amidst these streetcar suburbs, however, was a quasi-company town established to benefit the working man. Morley Heights, between Waverly and Morningside Park, was the inspiration of Albert Morley Marshall of the huge Marshall-Wells hardware company. In 1919 he purchased a large number of frame houses, including duplexes, from the Du Pont Company at Barksdale, Wisconsin. These were knocked down and shipped across the lake, where they were rebuilt and offered to company employees as part of a general profit-sharing and benefits program. The community became home to non-Marshall-Wells employees as well, and proved a popular suburb for many of the city's skilled workers and clerks.

Marshall-Wells' unusual suburb was not the first company town in Duluth. That distinction belongs to Morgan Park, built by U.S. Steel to house employees at its new plant on the St. Louis River. Construction of the new town began in 1913, and the first residents moved in the following year. By 1918 it was home to 750 workers and their families.



Photo 33 Morgan Park street scene, about 1918.

Morgan Park provided several types of housing for its residents, depending on their skills and status within the company. U.S. Steel was particularly anxious to attract the highly-skilled workers it required for some of its processes, and most of its foremen and managers were provided with single family homes, while skilled laborers lived in attached units. All the structures were well built, combining concrete, cement blocks, steel beams and timber into attractive boxes with pitched roofs and wide eaves. Large dormitories housed unmarried men.

The company provided Morgan Park with fire and police service, utilities, stores, a school, Catholic and Protestant churches, a social hall, and just about everything else residents might need. There was a hospital staffed by company doctors and nurses, movies and dances were available inexpensively on weekends, and there was even a boat club. There were also "suggestions" for correct behavior, which did not include too much shopping or socializing outside the community.

While many of the steel company's employees lived in Morgan Park, a large number of mostly unskilled workers found housing in Gary and New Duluth. Morgan Park's residents were largely old stock Americans, Scandinavians, and Germans. Many Slavic peoples, Italians, Balts, and other more recent immigrants who found employment with U.S. Steel lived in Gary and New Duluth.

A second smaller company town, Riverside, was built between Morgan Park and West Duluth in 1917 for workers in Barnes & McDougall shipyards, which had expanded from a site closer to the city because of the large numbers of orders resulting from the war raging in Europe. The town was home to a thousand people by 1918, and like Morgan Park was



Photo 34 Two of Duluth's company towns: Riverside (foreground) and Morgan Park (background).

completely outfitted to provide for the health, entertainment and comfort of its residents.

By the 1920s Duluth had reached a growth plateau, and many of its neighborhoods continued to look much as they had at the turn of the century even while their residents sent their children to school and watched many of the older ethnic traditions that had held them with their countrymen slowly disappear. It was not until after World War II, with the changes brought by freeways and new growth "over the hill," that Duluth's appearance began to change.

Property Types

While the city's wealthier neighborhoods are easy to locate and study, little work has been done on surveying areas with ethnic characteristics in mind. Working people's housing is remarkably well-preserved on Duluth's hillsides, but these are among the most vulnerable regions in the city. It is particularly important to preserve some of the many working class row houses that still lend a special character to the inner city.

Some sites now designated or under consideration:

Chester Terrace
Superior Street Historic District, outlined by Superior and Third streets, and 14th to 26th avenues east.

Munger Terrace
Lakeside
Morgan Park
Riverside
Morley Heights
St. Mark's African Methodist-Episcopal Church
Traphagen House

Expected property-type sites in the context would be:

immigrant societies
churches and church schools
ethnic neighborhoods districts
row houses
workers' cottages and duplexes
company town districts
railway and streetcar suburb districts
residential hotels and boarding houses
stone retaining walls
architecturally significant residences

VI. THE AIR CONDITIONED CITY

• RECREATIONAL RESOURCES CONTEXT, 1880-1940

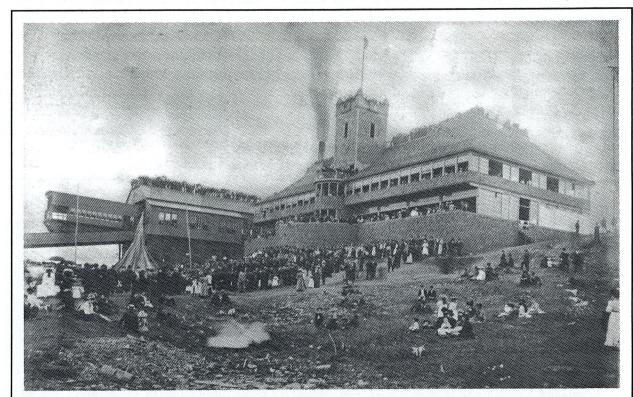


Photo 35 The Hilltop Amusement Hall at the top of the Incline RR was used for concerts and theatrical events from 1892 until it was destroyed by fire in 1901.

"Take this God-graded town, and what engineer could imitate it. These ravines, these hills, this splendid scenic panoramas, this air!"

Most of Duluth's visitors, and its residents as well, would agree with Francis T. Simmons, the chairman of the Chicago Park Board, who visited the city in 1910. Fortunately for appreciative generations to come, the city, in concert with the Chamber of Commerce, set aside by 1888 some of the most scenic lands of the area as public parks, including Cascade, Chester, and Lincoln, "in addition to Portland Square," possibly the only "square" park of its type at that time. Much of the land for these and other parks was donated by wealthy residents who had profited through extracting and shipping the resources of lake and land.

These early parks, and many of those set aside in the following years, surround the rapids and waterfalls of the many fast-flowing steams making their way from the heights above Duluth into Lake Superior. By 1920 the chief parks were Lester, North Shore, Lincoln,

Cascade, Congdon, Chester, Fairmount, and Enger, which, in addition to many smaller squares, triangles, beaches, and other "cared-for open spaces," encompassed some 700 acres. Many of these parks featured handsome "improvements" like the stone masonry pavilion and wall constructed around Cascade Park and along the banks of the Clark House Creek, which has since been diverted underground.

Among the most elaborate of the many masonry attractions in the parks was Enger Tower, dedicated by Crown Prince Olav of Norway in 1939. The tower is a six-sided five-level monument to Bert Enger, a wealthy Norwegian immigrant who contributed both time and money to the development of Duluth's park system. Enger donated 350 acres of land for Enger Park and golf course, and his close ties with Norway enabled him to obtain the replica "Viking ship" for Leif Erikson Park on the lakeshore.



Photo 36 An outing on Skyline Drive.

Some 500 feet above the level of Lake Superior lies a gravel-covered terrace formation created when the "big lake" was much higher than it is now. Upon this "natural driveway"

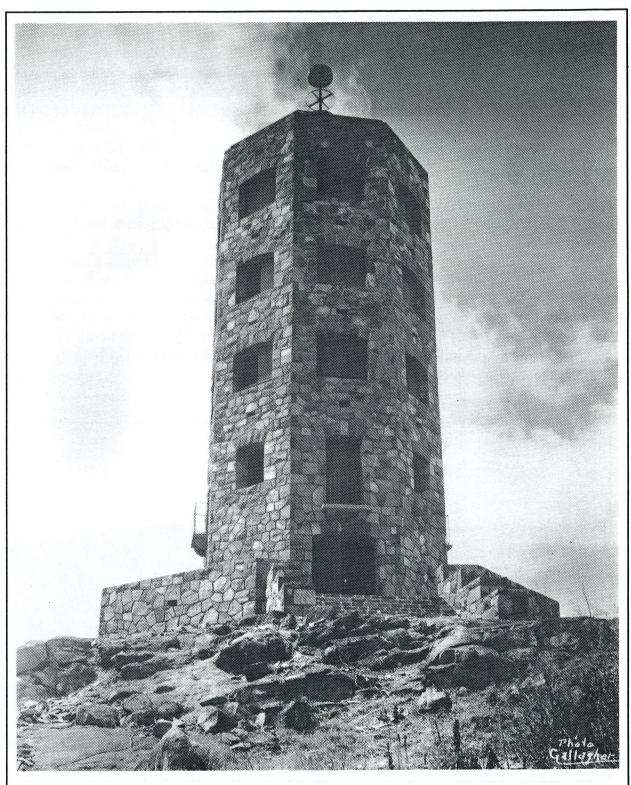


Photo 37 Enger Memorial Tower in Enger Park, completed in 1939 and dedicated by Crown Prince Olav of Norway, offers spectacular views of the city and harbor.

runs the much-heralded Skyline Drive, which the city widened, graded, and where necessary, bridged with rustic stone construction. By 1920 about 20 miles of this drive above the city was traveled by thousands each year who enjoyed spectacular views of river, harbor, lake, and the city below. WPA workers improved the drive in the 1930s by extending it west to U.S. Highway 61 at Thompson Hill and east via the extension of Snively Boulevard to the city's edge.

The sandy and wooded stretches of Park Point were also an attraction, both to visitors and residents of Duluth who built summer cottages there. Many sought relief from summer allergies; Park Point gained fame as "Hay Fever Haven," a name sometimes applied to Duluth in general. WPA work in the area included the landscaping and construction of roads, tennis courts, swimming pools, playgrounds, a tourist camp, and a hay fever colony.

The beauty and wildness of Duluth and the North Shore beyond brought tourists in large numbers even when the city was only a few straggling houses. "The finest trout fishing in the world is to be obtained in Lake Superior," wrote Theodore Roosevelt's uncle, Robert Barnwell Roosevelt, an expert fisherman who tried his luck on the lake in the early 1860s. A number of years later his nephew, who was then president of the United States, planned a trip to hunt moose in the area around Lutsen, but decided against the journey when he learned the trek would not be on horseback.

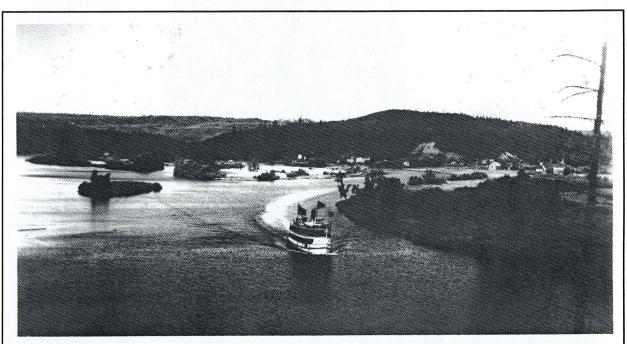


Photo 38 Boat excursions to Fond du Lac were popular with Duluth visitors.



Photo 39 Duluth visitors found accommodations in handsome hotels like the Spalding on Superior Street.

Many did come for the hunting and fishing, however, and before the road up the shore was completed in 1924 they often traveled by ship from Duluth to reach their isolated destinations. Vessels like the "America" made regularly scheduled runs to Isle Royale, the Apostle Islands, and other popular attractions, carrying both cargo and passengers. There were also enjoyable local excursions, including a 20-mile cruise to Fond du Lac.

The Zenith City also welcomed many visitors who were traveling via the Great Lakes to the Pacific Coast. They came by ship from Buffalo, Cleveland, and other lake ports, stopping for a rest in Duluth before continuing by rail across the northwest. All these travelers and tourists created a demand for comfortable lodging in the city, particularly in the summer months. In 1910 they had many choices. The "first class" hotels, which charged from \$2 to \$5 a night, included the Spalding, the St. Louis, the Lennox, the McKay, and the Holland. Cheaper accommodations, some as low as 50 cents a night, could be found at the Miller, Alvarado, Nicollet, Astoria, and Metropole. Indeed, during much of its history, Duluth had

a larger number of hotels, and later motels, for its size than most other midwestern cities.

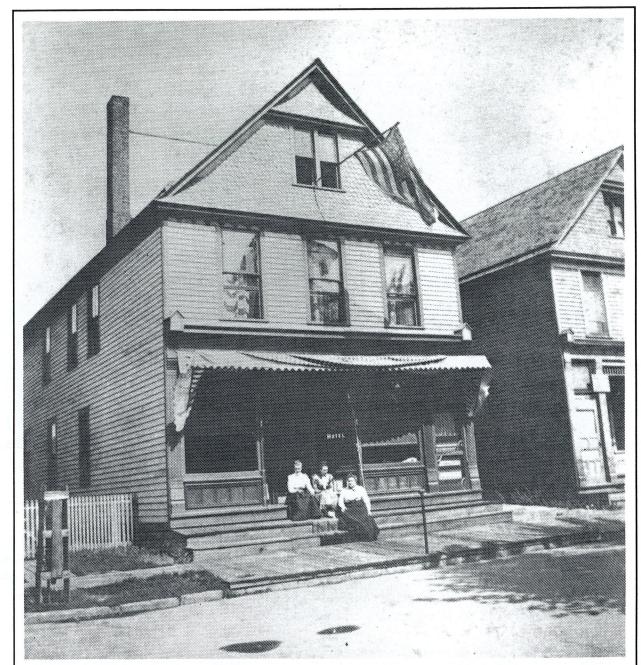


Photo 40 An example of simpler tourist boarding houses on the lake's shores.

Residents enjoyed many of the same activities as visitors did, but found other recreations as well. Traveling and locally produced theatrical productions were seen at the Theater Shed, also known as the Pine Shed, as early as 1869. In the booming 1890s Superior Street boasted the elegant Grand Opera House at Fourth Avenue West, the Lyceum at Fifth Avenue West, the Orpheum (later Norshor) at Second Avenue East, and the Grand (later the Lyric) between Second and Third avenues west. All these facilities presented huge road shows associated with national theatrical circuits before adding moving pictures in the 1920s. For a brief time, before it burned to the ground in 1901, the Hilltop Amusement Hall at the top of the Incline Railway presented theatrical performances, concerts, and dances that attracted crowds of up to 5,000.

Athletic facilities for both summer and winter activities were popular in Duluth. Crew rowing got off to an early start in 1870, when a December canoe regatta on Lake Superior attracted 5,000 shivering spectators. The Duluth Boat Club, constructed at Tenth Street on Minnesota Point in 1900, included an Olympic sized swimming pool and was the social center of the city through the early 1920s, a period when Duluth men's rowing teams won 47 of 58 races, including 20 national championships.

Curling, ski jumping, and hockey were popular winter pastimes. The Duluth Curling Club built an impressive Curling and Skating Club in Glen Avon in 1893, which included three sheets of curling ice and another rink for skating and hockey. Several smaller ski jumping facilities served the Duluth Ski Club before the construction of what was then the largest steel slide in the world at Chester Bowl in 1924. Subsequent ski jumping activity in the 1930s made Duluth the "ski jumping capital of the United States." The city's early adult hockey teams were playing "polo on ice" in 1895, and by 1917 a West End team won the American Hockey Association championship. The Duluth Hornets, and later the Zephyrs, played hockey in the city's new Ampitheater from 1924 until the roof of the structure collapsed in 1939.

Baseball was among the most popular summer entertainments, both for players and for spectators. Games were played on fields throughout the city, and the minor league Duluth Dukes enjoyed box office success for many years, especially after the construction of Wade Stadium by the WPA in 1941. Duluth was also a charter member of the National Football League, organized in 1921. A young Superior sportsman, Ole Haugsrud, who later owned the Minnesota Vikings, got his start as manager of the Kelly-Duluth football team, later renamed the Eskimos, in 1922.

The Duluth Zoo's first inhabitant was a fawn found in northern Minnesota by Bert E. Onsgard, a West Duluth printer who organized a zoological display in Fairmont Park. Backed by the West Duluth Businessman's Club, Onsgard chaired a committee to obtain animals and became the zoo's first manager when it came under city administration in 1929. Arguments about enlarging and staffing the zoo played a role in city politics during the 1930s, when WPA crews built many handsome new stone structures and outdoor exhibits.

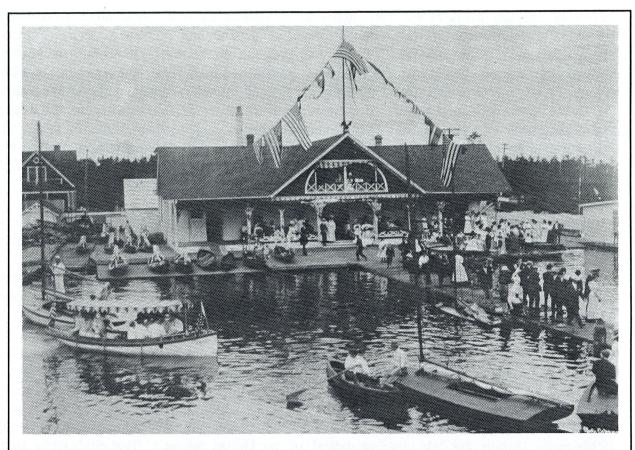


Photo 41 The Duluth Yacht Club facility built in 1905 was located near the Duluth Boat Club on Park Point. The two clubs shared members, facilities and personnel.

Its rich recreational resources, combined with those of the North Shore, made Duluth an attractive destination for midwestern vacationers even when it was known to be one of the most heavily industrialized cities in the midwest. It is the combination of its industrial past and its spectacular setting that create its unique character today.

Property Types

Duluth is known for its attractive parks and scenic drives. Local entertainment-related facilities are also plentiful; many were created or much improved by the WPA in the depression years. Earlier tourist attractions might well be appreciated by visitors today.

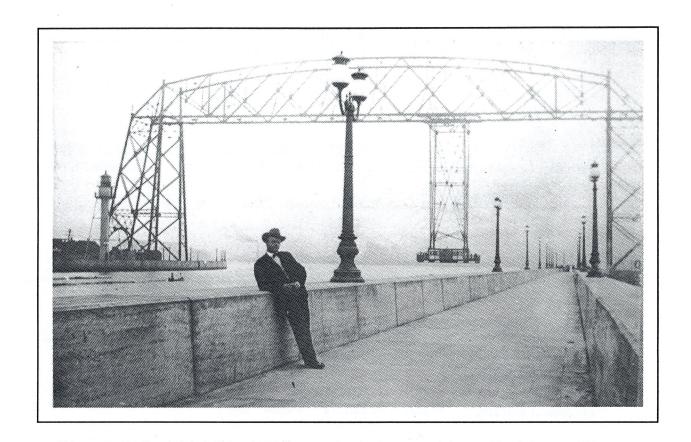
Some sites now designated or under consideration include:

Enger Tower Cascade Park structures Stewart Creek Stone Arch Bridge Skyline Parkway Seven Bridges Road Wade Stadium Orpheum (now Norshor) Theater

Expected property-type sites this context would include:

park structures
monuments
statues
theaters and auditoriums
tourist hotels and motels
marinas
stadiums and playing fields
ski-related runs and structures
public gardens and landscaped spaces
zoos

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