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CHANGING TIMES, CHANGING THEMES—AN EXHIBIT PROPOSAL OF THE
HISTORICAL OCCUPANCY AT THE LIBRARY SITE FROM 1849 TO 1869

by

Jaime Yap

B.S., St. Cloud State University,

A Thesis

Submitted to the Graduate Faculty

of

St. Cloud State University

in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements

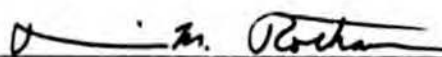
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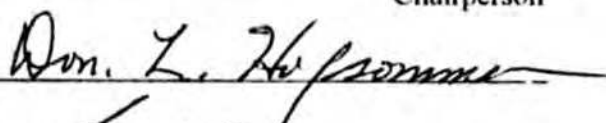
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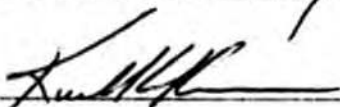
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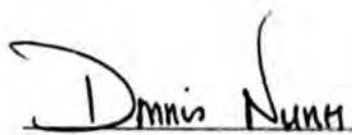
This thesis submitted by Jaime Yap in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts at St. Cloud State University is hereby approved by the final evaluation committee.


Chairperson








Dean
School of Graduate Studies

CHANGING TIMES, CHANGING THEMES—AN EXHIBIT PROPOSAL OF THE HISTORICAL OCCUPANCY AT THE LIBRARY SITE FROM 1849 TO 1869

Jaime Yap


The James Miller Learning Resource Center is a public and educational institution established in 2000. Many students today may not know that a human skull was discovered during the construction of the library in January of 1999. In fact, numerous graves were found at this site, with some having skeletal remains.

There are many stories to tell from past occupants of this block. This thesis will disclose the historical periods that occurred, how they developed and became an integral part of St. Cloud State University and the larger community. The year 1849 was chosen as the start date for this work because that was the year Minnesota Territory was created and also about the time the government was encouraging settlers to move here. 1869 was approximately the time the businesses moved away from this study area. During those twenty years, this block was within a frontier town and held the first church in St. Cloud and a cemetery.

The exhibition proposal will consist of two parts displayed at two different places. The first part is a brief overview exhibition displayed at the library's front exhibition case to provide context for the three main exhibits by displaying photographs and maps of the main occupants of this block from the time of a frontier town to the library. The second part will be a more in-depth display based on the research of the study area from 1849 to 1869 at the library's lobby where there will be three main exhibitions about a frontier town, a church and a cemetery. The goal of the exhibition is to inform the Saint Cloud community, especially Saint Cloud State students on the history of what took place at this site that they might not realize, with hope that they will appreciate its history. Also, the exhibit's intention would be to show how the occupancy of the land changed serving different purposes. The investigation of the historical aspects would be done to provide an introduction to the history of the research area.

<u>December</u>	<u>2003</u>
Month	Year

Approved by Research Committee:


Richard M. Rothaus Chairperson

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The accomplishment of a Master's Degree would not have been possible without the assistance and support of my family and friends. I am truly very grateful for their encouragement and devotion which without, I could not have succeeded in this goal.

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Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

The library is considered the 'second home' for most students of St. Cloud State University during midterms and finals week. With all the research, assignments and expected deadlines, it is no surprise that the library is filled with students when school is in session. What many students today may not know is that a human skull rolled out from the dirt that was being shoveled during the construction of the library in January of 1999. In fact, numerous graves were found at this site, with some having skeletal remains.

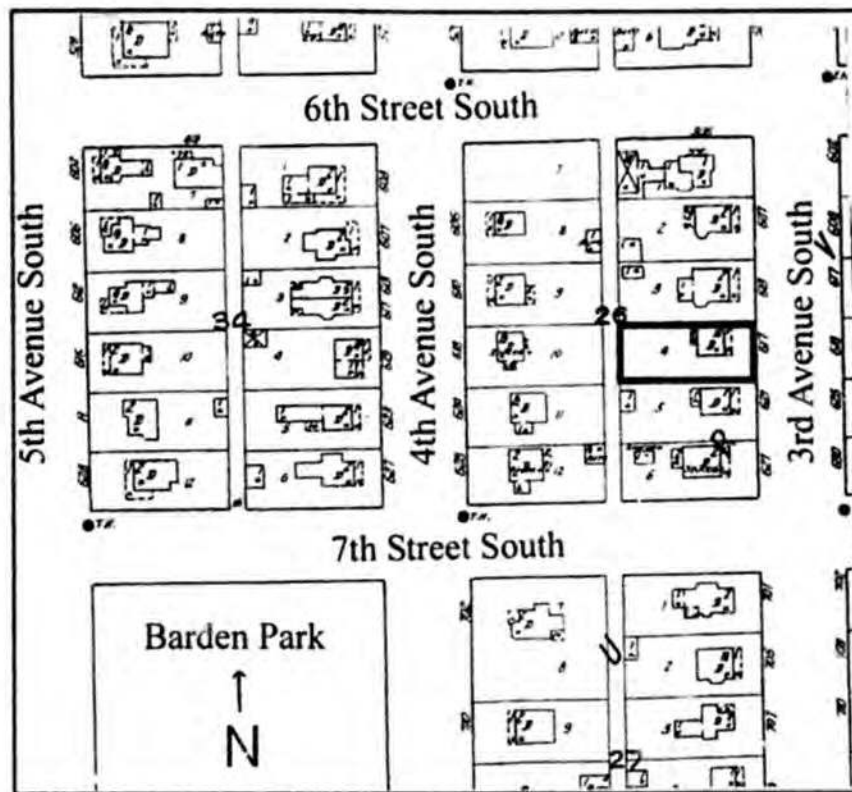
When the Saint Cloud area was surveyed in the 1850s, it was platted into blocks with each block containing twelve lots (Figure 1). When Saint Cloud State University expanded, some buildings required more space causing combining of blocks and disconnection at certain parts of roads. For instance, the library currently lies on the joined block of twenty-six and thirty-four that was divided by Fourth Avenue South. (Figure 2) The area of study is the southern part of block twenty-six



Source: Plat Map of Stearns County (Recorder Office, n.d.)

Figure 1 – Plat map of Stearns County

that was once bordered by Fourth Avenue South on the west, Seventh Street South on the south, Third Avenue South on the east and Sixth Street South on the north. Today, only Sixth Street South runs along side this block. (Figure 3) The sections of the other three streets have been altered and put to other uses as shown on the map. (Figure 3) The discovery of burials found at the library site aroused curiosity about what they were doing here and what made them settle here. While searching for answers, research revealed that prior to being the library, this area served many purposes.



Source: Stearns History Museum under cemetery folder

Figure 2 – Map of Block 26 & 34



Source: <http://www.stcloudstate.edu/campusmap/>, 12/29/03

Figure 3 – Map of Study Area Today

One hundred and forty-seven years ago, this whole area had a different landscape. Filled with nature, it once served as a common hunting ground for Native Americans (majority Dakota, Ojibwe and Winnebagoes).¹ Now, fully urbanized, almost every part of the land is comprised of concrete and buildings. This site alone had undergone multiple uses by different occupants since the first white settlers arrived. Prior to being the library, a Protestant cemetery was once here during the frontier town era. It is interesting to note that around the corner from the cemetery, once stood the first church building of St. Cloud (the St. John's Episcopal Church) encircled by trees and unpaved paths. Today, within the same lot lies the new James Miller Learning Resources Center.

There are many stories to tell from past occupants of this block. Uncovering these stories, how the history of this site developed from 1849 to 1869 and then using that information for an exhibition proposal is the purpose of this work. The year 1849 was chosen as the start date because that was the year Minnesota Territory was created and the time the government was encouraging settlers to move here.² The year 1869 was chosen as an end date because that was approximately the time the population moved away from this study area.

¹ The Public Statutes at Large of the United States of America (for the rest of this paper, this will be referred as *Statutes at Large*), 43 vols. (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1845-1925), 7:370, 544; *Visiter*, 10 Dec. 1857, *Democrat*, 10 Nov. 1859, Library of Congress treaties website-http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/amlaw/lss_states.html; *St. Cloud Journal-Press*, 22 Aug. 1867, 1; Theodore Blegen, *Minnesota: A History of the State* (Minneapolis: U. of M Press, 1975), 20-29, 84-104, 126-139, 171, 213, 276, 282-283; June Holmquist, *They Chose Minnesota* (St. Paul: MHS Press, 1981), 17-20; Thomas Hughes, *Old Traverse des Sioux* (Minnesota: Herald Publishing Company, 1929), 97-106; Marion Shutter, *Progressive Men of Minnesota* (Minneapolis: The Minnesota Journal, 1897), 286.

² Blegen, 159; Holmquist, 1, 8; Hughes, 97-106.

The exhibition proposal will consist of two parts. The first part is a brief survey of the area's history between the land and the people in order to provide context for the three main exhibits by displaying photographs and maps of the main occupants of this block from the time of a frontier town to the library. As Preston Lockridge notes, "A display should stimulate student interest in the topic and contribute to the educational objectives by providing an overview of what is to be studied."³ The second part will be a more in-depth display based on the research of the study area from 1849 to 1869 where there will be three main exhibitions about a frontier town, a church and a cemetery. The purpose of this exhibition is to inform St. Cloud State University students and visitors of what previously took place at this site that they might not realize (this block was not just an empty land space that turned into a library) and how the occupancy changed serving different purposes over time.⁴ This is in agreement with William Robbins and James Foster who wrote, "Periodic reexaminations are useful in any case, because changes in the present mean that there is a constantly changing perspective on the past. Different contexts demand different questions, and different questions yield different histories."⁵

³ Preston Lockridge, Better Bulletin Board Displays (Texas: University of Texas, n.d.), 7.

⁴ James Ely, Jr., The Guardian of Every Other Right: A Constitutional History of Property Rights (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 8.

⁵ William Robbins and James Foster, Land in the American West (Washington: University of Washington Press, 2000), 192.

It is with hope that through this exhibit, students will appreciate, connect with, feel that they are part of the history, and claim ownership of its history.⁶ David Kyvig and Myron Marty wrote a better elaboration of this, "A much better appreciation of any particular subject can be attained by considering related matters, both the history of comparable phenomena and simultaneous developments in other areas that may affect the object of interest."⁷ Also, with this exhibit, we can learn more about the growth of early settlements and how everything developed. As Robert Brown states, "St. Cloud represents an example of the manner in which one of Minnesota's cities has grown and changed in character with the passage of time."⁸

⁶ American Association of Museums (AAM will be used throughout this paper), "Code of Ethics for Museums," 1991.

⁷ David Kyvig and Myron Marty, Nearby History (California: Altamira Press, 2000), 215.

⁸ Robert Brown et al., Atlas of Minnesota Occupancy (Iowa: Wm. C. Brown Company Publishers, 1969), 134-135.

Chapter 2

FRONTIER TOWN: NOT TWIN CITIES BUT THE TRIPLET CITY

The need to understand the broader context and the influence that brought westward expansion to the St. Cloud area is an important step towards a better understanding of the 'whole picture' and appreciation for this study area's heritage. According to historian Margaret Walsh, "American history could not be understood without a proper appreciation of the West."¹ The elaboration of ownership of land is also deemed vital in understanding the history of this study area. As explained by William Robbins and James Foster, "It is nearly impossible to understand...early U.S. history without the ownership of land as a primary part of that narrative."² The goal of this chapter is answering the questions about the people who were involved, their decisions in changing the land of the study area and how the area developed.

Many settlers migrated westward with the idea that all of the land from the Atlantic Ocean to the Pacific Ocean, and from the northern boundary with Canada to the southern boundary with Mexico was theirs.³ As Cadwallader Colden, a surveyor

¹ Margaret Walsh, The American Frontier Revisited (New Jersey: Humanities Press, 1981), 13.

² Brown et al., 134-135; Ely, Jr., 8; Matthias Orfield, Federal Land Grants (Minnesota: Bulletin of the University of Minnesota, 1915), 148-150; Robbins and Foster, 12.

³ Blegen, 168, 724; Karen Britz, "History of Stearns County" (Stearns County Historical Society, Stearns History Museum information guide); Ely, Jr., 10, 12; Holmquist, 153; Walsh, 11.

general, explained, "The hopes of having land of their own & becoming independent of Landlords is what chiefly induces people into America."⁴ Most of them came acquiring the land for many reasons. Some bought lands to gain from its appreciation in value, others were enticed by cheap land offered by the transcontinental railroads while some sought their fortunes in the mineral resources as well as with the intention to settle and civilize the land.⁵ Compared to the Old World, land was deemed so cheap here that it was seen equivalent with free entry, at least in the eyes of millions of immigrants.⁶ The historian Frederick Jackson Turner explained the importance of westward settlement as, "The existence of an area of free land, its continuous recession and the advance of American settlement westward, explain American development."⁷ A constant retreat from European influences and a steady growth of independence also influenced the westward expansion.⁸ For example, one of the reasons immigrants came was to avoid compulsory military service in Europe.⁹

⁴ Ely, Jr., 10, 12.

⁵ John Harnsberger, Jay Cooke and Minnesota: The Formative Years of the Northern Pacific Railroad 1868-1873 (NY: Arno Press, 1981), 1; Holmquist, 4, 153, 160-161; Walsh, 31, 66-67.

⁶ William Le Duc, The Minnesota Yearbook for 1851 (St. Paul: Leduc & Rohrer, 1851), 43, 47-50; Holmquist, 4, 160; Sig Mickelson, The Northern Pacific Railroad and the Selling of the West (South Dakota: The Center for Western Studies, 1993), 73, 95.

⁷ Frederick Turner, The Significance of the Frontier in American History (Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, 1966); Annual Report of the American Historical Association for 1893 (Washington, D.C., 1894) reprinted in Frederick Turner, The Frontier in American History (New York: H. Holt and Company, 1920).

⁸ Gertrude Gove, St. Cloud Centennial Souvenir Album, 1856-1956 (St. Cloud: St. Cloud Centennial Committee, 1956); Holmquist, 153, 160; Mickelson, 95; George Stephenson, A History of American Immigration, 1820-1924 (Boston: Ginn & Company, 1926), 11, 29, 31; Walsh, 12.

⁹ Holmquist, 4, 153, 160; <http://www.sctimes.com/Visitors/History/background.html>.

However, white immigrants were not the first people here. Before Minnesota became a territory in 1849, Native Americans, majority Dakota, Ojibwe and Winnebagoes, were using these areas as their hunting ground.¹⁰ Prior to 1849, Native Americans traveled freely without worrying about restrictions imposed by treaties and reservations.¹¹

A drastic impact began when the first white settlers moved into this area of Minnesota. The first white settlers moved legally onto this area when the Dakotas and governor Alexander Ramsey signed the Treaty of Traverse des Sioux in 1851 that purchased the Dakota lands (Figure 4).¹² According to the Treaty of Peace of 1783, no lands could be claimed west of the Mississippi River. But, according to the Treaty of Traverse des Sioux, the purchase of land meant land was made available for white settlement west of the Mississippi River for the first time.¹³ Consequently, it did not

¹⁰ *Statutes at Large*, 7:370, 544; *Visiter*, 10 Dec. 1857; *Democrat*, 10 Nov. 1859, Holmquist, 17-20; Hughes, 97-106; Library of Congress treaties website—http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/amlaw/lss_states.html; *St. Cloud Journal-Press*, 22 Aug. 1867, 1.

¹¹ *Statutes at Large*, 7:370, 544; *Visiter*, 10 Dec. 1857, Library of Congress treaties website—http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/amlaw/lss_states.html; *Democrat*, 10 Nov. 1859; *St. Cloud Journal-Press*, 22 Aug. 1867, 1; Blegen, 20-29, 84-104, 126-139, 153, 180, 725; Ignatia Broker, *Night Flying Woman: An Ojibway Narrative* (St. Paul: MHS Press, 1983), 117-118; Roger Buffalohead, *Against the Tide of American History: The Story of the Mille Lacs Anishinabe* (Cass Lake: The Minnesota Chippewa Tribe, 1985), 37, 74, 138; Roy Meyer, *History of the Santee Sioux: United States Indian Policy on Trial* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1967), 72-154, 295, 345-350.

¹² *Statutes at Large*, 10:949, 954; U.S. Department of the Interior, Bureau of Land Management, General Land Office-Minnesota Pre-1908 Homestead & Cash Entry Patents, <http://www.rootsweb.com/~mnbecker/land2.htm>; Library of Congress treaties website—http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/amlaw/lss_states.html; *St. Cloud Journal Press*, 16 July 1908, 12—Early Days in Minnesota: History of George Brott as told by himself.

¹³ *Statutes at Large*, 10:949, 954; *St. Cloud Journal Press*, 2 March 1893; http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/amlaw/lss_states.html; William Le Duc, *The Minnesota Yearbook for 1852* (St. Paul: Leduc & Rohrer, 1852), 24-87; Holmquist, 21; Hughes, 97-106.

take very long before Euro-American settlers came flocking into the west.¹⁴ In terms of northern Stearns County, land was first made available for settlement in 1847 (Figure 4).¹⁵ But it was not until 1851 that land could be claimed in the southern part of Stearns County (this would be the St. Cloud today including St. Cloud State University).¹⁶ (Figure 4) The land ownership changed when this study area was 'purchased' from Native Americans in that the site of St. Cloud was 1852, in a treaty made by Alexander Ramsey and Luke Lea.¹⁷ The treaty acknowledges owned by the Sioux since 1827, and used by the Winnebagoes as a hunting ground. It was ceded to the Government in 1855, the same year Stearns County was established.¹⁸ The United States government's mid-nineteen century treaties with the Native American nations in Minnesota were designed to benefit the fur trade industry where as later treaties were influenced by demands for timber lands and the expansion of settlement.

¹⁴ *St. Cloud Journal-Press*, 22 Aug. 1867, 1; Blegen, 167, 174, 724; Brown et al., 34-35; Hughes, 97-106; www.yellowpages.state.mn.us (under Indian Culture, Dakota & Ojibwa).

¹⁵ *Congressional Record*, U.S. Serial Set, Number 4015, 56th Congress, 1st Session, 780-781; *Statute at Large*, 9:904; Holmquist, 19.

¹⁶ *Statutes at Large*, 10:949, 954; *St. Cloud Journal Press*, 2 March 1893; Library of Congress Treaties website-http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/amlaw/lss_states.html.

¹⁷ *Statutes at Large*, 7:370, 544 and 10:949, 954, Library of Congress Treaties website-http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/amlaw/lss_states.html; *St. Cloud Journal Press*, 22 Aug. 1867, 1; *St. Cloud Journal Press*, 2 March 1893; Blegen, 167, 171; Hughes, 96-107, 111-112.

¹⁸ *Statutes at Large*, 10:949, 954; *Deed Records*, Book A, 1-first deed dating 1855; *St. Cloud Journal-Press*, 22 Aug. 1867, 1; "An Inventory of the County Archives of Minnesota: Stearns County" (St. Paul: Works Progress Administration, 1940), 2.

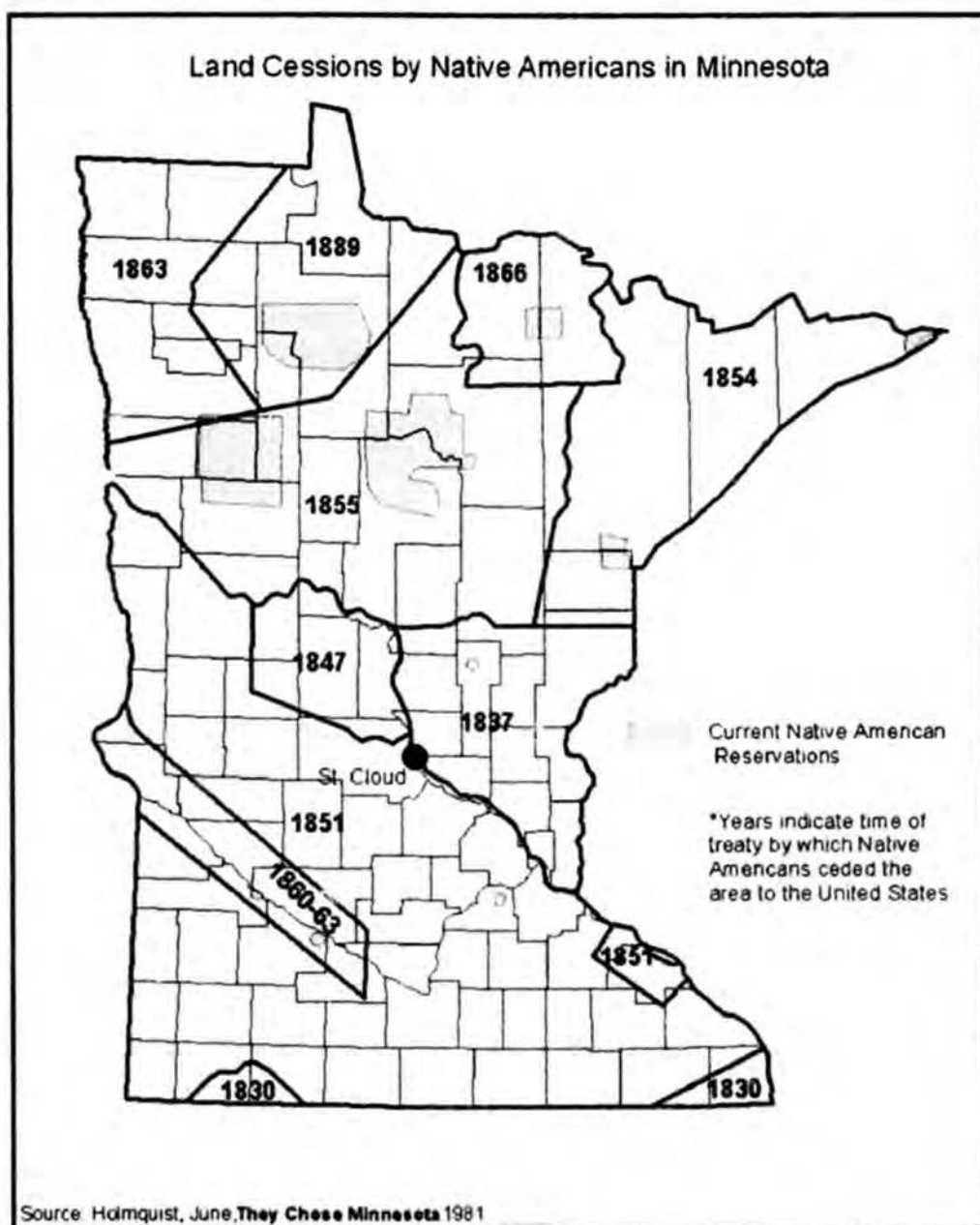


Figure 4 – Land cessions by Native Americans in Minnesota

In order to encourage people to settle here, the government worked hard at advertising the farming and settlement opportunities available in Minnesota through

literature and representatives in the eastern United States and Europe. Thousands of pamphlets were printed and distributed at home and abroad and numerous agents were employed to attract immigrants to Minnesota.¹⁹ One of the elements advertised was the benefit of Minnesota's climate as a "lunger" state (a state good for the lungs).²⁰ People also sent letters back to their relatives in Europe, which often described the New World as if it were a paradise.²¹ Many of the early settlers were able to claim some land through the government. In order to help established settlements, the government created laws such as the land grant for railroads, the Homestead and Preemption Act for settlers.²²

Land grants were created in response to the new state boundaries that were more remote, less defensible and frequently ill defined.²³ Reason being, the boundaries of some districts changed considerably over the years as new districts were shaped out

¹⁹ Blegen, 180-185, 255, 304-306, 724; Britz, History of Stearns County; "An Inventory of the County Archives of Minnesota: Stearns County"—In March 1854, John Wilson came out with an attractive posters and cards advertising for the location.

²⁰ William Le Duc, The Minnesota Yearbook for 1853 (St. Paul: Leduc & Rohrer, 1853), 23; Gertrude Gove, History of Saint Cloud (Minnesota: St. Cloud Technical High School, 1970), 4; St. Cloud Centennial Souvenir Album, <http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/umhtml/umhome.html>; Holmquist, 62, 161-164, 167; Philip Taylor, The Distant Magnet (New York: Harper and Row, 1971), chap. 7-8.

²¹ Democrat, 15 April 1858; William Furlan, In Charity Infeigned: The Life of Father Francis Xavier Pierz (St. Cloud: Diocese of St. Cloud, 1952), 196 cited in Holmquist, 167; Holmquist, 4, 62, 161-164, 167; Taylor, chap. 7-8; <http://www.sctimes.com/Visitors/History/background.html>.

²² U.S. General Land Office, Circular from the General Land Office Showing the Manner of Proceeding to Obtain Title to Public Lands under the Homestead, Desert Land and Other Laws (New York: Arno Press, 1972), 146-163, 267-268; Paul Gates, History of Public Land Law Development (Washington, D.C.: Public Land Law Review Commission, 1968); Holmquist, 9; Philip Truluck, Private Rights & Public Lands (Washington D.C.: Heritage Foundation, 1983), 19, 22, 30; <http://www.rootsweb.com/~mnbecker/land2.htm>.

²³ Blegen, 253; Mitchell, 1250; <http://www.rootsweb.com/~mnbecker/land2.htm>.

of old, land was transferred from one district to another, and districts were closed and consolidated. Hence, the United States government sent troops and supplies to secure the drawn boundaries and protect the region from attacks from within and otherwise because counties do not always have definite boundaries.²⁴ Consequently, the government authorized land grants to the railroads to promote construction and in turn, encouraged settlers to move west.²⁵ In the state of Minnesota, the federal government issued land grants that included the proposed line, "from Stillwater, by way of Saint Paul and Saint Anthony, to a point between the foot of Big Stone Lake and the mouth of the Sioux Wood River, with a branch, via Saint Cloud and Crow Wing, to the navigable waters of the Red River of the North"²⁶ (Figure 5). The first land grants were given to railroads through the 26 February 1857 Minnesota Enabling Act that granted certain railroads "every alternate section of land designated by odd numbers, for six sections in width on each side of said railroad lines, with right of making up the full complement of 3,840 acres per mile, by appropriating lands outside of the six mile limits but within fifteen miles on each side."²⁷

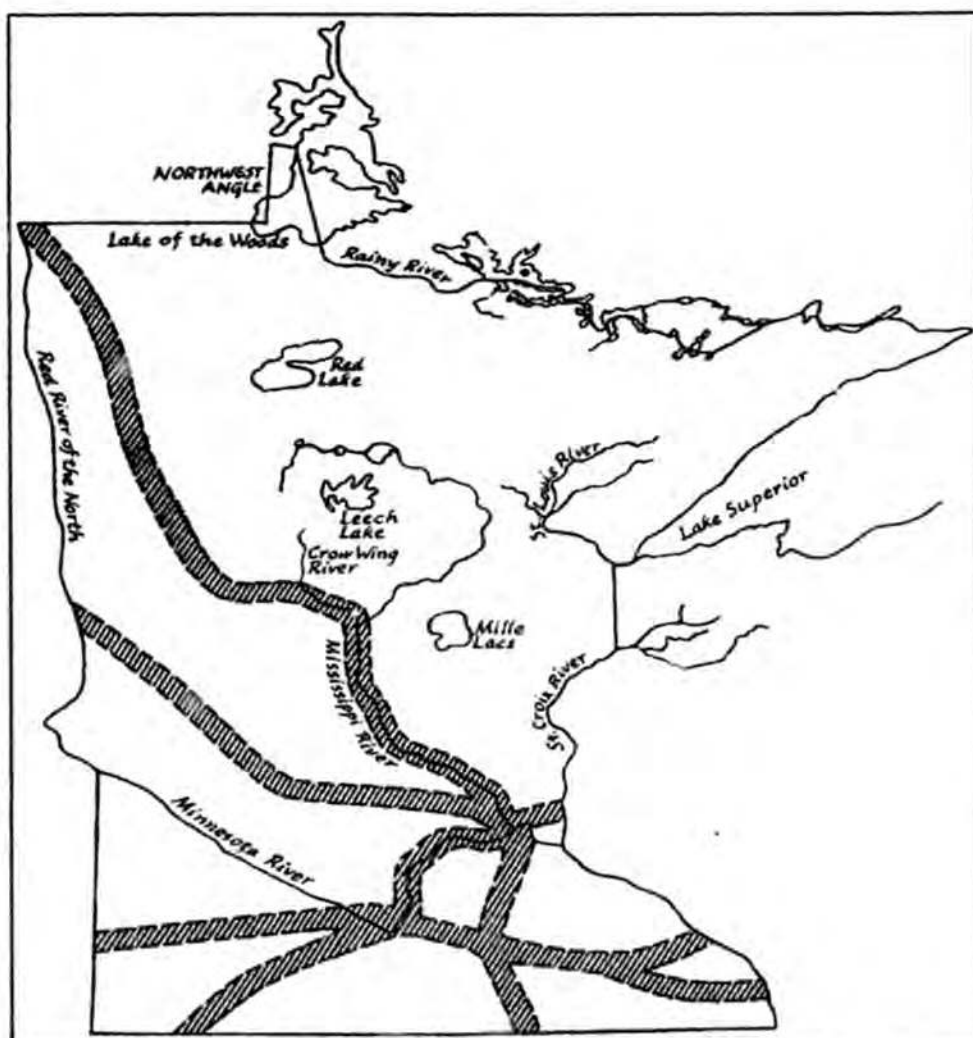
In other words, the railroad land grant consisted of every alternate section within six miles of the road. This totaled six square miles of land, or 3,840 acres, for

²⁴ The attacks were from Native Americans and during the Civil War. Blegen, 180, 253, 270, 275; Brown et al., 174; Orfield, 3, 22; Robbins and Foster, 6.

²⁵ Blegen, 220, 253, 296, 304; Holmquist, 9; Mickelson, 1; Truluck, 22.

²⁶ *Statutes at Large*, 11:195-196; Blegen, 192, 296; Orfield, 44, 109, 147, 151.

²⁷ *Statutes at Large*, 10:167; House Miscellaneous Documents (in the Congressional Series, 1815-1912); James Baker, "History of Transportation in Minnesota," *MHS Collections*, 9 (1901): 1-34; Blegen, 220-221, 296; Harnsberger, 9, 175; Orfield, 75, 107-109, 149, 151.



Source: William W. Folwell, *A History of Minnesota, Volumes I-IV*, 1924.

Figure 5 – Railroad plans in 1857-62

each mile of railroad. If the sections granted had been disposed of other land within fifteen miles of the road might be selected.²⁸ In the year 1857 alone, land grants amounted to about 4,481,280 acres.²⁹ In exchange, the railroads helped transport

²⁸ Orfield, 106.

²⁹ Baker, 2.

government troops and property at one half the standard prices. The St. Paul and Pacific Railroad also helped by explaining to settlers how they could get acres of government land with little money by taking advantage of homestead, preemption and tree planting laws (Figure 6).³⁰ In 1865, Congress passed an act increasing the amount of land granted to Minnesota under the law of 1857 from six sections per mile (alternate odd numbered sections) to ten sections per mile for each of the railroads in the state.³¹

The Homestead Act of 1862 gave residents eighty acres within ten miles of any railroad having a land grant or one hundred and sixty acres (160 acres is $\frac{1}{4}$ of a township) beyond the ten-mile limit in certain parts of the West through land claims at state land offices.³² In order to gain the one hundred and sixty acres through this law, people had to make their claim, build a structure a minimum of fourteen by sixteen feet with at least two windows and reside on the land for five years. This act not only helped settlers but also the lumber companies that accumulated more vast amounts of land through false land claims.³³ As Phillip Truluck explains, "To acquire the land necessary for large-scale logging operations, lumber firms hired entry men posing as

³⁰ Promotional material for the First Division of the St. Paul and Pacific Railroad Company, Blegen, 252, 304; Holmquist, 4, 161; Ely, Jr., 11.

³¹ *Statutes at Large*, 13:526; Orfield, 106.

³² U.S. General Land Office, 11-26, 153-158, 165, 267-268; Blegen, 253, 323; Holmquist, 8; <http://www.rootsweb.com/~mnbecker/land2.htm>; Truluck, 22, 30-31; Walsh, 27, 29; Figure 6 of thesis.

³³ Blegen, 322-323; Holmquist, 65; Orfield, 168-169; Truluck, 30.

farmers to appear to comply with the settlement provision of the laws. Upon receipt from the General Land Office, the title was passed from entry men to the lumber

HOW TO GET CHEAP FARMS.

Settlers wishing to secure large Farms, with but little money, can easily do so under the several Land Acts passed by Congress, on any unoccupied Government lands.

The Homestead Law gives to actual residents for five years, 30 acres within 10 miles of any Railroad having a land grant, or 160 acres beyond that limit. Free of Cost.

Should the settler prefer, he can pre-empt 160 acres, which, after one year's occupation and residence, he can buy at two dollars and a half per acre, if within Railroad limits of 10 miles, as above, or one dollar and a quarter, if outside thereof.

After this, he can avail himself of the Homestead Law.

Under the recent Act to encourage Tree Planting, the planting and cultivation, for 10 years, of 40 acres of trees, entitles the settler to 160 acres of land for nothing.

Availing himself of these several enactments, a settler can secure—

30 acres	Homestead lands for nothing.
160	= Pre-emption - \$400.
160	= for planting trees, for nothing.
400	= in all, within 10 miles of a Railroad.
Or 450	= if outside that limit, costing but \$400 in the first case, and but \$200 in the second.

Minnesota offers peculiar inducements to settlers to avail themselves of these liberal Government grants. The large extent of unoccupied territory within her borders, embraces the richest soil on the continent, with a climate unsurpassed for healthfulness. Some of the best of these lands, lying along the lines of the St. Paul & Pacific Railroad, are still open for occupation under the various Acts stated. They are many of them within sight of the Railroad, affording such facilities for transportation of all products raised, as largely enhance their real value.

The attention of all proposing to locate is called to these unoccupied lands, which must soon be taken up by the concourse of emigrants daily pouring into the State. The Railroad Company are also offering their own lands at prices depending on their distance from the road, and on very liberal terms of payment. A settler who will cultivate one or more sections of 360 acres each, for 4 years, planting 40 acres of each section in trees, need pay nothing to the Company till the end of that time. He will thus have 3 crops secured, which should pay for all his labor and improvements, and leave him a sufficient surplus to pay the Company for the land, their price of \$6 per acre, without interest.

By taking advantage of the Government's liberality, as well as the Company's offer, a big farm of over 1,000 acres can be secured for not 400 dollars cash. The settler's entire capital can thus be appropriated to improvements and cultivation, and his returns will leave him a handsome surplus, after paying for his farm, within the 4 years' credit allowed by the Railroad Company.

Full details and particulars will be cheerfully furnished on application in person or by letter, to—

HERMANN TROTT,

Land Commissioner.

E. D. ATWATER,

Secretary.

1st Div. St. Paul & Pacific R. R. Co.

St. Paul, Minnesota.

Source: Sara Hanson, Homesteads and Land Evolution at Mille Lacs Kathio, 1999.

Figure 6 – Promotional material for the First Division of the St. Paul and Pacific Railroad Company

companies.”³⁴ Here, people would file their claim; the land would be logged and then deserted.³⁵

The preemption law was another element that motivated settlement here. An important point to remember in reference to land is that during these frontier times, there were people who came and lived on the land illegally but the preemption law made it otherwise.³⁶ In response to the increasing stream of settlers in the 1850s and in order to open up more land for them, the government changed its policy.³⁷ According to this law, a settler was given the rights to the land so long as he or she has settled on the land before this law was established and he or she has made an effort to improve the land for their own benefit and without intention of making profits. The settler also had to be a citizen of the United States, had already build a house on the land, lived in that house and made it his or her exclusive home. The law also required development of at least half an acre of the land by the settler with the land being broken and enclosed by fencing.³⁸

³⁴ Truluck, 30.

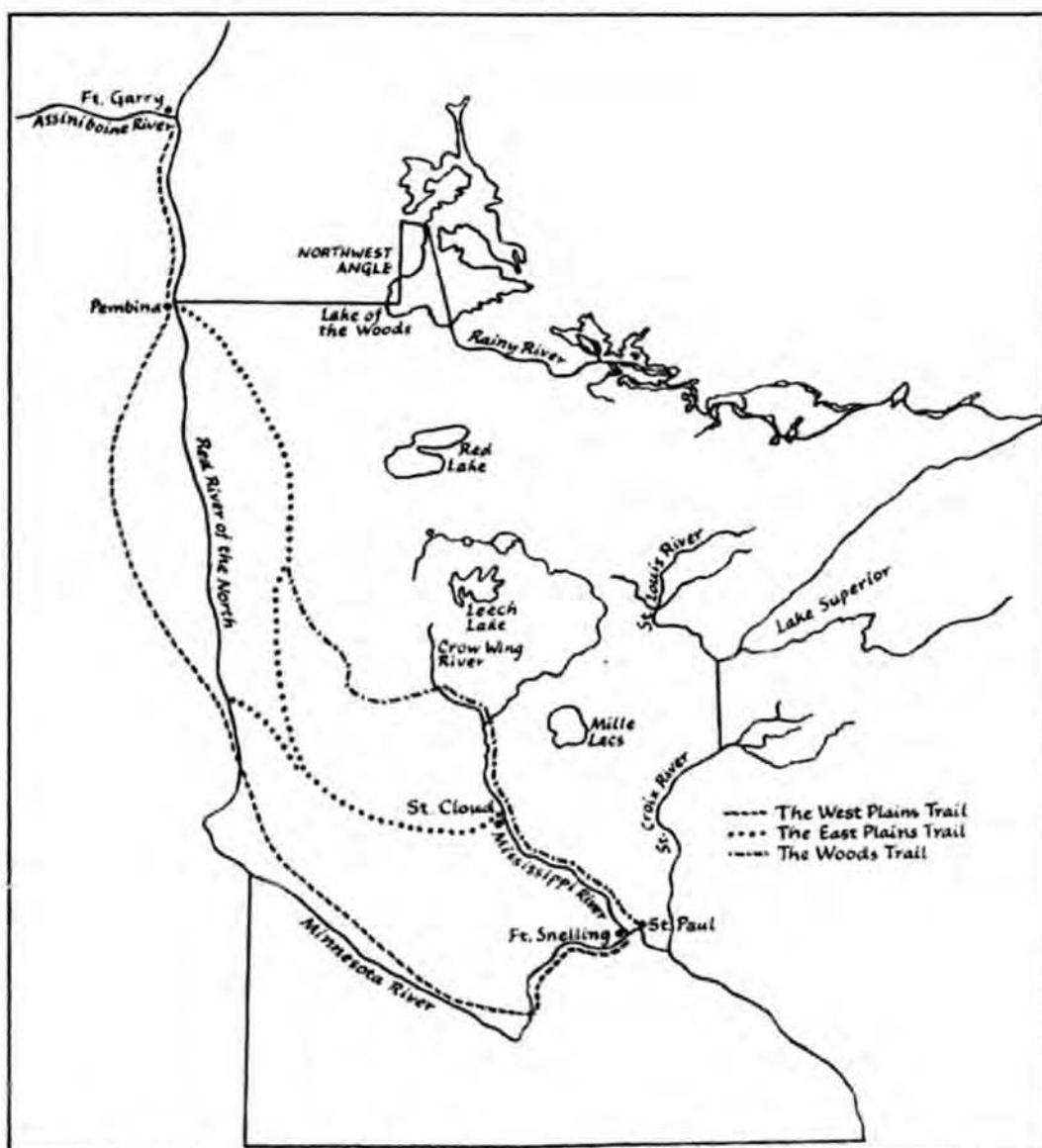
³⁵ <http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/umhtml/umessay7.html>; Orfield, 164, 168-169; Truluck, 74.

³⁶ *Statutes at Large*, 11:xxii, xxvi-President Madison and President Jackson issued proclamation warning the intruders off and directed the United States marshals to enforce the order. *Laws of the United States of America*, 4 March 1789, 5 vols., 4:118. Arranged and Published under the Authority of an Act of Congress by John Bioren and W. John Duane, 1789-1815. Other editors (Philadelphia and Washington City, 1815-1845)-As early as 1807, Congress expressly forbade the unauthorized occupation of the public land and gave authority to the president to remove trespassers from the public domain. *Laws of the United States*, 10:158; U.S. General Land Office, 146-163, 267-268; Le Duc, *The Minnesota Yearbook for 1853*, 84; *Visiter*, 10 Dec. 1857; “Preemption Law,” *Webster’s Third International Dictionary*; Ely, Jr., 12; Orfield, 46, 47, 137, 150; Truluck, 30; <http://www.rootsweb.com/~mnbecker/land2.htm>.

³⁷ Blegen, 173-174; Danzer, 382.

³⁸ *Visiter*, 10 Dec. 1857; “Preemption law,” *Webster’s Third International Dictionary*.

The history of Saint Cloud and how it came to be a white settlement started during the 1850s, when frontier towns occupied the land along the ox-cart trail to the



Source: Grace Nute, "The Red River Trails," *Minnesota History*, September 1925.

Figure 7 – Early Trails from Fort Garry and Pembina to Fort Snelling and St. Paul

trade of the Red River Valley.³⁹ The Red River Trail branched into three routes across the state with the main branch of the East Plains trail (Figure 7) meeting the Sauk River a mile or two west of St. Cloud. Drivers forded the Sauk River at the present site of the Waite's Crossing Bridge and crossed the Mississippi by ferry at today's St. Cloud before going down the territorial road to St. Paul. The drivers usually camped on the western edge of town before making the crossing.⁴⁰ It is within these frontier towns along this trail that the study area is currently situated.

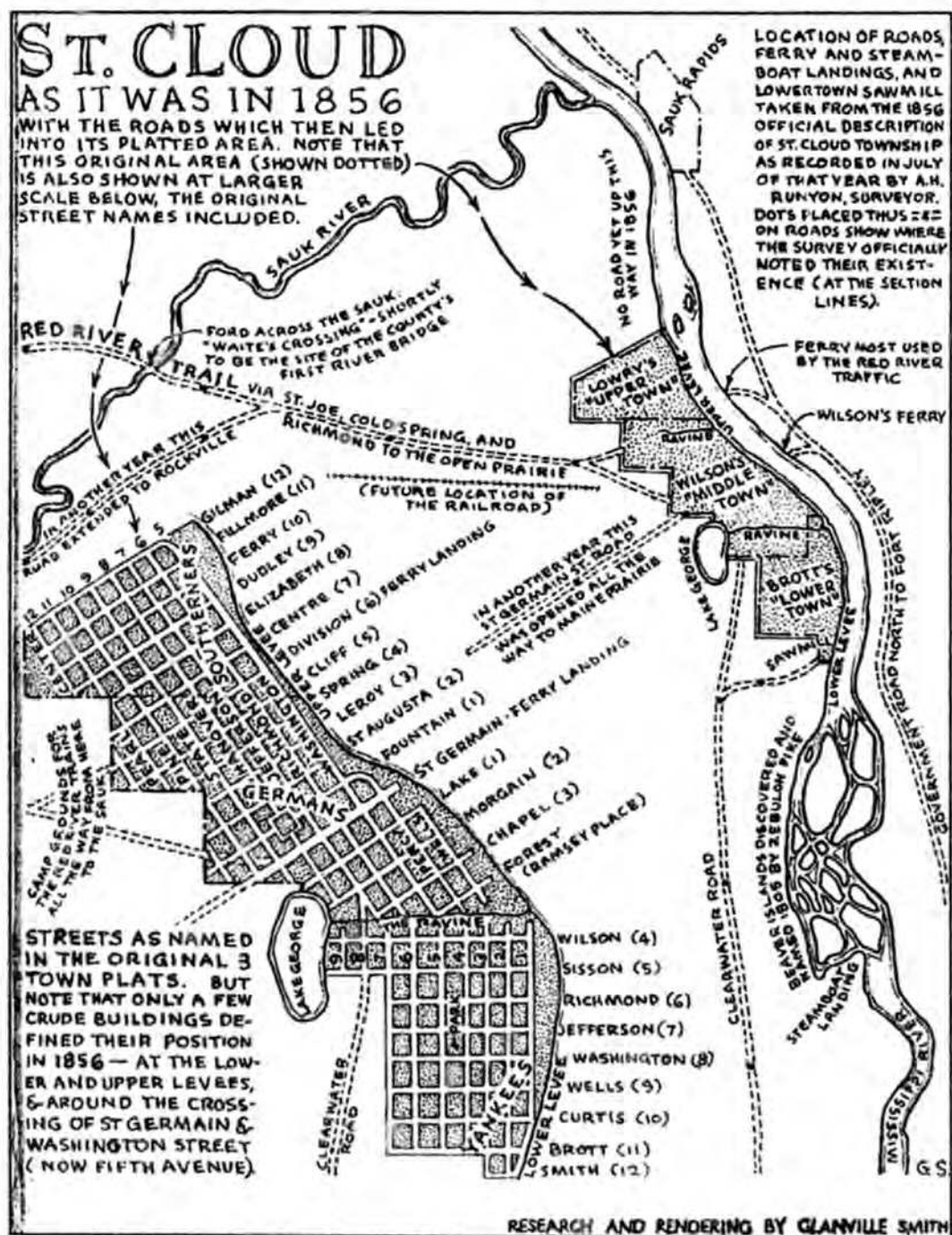
Individuals who surveyed this area were involved in establishing the frontier towns between the years of 1853 to 1855.⁴¹ There were not one but three frontier towns known as Upper Town, Middle Town and Lower Town that existed before the city of St. Cloud was established. (Figure 8) General Sylvanus Lowry founded Upper Town (which is located north of where Cathedral High School now stands and above the ravine that followed Third and Fourth street north to the river). It was populated predominantly by immigrants from the southern states, which is where Lowry (from Kentucky) was from originally.⁴² John Lyman Wilson established Middle Town,

³⁹ Blegen, 156, 171, 192, 295, 300, 305, 725; Brown et al., 134-135; Gove, St. Cloud Centennial Souvenir Album; Harnsberger, 175; <http://www.co.ramsey.mn.us/cm/about/history.asp>.

⁴⁰ John Dominik, St. Cloud: The Triplet City (California: Windsor Publications, 1983), 20.

⁴¹ U.S. General Land Office, 98-100, 146-163; <http://www.rootsweb.com/~mnbecker/land2.htm>; Britz, History of Stearns County; William Mitchell, History of Stearns County (II: H.S. Cooper, 1915), 1408; "Preemption law," Webster's Third International Dictionary; Orfield, 47; Truluck, 19.

⁴² Census records 1860-Enumerated 6 June 1860 by C. Grandelmeyer, Post Office St. Cloud, 18; Dominik, 12-13; Gove, St. Cloud Centennial Album.



Source: Gertrude Gove, *St. Cloud Centennial Souvenir Album*, 1856-1956. 1956.

Figure 8 - Map of St. Cloud as it was in 1856

where the current downtown of St. Cloud is located.⁴³ Lower Town, belonged and developed by George Brott, extended from the present St. Cloud Children's Home at 1726, Seventh Avenue South up to the ravine which ran from Lake George to the river via Third or Fourth Street South (included this site).⁴⁴ Lower Town was busy with businesses and people when Yankee entrepreneurs who bought land in Brott's Lower Town established their businesses close to the river landing where the Beaver Islands are now located. This area was a busy trading place with steamboats serving as a transaction dock vibrant with exchanges of goods as well as transportation.⁴⁵

An interesting point is that each of these towns differed in terms of settlements and landowners. In other words, each of these towns created its own unique characteristic community respectively based on the background and influence of the founder of the town.⁴⁶ Evidence of their diversity can be seen where each of these neighborhoods had its own steamboat landing at the Mississippi River.⁴⁷ The landmark by Shoemaker Hall erected by the St. Cloud Centennial Committee 1969

⁴³ Transcription from the Obituary record of the Old Settlers Association.

⁴⁴ Old Settlers Association, Obituary Record Book 2. Handwritten manuscript in 1897 by C. F. MacDonalds-Obituary Committee and St. Cloud Journal-Press, 6 June 1902.

⁴⁵ Democrat, 14 July 1859; <http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/umhtml/umessay6.html>; Blegen, 192, 242, 300, 305, 725; Brown et al., 32-33; Ely, Jr., 5; Dominik, 13, 24, 45; Harnsberger, 182—Most of the goods and people went from St. Paul by steamboat on the upper Mississippi to St. Cloud and then by stage or wagon to Fort Garry (now Winnipeg).

⁴⁶ St. Cloud Times, 31 Oct. 2000, 3B; Blegen, 308; Dominik, 12, 20; Gove, A History of Saint Cloud, Minnesota 1853-1970, 1-2; St. Cloud Centennial Souvenir Album and A History of St. Cloud (Minnesota: St. Cloud Daily Times, 1935), 5; Holmquist, 4, 41.

⁴⁷ Gove, St. Cloud Centennial Souvenir Album; Dominik, 19; landmark by Shoemaker Hall erected by the St. Cloud Centennial Committee 1969.

states, 'St. Cloud Visitor office stood opposite the steamboat landing, down the hill from this marker.' Ferry services were established in each of the three "towns" as early as 1855. William Pattison operated the Upper Town ferry, Alexius Edelbrock the Middle Town ferry and Horatio Fowler the Lower Town ferry.⁴⁸ But it was Lower Town's steamboat landing that had all kinds of transactions. Jane Swisshelm, St. Cloud's editor then wrote about the observed ox carts, "One hundred and forty carts...proceeded on their journey, crossing at Fowler's ferry (in Lower Town)."⁴⁹ Goods and transportation were frequently in exchange and even logs were floated down the Mississippi River to the saw mills.⁵⁰

Although most towns in central Minnesota remained small, these frontier towns were different in comparison because they continued growing. Situated at what was once the northern most navigable spot on the Mississippi River, these frontier towns promptly became a fur trading post, a river port of call and a commercial node on the Red River Oxcart Trail.⁵¹ They were also a gateway for settlers to the fertile agricultural lands of the Sauk Valley.⁵² Hence, this area became the eastern terminus

⁴⁸ "An Inventory of the County Archives of Minnesota: Stearns County"; Gove, St. Cloud Centennial Souvenir Album; Dominik, 22.

⁴⁹ Dominik, 13, 22.

⁵⁰ Democrat, 14 July 1859; Blegen, 189, 192, 242, 295, 300, 305, 725; Dominik, 13, 22; Gove, St. Cloud Centennial Souvenir Album; Harnsberger, 182; Holmquist, 5, 8, 57, 164.

⁵¹ Blegen, 171, 192, 295, 300, 305, 725; Brown et al., 32-33, 134-135, 172; Dominik, 20, 25; Gove, A History of Saint Cloud, Minnesota, 1853-1970, 5-6; Holmquist, 5, 8, 41, 57, 164; Orfield, 150.

⁵² Brown et al., 134-135; Dominik, Jr., 2; Gove, St. Cloud Centennial Souvenir Album and A History of Saint Cloud, Minnesota, 1853-1970, 1; Holmquist, 41; Vincent Tegeder, "The Benedictines in Frontier Minnesota," Minnesota History (Spring 1951): 35.

of the Red River Trail in 1855 with steamboats carrying merchandise and people further downstream.⁵³ John Dominik describes it as, “within a 10-day period, 140 tons of furs came down from Pembina through now St. Cloud for transshipment to Europe.”⁵⁴

These towns (including the study area) were also important because it was the only rest stop on the way to the Red River Valley. As John Dominik writes, “Every day between 40 and 50 passengers passed through St. Cloud on their way to points west, and they usually provisioned for their trip at this last stop in civilization.”⁵⁵ Reason is, the main modes of transporting furs and merchandise to the west remained the length of the wagon hauled ox carts and river passage using steamboats, with the Mississippi River playing a major role since most places were separated by rivers and ferry services were of importance.⁵⁶ John Harnsberger describes, “Most of the goods and people went from St. Paul by steamboat on the upper Mississippi to St. Cloud and then by stage or wagon to Fort Garry (now Winnipeg—Figure 7).”⁵⁷

⁵³ Blegen, 192, 242, 295, 300, 305, 725; Brown et al., 134-135; Ely, Jr., 5; Harnsberger, 182; Holmquist, 5, 8, 41, 57, 161, 164; Orfield, 150; Shutter, 286.

⁵⁴ Dominik, 13, 24.

⁵⁵ Dominik, 20-25.

⁵⁶ The Minnesota Yearbook for 1851, 43; Blegen, 180, 189, 192, 242, 300, 305, 725; Brown et al., 32-33, 134-135, 172; Clara Ledahl, The Story of Waite's Crossing and the Red River Trail (St. Cloud: Stearns County Historical Society, 1950); Orfield, 150.

⁵⁷ Harnsberger, 182.

In 1856, Upper, Middle and Lower Town merged into one town called Saint Cloud.⁵⁸ According to William Mitchell, 'At the meeting of the board of county commissioners 19 May 1858, in accordance with a law passed by the legislature at its last preceding sessions, the county was divided into eleven original townships. St. Cloud encompassed all of township 124, range 28, the north half of township 123, ranges 27 and 28, and the south half of township 125, range 28.'⁵⁹ In finding out the details of how St. Cloud was established, it was discovered that when these towns joined forces, there were a few procedures that were taken. To elaborate further, since Minnesota was still a territory, an Act was submitted to the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Minnesota. The Act entitled "*An Act to incorporate the Town of St. Cloud*" was approved on March 1, 1856.⁶⁰ Following amendatory steps, the Act following entitled "*An Act to Amend an Act to Incorporate the Town of St. Cloud, approved March 1, 1856*" was approved on August 12, 1858.⁶¹ Under this Act, a town named Saint Cloud was created and any titles to the tracts of land constituting and comprising within St. Cloud required deeds from the Federal government of the United States, declared by the Recorder and sealed with the seal of the said corporation.

⁵⁸ Stearns County Courthouse, An Inventory of the County Archives of Minnesota: Stearns County (St Paul: Works Progress Administration, 1940), 2; St. Cloud Daily Times, 30 June 1956.

⁵⁹ Mitchell, 1250.

⁶⁰ Deed Records, Book E, First page of every deed at Stearns County Court House.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*

Besides being part of a frontier town, the first church building of St. Cloud, the St. John's Episcopal Church also stood here.

Chapter 3

CHURCH

Religious institutions played a major role in providing a sense of community identity and supplying essential social services in early St. Cloud.¹ As described by Robert Brown, "Religion is one of the topics of interest to the cultural or human geographer because of the ways in which the religion of the people manifests itself in attitudes, ideas, and architectural styles, and because religious groups can be areally located."² For example, most settlers who came here were Christians of various denominations.³

Upon arrival into an unfamiliar environment, they felt an urgent need. The need is best described by Gertrude Gove, who wrote, "So great was the need for social contacts and religious help that it mattered not whether German or American, Catholic

¹ Britz, History of Stearns County; Paul Carter, The Spiritual Crisis of the Gilded Age (Dekalb: Northern Illinois Press, 1971), 130; Richard M. Chapman, Religious Belief and Behavior, cited in Clifford E. Clark Jr., Minnesota in a Century of Change (St. Paul: MHS, 1989), 508-509, 514; Holmquist, 63, 67; William Hutchison, The Modernist Impulse in American Protestantism (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1976), 119; Bertram Puckle, Funeral Customs: Their Origin and Development (Michigan: Singing Tree Press, 1968), 144.

² Brown et al., 146.

³ Blegen, 203, 207; Britz, History of Stearns County; Brown et al., 146; Holmquist, 67, 168; Paul Rosenblatt et al., Grief and Mourning in Cross Cultural Perspective (Connecticut: HRAF Press, 1976), 101.

or Protestant, all worked together to make a happier community."⁴ According to Richard Chapman, a historian with expertise in studying the role of religion throughout Minnesota, "For many of the state's ethnic groups, the immigrant church was the hub around which community life rotated. Frequently, the first institutions founded within ethnic enclaves, churches and synagogues provided religious, social, and economic services that softened the shocks of adjusting to life in an alien culture. Over time, the religious festivals and other observances of the immigrant church fostered and sustained ethnic identity as well."⁵ Among all the churches organized, St. John's Episcopal Church earned the recognition of being the first church building in St. Cloud.⁶

St. John's Episcopal Church stood on lot four of block twenty-six (Figures 2 and 3).⁷ Services were even carried out before the church was built, held in the home of John Hale Taylor starting on February 17, 1856.⁸ From that day on, John Taylor has been recognized as one of the important pioneers of the church and acknowledged in

⁴ Gove, A History of Saint Cloud, Minnesota 1853-1970, 4.

⁵ Richard Chapman, Religious Belief and Behavior, cited in Clifford Clark Jr., Minnesota in a Century of Change, 508-509, 514.

⁶ St. Cloud Times, 14 Oct., 1941; St. Cloud Daily Times, 30 June 1956; "An Inventory of the County Archives of Minnesota: Stearns County" (St. Paul: Works Progress Administration, 1940); Gove, St. Cloud Centennial Souvenir Album, church records and speaking with Kathryn Wiant, St. John's Episcopal church historian.

⁷ Democrat, 14 June 1860; St. Cloud Journal-Press, 5 May 1892; "An Inventory of the County Archives of Minnesota: Stearns County" (St. Paul: Works Progress Administration, 1940); St. John's Episcopal Church, A Century with Christ (St. Cloud: 1856-1956), 13; Mitchell, 1455.

⁸ "An Inventory of the County Archives of Minnesota: Stearns County" (St. Paul: Works Progress Administration, 1940); St. John's Episcopal Church records, A Century with Christ, 13; Mitchell, under Churches, 1455.

the church's historic records.⁹ Church records also showed that through the efforts of Taylor, St. John's Episcopal Church got started.¹⁰ It is not clear what his purpose or goal was in coming to St. Cloud. He had actually been a student at Yale, but as his obituary stated; his college career was cut short by ill health.¹¹ Perhaps he came to Minnesota for the benefits of its climate. After all, Minnesota was advertised as a "lunger" state (a state good for the lungs).¹² His obituary also says that he was a proprietor.¹³ Unfortunately, there is no exact evidence or records showing what business he was in as a proprietor other than the land he owned. He was also very active in the church ministry. This is evident when he so willingly volunteered his home as a meeting place to hold the first few church services. Later, when the church was built, he even served as a lay minister when the regular ministers had to go on errands.¹⁴

⁹ Democrat, 9 Sept. 1858, 2; St. Cloud Daily Times, 30 June 1956; St. John's Episcopal Church, A Century with Christ, 13; "An Inventory of the County Archives of Minnesota: Stearns" County (St. Paul: Works Progress Administration, 1940); Mitchell, 1455.

¹⁰ Visiter, 20 May 1858; Democrat, 5 Aug. 1858; 26 Sept. 1861, St. John's Episcopal Church, A Century with Christ, 12-14; Gove, A History of St. Cloud, 47.

¹¹ Democrat, Obituary, 9 Sept. 1858-died on Monday, 30 Aug. 1858 at aged 27, less than four months after dedication of the church he had helped build...also preached as a lay minister.

¹² <http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/unhtml/unessay8.html>; Gove, History of Saint Cloud, 4; St. Cloud Centennial Souvenir Album; Bill Ledyard, Pioneering the Upper Midwest: Books from Michigan, Minnesota and Wisconsin, ca. 1820-1910 (Washington: Library of Congress, 1999) and Minnesota: Its Character and Climate (NY: Wood and Holbrook, 1871); Taylor, chap. 7-8.

¹³ Territory of Minnesota, "Territorial Census of 1857: Census Entry for John H. Taylor," Town of St. Cloud, Enumerated by Jacob E. Tenvoorde 23 Sept. 1857, 17, record no. 76, Stearns County; Democrat, 9 Sept. 1858, 2.

¹⁴ Democrat, 9 Sept. 1858, 2; Gove, A History of St. Cloud, 48; N.B. Nelson, Incidents (from Stearns History Museum).

His efforts are recognized in a note apparently written by Reverend Dudley

Chase:

The encouraging prospect as presented to me at first, consisted in what Mr. Taylor was, and would do for the church; and when I became acquainted with him, I believed all the good that had been said of him. How cordially he received me! How sanguine he was that the little church would grow; how ready he was to assure me that he himself would supplement the inadequate salary from the Missionary Society; and by word and deed, he proved more than he had promised through his influence and aid. How assiduous were his attentions to make my family comfortable, and to attend to all things concerning the church services and its welfare, spiritual and temporal.¹⁵

The official recognition of this church was on 12 April 1856, when ten people drew up and signed the necessary articles of conformity and agreement of "the order, liturgy constitution canons of the Protestant Episcopal Church."¹⁶ The charter members were L. B. Johnson, John H. Taylor, W. B. Crane, E. B. Johnson, A. F. Judd, William S. Judd, James C. Shepley, Mary E. B. Shepley, B. R. Palmer and Jas. Mowatt. Reverend J. S. Chamberlain, one of the pioneer missioner of Minnesota, directed the organization. According to the church records, Chamberlain served at the church from 1856 to 1858, taking turns with John Taylor in preaching sermons (When Chamberlain could not attend, John H. Taylor took charge¹⁷), L. B. Johnson and John H. Taylor were elected wardens; J. C. Shepley, William S. Judd, and H. B. Crane were

¹⁵ St. John's Episcopal Church, A Century with Christ, 13-14.

¹⁶ "An Inventory of the County Archives of Minnesota: Stearns County" (St. Paul: Works Progress Administration, 1940); St. John's Episcopal Church records, A Century with Christ, 13; Mitchell, under churches, 1455.

¹⁷ St. Cloud Daily Journal Press, 26 March 1898; Democrat, Obituary, 9 Sept. 1858-died on Monday, 30 Aug. 1858 at aged 27, less than four months after dedication of the church he had helped build...also preached as a lay minister.

chosen vestrymen.¹⁸ As soon as Chamberlain had prepared the constitution and upon the election of John H. Taylor as clerk and treasurer, the vestry was immediately established. Finally, St. John's Episcopal Church and congregation were officially organized, one month after Upper Town, Middle Town and Lower town were merged into one city, Saint Cloud.¹⁹

On April 2, 1856, the city had its first municipal election to select the first town officers. Sylvanus Lowry was elected major and John Taylor as city clerk. In that election, there were only thirty-five voters; ten were members of St. John's Episcopal Church.²⁰

Immediately after the organization and constitution of the church was done, work began on building a church structure, with large efforts from John Taylor.²¹ Mrs. Swisshelm, editor of the town newspaper, wrote, "The Protestant Episcopal church, a quaint little brown building stands in range with the Everett School House," and that by 1861, the church was "handsomely carpeted."²² The newspaper, Minnesota Advertiser wrote, "The Episcopal Church is nearly covered and when completed will

¹⁸ Visiter, 20 May 1858; Democrat, 5 Aug. 1858 and 26 Sept. 1861; "An Inventory of the County Archives of Minnesota: Stearns County."

¹⁹ Deed Records, Book E, First page of every deed, Stearns County Courthouse, An Inventory of the County Archives of Minnesota: Stearns County (St. Paul: Works Progress Administration, 1940), 2; Landmark by Lake George (Stating St. Cloud was incorporated in 1856 and landmark was established in centennial celebration in 1956); Winchell, 380.

²⁰ St. John's Episcopal Church, A Century with Christ, 13; Gove, A History of Saint Cloud, Minnesota 1853-1970, 2; St. Cloud Centennial Souvenir Album; Mitchell, 1492.

²¹ Visiter, 20 May 1858; Democrat, 5 Aug. 1858, 14 June 1860 & 26 Sept. 1861; St. Cloud Journal-Press, 5 May 1892; St. John's Episcopal Church, A Century with Christ, 12-14.

²² Visiter, 20 May 1858; Democrat, 5 Aug. 1858 and 26 Sept. 1861.

be a beautiful edifice."²³ When the frame of the church structure was done, the honorable Reverend D. B. Knickerbacker, who later became Bishop of Indiana, was invited to St. Cloud to lay the corner stone for the church on 20 August 1856.²⁴ On 11 May 1858, a day before Minnesota was officially declared a state, Rev. Jackson Kemper consecrated St. John's Episcopal Church building.²⁵ The cost of the church building was seventeen hundred dollars, of which a prominent church member named Henry T. Wells of Minneapolis contributed the sum of one thousand dollars. The rest came from the parishioners who gave two hundred dollars in total while the remaining five hundred dollars was promised by the Mission Board.²⁶ With these donations and a large effort from the church members, especially John H. Taylor, the congregation had their church ready for worship. Thus, St. John's Episcopal Church became the first church building in St. Cloud.

Along with men, women also played a key role in St. John's Episcopal Church and in its missions. According to church records, "As early as 1863, the Aid Society of the Episcopal Church held a fair and festival at Broker's Hall Tuesday evening, the proceeds amounting to two hundred forty-nine dollars."²⁷ This is an indicator that from its early beginning, women were active in the church. Early reports mention that

²³ Minnesota Advertiser, 20 Aug. 1857.

²⁴ Visitor, 20 May 1858; Democrat, 5 Aug. 1858 and 26 Sept. 1861.

²⁵ Visitor, 20 May 1858; Democrat, 5 Aug. 1858 & 26 Sept. 1861; Mitchell, 1455

²⁶ St. John's Episcopal Church, A Century with Christ, 13; St. Cloud Daily Times, 10 May 1892, 3.

²⁷ St. Cloud Daily Times, 23 Oct. 1941; St. John's Episcopal Church, A Century with Christ, 29.

the Church Aid Society, organized on August 25, 1869 was formed in the home of Mrs. Henry C. Waite.²⁸ The elected officers were Mrs. S. E. Tolman as president; Mrs. T. C. Alden as vice-president; Mrs. I. W. Tuttle as secretary and finally, Mrs. Henry C. Waite as treasurer. According to the century booklet of St. John's Episcopal Church, the Church Aid Society rose more than enough money and contributed to the Sunday school as well as towards the Rector's salary.²⁹

In addition to being a church, St. John's Episcopal Church fulfilled educational needs.³⁰ For example, a parish school was opened as a day school in 1867 with F. C. Coolbough as the first teacher.³¹ The parish school ran for a year or so before it was converted into a rectory in 1869.³² Compared to the prospective educational advantages presented by the Third Normal School (now St. Cloud State University), which opened in 1869, together with other remodeling of public schools, the parish school was assumed redundant to continue as a day school.³³

²⁸ "An Inventory of the County Archives of Minnesota: Stearns County" (St. Paul: Works Progress Administration, 1940); St. Cloud Daily Times, 23 Oct. 1941; Mitchell, 1455.

²⁹ "An Inventory of the County Archives of Minnesota: Stearns County" (St. Paul: Works Progress Administration, 1940); St. John's Episcopal Church, A Century with Christ, 29.

³⁰ St. Cloud Daily Times, 10 May 1892; Brown et al., 142; Holmquist, 63; Orfield, 7, 15.

³¹ "An Inventory of the County Archives of Minnesota: Stearns County" (St. Paul: Works Progress Administration, 1940); St. John's Episcopal Church, A Century with Christ, 46; Mitchell, 1455.

³² "An Inventory of the County Archives of Minnesota: Stearns County" (St. Paul: Works Progress Administration, 1940); St. Cloud Daily Times, 10 May 1892.

³³ St. Cloud Journal Press, 5 May 1892; St. Cloud Daily Times, 10 May 1892, landmark by the Mississippi River; St. John's Episcopal Church, A Century with Christ, 46.

Along with St. John's Episcopal Church, other Protestant congregations were also present in St. Cloud's early years. In 1855, Mr. A. C. McLaughlin, a Baptist lay preacher organized a Baptists church.³⁴ The Baptists were the first of the Protestant groups to be organized and held the first religious services in St. Cloud.³⁵ On December 28, 1855, the Baptist congregation held its first few services at a grove near the home of John Ball.³⁶ When more people joined, they gathered at different fellow church member homes.³⁷ In 1857, they started having their meetings at the Everett schoolhouse until they could build a church.³⁸ The Everett schoolhouse was the first school, built in 1857 by Lower Town's Protestant Yankees and was located at Fifth Avenue South on the present site of Barden Park, one block from St. John's Episcopal Church.³⁹ Through the kindness of Orrin Curtis and George Brott, a lot was gained by the Baptists for building a church but it was only partially completed.⁴⁰ As for other Protestant churches, Reverend John Pugh established the First Methodist Church in

³⁴ "An Inventory of the County Archives of Minnesota: Stearns County" (St. Paul: Works Progress Administration, 1940); Gove, St. Cloud Centennial Souvenir Album.

³⁵ "An Inventory of the County Archives of Minnesota: Stearns County" (St. Paul: Works Progress Administration, 1940); Gove, A History of St. Cloud, 46; Winchell, 380.

³⁶ Democrat, 14 April 1864; "An Inventory of the County Archives of Minnesota: Stearns County" (St. Paul: Works Progress Administration, 1940); Mitchell, 1105.

³⁷ Democrat, 24 Feb. 1859; Britz, History of Stearns County; Gove, First Methodist Episcopal Church: 75th Anniversary, 1857-1932 (St. Cloud, Minnesota, 1933).

³⁸ Minnesota Advertiser, 20 Aug. 1857; Democrat, 26 Sept. 1861 and 2 Nov. 1865; Gove, A History of St. Cloud, 46; St. Cloud Centennial Souvenir Album; Mitchell, 1110-1111.

³⁹ Democrat, 26 Sept. 1861; Dominik, 81; Dominik Jr., 61, 146.

⁴⁰ Minnesota Advertiser, 20 Aug. 1857; Democrat, 26 Sept. 1861; Winchell, 381.

September 1857.⁴¹ The Presbyterian and Congregational Church did not come around until 1864.⁴²

An element of curiosity to the author was why that even though the Baptist was the first denomination to hold Protestant services and first Protestant group to be organized, they did not establish the first church building even though they were given land. It was found that based on account of difficult economic times, the Civil War and some mishaps, the project of building a Baptist church was abandoned.⁴³ It was not until 1872 did they finally build a church building.⁴⁴

St. John's Episcopal Church moved from this study area in the fall of 1861 to the southwest corner of block 23 (block 23 can be seen in Figure 1 and 20); along Fourth Avenue and Fourth Street (what is now 390 4th Avenue South—Figure 22).⁴⁵ The most likely reason for the church's venue change was part of the abandoning of Lower Town due to a problem with Brott's (founder of Lower Town) land deeds.⁴⁶ In

⁴¹ Democrat, 14 April 1864; Gove, First Methodist Episcopal Church: 75th Anniversary, 1857-1932; Mitchell, 1105, 1453.

⁴² Gove, St. Cloud Centennial Souvenir Album; Wiant, Ancestors Open a Window of Time, 16.

⁴³ Minnesota Advertiser, 20 Aug. 1857; Democrat, 26 Sept. 1861; Winchell, 381.

⁴⁴ "An Inventory of the County Archives of Minnesota: Stearns County" (St. Paul: Works Progress Administration, 1940); Mitchell, 1451.

⁴⁵ St. Cloud Daily Times, 10 May 1892, 3; "An Inventory of the County Archives of Minnesota: Stearns County" (St. Paul: Works Progress Administration, 1940); St. John's Episcopal Church, A Century with Christ, 14; Gove, St. Cloud Centennial Souvenir Album; Mitchell, 1455.

⁴⁶ Democrat, 2 Nov. 1865, examination of the file 'cemeteries' maintained by the Research Center of the Stearns History Museum, St. Cloud Times, 26 Feb. 1999, 6A; Holmquist, 167; Mitchell, 1110-1111, 1408-1409, 1427, 1439-1441; Rothaus and Gold, 3.

regard to this land area, Brott sold it to Wells whom later sold it to Charles and John Taylor.⁴⁷

Similar land disputes happened throughout the nation during this era.⁴⁸ The indemnity clause found in charters of railroad companies was a major source of conflict between the farmer-settlers and the railroads. The indemnity clause in land grants guaranteed ten more miles beyond the odd-numbered land sections in 'payment' to railroad companies for acres lost by settlement being made before land grants were given. Land was also held back and railroad companies were given a time period for establishing routes. The root of intervention with property rights is eminent domain, the power to compel a transfer of property from a private owner to the government for a public purpose.⁴⁹ Reasoning that all contracts were subject to change according to the state's paramount power of eminent domain, the Supreme Court ruled that the taking was valid.⁵⁰ Consequently, the states were free to use eminent domain to encourage transportation projects by displacing prior contractual arrangements.⁵¹ However, railroad companies were slow in deciding routes and lands were withheld from settlement longer than many prospective settlers desired. Finally, the government

⁴⁷ Stearns County Recorder's Office, Deed Records, Book A, 182-183, 407, 593-594.

⁴⁸ *Statues at Large*, 16:573-577 and 26:496; Ely, Jr., 5, 70-71; Blegen, 195, 252, 292, 299; Harnsberger, 11-17; Benjamin Hibbard, History of the Public Land Policies (Wisconsin: U. of Wisconsin Press, 1965), 249; Orfield, 106, 109-110; Truluck, 30.

⁴⁹ Ely, Jr., 5.

⁵⁰ Minnesota Statutes 306.05.

⁵¹ Blegen, 252, 299; Ely, Jr., 70-71.

decided not to issue land grants after 1872 and later on, forfeited lands by companies that failed to meet requirements on time.⁵²

An elaboration of Brott's disputed land deeds will help explain how it influenced the move away from Lower Town.⁵³ Brott had been granted a special contract from the post office department to carry the mail from Minneapolis to St. Cloud on the west side of the river.⁵⁴ In 1855, Congress passed a law to help develop the postal system of the Northwest and provide for the necessary expenses.⁵⁵ This granted mail contractors in territories west of the Mississippi river the right to preempt six hundred acres at each of their stations twenty miles apart.⁵⁶ In other words, a postal contract granted a person six hundred and forty acres of federal land in which to organize a mail route (640 acres is equal to the area of one section of a township).⁵⁷ By creating one of his stations at St. Cloud, he claimed his rights under that act of Congress concerning mail contractors. It was under this act that he entered Lower

⁵² *Statues at Large*, 16:573-577 and 26:496; Harnsberger, 11-17; Truluck, 30.

⁵³ C. F. MacDonalds, Obituary Committee, *Old Settlers Association: Stearns & Adjoining Counties*, Obituary Record, Book 2, 38-40 (Works Program Association).

⁵⁴ Census Records 1860-Enumerated 6th June 1860 by C. Grandelmeyer, Post Office St. Cloud, 18, *St. Cloud Journal-Press*, 5 June 1902, 2; Dominik, 18; Mitchell, 1408-1409, 1427, 1439-1440.

⁵⁵ *St. Cloud Journal Press*, 19 May 1887, 1-2.

⁵⁶ U.S. General Land Office, 98-100, 146-163; "Preemption law," *Webster's Third International Dictionary*; *St. Cloud Journal Press*, 19 May 1887, 1-2; Dominik, 18; Mitchell, 1408; Truluck, 19; <http://www.rootsweb.com/~mnbecker/land2.htm>.

⁵⁷ United States Public Land Survey System of 1785 in library of Congress website <http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/unhtml/unessay5.html>: The related Ordinance of 1785 defined the process by which title to public lands was to be transferred to the states and to individuals. It instituted a survey system mapping out uniform squares of property (sections and townships) in terms of a uniform set of coordinates, and specified the terms of sale of the surveyed property. It also provided that public land would be set aside to the states to promote the development of education.

Town as his claim. Later on, he got a special act from Congress to enter his claim in where there was no prior preemption right.⁵⁸ A point to keep in mind is when all this was happening, the title to the land was still under the government, as lands were not yet surveyed and deeds not required at that time from the government.⁵⁹

Tangled circumstances started when amidst the settlers, vigorous lawyers and groups challenged Brott. They concluded his claim could be contested due to the fact that Brott's mail contract was a special case instead of being obtained at a regular letting.⁶⁰ In other words, unlike John Wilson's claim of Middle Town through the secured town-site act, Brott's land claim was given under a mail contract before the government had surveyed the land and deeds were not required at that time from the government.⁶¹ Among the challenging groups was the Northern Pacific railroad contesting for a fractional section since they were permitted so under the land grant act had there been no prior right.⁶² Later, when the government finally completed its land survey, Brott's claim was also found within an odd section of land that the government

⁵⁸ Census records 1860–Enumerated 6 June 1860 by C. Grandelmeyer, Post Office St. Cloud, 18; St. Cloud Journal-Press, 5 June 1902, 2; Dominik, 18; Mitchell, 1408-09, 1427, 1439-40.

⁵⁹ U.S. General Land Office, 98-100, 146-163; "Preemption law," Webster's Third International Dictionary; St. Cloud Journal-Press, 19 May 1887, 1-2, and 5 June 1902; The Minnesota Yearbook for 1853, 84; Mitchell, 1408, 1440; <http://www.rootsweb.com/~mnbecker/land2.htm>.

⁶⁰ Democrat, 2 Nov. 1865; Mitchell, 1409.

⁶¹ U.S. General Land Office, 98-100, 146-163; "Preemption law," Webster's Third International Dictionary; St. Cloud Journal-Press, 19 May 1887, 1-2 and 5 June 1902, 2; <http://www.rootsweb.com/~mnbecker/land2.htm>; Holmquist, 167; Mitchell, 1408; Truluck, 19.

⁶² Blegen, 299; Harnsberger, 249; Mitchell, 1409.

had earlier given to the St. Paul and Pacific Railroad Company included in the government land grant act to railroads.⁶³

There were two elements that made this situation complicated. One, before the land was surveyed, a person may have a claim but the title to the land was still under the government.⁶⁴ Because of that, counties oftentimes lack definite boundaries so multiple land use is often found within an identified area.⁶⁵ Two, the Surveyor General Office is in charge of overseeing the systematic survey of the public domain lands. The General railroad contesting for a fractional section since they are permitted so under Land Office is the main head in discharging public lands. So, although the Surveyor General and General Land Office are linked, the survey and land disposal activities worked separately which explains the confusion that has resulted.⁶⁶

The disputed land deeds resulted from one court case to another. For instance, after much furious debate and 'blood letting', the cases were decided in favor of Brott at the local land office but some parties were unsatisfied.⁶⁷ Afterwards, appeals were taken to the land office at Washington. Brott then had no choice but to go to

⁶³ *Statues at Large*, 12:624; *St. Cloud Journal-Press*, 5 June 1902, 2; Maureen Leverty, *Guide to Records of the Northern Pacific Branch Lines, Subsidiaries and Related Companies in the Minnesota Historical Society* (St. Paul: MHS, 1977), 10; Mitchell, 1441; Louis Renz, *The History of the Northern Pacific Railroad* (Washington: The Galleon Press, 1980), 40, 59; Rasmus Saby, "Railroad Legislation in Minnesota, 1849 to 1875," *MHS Collections*, XV (1915): 54.

⁶⁴ U.S. General Land Office, 98-100, 146-163; *The Minnesota Yearbook for 1853*, 84; "Preemption law," *Webster's Third International Dictionary*; *St. Cloud Journal Press*, 19 May 1887, 1-2; <http://www.rootsweb.com/~mnbecker/land2.htm>; Holmquist, 167; Mitchell, 1408; Orfield, 170.

⁶⁵ Brown et al., 174.

⁶⁶ "Preemption law," *Webster's Third International Dictionary*; Mitchell, 1408; Orfield, 159; <http://www.rootsweb.com/~mnbecker/land2.htm>; Truluck, 30.

⁶⁷ *Democrat*, 2 Nov. 1865; Ely, Jr., 76-77; Mitchell, 1110-11, 1408-09, 1427, 1439-41.

Washington seeking counsel and taking care of his land case.⁶⁸ Reason for Brott fighting for the right to the land is perhaps, according to James Ely, Jr., “Improvements of roads and alterations ... as part of schemes to enhance transportation, often depreciated the value of adjacent land.”⁶⁹ Also, since Brott got his title before land was surveyed; most judges lean towards the decision that there must be a direct appropriation of title rather than merely a diminution of value in order to receive compensation.⁷⁰ This case went on and on and the property was in litigation for eleven years before Brott succeeded in securing his rightful ownership.⁷¹ The tract claimed by the Northern Pacific railroad carried on in litigation and was appealed all the way to the supreme court of the United States.⁷² The lawsuit over Brott’s title prevailed through a number of years, involving decisions by the commissioner of the general land office, the secretary of the interior, the State and United States courts as well as an act of congress. As it turns out, the case regarding the Northern Pacific railroad claim finally ended in favor of Brott, only after spending a few years in court.⁷³ On September 1866, the St. Cloud land office was directed by the commissioner of the general land office to allow George Brott to enter lots one, two, three and four, the southwest ¼ of the northwest ¼ and the northwest ¼ of the south

⁶⁸ Mitchell, 1110-1111, 1408, 1409, 1427, 1439-1441.

⁶⁹ Ely, Jr., 77.

⁷⁰ Ely, Jr., 77.

⁷¹ St. Cloud Journal-Press, 5 June 1902, 2; Holmquist, 167.

⁷² Democrat, 2 Nov. 1865; Mitchell, 1110-1111, 1408, 1409, 1427 and 1439-1441.

⁷³ Holmquist, 167; Mitchell, 1409.

west ¼ of section 13, township 124, range 28, being all of Lower St. Cloud with an area 224.62 acres.⁷⁴

According to the church records and the congregation's claim, the move was for the better in accommodating the increase of attendance, the installment of better heating devices and in fulfilling the need for a better, larger and sturdier building.⁷⁵ The new church was made with a granite façade (Figure 35) and the next year (1864), a spire was added and a fence built around the property.⁷⁶

The church moved to its present location because of a fire that burned part of the church when it was located at 390, Fourth Avenue South. The church caught on fire when struck by lightning one early morning in 1969.⁷⁷ The building that caught on fire was the second for the parish since founding in 1856.⁷⁸ The main assembly was burned but contrary to some early reports, firemen managed to stop the fire from burning the whole church down.⁷⁹ Communion vessels, some from the early years of the church and parish records in a basement safe remained intact.⁸⁰ For example, the oldest record being the parish registry that included the first burial entered in the

⁷⁴ Mitchell, 1110-1111, 1409, 1440-1441.

⁷⁵ St. Cloud Journal-Press, 5 May 1892; St. Cloud Daily Times, 10 May 1892; St. Cloud Times, 3 January 2001, 3B; James Farrell, Inventing the American Way of Death, 1830-1920 (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1980), 119; St. John's Episcopal Church, A Century with Christ, 14, Dr. Joe Hopwood's sermon the Sunday after the fire.

⁷⁶ St. Cloud Times, 12 Nov. 1970; A Century with Christ, 14; Mitchell, 1455.

⁷⁷ St. Cloud Times, 6 Aug. 1969, 1-2; St. Cloud Times, 3 Jan. 2001, 3B.

⁷⁸ St. Cloud Times, 6 Aug. 1969, 1-2.

⁷⁹ Sermon notes of the first service after the fire and St. Cloud Times, 6 Aug. 1969, 1-2.

⁸⁰ St. Cloud Daily Times, 6 Aug., 1969, 1-2 and church records.

registry on December 29, 1905. There was even a Journal of the St. John's Episcopal Church from their annual convention in 1891 that states that a stern warning was given to parishes to keep better records. In 1996, the University Lutheran Church of the Epiphany bought the land at 390, Fourth Avenue South. A new St. John's Episcopal Church was built at the corner of Cooper Avenue South and Roosevelt Road and it opened its doors for its first service in February 1999.⁸¹

The original location of St. John's Episcopal Church that stood on lot four of block twenty-six was in proximity of a graveyard. This is common according to the historian Aries, "there was not much difference between the church and the cemetery. The word 'church' did not mean solely the church buildings but the entire space around the church. In villages and small towns, the cemetery most frequently lay adjacent to the church."⁸² However, this graveyard was not just any graveyard but maps and newspaper reports indicated that the original location of the church was nearby the only Protestant burial ground in St. Cloud until the masonic North Star Cemetery opened in 1864.⁸³ According to the Saint Cloud Democrat newspaper, "the only recognized burial place for the village was a lot or two adjoining the Episcopal Church."⁸⁴ Today, the site of this former Protestant cemetery is next to the

⁸¹ St. Cloud Times, 3 Jan. 2001, 3B.

⁸² Philippe Aries, Western Attitudes toward Death (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1974) 18, 96-97.

⁸³ Democrat, 14 June 1860; St. Cloud Journal-Press, 5 May 1892; Gove, A History of St. Cloud, 49.

⁸⁴ Democrat, 27 March 1862.

visitor-parking lane nearby the Performing Arts Center on St. Cloud State University (Figure 3). It was this cemetery that was disturbed by the library construction.

Chapter 4

CEMETERY

On 20 January 1999, during construction for a new library, workers stumbled upon a human skull.¹ News spread and people were excited, especially the St. Cloud community and members of St. Cloud State University.² The idea of something discovered underground that no one was aware of created interest among students and faculty members.³ The next day, 21 January 1999, it was evident that not just a human skull but also a number of graves had been exposed.

At that time of discovery, nobody knew off-hand of any explanation for the existence of the skeletal remains in this area.⁴ Concerned individuals wondered if this was a burial ground and what was St. Cloud State University going to do about the \$32.5

¹ St. Cloud Times, 21 Jan. 1999; Rothaus's report-St. Cloud State University Library Site, 1999.

² St. Cloud Times, 21 Jan. 1999; Minneapolis Star Tribune, 22 Jan. 1999, B5; St. Cloud Times, 26 Jan. 1999, 14 and 26 Feb. 1999, 6A.

³ St. Cloud Times, 21 Jan. 1999.

⁴ Minneapolis Star Tribune, 22 Jan. 1999, B5; St. Cloud Times, 21 Jan. 1999—John Decker stating, "That's quite a find." St. Cloud police Captain Len Smallwood, "It appears as if they've been there for awhile...At this point, we haven't found any clothes or anything else," Richard Rothaus in newspaper report—"It's constantly something new...I hope they (skeletal remains) will tell us more secure dates...It's pretty much unknown." Speculations such as in St. Cloud Times, 26th January 1999, Rothaus—"That (skeletal remains) could make this the site of one of Minnesota's first cemeteries, dating back to before Minnesota was a territory." "Everybody was surprised. It (the cemetery) is not supposed to be here."

million dollar building project that was already underway.⁵ How could a burial place be forgotten, after all, this area had been a parking lot since the early 1970s, and prior to that, it served as residential housing. On 21 January 1999, the Stearns History Museum confirmed that the area where the library was being built was once a Protestant cemetery.⁶ To make the situation even more interesting, it turned out that the excavated skeletal remains dated back to the 1850s, before the three frontier towns combined to become St. Cloud.

Construction was halted at once in the spot where the remnants of other coffins were found as archeologists began to remove the remains. Most of the excavation project was carried out during late January into February of 1999. When the digging continued, it was clear that this was not a family burial plot (as suggested by some people before confirmation from the Stearns History Museum⁷) but a cemetery.⁸ The first few skeletal remains discovered were those of an adult man, a woman and two infants.⁹ By 12 February 1999, the archeological team had discovered twenty-one grave shafts.¹⁰

⁵ St. Cloud Times, 21 Jan. 1999; Minneapolis Star Tribune, 22 Jan. 1999, B5; St. Cloud Daily Times, 13 Feb. 1999.

⁶ St. Cloud Times, 21 Jan. 1999; Rothaus, 5.

⁷ Minneapolis Star Tribune, 22 Jan. 1999, B5.

⁸ R. Rothaus and D. Gold, "'The Grave Was Unmarked And Had Long Been Forgotten': The First Protestant Cemetery of St. Cloud, Minnesota (21-Sn-0136)." Minnesota Archaeologist 60 (2002), 23-50; Minneapolis Star Tribune, 6 Feb. 1999, A14—"This is too many for a family grave plot," Rothaus said.

⁹ St. Cloud Times, 26 Jan. 1999 and 13 Feb., 1999; Rothaus and Gold, 23-50.

¹⁰ Rothaus and Gold, 23-50.

The discovered burials were located in the southeast corner of block twenty-six (Figure 1). The proximity of the excavated burials with the library is shown on Figure 9. (Stearns County, City of St. Cloud, Township 124N, Range 28W, SW ¼ of NW ¼ of Section 13) However, the principal investigator of the excavation, Dr. Richard Rothaus, explained that the boundary outline here does not mean that there are no more burials in the surrounding area. According to Rothaus's report, there might be more burials in unexplored areas lying east of the current excavated cemetery to the Performing Arts Center building on St. Cloud State University's campus and south of the Administrative Services Building.¹¹ These possible burial areas were not excavated because the principal purpose of this excavation was to remove the skeletal remains from the construction site of the James Miller Resources Center.

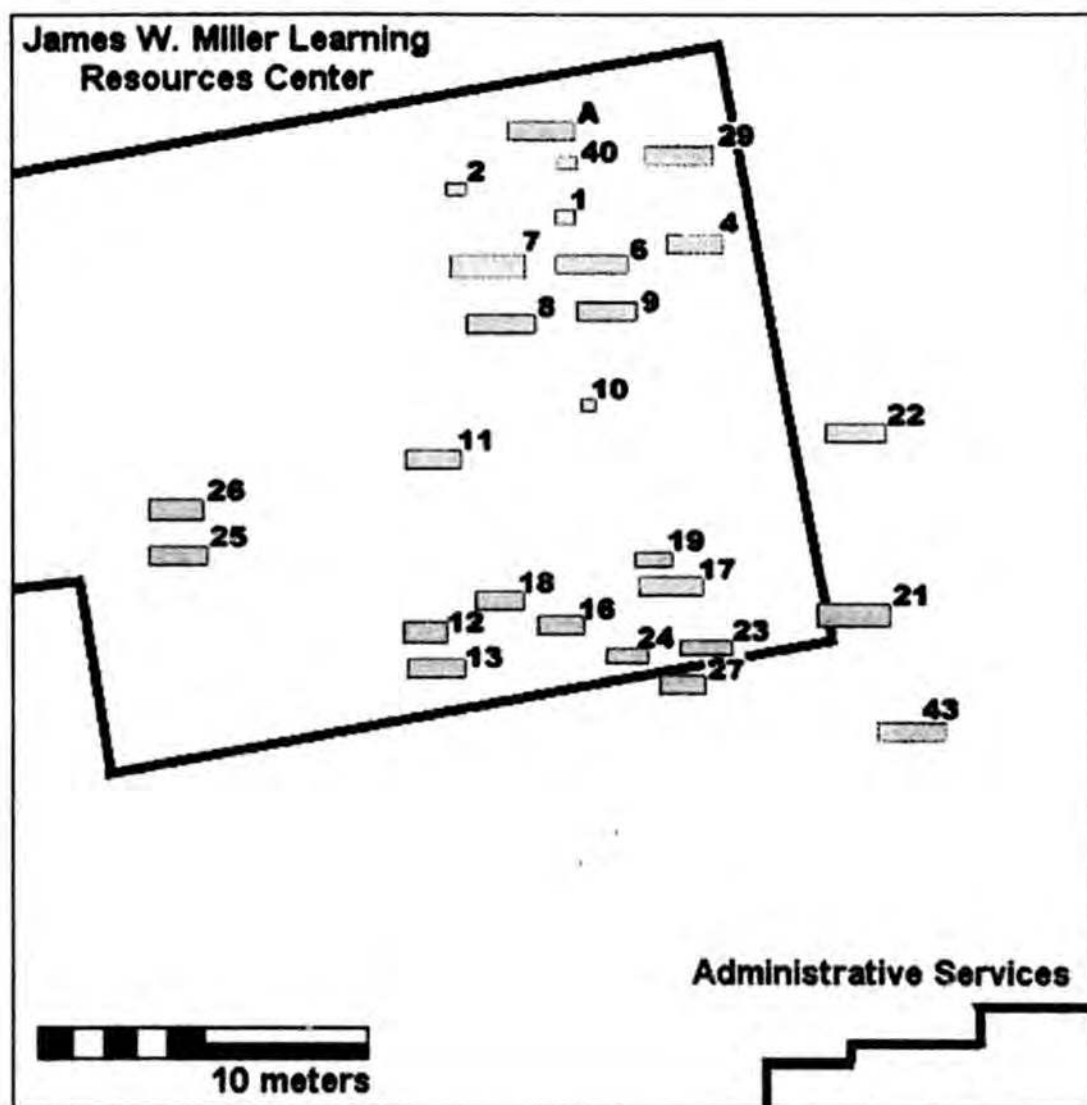
Estimates are that the cemetery functioned from 1856 to 1864 as St. Cloud's first Protestant cemetery. The estimated ending date was suggested by the opening of an official cemetery called the North Star Cemetery on August 27, 1864.¹² North Star Cemetery was named in honor of the North Star Lodge—Masons. It was a 20-acre (stonecutters).¹³ Back then, private associations created established cemeteries.¹⁴ The cemetery; one of the early projects by the Watab Lodge and its fraternal order of Masons establishment of North Star Cemetery came about due to community expansion; the

¹¹ Rothaus and Gold, 23-50.

¹² New York Evening Post, 4 Aug. 1864, 2; Democrat, 4 Aug. 1864, 2.

¹³ Democrat, 4 April 1861, 27 March 1862 and 4 Aug. 1864, 2; St. Cloud Times, 28 April 1998; Henrietta Memler, A History of St. Cloud, Minnesota 1861-1865, 19, 20; Wiant, 6.

¹⁴ Aries, Western Attitudes toward Death, 97; Pine, Acute Grief and the Funeral, 99.



Source: Richard Rothaus

Figure 9 – Map of the Excavated Burials and Library

citizens felt that the town needed an established cemetery to bury their loved ones. The

St. Cloud Democrat observed that,

For a long time, the citizens of St. Cloud have felt the necessity of a regularly established cemetery...Here is the last opportunity of giving to the living the evidences of our love and respect for the departed...How anxious then, every one

should be to secure for themselves and their families a lot in some regularly established cemetery, where, undisturbed, their remains may be until the coming of that day, when the graves shall deliver their dead.¹⁵

The need for an established cemetery was common for a growing town. As Gary Laderman writes, "As towns grew, more people placed greater value for burial in a well-organized place. A formal graveyard came to be understood as a socially secured and consecrated space."¹⁶ An established cemetery assured that lots would be attended even if survivors neglected the graves or moved from the area.¹⁷ In addition, it provided a context in which the dead could be protected by the religious, moral, and communal values of the community.¹⁸ An established cemetery also diminished the fear of corpses ending up on a dissection table.¹⁹

This fear was sustained by many in the North who believed anything that quickened "the natural processes of bodily decay or threatening the integrity of the corpse was shameful and offensive to standards of public decency."²⁰ The practice of dissection or any kind of postmortem examination was considered an offense to religious and

¹⁵ Democrat, 4 Aug. 1864, 2, 4 April 1861 and 27 March 1862; Aries et al., 61, 72, 137; Memler, 19-20; Pine, 99.

¹⁶ Gary Laderman, The Sacred Remains: American Attitudes Toward Death, 1799-1883 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996), 33, 38, 82.

¹⁷ Democrat, 4 Aug. 1864, 2; Minnesota Statutes 306.16; Aries et al., 61, 62, 70, 75, 77, 81; Aries, Western Attitudes toward Death, 72, 81; Coffin, 143; Farrell, 136; Pine, Acute Grief and the Funeral, 98, 99.

¹⁸ Democrat, 4 Aug. 1864, 2, 4 April 1861 and 27 March 1862; Aries, Western Attitudes toward Death, 56, 96; Aries et al., 88; Memler, 19-20; Pine, Acute Grief and the Funeral, 99; Stannard, The Puritan Way of Death, 177, 185.

¹⁹ Aries et al., 77, 88; Farrell, 8, 119; Laderman, 33, 38, 82.

²⁰ Aries, Western Attitudes toward Death, 39, 96; Farrell, 8; Laderman, 82.

communal sensibilities.²¹ For example, an army nurse during the Civil War wrote, "The morbid fancy which is manifested by so many to possess dead bodies, especially those which have long laid buried, seems one of the most barbarous customs permitted in a civilized country."²² The basis against dissection was the recurrent image that the identity of the deceased is somehow linked to the body and corpses on dissection tables meant taking away the community's control over the dead. It was important to some, for example, simply to have some degree of control over the management and fate of their dead while others wanted assurance of burials in sacred northern soil rather than in the impious South.²³ But the worst fear was body snatching of the dead for dissection. This was a recurring problem in the U.S. in the 19th Century.²⁴ Protection of the corpse from being dug up for the use by the medical community contributed to the rise of established cemeteries such as the North Star Cemetery.²⁵

Before the creation of the North Star Cemetery, burials such as the excavated cemetery were located near residences. From the early settlements in New England, the basic place for burials had been among the living—in the middle of towns, in family graveyard, in churchyards or in churches, a custom that dates back to 8th century

²¹ Aries, Western Attitudes toward Death, 39, 72, 96; Laderman, 145; Pine, Acute Grief and the Funeral, 24.

²² From a letter dated 8 November 1864, in Adelaine Smith, Reminiscences of an Army Nurse During the Civil War (New York: Graves, 1911) 123.

²³ Aries, Western Attitudes toward Death, 72, 96; Laderman, 153.

²⁴ Coffin, 143; Farrell, 13; David Stannard, The Puritan Way of Death: A Study in Religion, Culture and Social Change (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977) 168, 177.

²⁵ Ibid.

England.²⁶ This practice started in a deeply rooted longing of families to control and to gaze upon the physical remains before they disappeared from sight for good.²⁷ Strong desires of gazing upon the lifeless body before burial seem common among survivors.²⁸ This led to attitudes being centered on a refusal to allow the dead to disappear from the living community, a fixation on the body of the deceased, and a demand that the integrity of the corpse to be perpetuated in a grave easily accessible for visitation.²⁹ The feeling of loss—the overbearing absence associated with the death of a close relation—often led to a fixation on the grave as a material means to bridge the gap between the dead and the living.³⁰ For many, visiting a grave was a potential source of soothing therapy, and its appearance could provide a beneficial image to lessen the grief.³¹ It also gave the living a means of paying respect for the remains and of maintaining the integrity of the burial.³²

²⁶ Margaret Coffin, Death In Early America (Tennessee: Thomas Nelson, Inc., 1976), 129, 171; Farrell, 191; Huntington and Metcalf, 202; Laderman, 91; Vanderyn Pine, Acute Grief and the Funeral (Illinois: Thomas, 1976), 99; Puckle, 139, 159; R. A. Smith, Smith's Illustrated Guide to and through Laurel Hill Cemetery (Philadelphia: Harvard, 1852) 13, cited in Philippe Aries et al., Death in America (Pittsburgh: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1975), 70.

²⁷ Democrat, 4 Aug. 1864, 2; Aries, Western Attitudes toward Death, 56, 72; Laderman, 151.

²⁸ Aries et al., 154-156; Aries, Western Attitudes toward Death, 56; Laderman, 3, 144, 153, 174; Meyer, Ethnicity and the American Cemetery, 15.

²⁹ Democrat, 9 Sept. 1858, 2 and 17 Jan. 1861; Aries, Western Attitudes toward Death, 76, 96; Aries et al., xy, 32, 34, 112; Laderman, 1, 73; Pine, Acute Grief and the Funeral, x, xi, 72; Puckle, 32; Rosenblatt et al., 1-2, 4; Stannard, 10, 31, 185.

³⁰ Democrat, 9 Sept. 1858, 2 and 17 Jan. 1861; Aries, Western Attitudes toward Death, 81, 86, 96; Laderman, 74; Meyer, Ethnicity and the American Cemetery, 15; Pine, Acute Grief and the Funeral, xv, 72; Stannard, 174, 189; Rosenblatt et al., 2, 4-5.

³¹ Democrat, 17 Jan. 1861; Aries et al., 5, 41; Aries, Western Attitudes toward Death, 59, 96; Laderman, 75; Pine, Acute Grief and the Funeral, xv; Rosenblatt et al., 2, 4; Stannard, 189.

³² Aries et al., 44, 48; Aries, Western Attitudes toward Death, 58, 86; Laderman, 49; Meyer, Ethnicity and the American Cemetery, 15; Pine, Acute Grief and the Funeral, 97.

These sentimental attachments to the deceased resulted in burials being near homes. This was common according to the historian James Farrell, "Almost any early settlement had its graveyard or churchyard, where the dead resided near the living, and where people gathered for the last sad rites of interment."³³ Some of the burials near homes are private burials on family land since sites for graveyards were simply temporary empty lots.³⁴

Family burial grounds, however, became increasingly rare through the nineteenth century.³⁵ As towns grew larger and as public health concerns about the dead led to stricter forms of burial practices, private burials became less and less acceptable.³⁶ Instead, it was more common for the body to be carried to the local burying ground, either the local churchyard or a graveyard on the edge of town.³⁷ With future generations moving away from the homestead, the expectation of family members of always being nearby to maintain and preserve the place of burial diminished.³⁸ Public cemeteries soon replaced private burials.

³³ Farrell, 191.

³⁴ Democrat, 4 Aug. 1864, 2; Aries et al., xiv, 55, 71-72; Coffin, 126; Puckle, 218; Rosenblatt et al., 4; Stannard, 10, 185.

³⁵ Farrell, 8, 98; Laderman, 33, 127, 167-169; Meyer, Ethnicity and the American Cemetery, 15; Pine, Acute Grief and the Funeral, 97; Stannard, 174, 189-190.

³⁶ Aries, Western Attitudes toward Death, 85; Richard Huntington and Peter Metcalf, Celebrations of Death: The Anthropology of Mortuary Ritual (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), 6; Laderman, 33; Stannard, 31.

³⁷ Aries, Western Attitudes toward Death, 59, 96; Aries et al., 51, 60; Jessica Mitford, The American Way of Death (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1963), 222; Pine, Acute Grief and the Funeral, 231; Stannard, 168, 171.

³⁸ Democrat, 4 Aug. 1864, 2—"Here is the last opportunity of giving from the living the evidence of our love and respect for the departed"; Aries et al., 41, 50, 137, 139, 146, 154; Aries, Western Attitudes toward Death, 12, 39, 56, 72, 96; Coffin, 78; Farrell, Laderman, 38, 157; Meyer, Ethnicity and the American Cemetery, 15; Pine, Acute Grief and the Funeral, 99; Puckle, 31, 62.

But we cannot ignore that there might be private burials other than at this excavated cemetery. For example, the excavation of skeletal remains at the library site was not the first time burials have been discovered on the St. Cloud State campus. On September 1884, when digging the basement of the Ladies Normal Home (previously was the Stearns home but today Lawrence Hall), workers stumbled upon unmarked graves in which there “was little more than a few bones, save a mass of still beautiful long curls.”³⁹ According to newspapers, the remains were those of Clinton (eight years, one month), the oldest son of George F. Brott (Founder of Lower Town), and his cousin Carrie Stearns (thirteen years, three months), the daughter of C. T. Stearns. Both died within a few days of each other in 1861 at the Stearns home.⁴⁰ The fact that they were buried in a private cemetery in 1861 rather than in a community cemetery indicates that burial practices were unsystematic.⁴¹

Cemeteries such as the North Star Cemetery reflected a new sort of post-mortem community unlike the excavated cemetery of residential closeness with churchyards or graveyards.⁴² It started when corpses were discussed publicly according to scientific interpretations rather than theological doctrines.⁴³ The staggering number of corpses on

³⁹ St. Cloud Journal-Press, 18 Sept. 1884, 4.

⁴⁰ Democrat, 17 Jan. 1861.

⁴¹ Democrat, 4 Aug. 1864, 2; Aries, Western Attitudes toward Death, 72; Aries et al., 71, 72; Coffin, 78, 126, 143, 171; Ely, Jr., 61; Farrell, 191, 198; Huntington and Metcalf, 202; Laderman, 67; Puckle, 218; Rothaus and Gold, 3; a letter written on March 29, 1850 cited in Coffin, 50.

⁴² Democrat, 4 Aug. 1864, 2; Aries et al., 61-62; Coffin, 126, 129, 171; Farrell, 124; Huntington and Metcalf, 190; Pine, Acute Grief and the Funeral, 93, 98-99; Puckle, 139, 197, 218.

⁴³ Aries et al., 132, 158; Farrell, 8; Laderman, 153; Pine, Acute Grief and the Funeral, 72-73.

battlefields, in hospitals and near camps during the Civil War led to an increasing public indifference to the corpse—especially among soldiers themselves.⁴⁴ This is describe well in a letter dated November 28, 1862 written by William Gable, a soldier, to his family,

We dont mind the deth of a man we have seen so many you (k)now that I never would tuch a ded person I don't mind it now I can pick them up and handle them as if they ware a stick of wood. I could dres the worst wound in the house and then go and eat with out washing my hands.⁴⁵

In addition, a new realistic portrait of death, available in photographs, in newspaper stories, and in accounts from those who served in the medical staff, encouraged the ongoing domestication and objectification of the corpse and reduced the sentimental of death, so strong and persistent before the Civil War.⁴⁶

The historian James Farrell has observed that after the Civil War, Americans began to deal with death differently. "They saw death as a natural phenomenon governed only by the laws of nature."⁴⁷ The idea of a return to God and reunion of the dead with nature influenced the creation of the North Star Cemetery, which capitalized on, according to a local newspaper, the "public's nostalgia for pastoral settings, pious, and moral instructions."⁴⁸ The new, corporate-owned suburban cemeteries placed the dead in

⁴⁴ Laderman, 127.

⁴⁵ To Martha and Elizabeth Gable, William Morton Gable Collection, cited in Laderman, 93.

⁴⁶ Democrat, 31 Jan. 1861, 1; Aries, et al., ix; Ann Douglas, "Heaven Our Home: Consolation Literature in the Northern United States, 1830-1880," in Aries et al., 49, 50, 61, 63; Aries, Western Attitudes Toward Death, 93; Laderman, 127, 130; Pine, Acute Grief and the Funeral, 231.

⁴⁷ Farrell, 44.

⁴⁸ Democrat, 4 Aug. 1864, 2; Aries, Western Attitudes toward Death, 56; Farrell, 8, 105-106; Wilson Flagg, Mount Auburn: Its Scenes, Its Beauties, and Its Lessons (Boston: James Munroe, 1861), 37, cited in Aries et al., 78; Laderman, 9; Meyer, Ethnicity and the American Cemetery, 15; Pine, Acute Grief and the Funeral, 97-99.

a pleasing, emotionally tranquil, and morally enlightening location that encouraged acts of memory on the part of survivors.⁴⁹ It was also a popular middle-class 19th Century answer to the horrors of a body disintegrating and contamination.⁵⁰

As corpses began representing a scientific object with natural laws dissociated from any sentimental or religious significance, they began to be viewed as a source of danger to the community.⁵¹ Medical literature described corpses as a source of pollution and a hygienic danger and, as such, a threat to public health.⁵² Towns then halted burials near homes that were often overcrowded and untended to prevent health hazards.⁵³ This was supported, as a survivor of that era described, "No crowding up in disgusting heaps like our own graveyards."⁵⁴

Cemeteries such as the North Star Cemetery also emphasized a sense of space rather than, according to the *Democrat* newspaper, "vacant lots or out of the way

⁴⁹ *Democrat*, 17 Jan. 1861 and 4 Aug. 1864, 2; Aries et al., xii, 43, 48, 84, 146, 148, 152-154; Aries, *Western Attitudes toward Death*, 6, 39, 56, 58, 78, 81, 86; Coffin, 125; Farrell, 7-8, 41, 74; Laderman, 5, 72, 151; Richard Meyer, *Ethnicity and the American Cemetery* (Ohio: Bowling Green State U. Popular Press, 1993), 15; Pine, *Acute Grief and the Funeral*, 97-99; Stannard, 167-168, 177, 185, 188-190; Helmut Thielicke, *Living with Death* (Michigan: William Ferdmans Publishing Co., 1983), 10.

⁵⁰ *Democrat*, 4 Aug. 1864, 2; Aries, *Western Attitudes toward Death*, 77; Farrell, 8; Laderman, 9, 70, 82, 85, 164; Amelia Murray, *Letters from the United States, Cuba and Canada* (New York: Putnam, 1856), 16 cited in Aries et al., 70; Pine, *Acute Grief and the Funeral*, 98-99; Puckle, 218.

⁵¹ Aries, *Western Attitudes toward Death*, x; Farrell, 8; Laderman, 70, 82, 85, 164; Pine, *Acute Grief and the Funeral*, 73, 93.

⁵² Farrell, 8; Laderman, 9, 82; Pine, *Caretaker of the Dead*, 24; Puckle, 218.

⁵³ Aries et al., 74; Coffin, 126; James Ely, Jr., 61; Puckle, 218.

⁵⁴ Amelia Murray, *Letters from the United States, Cuba and Canada* (New York: Putnam, 1856), 16 cited in Aries et al., 70.

places.”⁵⁵ Local newspapers emphasized that the North Star Cemetery was situated on a nice grove about two and a half miles southwest from St. Cloud and that it was the only regular established cemetery in the township.⁵⁶ Rather than the arguments concerning overcrowded facilities and health hazards, the space of the cemetery became a focus of a more common theme of cultural institutions.⁵⁷ Even the generic word “cemetery” represented a refinement of the more graphic older description of “graveyard,” “churchyard,” or “burying-ground.”⁵⁸ Unlike the common old intramural churchyards in the middle of town or city they replaced (old cemeteries were normally church property), cemeteries often were located on town outskirts away from the urban bustle and noise.⁵⁹

Much was discovered from this study area’s cemetery excavation. The total number of graves the excavation team dug out was twenty-one: ten had remains; eleven had none (a total of ten adults and six children).⁶⁰ Assorted material objects were also found. For example, an excavated fabric associated with the coffins was a burial shroud.⁶¹ After 1850, coffins were often lined with cloth to withstand the severity of rough

⁵⁵ Democrat, 4 Aug. 1864, 2.

⁵⁶ Democrat, 4 Aug. 1864, 2; New York Evening Post, 4 Aug. 1864, 2.

⁵⁷ Aries et al., 78; Coffin, 126; Meyer, Ethnicity and the American Cemetery, 15; Pine, Acute Grief and the Funeral, 98, 99; Puckle, 218.

⁵⁸ Aries et al., 61, 70, 76; Coffin, 129; Farrell, 111.

⁵⁹ Aries et al., 61, 62, 75; Aries, Western Attitudes toward Death, 97; Richard Chapman, Religious Belief and Behavior, in Clifford Clark Jr., Minnesota in a Century of Change, 508-509, 514; Coffin, 126, 129, 131, 171; Huntington and Metcalf, 190, 202; Pine, Acute Grief and the Funeral, 99; Puckle, 139, 218.

⁶⁰ Rothaus and Gold, 3, 43-54.

⁶¹ Rothaus and Gold, 5.

wood.⁶² Two gold-foil fillings found in Unit 9 and 22 reflected the 19th century practice of using gold for fillings.⁶³ There were also elements that were unearthed from later time periods of other cultural material presumably related to the residential use of the area in the early and mid-20th century. For further details, Rothaus and Gold have written a more elaborated report of the excavation. When asked what was done to the items found, Rothaus reported that elements discovered not pertaining to the time period of the cemetery were not studied or systematically excavated. However, a selection of recovered items is curated at the Minnesota Historical Society for future reference and research.⁶⁴ As for all the skeletal remains and related personal elements, they will be re-interred at the North Star Cemetery, St. Cloud.⁶⁵

It is impossible to identify the excavated individuals.⁶⁶ The cemetery predates all city and church death records.⁶⁷ Only in 1916 did the practice of cataloging all deaths become mandatory.⁶⁸ Grave markers would help but none were excavated.⁶⁹ There might not have been any grave markers, according to an 1864 local newspaper, “with nothing to

⁶² Nehemiah Adams, *Agnes and the Key of Her Little Coffin By Her Father* (Boston: Whipple, 1857), 15, cited in Aries et al., 61; Coffin, 100, 101, 115; Farrell, 147; Laderman, 29.

⁶³ Margaret Coffin, *Death in Early America* (Tennessee: Thomas Nelson Inc., 1976), 41.

⁶⁴ Rothaus and Gold, 5; Puckle, 50.

⁶⁵ Rothaus and Gold, 5.

⁶⁶ *St. Cloud Times*, 15 April 2000, B—‘don’t know who they are or what they died of,’; Rothaus and Gold, 5, 9, 36.

⁶⁷ Stearns County courthouse records, Stearns History Museum records, St. John’s Episcopal church records; Rothaus and Gold, 9.

⁶⁸ Minnesota Statutes 306.03; Farrell, 14.

⁶⁹ Rothaus and Gold, 10.

mark the last resting place of their dear departed ones except little leaves the place unnoticed and unhallowed by aught save the remembrance of the bereaved ones who placed them there."⁷⁰

Grave markers, if there were any, were either a plant or a wooden marker and would have either been moved or deteriorated.⁷¹ Wood markers were often recommended during that era since, weathered by the sun, wind and rain, they were a symbol of gradual return to nature.⁷² Some people used markers that deteriorated relatively quickly such as a board, a heap of stones or a single boulder made out of sandstone.⁷³ Also, markers may have been buried beneath the ground because some cemetery caretakers hoped that practice achieved their goal of burying death with the dead.⁷⁴ The 19th Century American Association of American Cemetery Superintendents members opposed monuments and markers because they obstructed the view, reminded people of death and represented other undesirable aspects of American life.⁷⁵

⁷⁰ Democrat, 4 Aug. 1864, 2. Another unmarked grave reported in St. Cloud Journal Press, 18 Sept. 1884, 4—Workmen excavating for the basement of the new Normal Home (Lawrence Hall later) struck a grave in which were the remains of two bodies. Both were buried there in January 1861 in an unmarked grave.

⁷¹ Democrat, 4 Aug. 1864, 2—'plant the evergreen that is to mark the consecrated spot where lie the remains, ...every flower we may plant over their tomb'; Aries et al., 80; Brown et al., 74-75; Coffin, 147, 150, 151; Dominik Jr., 26; Gove, St. Cloud Souvenir Album.

⁷² Coffin, 150, 151.

⁷³ Democrat, 4 Aug. 1864, 2; Coffin, 147, 150, 151.

⁷⁴ Farrell, 122.

⁷⁵ Ibid.

Permanent grave markers were not introduced during the existence of the excavated cemetery. As Gary Laderman describes, "Permanent grave markers (such as those made out of granite) began around 1865 to be installed in the new cemeteries, often replacing the less durable wooden or cardboard markers erected during the Civil war."⁷⁶ The granite industry in this area also did not begin until 1868 when the first quarry opened in east St. Cloud, near the present site of the Reformatory.⁷⁷ It was only during the late 1800s that stones became large decoration.⁷⁸

There is no way of confirming who used the excavated cemetery. The basic practice of remembering the dead on the frontier in early graveyards was to bury them in some easily recognizable place, either extended family plots or congregational churchyards.⁷⁹ Other Protestants and the Lower Town community might have used the cemetery. The newspaper did describe the cemetery as Protestant and not of any particular denomination.⁸⁰ It is quite possible that this study area might have been used as private or community cemetery before the church was constructed. As Richard Huntington and Peter Metcalf wrote, "Lack of data is one the pitfalls in the way of the analysis of American mortuary rites. Most professionals then were practitioners rather

⁷⁶ Coffin, 147; Laderman, 120.

⁷⁷ Britz, History of Stearns County; Dominik Jr., 26.

⁷⁸ Coffin, 166.

⁷⁹ Aries, Western Attitudes toward Death, 72, 97; a letter written on March 29, 1850 cited in Coffin, 50; Farrell, 191; Huntington and Metcalf, 202; Laderman, 33, 67; Pine, Acute Grief and the Funeral, 99; Puckle, 139; Democrat, 4 Aug. 1864, 2—"compelled to bury them...with nothing to mark...save the remembrance of the bereaved ones who placed them there."

⁸⁰ Democrat, 14 June 1860; St. Cloud Journal-Press, 5 May 1892; Gove, A History of St. Cloud, 49; Rothaus and Gold, 2.

than writer-scholars. Hence, a hunch or accumulated wisdom of years of practice is not likely transmitted broadly."⁸¹

Using DNA tests to find out who are the excavated skeletal remains would be a good start if this were a crime scene.⁸² DNA testing is a dependable forensic technique for identifying individuals when biological evidence is recovered.⁸³ However, in this situation, there is no justification for such action and DNA testing is also very expensive.⁸⁴ Plus, a relative is needed to check if the DNA test results match the blood or other parts of the excavated body but there are no known surviving relatives.⁸⁵ Dental records are often used in DNA tests but alas, it is unlikely that these middle 19th century people had any dentist records and it was occasional 'practitioners' such as barbers who attended to dental problems without having any dental training.⁸⁶

⁸¹ Huntington and Metcalf, 186; Rosenblatt et al., 9.

⁸² United States Congress Senate Committee on the Judiciary, *Post-conviction DNA testing: hearing before the Committee on the Judiciary, United States Senate, One Hundred Sixth Congress, second session, June 13, 2000*.

⁸³ Ibid.

⁸⁴ United States Congress Senate Committee on the Judiciary, *Post-conviction DNA testing*; Star Tribune, 6 Feb. 1999, A14; Rothaus and Gold, 10-12; St. Cloud Times, 26 Jan. 1999—"If the identity of the buried persons can be determined, any living relatives will be sought out. They should have a say in how the remains are reburied," he said. DNA tests on the bones are possible to learn whether the remains belong to one family. "It will cost a fortune," Rothaus said. He and his students will try to identify the remains without DNA testing.

⁸⁵ United States Congress Senate Committee on the Judiciary, *Post-conviction DNA testing*; Rothaus and Gold, 3, 9.

⁸⁶ United States Congress Senate Committee on the Judiciary, *Post-conviction DNA testing*; Mello Holland, *A History of the University of Minnesota School of Dentistry, 1888-1988* (MN: U. of M, 1993), 1-15; Oswald Avery, "Reminiscences of 64 Years of Dental Practice," Northwest Dentistry 62, no.2 (March-April 1983: 63-67; C. Ballard, "Dental Education," American Journal of Dental Science 2 (1851): 59-71, cited in Mello Holland, 15; Mic Hunter, *The American Barbershop* (WI: Face to Face Books, 1996), 103-107; William Andrews, *At the Sign of the Barber's Pole* (Yorkshire: J. R. Tutin, 1904), 26-32.

There are many possibilities why the skeletal remains were still in this study area. In order to move a body, for example to the established North Star Cemetery, one needs to get the permission from their next of kin.⁸⁷ In this case, it is quite likely that the next of kin could not be found. Maybe the survivor responsible for taking care of the burial place moved or died. For example, after excavating, the remains of Clinton and Carrie (the skeletal remains found at Lawrence Hall discussed earlier) were shipped to their next-of-kin in New Orleans.⁸⁸ Also, this area was their last resting-place and perhaps, the family members just wanted to let them rest in peace and in a place they could remember.⁸⁹ As Gary Laderman suggests, "The basic practice of remembering the dead on the frontier in most fervent expression was the practice of burying them in some easily recognizable place."⁹⁰ Maybe they did not want to remove the body again because of how they last remembered them.⁹¹ It may have been that the relatives were unable to afford a reburial at North Star.⁹²

⁸⁷ Minnesota Statutes 138.37, 306.243, 306.29, 307.8 and 559.02.

⁸⁸ St. Cloud Times, 8 Oct. 1884.

⁸⁹ Aries, Western Attitudes toward Death, 72; Laderman, 67; Pine, Acute Grief and the Funeral, 98; Democrat, 4 Aug. 1864, 2—"last resting place of their dear departed ones...by aught save the remembrance of the bereaved ones who places them there."

⁹⁰ Laderman, 67.

⁹¹ Democrat, 4 Aug. 1864, 2; Aries et al., 154, 156; Aries, Western Attitudes toward Death, 56; Laderman, 144, 153, 174; Meyer, Ethnicity and the American Cemetery, 15.

⁹² Rothaus and Gold, 36.

As businesses and people were moving into Middle Town, graves were abandoned, simply ignored or moved to an established cemetery.⁹³ Aries suggests that after 1870, cemeteries often were taken over by urban growth and abandoned for a new site.⁹⁴ In addition, the first burial places were certainly spontaneous, established when a settler died, and lasting until people forgot the settler or the site and, as mentioned earlier, there might not have been any grave markers.⁹⁵ A first burial place was often never correctly platted, graves not marked and if there were any surface symbols (e.g., grave mounds), they would have been razed.⁹⁶ In winter, when the ground was frozen, all sorts of make-do practices grew, such as coffins under the snow up by the spruce woods but when spring came, it was a problem to recall the location of the coffins.⁹⁷ It was then strenuous in finding where graves are in order to move bodies and they may have missed some burials as Rothaus suggested.⁹⁸ Because of this irregular, almost reckless arrangement of the burials, it encouraged the creation of an established cemetery that

⁹³ *St. Cloud Times*, 15 April 2000, B; Farrell, 198; Laderman, 69; William Lawrence, *Extracts from the Diary and Correspondence of the Late Amos Lawrence* (Boston: Gould & Lincoln, 1855), 175-176, cited in Aries et al., 70; Puckle, 137; Rothaus and Gold, 3.

⁹⁴ Aries, *Western Attitudes toward Death*, 97.

⁹⁵ *Democrat*, 4 Aug. 1864, 2; Aries et al., 71, 72; Coffin, 126, 171; Farrell, 191; Puckle, 218.

⁹⁶ *Democrat*, 4 Aug. 1864, 2; Aries et al., 71, 72; Coffin, 143; Farrell, 198.

⁹⁷ Coffin, 78.

⁹⁸ *St. Cloud Times*, 15 April 2000, B; Farrell, 198; William Lawrence, *Extracts from the Diary and Correspondence of the Late Amos Lawrence* (Boston: Gould & Lincoln, 1855), 175-176, cited in Aries et al., 70; Puckle, 137; Rothaus and Gold, 3.

buried the dead in an orderly fashion.⁹⁹ Organized cemeteries such as the North Star took over burials and eliminated some of the older graveyards.¹⁰⁰

Other than the skeletal remains being studied and items curated, the discovered coffins could not be preserved in their original state, according to Rothaus. According to him, the coffins found with their lids present were coffins that had given way to land pressure and entirely collapsed as a result of the land being heavily compressed by previous occupants (Figure 10).¹⁰¹ Compression occurred when the homes were built in this area. Their basements were refilled and the area leveled before the parking lot was laid. Rothaus further explained that building a parking lot required the ground to be heavily compacted.¹⁰² He went on stating that the wood of the coffin was so deteriorated



Source: Richard Rothaus

Figure 10 – Compressed Coffin

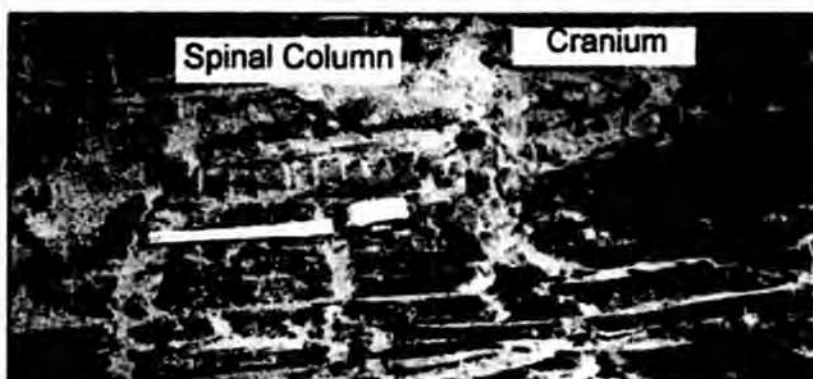
⁹⁹ Democrat, 4 Aug. 1864, 2; Farrell, 198.

¹⁰⁰ Farrell, 198-199; Pine, Acute Grief and the Funeral, 99.

¹⁰¹ Rothaus and Gold, 10-11.

¹⁰² University Chronicle, 28 Jan. 1999.

that the shape of the skeletal remain in the coffin could be seen (outlined in Figure 11). To further study the remains, the wood had to be practically peeled off the bone.¹⁰³ Not only that, due to weather changes, the wood deteriorated and crumbled too easily, making it difficult to preserve for research.¹⁰⁴ As Rothaus explained, “Given the poor state of preservation of the wood and significant warping and size changes between frozen and thawed pieces, the relationship of these preserved dimensions to manufactured dimensions cannot be determined.”¹⁰⁵



Source: Richard Rothaus

Figure 11 – Skeletal material visible through coffin lid

The excavation and research teams were able to determine the shape and appropriate ages of the coffins. Most of the coffins were standard in shape, with their sides' straight and the upper top wider than the lower part and coffin lengths ranging

¹⁰³ Rothaus and Gold, 4.

¹⁰⁴ Rothaus and Gold, 12.

¹⁰⁵ Rothaus and Gold, 4, 10-12. Chemicals were used to prevent the wood from crumbling, but not from changing shape.

from 1.82 meters to 2.05 meters.¹⁰⁶ (Figure 12) The coffins did not have a panel for viewing the face of the deceased, as was common in middle 19th century.¹⁰⁷ The hardware of the discovered coffins is similar to coffins that date back to the middle nineteenth and early twentieth century.¹⁰⁸ Before the practice of embalming, the dead were not kept around for wake services but buried shortly after their death and coffins were made as quickly as possible, usually in a day or overnight.¹⁰⁹ It was common then for the coffins to



Source: Richard Rothaus

Figure 12 – Typical coffin remains wider at the head than at the foot

¹⁰⁶ Coffin, 101; Huntington and Metcalf, 184; Laderman, 31; Puckle, 50; Rothaus and Gold, 4, 11. Further information and research of the cemetery topic in relation to 19th Century is left out to avoid overburdening a reader with descriptions of funerals to the point where they all appear similar.

¹⁰⁷ Farrell, 147 and from talking with Rothaus.

¹⁰⁸ Rothaus, report–St. Cloud State University Library site, 1999, 13; Rothaus and Gold, 5.

¹⁰⁹ Coffin, 99-100.

be simple wooden boxes with some having hinged lids or elaborate locks to discourage grave robbers.¹¹⁰ Archeologist who worked on this excavation did unearthed hinges that were no longer advertised in catalogs of coffin hardware and trade journals by 1877.¹¹¹ The swing bail handles found were also no longer in demand by the 1880s and 1890s.¹¹² These findings support an argument that this study area was abandoned in the mid-1860s with residential homes being built over the cemetery.

There were many reasons why the hustle and bustle of Lower Town lost its appeal and people moved away from Lower Town in the 1860s. Lower Town's businesses and people were moving into Middle Town and with the outbreak of the Civil War in 1861, many southerners from Upper Town returned to their homeland.¹¹³ Among the reasons for the economic shift to Middle Town was the uncertainty over land deeds, changes in transportation and the preference of German farmers (the majority of farmers in this area) who shopped in Middle Town.¹¹⁴

¹¹⁰ Nehemiah Adams, 15 in Aries et al., 60, 61; Coffin, 101, 130; Farrell, 147, 172.

¹¹¹ Rothaus and Gold, 5.

¹¹² Hacker-Norton, D. and Michael Trinkley, Remember Man Thou Art Dust: Coffin Hardware of the Early Twentieth Century (Research Series 2. Columbia, South Carolina: Chicora Foundation, Inc., 1984), 43-46; Rothaus and Gold, 5.

¹¹³ Dominik, 13, 18; Dominik Jr., 24, 62; Ely, Jr., 15-16; Gove, A History of Saint Cloud, 3; A History of St. Cloud, 16; St. Cloud Centennial Souvenir Album, Memler, 59; Mitchell, 1441.

¹¹⁴ Democrat, 2 Nov. 1865, map of 'Bird's Eye View of St. Cloud-1869'; St. Cloud Times, 26 Feb. 1999, 6A; examination of the file 'cemeteries' maintained by the Research Center of the Stearns History Museum; Dominik, 13; Dominik Jr., 62; Gove, A History of Saint Cloud, 3; A History of St. Cloud, 16; St. Cloud Centennial Souvenir Album; Holmquist, 167; Memler, 59; Miller, 3; Mitchell, 1110-1111, 1408-1409, 1427, 1439-1441.

In the 1860s, people started moving into Middle Town. Yankee entrepreneurs felt insecure of their land holdings under a shrouded title at Lower Town.¹¹⁵ Questionable land titles meant all progress in Lower town stopped.¹¹⁶ When Brott's claims on the land kept going to court, these Yankee entrepreneurs decided to move their businesses to a more secure area, Wilson's Middle Town. This was because Wilson's Middle Town was wholly under the provisions of the town-site act, being the only one having a secure title.¹¹⁷ Here, the Yankees could also take advantage of the trade with the German farmers (the majority of farmers in this area) who shopped in Middle Town because that was where the German clerks were and that was the only language these farmers understood.¹¹⁸ And since these farmers were their frequent customers, the storeowners of Upper and Lower Town would buy a store in Middle Town and hire German-speaking clerks.¹¹⁹ John Dominik observed that, "They preferred to do business with the German-speaking storekeepers in Wilson's town, ignoring the Yankees in Lower Town."¹²⁰ Another reason for the move away from Lower Town was the change of

¹¹⁵ Democrat, 2 Nov. 1865; Mitchell, 1110-1111, 1409, 1441; multiple deed records.

¹¹⁶ Dominik, 18; Dominik Jr., 4; Holmquist, 167.

¹¹⁷ Transcription from the Obituary record of the Old Settlers Association, Democrat, 2 Nov. 1865; Dominik, 18; Mitchell, 1110-1111, 1408 (according to the autobiography of George F. Brott), 1441; Ely, Jr., 11; landmark by Lake George established by the St. Cloud Centennial Committee 1969.

¹¹⁸ Letter written by Joseph Wilson to his brother, John Wilson, 27 April 1856; Blegen, 308; Dominik, 12, 18; Dominik Jr., 3; Holmquist, 4; Mitchell, 1441.

¹¹⁹ Letter written by Joseph Wilson to his brother, John Wilson, 27 April 1856; Dominik, 18; Dominik Jr., 4, 24; Gove, St. Cloud Centennial Souvenir Album and A History of Saint Cloud, Minnesota 1853-1970, 3; Holmquist, 168; Miller, 3; Mitchell, 1441; Wiant, 4.

¹²⁰ John Dominik, St. Cloud: The Triplet City, 18.

transportation. Perhaps the ending of the steamboat use (ended around the year 1874¹²¹) and expectations of railroad tracks going through Middle Town also influenced the move (the first train that came to St. Cloud was on 1 September 1866¹²²).¹²³

The land uncertainty at Lower Town resulted in this land area to be abandon.¹²⁴ The land that had been a cemetery remained undeveloped until after the turn of the century. Perhaps no one wanted to build on the site of a former cemetery as long as the memory of that cemetery was still very much alive in anyone's mind.¹²⁵ In addition, the sale of land from one family to another and the breakup of religious congregations may have influenced the dismissal of certain land areas.¹²⁶

The construction of the Learning Resources Center was not the only time that people found skeletal remains that point to the existence of a burial ground. In 1910, construction workers stumbled upon a burial on the property owned by Anton Rieland.¹²⁷

¹²¹ Brown et al., 135; Dominik, 19; Gove, St. Cloud Centennial Souvenir Album and A History of Saint Cloud, Minnesota, 1853-1970, 8; Granger, 49; Holmquist, 7.

¹²² Blegen, 296, 298; Brown et al., 135; Dominik, 25; Dominik Jr., 29; Ely, Jr., 6; Gove, St. Cloud Centennial Souvenir Album; Levery, 10; Miller, 2; Renz, 40-41, 59.

¹²³ Blegen, Minnesota: A History of the State, 725; Farrell, 213; Mitchell, 1436, 1441.

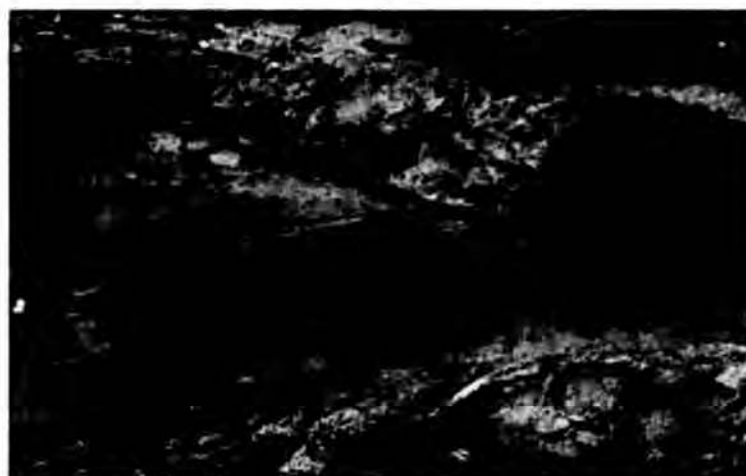
¹²⁴ Rothaus and Gold, 3.

¹²⁵ 2 Nov. 1865, examination of the file 'cemeteries' maintained by the Research Center of the Stearns History Museum, map of 'Bird's Eye View of St. Cloud 1869'; St. Cloud Times, 26 Feb. 1999, 6A; Brown et al., 110; Farrell, 191; Mitchell, 1110-1111, 1408-1409, 1427, 1439-1441; Democrat, 4 Aug. 1864, 2-'last resting place of their dear departed ones...by aught save the remembrance of the bereaved ones who places them there.'

¹²⁶ Farrell, 197.

¹²⁷ St. Cloud Daily Times, 6 July 1910; St. Cloud Journal-Press, 6 July 1910; Kathryn Wiant, Ancestors Open a Window of Time and Daily Journal Press, Wednesday, 6 July 1910, 5-Anton B. Rieland, assistant cashier security state bank, residing at 617, 3rd Avenue South.

The Rieland home was built on the same lot as the original St. John's Episcopal Church. The body found there was removed and reburied at the North Star Cemetery. In 1933, when a sewer line was being built for new houses on the same block where the St. John's Episcopal Church had stood, a skeleton was uncovered.¹²⁸ Rothaus believes that this sewer line disturbed one of the burials (Figure 13).



Source: Richard Rothaus

Figure 13 – Sewer line cuts off coffin

Although this land area have been abandon with appearances of a skeletal remain in 1910 and 1933, the 1999 excavated cemetery is different with more discovered burials and materials enough to provide additional detailed information. The opportunity to use this discovery as a means of an interpretive education in a form of an exhibition is elaborated in the following chapter.

¹²⁸ St. Cloud Daily Times, 1 Dec 1933; St. Cloud Journal-Press, 1 Dec 1933.

Chapter 5

EXHIBIT PROPOSAL

An exhibition proposal gives guidelines based on research, gathered materials, scripts and texts as well as how to treat and design the exhibit.¹ This exhibit proposal from conception to presentation is based on what I have learned, seen and experienced from classes, projects, volunteer work, internship and museum visits.² In other words, the exhibition proposal involves a calculable risk, based on experience, historical research and ideas. The available space and the subject matter (the library) determine the form of an exhibit.³ Below is a list of common basic questions that direct an exhibition

¹ Edward Carpenter, Print Casebooks 10: The Best in Exhibition Design (Rockville, MD: RC Publications, Inc., 1994), 78.

² Alfred Alles, Exhibitions: Universal Marketing Tools (New York: Halsted Press, 1973), 39, 62, 72, 114; Preston Lockridge, Better Bulletin Board Displays (Texas: University of Texas) 2; Jefferson Warren, Exhibit Methods: How To Design, Construct and Decorate Exhibits For School Displays, Science Fairs, Shop Windows, Museums, Trade Fairs and Conventions (New York: Sterling Publishing Co., 1972), 4.

³ Carpenter, 17; Lockridge, Educational Displays and Exhibits (Texas: University of Texas, 1966), 30; Laszlo Roth, Display Design (New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1983), 142; Warren, 5.

proposal.⁴ Answers must also be addressed for questions that might probably occur to viewers.⁵

1. What is the topic of the exhibit?

The topic of the exhibit is the historical development of the land usage of this site from 1849 to 1869 based on the research of block 26 where the eastern part of St. Cloud State University's library now stands.

2. What will the library/school accomplish with this exhibit?

When the cemetery was first discovered, it was a topic of controversy, discussion and was even in the newspapers. With this exhibit, the school can share how it treated the discovery of the cemetery and the experiences it went through. After all, we learn about ancient civilization from objects and inscriptions found while excavating tombs and cemeteries represent a vast amount of information of evolving patterns and cultures.⁶ The school can also share its perspective on treatments to skeletal remains, educate the community

⁴ Proposal Example of "Minnesota From A to Z" and Exhibit Concept by the Minnesota Historical Society, History News, 20th Century Collecting: Guidelines and Case Studies, Special Report. May/June 1991; Hedy Hartman and Suzanne Schell, Institutional Master Planning for Historical Organizations and Museums, Technical Report 11, American Association for State and Local History, American Material Culture Technique: Historical Museum Exhibit Review, Appendix 3, 233-237; Deaton Museum Services, Exhibit Development Process, Margaret Hall, On Display: A Design Grammar for Museum Exhibitions, 1987; Peter Ames, Measures of Merit, Museum News, Sept/Oct. 1991; Excellence and Equity: Education and the Public Dimension of Museum—A Report from the American Association of Museums (AAM will be used throughout this paper) Task Force on Museum Education, 1992; Barry Dressel, Best Foot Forward, Museum News, July/August 1991; Lockridge, Better Bulletin Board Displays, 13, 41, 42, 72.

⁵ Exhibit question list from Stearns History museum, 'What to Talk about While Visiting the Stearns History museum's Exhibits' and Warren, 4, 5.

⁶ Aries, Western Attitudes toward Death, 74, Huntington and Metcalf, 5, 6; Meyer, Ethnicity and the American Cemetery, 3; Puckle, 49, 50.

more about this area and address frequently asked questions. We can also learn the different attitudes towards skeletal remains in terms of archeology, legislation and public interest. For example, now there are different means for excavating burials of Native American and Euro-American heritage. In terms of archeology, they might approach it from the way of how to gain access to excavate and study them. Legislative would cover the safety and politically correct way of excavating. As for the public interest, they might want to know if the skeletal remains are Native American or Euro-American and what is the history behind it.

Similar to marketing strategies of selling something, this exhibit will “sell” the library’s story about its history to the students.⁷ In addition, centennials and other anniversaries of people and places such as the library are obvious subject matter for an exhibit incorporating pictures and objects.⁸ Visitors are also interested in subjects that are close and familiar such as the ground under their feet and the sky above (e.g., stars).⁹ For example, cemeteries were the local center of community ritual.¹⁰ By studying death, we can learn about human reaction and cultural responses of the past.¹¹ An exhibit

⁷ Carpenter, 4; Lockridge, Educational Displays and Exhibits, 5; Puckle, 50; Warren, 4.

⁸ Carpenter, 4; Lockridge, Educational Displays and Exhibits, 6; Warren, 24.

⁹ Lockridge, Educational Displays and Exhibits, 5, 6; Warren, 24.

¹⁰ Huntington and Metcalf, 209.

¹¹ Rosenblatt et al., 4.

pertaining to the immediate environment evokes a sympathetic response since people want to know about, for example, the birds they see in their own back yards and the fish they catch in the nearby lake.¹² As Chet Kozlak, Minnesota Historical Society said, "Many of these people have little knowledge of our interest in history, but they can be interested in the Minnesota story when it is presented to them."¹³ Vivien G. Dube of Douglas County Museum in Superior, Wisconsin notes, "It is the local exhibit that people like best."¹⁴

3. Who will we attract? Is there a special or new audience that would be interested in the exhibit?

Students, faculty, school tour groups, visitors, and members of the campus community. The new audience would be the new members of St. Cloud State University, be it new or transfer students and visitors passing through.

4. Why is this topic well suited to be an exhibit? (Rather than a program, publication, video, etc.).

This topic is well suited to be an exhibit because no one has done an exhibition on this topic and what happened took place literally under the prominent landmark of the library. An exhibit will not only provide an

¹² Warren, 25.

¹³ Warren, 77.

¹⁴ Warren, 77.

understanding of this subject but also give the audience a three-dimension visual to help comprehend the exhibit topic better.¹⁵

Exhibits not only display objects and artifacts but also do much more by telling a story by using photographs, different settings and all sorts of material.¹⁶ For example, there will be items for visitors to touch and feel. That way, they are in contact with these elements and in hope, will remember the exhibit. An exhibit is also well suited for this topic because exhibition materials represent cultures and people. As Robert Archibald elaborates, 'People make artifacts because they serve useful purposes that human's value. Artifacts acquire meaning over time, as their makers, and the descendants of their makers, use them, and affix significance to them.'¹⁷ Also photographs will help the audience see what was here and connect with the past. In summary, exhibits present, inform, educate and entertain.¹⁸

5. When should the exhibit be scheduled? Are there special considerations that influence timing of the opening?

The exhibit should be scheduled for the beginning of the Fall semester. Other options may be in celebration of the opening anniversary of the library or the discovery of the cemetery.

¹⁵ American Material Culture Technique: Historical Museum Exhibit Review, Appendix 3, 233-237; Carpenter, 27, 30, 31; Lockridge, Educational Displays and Exhibits, 1, 2; Roth, viii, 42, 139.

¹⁶ Carpenter, 4.

¹⁷ Robert Archibald, "History Is Not A Museum," History News, May/June 1994.

¹⁸ Roth, 139.

Exhibit Title—Changing Times, Changing Themes

This exhibit title is based on the relationship between the people and the land over time. It furnishes a sense of historical development and continuity that reflect broad patterns of individual history and unique aspects of the local history.

Changing times reflect developments that happened over time and in turn, changes purposes in life, which is represented in a theme. For example, the development of the frontier era is a significant changing time in American history.¹⁹ The idea is that the frontier era represents a theme. Hence, the church and cemetery section will each represent a theme.

Mission Statement

The mission of this exhibit is to connect people with the site, to foster a sense of community with special emphasis on increasing understanding and appreciation of this heritage. The exhibition will focus on the public interest and to share information and expand their knowledge for the “inspiration, use and benefit of the people.”²⁰

Concept Statement

A concept statement is the central ideas and content that will be developed and communicated in this exhibit.

¹⁹ Carpenter, 30; Stannard, *The Puritan Way of Death*, 44; Pine, *Acute Grief and the Funeral*, xv.

²⁰ <http://www.admin.state.mn.us/osa/mnarch/>—State Archaeological Resource Management Legislation, MS 138.51: “It is in the public interest to provide for the inspiration, use, and benefit of the people of the state.”

A successful exhibit blends objects, pictures and labeling in a suitable manner to attract and inform the visitor.²¹ An exhibition proposal is then within the general framework of an exhibition plan and can range from modest information to grand elaboration.²² Facts are resolute but interpretations vary and sometimes are based on different perspectives. Hence, the selection of exhibitions suitable for a particular set of objectives is a matter of individual assessments, of a search for optimum solutions and of judgment. As Alles explains, "The layouts and arrangements of different exhibitions vary greatly and no generally valid recommendations can be made."²³ This exhibition is done in the interest of an economic use of human and material resources and of an effective accomplishment of tasks.²⁴

An exhibition proposal that will provide an introduction to this area's history is the purpose of this work.²⁵ As Professor Roth wrote, "The exhibit does not sell, it introduces."²⁶ The focus of this exhibition will be on the history of what took place at this site and to show how the land use changed serving different purposes over time. This is

²¹ Carpenter, 58, 77 (see exhibit sample); Lockridge, Educational Displays and Exhibits, 1, 7, 8; Roth, 142; Jefferson Warren, Exhibit Methods: How To Design, Construct and Decorate Exhibits For School Displays, Science Fairs, Shop Windows, Museums, Trade Fairs and Conventions (New York: Sterling Publishing Co., 1972), 4.

²² Alles, 31, 34, 62, 65; William Hayett, Display and Exhibit Handbook (New York: Reinhold Publishing Co., 1967), 7; Lockridge, Educational Displays and Exhibits, 4, 8.

²³ Alles, 54, 72.

²⁴ Alles, 88; Carpenter, 17, 30, 52, 85; Hayett, 19, 45; Lockridge, Educational Displays and Exhibits, 7, 8, 10.

²⁵ "20th Century Collecting—Guidelines and Case Studies," History News, Special Report, May/June 1991; Alles, 15, 54; Carpenter, 78.

²⁶ Roth, 139, 142; Professor Roth is from the Fashion Institute of Technology, New York

in agreement with William Robbins and James Foster who wrote, "Periodic reexaminations are useful in any case, because changes in the present mean that there is a constantly changing perspective on the past. Different contexts demand different questions, and different questions yield different histories."²⁷ This exhibition will be maintained and broken down into segments.

The proposed exhibit will consist of two parts in two separate places (refer to Figure 14). Part one is an exhibit that surveys the history of this area. As Preston Lockridge describes, "A display should stimulate student interest in the topic and contribute to the educational objectives by providing an overview of what is to be studied."²⁸ Part two of the exhibit will alternate between the area of the first floor in the library and the exhibition case upstairs at the archive section.²⁹ The two parts are:

1. Exhibition Case-Overview History: A brief overview of the exhibition will be exhibited in a simple setting using photographs and maps at the front exhibition case of the library. As John Brinton, a curator for the Army Medical Museum in Washington stated, "photographs engaged to visually represent."³⁰ It is common in having illustrations for exhibits and exhibit

²⁷ Robbins and Foster, Land in the American West, 192.

²⁸ Lockridge, Better Bulletin Board Displays, 7.

²⁹ Alles, 47; Carpenter, 17, 38, 41, 44, 56, 63, 86 (sample of exhibits having sections and different areas-eg., U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum).

³⁰ John Brinton, Personal Memoirs of John Brinton, Major and Surgeon, U.S.V., 1861-1865 (New York: Neale, 1914), 181, 188; Laderman, 148.

cases.³¹ As Hayett advises, 'Don't forget that one main point effectively stated as a headline with an illustration can get better audience than several diffused or over-detailed messages or subheads.'³² After all, photographs prove its ability in depicting the truth unlike written description that depends on the imagination of the mind.³³ There are six sections in the case (Figure 19-each section is 8 feet in linear size), each to display the 6 different main occupants of a frontier town, church, cemetery, residential housing (early 1970s), a parking lot and finally, the library.³⁴ There are many reasons for the display of these photographs. It gives the passerby audience (students walk by this front case to get out of the cold, on the way to class, going into the library and waiting for the bus) an overview history of this study area and conveys the actual images of how this area looked like in the past and enticing them to the three main exhibits. Photographs are an excellent means of publicity and in effect, become props for the use of evoking specific responses. Besides, when designing an exhibit, it is important to remember that the subject material is of primary importance and the exhibit method should enhance the material and never be too obtrusive.³⁵

³¹ Carpenter, 10, 80, 83 (sample exhibit case from Civil Rights museum where Martin Luther King was assassinated); Hayett, 71-80; Warren, 4.

³² Hayett, 38; Roth, 34.

³³ Hayett, 71-80; Lockridge, *Educational Displays and Exhibits*, 1.

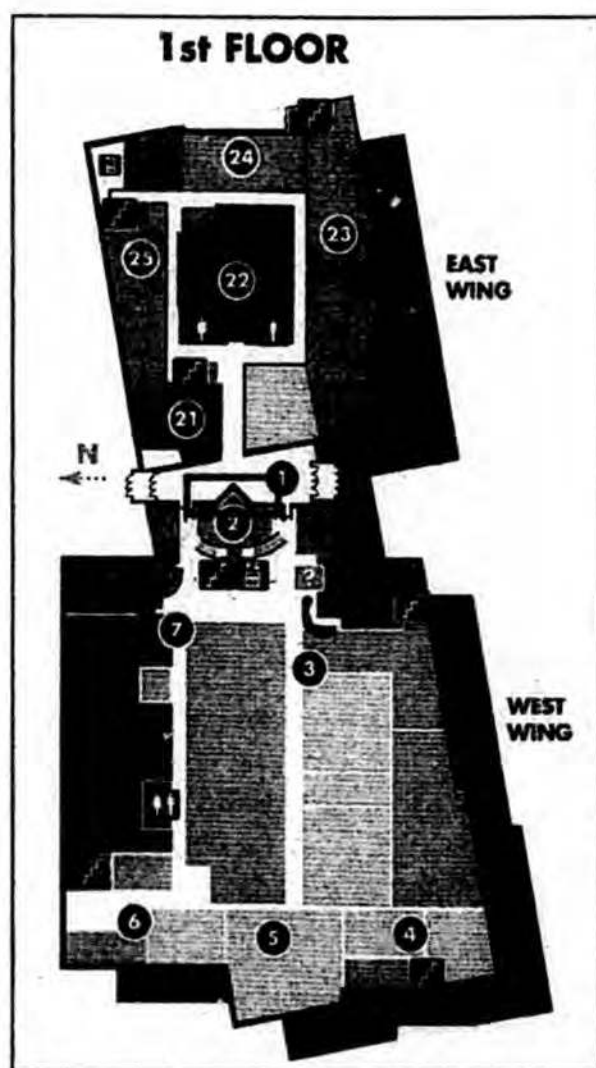
³⁴ Using the Sherburne County Historical Society Accession Worksheet for description tips.

³⁵ Warren, 6.

2. Atrium Space (the space or lobby in front of the stairs-Figure 14³⁶) – Frontier town, Church and Cemetery: A more in-depth display based on the research of the study area of 1849 to 1869 will be exhibited. During those twenty years, there were three main occupants on this block: a frontier town, church and cemetery. So within the atrium space, there will be three main exhibits on each of the three main occupants. However, these three main exhibits will not be displayed together. They will take turns, first at the first floor of the library and later at the archives exhibit area on the third floor of the library. The reason for not having all three main exhibits displayed at once is because each of the three main occupants has sufficient information to have an exhibit of its own. The atrium space is 1800 square feet. The front exhibition case and atrium space is suggested because these are the areas in the library people frequently pass and where visitors can see the exhibit from outside and from the lobby as they enter. Even if the main library is closed, there is a 24-hour computer lab open where the front exhibition case is situated. The top floor is reluctantly suggested because top floor attendance is reputed lower than average.³⁷ The exhibition case is also used as an exhibit area because if an open room like the atrium space is filled with items, it can look cluttered, with

³⁶ The space is called atrium space according to Susan Motin and Keith Ewing, library staff.

³⁷ J. C. Turner, Keith Ewing (library staff); Alles, 114; Carpenter, 18, 22, 30, 70, 94 (samples of front case view exhibits); Roth, 73.



Source: Library's tour guide map available in the Miller Center

Figure 14 – Library's 1st Floor (blue box = Exhibit case, number 2 = Atrium space)

materials competing for attention with one another.³⁸ Another reason is that the free bus rides (Sundowner bus) stops at the front of the library, and often, students wait where the front exhibition case is located. People who catch this

³⁸ Carpenter, 94.

bus, park or go to the library will definitely see this exhibition. Also, it seems logical to have this exhibit in these areas since this exhibit is based on the library site.³⁹

After a month, an exhibit on the first floor of the library will be moved upstairs to the archive section of exhibition case. For example, the frontier town segment will be exhibited on the first floor of the library and later, moved upstairs to the archives exhibit area while the church segment is being exhibited on the first floor. This is to give the audience that missed the exhibition or would like to view it again a chance as well as to promote the historical center and archive section and to get people to go see and know that these areas exist in the library.⁴⁰ The archive exhibition case is 24 feet in linear size. The whole exhibition will consist of a selection of diverse materials gathered from various sources that is mentioned under the collection status section.

Conceptual Framework

The overview exhibit will remain the same for three months where as the three main exhibits will take turns each month. The time frame for display, however, is interchangeable and may be maintained for as long as the library wishes.

³⁹ Alles, 88; Lockridge, *Educational Displays and Exhibits*, 30, 35, 36.

⁴⁰ Supported by Alles, 64, 72, 88.

The overview exhibition consists of assorted components, each divided between the different occupants: a frontier town, church, cemetery, residential housing, the parking lot and the library.⁴¹ The components for the three main exhibits of a frontier town, church and cemetery will include in-depth information, more examples that connect with the audience and exhibit elements for visual effect and 'hands-on' experiences. For start, a good exhibit should have an introduction similar to the introduction to a book as a guide for the viewer's understanding of the subject.⁴² The introductory label of the overview exhibit tells visitors that:

As seasons change with time, so did the land use within this area in response to development, changing conditions, values and ideas. These photographs on display range from a frontier town, the first church building in St. Cloud, cemetery, residential housing, parking lot and finally, the library. They represent a relationship between them, the people and this land. Photographs also have meanings and can tell us as much about the different stories and history that developed. An exhibition like this is one way of understanding and learning more about the history of this site through the changing times with the changing themes.

This proposal also suggests that the items be replaced with different items to portray the different purposes but still retain the same purpose of the exhibition and under the same categories.⁴³ For example, changes of photographs and display items. The reason for it is to keep the exhibition interesting and maintain the audience's interest.⁴⁴

⁴¹ Carpenter, 102 (The Children's museum of Manhattan also wanted an exhibit based on various themes).

⁴² Carpenter, 48, 52; Warren, 24.

⁴³ Alles, 14; Carpenter, 82; Thomas Koskey, Bulletin Boards For Subject Areas (California: Fearon Publishers, Inc., 1962), 1; Roth, 27.

⁴⁴ Carpenter, 82; Roth, 27; Warren, 24.

Also, J. C. Turner who is the head of exhibition at the library mentioned that there are not set collections or display policy on how much or exactly what can be displayed except that any exhibition has to be for academic purposes and has to have a faculty member involved. Below is an outline of the exhibition's objectives.⁴⁵

Learning Objectives

- Build a connection through a relationship between the students and the land by introducing the history of what took place at this site. After all, this block was not just an empty land space that turned into a library. As Henry Brown of the Detroit Historical Museum, writing in *Museum News*, advised,

Presume the visitor to be intelligent, but uninformed in your segment of specialized knowledge. The exhibit should provide a logical and straightforward progression from items and situations known and recognized by the visitor to those new and unknown.⁴⁶
- Motivate and stimulate historical interest by showing the different occupancy serving different purposes over time and various historical circumstances that have occurred.⁴⁷ It is with hope that through this exhibit, students will appreciate, connect with, feel that they are part of the history and claim ownership of its history.⁴⁸ David Kyvig and Myron Marty wrote a better elaboration of this; "A much better appreciation of any particular subject can

⁴⁵ Alles, 34, 87, 88; Carpenter, 30, 78; Roth, 143.

⁴⁶ Warren, 6.

⁴⁷ American Material Culture Technique: Historical Museum Exhibit Review, Appendix 3, 233-237; Lockridge, *Better Bulletin Board Displays*, 4; Ely, Jr., 8; Robbins and Foster, 192.

⁴⁸ AAM, "Code of Ethics for Museums," 1991.

be attained by considering related matters, both the history of comparable phenomena and simultaneous developments in other areas that may affect the object of interest.”⁴⁹

- Provides insight about the growth of early settlements and how everything developed. As Robert Brown explains, ‘St. Cloud represents an example of the manner in which one of Minnesota’s cities has grown and changed in character with the passage of time.’⁵⁰
- Engage visitors in specific personal stories and aspects of the different occupancy. As Gary Laderman explains photographs “capture the familiarity rather than examine the impersonal statistics of demographers. Numbers can help contextualize the reality but the words of those lived in this era reveal human efforts to make sense of this intimacy.”⁵¹
- Enrich instruction by making the background history of the library site more understandable and interesting by starting with familiar stories that people can relate, familiar concepts and objects.
- Encourage tour guides to give the correct information about the skeletal remains that were found. (Clarify that the cemetery was not Native American but Euro-American).

⁴⁹ David Kyvig and Myron Marty, Nearby History (California: Altamira Press, 2000), 215.

⁵⁰ Brown et al., 134-135.

⁵¹ Laderman, 25.

Exhibit Objectives

- To use a variety of objects in stimulating creative visualization of ideas and promote historical thought.
- To design a modular format that allows the objects and subjects to change while exhibit furniture can be reused.
- To create an enjoyable exhibit that an audience can relate to that suggests learning history can be fun.⁵²
- To use a variety of exhibit techniques and approaches for pacing the exhibit.
- To provide a way to use the exhibit that provides a clear traffic pattern (not overcrowded) as well as unlimited access (not confined and only viewed by certain angles).

Audience

The people anticipated to visit this exhibition would be:

- A. St. Cloud State University students and student tour groups (prospective SCSU students),
- B. St. Cloud State University faculty and staff,
- C. St. Cloud community,
- D. First time visitors to the library.

⁵² Carpenter, 48; Spencer Guimarin, Lettering Techniques (Texas: University of Texas, 1965), 8-48; Lockridge, Educational Displays and Exhibits, 7, 8; Martha Meeks, Models for Teaching (Texas: University of Texas, 1956), 1-36.

The Visitor Experience

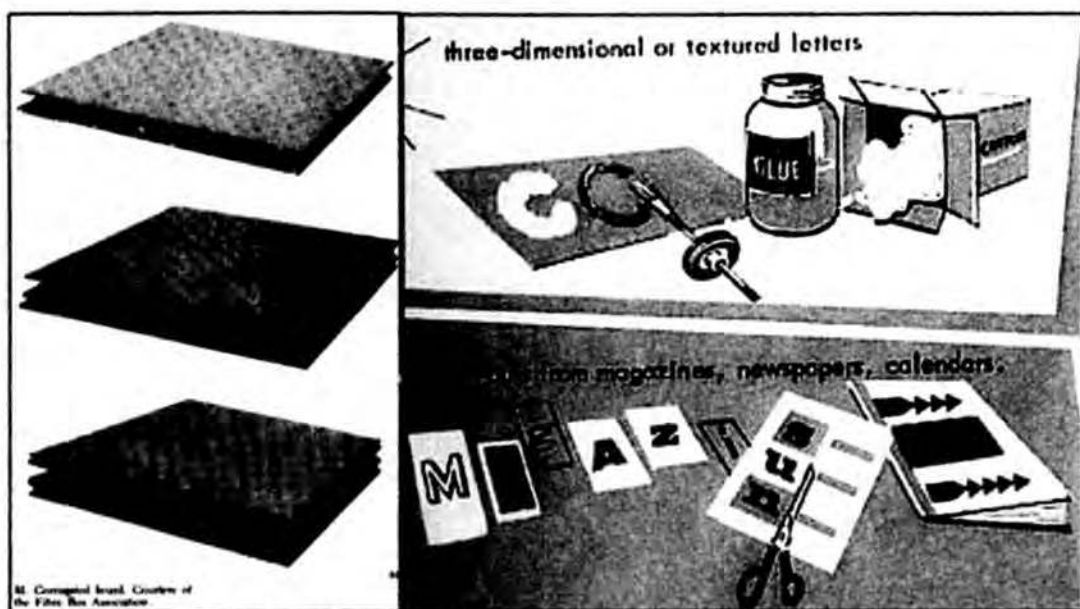
This exhibition provides visitors with the primary experience of 'something to see'.⁵³ Gary Laderman explains that a photograph "captures the familiarity rather than examine the impersonal statistics of demographers. Numbers can help contextualize the reality but the words of those lived in this era reveal human efforts to make sense of this intimacy."⁵⁴ This exhibition is less concerned with delivering the other major visitor expectation of 'something to do' but is focused on an exhibition model that is easy to read, simple and straight to the point. To make it interesting, third dimension techniques such as perspectives, out-of-ordinary proportions, overlapping and shadow effects may be used.⁵⁵ For example, putting a small piece of sponge beneath certain words that make it seem like it pops out for special effect. Other material can be used for different methods too⁵⁶ (Figure 15).

⁵³ Warren, 20.

⁵⁴ Laderman, 25.

⁵⁵ Carpenter, 64; Guimarin, 8-48; Hayett, 37-58; Lockridge, Educational Displays and Exhibits, 25; Roth, 42, 63, 131.

⁵⁶ Carpenter, 64; Guimarin, 9-48; Hayett, 37-58, 77; Lockridge, Educational Displays and Exhibits, 25-28, Roth, 139.



Source: J. Preston Lockridge, *Better Bulletin Board Displays*, n.d.

Figure 15 – Samples of overlapping technique

Other than the text, labels will explain and accompany each item displayed. Those texts on stands will be interactive with the audience by requiring them to move items, slide covers or move gadgets to read the text (Figure 16). After all, the sense of touch is another factor in exhibit presentation.⁵⁷ Rene Dubos, a microbiologist, explains that with active human participation, a person remembers the situation and circumstances through experiencing and engaging with it in a symbiotic relationship.⁵⁸ Visitors tend to enjoy participating in exhibits.⁵⁹ These participation ideas will carry the desired impact,

⁵⁷ Carpenter, 40; Roth, 142, 143; Warren, 20.

⁵⁸ Blegen, *Minnesota: A History of the State*, 726.

⁵⁹ Alles, 147; Carpenter, 5, 10, 76, 102; Lockridge, *Educational Displays and Exhibits*, 11, 12; Roth, 42, 142; Warren, 25.



Source: Jefferson Warren, *Exhibit Methods*, 1992.

Figure 16 - Example of audience participation

illustrate and clearly convey their message. These ideas will be carried out in a simple manner and not like others that exaggerate the technique to such an extent that what started as an ingenious device becomes an overcomplicated gimmick that not only loses its own credibility but also by implication jeopardizes the reputation of the exhibition materials.⁶⁰ As Alles asserts, "Positive attitudes to exhibitions were found to apply to participation ... familiarity with an exhibition in which we have always taken part."⁶¹ Alles also wrote that "the need for the systematic planning of the participation in exhibitions is generally recognized but not necessary for full implementation."⁶² For example of visitor's participation, Keith Gebhardt of the Milwaukee Public Museum has

⁶⁰ Alles, 147.

⁶¹ Alles, 71, 146-147.

⁶² Alles, 88.

conducted numerous experiments with this type of exhibit and according to him, they are inviting and well received because of their close relationship to the observer.⁶³ Another example is the Minnesota Historical Society Museum exhibition "Minnesota From A to Z" where visitors slide gadgets, move items and slide covers to read the texts on stands.⁶⁴

Collection Status

There is an assorted range of components, each divided for the overview exhibition and between the three main categories.⁶⁵ Many items were acquired on loan from various sources such as the Stearns History Museum, St. John's Episcopal Church and the library's archives section. Others are copies of the original product (for example, copies of photographs) or handmade items.⁶⁶ This is following the suggestions of the American Association of Museums, "traditionally exhibited not only objects from their own collections but also objects borrowed from other museums and from private individuals and organizations. Borrowing objects allows...to create more comprehensive exhibits and to make objects accessible that would otherwise be seen by only a few."⁶⁷

⁶³ Warren, 23.

⁶⁴ There are other examples in Carpenter and Warren, 25, 50-67.

⁶⁵ Robert Archibald, "History is not a Museum," History News, May/June 1994; Exhibition Planning Worksheet from Historical Museum Administration Class; Alles, 17, 72; Carpenter, 30; Lockridge, Better Bulletin Board Displays, 12, 14-16, 34-40; Roth, 5.

⁶⁶ Koskey, 8-32; Lockridge, Better Bulletin Board Displays, 29-32; Educational Displays and Exhibits, 4, 31-42; Warren, 25. For more elaborate instructions for building materials, please refer to Carpenter, 30, 76, 85; Hayett, 19-36, 59-70; Roth, 7-15, 133, 141.

⁶⁷ AAM, Guidelines on Exhibiting Borrowed Objects (Museum News, Nov/Dec 2000).

Exhibit items can range from products, materials, half products and elements (such as matchbox, toilet roll, matchstick, cardboard, construction paper, etc.) in a variety of forms whether they appear as a unit or part of a complex assembly depending on their physical and dimensional attributes that can be displayed in their natural state or represented by substitutes (Figure 17).⁶⁸ Hence, an exhibitor is assumed familiar with elementary art materials and processes.⁶⁹ After all, materials and half-products are frequently prominently displayed with other products.⁷⁰ Attempts to emphasize versatility, elaborate and ingenious devices (such as the moving of gadgets for texts) are used to demonstrate their adaptability to shapes and contours, their suitability for a range of applications and the universality of their potential use.⁷¹ An all-aluminum, all-steel, all plastic house or car body will not impress a visitor as much as an equally ingenious but more purposeful demonstration of how these materials fulfill their role of benefiting real-life-products which in turn will benefit them.⁷²

Exhibit models will be used since a model is often an effective way of informing. Models, items or reproductions could tell the story more forcefully than just texts alone.⁷³

⁶⁸ Alles, 141-142; Carpenter, 48, 85, 90; Roth, 5.

⁶⁹ Guimarin, 8-48; Hayett, 59-70; Martha Meeks, 1-36; Roth, 7-15; Warren, 4.

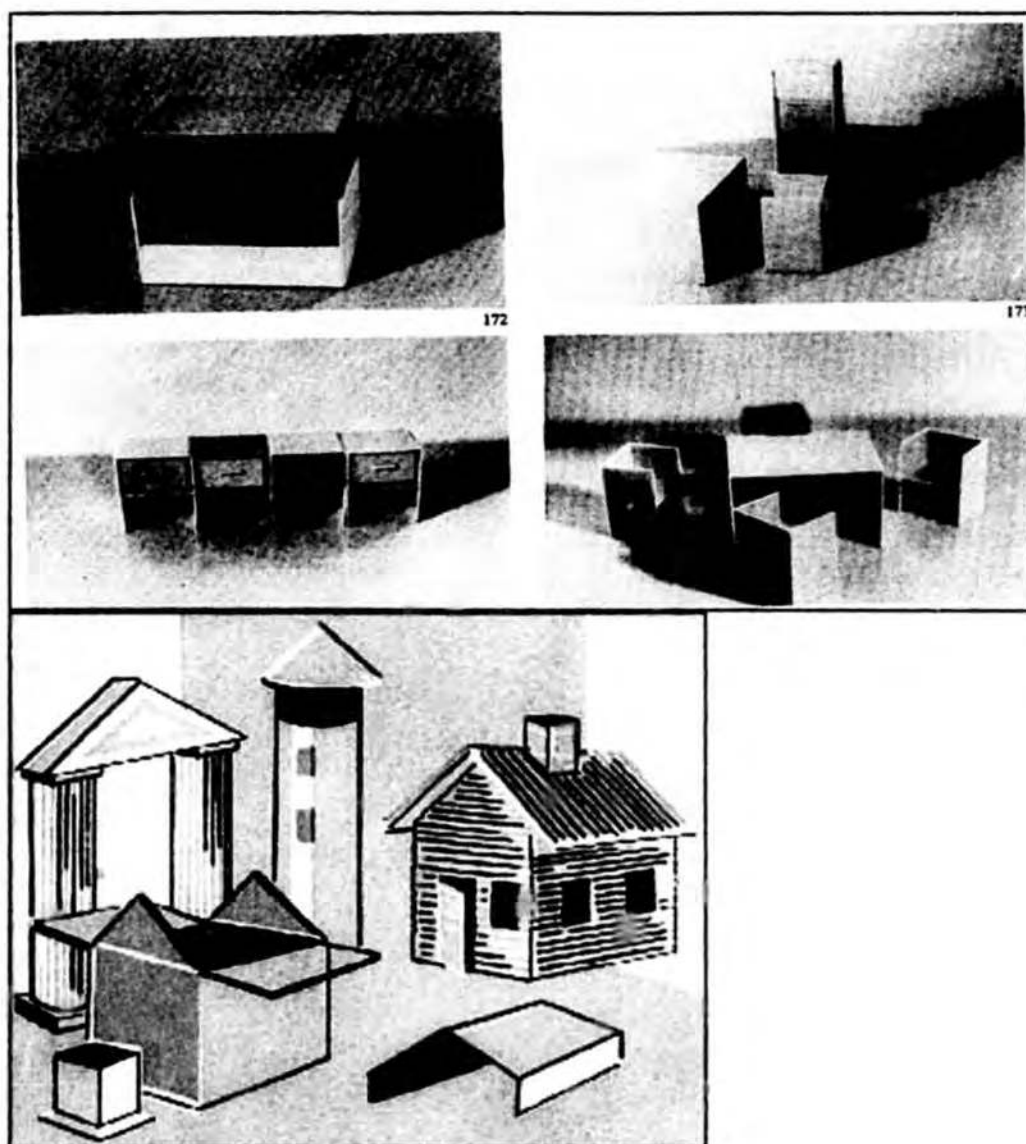
⁷⁰ Alles, 146-147; Carpenter, 48, 85; Guimarin, 9-48.

⁷¹ Alles, 146-147; Roth, 5.

⁷² Alles, 146-147; Carpenter, 85; Roth 5.

⁷³ Carpenter, 85 (from exhibit in the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum).

Contrary to some beliefs, the construction of a model is not a difficult work but basic and easily available materials can be used.⁷⁴



Source: Laszlo Roth, *Display Design*, 1983

Figure 17 – Example of models made out of half products

⁷⁴ Lockridge, *Educational Displays and Exhibits*, 8, 36-42; Meeks, 1-36; see Roth, viii, 7-15, 133-134, 148; Jefferson Warren, 8-12 for examples of exhibit models.

Model-The Earth as seen from the moon:

- a) Basic wallboard construction of the lunar landscape Building the moon mountain contours with paste-soaked paper (papier-mache),
- b) Modeling the lunar surface details with plaster of paris,
- c) Painting the lunar landscape with an airbrush,
- d) Painting stars on the background panel with a steady hand and pointed brush,
- e) The finished exhibit.

The mock-ups and models for this exhibit will work closely with available materials and fabrication techniques.⁷⁵ Also, a model is used for a general impression with distracting and painful details left out.⁷⁶ Effort should not be spent in making a detailed model that does not add significant interpretive value. For example, a model of the parts of a flower may not be suitable for elementary science but is very valuable in teaching biology.⁷⁷ In this exhibit, explanations such as why the model is being used, what points to look for and how the knowledge will benefit visitors are included.⁷⁸

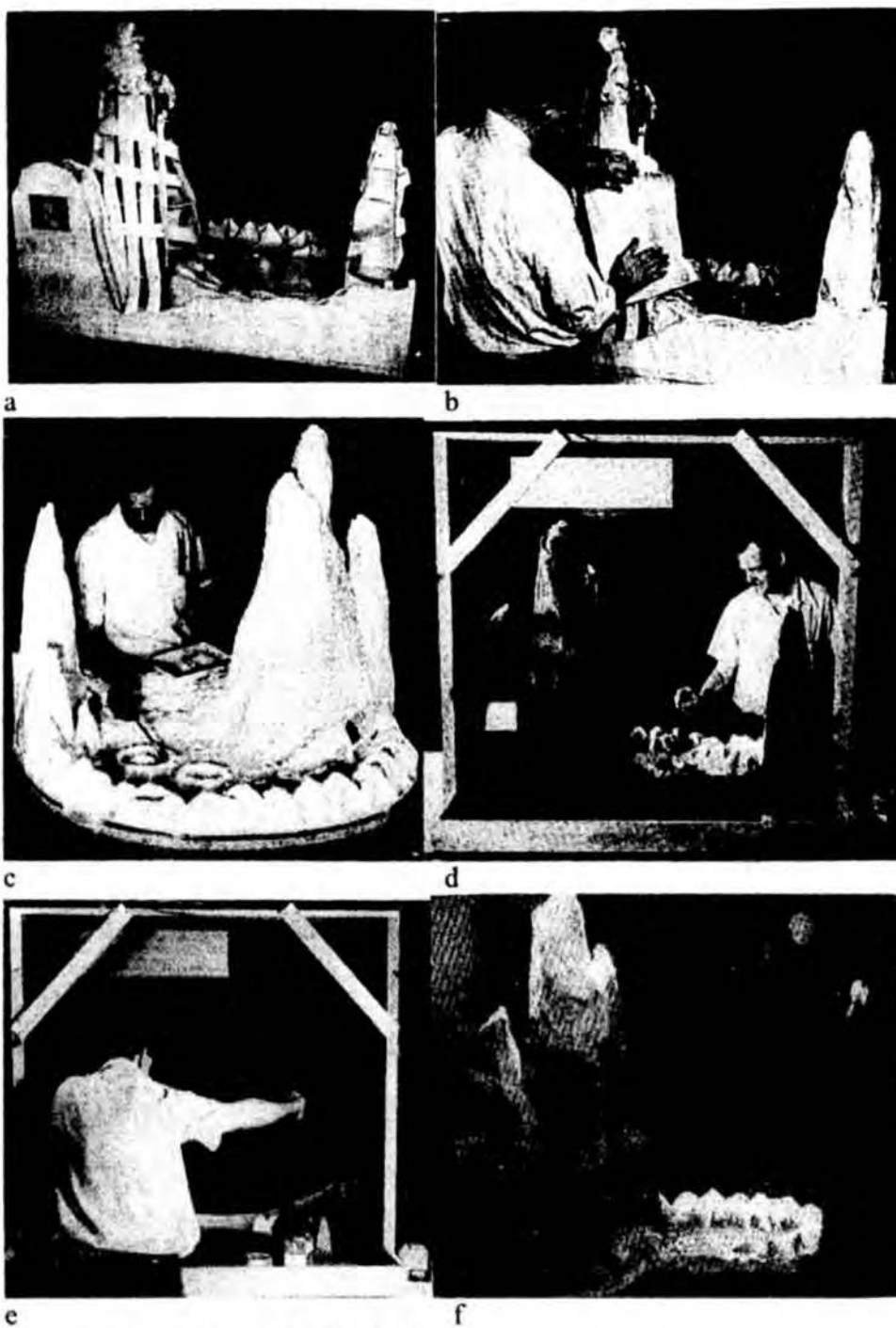
The preparation and selection of the material components of an exhibition effort relies on the exhibitor. Alles elaborates, 'For an exhibitor attending a number of exhibitions, preparations of the material aspects are a matter of experiences brought up-to-date at each event. The techniques of exhibiting are many and varied and their

⁷⁵ Carpenter, 90.

⁷⁶ Hayett, 97; Martha Meeks, 6, 16-36; Roth, viii, 34.

⁷⁷ Martha Meeks, 18.

⁷⁸ Martha Meeks, 18.



Source: Jefferson Warren, *Exhibit Methods*, 1972

Figure 18 – Example of making a model

effectiveness very often depends more on the ingenuity of a simple device than on the amount of elaborate equipment or lavish expenditure.⁷⁹ Some of the examples of these items that are found so far for the exhibition are:

Overview exhibition. Highlights the multipurpose land through a photo of Lower Town (Figure 21), church on lot 4 (Figure 2, 3 and 22), excavated skeletal material photo (Figure 23), residential homes outlined (Figure 2 and 24), Rieland's report, 1970s aerial maps that shows residential housing and later a parking lot (Figure 25-27), a copy of the map 'Bird's eye view of St. Cloud 1869' (Figure 20) as well as items or elements to depict each category. It is normal for exhibit cases featuring maps as a starting theme, prints, photographs and elements since different objects stimulate interest and prevents monotony.⁸⁰ Items such as miniatures depicting a frontier town, model of a church, shovel for excavation, a car model on road model, and finally, photographs of the development of the library (Figure 28).⁸¹ A few examples of these items would include special citations and stories. As Gary Laderman explains, "capture the familiarity rather than examine the impersonal statistics of demographers. Numbers can help contextualize the reality but the words of those lived in this era reveal human efforts to make sense of this intimacy."⁸²

⁷⁹ Alles, 141-142, 146-147, 236; Roth, 34, 142.

⁸⁰ Carpenter, 71 (sample exhibit from Smithsonian Institution's National Museum); Warren, 14, 24.

⁸¹ Carpenter, 30; Lockridge, 29-32; Meeks, 6-36.

⁸² Laderman, 25.

Three main categories.

1. Frontier Town—mock up of a frontier town based on research (Figure 21, 33-34) and miniature model of items normally used or associated with that time period such as wheel-cart, settlers, horses, log/wood and stories of Brott, Wilson and Lowry.⁸³ These stories are included to give the audience an idea of what was here before St. Cloud.
2. Church—photographs (Figure 22 and 35), model of church based on church records, map showing where the church was in terms of the block (Figure 2 and 3) and short story of John Taylor, a settler that had a big influence in getting the first church in St. Cloud established and his story.
3. Cemetery—model of items discovered such as hairpins and buttons as well as tools used for the excavation such as excavation brush (Figure 37) and measuring tape (Figure 12—purpose is to give the audience a visual idea of what was found) and a map of where they were discovered (Figure 9). At the end of this exhibit section, there will be photographs, story of how skeletal remains were found, information of what we know from the excavation and what was done with elements found (Figure 38-39).⁸⁴

⁸³ For examples of exhibit models, please refer to Carpenter, 90; Meeks, 6-36; Roth, 7-15, 133, 134; Warren, A-78.

⁸⁴ Alles, 33.

Exhibition Walk-Through

This walk through is a descriptive “tour” of the exhibition that demonstrates the relationship between each object and the exhibit. It will also elaborate how smoothly each segment is connected. This exhibition walk-through will be consistent with the Library Show Case Plan (Figure 19) and Display Setup (Figure 31).⁸⁵ These plans are sketches of the proportions of the exhibit and will serve as a guide to make a trial layout of the panels and later adjustments for satisfactory enlargements from sketch to exhibit can be done by eye and freehand.⁸⁶

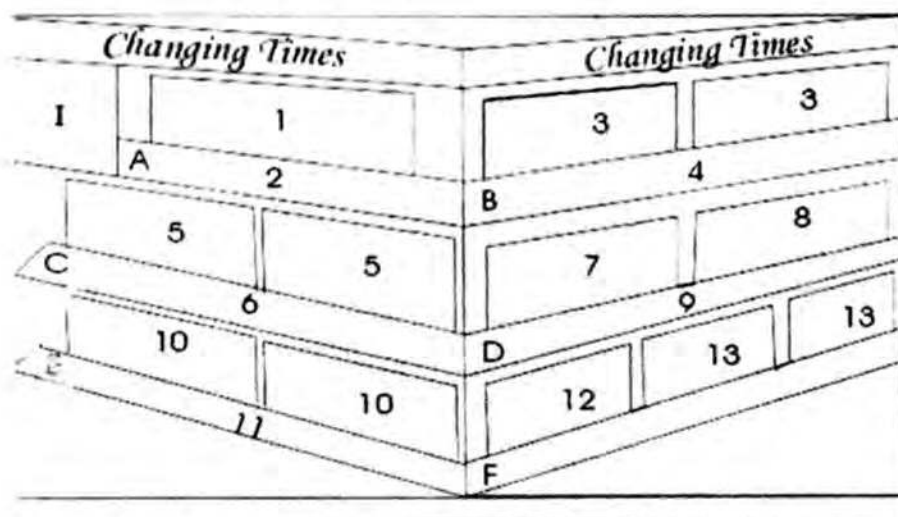
The main exhibition glass case (Figure 19) before entering into the main library entrance will hold an overview photograph exhibition of the six occupants. There will be a number and arrow signs to indicate the direction of the overview display (as indicated on Figure 19) so that a visitor will not be confuse since this main glass exhibition can be viewed from either side of the library's entrance (Figure 14).⁸⁷ In the top center of this exhibit, there will be a prominent sign to catch a visitor's attention. Using small light bulbs (e.g., Christmas lights), these lights will spell the title of the exhibition, *Changing Times, Changing Themes* (refer to Figure 19 for better comprehension). This is done in support of Lockridge who wrote, “it must be attractively arranged if it is to arouse and

⁸⁵ Hayett, 13, 95, 97; Lockridge, Educational Displays and Exhibits, 7, 8; Roth, viii, 35, 133, 134, 146; Warren, 5.

⁸⁶ Carpenter, 30; Hayett, 10-13, 97; Roth, viii, 35, 133, 134, 146; Warren, 7.

⁸⁷ Alles, 114; Carpenter, 12, 31, 33, 70, 72 (samples of exhibit cases); Koskey, 4-32; Lockridge, Better Bulletin Board Displays, 19-24; Educational Displays and Exhibits, 13, 14.

Library Show Case Plan:



1. Introduction label & "Bird's Eye View Map"
 1. Photos depicting frontier are
 2. Models (ie. wheel-cart) and labels displayed
 3. Photos of St. John's Episcopal Church
 4. Models (ie. miniature church model) and labels
 5. Photos of cemetery excavation
 6. Mock up of items excavated and tools used for excavation
 7. Map outlining residential homes
 8. 1970s aerial map showing residential homes
 9. Newspaper report on plastic stands
 10. Photo of parking lot and 1970s aerial map
 11. Model of cars on roads
 12. Computer screen demonstrating building progress of the library
 13. Photos of library construction
- A-F: Arrow & signs showing directions of the exhibit

Source: Jaime Hedlund, 2002

Figure 19 – Library Show Case Plan

hold interest in the idea being presented.⁸⁸ Alles wrote, 'cunningly lit display cases of precision instruments or electronic components catches attention as much as would jewels or crystalware.'⁸⁹

⁸⁸ Hayett, 71, 81-92; Lockridge, *Better Bulletin Board Displays*, 18; Roth, 33, 42.

Upon the beginning of the exhibition, the introductory label informs visitors that:

As seasons change with time, so did the land use within this area in response to development, changing conditions, values and ideas. These photographs on display range from a frontier town, the first church building in St. Cloud, cemetery, residential housing, parking lot and finally, the library. They represent a relationship between them, the people and this land. Photographs also have meanings and can tell us as much about the different stories and history that developed. An exhibition like this one way of understanding and learning more about the history of this site through the changing times with the changing themes.

After the introduction label, the map titled 'Bird's Eye View' (Figure 20) that shows some of the occupancy on the research site and surrounding areas along with a label will be displayed. Moving on, the rest of this overview exhibit will feature photographs pertaining to the different occupants with certain items accompanying to depict and enhance the appearance of each occupant.⁹⁰

Example of photographs and maps for each category: Frontier-photo of Lower Town (Figure 21), Church-on lot 4 (Figure 2, 3 and 22), Cemetery-excavated skeletal material photo (Figure 23) and map (Figure 9), Residential homes-photo (Figure 24), map outlining residential homes and 1970s aerial map (Figure 2 and 25), Parking lot-aerial map and photo (Figure 26-27) and Library-building progress photos (Figure 28). This exhibit design is concerned in telling the history as effectively as possible. Instead of having a variety of items, a few photographs and an item or two to depict the era is used

⁸⁹ Alles, 114; Hayett, 71, 81-92; Roth, 33, 35.

⁹⁰ Items mentioned under collection status.

and information on how each material contributes to that era.⁹¹ In terms of depicting a frontier town, there will be a mock up of items that represent a frontier town based on



Source: Map of Bird's Eye View of St. Cloud, 1869 (Available at Stearns History Museum)

Figure 20 – Map of 'Bird's Eye View of St. Cloud 1869'



Source: Available at Stearns History Museum, 1800s

Figure 21 – John Ball's Home at Lower Town

⁹¹ Carpenter, 30, 76, 83; Hayett, 38, 71-80; Mecks, 18-36; Roth, 34, 35, 134; Warren, 5.



Source: Available at Stearns History Museum, 1800s

Figure 22 – St. John's Episcopal Church: wooden building



Source: Richard Rothaus



Source: Available at Stearns History Museum

Figure 23 – Skeletal Material

Figure 24 – 1970 Residential Homes



Source: U.S. Department of Agriculture, 1973

Figure 25 – 1970s aerial home (red block = block 26)



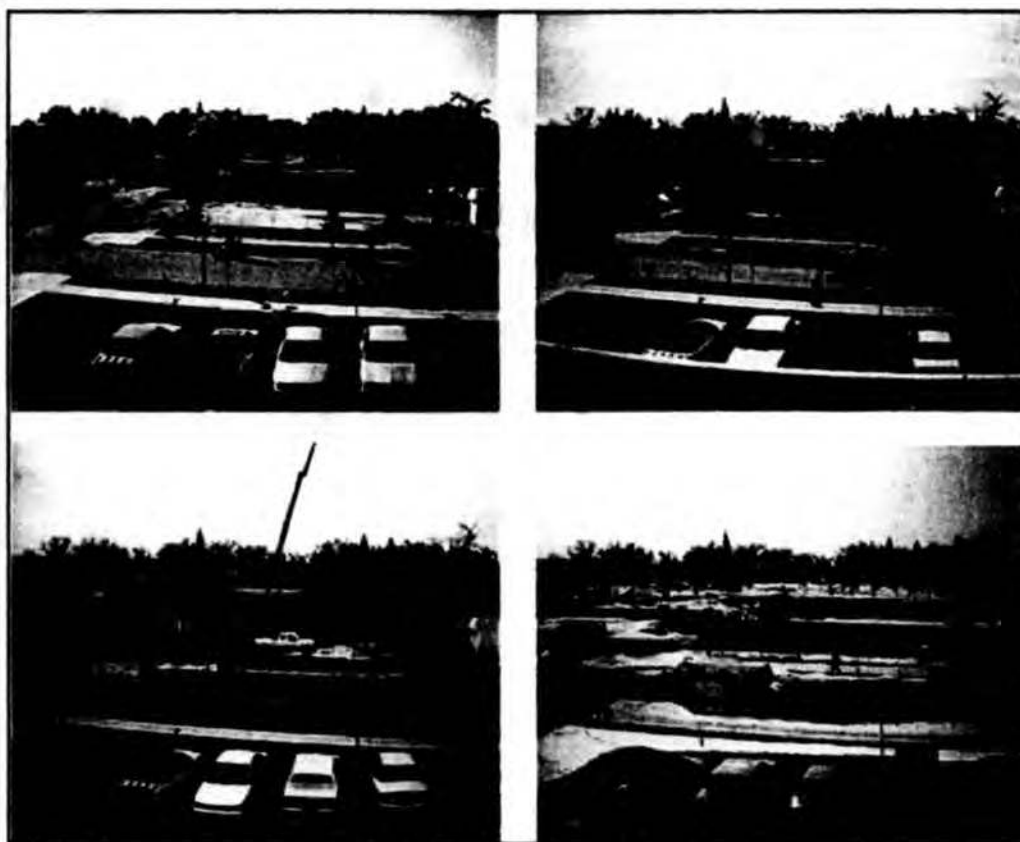
Source: U.S. Department of Agriculture, 1973

Figure 26 – Aerial parking lot



Source: Neil Andersen, 9/4/98

Figure 27 – Groundbreaking ceremony on the Parking Lot



Source: Mary Schrode, Progress of building the library, 1998

Figure 28 – Progress of building the library

research and photographs (Figure 21, 33-34). For example, a settler pushing a wheel-cart, horses and logs will be displayed along with photographs and stories of the founder of St. Cloud; Brott, Wilson and Lowry.

Next, a miniature church model along with a photograph of the church (Figure 22) will be displayed. How a model is done have been explained under collection status section of this proposal. Then the following section case will have an excavated skeletal material photo (Figure 23) and a shovel for excavation (Figure 12). Next, the residential houses that later took over this study area will be featured through a 1970s aerial map (Figure 25), Figure 2 and 24 that outlines residential homes, along with a newspaper report of how some skeletal remains were found on Anton Rieland's residential property (his property was on the original location of the church-Figure 3).⁹² The newspaper clippings will give the audience a better understanding of the events that took place as well as the people involved. These photographs and copies of newspaper headlines would be placed in Plexiglas/plastic stand panels.⁹³ After that is the segment of the parking lot that was later built after the homes were destroyed. To depict the parking lot and to make it interesting, an aerial map and a photo of the parking lot (Figure 26-27) accompanied by car models on roads will be displayed. Last but not least, the development of the building of the library will be shown in a chronological order through photographs (showing a time frame of changes-Figure28) as well as on a computer screen (PowerPoint).⁹⁴ This

⁹² St. Cloud Journal-Press, 6 July 1910; St. Cloud Daily Times, 6 July 1910; Daily Journal Press, 6 July 1910, 5; St. Cloud Daily Times, 1 Dec. 1933; St. Cloud Journal-Press, 1 Dec. 1933.

⁹³ Carpenter, 48.

⁹⁴ Roth, 131, 142, 143.

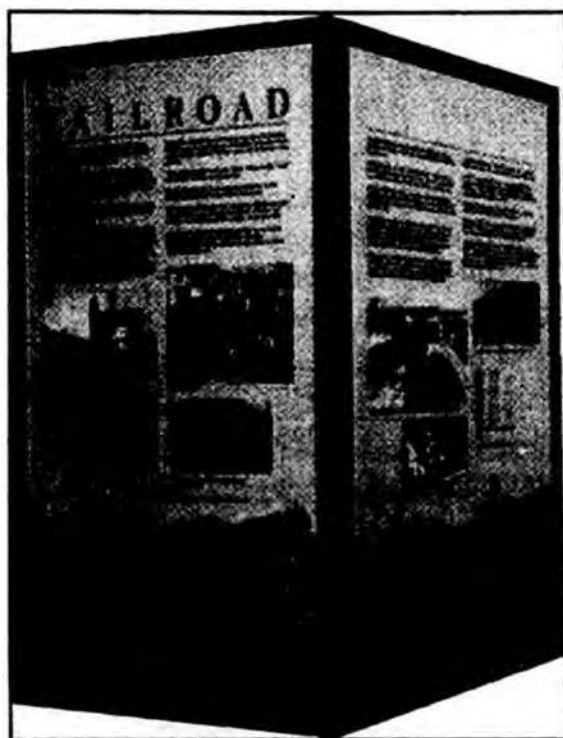
screen will automatically replay itself. The exhibition material will be placed in chronological order from left to right, each with a text label informing about the history, what was on the research site, serving what purpose, time period and the relationship between the people and the land.⁹⁵

Within the open space on the first floor of the library (atrium space—Figure 14), the exhibition will change between the three main categories. For each exhibition, there will be a sign above the exhibition, center on the wall stating each theme. (Figure 29) First, for depiction of a frontier town, a model of a frontier town will be placed inside a glass case on a table (Figure 30). The table will be in the center of the exhibit area on the first floor of the library (Figure 31).⁹⁶ This adds a fourth dimension to an exhibit and so conveys the idea beyond the confines of the exhibit space.⁹⁷

⁹⁵ A sample text might read like this—Various developments were done to accommodate the school's needs. As St. Cloud State University expanded, this study area soon fell under its custody. After tearing down the old residential homes, this area was purchased by St. Cloud State College in 1973. They then split the lot into two; named parking lot C and O (Excerpted from "President's Fact Book, 33, 34, 15 January 1975-Archives). This area was then used as a parking lot until the construction began for the library.

⁹⁶ Carpenter, 102; Hayett, 16; Koskey, 1. Lockridge, Better Bulletin Board Displays, 19-24; Educational Displays and Exhibits, 11, 12, 31; Roth, 35; Warren, 17.

⁹⁷ Carpenter, 102; Roth, 26, 27, 35, 42, 146; Warren, 5.



Source: Edward Carpenter, *Best in Exhibition*, 1991-92

Figure 29 – Example of a stand



Source: Edward Carpenter, *Best in Exhibition*, 1991-92

Figure 30 – Example of a model inside a glass case

The mock up of a frontier town associated with that time period such as wheel- cart, settlers, sand, horses, carriage, log/ wood would be used to depict those times.⁹⁸ Natural resources such as stones, small gravel and twig for tress and plastic, cans and cutout figures would be used (Figure 32).⁹⁹ This display table will be circulated by rope and metal poles to keep the public in a distance (hands off-Figure 31). To prevent theft and vandalism, the person sitting at the circulation desk by the side of this exhibit will be appointed to keep an eye on the exhibit. Each of these objects will have a label.

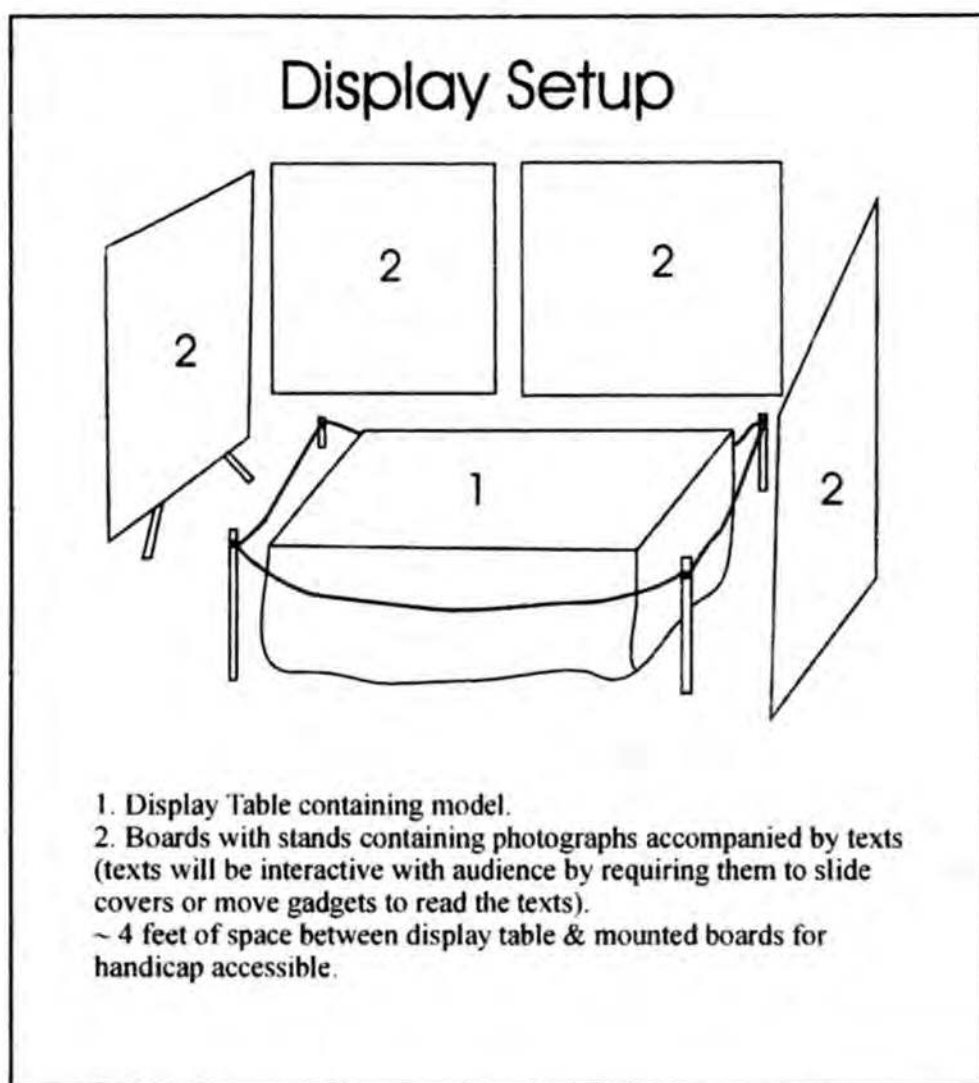
Surrounding this table will be boards with stands mounted labels and photographs (Figure 21, 33 and 34) accompanied by texts informing visitors about the timeline of events and activities that took place as well as the stories of Brott, Wilson and Lowry.¹⁰⁰ Each material and text will have clear indicators of the direction of the exhibition. Adds Jefferson Warren, 'A simple and practical set-up for school exhibits is the free standing panels.'¹⁰¹ Since the panel is free standing and not hanging from the wall, the accuracy of

⁹⁸ Dominik, 20, 21—'The common carrier used to haul pelts down the merchandise back up the Red River Trail was the ox cart. Pulled at first by a single ox, later occasionally by a horse, this frontier freighter was a heavy, cumbersome, two-wheel vehicle made almost entirely of wood; rawhide thongs were the only other materials used in its construction. The wheels were huge, five feet in diameter and three inches thick and were fitted onto the wooden axles and held in place with wooden pegs. Drivers...dressed in buckskin or coarse blue clothe decorated with brass buttons, and usually wore red Pembina sashes at their waists. They wore beaded moccasins and their shoulder-length black hair was either covered by a bandana, skin cap or a wide-brimmed hat worn at a jaunty angle.'—Use this description to build models.

⁹⁹ Roth, 134, 148.

¹⁰⁰ Alles, 15; Carpenter, 12; Hayett, 9, 37-58, 102, 103; Lockridge, Educational Displays and Exhibits, 7, 8, 31-42; Martha Meeks, 18; Jefferson Warren, 55.

¹⁰¹ Jefferson Warren, 17.



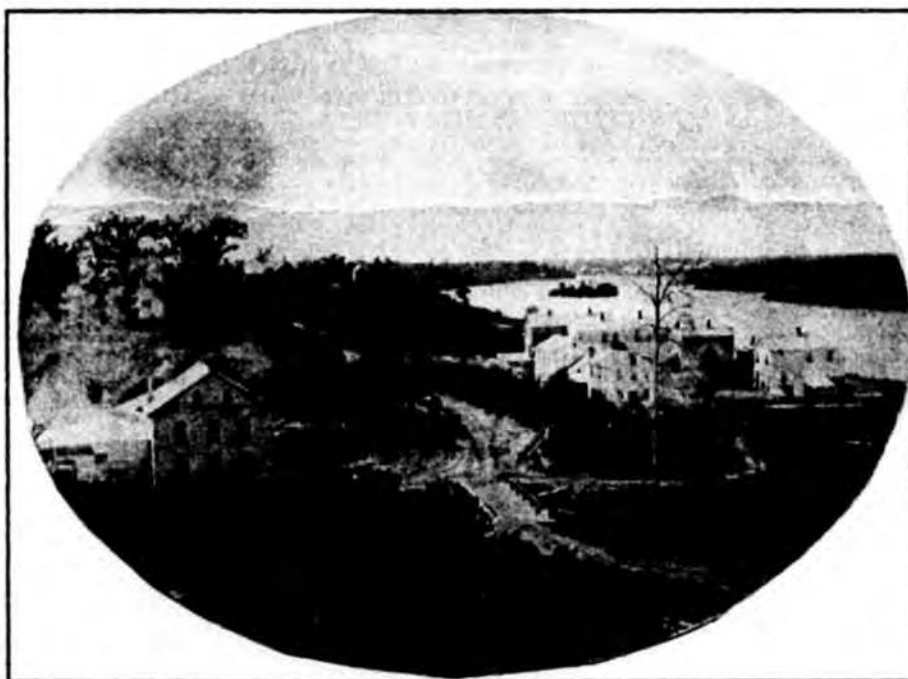
Source: Jaime Hedlund, 2003

Figure 31 – Display Setup



Source: Laszlo Roth, *Display Design*, 1983

Figure 32 – An example of a model using a natural resource: sand



Source: Available at Stearns History Museum, 1800s

Figure 33 – Frontier Town



Source: Available at Stearns History Museum, 1800s

Figure 34 – Ox Cart Trail through St. Cloud

the dimensions is flexible.¹⁰² Alles suggested that, 'The environment of the exhibition hall or area in which your stand is located is not crucially important as long as the facilities are adequate. The range of mood created by exhibition halls, consciously or by default, is very wide indeed.'¹⁰³ Since the designated exhibit area will consist of people, texts on the stands will be interactive with the audience by requiring them to move items, slide covers or move gadgets to read the text. As Alles insert, 'Positive attitudes to exhibitions were found to apply to participation ... familiarity with an exhibition in which we have always taken part.'¹⁰⁴ An asymmetrical arrangement (informal balance) will be used to make the

¹⁰² Hayett, 102-104, 107, 110; Warren, 7, 14.

¹⁰³ Alles, 113.

¹⁰⁴ Alles, 71.

exhibition more appealing.¹⁰⁵ When the frontier exhibition moves up to the archive exhibition area, the church exhibition will be placed on the first floor. A table will be placed in the center of the area to hold a model of a church decorated with miniature lights to attract the attention of the audience. This model will be under a glass case. The church model will be done with the help of the church's records, advice of Kathryn Wiant, the church's historian along with the help of John Decker, archivist director of Stearns History Museum. On the surrounding panel boards will be information such as, photographs of the church (Figure 22 and 35), a map showing where was the church (Figure 2 and 3) in terms of the research site, the story of John Taylor and the history of how the first church building in St. Cloud developed (The information on the board might



Source: Available at Stearns History Museum, 1800s

Figure 35 – St. John's Episcopal Church: stone building

¹⁰⁵ Roth, 40; Lockridge, Better Bulletin Board Displays, 19-24; Educational Displays and Exhibits, 15-16.



Source: Edward Carpenter, *Best in Exhibition Design*, 1987-88

Figure 36 – Timeline

look like this—Figure 36). Each text label will be enhanced by different writings and colored wordings for the titles to captivate the reading experience and also to attract the attention of the audience. According to Jefferson Warren, color is important in an exhibition design.¹⁰⁶ The background artwork replaces any lack of color in the objects. The letters may well define the topics covered but with rustic shapes resembling elements and painted color will enhance it. Also, letters for titles or for any wordings can be ready-made or handmade for special effects (Figure 15).¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁶ Carpenter, 12,22; Guimarin, 8-48; Lockridge, *Educational Displays and Exhibits*, 23-30; Warren, 6.

¹⁰⁷ Carpenter, 12, 48; Lockridge, *Educational Displays and Exhibits*, 23-28; see Hayett, 45-58; Roth, 7-15, 134; Jefferson Warren, 7; Guimarin, 8-48 for elaborated details.

In the cemetery exhibit, model of items discovered such as hairpins and buttons as well as tools used for the excavation such as an excavation brush (Figure 37) and measuring tape (Figure 12) will be placed on top of a sandy bottom (such as Figure 32) inside a glass case on the display table to give the audience a visual idea of what was used and found. Also, a map of where they were discovered (Figure 9), photos of what was found (Figures 38-39), story of how skeletal remains were found, information of what we know from the excavation and what was done with elements discovered will be displayed. Text labels will also cover the information on related work done or the latest development of this site and the remains. This segment will be displayed in a circular fashion with mounted text label including newspaper articles. By doing so, it will give the audience a better view of the events that took place. The texts will be interactive with the audience by requiring them to move items, slide covers or move gadgets to read the text.



Source: Richard Rothaus

Figure 37 – Excavation Brush



Source: Richard Rothaus

Figure 38 – Swing Bail Handle



Source: Richard Rothaus

Figure 39 – Coffin Fragment

Interactive text meaning something visitors could participate in, something that would force them to be innovative to do it and leave them with a sense of having indeed been involved in an exhibit.¹⁰⁸ The purpose of these items is giving the audience a better feel and a 'hands-on' experience with the objects. For example, coffin boxes as text labels. (Figure 40—the coffin boxes will stick out of the stands like the objects on this board)

¹⁰⁸ Carpenter, 52.



Source: Jefferson Warren, *Exhibit Methods*, 1972

Figure 40 – Example of mounted objects

Here, a visitor either slides the coffin panel that normally shows the face of the dead person or opens the coffin cover but instead of having a corpse in it, it will have labels and photographs. The purpose of these items is to give the public a better feel and a 'hands-on' experience with objects. The idea is not so complex that all a participant's time would be spent learning to operate it, but rather keep it simple.¹⁰⁹ These moveable texts will be attached directly to the background panel. Jefferson Warren suggests doing

¹⁰⁹ Carpenter, 54.

this by, 'Drilling small holes in the panel, and pass the nylon fishing leader around the objects and through the holes. A tight knot in the nylon at the back of the panel will secure the object. This material is preferable to wire because it is nearly transparent and invisible. A spool of the finer size is easiest to handle and tie.'¹¹⁰

Depending on the items, there might also be extra text in front of the showcase on a stand. Each item will be labeled so that the visitor will understand the accompanying text. After a certain time, the exhibit on display on the first floor of the library will be moved upstairs to the archive section of exhibit case. This is to give the audience that missed the exhibition or would like to view it again a chance, to promote the historical center and archive section and to get people to go see and know that these areas exist in the library. Also, there will be pamphlets available for further information. It will serve not only as a guide for visitors to a particular exhibit but also as a reference. Flyers are not suggested since students tend to discard them and it only ends up being wasted and a litter problem.¹¹¹ A binder or a folio also could be used containing extended information for those who want to know more about events mentioned.¹¹² The intention of it is in pointing out the main elements that may have been overlooked under the pressure of tight time schedule, for example, a student viewing the exhibit might have to stop halfway to catch a ride home or go to class.¹¹³

¹¹⁰ Hayett, 10-13; Warren, 5, 7.

¹¹¹ Carpenter, 55.

¹¹² Carpenter, 77; Warren, 17.

¹¹³ Alles, 53-54.

Further information will include how different people's attitude toward skeletal remains reflects in people's lifestyle. According to Gary Laderman:

Churches often classify discussions of death in terms of reunion, personal immortality and the presence of Jesus Christ. The **public's interest** can be viewed through popular expressions in various media such as in recent decades; the horror film has gained new levels of demands, partly as a result of the vivid and spectacular images of human destruction depicted on screen. In these narratives all is not happy and developing but instead only darkness and fear. The motivations and experiences of the dead in these films are inversions of what transpires in popular, out-of-body travels. In **politics**, the dead can be a very powerful tool of invoking national pride and joy. From Arlington National Cemetery to the Challenger disaster, the federal government has been preserving the memory of certain significant individuals and moments in national history. Its interest goes beyond questions of propriety and respect for individuals. Assuming the role once reserved for the church, the state gives immortality that highlights the sacrifices and triumphs of American citizens. Death is transformed into a heroic event that regenerates and rejuvenates. It allows the national community to collectively express their social unity. In addition, they are also remembered through the maintenance of graves, museums, memorials and holidays.¹¹⁴

Another example of further information is mentioning a brief beginning of St. Cloud State University. It was through an idea and efforts of a normal school by Dr. John D. Ford; a bill was established for three state normal schools that were passed by legislature in 1858.¹¹⁵ The third choice for these schools was at St. Cloud and given the name, 'Third State Normal School' that started on 13 September 1869.¹¹⁶ This school opened with five instructors and fifty students.¹¹⁷ The first principal was Professor Ira

¹¹⁴ Laderman, 5-6, 17.

¹¹⁵ Cates, 3; Mitchell, 725.

¹¹⁶ Blegen, 411; Cates, 19; Mitchell, 725, 728

¹¹⁷ Cates, 19; landmark established by the St. Cloud Centennial Committee 1969 on St. Cloud State University campus by the Mississippi River.

Moore.¹¹⁸ In 1921, the school changed its name to St. Cloud State Teacher's College and in 1957, St. Cloud State College.¹¹⁹ Finally, in 1975, this school was recognized as St. Cloud State University.¹²⁰

To show a flow in the exhibition, the last text line of each of the three main exhibition segments will connect to the next segment.¹²¹ For example, the last text line for the frontier town section:

Besides the background history of land being surveyed, frontiers and how Saint Cloud came to be, just around the corner of this same research site, once stood the first church building of St. Cloud, the St. John's Episcopal Church.

Last line of the church section:

According to a newspaper report, the original location of the St. John's Episcopal Church stood on lot 4, block 26 on Curtis's survey and was surrounded by a grave yard, the only Protestant burial ground in St. Cloud until the masonic North Star Cemetery opened in 1864.¹²²

Last line of cemetery section:

In terms of how the research site turned into a parking lot, after tearing down the old residential homes, the lot in which St. John's Episcopal Church and the Protestant cemetery once occupied, was purchased by St. Cloud State University in 1973.

¹¹⁸ Cates, 17; Dominik Jr., 82; Gove, St. Cloud Centennial Souvenir Album; Mitchell, 725, 728; N. B. Nelson, Incidents (From Stearns History Museum Collection. She is a member of St. John's Episcopal Church).

¹¹⁹ Blegen, Minnesota: A History of the State, 411-412.

¹²⁰ Britz, History of Stearns County and landmark established by the St. Cloud Centennial Committee 1969 on St. Cloud State University campus by the Mississippi River.

¹²¹ Carpenter, 56; Koskey, 25-32; Lockridge, Better Bulletin Board Displays, 19-24; Educational Displays and Exhibits, 13-14.

¹²² Democrat, 14 June 1860 and St. Cloud Journal-Press, 5 May 1892.

Labels

Questions such as *Who are these people? Were they Native Americans or Euro-Americans? What were they doing here? Whose World is this? Where do we go from here? What do these skeletal remains tell us?* would be used as subject titles on board panels. Expressing most themes as questions may quickly involve the viewer and stimulate further examination of the exhibit.¹²³

Each section of the exhibition will be introduced by a header, followed by a text for each object.¹²⁴ Labels with different colors will carry different meaning. For example, light blue for object labels (object, date and collections) while pastel yellow labels tell the meaning and how it conveys the message of its particular section.¹²⁵ Alles advice that, 'The information intake capacity of visitors depends on a combination of environmental and behavioral factors emphasized in their effect by the concentration in time and space of the exhibition.'¹²⁶ Labels correlate with exhibiting techniques that are decided by the exhibitor. Some texts emphasize the best ways and means of attracting visitors but in the end, it is the exhibitor's decision.¹²⁷ To read some of these labels, they will require the audience's participation, such as lifting up a cover on a model, or sliding a panel from left

¹²³ Exhibit question list from Stearns History museum, 'What to Talk about While Visiting the Stearns History Museum's Exhibits'; Blegen, Minnesota: Its History and Its People (MN: U. of M., 1937), 25-235; Carpenter, 71; Lockridge, Educational Displays and Exhibits, 22.

¹²⁴ Carpenter, 12; Koskey, 12-32; Lockridge, Better Bulletin Board Displays, 26-32.

¹²⁵ See example in Carpenter, 72.

¹²⁶ Alles, 165-166.

¹²⁷ Alles, 17; Hayett, 45, 57.

to right.¹²⁸ There will also be timelines that will tell of the activities and events that took place at St. Cloud.¹²⁹

Accompanying the three main exhibitions at the atrium space are personal stories. As Gary Laderman explains, “capture the familiarity rather than examine the impersonal statistics of demographers. Numbers can help contextualize the reality but the words of those lived in this era reveal human efforts to make sense of this intimacy.”¹³⁰

- Frontier town–Wilson, Brott and Lowry
- Church–John Taylor
- Cemetery–Summary of the excavation, what was found and newspaper articles.

A text will explain each section, object and how they are related. Texts have not been determined to give way for flexibility of changing styles and texts.¹³¹ For example, the text for the church section might read as:

CHURCH

St. John’s Episcopal Church–The St. John’s Episcopal Church has the distinction of having established the first church building in St. Cloud. The congregation was formed on 12th April 1856. This mock up model of a church represents how it might have looked like back during that time period. Services were even carried out before the church was built, held in the home of John H.

¹²⁸ Koskey, 23-32; Lockridge, Better Bulletin Board Displays, 19-24.

¹²⁹ See example in Carpenter, 77.

¹³⁰ Laderman, 25.

Taylor starting from February 17, 1856. From that day on, John Hale Taylor has been recognized as one of the important pioneers of the church and acknowledged in the church's history records.¹³²

To provide a flow in the exhibition, the last line above gives an introduction to the story of John Taylor (Not everything below will be used in the exhibit. Possibility of changing and editing later based on what is best suited and relevant for the exhibit):

The beginning of St. John's Episcopal Church started with a settler named John Hale Taylor. He was very active in the church ministry. This is evident when he so willingly volunteered his home as a meeting place to hold the first few church services and later when the church was built, he even served as a lay minister when other ministers had to go on errands.¹³³ His efforts are recognized in a note apparently written by Reverend Dudley Chase, "The encouraging prospect as presented to me at first, consisted in what Mr. Taylor was, and would do for the church; and when I became acquainted with him, I believed all the good that had been said of him. How cordially he received me! How sanguine he was that the little church would grow; how ready he was to assure me that he himself would supplement the inadequate salary from the Missionary Society; and by word and deed, he proved more than he had promised through his influence and aid. How

¹³¹ Alles, 53; Carpenter, 48; Hayett, 45, 57; Lockridge, Better Bulletin Board Displays, 9,10.

¹³² An Inventory of the County Archives of Minnesota: Stearns County (St. Paul: Works Progress Administration, 1940); St. John's Episcopal Church, A Century with Christ, 13.

¹³³ Democrat, 9 Sept. 1858, 2; Gove, A History of St. Cloud, 48; Incidents written by Mrs. N. B. Nelson (from Stearns History Museum).

assiduous were his attentions to make my family comfortable, and to attend to all things concerning the church services and its welfare, spiritual and temporal."¹³⁴ Largely through his efforts, a church was built on a lot on Third Avenue between Sixth and Seventh Streets.¹³⁵ However, in the events following the excitement of building the first church structure, he died on 30 August 1858, less than four months after the dedication of the St. John's Episcopal Church he had helped build as well as preached as a lay minister. According to the church records, Reverend Dudley Chase wrote of John Taylor, "Alas! How soon was that noble Christian Churchman taken away! The community mourned the loss of Mr. Taylor as one of its best citizens and the church one of her most loyal sons."¹³⁶

Other than the fact that John Taylor's name is kept in the church records and recognized by St. John's Episcopal Church as one of their church leaders with other rectors, his obituary was in the newspaper.¹³⁷ According to John Decker, assistant director of archives in Stearns History Museum, prior to 1900, obituaries were uncommon in newspaper unless they were significant people. Back then, funerals were more intimate than they are today. Even an invitation to a funeral

¹³⁴ St. John's Episcopal Church, A Century with Christ-1856-1956 (St. Cloud: Minnesota), 13-14.

¹³⁵ Visiter, 20 May 1858; Democrat, 5 Aug. 1858 and 26 Sept. 1861; Gove, A History of St. Cloud, 47.

¹³⁶ St. John's Episcopal Church, A Century with Christ, 14.

¹³⁷ Democrat, 9 Sept. 1858 and according to John Decker, assistant director of archives in Stearns History Museum, prior to 1900, obituaries were uncommon in newspaper unless they were significant people.

was personal.¹³⁸ According to the historian James Farrell, 'newspapers published obituaries for social functions between 1866 and 1920. In the early years, because the paper appeared only weekly, obituaries served more as a notice of death than as a notification of the funeral. They also cost a quarter, which was expensive at that time so few people published obituaries. Instead, they paid for private messengers to deliver printed death notices or funeral invitations. Even after the appearance of the daily press, people still relied on printed invitations, the custom finally succumbing about the turn of the century.'¹³⁹ John Taylor's obituary stated that after his funeral at the church, the entire community accompanied his remains to his last resting-place.¹⁴⁰ A practice as such was common, according to Laderman, 'Members of the family and community carried and accompanied the body to the burying ground regardless of how many people attended the funeral and how complex was the organization of the participants.'¹⁴¹

Under Frontier town, Wilson's story would read as follows:

John Lyman Wilson

The first person, whom acquired the area now known as St. Cloud, was actually a squatter named John L. Wilson, who arrived on 19th July 1853. John Lyman Wilson was born in Maine and came to Minnesota as a 31-year-old in

¹³⁸ Coffin, 69.

¹³⁹ Coffin 71; Farrell, 188.

¹⁴⁰ Democrat, 9 Sept. 1858, 2.

¹⁴¹ Laderman, 35.

1851 on a business deal to build saw and flouring mills in St. Anthony and Sauk Rapids.¹⁴² After completing his saw mill contract, he followed his brother's (Joseph Wilson, founder of east St. Cloud) urging and came to St. Cloud on 19th July 1853.¹⁴³ After prospecting the land and seeing it as a successful future investment, he purchased a piece of land on the West Side of the Mississippi River between two ravines from Ole Bergeson for \$100, which he later named St. Cloud.¹⁴⁴ Although having a claim, the title to the land was still under the government since the lands were not yet surveyed.¹⁴⁵ Wilson then joined forces with George F. Brott and Orrin Curtis in surveying and platting St. Cloud City and established the St. Cloud Townsite Company.¹⁴⁶ Wilson's claim was then

¹⁴² Transcription from the Obituary record of the Old Settlers Association (Stearns Museum), An Inventory of the County Archives of Minnesota: Stearns County (St. Paul: Works Progress Administration, 1940); Daily Times, Friday, 19th April 1901; Dominik, 10; Dominik Jr., 2; Gove, St. Cloud Centennial Souvenir Album, 2; Mitchell, 645, 1437.

¹⁴³ Letter written by Joseph Wilson to John Wilson dating 27 April 1856; St. Cloud Daily Times, 19 April 1901, 2; Mitchell, 645, 1408; landmark by Lake George.

¹⁴⁴ Deed Records, Book A, 14-15-1 June 1855: Anton Edelbrock to Brott and Wilson, letter written by Joseph Wilson to his brother, John Wilson, 27 April 1856; transcription from the Obituary record of the Old Settlers Association, An Inventory of the County Archives of Minnesota: Stearns County (St. Paul: Works Progress Administration, 1940); St. Cloud Journal, 2 March 1893; Journal-Press, 19 September 1907; S.C. Burke and C. S. Wright, St. Cloud Guide (St. Cloud: St. Cloud Committee of the Chamber of Commerce, 1935), 8, cited in Gary B. Schrantz; German Immigrants in the Business Community of St. Cloud, 5 (found in Stearns County History Museum); Dominik, 10; Gove, St. Cloud Centennial Souvenir Album and A History of St. Cloud, 15; Mitchell, 645, 1417, 1437; Winchell, 401; Wiant's pamphlet.

¹⁴⁵ Philip Truluck, Private Rights & Public Lands (Washington D.C.: Heritage Foundation, c1983), 19.

¹⁴⁶ Deed records, Curtis survey map and Mitchell, 1439-George F. Brott, Orrin Curtis platted St. Cloud City and established the St. Cloud Townsite Company. The lots were divided into twelve equal parts, the other members of the company being C. T. Stearns, Joseph Wilson, Henry T. Wells, J. C. Moulton, H. C. Waite, John H. Taylor, George Curtis, Franklin Sisson, J. H. Seymour and Leland Cram. T. A. Curtis made the survey and the plat was filed for record on 13 October 1855.

held under the town site act.¹⁴⁷ The land he purchased consisted approximately of three hundred and twenty-five acres.¹⁴⁸

John Lyman Wilson, a protestant Yankee, is known as the Father of St. Cloud because his idea with naming the city.¹⁴⁹ Most students' presumption that this city was simply named after a saint, but in truth, it was not. According to a story, Wilson was reading aloud a history of the Napoleonic Wars when two Frenchmen he had hired walked into his cabin that overlooked the Mississippi River. Wilson was reading from a passage in which Napoleon Bonaparte, while at the Russian Front, asked of the well being of his home in St. Cloud, France, along the Seine River from his messengers. (St. Cloud was a Paris sub-urban area located in France. It was built around a monastery and founded by a Frenchman named St. Cloud.) As the French fur traders walked in, Wilson read, "Boys, how are things in St. Cloud?" That line soon turned into a common joke between Wilson and the Frenchman and often, Wilson would ask them: "Boys, how are things in St. Cloud?" The story goes that there is where the name St. Cloud was

¹⁴⁷ Mitchell, 1408, 1441—according to the autobiography of George F. Brott and landmark by Lake George.

¹⁴⁸ S. C. Burke and C.S. Wright, 8.

¹⁴⁹ Letter from Joseph Wilson to Governor Smith, 2; An Inventory of the County Archives of Minnesota: Stearns County (St. Paul: Works Progress Administration, 1940); transcription from the Obituary record of the Old Settlers Association; Daily Journal Press, 6 April 1920, 1; landmark by Lake George (Stating that he named and platted Saint Cloud); Dominik, 9; Dominik Jr., iii; Gove, St. Cloud Centennial Souvenir Album; Holmquist, 167; Miller, 1; Mitchell, 1437.

bestowed on this city. The name was registered at the Benton County Courthouse in Sauk Rapids (Stearns County had yet to have its own courthouse).¹⁵⁰

In 1854, John Wilson gathered with some other settlers and together, platted the land.¹⁵¹ The land that he purchased developed into what was known as Middle Town but it was slow in progress. Here, German Catholic settlers of trade dominantly reside.¹⁵² These Germans came through the influence of a priest.¹⁵³ However, circumstances changed for Middle Town. When the Civil War broke out, most of the Southerners that were investing and trading in Upper Town went back south to help support the War there and also to take care of their interests and home.¹⁵⁴ As for Brott's portion, there was a complication of deeds at Lower Town.¹⁵⁵ With these alterations of situations, the hustle and bustle business concentration was relocated to Middle Town that was Wilson's area that was entirely under the provisions of the town-site act, being the only one having a

¹⁵⁰ Gove, History of St. Cloud, 9; St. Cloud Centennial Souvenir Album, St. Cloud Times, 30 Nov. 1933, 9 and 27 April 1998; Dominik, 12.

¹⁵¹ Letter written by Joseph Wilson to his brother John Wilson, 27 April 1856; Dominik Jr., 2.

¹⁵² Letter written by Joseph Wilson to his brother, John Wilson, 27 April 1856; Britz, History of Stearns County (Stearns History Museum information guide); Dominik, 12; Dominik Jr., 3.

¹⁵³ Britz, History of Stearns County (Stearns History Museum information guide); Dominik Jr., 3.

¹⁵⁴ John Dominik, St. Cloud: The Triplet City, 13; John Dominik Jr., Three Towns Into One City, 62.

¹⁵⁵ Democrat, 2 Nov. 1865; William Mitchell, History of Stearns County, 1110 and 1111.

secure title. Today, the current business district is situated and grew on where Middle Town was previously located.¹⁵⁶

Lowry's story:

Sylvanus P. Lowry

He bought the land north of the northern ravine and soon, his southern ties attracted a settlement of southern people mainly from Tennessee. This area then developed into Upper Town, which is about where Cathedral High School now stands, and was populated dominantly by immigrants from the southern states. The plat that Lowry made was filed with the Register of Deeds on 20th June, 1856 and it was called Lowry's addition to St. Cloud (called addition because there were already two other plats that have already been filled).¹⁵⁷ For several years, Upper Town held its place as a top business district among the three towns. Being a man of stature and affluent, Lowry was able to advertise and attracted many businesses into Upper Town.¹⁵⁸ However, when the Civil War broke out, most of the Southerners went back south.¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁶ Landmark by Lake George.

¹⁵⁷ Census records of 1860 and Gove, St. Cloud Centennial Souvenir Album.

¹⁵⁸ Like Brott, he also began his own newspaper in 1861, known as St. Cloud Union and its ownership went under many changes. By the year 1864, it was recognized as St. Cloud Times.

¹⁵⁹ Dominik, 13; Memler, 59; Dominik Jr., 62.

Last but not least, Brott's story:

George Fuller Brott

Last but not least, George Fuller Brott bought the land south of Wilson's and volunteered platting it for the government in return to gain some parts of this land. Here, Brott's portion was under an act of congress granting mail contractors west of the Mississippi in territories the right to preempt 640 acres at each of their station twenty miles apart. Before that, Brott had been granted a special contract from the post office department to carry the mails from Minneapolis to Saint Cloud on the west side of the river. By establishing one of his stations at Saint Cloud, Brott claimed his rights under that act of congress concerning mail contractors.¹⁶⁰ He then named his area Lower Town (encompassing this study area).

However, Lower Town lost its appeal in the 1860's. Among the reasons for the economic shift to Middle Town was the uncertainty over Brott's land deeds.¹⁶¹ Unlike John Wilson's claim of Middle Town through the secured town-site act, Brott's land claim was given under a mail contract before the government had surveyed the land and deeds were not required at that time from the

¹⁶⁰ Mitchell, *A History of Stearns County*, 1408, 1427 and 1439.

¹⁶¹ *Democrat*, 2 Nov. 1865; examination of the file 'cemeteries' maintained by the Research Center of the Stearns History Museum, map of 'Bird's Eye View of St. Cloud-1869'; *St. Cloud Times*, 26 Feb. 1999, 6A; Dominik, 13; Dominik Jr., 62; Gove, *A History of Saint Cloud*, 3; *A History of St. Cloud*, 16; *St. Cloud Centennial Souvenir Album*; Memler, 59; Miller, 3; Mitchell, 1110-1111, 1408-1409, 1427, 1439-1441.

government.¹⁶² Because of that, counties oftentimes lack definite boundaries so multiple land use is often found within an identified area.¹⁶³ And when the government finally completed its land survey, Brott's claim was also found within an odd section of land that the government had earlier given to the St. Paul and Pacific Railroad Company included in the government land grant act to railroads.¹⁶⁴ After 11 years in court, the claim finally ended in favor of Brott.¹⁶⁵

Mounting And Security

Concerns for vandalism and theft are minimized by using covered locked glass case or use of barrier poles.¹⁶⁶ When mounting labels, resources of pasting a glossy label above a padded back will be using double-sided tape on the back.¹⁶⁷ As for mounting items, the necessary elements needed such as hooks, pins and such will be covered using the library's resources. Also, since most of the photograph and model items displayed

¹⁶² U.S. General Land Office, 98-100, 146-163; St. Cloud Journal-Press, Thursday, 5 June 1902, 2; <http://www.rootsweb.com/~mnbecker/land2.html>; "Preemption law," Webster's Third International Dictionary; Dominik, 18; Truluck, 19; Mitchell, 1408.

¹⁶³ Brown et al., 174.

¹⁶⁴ *Statues at Large*, 12:624; St. Cloud Journal-Press, 5 June 1902, 2; Dominik, 18; Harnsberger, Leverty, 10; Mitchell, 1441; Renz, 40, 59; Saby, "Railroad Legislation in Minnesota, 1849 to 1875," vol. XV, p. 54.

¹⁶⁵ St. Cloud Journal-Press, 5 June 1902, 2; Mitchell, 1409.

¹⁶⁶ Daniel R. Porter III, "Current Thoughts on Collections Policy," Technical Report I, American Association for State and Local History (AASLH), 1985; Sherburne County Historical Society Collections Policy, rev. September 1996.

¹⁶⁷ Hayett, 10, 11, 35, 43, 44, 79, 80; Roth, 7-15, 134; Lockridge, Better Bulletin Board Displays, 15-54; Educational Displays and Exhibits, 23-28.

will be made out of recyclable items or copies, it is easily replaced with available resources and hence, no insurance is needed.

The layout of the exhibition has also been considered for other elements other than informing the audience. For instance, in terms of emergency purposes, there is a fire code of signs and arrows directing to easy access of exits, smoke detectors, emergency alarms, fire extinguisher and overhead water sprinkles laid out in the library. The exhibition will be spaced to ensure it is handicap and wheelchair accessible. For conservation purposes, the library has set the lighting for the exhibition area and also the brightness of lighting is gradually lowered compared to the entrance of the library. This provides the visitor from bright outside areas and windows to lower light levels. Note that one can see quite well at low levels of lighting than under glaring lights.

Proposed Schedule

Time of work—Roughly eight months.¹⁶⁸ There is no specific dateline for the schedule or a firm budget. The concept given in an exhibition proposal is that it may not always be possible to proceed as planned. It seldom is, but it will be possible to access at each stage what has been achieve, what remains to be done and what must be left out as the exhibition is being done.¹⁶⁹ This way, it is flexible, open for suggestions and easy to make improvements. It also allows room for creativity rather than responding to fixed

¹⁶⁸ For example, please see Carpenter, 36.

¹⁶⁹ Alles, 53, 64; Carpenter, 33; Roth, 143.

ideas about what the exhibit should look like.¹⁷⁰ As Alles suggest, 'The actual exhibition visit is strictly circumscribed by the venue, date and time span available. The details of the definition of interests and the preparation of the visit can be modified and corrected in the light of changing circumstances.'¹⁷¹

The exhibit deadline will be scheduled for the beginning of the Fall semester.¹⁷² Special considerations that can be considered for the timing of the opening would be in celebration of the anniversary of the library or the discovery of the cemetery.

Estimated Budget

Basic office supplies and computer access would be supplied by the University and would not have to be budgeted for separately.¹⁷³ This is an estimated budget since it summarizes exhibition activities instead of excessive budgetary of over elaboration and tiresome details.¹⁷⁴

Expenses:

Mounted photographs (20 mounted photographs)	180
Computer Appliances (2 cartridge)	80
Cost of exhibit models and other exhibit items	227

¹⁷⁰ Carpenter, 33.

¹⁷¹ Alles, 87-89.

¹⁷² Alles, 34, 45-47, 64.

¹⁷³ The estimated budget below comes from reviews of other budgets and sources: Sherburne County Historical Society Financial Report-March 1996, Balance Sheet-As of 3/31/96-All Accounts, Statement of Activities (Period Ended March 31, 1996); National Endowment for the Humanities Budget Instructions, St. Cloud Historical & Neighborhood Preservation Association Annual Budget Report from May 1, 2000-May 1, 2001; Donald Hoke, "Cultivating Sources," Museum News, Jan/Feb 1993; Lisa Mibach, "What To Do When You Can't Afford to Do Anything." Technical Leaflet No. 198. History News. AASLH. Summer 1997.

¹⁷⁴ Alles, 71-72.

Miscellaneous:

Labels (1 pack of paper)	4
Pamphlets (1 packs of paper)	4
Lighting	<u>5</u>
Total	500

Elaboration:

Revenues

- A grant from St. Cloud State University.¹⁷⁵
- Donations received from the public and private companies, such as the Camera Shop to promote their services.
- Office supplies such as paper, plastic stands, board stands, clips, pins, tape and so forth will be provided by the library.
- Budget staff time includes in-kind donations and services for the time spend by staff members.

Expenses:

- Prices of mounted photographs and photographs with back padding cited from the Camera Shop.
- Labels and pamphlets will be self-produce using computer software, scanning items and printing them from printers.¹⁷⁶ Pamphlets will be used to give more information on the exhibition. Price of paper is \$3.49 a pack and a colored computer cartridge is \$50–price cited from Camera Shop and School of Graduate Study office, SCSU.

¹⁷⁵ Carpenter, 78.

¹⁷⁶ Hayett, 47; Warren, 17.

- Cost of exhibit models and other exhibit items
- Christmas Lights–buying \$10 worth.

Conclusion

Before the city of St. Cloud was established, three towns existed, Upper, Middle and Lower Town. This study area falls within the frontier community of Lower Town. According to the Treaty of Peace of 1783, no land could be claimed west of the Mississippi River. But on 23 July 1851, the Traverse des Sioux treaty opened lands west of the Mississippi River. People came in response to letters from friends, relatives and advertisements by railroad companies, which told of the availability of cheap land that could be obtained through land grants, the Homestead Law and the Preemption Law. These three towns were important because they were the only rest stop on the way to the Red River Valley.

This study area was also the location of the first church building and cemetery in St. Cloud. This church building later moved due to land deed problems that caused this whole land area to be abandoned. As for the cemetery, it is impossible to identify the excavated individuals because during that era, grave markers such as plants, flowers, small stones or wooden markers were used and would have either been moved or deteriorated. Also, there are no records identifying these individuals and no known relatives available for DNA testing.

There were many sources that were helpful for this thesis. For example, the marker by Shoemaker hall specifies the location of Lower Town's steamboat landing.

Another example is the recorder's office at the Stearns county courthouse that holds land deed information. This place was insightful for reasons of abandonment of this land area in the 1860s.

After researching the history of block 26, it was only appropriate that an exhibition of its development should be located in the library. The exhibit proposal is on the historical development of the land usage of this site from the year 1849 to 1869 based on the research of block 26 where the eastern part of St. Cloud State University's library now stands. The discovery of human skeletal remains resulted in great public interest and some controversy. With this exhibit, the school can share how it treated the discovery of the cemetery, the treatment of skeletal remains, educate the community more about the history of this area and address frequently asked questions. An exhibit will not only accomplish an understanding of this subject but also give the audience a three-dimensional visual to help comprehend the exhibit topic better. The exhibit will also clarify that the cemetery was not Native American but Euro-American.

The exhibit builds a connection between the students and the land by introducing the history of what took place at this site. After all, this block was not just an empty land space that turned into a library. Through this exhibit, students will appreciate, connect with and feel that they are part of history. This exhibit also provides insight into the growth of early settlements. As Robert Brown explains, "St. Cloud represents an example of the manner in which one of Minnesota's cities has grown and changed in character with the passage of time."¹⁷⁷

¹⁷⁷ Brown et al., 134-135.

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