

RAMSEY COUNTY

History

A Publication of the Ramsey County Historical Society

*Helping the Sun Shine
Brighter for Farmers*

Robert Freeman
on Mount Ramsey

Harlan Stoehr — page 14

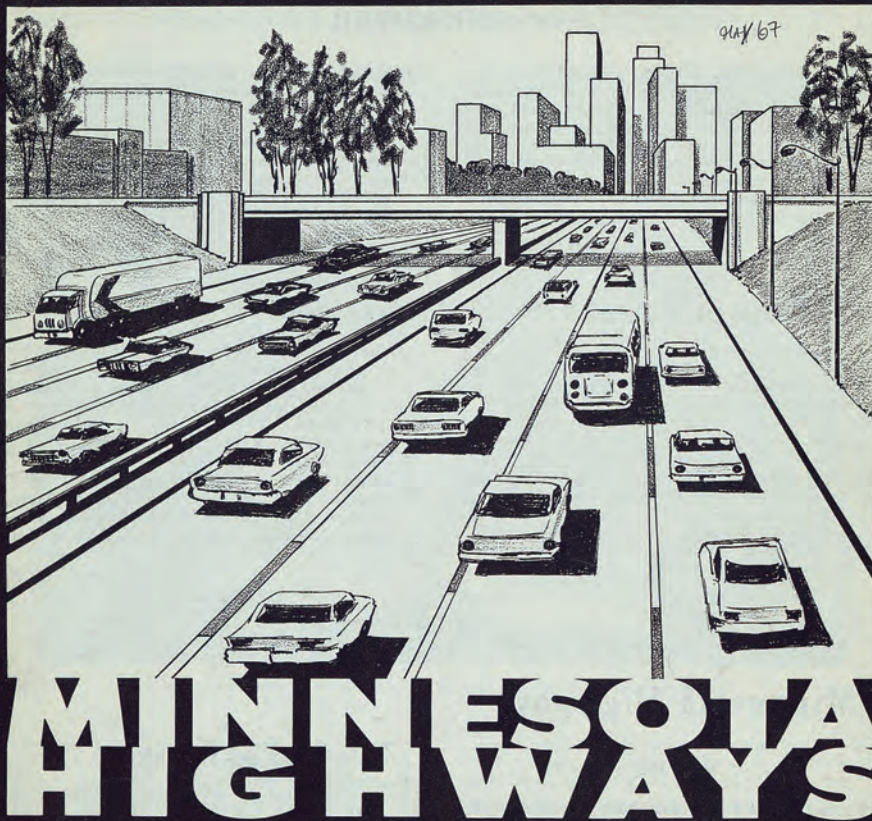
Winter 2013

Volume 47, Number 4

Preserving a “Fine Residential District”:

The Merriam Park Freeway Fight

Tom O’Connell and Tom Beer, page 3



DRIVE SAFELY

The front cover of the May 1967 issue of Minnesota Highways magazine, the official Minnesota Department of Highways employee newsletter between 1951 and 1976. At the time this cover illustration was drawn, the nation was in the midst of building the vast Interstate Highway system that was largely paid for with federal money. This illustration conveys an idealized view of how the new freeways would safely and efficiently transport automobiles and trucks into and out of a city. Plans that called for the construction of an interchange on I-94 in St. Paul at Prior Avenue produced plenty of controversy and called into question some of the underlying assumptions behind these new roadways. Image courtesy of the Minnesota Department of Transportation and the Minnesota Digital Library.

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RAMSEY COUNTY History

Volume 47, Number 4

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THE MISSION STATEMENT OF THE RAMSEY COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY
ADOPTED BY THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS ON DECEMBER 20, 2007:

The Ramsey County Historical Society inspires current and future generations
to learn from and value their history by engaging in a diverse program
of presenting, publishing and preserving.

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James Lindner

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and by a contribution from the late Reuel D. Harmon*

A Message from the Editorial Board

Ramsey County is changing every day—witness the new light rail corridor on University Avenue—a transportation line that we could not have envisioned a few years ago. In this issue, we remember some earlier changes. Harlan Stoehr recounts the professional life of Robert Freeman, the longtime Ramsey County agricultural extension agent who began his job in the 1920s, when the county contained over 1,000 farms, and supervised that service through drought, grasshopper infestations, and finally, suburbanization. James Lindner reminds us that public works are frequently political in his story of the construction of White Bear Lake’s sewer system. And even freeways have stories: Tom O’Connell and Tom Beer recount the Merriam Park neighborhood’s passionate opposition to a Prior Avenue exit on Interstate 94. Hope you enjoy reading about how our values—then, as now—have shaped our built environment.

Anne Cowie,
Chair, Editorial Board

Preserving a “Fine Residential District”: The Merriam Park Freeway Fight

Tom O’Connell and Tom Beer

In hope of ending their three-year anti-freeway campaign, Merriam Park activists ramped up the pressure on city hall in early March of 1962. Hundreds of residents assembled to challenge the Prior Avenue freeway interchanges, long sought by government planners and business leaders. Behind the scenes, the Merriam Park Residential Association (MPRA) lobbied city commissioners and the mayor. A multi-sided game of political leverage was being played out in St. Paul, and the outcome was still in doubt. Mayor George Vavoulis’s compromise position could solve a piece of the citizen group’s strategic puzzle, and if the City Council agreed, Merriam Park neighbors would score a victory in what had become a marathon campaign.¹

The community campaign that led to this point—and ultimately to victory for Merriam Park—was the first successful neighborhood effort to resist the freeway in the city. Three neighborhoods stood out during the early resistance to freeway encroachment in the Twin Cities. The African American Rondo community, economically mixed Prospect Park in Minneapolis, and the middle-class Merriam Park neighborhood all faced the onslaught of I-94. In Rondo, community leaders were unable to win critical legislation to maintain a viable neighborhood in the wake of freeway expansion, while the University of Minnesota and downtown Minneapolis commerce influenced decisions near Prospect Park. Only the Merriam Park neighborhood built a lasting community organization to challenge freeway plans within its area.

Though the specifics of each struggle varied, all three neighborhoods fought to preserve the character and integrity of their communities. In the nearly bucolic, mostly middle-class neighborhood of Merriam Park the goal was preserving quiet streets for local use by postwar families with their large numbers of school-aged children. Concerns about the Prior exit were a special catalyst for neighborhood opposition. The prospect of a thousand cars daily hurtling past the community’s largest elementary school was the most alarming of what

became over time a significant catalog of community concerns.

Motivated by deeply felt grievances, Merriam Park residents forged an impressive opposition movement. At the dawn of the 1960s, with ideas about community control and neighborhood power just over the horizon, Merriam Park residents demonstrated that well organized and creatively led citizens could oppose powerful outside interests—and win!²

Background to a Conflict

The dream of a national highway that would connect major cities and regions across the United States had its origins in the 1930s, but it would take until the end of the Great Depression for planning to begin in earnest. In 1939, Franklin Delano Roosevelt presented a hand-drawn sketch of six routes that together would cross the nation. But the real turning point did not come until 1956 with the passage of the Federal-Aid Highway Act (FAHA), the largest public works project in U. S. history. Under terms of the legislation, the federal government would pay 90 percent of the costs of interstate highway construction. The legislation jump-started many state plans, and within the next decades over 41,000 miles of freeway were constructed.³

Minnesota’s support for Interstate 94



The smiles tell the winners' story. Cheerful Merriam Park women assemble at city hall prior to the final St. Paul City Council vote on the I-94 freeway accord. At a time when men predominated in public affairs, women played important roles during the three-year campaign, turning out at public hearings, writing letters, conducting petition drives, and in other ways nurturing these grass-roots efforts. St. Paul Dispatch photo, March 6, 1962. Photo courtesy of the Minnesota Historical Society.

reflected this national commitment. The Federal agency in charge, the United States Bureau of Public Roads, long proposed freeways as linchpins to the future of American cities, and by the late 1940s the Federal government was responding to the demands for jobs, housing, education, and improved transportation. A war weary but growing American populace supported a fast pace, and in the years leading up to the 1962 St. Paul council vote, Minnesota officials had finalized most of St. Paul’s freeway plans.⁴

But government action also generated controversy with conflict emerging



The sprouting “garden suburb” of Merriam Park is shown in this 1890 photo of the developing neighborhood, the spire of the first St. Mark’s church built a year before in the distance. Situated midway between both downtowns, Merriam Park was prime real estate for residential development and transportation links. Photo courtesy of the Minnesota Historical Society and the archives of St. Mark’s Church.

in communities in the freeway’s path. Freeway construction had far-reaching impacts on neighborhoods and urban regions. Freeways made the commutes between city and suburb much quicker, furthering the flight of citizens and businesses away from core cities. In the process, previously cohesive neighborhoods were divided and in many cases destroyed.

Rapid and ubiquitous, freeway development sparked a national debate. Social critics like Lewis Mumford urged greater balance in transportation planning “. . . to fit a diversity of human purposes.” Urban neighborhoods should not be torn apart by automobile traffic, Mumford argued, and greater consideration should be given to alternatives such as public transportation.⁵

In one of the country’s most celebrated cases of neighborhood opposition, the West Greenwich Village neighborhood in New York City organized strong opposition to planner Robert Moses’s Midtown Manhattan Expressway, an elevated superhighway through the community. Author and community planner Jane Jacobs helped fuel the revolt, giving voice to Village residents. Neighborhoods had to be powerful enough to fight city hall, Jacobs wrote. “The highway-men with fabulous sums of money and enormous power at their disposal are at a loss to make automobiles and cities compatible with one another.”⁶

Critics like these, however, were in a minority in the years leading up to the massive freeway construction of the 1960s. The plans for Interstate 94 in St. Paul had been set in the 1950s; yet most citizens remained poorly informed. The Minnesota Department of Highways (MDH) backed the St. Anthony/Rondo

corridor for I-94, as did industry and some local businesses. Organized labor looked forward to the jobs freeway construction offered and residents of fast growing postwar suburbs supported the quick access between work and home. In a speech to road builders in 1957, DFL Governor Orville Freeman expressed the mood of the pro-freeway coalition. “I am convinced that what we have seen since (the passage of FAHA) is only a hint . . . of what is yet to come. In our office, we are highway conscious because this is the way of the future.”⁷

Merriam Park: Roots of Resistance

Wave of the future or not, general support for freeways soon gave way to resistance when specific neighborhoods found themselves in the path of a proposed interstate. In many ways, Merriam Park was well situated to mount a successful community campaign to defend itself against freeway encroachment. One of St. Paul’s thriving middle class neighborhoods, it had a proud history and strong community cohesiveness. Founded in 1882 as a garden suburb, Colonel John H. Merriam had visions of an exclusive neighborhood for the Twin Cities wealthy. The new community had strong ties to the Catholic Church, with St. Thomas Aquinas Seminary and the Catholic Industrial School, the predecessor of the University of St. Thomas, established by Archbishop John Ireland. In 1887, the Archbishop laid the foundation for the Cathedral of St. Paul on Laurel and Cleveland only to change his mind and build the Cathedral in its current location overlooking the state capitol and downtown St. Paul.

Loss of the Cathedral was not the only

missed opportunity for the new community of Merriam Park. Colonel Merriam’s son, William R. Merriam was governor of Minnesota from 1889 to 1893. Expecting a favorable outcome, backers of a Merriam Park state capitol site offered land from what is now the Town and Country Golf Club for construction of the capitol. Proponents of a unified Minneapolis and St. Paul, one city rather than two Twin Cities, enthusiastically backed the proposal. And for this purpose, Merriam Park was perfectly located, almost precisely at the midpoint of the two cities and only a twelve-minute train ride from either downtown. When the legislature chose the present site for the state capitol just north of downtown St. Paul, the future of Merriam Park as a residential neighborhood was set. By 1916, the community was completely built up. Although the grandest dreams of



Pittsburgh architect John T. Comes designed the present St. Mark’s Church in the distinctive English Gothic style. First services were held in November 1918, although the opening was delayed a week when the city closed all churches due to the flu epidemic. The flagship parish of its time, over 1,500 elementary-age students attended St. Mark’s school when the freeway was built in the 1960s. Photo courtesy of the archives of St. Mark’s Church.



Governor Wendell Anderson appointed J. Douglas Kelm (1923–1999) to the Metropolitan Transit Commission (MTC) in 1971, almost ten years after his leading role in opposing I-94. At the MTC he was an advocate for public transit and an early supporter of light-rail. The governor's point man on transportation was denied appointment as MTC chairman in 1975, although the full Minnesota Senate did confirm his appointment a year later. Photo courtesy of the Kelm family.

its founder were never realized, Merriam Park's character was established as one of St. Paul's several thriving middle-class neighborhoods.⁸

In the 1950s, as freeway plans developed in earnest, Merriam Park's population topped 14,000, with over 3,000 families. A quintessential postwar community, it was a neighborhood full of children, with two thriving elementary schools—Longfellow, a public school, and St. Mark's, which with over 1,500 students was the largest Catholic elementary school west of Chicago. St. Mark's parish, founded in 1880, had literally grown up with the neighborhood. For many, the Merriam Park neighborhood was the St. Mark's neighborhood. And critical to the impending community campaign, St. Mark's was located on Prior Avenue, the very street proposed as a freeway off-ramp.⁹

Merriam Park's cohesion was rooted in middle-class homeownership, strong local institutions like St. Mark's Catholic parish, and neighborhood businesses such as Quigley Motors, the IGA grocery, Metcalf Hardware, and Merriam Park Floral, owned by the Bilski family and in operation since 1911. Residents organized the Merriam Park Residential Association

to rally local support and draw others to fight the freeway.

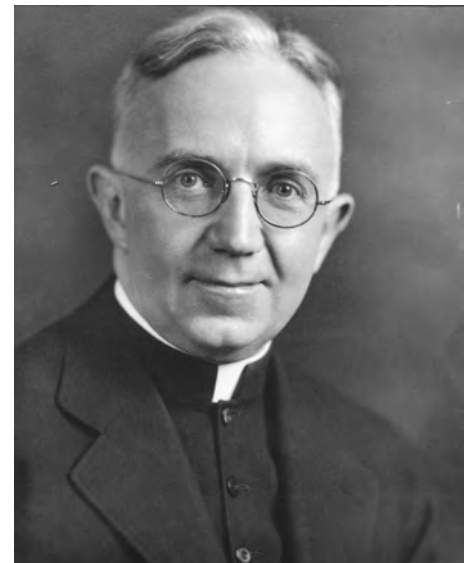
The new Association could count on a strong cadre of business, professional, academic, and church volunteers who contributed time and talent to the grass roots organization and made up the Association's first officers: John Slusser, First Vice Chairman; Lou Gelfand, Second Vice Chairman; and Phillip McDonald Secretary-Treasurer. In a time when men dominated public affairs, women nevertheless played important roles. They turned out for public hearings, wrote letters to newspaper editors, volunteered for petition drives, and in other ways nurtured the grassroots. Pass-the-hat fund raising and bake sales raised money to pay Association expenses, which were kept to a minimum. No costly lawsuits were launched and volunteers designed and conducted their own surveys, door-to-door canvases, and petition drives. St. Mark's offered room for groups big and small to meet, and Association issues drew public attention through creative use of the Twin City newspapers. Leaders contributed by absorbing expenses out of their own pockets or found ways to cover larger expenses as needed.¹⁰

Two men emerged as the most influential leaders of the anti-freeway campaign: J. Doug Kelm, a resident of the neighborhood, and Monsignor Francis Gilligan, pastor of St. Mark's parish. They became regular spokesmen for the MPRA. Kelm was born in Chanhassen, the son of Elmer Kelm one of the founders of the modern DFL Party, and grew up amidst politics. To get involved in city issues, he moved to St. Paul and later worked on Hubert Humphrey's 1948 U.S. Senate campaign. Rubbing shoulders with the men and women who would shepherd the DFL's rise to power, Kelm became a master of the political arts and honed an interest in transportation. Building the DFL Party was a grassroots activity, and Merriam Park was the perfect place for a political operator to hang his hat. In the late 1950s he became active in the freeway issue and first president of the Association. He would prove to be a key tactician and strategist during the community campaign.

Monsignor Gilligan came to St. Mark's

after a renowned career as Minnesota's most famous and effective social justice priest. Beginning in the 1930s, Gilligan forged ties with the emerging labor movement and the Twin Cities African American community. Appointed in 1943 by Governor Edward Thye as chair of the newly formed Governor's Human Rights Commission, he led the Commission for twelve consecutive years under four governors. No Minnesotan did more to advocate for both labor and civil rights than Francis Gilligan. When confronted with the freeway's direct threat to his parish community, he was ready to apply the political skills and connections he had forged over three decades of public leadership.

Dozens of other Merriam Park residents would take on leadership roles as the anti-freeway campaign developed, but the complementary assets of these two primary leaders was a key to the campaign's ultimate success. Doug Kelm had an acute sense of public policy and direct knowledge of local, state, and national decision-making channels. To Kelm's powerful connections in the rising Democratic-Farmer-Labor Party, Gilligan added



The portrait of Francis J. Gilligan (1898–1997) was taken about the time he became pastor at St. Mark's in 1957. The important parish assignment came after a thirty-year career as Minnesota's most recognized and honored civil rights and labor priest. It was during that career Gilligan made the acquaintance and friendship of local politicians he later called on to oppose the freeway. Photo by Kenneth M. Wright. Photo courtesy of the archives of St. Mark's Church.

his own broad sweep of friends on both sides of the political divide, and extensive Church relationships, including Archbishop William Brady himself.¹¹

Neighborhood Opposition

By the summer of 1959, Merriam Park was in the freeway planners' cross hairs. City and state officials wanted quick Federal approval for freeway interchanges at Cretin and Prior Avenues and an elevated one-mile section of freeway over Fairview Avenue. The concerned residents who met at St. Mark's on a warm evening in August to launch the MPRRA likewise moved quickly, choosing officers, setting objectives, and contacting the neighborhood. The St. Mark's *Bulletin* announced the Association's first concerns, noting "... an Elevated Freeway will do more damage to the district than a depressed highway [and] accesses and egresses from the Freeway had to be limited." The priority of safety for children and seniors was mirrored by the MPRRA, which adopted "Action today" as its motto.¹²

And action it was. Over the next three years Merriam Park residents utilized many tools to build grass roots people power. They conducted petition drives, held bake sales, packed public hearings, and lobbied local officials. They mobilized school children, churchgoers, and local civic organizations and businesses to their cause. And they wrote letter after letter laying out their case against the freeway exit. "Yes, we will go along with progress," wrote homeowner and lifelong resident Clement L. Smith, "but we will fight this asinine idea of the interchange at Prior Avenue."

This energetic and creative opposition to the freeway reflected different views of urban life and government decision-making. The engineers, professional planners, and public officials who built freeways used tools of prediction and rational analysis, and considered the Interstate Highway "a pure path to progress." Merriam Park activists thought otherwise. They considered the state's approach insensitive and out of touch with urban realities. Powerful economic interests, they believed, also pushed for the freeway with little regard for community input.

As spokesmen for the community, Kelm and Gilligan articulated the neighborhood perspective: a safe place to raise children, maintain a home and forge strong community institutions. They opposed commercial and industrial interests whose priorities were moving goods from point A to B in the most efficient way possible, or as Gilligan put it in the St. Mark's *Bulletin*: the trucking firms and other industrialists who want to "run across town with no regard."

Trucking companies like Admiral-Merchants Freight did indeed support the freeway plan. But Merriam Park residents also had to contend with the pro-freeway stance of large manufacturing and distribution firms, like Brown & Bigelow and Skelly Oil, and the Midway Civic Club, which spoke for 1,600 other businesses that backed the freeway. These firms wanted quick transfer for goods and services within the Twin Cities and beyond. Multiple freeway interchanges were considered essential for commercial traffic and for consumers to drive in and out of the Midway area, which bordered Merriam Park.¹³

Bureaucracy, Politics, and Community Pressure

By 1959 the rules governing freeway construction also had changed. The Minnesota Legislature ended local government veto power over highway projects, substantially strengthening the hand of the MDH over city councils and local citizens. City government had a consultative role, while

the Federal Bureau of Roads was required to approve local plans, but the Minnesota Department of Highways was the key agency driving freeway construction.

Staffed by engineers, the MDH was a fortress bureaucracy in state government with a national reputation for effective planning and timely execution. The agency was also under pressure to act fast. Responding to public expectations for freeway construction, agency leaders tried to avoid costly delays despite funds being stretched to the limit. As Merriam Park residents were just starting to get organized, the MDH was prepared to execute Minnesota's portion of the largest public works program in the nation's history.¹⁴

In 1957, Frank Marzitelli was appointed deputy commissioner of MDH to manage freeway development. He was well suited for the job. A past commissioner of public works in St. Paul, he had impressive credentials and a talent for public relations. Marzitelli grew up along the Italian Upper Levee on St. Paul's river flats, a neighborhood that produced success stories of the "local boy makes good" variety. He early pursued a baker's trade, organizing the local union and becoming its business agent. In 1950 he was elected to the City Council and proved so skilled a negotiator and adept at public affairs that the Republican powers in the Democratic town also embraced him.

His knowledge of St. Paul, both organic and learned, contributed to a long



As this 1959 photo of Snelling Avenue looking northwest toward University Avenue documents, heavy traffic on city streets was a common problem as the volume of cars and trucks increased after World War II. Advocates for the I-94 freeway, with its multiple exits into the city and neighborhoods, thought the interstate offered the best way to facilitate quick transfer of commercial goods and ease access for shoppers and commuters. St. Paul Pioneer Press photo. Photo courtesy of the Minnesota Historical Society.

public career that included time as state highway commissioner, deputy state welfare commissioner, St. Paul's first city administrator, and executive director of the St. Paul Port Authority. Candid and trusted, he was a first-rate facilitator, his skills serving his native town well into retirement when he saved the Landmark Center from the wrecking ball and built the Ordway Center for the Performing Arts.¹⁵

His boss at MDH, Loyal P. Zimmerman, wanted the urban section of the freeway built quickly and quietly. The agency acquired property well in advance of construction and tried to maintain secrecy over its plans. Building through the city was a special challenge, Zimmerman believed, that involved local government partners, organized citizens, and multiple engineering problems. MDH's job was to push ahead through any obstacle or public controversy to finish the work. With control of information and good public relations, MDH officials believed they could manage whatever problems might arise.¹⁶

Election politics also affected freeway momentum. In the months preceding his 1958 reelection, Governor Orville Freeman was pummeled by Republican claims that he failed to maximize road construction. Freeways were political commodities and construction contracts produced profits for companies and good wages for workers. The Minnesota Association of General Contractors, the lobby group of the construction industry, also weighed in against Freeman. In response, Freeman directed his Commissioner of Administration, Art Naftalin, to expedite MDH's planning and projects. MDH sent out their own press releases, asserting it would act "... swiftly to do its part to increase employment and accelerate highway construction as called for by the emergency programs of the Federal-Aid Highway Act. . . ."¹⁷

In the face of the political storms and the determination of MDH to complete its mission, Merriam Park neighbors continued to support the goals their leaders had articulated. "The freeway was a very big issue," one long-time St. Mark's member recalled. Another said, "... the parish definitely saw the freeway fight in its

MINNESOTA HIGHWAYS

VOL. 6, NO. 10 1246 University Ave., St. Paul 4, Minn. AUGUST,

Marzitelli Becomes Deputy State Highway Commissioner

Frank Marzitelli, for the past seven years a member of the St. Paul city council, and most recently its public works commissioner, on August 15 became deputy commissioner of the Minnesota Highway department.

His appointment to the newly established position by Commissioner Zimmerman was announced by Governor Freeman July 26. His yearly salary will be \$12,700.

Governor Freeman said appointment of a deputy commissioner was advisable to help handle the growing problems of departmental administration caused by the Highway department's rapidly expanding planning and construction programs and the accompanying increase in the number of department employees.

Noting that Minnesota and the St. Paul city council, Marzitelli

5 Major Appointments Made to Division, District Posts

Five major Highway department posts, including two special positions, are now occupied by newly promoted appointees. The five appointees, named late in July, and their new assignments are:

W. S. Ekern, 48, former district engineer at Duluth, named construction division, he will direct all trunk highway construction in the state.

Dwight T. Burns, 54, formerly assistant construction engineer, now plans, surveys design engineer. He heads Plans, Surveys and Design division.

Arne N. Wahlroos, 44, formerly assistant district engineer in the Metropolitan district appointed assistant construction engineer to succeed Lynn Carlson, 45, previously assistant district engineer.



Frank D. Marzitelli

Fortnightly Pay Plan Is Adopted

Pay periods for all state civil service employees will be changed January 1 from a semi-monthly to a fortnightly basis. After that date, pay days will be on alternate Tuesdays, instead of on the fifteenth and last day of each month. There will thus be 26 pay days each year, instead of 24.

At the same time, all employees not so situated will go on to a "delayed" pay basis by which their checks will be issued two weeks after the end of the

Shown when appointed deputy commissioner of the Minnesota Department of Highways (MDH; now the Minnesota Department of Transportation) in 1957, Frank Marzitelli (1914–2000) was a skilled negotiator who guided the MDH during the Merriam Park freeway fight. His encounter with Archbishop Brady would fuel the freeway controversy. Image courtesy of the Minnesota Department of Transportation and the Minnesota Digital Library.

own interest." Residents were aware that homes and businesses were threatened, and some demolished. Fred Scherman, who lived on Ashland Avenue, offered a protest poem, as he saw things.

- We would like to see the Freeway pass by Prior Avenue . . .
- We would like to see the Freeway leave our playgrounds stand.
- We don't like to see the Freeway cut our houses down.
- We don't like to see the freeway ruin our part of town.¹⁸

In prose, not poetry, the MDH succinctly categorized the fledgling MPRA as "... an organized effort . . . to benefit and protect the immediate neighborhood." Signaling its intentions, the Association sent a list of questions to MDH in late 1959 demanding clear and comprehensive answers to concerns about the freeway. Association officers were blunt with their inquiry. "What public necessity dictates the foregoing plans [for Fairview, Cretin, and Prior Avenues] with all of their harmful effects?" And, "Why did the highway department contract away a portion of the engineering of

the St. Anthony Freeway west of Snelling Avenue to the Walter Butler Company?" Probing further, the Association asked if "a more flexible plan [could be considered] which would direct traffic around the periphery of the city?"

The MDH response was measured, yet packed with traffic and engineering data that spoke to its expertise. Department officials challenged Association claims that the proposed freeway designs would lower property values in Merriam Park, or that freeway exits were in violation of Federal standards. According to the MDH, the elevated freeway at Fairview Avenue and the proposed Cretin and Prior Avenue exits were justified.¹⁹

Numerous meetings between MPRA leaders and state and local officials took place over the next twelve months on these and other questions, but little progress was made in resolving neighborhood concerns. Another chance to air complaints occurred when the Legislative Interim Commission on Highways took testimony from five "community improvement associations," including the MPRA, in April 1960. The hearing before state legislators was the first time different Twin City community organizations

made common cause on freeway issues. The groups presented evidence of escalating freeway costs to the legislators, but conflicting objectives hampered greater cooperation. One disagreement was over the freeway's Mississippi River crossing. Minneapolis groups appeared to back a crossing at 26th Street, which lined up with St. Anthony Avenue on the St. Paul side. The MPR was reluctant to support any bridge site without knowing its impact on Merriam Park and before other design issues, particularly the freeway exits, were resolved.²⁰

As the freeway controversy entered a third year, Merriam Park leaders vigorously maintained their attack, while occasionally extending an olive branch to officials, elected and otherwise. "The people in this area do not object to a Freeway," the St. Mark's *Bulletin* declared. "They do object to the way that it is planned by the public officials." Freeway planners, it added, were absorbed in material things and might disregard the most sacred things in life. "... This state was settled by persons who [protected the] little home owner, and we have enough hope in the resourcefulness of Minnesota engineers that the technical problems can be overcome," the *Bulletin* concluded.²¹

Allies

While the Association probed for openings to help its cause, it also searched for allies to balance off powerful opponents. They found one in William O. Brady, Archbishop of the St. Paul Archdiocese. Gilligan had grown up in Massachusetts with Brady. They were lifelong friends and both had taught at the St. Paul Seminary. Their relationship created an important partnership against the freeway.

Brady's tenure as archbishop (1956–1961) was short, but he demonstrated energy, vision and commitment to build and modernize the Archdiocese. Fund raising and capital campaigns for secondary education were started, adding Benilde, Murray, and Hill high schools and moving St. Margaret's and St. Thomas Academies to larger campuses. Higher education was encouraged by a \$10 million building drive for the College of St. Catherine's, an all women's school, and improvements made at the crowded diocesan seminaries



William Otterwell Brady (1899–1961) was the sixth archbishop of St. Paul and a builder and promoter during his short reign. A lifelong friend of Monsignor Gilligan, he put himself forward during the I-94 controversy, motivated by institutional interests and church holdings in Merriam Park. He died suddenly in Rome before the convening of the Second Vatican Council. Photo courtesy of the archives of the Archdiocese of St. Paul and Minneapolis.

with an ambitious promotion of funds for religious vocations. St. Mary's Hospital was enlarged and "initial steps" were taken to erect a new archbishop's house and chancery near the Cathedral. As a builder and promoter Brady was clearly the man in charge, and Interstate 94 must have seemed an opportunity, although it raised reasons for concern. An intrusive freeway would threaten over \$40 million in church capital investment in Merriam Park, including Our Lady of Good Counsel cancer home, St. Thomas and St. Catherine's colleges, St. Thomas Academy, and St. Mark's parish and school.

Other Brady reforms more directly helped the Merriam Park cause. He hired a professional newspaperman to run *The Catholic Bulletin* and make it "an effective instrument in parish and diocesan life." The *Bulletin* consistently promoted the Merriam Park agenda. He drew clear lines with parish priests, expecting all communication by letter, although matters requiring his personal attention might be handled directly. Gilligan and Kelm

took the direct route, asking Brady to get involved in the freeway fight by meeting with Deputy Marzitelli in August 1960. The man Gilligan knew for over fifty years and thought "utterly decisive" responded without hesitation.²²

Brady's account of the meeting is captured in a long follow-up letter he sent to Marzitelli. In it he thanked the deputy for clarifying "the triple authority" of state, federal, and city agencies. "These divisions of authority are not always clear to us simple citizens," the Archbishop wrote, "... and your explanation is helpful to our understanding of whom we must approach when, as citizens, we find it important to take part in the democratic process." Some previously raised Association issues were put to rest. The freeway's main route through St. Paul was "... no longer a matter of debate." Likewise, the freeway river crossing at 26th Street, or elsewhere, would be set aside, to be left to the Legislature to determine.

The letter went on to mention certain "common understandings" with Marzitelli that seemed to favor Merriam Park. After noting the hazard to drivers of an elevated freeway at Fairview Avenue, and its negative impact on property values and city tax revenues, the Archbishop wrote he could bring these matters "... to the public attention of all the people of St. Paul ... to Washington ... and to spearhead a movement to raise whatever funds may be needed to complete this project, as it should be done."

Brady suggested resolving the Fairview elevation issue by tying it to the Prior and Cretin Avenue interchanges. Arguing for "... Elimination of ramps at Prior [to] reduce overall costs of the freeway," he noted the savings could be used to cover the depressed construction at Fairview. Then he added a startling claim. Brady wrote of an agreement to eliminate the interchange at Prior Avenue. It would not be planned "... now or in the future." Assertive as always, Brady might have been reading from a Gilligan sermon when he added that Merriam Park needed to be preserved "... as a fine residential district."²³

The Archbishop had not only advocated the Association position; he had extracted commitments from



St. Mark's elementary students line Dayton Avenue for a religious procession in 1962. Msgr. Gilligan employed similar and powerful symbolism during the freeway fight when 1,500 grade school children were assembled along Prior Avenue to oppose the freeway exit. Photo courtesy of the archives of St. Mark's Church.

Minnesota's chief freeway spokesman. Why would Marzitelli agree? In fact, had he agreed at all? The record is not clear. Notes from the meeting are not known to exist, if notes were even taken. Marzitelli would have been mindful of the many Catholic households that would hear Brady's message and be influenced by his arguments. His job was to handle the public, and what he said to Brady during their meeting may have been equivocal. Decisions about the freeway were always complex, as the Archbishop acknowledged, and further twists and turns might mitigate whatever the deputy had said. Nevertheless, over the next two years Association leaders would cite the Brady letter to strengthen their own claims in the ongoing fight.²⁴

The Conflict Expands

While Archbishop Brady's letter was a major boost to the freeway opponents, the outcome of the Merriam Park conflict was much in doubt. Determined to win support from local government, Kelm had asked Mayor Vavoulis "to get into the fight" and have the city corporate counsel render an opinion concerning the actions of the MDH. "Inform the City Council of its authority and responsibility," Kelm wrote, and "... force the state to stop further land acquisitions . . . with-

out council approval." St. Paul Public Works Commissioner Milt Rosen reacted by saying the city lacked authority to "... tell the state or federal agencies what to do," although he asked the MDH to temporarily drop design work on Prior Avenue and offered yet another hearing on the Association's issues.

Rosen allied himself on the freeway



A depressed (at grade) freeway at Fairview Avenue was a top Merriam Park Residential Association priority. The MPRA brought enough pressure to bear, with Archbishop Brady's help, to persuade the Minnesota Department of Highways to back off from its proposal to elevate the freeway at Fairview Avenue. In this construction photo, Fairview Avenue (looking south) is flooded as it runs under the freeway, a problem that persisted. Photo courtesy of the Minnesota Historical Society and the archives of St. Mark's Church.

with the Midway Civic Club and the Chamber of Commerce. He had a long record in civic affairs and supported highway improvements; he also owned a tire and rubber company on West Sixth Street in St. Paul. These public and private roles made him the Council's lead on freeway matters, and someone who would figure into the widening conflict.²⁵

Business groups presented another threat to freeway opponents. Long supportive of the MDH plan, they now circulated a petition in support of the Prior Avenue exits. Henry B. Lund, executive secretary of the Midway Civic Club, believed the freeway interchanges were needed for "industrial, retail and commercial life" in the Midway district. Phillip Troy, president of the Chamber of Commerce, claimed the interchanges were needed to "improve rather than disrupt" Merriam Park and relieve traffic on University and Marshall Avenues.

Gilligan's response to both was to suggest St. Mark's grade school might close and warned the city of the \$600,000 cost it would bear to educate St. Mark's students if his hand was forced. To further demonstrate his resolve, Gilligan directed teachers to line up the St. Mark's student body along both sides of Prior



Construction of I-94 as seen in about 1964 from the Snelling Avenue interchange looking west toward the pedestrian bridge in the background. Photo courtesy of the Minnesota Historical Society and the archives of St. Mark's Church.

Avenue. The visual image of 1,500 children stretching the five blocks from school to the proposed freeway exits further galvanized the neighborhood. The Association's "David versus Goliath" image was growing.²⁶

While treading water with city and state during much of 1961, Association officials started to act on the federal government. Father Gilligan, Doug Kelm, and other leaders contacted Hubert Humphrey and Eugene McCarthy, U.S. senators, and Joe Karth, St. Paul's representative in Congress. The political connections ran deep: Father Gilligan, for example, had known Humphrey for over twenty years. The Bureau of Roads, with final sign-off authority on freeway design, was the intended target of their lobbying.

A well-organized political constituency, the Association was helpful providing information to their representatives in Congress. Congressman Karth attested to the importance of the help when he wrote Bureau head Ray Whitten that "... Monsignor Gilligan's contention [on Prior Avenue traffic volume] does indeed have great merit."

Some of Gilligan's ecclesiastical friends were asked to lobby as well. "I am writing to ask for a small service," Gilligan wrote Francis Schenk, the Bishop of Duluth. "... would it be possible ... to send a message to Congressman

Blatnik. . . I keenly appreciate the service which his office . . . gave me in Washington." Blatnik was from Chisholm, Minnesota, and a powerful member of the House Public Works Committee. With St. Paul business executives also traveling to Washington, D.C. to press their side of the story, the Merriam Park relationships in Congress paid off when Humphrey, McCarthy and Karth promised their support to the neighborhood.²⁷

Responding to political pressure, the Bureau of Roads had earlier asked the MDH to conduct its own comprehensive review of the Association's claims, after local discussions had failed. The spiral bound, 150-page study MDH produced took a year to complete. With maps and artist renderings, it repackaged the agency's old design and engineering recommendations, adding certain agency assessments about social and economic impacts on the neighborhood that would prove controversial. It did support one Merriam Park contention: the depressed freeway at Fairview Avenue was feasible after all, as the Association, the Archbishop, and some city officials had held. But the MDH gave no ground on the contentious issue of freeway exits.²⁸

MPRA leaders countered the MDH study by crafting their own analysis of what MDH had written, making it available to City Council and Congressional

allies. An Association press release in January 1962 put it succinctly. The MDH report gave 70 pages to questions other than "engineering and traffic flow." MDH's social, educational, and economic views were "not the concern of highway engineers." Only elected leaders could make such decisions. Once more, they asked city and state officials "to take quick action in behalf of the citizens of Merriam Park."

After two and a half years of protest, organizing, lobbying and confrontation, the central issue of freeway exits was still up in the air. With neighborhood and business leaders deadlocked in their positions and key elected officials still uncommitted, the showdown over Prior Avenue loomed.²⁹

All Politics Is Local

Support by members in Congress had encouraged Merriam Park leaders, but the need to bolster their case and to pressure city officials once again shifted the focus. The mayor had appointed John Slusser, an Association member, to the St. Paul Planning Board in 1961. Slusser dug for details about MDH proposed traffic counts and other technical information for the MPRA, only to be told the state agency wouldn't "give out piecemeal information." The Bureau in Washington wanted the MDH study to "... provide answers to many, if not all of the questions that had been raised to this project," and as a result mollify the MPRA in its press for changes. Clearly, this was not going to happen.³⁰

The public back-and-forth between freeway opponents and backers was continuously in the four Twin City newspapers. The *St. Paul Dispatch* carried a lengthy and spirited debate that featured Kelm and Gilligan jousting with businesses leaders on the merits of the Prior Avenue interchange. In another press story, City Council candidate and Merriam Park resident James Dalglish characterized the MDH study as "phony, pseudo engineering gobble-de-gook," and then was chastised by the president of the Minnesota Society of Professional Engineers for his comments.³¹

Despite the lengthening dispute and seeming stalemate, Father Gilligan remained upbeat, citing the support of

recently elected Republican Governor Elmer Andersen as evidence of progress. Neighborhood activists began mobilizing for the 1962 city elections to put more pressure on the mayor and council members. One DFL front group chaired by Doug Kelm circulated flyers reminding residents to keep their freeway champions in mind. "When you go to the polls, remember Karth and Doody! They supported *us*; now let's support *them*!" Joe Gabler, a Merriam Park resident, was the DFL endorsed candidate for mayor. He announced his opposition to the freeway exits in January, charging mayor Valoulis with "complete indifference toward the Merriam Park's freeway concerns."³²

City Council Decision and After

Merriam Park ire was fiercest toward the MDH determination to build the exits at Prior Avenue. The state's completed study was characterized as a "propaganda book," and its proposed Fairview Avenue freeway solution a sham, "deliberately inviting rejection of its own [MDH] application," Kelm said. The MPRA put no faith in the MDH findings and recommendations. Kelm was "... confident the Governor [Republican Elmer L. Andersen] would step in to "... give direction to the Highway Department," although the powerful Midway Civic Club and St. Paul Chamber of Commerce

were still supporting the interchanges that Merriam Park opposed. Kelm leveled his blasts at them as well, charging the businessmen as the only remaining "interests" seeking construction of exits at Prior Avenue.³³

Before city officials would have their freeway stewardship scrutinized in the March and April city elections, State Highway Commissioner James C. Marshall gave a real push to break the Merriam Park logjam. Marshall was frustrated by the delays, now almost three years in running, so in February 1962 he threatened to withhold freeway funds to St. Paul pending solution of Merriam Park's issues.

The pressure signaled to the mayor and City Council members that decision time had arrived. Doug Kelm, the master political chess player, sent another signal, reminding Vavoulis and the council of their responsibility to support or reject the MDH recommendations. Local newspapers continued their coverage of any and all freeway news, while the DFL Party and its candidates jumped to criticize the mayor and Commissioner Rosen for evading a decision. City Council allies of the MPRA held committee meetings to air MDH recommendations and consider citizen rebuttals, all of it reported in the daily press.³⁴

Finally, Mayor Vavoulis announced the resolution he had crafted for council con-

sideration, but it was not to be a finished document. Needing a political compromise, the mayor tried to quiet Merriam Park by tying their issues to Marshall's threat to stop freeway funding, then coupling it to another freeway issue involving two downtown hospitals. Affirming the consensus for a depressed freeway at Fairview Avenue, the mayor left the Prior Avenue interchanges open "for later consideration," an idea floated by the MDH and Governor Andersen.³⁵

The reaction from the Association was predictable. "It would be grossly unfair to leave the Merriam Park community with a sword hanging over their heads for many years to come," Doug Kelm blistered the mayor. The Association demanded the City Council reject the mayor's Prior Avenue resolution and support a north only exit at Cretin Avenue. Senators Humphrey and McCarthy as well as Congressman Karth sent telegrams urging the city to "adopt an expression of policy." Pressure by phone, flyer, and on foot bombarded the City Council, dividing freeway backers from opponents. When questioned just days before the council vote about Marshall's threat to withhold freeway funds, Governor Andersen gave a nuanced reply. "Marshall is acting on the facts, I'm acting on human relationships," he said.³⁶

After a series of weekend meetings in early March "with highway officials and various interest groups," Vavoulis announced a reworked set of recommendations. Commissioner Rosen, however, had been left out of the deal. Vavoulis had been pressured toward a no-interchange policy at Prior Avenue, but Rosen represented a harder line, publically supporting "the heavy taxpayers of this city," a reference to the Midway Civic Club and the Chamber of Commerce. Further study of the Prior Avenue exits, as the mayor first proposed, had been roundly attacked by the MPRA and was not the solution Rosen and his backers wanted. The mayor's revised plan, as announced, included a north-only freeway exit at Cretin Avenue, the depressed interstate roadway at Fairview Avenue, a river crossing at 26th Street and finally, no exits at Prior Avenue.

The Merriam Park residents who arrived at city hall on March 5th to applaud



Gilligan and Kelm sparred with the St. Paul Chamber of Commerce and the Midway Civic Club in a two-part St. Paul Dispatch Q&A article in June 1961. The map reproduced here shows the contested intersections along the freeway's length in Merriam Park. Citizen opposition to the freeway reflected different views of urban life from those of the commercial interests, engineers, and professional planners who termed the freeway "a pure path to progress." St. Paul Dispatch map, June 22, 1961. Photo courtesy of the Minnesota Historical Society.



The front-page headline greeted St. Paulites the Monday after Mayor George Vavoulis negotiated a multi-sided "accord" to settle the freeway dispute. "In essence this is the program requested by Merriam Park residents," the Dispatch reported. It was ratified the next day, and although attempts to amend it continued for a number of years, the core agreement held. St. Paul Dispatch, March 5, 1962. Photo courtesy of the Minnesota Historical Society.

the mayor's deal would witness more political drama. "I'm just sick," Commissioner Rosen complained at Monday's council conference, his frustration showing. "I'm not trying to kill people, as those in the area have said." The mayor tried to salve the hurt. Rosen did an outstanding job as a public official, Vavoulis told the assembled crowd. But his graciousness could not hide the fact that the St. Paul City Council, with only Rosen dissenting, had given Merriam Park the freeway agenda it had long sought. "In essence," the *St. Paul Dispatch* summarized, "this is the program requested by Merriam Park residents." Last-minute appeals from Albert Shiely, director of the Midway Civic Club, and other freeway proponents made no impact.³⁷

And yet, there was still wiggle room for interchange advocates. Despite the stand by the mayor and City Council, the final decision was still in the hands of the Bureau of Roads. Later in March 1962, a spokesman for Governor Andersen made the announcement. The Prior Avenue interchanges would be dropped "pending further traffic counts and study." The sword over Merriam Park remained. No mention was made of Bureau action on the interchanges at Cretin Avenue, but

a depressed roadway would be built at Fairview Avenue. The mayor told the *Pioneer Press* there was no reason anyone should quarrel with further studies of Prior Avenue. The Bureau was merely making certain that "the purpose of the freeway construction is being accomplished here." As always, Kelm responded. The Bureau's decision was "complete treachery" and the Governor's recommendation to further study traffic flow at Prior Avenue was "the kind of a tactic we can expect from him."³⁸

In the end, the parties in St. Paul's great freeway fight may have just worn each other down. Freeway building would remain a highly political matter, and persistence by the MDH did result in dual exits being built at Cretin Avenue. The prediction of Midway Civic Club man Al Shiely, however, that heavy traffic would ultimately force building the Prior Avenue interchange never occurred.

A lone, but well organized, community organization had resisted state, federal, and local government plans, along with private business pressure to achieve much of what they had set out to accomplish. They had shown intelligence, creativity and spirit, and had enhanced the democratic process, as the Archbishop had once

encouraged. In short, citizen activism had accomplished a great deal, although the massive Interstate Highway program that transformed cities and the living patterns of most Americans could not, in the end, be totally resisted. Its completion was also a tribute to creativity, and to power.

Perhaps as well, Merriam Park's victory was a confirmation of the power of race and class in city life. After all, residents of Merriam Park were able to preserve the integrity of their neighborhood while their counterparts in Rondo, the center of African-American community life in St. Paul, were unable to do the same a few years earlier. Leaders of the Rondo-St. Anthony Improvement Association had sought fair housing legislation in the wake of Highway 94. They never got it. No records provide insight on how the old civil rights activist, Father Francis Gilligan, felt as he watched the negative consequences of freeway expansion on his old allies just two miles down the road.

Near the close of the Merriam Park struggle, Mayor Vavoulis reflected that things might have been resolved "more easily" had it not been an election year in St. Paul. That it was an election year, of course, had everything to do with the outcome of the freeway fight. It's hard to imagine the result without politics, or grassroots organizing, or the citizen leaders of the Merriam Park Residential Association who marshaled their own power "to fight city hall."³⁹

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Tom Beer grew up a Catholic kid in St. Paul. His family home on Carroll Avenue, which was three blocks from St. Mark's, was taken during the freeway's construction. His father's hardware store, on Marshall Avenue, is now occupied by Izzy's Ice Cream.

Both authors thank Peter Kessler, archivist at St. Mark's Church, for his assistance with the research for this article.

Endnotes

1. *St. Paul Dispatch*, March 6, 1962, p. 1.
2. Alan Altshuler, *The City Planning Process: A Political Analysis* (Cornell, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1965); F. James Davis and Alice Onque, *Freeway Exodus—Experiences in Finding Housing as a Result of the St. Anthony-Rondo Freeway Displacement from Western to Lexington Avenues in St. Paul: A Research Report* (Hamline University, 1963). A strong, at times militant challenge was raised by Rondo, but strategic failures and inconsistent community pressure affected the outcome there.
3. Patricia Cavanaugh, *Politics and Freeways: Building the Twin Cities Interstate System* (Minneapolis: Center for Urban and Regional Affairs and the Center for Transportation Studies, University of Minnesota, 2006), 8.
4. *Ibid.*, 11–13.
5. Lewis Mumford, *The Highway in the City* (New York: Harcourt Brace and World, 1963), 13.
6. Jane Jacobs, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* (New York: Random House, 1961), 7.
7. Cavanaugh, *Politics and Freeways*, 10; St. Anthony Avenue still runs intermittently from the State Capitol to the Mississippi River.
8. Cavanaugh, *Politics and Freeways*, 16; David Lanegran, “Four Nineteenth Century Residential Districts,” in P. Kane, B. Hayskar, et al., *St. Paul Omnibus: Images of the Changing City* (Old Town Restorations, Inc., 1979), 115–19.
9. 1950 U.S. Census of Population, U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of Census, Mpls.-St. Paul Census Tracts, MHS –C3.950-7 2 M66; Peter Kessler, *St. Mark’s Parish, 1889–1989: A Century of Catholic Commitment* (St. Paul: St. Mark’s Parish, 1989), 4, 16–17 and 34–35. The booklet was written to mark the parish centenary. Authors’ possession.
10. A main business district serving Merriam Park ran east of Cleveland Avenue on both sides of Marshall Avenue. The Association had the support of local merchants, the Snelling Avenue Commercial Club, and the St. Paul Association of Commercial Clubs; letter dated September 3, 1959, signed by Association officers, in the St. Mark’s parish archive.
11. *Minneapolis Star*, September 22, 1999; John Milton and Ray Faricy, authors’ interview, St. Paul, November 11, 2011; Tom Beer and Tom O’Connell, “Father Gilligan and the Struggle for Civil Rights,” *Minnesota History*, 62, no. 6 (Summer 2011): 204–15.
12. *A Study of Interstate Highway 94 from Pillsbury to Aldine Streets, St. Paul*, prepared by the Minnesota Department of Highways, September 1961; St. Mark’s *Bulletin*, August 1959, St. Mark’s parish archive.
13. *St. Paul Pioneer Press*, March 3, 1962; *Market Choices and Fair Prices, Transportation and Growth Studies Report*, #17 (Minneapolis: Center for Transportation Studies, University of Minnesota, 2003), 6; Cavanaugh, *Politics and Freeways*, 13; *St. Paul Dispatch*, January 17, 1961, p. 7; *St. Paul Dispatch*, June 22 & 23, 1961, pp. 17 & 10.
14. Minnesota Statutes, Chap.161.17 subd. 2. With the change, MDH could refer highway decisions to a metro area planning body; Cavanaugh, *Politics and Freeways*, 12.
15. Frank D. Marzitelli Papers, Minnesota Historical Society, Minnesota History Center, St. Paul, Minn., 107.H63B; *St. Paul Pioneer Press*, August 18, 2000, p. 1A; *St. Paul Pioneer Press*, February 25, 1994, p. 2B.
16. Memo from L.P. Zimmerman, Commissioner, to MDH directors and engineers, November 8, 1960, Box 1, Marzitelli Papers, MHS.
17. *St. Paul Pioneer Press*, March 29, 1958, p. 3. A number of other *Pioneer Press* stories in March 1958 reveal the Freeman Administration’s concern with recession, unemployment, and the possibility for a special Legislative session; Marzitelli Papers, 1957–1958 folder; *Minnesota Highway News*, June 9, 1958, Marzitelli Papers, MHS.
18. George Schnell and Patricia Turbes, author interview, St. Paul, May 14 and May 18, 2011; Sherman’s poem was one of many in the St. Mark’s archive.
19. *A Study of Interstate Highway 94* (MDH), p. iii; MPRA letter to Adrian P. Winkler (St. Paul Commissioner of Public Works) and L.P. Zimmerman, September 3, 1959, St. Mark’s archive; “St. Anthony Avenue Fact Sheet” (MDH), September 9, 1959, St. Mark’s archive. Walter Butler Company was a Republican-owned construction firm. Terms “elevated” and “depressed” were used to describe placement of the Interstate roadway relative to the adjacent street level.
20. *St. Paul Pioneer Press*, March 29, 1960, p.3; *St. Paul Pioneer Press*, April 28, 1960, p. 19.
21. St. Mark’s *Bulletin*, July 26, 1960, and other issues not dated, St. Mark’s archive.
22. In 1928 Archbishop Austin Dowling recruited three young priests, Brady, Gilligan, and William Connolly, to come to St. Paul and teach at the St. Paul Seminary; *St. Paul Dispatch*, January 17, 1961, p. 7 and September 1, 1970, p. C; Cavanaugh, *Politics and Freeways*, 16; Marvin R. O’Connell, *Pilgrims in the Northland: The Archdioceses of St. Paul, 1840–1962* (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 2009), pp. 463–66 and 605–11.
23. Letter from Archbishop William O. Brady to Frank Marzitelli, Office of the Archbishop of Diocese of St. Paul, August 12, 1960, St. Mark’s archive.
24. Altshuler, *The City Planning Process*, 53. MDH inflexibility, it was believed, held down controversy and kept the demands of any one group from encouraging others; *The Catholic Bulletin*, editorial, April 28, 1961.
25. *St. Paul Pioneer Press*, August 8, 1960, p. C2; *St. Paul Dispatch*, January 17, 1961, p. 7 and September 1, 1970, p. C; Rosen had served on the council since 1930 and was himself a past president of the Minnesota Good Roads Association and board member of the St. Paul Automobile Club.
26. *St. Paul Dispatch*, January 17, 1961, p. 7; *St. Paul Dispatch*, June 22, 1961, p. 17; author interview with Patricia Turbes, May 18, 2011.
27. Gilligan knew Humphrey from the 1940s when both were active in civil rights and labor causes; letter from Joseph E. Karth to Ray M. Whitten, January 24, 1962, St. Mark’s archive; letter from Francis J. Gilligan to Most Rev. Francis J. Schenk, January 30, 1962, St. Mark’s archive; *Minneapolis Star*, “Decision Expected on Interstate 94” March 1, 1962.
28. *A Study of Interstate Highway 94* (MDH), footnote 12.
29. Press release, MPRA, January 30, 1962, St. Mark’s archive.
30. *St. Paul Pioneer Press*, September 7, 1961, p. 17; State of Minnesota, County of Ramsey, sworn deposition of John W. Slusser, January 13, 1962, St. Mark’s archive; *A Study of Interstate Highway 94* (MDH), iii.
31. *St. Paul Dispatch*, June 22, 1961, p. 17; *St. Paul Dispatch*, March 2, 1962, p. 19.
32. St. Mark’s parish bulletin, August 6, 1961, St. Mark’s archive; “Merriam Park Neighbors for Karth and Doody,” not dated, St. Mark’s archive. Robert Doody was the DFL candidate for state House District 44 North and block captain and executive member of the MPRA; *St. Paul Pioneer Press*, January 31, 1962, p. 11.
33. *St. Paul Dispatch*, March 3, 1962; press release, MPRA, January 30, 1962, pp. 1 and 2.
34. *Minneapolis Star*, March 1, 1962, p. 1B; MPRA letter and candidate questionnaire on freeway issues, February 1962, St. Mark’s archive.
35. Resolution, St. Paul City archive, Minnesota Historical Society, Minnesota History Center, 107. H6.3.B, March 1, 1962.
36. *St. Paul Dispatch*, March 2, 1962, p. 19.
37. *St. Paul Dispatch*, March 5, 1962, p. 1; *St. Paul Pioneer Press*, March 5, 1962, p. 15.
38. *St. Paul Dispatch*, March 14, 1962, p. 1.
39. *St. Paul Pioneer Press*, March 5, 1962, p. 15.

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In this photo from the 1940s, Herman and Jeanette Zuettel pick beans on their farm in Rosetown (now Roseville). For more on market-garden farming and life in rural Ramsey County between 1920 and 1950, see page 14 for Harlan Stoehr's article on Robert Freeman and his work as the Ramsey County Agricultural Extension Agent in those years. Photo courtesy of the Roseville Historical Society.