

RAMSEY COUNTY

# History

*A Publication of the Ramsey County Historical Society*

*Who Are These Young Men?  
The Shell Service Station  
at Arcade and Jenks*

*Linda McShannock*

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Winter 2014

Volume 48, Number 4

## *Citizens versus the Freeway:*

### RIP-35E and the Pleasant Avenue Route through St. Paul

*John Watson Milton*

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*When the Minnesota Department of Highways published its official state highway map in 1972, it included an insert map that showed how the interstate highway system would eventually crisscross the city of St. Paul. The dashed lines to the left of center indicate that the section of I-35E running north-south along the Pleasant Avenue corridor was incomplete. Map courtesy of the Minnesota Department of Transportation.*

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RAMSEY COUNTY  
**History**

Volume 48, Number 4

Winter 2014

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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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**A Message from the Editorial Board**

History is not always harmonious. When President Dwight Eisenhower envisioned a vast system of interstate highways, designers did not plan for parkways as part of that system. But over many years and several court battles, tenacious St. Paul citizens and legislators managed to carve out an exception: 35E as it runs through downtown St. Paul. John Milton has carefully researched this chapter of Ramsey County history and uncovers its complex and relevant story in this issue. Gerald Scalze shares the story of Ralph Scalze, a strong labor leader who negotiated increased benefits on behalf of workers at the Seeger Refrigerator Company during the 1950s. On a less serious note, Linda McShannock shows us some photographs of young men outside an East Side gas station in 1941, capturing a lighthearted moment just before the United States entered World War II. We don't know the names of all the men in these pictures; contribute to history and help our editor identify them!

*Anne Cowie*  
Chair, Editorial Board

# *Citizens versus the Freeway:*

## RIP-35E and the Pleasant Avenue Route through St. Paul

*John Watson Milton*

**T**he Interstate Highway System, built nationwide mostly during the 1960s and '70s, is widely regarded as the most ambitious and successful infrastructure project in the United States. Yet, as many residents of Ramsey County will recall, there are places where it was not accomplished without an epic battle waged by neighborhood groups seeking to protect their communities from the onslaught of the highway builders.

Indeed, building this national system of freeways connecting major cities and running through established urban areas would prove far more difficult than its creators had imagined. According to public policy analyst Ted Kolderie, the communities about to be penetrated by the construction of an interstate highway

had little real conception of all the changes that lay in store. The freeways took homes and businesses. They reduced tax values in some cities and increased them in others. They changed the pattern of buying and selling. They revolutionized state highway departments. They vastly stimulated city planning. They cut driving time, and thus opened up new locations for homes and shopping centers. They changed driving habits. They provided jobs. They made major controversies for neighborhoods, important policy headaches for city councils and troublesome political problems for governors.<sup>1</sup>

Although the planners of the interstate system conceded that conflicts would indeed result from their work, they also recognized that “transportation cannot be allowed to function apart from or in conflict with its environment. Inevitably, it directly affects the quality of the environment, for better or for worse. Inevitably, it interacts with other personal and community aspirations . . . and community well-being.”<sup>2</sup> Despite this prescient forewarning, one might have imagined that the Twin Cities—comfortable in its isolation from all major wars, foreign and domestic—

might be impervious to what distant highway planners had in mind.

Though there had been labor strife and citizen protests in its progressive past, residents of St. Paul and Minneapolis could point with pride to a diversified economic base, the home offices of several Fortune 500 companies, a long tradition of “giving back” by home-grown philanthropists, and an attitude of self-sufficiency that could effectively ward off

any serious concerns over the impending disruption resulting from massive clearing of land and pharaoh-scale construction of vast serpents of steel and concrete for the new highways.

Consequently, there was widespread local support for a national system of freeways with 90% of their cost paid for by the U.S. government . . . although “not in our neighborhood.” In fact, the construction of the new interstate system would seem to have been conveniently timed, given the demise of the Twin Cities’ expansive streetcar system and the postwar rush to purchase automobiles and move to the suburbs.

Soon after President Dwight D. Eisenhower, a war hero and powerful advocate for a national highway system,



*Although the Pleasant Avenue corridor was the area of St. Paul through which planners routed I-35E, the initial construction, seen in this September 1962 aerial photo looking across the Mississippi toward West Seventh Street, required the building of concrete supports for the bridge that would soon cross the river. Photo courtesy of the Minnesota Historical Society.*

signed into law the Interstate Highway System on June 29, 1956, federal road planners mapped out freeways carrying vehicular traffic from east to west (I-94 and I-90) and north to south (I-35) across the State of Minnesota. Since the Twin Cities boasted two distinct business districts, in continuous commercial war with each other, I-35 would divide in rural Columbus Township north of the core cities into I-35W and I-35E then join up in

a less-intrusive variance such as a parkway. With two fragmentary exceptions, the designers held the line.<sup>3</sup>

Two communities in Ramsey County had risen to protest the planned alignment of I-94 that would bisect the City of St. Paul from east to west. The Rondo Avenue community, where many of the African Americans residing in Ramsey County lived, shopped, or owned businesses, offered brief but futile resistance. The people

Humphrey confidant, J. Douglas Kelm, and the equally powerful Monsignor Francis J. Gilligan, pastor of St. Mark's Catholic Church that was located just south of the proposed exit. Msgr. Gilligan's clout was magnified by his lifelong friendship with Archbishop William O. Brady. Any lesson learned from Rondo and Prior Avenue was that it would take a massive, broad-based and sustained effort to deter the highway planners from having their way.<sup>4</sup>

The opposition to construction of I-35E on the Pleasant Avenue corridor, a route that had been favored for any major highway as far back as the 1920s, did not get organized until after the acquisition of land for the corridor. This initial phase "began in the usual manner in 1964, with most of the right-of-way acquisition completed by 1967, 9 of 15 planned bridges built, and grading about three-quarters done by 1972." As originally planned, this section of I-35 would be a full-fledged interstate with up to three lanes each way, a 55-mile-an-hour speed limit, and the capacity to handle heavy trucks as well as cars. Approvals had been secured from the Metropolitan Council, the St. Paul City Council, and the State Planning Agency. Roughly \$24 million had been spent, and completion was anticipated by 1977. As it turned out, this expeditious effort to begin the project had the effect of inhibiting serious discussion of alternative routes.<sup>5</sup>

But an unforeseen development took place soon after this initial work was completed: the National Environmental Policy Act was passed by the Congress on January 1, 1970, and signed into law by President Richard Nixon. Among other important provisions, it required an Environmental Impact Statement (EIS), spelling out the consequences of any proposed project, and describing any adverse impact on the environment. It was this EIS that would become a centerpiece between contesting groups seeking to steer the project in their preferred direction.

### **The Pleasant Avenue Corridor**

The Pleasant Avenue area lay south of and below the high bluff originally created when the glaciers and later the Mississippi River cut a wide floodplain



*By 1971 construction of I-35E had moved northward across the Mississippi. The Randolph Avenue Bridge over the route for the new highway can be seen in the background. Bridge construction typically preceded construction of the roadbed. Henry B. Hall photograph. Photo courtesy of the Minnesota Historical Society.*

Lakeville for a long run to Laredo, Texas, close to the Mexican border. This was a thoughtful accommodation to residents on both sides of the Mississippi River who looked over at their sister city with more than a hint of suspicion.

From the outset, strict design standards for what would become the nationwide freeway system were established, with the U.S. Department of Transportation authorized to enforce them. So, though there would be years of well-publicized citizen rebellions against the freeways, in the entire system of 47,162 miles—long enough to encircle the earth at the Equator nearly twice—there are only a dozen miles where the designers allowed

of Rondo had no political clout. A viable alternative route that would have avoided the destruction of the Rondo area existed along a corridor to the north, roughly where the Pierce Butler highway was later built. It would have connected the downtowns of St. Paul and Minneapolis as well as or better than the Rondo corridor, but powerful industrial and commercial business leaders strongly opposed this alternative. So Rondo was demolished.

The second flare-up revolved around the planners' desire to build an exit from I-94 at Prior Avenue in the Merriam Park area of St. Paul. The neighborhood activists won this one, thanks to leadership provided by the feisty DFL leader and



*Trained as an engineer, Ray Lappegaard (1923–1993) served as Minnesota's Commissioner of Highways from 1971 to 1974. Photo courtesy of the Minnesota Department of Transportation.*

through the mostly Platteville limestone terrain. The area, west of the city's downtown, was originally settled by a collection of ethnically diverse Europeans from Germany, Italy, Ireland, and Czechoslovakia, who formed the Catholic parishes of St. Stanislaus, St. James, and St. Francis de Sales. Most of the people who lived in the neighborhood were working people, employed by the brewing, printing, and small manufacturing industries of the state's capital city. Homes in this community were of moderate size and lawns were well kept. (A notable exception below the bluff was the fine Victorian home of attorney and writer Charles E. Flandrau and later his popular storyteller and daughter-in-law, Grace Flandrau, at 385 Pleasant Avenue. It was down the street from Children's Hospital, which later moved downtown when it became part of the United Hospital complex.)

Monroe High, the public high school where most of the area's sons and daughters finished their formal education, was not a preferred place to prepare for college, although private schools such as Cretin High, St. Paul Academy, the College of St. Catherine, and Derham Hall were located in the broader area south and west of Pleasant Avenue. Only students from

the more affluent families in the neighborhood were able to attend these.

On its own, the neighborhoods along and adjacent to Pleasant Avenue would not have had the political clout to slow down the freeway builders, but up on the bluff, running parallel to the celebrated homes along Summit Avenue, there resided a remarkable concentration of the city's wealthiest and most powerful families.

In contrast with the humble parishes down below, Catholics on the bluff mostly went to Mass at the towering Cathedral of St. Paul or the Church of St. Luke. Many residents of Summit Hill and Ramsey Hill sent their children to college prep schools. Their ranks were replete with names such as Hill, Weyerhaeuser, Hamm, Ordway, Irvine, Lilly, Griggs, Daniels, Driscoll, Bigelow, Shepard, Davidson, Kalman, O'Brien, and Butler. When they were made aware of the impending highway construction, they had little interest in having their sculptured backyards and tree-laden streets disrupted by the noise, pollution, and visual congestion of an urban freeway. And when aroused, this group could leverage the political clout to stop the freeway, or at least slow it down.

After the highway engineers had completed substantial progress toward building the interstate, construction was stopped on August 16, 1972, following an agreement that resulted from the threat of a lawsuit, in which the City of St. Paul was joined by four neighborhood associations and eight citizens groups, rallying under the banner RIP-35E. (*RIP* was the acronym for Residents in Protest.) The threatened suit, aimed at the Minnesota Department of Highways and the U.S. Department of Transportation, argued that construction should be arrested until an EIS was prepared in accord with the recently enacted National Environmental Policy Act.

"An agreement was reached quickly," to avoid the lawsuit and Highways Commissioner Ray Lappegaard reflected the changing political scene in his statement to Governor Wendell Anderson: "We do recognize the impact of the freeway construction and operation on an immediate neighborhood and are sympathetic to the concerns of those residents in the immediate area particularly." Several of the prominent politicians who

reportedly had worked behind the scenes were U.S. Senators Hubert Humphrey and Walter Mondale, St. Paul's representative in the U.S. House, Joe Karth, and Congressman John Blatnik from northern Minnesota, who at this time was chairman of the House Committee on Public Works, with oversight on all federal transportation matters.<sup>6</sup>

Participation by several adjacent neighborhood associations who had allied with RIP-35E gave the protesters a broad geographical and socioeconomic base so that its profile appeared to be less elitist than just people living on Summit Avenue. The Lexington-Hamline Association, organized in 1969, was bounded on the north by University Avenue, on the east by Lexington Parkway, on the south by Summit Avenue, and on the west by Hamline Avenue; the Ramsey Hill Association, formed in 1972, was bounded on the north by Interstate 94, on the east by the Cathedral of St. Paul, on the south by Summit Avenue, and on the west by Dale Street; the Summit Hill Association, dating back to the 1920s, was bounded on the north by Ramsey Street and Summit Avenue, the proposed route for Interstate 35E on the east and south, and Ayd Mill Road on the west; the West Seventh Street



*The many single-family homes seen in this 1971 photo of an unidentified street in the West Seventh Street neighborhood are typical of a part of the city through which a portion of I-35E was built. Although the highway builders did not always need to raze homes and shops along the Pleasant Avenue corridor, the truncation of residential streets and the impact of noise was felt in most neighborhoods. Henry B. Hall photograph. Photo courtesy of the Minnesota Historical Society.*



Business Association was organized in 1966, preceding the formation of the West Seventh/Fort Road Federation in 1973. It was bounded on the north by the Pleasant Avenue corridor, on the east by the Seven Corners intersection on the edge of the downtown area, on the south by Shepard Road, and on the west by the Ford Bridge crossing over the Mississippi River to Fort Snelling. Father Al Skluzacek, pastor

of St. Stanislaus Church, did double duty by serving as the leader of his parish and as a civic-minded voice in the West Seventh Street Association.

### **The Origin of RIP-35E**

What ignited the spark that resulted in the formation of RIP-35E? Clearly, residents could easily imagine how their community would be affected by a freeway

constructed in the wide, empty space that had once been Pleasant Avenue and was now a vast playground for hikers, bikers, Frisbee-players, and cross-country skiers. For several years, a scattering of people in the neighborhood had watched with growing anxiety as the roadway was slowly being prepared.

All that changed, however, after their appearance at the St. Paul City Council

## *RIP-35E Incorporation and Funding*

In order to finance the legal costs of opposing I-35E and related studies, RIP-35E was set up as a nonprofit corporation. The founders of RIP-35E—Davitt Felder, James Wengler, and Thomond R. O'Brien Sr. (1933–2007)—signed the organization's incorporation papers on October 31, 1973, and they were executed in Ramsey County with legal assistance from Charles K. Dayton of the environmental law firm of Dayton & Herman, which was located in Minneapolis. Consequently any contributions to the organization were exempt from federal income tax under Section 501(c)(3) of the U.S. Internal Revenue Code.

The incorporators selected Dayton & Herman on the basis of the firm's experience in environmental law issues (at the time their clients included the Sierra Club, MPIRG, and the Boundary Waters Canoe Area). For that reason, the new nonprofit organization, though its members were almost entirely St. Paulites, was co-located with the law firm at 400 Roanoke Building, Minneapolis.

Over the years that RIP-35E operated, monetary contributions to it varied from \$25.00 to \$4,000. According to the RIP-35E records, its major contributors included:

Marion Blodgett \$1,000 (the equivalent of \$5,250 in 2013)  
Thomas L. Daniels \$300  
Davitt Felder \$500  
House of Hope Presbyterian Church \$500  
James LaFave \$400

Theodora Lang \$500  
David Lilly \$915  
Dorothea G. McLaughlin \$550  
Frank Murphy \$25  
Thomond O'Brien \$500  
Ramsey Hill Association \$3,000  
Summit Hill Association \$3,721

Contributions of lesser amounts were received from 115 other individuals. The list reads like a "Who's Who" of St. Paul's most prominent families: Bancroft, Bigelow, Butler, Cardozo, Carroll, Cathcart, Davidson, DeCoster, Dossdall, Driscoll, Elsinger, Gordon, Griggs, Jackson, Kalman, Kennedy, Lightner, Morgan, Otto, Ordway, Putnam, Shepard, Stolpestad, Stryker, Tiffany, and Ward.

Upon incorporation, the following eighteen people constituted the initial board of directors: Karen Avaloz, Charles R. Coe, Clarke Duffey, Davitt Felder, Jeanne Felder, William L. Klas, Louise Klas, Lynn Hewett, James Lynden, Frank B. Martin, Michael McKim, Thomond R. O'Brien, James Stolpestad, Terrence Sullivan, Catherine E. Taylor, Kathleen Vadnais, James Wengler, and Janice Wengler.

As stated in the incorporation document, the purpose of RIP-35E was as follows:

The incorporators [of RIP-35E] recognize the profound and harmful impact that man's activities can have on the human, natural, and social environment, particularly the destructive effect of high volume, high speed freeways. Such highways divide communities, destroy scenic and aes-

thetic values, cause intolerable levels of air and noise pollution, decrease the use of adjoining land, particularly for sensitive uses such as hospitals, schools, parks and housing, and, generally have a negative impact on their environs.

The purposes of [RIP-35E] shall be to attempt to insure prevention or amelioration of natural, social and human environmental harm to the part of St. Paul that encompasses the neighborhoods represented by the following organizations: The Summit Hill Association, the Ramsey Hill Association, the West Seventh Street Association and the South Lexington Association. The RIP-35E ENVIRONMENTAL DEFENSE FUND shall attempt to insure environmentally compatible development in this area that recognizes the unique social, historical, residential and architectural amenities of the area and its unique concentration of parks, schools, hospital and historic sites.

The RIP-35E incorporators made no mention of churches that might have been impacted by the roadway. The Cass Gilbert-designed building at the base of Ramsey Hill that had originally been a church was, however, no longer used for religious purposes, and it was spared demolition largely by recommendation of the Butler Engineering study; thus saving it was not an issue in the final resolution of I-35E. The Roman Catholic Church of the Holy Redeemer, which had once stood adjacent to the Pleasant Avenue corridor, had been demolished earlier, when the roadway for I-94 was approved, well before the I-35E battle was joined.

meeting on April 19, 1972. As Kathryn Boardman wrote in the *St. Paul Pioneer Press*, “the difference now is that they have banded together.”<sup>7</sup> The Council responded affirmatively to their petition and rescinded its earlier approval of the freeway plan. In addition to this public protest, the legal requirement that an environmental study be completed prior to any more construction being done gave this group of residents the prospect they might be able to successfully challenge the highway-builders’ momentum.

Initially, James Wengler, an architect and original incorporator of RIP-35E, served as the chair of the organization’s board. Soon however, John Diehl, a young attorney who had recently moved into a home on Kenwood Parkway, two doors down from Davitt Felder (another RIP-35E incorporator), was recruited to succeed Wengler as the board chair. When interviewed about what RIP-35E had done to oppose the completion of the freeway, he summed up the organization’s efforts in these words:

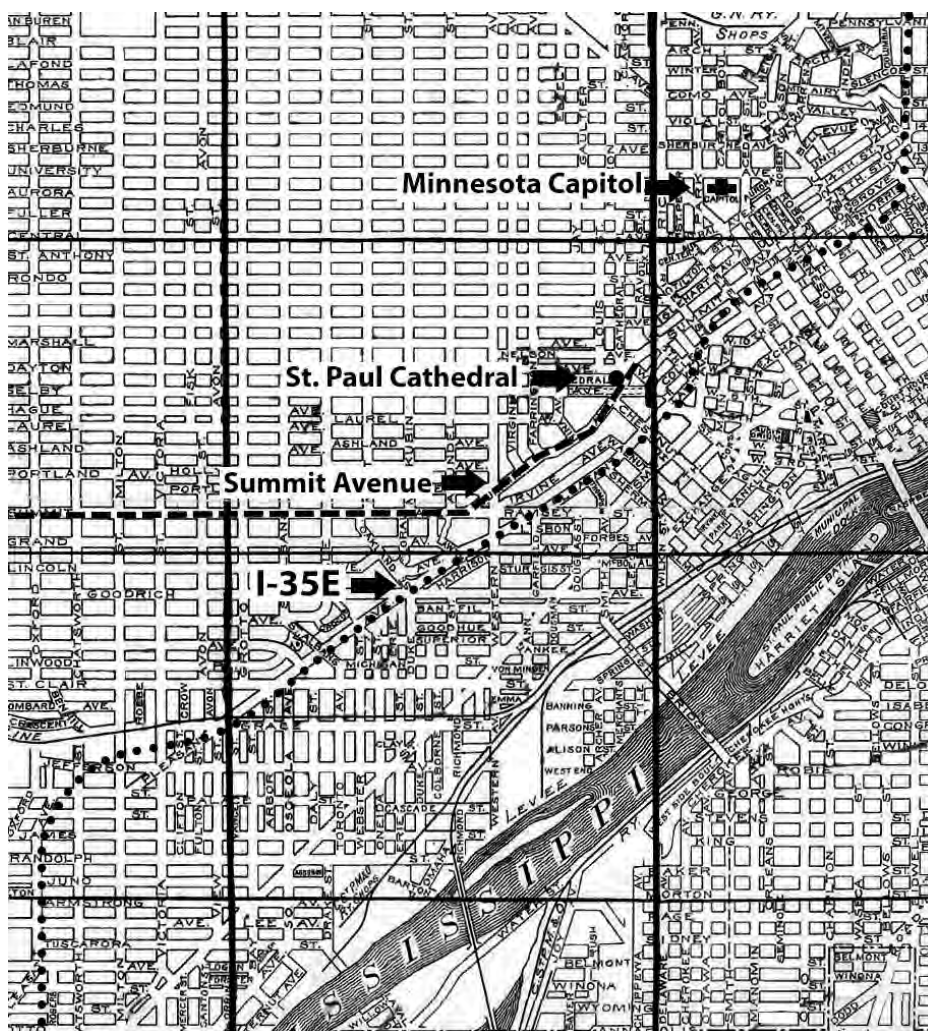
The political/policy work [of RIP-35E] was a sophisticated, well-informed, issue-driven campaign that was carried out by a network of volunteers. The group of which I was chair was this collection of people from all of the affected St. Paul neighborhoods who met to discuss and resolve strategic and substantive issues and to prepare our case. We had volunteers who did very sophisticated research on: (1) the legal standards (“sensitive receptors” that were to have protection under the environmental protection laws . . . the route was strewn with these things—two grade schools, two or three hospitals (the United and Children’s were mere feet from the road), one school athletic field, and three public parks/playgrounds; (2) noise standards, causes of noise and noise abatement techniques; (3) air pollution standards and freeway air quality impacts; (4) impact on historic properties and the historic neighborhoods; and (5) the similar data for the alternative routes (which were Shepherd Road and/or the Lafayette Freeway). Anyway, we had volunteers or committees of volunteers that researched each of these areas, documented noise and air pollution findings, identified historic sites, etc., etc.

We then collected all of this and used these findings in our presentations and I was merely the spokesperson that delivered these findings as a part of our presentations calling for alternatives.<sup>8</sup>

Another leader of RIP-35E was the late David M. Lilly, a long-time resident of Summit Hill. Lilly had been a top executive of the Toro Manufacturing Company for more than thirty years, a member of the board of governors of the Federal Reserve System, and at different times the dean of the University of Minnesota’s School of Management and the university’s vice president for finance and operations. As a member of the boards of

several major Twin Cities corporations, he was no stranger to high-level negotiations with a variety of organizations. (For example, Lilly was one of the prime movers in the 1969 consolidation of St. Paul’s most prestigious private college prep schools, St. Paul Academy and Summit School, where only the most resolute and enlightened could weather the attendant delicacy of combining these vine-covered and well-established institutions.) Lilly brought loads of *gravitas* to whatever cause he chose to espouse.

In his July 20, 1983 testimony for the lawsuit by RIP-35E that challenged the final EIS, Lilly weathered some of the toughest inquiries. He recalled joining



This map is derived from the first aerial map of St. Paul (1923), which was drawn from photographs that were taken by Kenneth M. Wright. The rectangular black lines separate individual photographs. The heavy dotted line crossing the map from bottom to top indicates the eventual route that I-35E took along Pleasant Avenue from the Mississippi River to the northern limits of the city. The hashed line follows Summit Avenue to the west of the highway. For the original map, go to [http://map.lib.umn.edu/aerial\\_photos/stpaul/1923/](http://map.lib.umn.edu/aerial_photos/stpaul/1923/). This map is in the collections of the John R. Borchert Map Library at the University of Minnesota.

RIP-35E “when it was first being formed,” and when asked for the reason for his involvement, replied: “Because I didn’t feel it was an appropriate piece of construction in terms of the welfare of the City of St. Paul. I thought it was yet another example of how the Inner City has been ravaged by the planners who are more interested in going through than they are in protecting the central city.” And, asked what role he played in RIP-35E, he said: “As a supporter—someone who contributed money— [and] some time to getting the group organized to bring the project to a halt.”

He summarized the organization’s position on road-building in the proposed corridor: “RIP’s position has always been that there ought to be a restoration of Pleasant Avenue.” When asked to describe any indirect connection (with I-94), Lilly replied: “The parkway terminates somewhere in the central business district and then it is necessary to go through ordinary streets to connect up with the throughway.”<sup>9</sup>

Another of the incorporators of RIP-35E, as well as the neighbor who first suggested that John Diehl become involved, was Davitt Felder, M.D., who had been the top surgical resident at the University of Minnesota under the legendary Dr. Owen Wangenstein. Dr. Felder was also prominently involved in a medical practice that specialized in peripheral vascular surgery as well as a leader in medical education at nearly all of the downtown St. Paul hospitals. His chief concerns, other than as a resident on the bluff overlooking the proposed freeway, were the health risks from the level of carbon monoxide generated; an elevated level of noise for the surrounding area; and vibrations from rapid and heavy traffic that would interfere with sensitive surgical and lab equipment. “The carbon monoxide problem was solved fairly soon, but it would take some time to deal with the noise and vibrations. Ultimately, there were ways to counter the shock that would threaten the operation of the pathology lab microscopes.”

In late 1969, Davitt and Jeanne Felder had moved into a stately home located at 34 Kenwood Parkway, on the very edge of the bluff that descended to the Pleasant



*This residence at 26 Kenwood Parkway in St. Paul was the home of John Diehl, the young attorney who served as chairman of the RIP-35E board from 1973 to 1983. Photo courtesy of the Minnesota Historical Society.*

Avenue corridor. “Even before the increased traffic flow on 35E,” Dr. Felder recalled in an interview, “you could hear everything, and that was magnified when they resumed construction, and later when it was opened as a parkway.” According to Dr. Felder, most of his neighbors put double-pane glass on their windows to muffle the noise.

Soon after moving in, the Felders met an early leader of what became the RIP-35E organization, the late Thomond O’Brien, whose extended family had lived in the Summit Hill area for many years. “Thomie was involved very early,” says Felder, “and he knew the highway engineers. He knew that building highways was an important business—concrete, steel, machinery—and they had things lined up to finish the construction of 35E.” O’Brien also told Felder that the highway builders did not want to change the design for the road or to consider alternative routes. Though favored by the membership of RIP-35E, Dr. Felder says, alternatives such as the Lafayette highway to connect with I-94 were not even considered. And it was obvious, Felder recalled, that the highway builders had considerable influence—politically and with the business community.

In his July 1975 testimony regarding the route along Pleasant Avenue, Felder made a strong case for limiting noise and vibrations by reducing the allowable speed and volume of traffic, and by prohibiting truck traffic on the roadway. He provided charts showing how the freeway as originally proposed would present risks for the

medical and surgical care being provided to patients in the hospital. He also stated that the risk from truck traffic was not so much that they would contribute more carbon monoxide (most commercial trucks used diesel fuel), but that the noise and vibrations would be more problematical when placed in close proximity to the operations of United Hospital.<sup>10</sup>

Several widely held objectives attracted volunteers from a fairly broad geographical and socioeconomic base to work on behalf of RIP-35E. Although unanimity on what was an acceptable outcome for their efforts differed, most volunteers initially sought:

1. To stop the construction of a high-speed freeway in order to restore Pleasant Avenue as it had been before the highway planners got started;
2. If the construction proceeded, then to limit it to building a parkway with limited speed and noise levels, limited access points, and no truck traffic so that the highway was similar to existing parkways such as Summit Avenue and Lexington Parkway;
3. If a parkway was built, then ending it at the north end of the corridor without a direct connection to Interstate 94, thereby allowing the traffic find its own way to I-94; and
4. To protect real estate values for properties adjacent to the planned route. For example, opponents of the interstate called attention to a study done in Minneapolis that documented losses in property values for homes located near the route of I-35W through that city.<sup>11</sup>

As the focus shifted to the EIS, the controversy widened, with citizen groups led by RIP-35E opposing the construction as planned, and other business and labor groups lining up to support it. In addition to being critical of the anti-freeway groups (terming them “eco-freaks”), some residents along West Seventh Street and South Lexington Avenue joined with the St. Paul Chamber of Commerce, City Administrator (and future Highway Commissioner) Frank Marzitelli, and construction unions to pressure the City Council to switch its position back to support for the freeway.<sup>12</sup>



# *A Chronology of the I-35E Controversy*

**1920s** An official “Plan for St. Paul” designates Pleasant Avenue as a major roadway; at this time, most of the area in what is now Highland Park was devoted to small-scale agriculture.

**1954** A Minnesota highway study commission names the Pleasant Avenue corridor as a major St. Paul thoroughfare; the St. Paul City Council, in identifying where highway rights-of-way will be needed, sets limits on building permits in this corridor.

**September 1955** The National System of Interstate Highways Plan identifies the Pleasant Avenue corridor as the route for Interstate 35E through St. Paul.

**1957** St. Paul City Council members and Federal Highway administrators sign off on the proposed route; Minnesota Highway Department holds public hearings on interstate routes in Minnesota and no objections are raised.

**1961–62** Detailed design studies for I-35E are authorized by the state.

**1961–67** Most of the right-of-way for I-35E is acquired.

**1964** Construction begins on the southern end of the route.

**1969** The Metropolitan Council approves the route.

**1970** The Minnesota State Planning Agency approves the route.

**October 25, 1971** St. Paul City Council approves plans for I-35E.

**March–April 1972** Residents living north of the route begin to organize to protest the freeway; Residents In Protest (RIP-35E) is established; at a candidates’ meeting shortly before city elections, citizens call for I-35E plans to be scrapped.

**April 20, 1972** St. Paul City Council informally rescinds its approval of plans for I-35E.

**May 10, 1972** State highway officials are heckled at a public meeting, but construction work continues on contracts already let.

**August 2, 1972** Attorney D.D. Wozniak, who for many years represented the West Seventh Street area in the Minnesota House, files a lawsuit to stop construction of the road; he is joined as plaintiff by the City Council, four neighborhood associations (the Lexington-Hamline Community Council; the Ramsey Hill Association; the Summit Hill Association; and the West Seventh Street Association), and several individuals. The defendants are federal and state highway officials.

**August 16, 1972** Five days before a hearing on Wozniak’s suit, a compromise is negotiated and work is halted pending further study, public hearings, and development of an Environmental Impact Study (EIS), as provided in the National Environmental Policy Act of 1969; at this time, the construction is more than half done, 9 of the 15 bridges have been built, all of a few small parcels have been acquired for the right-of-way; 300 homes have been purchased, and \$23 million has been spent.

**November 16, 1973** Under pressure from the St. Paul Chamber of Commerce and labor unions, the City Council supports finishing the construction.

**April 1975** The Walter Butler Engineering Company releases “a

locational and environmental analysis” in response to issues raised in the August 1972 compromise; noise, air pollution, vibrations, and slope stability are the primary issues of concern; conclusion that there is need for a connection between the interstate system and downtown St. Paul; and this study recommends preservation of the historic Cass Gilbert-designed former German Presbyterian Bethlehem Church, which will survive on the edge of the roadway.

**May 1975** The Minnesota Legislature prohibits further construction of a freeway in the Pleasant Avenue corridor.

**July 15, 1975** St. Paul Chamber, joined by Dakota County, files suit to force completion of I-35E and repeal of the legislative moratorium.

**May 27, 1976** Ramsey County District Court Judge John Graff rejects the Chamber’s suit and upholds the Legislature’s right to ban freeway construction.

**August 18, 1976** The Chamber agrees to settle for a four-lane parkway along the route and urges it be finished.

**January 27, 1978** The Metropolitan Council orders the official EIS, as required by the National Environmental Policy Act.

**March 22, 1978** The Legislature approves a bill to permit construction of a four-lane parkway with “some connection” to I-94.

**June 30, 1981** The Metropolitan Council releases its EIS, with 12 options, including one to not build the roadway.

**July–August 1981** Mayor George Latimer, St. Paul Trades and Labor Assembly, and the City Council approve a parkway with direct link on its north end with Interstate 94.

**December 3, 1981** The Metropolitan Council endorses construction of a parkway with a 45 mph speed limit, no trucks, and a direct link to I-94 (Council Member Todd Lefko is one of the few to vote against this); Transportation Commissioner Richard Braun selects a design that connects the two highways and preserves the James J. Hill mansion on Summit Avenue and the former German Presbyterian Church at the base of Ramsey Hill.

**March 15, 1982** The Legislature allows construction of a parkway along the Pleasant Avenue corridor, but it leaves a final decision on how to connect with I-94 with the state commissioner of transportation.

**March 1983** RIP-35E, with the West Seventh Street and Summit Hill associations, files a suit based on its contention that the EIS was inadequate because it focused on alternatives within the Pleasant Avenue corridor, did not resolve the question of direct vs. indirect connection to I-94, and was deficient in its analysis of the roadway’s impact on air quality and noise.

**February 1984** In U.S. District Court, Judge Paul Magnuson rules against the RIP-35E lawsuit, finding that the EIS had been adequate, and orders that construction be continued.

**October 15, 1990** Ribbon-cutting ceremony for the opening of the I-35E parkway; nearly every party to the two-decade battle is unhappy with the final result.

## Challenging the EIS

When attorneys deposed RIP-35E chairman John Diehl on August 16, 1983, as part of the legal proceedings in which RIP-35E challenged the findings of the EIS, he made a revealing statement that

helps to answer the question why the kind of connection between I-35E and I-94 was so important to this controversy:

We have always made it a very important part of our approach to not just be nay sayers, but to, at least from our perspective, pro-

pose what we felt was a positive alternative and to present constructive input. So in that sense we have undertaken to be, if you will, the loyal opposition. . . . There was one thing that I believe was commonly understood and agreed, and that was that [I-35E] would not be directly connected with Interstate 94. . . . If someone wanted to go on I-94 they would do it the way they do now, they would drive however you drive through downtown and go north on Wabasha or whatever street and proceed along and get on I-94 so that there wouldn't be any obvious route. . . . However you define indirect, we know what it isn't and it isn't where a traffic lane from this facility feeds into I-94. . . . The direct connection, as I understand it, is good for 60,000 cars a day. Indirect connection, as I understand it, and I am relying on my memory of what the government has published, is 30,000 cars a day, so whatever adverse effect there is of volume you cut it in half with an indirect connection.

According to Diehl, RIP-35E activists staunchly opposed the direct connection between I-35E and I-94 that was a part of the original highway plan. If ultimately they were unable to force the highway planners to restore Pleasant Avenue, then these opponents wanted an indirect connection between the two roadways. The board of directors of United Hospitals, which was a consolidation of the former St. Luke's, Miller, and Children's hospitals and located on the south side of the proposed roadway, also supported an indirect connection to I-94. If an indirect connection were built, I-35E would terminate without ramps to convey traffic onto I-94, thus leaving motorists with the task of finding I-94 in the maze of city streets on the edge of downtown St. Paul.

Critics of the existing highway plans also feared that even a parkway with reduced speed would—if directly connected to I-94—lead to higher speeds in excess of the 45 mph limit and would eventually allow highway planners to upgrade the route from a parkway to a full-fledged freeway. In turn, this outcome would increase the level of noise and air pollution—both crucial factors in forcing the compromise of August 1972. In addition, the question of whether the Federal Highway Administration would



*This 1965 photo shows the Capitol Approach, looking south toward the Cathedral of St. Paul. With the rebuilding of the Approach, along the boulevard named for Archbishop John Ireland, followed by the construction of I-94, the area became quite congested even before planners considered how to connect I-35E while also providing easy access to these two iconic buildings. Photo courtesy of the Minnesota Department of Transportation.*



*In this 1966 aerial photo, the roadbed for I-94 arches across the bottom of the construction area and the outline for the potential interchange with I-35E runs from the top right toward the center left just below the St. Paul-Ramsey (now Regions) Hospital, located in the top left portion of the area. Photo courtesy of the Minnesota Department of Transportation.*



*Frank D. Marzitelli (1914–2000) grew up in St. Paul’s Italian-American community on the Upper Levee, served in several high-level positions in St. Paul city government, and was Minnesota Highway Commissioner from 1974 to 1976. He was a major player in the controversy over I-35E. Photo courtesy of the Minnesota Department of Transportation.*

continue to provide 90% of the funds for the construction if the norms for freeway design were substantially altered was uncertain.

Those in favor of a direct connection between the two interstates had to deal with the need to cut through the edge of the downtown area, close to the St. Paul Cathedral complex, and the already congested approach to the Capitol, where Miller Hospital still occupied a ten-acre site in the tangle of concrete. Any competent highway engineer who evaluated this so-called “dumping” of northbound I-35E traffic at the end of the Pleasant Avenue route would have insisted on a direct connection to I-94. The indirect connection was no doubt a planner’s nightmare.<sup>13</sup> To complicate matters, William Lake, the Federal Highways division administrator, “repeatedly stated that it was not clear an indirect connection would qualify [for 90% funding] and that this would require deliberation in Washington, D.C.”<sup>14</sup>

### **The Legislature Gets Involved**

In addition to volunteer chairmanship of the RIP-35E organization—by John Diehl from 1973 to 1983 and later by William L. Klas (1933–2002), a founder of the prosperous Tapemark Company—there were two residents of the area with substantial political clout at the State

Capitol: Representative Fred Norton, chairman of the House Appropriations Committee, and Senate Majority Leader Nick Coleman. The group also enjoyed access to St. Paul Mayor George Latimer, who was a resident of the area at that time. But despite these solid DFL connections, the group was decidedly bipartisan. The names of its supporters made it difficult for those favoring the original freeway plan to label RIP-35E as a collection of “wild-eyed lefties.”

On March 15, 1975, the Walter Butler Engineering Company released a report that was intended to serve as an environmental impact document and thus satisfy the parties to the 1972 agreement.

It was self described as “a locational and environmental analysis” of the proposed I-35E link in the Pleasant Avenue corridor and not strictly speaking an EIS, because the requirements for an official EIS were being developed during the time the study was conducted. The report’s purpose was to provide “impartial comparative analyses” that could be used for making decisions about the corridor and alternative alignments, including a do-nothing alternative. In preparation of the report, the consultants attended many public meetings in addition to using state, city,

and county data. Noise, air pollution, vibrations, and slope stability were identified as the primary issues of concern, and connection of the central business district to the interstate system as the primary benefit of the link. Additional complications for the project were the close proximity to historic districts, including two buildings listed in the National Register of Historic Places, and to United and Children’s hospitals, which was concerned about vibrations because the proposed alignment would run within 150 feet of hospital operating rooms.<sup>15</sup>



*One of the many businesses that was razed to make way for I-35E was the Piedmont Apartment Hotel at 106 North Smith Avenue. Demolition of this six-story building in 1969 eliminated 174 living units in that neighborhood. Photo courtesy of the Minnesota Department of Transportation.*



*St. Luke’s Hospital, seen here in 1962, was a private community hospital located at 287 North Smith Avenue that merged with Miller Hospital and Children’s Hospital to create the United Hospital system. Photo courtesy of the Minnesota Historical Society.*



*During the controversy over I-35E, Richard P. Braun, an engineer who had risen steadily through the ranks in the Highway Department, served as the first commissioner of the renamed Department of Transportation (1978–1986). Later he became the chairman of the Metropolitan Airports Commission and was the first director of the University of Minnesota’s Center for Transportation Studies. Photo courtesy of the Minnesota Department of Transportation.*

The Butler Engineering report confirmed some of the principal arguments being made by the RIP-35E group, but it did not satisfy the requirements of the federal environmental act, so the interested parties would have to wait another six years (until June 30, 1981) for the official EIS to be released by the Metropolitan Council.

The leaders of RIP-35E were not disposed to give their adversaries that much time to find ways to complete construction of the interstate. On May 31, 1975, with able guidance from Representative Norton and Senator Coleman, the Minnesota Legislature passed what was known as “the moratorium bill,” effectively removing the 3.7-mile stretch of proposed roadway from official status as a Minnesota highway. Since this meant the controversial section of interstate was no longer part of the Minnesota road system, no money could be spent to maintain it, repair it, or construct in its corridor.

“Fred and Nick were on our side,” re-

calls John Diehl, “so what they did in the moratorium was to erase this section of highway from the statutes that recognize every highway in Minnesota. Anyone who wanted to change this would have to go back to the Legislature to have it put back in. And that wasn’t going to happen as long as Fred and Nick were there.”<sup>16</sup>

In response, the St. Paul Chamber of Commerce filed a suit on July 15, 1975, asking the Ramsey County District Court to declare the “moratorium law” unconstitutional. RIP-35E was able to persuade the court to designate their organization a party in the suit; Dakota County joined the St. Paul Chamber. On May 27, 1976, District Court Judge John Graff rejected the Chamber’s suit and upheld the Legislature’s right to ban freeway construction. This meant that the Minnesota Highway Department, whose jurisdiction covered any highway construction in the state, would have to wait for the official EIS for a resolution of the impasse between RIP-35E and proponents of construction before taking any action related to the roadway.

During the next two years, support for the parkway alternative continued to grow, and in March 22, 1978, the Legislature passed a law that permitted construction of a four-lane parkway along the Pleasant Avenue corridor with an “indirect” connection to I-94. In other words, state legislators decided that motorists who sought to traverse from I-35E to I-94 would have to find their way through city streets on the edge of St. Paul’s downtown between the two interstates.

The 1978 legislation also prohibited construction of a standard interstate freeway on the Pleasant Avenue corridor; directed the Metropolitan Council to prepare the required EIS; and removed the alternative route of the Lafayette freeway (today’s U.S. Highway 52) from consideration by denying a possible connection from the Lafayette highway to I-35E on the northeast side of the downtown; and prohibited construction of I-35E from Lafayette as an alternative to Pleasant Avenue.<sup>17</sup>

The Metropolitan Council, to which the authority for preparing the EIS had been assigned, produced a draft that of-

fered twelve alternatives, but of these only a parkway with a direct connection to I-94 and a parkway with indirect connection were able to gather any significant support. The Commissioner of Transportation (formerly the Minnesota Highway Department) Richard P. Braun, the Metropolitan Council, and the St. Paul Planning Commission supported a parkway with direct connection. RIP-35E, and the four neighborhood councils with which it was aligned throughout the battle, were strongly opposed to the direct connection. They argued that a direct connection would lead to higher speeds along the parkway, and that in the long run the highway builders would upgrade this entire section of 35E to a freeway.<sup>18</sup>

The EIS released by the Metropolitan Council did not offer any alternatives to the Pleasant Avenue corridor, an omission that generated strong distrust in the ranks of RIP-35E and its attorneys; this would be the genesis of the organization’s March 1983 lawsuit that claimed the EIS had not complied with the intent of the National Environmental Policy Act.<sup>19</sup>

Senate Majority Leader Coleman retired in January 1981 (and died on March 5), depriving RIP-35E of its strongest ally in the Senate. Representative Norton remained in the House as chairman of the appropriations and the government operations committees (and briefly, twice, as speaker of the house), but without the voice of RIP-35E’s chief ally in the Senate, the Legislature moved toward a resolution of the long-lived battle. On March 15, 1982, the Legislature removed its ban on construction, and referred the question of direct vs. indirect connection between I-35E and I-94 to Transportation Commissioner Braun. By then, supporters of building a parkway (vs. no construction) had obtained endorsements from the St. Paul City Council and Mayor George Latimer, the Metropolitan Council, and the Minnesota Department of Transportation.

Against lengthening odds, RIP-35E fought on. On March 22, 1983, it filed a suit (along with the West Seventh Street and Summit Hill associations) based on its contention that the EIS was inadequate because it only focused on alternatives within the Pleasant Avenue corridor, did

not resolve the question of direct vs. indirect connection to I-94, and was deficient in its analysis of the roadway's impact on air quality and noise.

On February 10, 1984, U.S. District Court Judge Paul A. Magnuson ruled against the RIP-35E lawsuit, finding that the EIS had been adequate, and ordered that construction be resumed. Magnuson dismissed the idea of building the road on U.S. Highway 52 (Lafayette), an alternative that would have diverted traffic to the east of the downtown and Capitol area.

In his conclusion to his ruling in this case, Judge Magnuson wrote:

The National Environmental Policy Act was adopted, at least in part, because of the growing concern for the destruction of the natural environment caused by the building of the interstate system. This lawsuit represents a classic application of that Act: a neighborhood association representing people living next to a proposed site has sought judicial review of the agency's decision. The duty of this court is not to decide where interstates should be placed. That is the job of the responsible agency. This court's duty is merely to insure that in the process of making the selection the agency considered reasonable alternatives and the environmental consequences that would flow from its decision. After listening to extensive testimony and reviewing hundreds of documents, this court is convinced that the defendants prepared the environmental impact statement in a reasonable manner, giving due consideration to environmental concerns. Accordingly, IT IS ORDERED that:

1. Plaintiffs' request for injunctive relief is denied.<sup>20</sup>

With the ruling of the federal court, local and state authorities concentrated on resolving issues such as design of the parkway and making the roadway as compatible as possible with the neighborhoods it would cut through. Most members of RIP-35E and its allies in the battle participated in this process, though to accept defeat of their lawsuit remained painful.

October 15, 1990, marked a ribbon-cutting ceremony for the opening of the I-35E parkway. As with most political compromises, nearly every party to the two-decade-old battle was unhappy with

the final result. Twenty-six years had passed since construction had begun. The ceremony was attended by highway experts from the Soviet Union, arranged by Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev after his visit to Minnesota the previous June. Both the Soviet and U.S. national anthems were played to mark this brief interlude after the long and contentious Cold War between the two countries.<sup>21</sup>

## Legacies of the Controversy

### *Find Your Own Way to West-bound I-94!*

Because the Pleasant Avenue corridor ran directly into the congested area on the west side of St. Paul's downtown district as well as invading the area around the St. Paul Cathedral and the Minnesota State Capitol, the question of how to connect from north-south running I-35E to east-west running I-94 was confronted, debated, and finally—with many other planning and legal issues still unresolved—not fully decided. Connecting I-35E to east-bound I-94 was more easily addressed. Today motorists head-

ing north on I-35E can take an exit near where Kellogg Boulevard crosses over I-35E to merge directly onto I-94 heading east.

Not so for drivers who want to connect to I-94 heading west toward Minneapolis or those motorists who when heading east on I-94 want to connect with southbound I-35E. Those choices remain a hide-and-seek crawl through the maze of streets that—with patience—reward the persevering motorist with access to the desired west-bound or south-bound interstate.

Estimates prepared by the Minnesota Department of Transportation as part of the highway planning determined that most of the north-bound traffic that passed by the proposed exit to Grand Avenue intended to go through the downtown and either remain on I-35E or head east-bound on I-94. These calculations buttressed the argument for an indirect connection. (Or, taking a parochial viewpoint, why would anyone want to go west toward Minneapolis?) Consequently, there was



*At a May 1975 hearing held by the Minnesota Highway Department, John Diehl, an attorney who was then the leader of RIP-35E, spoke in favor of a parkway design for I-35E while his daughter peacefully slept through the event. Minneapolis Star photograph by Jack Gillis. Photo courtesy of the Minnesota Historical Society.*





*The former Bethlehem German Presbyterian Church, which stands today as a commercial building just west of I-35E at 311 Ramsey Street, was preserved, perhaps because its renowned architect, Cass Gilbert, was also the designer of the Minnesota State Capitol. Photo courtesy of the Minnesota Historical Society.*

little enthusiasm for addressing the complexities of adding another loop in that congested area to provide motorists with a convenient way to head west on I-94 or, conversely, south on I-35E.

### ***Miller Hospital, R.I.P.***

As mentioned previously, the Charles T. Miller Hospital site was untouched by the construction, since the land had not been targeted for a loop that would have connected I-35E with I-94 going west. The hospital was named for a founder of the city who had worked on the St. Paul Lower Levee with James J. Hill, and, bearing his name, it catered to “Old St. Paul Society” and resembled a fine hotel, with services including meals trucked in from the iconic Minnesota Club nearby. Many of the volunteers who later lent their support to RIP-35E had been born in Miller Hospital.<sup>22</sup>

Miller Hospital was at the eastern end of Summit Avenue in a fashionable neighborhood of stately homes, parks, and churches. After land around it had been acquired for highway right-of-ways, there remained only 10 acres of buildable

land on the hospital site.<sup>23</sup> The potential of this site for interstate construction was never very strong.

Louis W. Hill, Jr., a hospital board member whose father was a frequent patient at Miller, wrote to Frank Claybourne, a partner at the establishment law firm of Doherty, Rumble & Butler, on the question of seeking air rights to permit the landlocked Miller to grow vertically, wrote that it was “very important” for the board “to decide soon as to the future location of Miller.” Referring to the nearby highway construction (in 1971) that limited expansion by acquiring more land, he emphasized the need to “protect our possible future use of these air rights.” Hill’s enthusiasm for this seemed to fade, however, as other options were considered, mainly a merger with another hospital.

It is worth noting that the Church of the Holy Redeemer, home parish of politically powerful Frank Marzitelli, and located close to Miller Hospital on College Avenue, had been razed in 1966 to make way for Interstate 94, and its parish community moved to North St. Paul. At that time, Marzitelli was the executive director of the St. Paul Port Authority.<sup>24</sup>

The answer to Miller Hospital’s future growth was supplied by the nearby St. Luke’s Hospital. Many of the medical staffs of the two hospitals overlapped, and during the 1970s there was pressure from healthcare planners for local private hospitals to combine. After the merger of Miller with St. Luke’s to form United Hospitals in 1972, the 10-acre site was sold to the Minnesota Historical Society for \$2,500,000 in December 1985. Its buildings were razed in August 1986 and the Minnesota History Center built in its place.

### ***Raising the Speed Limit on I-35E***

While the major battle cries of the controversy over I-35E were subdued by Judge Magnuson’s 1983 court order, legislators from Dakota County and other districts along the I-35 route south of the Twin Cities have continued well into the twenty-first century to introduce bills in the Legislature that would raise the speed limit along the I-35E parkway from its



*Miller Hospital, seen here in 1952, survived demolition at 125 West College Street until 1986, when it was torn down to make way for the Minnesota History Center. Many of the residents of the Summit Hill and Ramsey Hill neighborhoods began life in Miller’s maternity ward. The hospital became part of United Hospital in 1972. Photo courtesy of the Minnesota Historical Society.*

current 45 mph. To date, none of them has succeeded.

*John Watson Milton was born and raised in the Summit Hill neighborhood of St. Paul. He graduated from St. Paul Academy and Princeton University. No stranger to politics, he was elected Ramsey County Commissioner (1970) and State Senator (1972 and 1976). In the past decade, he has completed six published book projects, won two national awards, and was a finalist in the Minnesota Book Awards. His most recent book was For the Good of the Order: Nick Coleman and the High Tide of Liberal Politics in Minnesota, 1971–1981, which was published by the Ramsey County Historical Society in 2012. He serves on the Editorial Board of the Society. This is his third article for Ramsey County History. He thanks John E. Diehl, former chairman, RIP-35E (1973–83); Davitt Felder, incorporator, RIP-35E; and Todd J. Lefko, former member, Metropolitan Council, for agreeing to be interviewed for this article.*

## Endnotes

1. Kolderie's commentary in the *Minneapolis Tribune* is quoted from the comprehensive study by Patricia Cavanaugh, *Politics and Freeways: Building the Twin Cities Interstate System* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, Center for Urban and Regional Affairs and Center for Transportation Studies, October 2006), 25.
2. Ibid. Quoted by Cavanaugh from *The Freeway in the City: Principles of Planning and Design* (Washington, D.C.: Urban Advisors to the Federal Highway Administrator, Department of Transportation, 1968), 8.
3. Information provided to the author by Michael Matzke, Design Program Manager, FHWA Office of Infrastructure, U.S. Department of Transportation, Washington, D.C., January 6, 2014.
4. See Tom O'Connell and Tom Beer, "Preserving a 'Fine Residential District': The Merriam Park Freeway Fight," *Ramsey County History*, 47, no. 4 (Winter 2013): 3–13.
5. Cavanaugh, 35.
6. Gary Dawson, *Minneapolis Tribune*, 17 August, 1972.
7. Kathryn Boardman, *St. Paul Pioneer Press*, May 9, 1972. For more information on the neighborhood reaction to the plans for I-35E in the 1970s, see the documents in the George Levin Collection, Research Center, Ramsey County Historical Society, St. Paul, Minn.
8. Email from John Diehl to the author, January 17, 2014, as a follow-up to a phone interview on January 14, 2014.
9. David Lilly testimony, RIP-35E Environmental Defense Fund Records, Location 151.I.6.7B, Minnesota History Center, Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul, Minn.
10. Dr. Davitt Felder testimony, July 14, 1975, in U.S. District Court (reiterated in his July 27, 1983, deposition preceding a final court decision on the project). Author interview with Dr. Davitt Felder, February 4, 2014. In the mid-1970s, the St. Paul Chamber of Commerce sued the federal and the Minnesota governments in an effort to repeal the legislative moratorium and to get I-35E completed. See *Residents in Protest—I-35E v. Dole*, 583 F.Supp. 653, D. Minn. 1984.
11. See the documents dealing with I-35E in the George Levin Collection, Research Center, Ramsey County Historical Society, St. Paul, Minn.
12. *St. Paul Dispatch*, August 27, 1974; *Minneapolis Star*, November 16, 1974; and *St. Paul Pioneer Press*, November 16, 1974.
13. Cavanaugh, 41.
14. Ibid., 42.
15. Ibid., 37; *I-35E Report: Proposed West 7th Street to Capitol Approach* (St. Paul: Walter Butler Engineering Co., 1975).
16. Cavanaugh, 38 and author interview with John Diehl, January 14, 2014.
17. See the August 2, 1978 letter from Minnesota Commissioner of Transportation James Harrington to John Boland, chairman of the Metropolitan Council. This letter was a response to Boland's request for comments on the I-35E studies being conducted in advance of the EIS.
18. *I-35E Final Environmental Impact Statement*, Metropolitan Council, December 3, 1981.
19. The arguments are identified in a July 28, 1978 letter from Samuel H. Morgan (a RIP-35E member and member of Operation 85, a group planning the future of downtown St. Paul) and in the August 4, 1978 letter from Philip W. Getts of the Dayton-Herman firm to Metropolitan Council planner Ghaleb Abdul-Rahman, warning that it "is the appropriate time to *begin* the process of weighing and sifting alternatives; it is not the appropriate time to make *final* choices"; and by the August 24, 1978 Progress Report to the RIP-35E board by its chairman, John Diehl, "In spite of previous assurances that the study would be an open process that would encourage citizen involvement, RIP-35E has never been consulted or advised in any way in the development of the study to date. ... RIP-35E has a great interest in a thorough and unbiased study and report. First, if it is anything less than that, it would be subject to legal challenge, and if the current compromise is the probable project, such a challenge would be contrary to our interests. Secondly, even if the parkway is the alternative that is settled upon, it is very important to have the environmental detriments well documented to provide evidence against any future efforts to 'up-grade' the facility."
20. *Residents in Protest—I-35E v. Dole*, 583 F. Supp. 653, D. Minn. 1984.
21. From Sean T. Kelly, "Last Mile of I-35E Opens in St. Paul after 19-Year Wait," *St. Paul Pioneer Press*, October 16, 1990, p. 1B.
22. For more on Miller Hospital, see Nancy Johnston Hall and Mary Bround Smith, *Traditions United: The History of St. Luke's and Charles T. Miller Hospital and Their Service to St. Paul* (St. Paul: United Hospital Foundation, 1987).
23. See Brian Horrigan, writing in the historical pamphlets series published by the Minnesota Historical Society Press, 1996.
24. Frank D. Marzitelli (1914-2000) was born in St. Paul, where he lived for all of his life. He grew up on the Upper Levee, where many Italian-American newcomers had settled. After graduating from Mechanic Arts High School, he became a union organizer for the bakery union he helped establish. In 1960, he was elected to the St. Paul City Council. In 1957 he was appointed deputy commissioner in the Minnesota Highway Department, returning to city government in 1962 as executive vice president of the St. Paul Port Authority, as well as serving as the City of St. Paul's first city administrator. He was named State Highway Commissioner in 1975, and served in that position for two years, then as Deputy Commissioner of Public Welfare until 1978. Thereafter he contributed his time and energy to multiple civic projects including the campaign to save the Old Federal Courts Building and convert it to today's Landmark Center. Although he never earned a college degree, Marzitelli took extension courses at the University of Minnesota for many years. Frank D. Marzitelli Papers, Minnesota History Center, Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul, Minn.

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*On January 7, 1949, members of Local No. 20459 of the Refrigerators Workers Union elected Ralph M. Scalze, front row, center, their president and secretary-treasurer (business agent). For more on Ralph Scalze and his leadership of the Refrigerator Workers at the Seeger Company plant in St. Paul, see page 18. Photo courtesy of Gerald E. Scalze.*