

RAMSEY COUNTY

# History

*A Publication of the Ramsey County Historical Society*

Robert Foulis—Minnesota's  
First Golf Professional

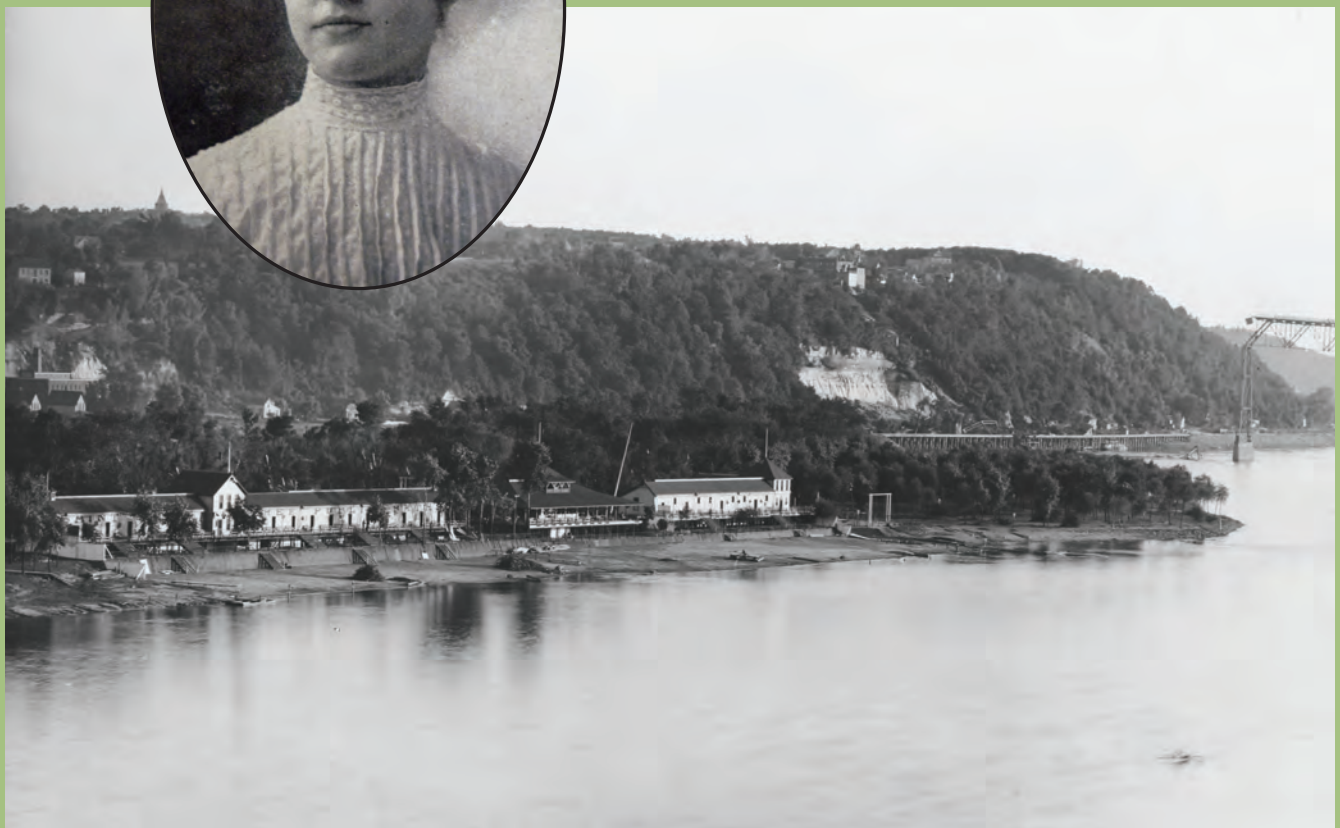
*Joseph Gladke*  
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Summer 2016

Volume 51, Number 2

*What Does the Queen Say?:*  
Helen Marks, Dressmaker,  
the 1903 Summer Carnival, and the Unions

*David Riehle, page 3*



*Helen A. Marks, member of the Dressmakers Union Local 1, was elected Queen of the St. Paul Summer Carnival in 1903 by an overwhelming popular vote, including thousands of labor union supporters. Voters paid 10¢ per vote and could vote as many times as they wanted because the money raised went to help pay for the Free Public Baths on Harriet Island, seen here in the background looking southwest from Wabasha Bridge. The portrait of Helen Marks is courtesy of the Minnesota Historical Society. Photo of Harriet Island and the Free Public Baths about 1905 by the Detroit Photographic Co., courtesy of the Library of Congress.*

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# RAMSEY COUNTY History

Volume 51, Number 2

Summer 2016

THE MISSION STATEMENT OF THE RAMSEY COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY  
ADOPTED BY THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS ON JANUARY 25, 2016:

**Preserving our past, informing our present, inspiring our future**

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### A Message from the Editorial Board

About one hundred years ago, Ramsey County was changing with the times. In this issue, you will read about some of those changes. In 1903, for one brief shining year, St. Paul had a SUMMER carnival, which Dave Riehle describes for us. The carnival, whose proceeds went to Dr. Justus Ohage's public bathhouse along the Mississippi, had its own queen, who was a dressmaker and union activist, elected by union members. Other activities held the attention of Ramsey County residents too. Joseph Gladke shares the story of how, a few years earlier, the newly organized Town and Country Club recruited Robert Foulis, a native of St. Andrews, Scotland, to help design its nine-hole course and act as its first golf pro. And the City of St. Paul was growing. Marc Manderscheid details the city of Saint Paul's zoning changes that allowed the transformation of farms and fields in south Highland Park, based on the eagerness of business leaders to develop the area for a major automobile factory. Henry Ford's astute negotiation for his assembly plant changed the character of that neighborhood, which supported the Ford factory for nearly one hundred years. With proposed new development, we will see what happens in the next chapter of Highland Park history!

*Anne Cowie*  
Chair, Editorial Board

# What Does the Queen Say?

## Helen Marks, Dressmaker, the 1903 Summer Carnival, and the Unions

David Riehle

Yes, you read that right. The familiar St. Paul Winter Carnival only became a reliably annual event just before World War II.<sup>1</sup> The summer carnival only happened once. It's obscure now, but it wasn't then. It was a big deal. Maybe even a lollapalooza.<sup>2</sup>

"Big," as in:

- almost two weeks long
- tens of thousands of people participating,
- children's parade,
- German parade,
- labor parade,
- "parade of Electric Streetcar Floats,"
- "manufacturing and industrial displays,"
- "sensational circus acts,"
- "tingle-tangle,"<sup>3</sup>
- "George Jabour's Carnival and Circus Company—200 performers,"<sup>4</sup>
- *election of carnival queen*

and still more. And there was one in Minneapolis, too. (More about that later.) Sound the trumpets. . . .

These two events (St. Paul and Minneapolis) were really immense undertakings, bigger than anything we would encounter today. Thirty thousand spectators viewed the opening parade in

St. Paul on July 27.<sup>5</sup> Many of the major constituents of the conjoined urban twins had their own parades—firefighters, labor, Germans, children, even politicians. Minneapolis' carnival was first—running from June 1–13. The Sainly City's event took place a little later (July 27–August 8).

### "Wertvolle Preise für die Königen"

"Valuable prizes for the Queen (of the carnival)," promised the *Tagliche Volkzeitung* (Daily Peoples News), the principal newspaper of St. Paul's large and influential German community. Dressmaker and union activist Helen Marks was the only one of the nine candidates with a German surname. "Die Abstimmung für die jungen Damen zeigte, gestern Abend wenig Änderung; Fraulein Marks ist noch immer über 500 stimmen voraus." ("The vote for the young ladies showed little change last

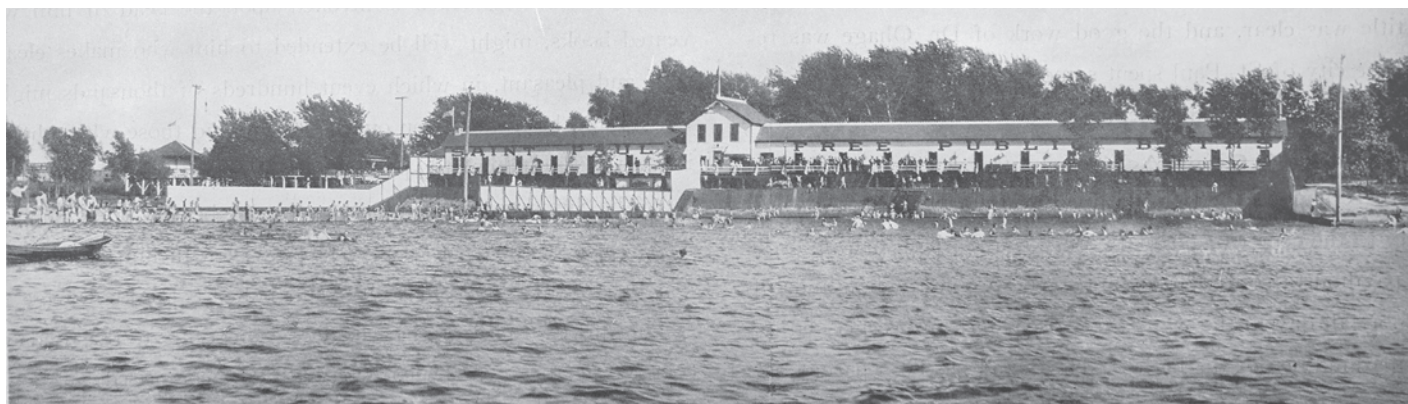
night [July 21]; Miss Marks is still about 500 votes ahead.")<sup>6</sup>

### St. Paul Patriots Take Note

"George Jabour, the general manager of the Carnival and Circus company that bears his name, arrived today from Omaha to take a preliminary glance at the arrangements for the summer carnival.

"St. Paul," he says, 'will have a much better fair and carnival than the one given in Minneapolis the first two weeks in June,'" the *St. Paul Dispatch* reported. "In the first place, the fair is for an avowed purpose—the public baths, which I understand is the most popular institution in St. Paul. I do not think any other city in this country has so worthy an enterprise of this kind. I am told that a million people have taken advantage of the baths annually for three years past. My second reason is the location of the grounds.

"At Minneapolis our show was not presented to the best advantage. The reserved seats were to one side and we were compelled to 'rope in' our aerial acts so that the audience could not get close enough to witness them under the best of circumstances. Here, all our acts will be performed directly in front of the grandstand."<sup>7</sup>



A hot, busy day at the Free Public Baths on Harriet Island. This photo shows the men's bathhouse. To the right and obscured by the trees was the pavilion, which could serve food and drink to 2,000 and on the far right was the women's bathhouse. Photo about 1905 by the Detroit Photographic Co., courtesy of the Library of Congress.

## Dr. Justus Ohage: “In the Health of the People Lies

The celebrated physician, sanitation reformer, and creator of Harriet Island as it is today, Dr. Justus Ohage was the moral center of the 1903 summer carnival. He created and deeded to the city the St. Paul Free Public Baths on Harriet Island in the spring of 1901. These baths were the designated beneficiary of the 1903 carnival’s receipts.

Dr. Ohage, the city’s Health Commissioner from 1899 to 1907, was a renowned surgeon, performing the first cholecystectomy, or gall bladder removal, in the United States at St. Joseph’s Hospital in 1886, and a relentless crusader for many public health measures, including municipalizing garbage collection and cracking down on smoke pollution.<sup>1</sup> At the St. Louis World’s Fair in 1904, St. Paul was declared the healthiest city in the world and Dr. Ohage was awarded a medal for his work.

“I began conservatively,” the doctor said. “If I had announced all that I hoped to accomplish I should have been thought fit for an insane asylum.” After searching ancient titles to the forty acres of sandbar, willow thicket, and river maples known as Harriet Island (Harriet Island had earlier been a campground for Dakota people, known to them as *Wakan Wita* (“Spirit Island”), Dr. Ohage bought the property. “The first season of the baths, managed entirely at Dr. Ohage’s own risk, closed with a net profit of \$15.12. Entrance to the baths is gained at the west end of the Wabasha Street bridge, through an iron gate bearing a motto chosen by Dr. Ohage for the Health Department: “*In the Health of the People Lies the Strength of a Nation.*” Although opposed to the erection of a bronze statue in his image, later, in 1906, he permitted the placement of a marble drinking fountain as a memorial of his work, bearing in front a life-size likeness of Dr. Ohage in bronze. In 1911, one contemporary observer wrote this about Ohage:

The founder of the St. Paul Public Baths has often been called the “militant” health

commissioner. . . . Thronged with duties, he was never too busy to attend to business. He was the first municipal officer to criticize the wearing of long walking skirts by women, calling the wearers of such unhygienic material “volunteer sweepers” and ironically praising the unpaid diligence with which they gathered dust from sidewalks and crossings. In his opinion, the proper length of a woman’s walking skirt is “a little over two feet.”

Justus Ohage was born in Hanover, Germany in 1849.<sup>3</sup> In April 1865, the fifteen-year-old Ohage lay in a hospital at City Point, Virginia, recuperating from wounds incurred as a soldier in the Union Army. Abraham Lincoln visited him there and thanked him for his service in defending the Union.<sup>4</sup>

A runaway trip to America had given him the opportunity of fighting in the Civil War through enlistment in the New Jersey 8th Infantry Regiment. Ohage was mustered out of the army in June 1865 and by fall he was back home in Hanover, studying with his father, Dr. George Ohage, in his clinic, where he continued until 1870. Back in the United States after making several trans-Atlantic trips as a common sailor, he went to work as a medical assistant on the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad in 1872. Having received his medical degree at Columbia College in Missouri, he undertook postgraduate medical studies in Göttingen, Kiel, and Berlin before returning to the United States in 1881.

After a successful surgical and teaching career, Dr. Ohage entered into public health work as St. Paul’s Commissioner of Health.<sup>5</sup> The *Minneapolis Journal* reported that

The St. Paul Free Public Baths are the creation of one man’s indomitable energy and nerve. Dr. Justus Ohage, commissioner of public health, is the wide-awake public servant who conceived the idea and brought it where it is today, a magnificent public utility. Dr. Ohage is a sort of inde-

pendent principality. . . . St. Paul’s genial doctor is a thorough German for system and his little principality is organized like an army.<sup>6</sup>

Construction of the Public Baths began in October 1899. Twelve lots were added to Harriet Island, which was little more than a sandbar, by dumping city refuse—street sweepings, broken rock, ashes, cinders and more. A hard surface of clay was added. The structure itself was 470 feet long, encompassing two pavilions (men/boys; women/girls) a bathhouse, cashier’s office, and a commercial-scale laundry that could wash 12,000 bathing suits and 25,000 towels daily. Dr. Ohage had copied designs of public baths in Europe and America, which he personally investigated.

After the first year, a large pavilion with a seating capacity for 2,000 was constructed with a kitchen and dining room. Vegetables were supplied from a garden on the island. In 1903 a zoological garden with 200 mostly native animals was installed. Perhaps most notable of all, a free “baby nursery” (child care) was available to working women daily from 6 in the morning to 11 at night, presided over by a Miss Callahan (probably “Alice”), a public school teacher, “assisted by a voluntary corps of nurses from the hospitals of the city.”<sup>7</sup>

The *Minneapolis Journal* gave this explanation of how the Mississippi River’s currents worked to the benefit of bathers.

The main channel of the river is on the north side and there goes the Minneapolis sewage. The bathers swim in water from the Minnesota River which has not yet mingled with the Father of Waters. The current is slow . . . but is enough to change the water in the pool every three minutes. . . .

Dr. Ohage was held in high esteem by the city’s labor movement, as expressed often by the *Minnesota Union Advocate*. Cornelius Guiney, the paper’s long-time editor, wrote in 1909, “Dr. Ohage

## the Strength of a Nation”

served the city long and faithfully and proved himself one of the best public officials the community ever had.”<sup>8</sup> The Trades and Labor Assembly minutes of November 24, 1899 recorded that, “The secretary was instructed to write a letter of thanks to Health Commissioner Ohage for his efforts to secure the collection of garbage by day labor under municipal contract.”



Dr. Justus Ohage (1849–1935) and St. Paul Health Commissioner (1899–1907) was a renowned physician and surgeon. Photo about 1898 courtesy of the Minnesota Historical Society.

“Dr. Ohage says he is a Socialist and that he started this project [the public baths] as an experiment in municipal socialism,” reported a national journal in 1900. “He says the workingmen have no place to meet except in the saloons, and there they must buy liquor and do get drunk or at least muddled. One of his main objects in starting this park was to compete with the saloons by giving the workingman and his family a place for social life where that social life could be wholesome, sweet and within the workingman’s means and strength.”<sup>9</sup>

One policy change which Ohage drove through was greeted with special enthusiasm by St. Paul unions. He

terminated the haphazard collection of municipal garbage by a concatenation of private contractors. There were at least fourteen different businesses operating horse-and-wagon service, employing ancillary wage laborers, and billing the city some impressive sums: in 1899 eight contractors billed the city for a collective sum of \$11,323, equivalent in 2016 to \$323,514.

By all accounts, the commissioner was a Teutonic bull-of-the-woods, to whom the only conceivable course between two points was a straight line, and for whom no bushes were to be beaten around: “A farcical nuisance has been the collection of garbage in this city,” he said with his usual bluntness, “and this department has been powerless to improve the conditions as they exist under the present system. . . . I firmly believe if this work were to be done by the city under the direct management of the health department, it could be done better and more economically than by the contract system.”<sup>10</sup>

Ohage did prevail eventually on the garbage collection issue. “The contract system was abolished, and we hired our own teams and men” composing in all twenty teams. “The garbage wagons are all numbered, and the collectors, now direct employees of the city, wear brown duck uniforms with a shield and number corresponding to their wagons.”<sup>11</sup>

“If you bring your own bathing suit, the use of the dressing rooms costs nothing, while the suit, locker, soap and towels cost only a nickel, readers of the journal *Public Opinion* were advised. “No tipping is allowed and no money can be used on the grounds. At the entrance you can change your money for the checks (i.e. tokens), and service or food can only be paid for in these checks. . . . The restaurant is run by the board of health because, as Dr. Ohage says, a private company would naturally want to make as much money as it could, and that even if the prices were fixed, the quality would be lowered.”<sup>12</sup>

Although the baths only cleared \$15 in profit in the first year, over the next four years nearly one million attended the baths. Around forty employees worked at the baths, including six city policeman who were assigned as life-guards, patrolling in boats.

When did this magnificent institution go away? And why? Obviously, the driving impulse at its origin was that masses of St. Paul residents, and especially children, who had no facilities in their extremely modest homes for bathing, and not infrequently no running water at all. The fortuitous circumstance that the Minnesota River water, flowing unvexed for some considerable distance unmixed by Minneapolis’ nasty sewage, eventually succumbed to upriver pollution from the Minnesota. This created a major disincentive for bathers. The Great Depression took away city funds and the greater availability of indoor plumbing must have also reduced the need.

Dr. Ohage lived a long and vigorous life unto the age of 85, dying in 1935. Recent rehabilitation and reconstruction of the facilities at Harriet Island has reintroduced Dr. Ohage’s name. “Dr. Justus Ohage Boulevard” is now (again) the main thoroughfare through the park.

### Notes

1. “100 Years of Medicine in Minnesota,” *St. Paul Pioneer Press*, May 17, 1953; see also “Civic Chronicle for 1903 and 1904,” *The Chatauquan*, v. 39, 892; *Municipal Journal and Engineer*, 11 (October 1901): 167.
2. L. Curry Morton, “The Free Public Baths of St. Paul,” *The American City*, 4 (1911): 259–63. The aesthetic, moral, or practical substance of this diet
3. Justus G. Schifferes, “The Adventurer-Surgeon: The Life of Dr. Justus Ohage of Saint Paul,” *The Journal-Lancet* (1931): 96–98. (Despite its orthography, “Ohage” is not an Irish surname. An alternative spelling is “Auhauge.”)
4. *Ibid.*
5. H.E. Stephenson Jr., “Justus Ohage: America’s Premier Cholecystectomy Surgeon,” *Missouri Medicine* 69 (February 1972):86–91.
6. *Minneapolis Journal*, August 3, 1901, II, p. 1.
7. *St. Paul Dispatch*, May 28, 1904. 8. *Minnesota Union Advocate*, August 20, 1909, p. 4.
9. Eltweed Pomeroy, “The St. Paul Public Baths,” *Public Opinion*, 29 (1900): 386.
10. Justus Ohage, *Annual Report of Health Commissioner, Public Baths, 1900*, 908.
11. Justus Ohage, *Annual Report of Health Commissioner, Garbage, 1900*, 902.
12. Pomeroy.



Helen A. Marks riding in her Carriage of State at the Summer Carnival. Photo from the July 31, 1903 edition of the *St. Paul Globe*, courtesy of the Library of Congress Historic Newspapers Collection.

### St. Paul Will Not Be Outdone

“In a blaze of glory,” the *St. Paul Globe* opined, “with incidental sawdust and mud, St. Paul’s great summer carnival was opened last night (July 27) in a manner which indicates that it will be successful beyond the hopes of even its most enthusiastic and optimistic promoters. . . . Thousands of electric lights turned night into day.”<sup>8</sup>

“There will be grand parades every day,” the African American journal, *The Appeal*, reported, including “Cotton’s Comedy Donkeys, Areno the Contortionist, Lockhart’s Elephants,” and, perhaps even better, “Ray Potter’s Musical Dogs.”<sup>9</sup>

The carnival organizers, wisely making what seemed to be sufficient advance preparations, “ordered a ton of confetti, which will come in 10,000 little sacks, for use on Mardi Gras, the closing day.”<sup>10</sup>

“How much volume does a ton of confetti occupy?” an alert reader might ask. A fifty-pound box would be in volume a cubic yard, according to a seasoned confetti professional, Ed Bartek of New Jersey confetti supplier, Special FX Inc.<sup>11</sup> So one ton, or 40 cubic yards would have filled an entire wooden railroad boxcar of 1903 vintage.

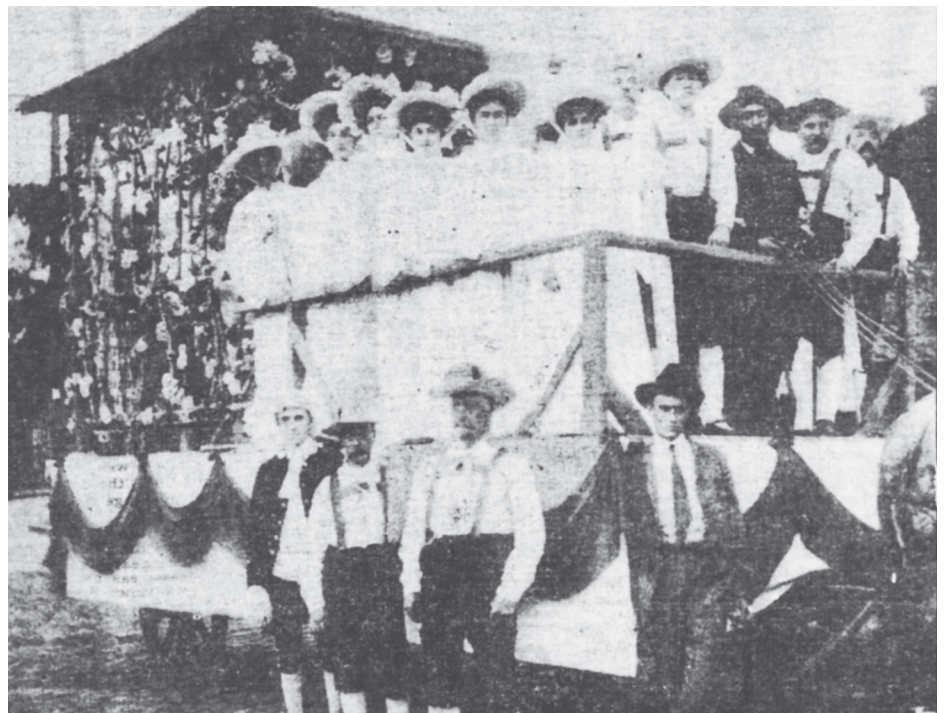
And how much does an elephant weigh?

### Check Your Babies Here

Many amenities were provided which would be remarkable even today: “A day nursery, where babies can be checked

[sic!] will be located at the grounds. “Public marriages” officiated by Judge E.W. Bazille, were available, including the joining of “Anton Aydt, 450 Goodhue St., and Miss Anna Klema, 644 Pleasant Ave.” Further, “A deal was closed last night securing (the aforementioned) Lockhart’s Elephants . . . said to contain the best educated elephants before the public.”<sup>12</sup>

Premier organizer of the carnival was clothier George E. Lennon (“Lennon’s Corner,” Seventh & Wabasha, was dubiously dubbed “The Largest Clothing House in America,” by its proprietor) an energetic and multifarious entrepreneur who had his fingers in many affairs. The carnival was sited on and beyond a plot of land bounded by Summit Avenue (today’s Columbus Avenue), Robert, Twelfth, and Minnesota Streets, already leased by Lennon as the venue for his baseball team, the St. Paul Saints (formerly The Apostles). The short-lived “Pillbox,” aka the Downtown Stadium, opened for the first time for the 1903 season. (The carnival Grand Entrance loomed up at Ninth and Cedar Streets and the carnival offices were at Sixth and Cedar).<sup>13</sup>



A parade float at the Summer Carnival carrying a troupe of men and women singers. Photo from the August 2, 1903 edition of the *St. Paul Globe*, courtesy of the Library of Congress Historic Newspapers Collection.

## Equal Opportunity . . .

Acknowledgment of the Sainly City's African Americans was also extended by the majoritarian community with that peculiar mix of condescension, slightly veiled mockery, and provisional good will that characterized the unequal meeting of the races in the post-bellum North. Here a "special feature" was engrafted onto closing night: the *Grand Colored Jubilee*, with *Buck and Wing Dancing and Plantation Songs* and a *Cakewalk* with 25 couples. It took artistic and talented people to perform these dances and songs, but they always carried a flavor of old plantation days that had a history of intense controversy and debate in the African American community.<sup>14</sup>

In any case, *Afro-Americans* (the term preferred by *The Appeal*) were extended the opportunity of their own separate but equal *matrimonia publica*. Mr. William M. Strother and Miss Evelyne Harris were married "in the approved style" before 4,000 (obviously overwhelmingly white<sup>15</sup>) people "who cheered the brave young couple and extended to them many congratulations-as well as numerous presents." Duly officiated by Rev. G.W. Gaines of the venerable St. James African Methodist Episcopal Church, President Hubert ("Hubie") Schurmeier of the carnival association escorted the bride to the altar, "stood at her side and held the young woman's hand during the trying ordeal" and gave her away, in the customary manner.<sup>16</sup>

Mr. Strother, the evidently buoyant and happy groom, was granted a \$100 emolument, equivalent to \$2,702.70 in 2016. "I feel like I was just going to heaven," Mr. Strother was quoted by an uncredited *Globe* journalist (minus his editorial insertion of what he apparently considered Southern black dialect.) "I certainly do need that hundred dollars and when I get it there won't be much doing on Minnesota street tonight. I'll make that crap game look pretty sad with that roll."<sup>17</sup>

Unfortunately, two months later the new Mrs. Strother was severely injured by a runaway express wagon at the corner of Wabasha Street and College Avenue. The *Globe* reported she had "sustained fractures of two ribs and internal inju-



A 1903 St. Paul Summer Carnival pin, front and backside. Pin courtesy of David Riehle.

ries." No further information has been located concerning what is hoped was her satisfactory recovery.<sup>18</sup>

### "Vote Early and Vote Often"

What first caught this writer's attention in this long-forgotten event were two things: the election of the carnival queen by popular vote, and the decisive intervention of organized labor into the contest. Somewhere in the middle of the twentieth century this plebiscitary method of choosing a queen for a grand civic festival disappeared, and the queen was selected by a committee of presumably respectable business gentlemen, as is done in the Winter Carnival. The contrast is certainly intriguing.<sup>19</sup>

The wide-open nature of the election gave what turned out to be a decisive advantage to a group of people who had energy, audacity, and youth on their side and could be united around a common purpose. The St. Paul Trades and Labor Assembly, the common council of the city's labor unions, outweighed all others in these characteristics. "At a special meeting of the assembly a committee was named to call upon every union in the

city and urge active work on (the candidate's) behalf."<sup>20</sup>

The queenly contest was not a one man-one vote plebiscite. Either gender could vote and one vote cost ten cents. There was no limit on the number of times a vote could be cast. The overarching purpose of the carnival, besides civic joy, was to raise funds to support Health Commissioner Dr. Justus Ohage's recently opened public baths on Harriet Island.<sup>21</sup> "Vote early and vote often," the *Minnesota Union Advocate* urged "every gallant and ungallant son-of-a-gun."<sup>22</sup>

"I am now poorer than the hypothetical barnyard fowl of Job," one reader commented, "and everybody knows that it didn't even have a feather left to cover it. I don't know how many times I voted for Miss Marks."<sup>23</sup>

The Trades and Labor Assembly had somewhat belatedly nominated nineteen-year-old dressmaker Helen A. Marks of 50 Viola Street (a forgotten street north of the Capitol), a member of Dressmakers Union Local No. 2 as labor's candidate, "after other candidates had an opportunity to get a good start."<sup>24</sup> Her local union, formed in 1901, had 80 members, and a sister local in Minneapolis.<sup>25</sup> Its membership seems to have been 100% female. They appear to have been employed solely in "made to order" shops, creating dresses for more affluent women. Margaret Marks, Helen's sister, was financial secretary of the local.

### "We All Like Her, But . . ."

The successful candidate for queen was promised a \$400 piano, today's equivalent of \$10,290.81 tax-free dollars. Miss Marks entered the contest along with eight other candidates, all, as far as can be determined, young working class women—stenographer, cashier, sales clerk. Upon entry, Helen "immediately jumped to fourth place."<sup>26</sup> By July 17, she was in third place. All apparently had their portraits taken by professional photographers, four of them with impressive Gibson Girl hats.<sup>27</sup> Dropping to second place was Miss Josephine Buckley, "chosen by popular vote to represent the employees of the [non-union] West Publishing company."<sup>28</sup>

Soon the eight contestants who weren't Miss Marks realized that her lead was insurmountable, not to say unfair. They informed the carnival committee on July 18 that effective immediately they were resigning from the contest—"Going on Strike," the *Globe* headlined its report, "unless Miss Helen A. Marks is removed."<sup>29</sup> "We all like her, but all the unions in St. Paul are working for her and it is useless to try to beat such odds."<sup>30</sup> Later in the day, the united front began to crumble, as four candidates announced that, upon further reflection, and upon the urging of their friends, they had decided to stay in. The remaining candidates soon withdrew their ultimatum as well.

### "Queen Helen Will Rule the Carnival"<sup>31</sup>

When the final count was made, Miss Marks received double the votes of her nearest competitor. The runner-ups were generously rewarded: second prize, an opal ring valued at \$250; third, a scholarship at the Nichol's School of Shorthand, valued at \$110; fourth, a diamond locket, worth \$100; and fifth, a marten boa, \$75 (more than \$2,000 in 2016 money).<sup>32</sup>

What did the Queen say? ". . . Without the support of organized labor, I could not have been elected. . . . I shall always treasure this feature of the contest and engraved in the tablets of my memory are these words: 'Organized labor is irresistible when united.'"<sup>33</sup>

Perhaps inspired by this declaration,

Mme. Marian Liljens, a Swedish "high fire diver," subsequently went to court in Spokane when George Jabour failed to pay her salary.<sup>34</sup> She attached his trousers. "I got my money. If I had attached his diamonds he might not have paid me; but he had to have those trousers."

And, proving she was still a trooper, Helen placed second in the 75-yard dash ("waist hands, members only") at the union dressmakers' picnic in August, winning a wrist bag from Kerr's Department Store.<sup>35</sup>

*David Riehle is a member of the Ramsey County Historical Society's Editorial Board and over the years he has written seven articles for this magazine, the most recent of which appeared in 2012.*

## Endnotes

1. St. Paul's first Winter Carnivals were held in 1886, 1887, 1888 and 1896, revived in 1916 and 1917, again in 1937 through 1942, then annually since 1946.
2. "Lollapalooza" is a recently revived term of unknown origin that emerged in the late nineteenth century.
3. "Defined by the *San Francisco Morning Call* (September 24, 1892) as a "variety show."
4. Around 1900 "carnivals" made their appearance in America. Jabour, who was reputed to be a "Turk," outshone most of them, starting with a "Streets of Cairo" revue. *Billboard*, 2 (June 1951):41
5. This seems improbable, but similar numbers were reported for the soon-to-occur Labor Day celebration on Harriet Island. *St. Paul Globe*, July 28, 1903, p. 1.
6. *Tagliche Volkzeitung*, July 21, 1903, p. 5.
7. *St. Paul Dispatch*, July 23, 1903, p. 5.
8. *St. Paul Globe*, July 28, 1903, p. 1.
9. *The Appeal*, August 10, 1903, p. 3.
10. *St. Paul Dispatch*, July 22, 1903, p. 7.
11. <http://www.ibtimes.com/super-bowl-parade-2012-whats-environmental-impact-ticker-tape-214007> The alert reader, of course, is free to draw his/her conclusions as to the significance of these statistics.
12. *St. Paul Dispatch*, July 25, 1903, p. 7. Ramsey County Probate Court Judge Edmund Bazille was evidently a public spirited jurist. See *Minnesota History* (Summer, 1988), "Family Casework with the Minneapolis Poor, 1900-1930" Anton Aydt was a pressman, employed by Peters & Brandtjen.
13. *St. Paul Globe*, September 30, 1903; *Warren* (MN) *Sheaf* 13 August 13, 1903, p. 7. (Lennon's Saints team won the American Association pennant that year.)
14. See David Riehle, "300 Afro-American Performers: The Great Cuba Pageant of 1898," *Ramsey County History*, 33:4 (Summer 1999) for more on this debate.
15. St. Paul's entire African American population was under 2,000.

16. Notwithstanding that President Schurmeier initially came forward with the bridesmaid, not the bride. *St. Paul Globe*, August 8, 1903, p. 10.



*A United Travelers Pin from the 1903 Summer Carnival. Founded in 1888, the United Commercial Travelers was a fraternal organization established for the benefit of traveling salesmen. The St. Paul chapter celebrated its day on August 1. Pin courtesy of David Riehle.*

17. "Minnesota street" for four or five blocks was once popularly considered a resort for gambling, prostitution, and "unchaste proceedings and lewd sights . . . of low colored men." See *St. Paul Globe* July 2, 1887, p. 2; *St. Paul Globe* May 2, 1889, p. 2. *Minnesota Street Rag*, composed by East Sider Fred Swanson (white) was published in 1903 with a racially themed cover page. Mr. Strothers was listed in a 1906 *City Directory* as a waiter.
18. *St. Paul Globe*, October 30, 1903, p. 10; *The Appeal*, October 31, 1903, p. 3.
19. How long this quasi-democracy persisted in America is an intriguing question. Warner Brothers' *Miss Pacific Fleet* (1935) starred Joan Blondell as a working-class candidate for the equivalent of "queen" of the U.S. Navy fleet

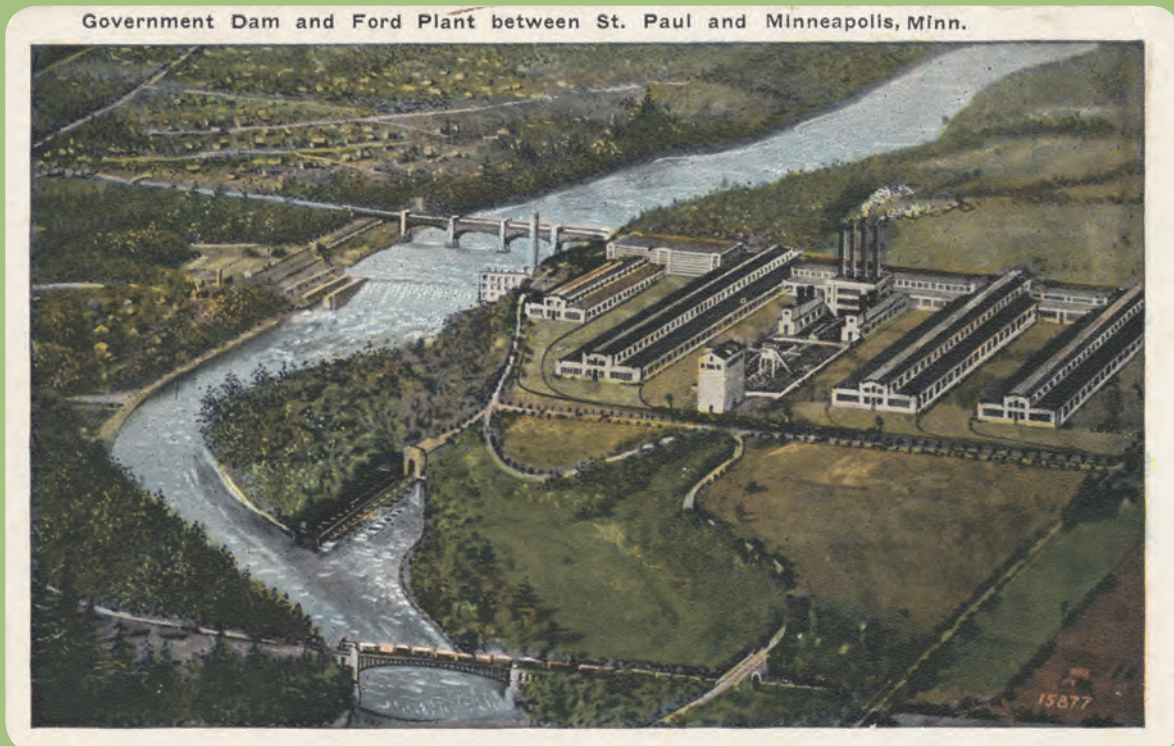
in San Diego. She had to win a city-wide popular vote to prevail. The matter of why there is a "queen" in the first place in this democratic country, why she is a young, attractive (usually working-class) woman, and why the "king" is a dumpy old businessman is beyond the scope of this article. There is an abundance of feminist scholarship to be consulted for those who wish to investigate this further.

20. *St. Paul Globe*, July 12, 1903, p. 3.
21. A renowned physician and surgeon and remarkably public-spirited German immigrant, who served as the city's Health Commissioner from 1899-1907, Dr. Justus Ohage is the least obscure character in this narrative. He created the Public Baths (and Harriet Island) at his own expense in 1901 and deeded it to the city. See L. Curry Morton, "The Free Public Baths of St. Paul," *The American City*, 4 (1911): 259-263.
22. *Minnesota Union Advocate*, July 17, 1903.
23. *Ibid.*, July 24, 1903, p. 1.
24. *St. Paul Globe*, July 12, 1903, p. 3. Helen seems to have been known as "Lena" to her family. She is thus listed in census reports and city directories.
25. *Ninth Biennial Report*, Minnesota Bureau of Labor Statistics, 1903-1904:296
26. *St. Paul Globe*, July 12, 1903, p. 3.
27. See *St. Paul Dispatch*, July 18, 1903, p. 8; *St. Paul Globe*, July 4, 1903, p. 8.
28. *St. Paul Dispatch*, July 13, 1903, p. 7.
29. *St. Paul Globe*, July 19, 1903, pp. 1, 14.
30. *Ibid.*
31. *Ibid.*, July 16, 1903, p. 1.
32. *Ibid.*, July 13, 1903, p. 2.
33. *Minnesota Union Advocate*, July 31, 1903, p. 1.
34. *Minneapolis Journal*, October 19, 1903, p. 5.
35. *Minnesota Union Advocate*, August 7, 1903.

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*This colorized, airplane view depicts an architect's vision of future industrial development that Henry Ford and Colonel Lewis Brittin were selling to St. Paul on January 9, 1923. The bottom of the drawing shows the proposed intercity route of the St. Paul Road, crossing the Mississippi River on a new bridge, which was never built. North of the railroad bridge is the entrance to the proposed river terminal for water transportation, which will connect to the Ford factories through a horizontal tunnel. The drawing depicts five future Ford buildings; the smelter in the center is to be flanked by manufacturing and assembly buildings. The factories are to be framed on the south by an extension of Montreal Avenue and on the north by St. Catherine Street, which will be extended westward to Minneapolis over a new concrete bridge (the "Inter-City Bridge"). Note how the plant is to be located in an idyllic, landscaped part of St. Paul, that harmonized "the machine in the garden," while the area across the river in Minneapolis is already developed. Drawing by A. H. Stem. Postcard courtesy of the Minnesota Historical Society. For more on South Highland Park, see Marc Manderscheid's article on page 20.*