SURVEY

The Mississippi River in Minneapolis has served many purposes. It has been a hunting ground, and a transportation artery. It has provided water and functioned as a sewer. It was the lifeblood of an age past, producing power for the mills that founded the City. It has been a barrier and yet has drawn people together. It has been a source of folklore and fantasy. It has been tranquil at times and rampaging at other times.

Yet the nature of the river itself has not changed as much as the space around it nor as drastically as man's use of it. This greater change, in the function and image of the Riverfront, has occurred since the influx of non-native people into the area. The river has been transformed from a hunting and fishing ground to a power source for a developing City to a wasteland of dysfunctional and non-integrated activities and underutilized land.

To understand the use and character of the river as it was in the past, as it is today, and as it should become in the future is a complex matter. Numerous and diverse factors are involved. It is in this section entitled "Survey" that many of these factors will be related.

	20,000 years—Indian Settlement	
Marquette & Joliet explore Upper Mississippi	1673	
	1680	Father Hennepin discovers Falls
Penicaut describes Falls	1700	
	1720	
	1766	Carver sketches Falls
Zebulon Pike buys Fort Snelling	1805	
	1820	Fort Snelling established
First steamboat comes to Fort Snelling	1823	Government Mill
	1836	Joseph Nicollet surveys river
Franklin Steele claim	1838	
Ard Godfrey builds dam and sawmill	1847	
University of Minnesota chartered	1848	City population 300
City named "Minneapolis"	1852	St. Anthony "Express" published
Suspension bridge	1854	Lady of Lourdes Church
Minnesota becomes state	1858	Inter-state export of flour
	1862	First railroad line
Washburn "B" Mill	1866	
	1873	First City Hall
Washburn "A" Mill explosion	1878	
	1881	Pillsbury "A" Mill
	1883	Stone Arch Bridge
Republican National Convention	1892	
	1905	New City Hall-County Courthouse
1st Gateway Park	1908	
	1920	Last lumbermill closed

PAST

Time is a word created by man to account for the future elapsing into the present, the present growing into the past, and the past becoming memory through the process of distance and age. Does man ever fully realize the present moment until he can truly understand the passage of time? From antiquity to the present, historians have surveyed the mysteries and obscurities of past events as they distinguish certain lineages in present human affairs.

Scattered throughout Minneapolis are man-created symbols of its past—monuments, plaques, buildings, and parks invoking thoughts of historic times and events. But nature too engenders a world of symbols by her own intrinsic powers. Our City is resplendent in its endowment of innate beauty. The Mississippi River, St. Anthony Falls, and Minnehaha Falls live today as echoes of our City's birth. Man and nature are coupled in begetting the past, present, and future spirit of our area.

LAND, WATER, TIME

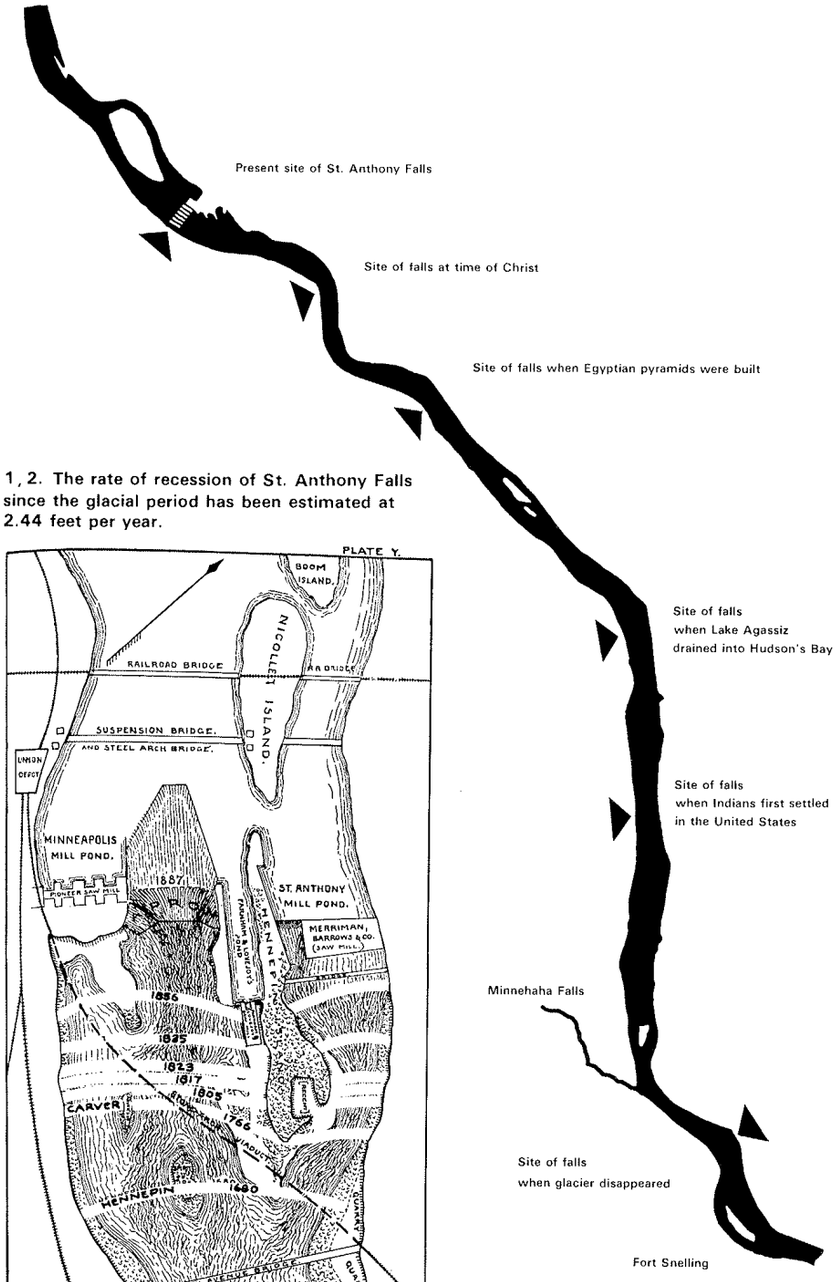
Incessant elemental fluxes of nature work through the medium of time. During the last Ice Age, glacial activity accounted for the Mississippi River's present emplacement converging with the Minnesota River. The major cataract formed there began cutting its way upstream through layers of limestone and sandstone. Evidence of this recession can be found today in the high bluffs along either side of the river gorge between Fort Snelling and the present site of St. Anthony Falls. Descriptions of the location of the falls date back to those by Father Louis Hennepin in 1680, sustaining the belief that the falls receded from the Fort Snelling area to their current establishment—seven miles upstream—over a period of 6,000 years.

The river at one time flowed in two channels around part of the area which is now Minnehaha Park. As the major cataract receded to the upper end of this "island," it formed two waterfalls. Because of greater water volume in the eastern channel, and consequently its more rapid recession, it reached the upper end of the island before the western channel. From then on, the entire flow was diverted into the eastern channel, leaving the western one dry. The escarpment of the waterfall of this western channel can still be seen in the park just below Minnehaha Parkway.

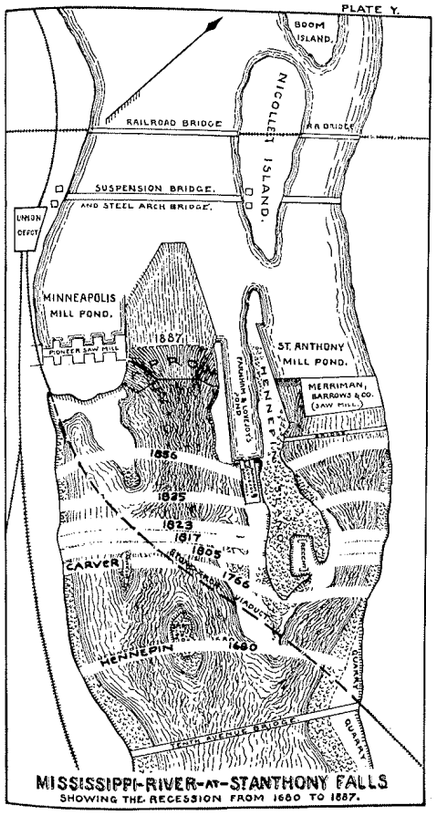
NATIVES

Perhaps 20,000 years ago, ancestral tribes of native Asian peoples wandered onto the North American continent. They lived in the forests and on the plains bringing little change to the land they had found. Among those inhabiting this area were the Sioux or Dakota Indians—a tall, sturdy, proud, and warlike people. They were skillful hunters, fishermen, and horsemen who enjoyed games and storytelling, dances, and feasts. They revered the Great Mystery or Great Monitor—a spirit who ruled over the good and evil spirits of all living things. The great falls were sacred and were enveloped in many legendary beliefs. Once Hennepin saw an Indian in an oak tree weeping bitterly as he fastened to a branch a beaver robe decorated with porcupine quills. It was a sacrifice to Oanktehi, god of water and evil who lived beneath the falls. Hennepin wrote:

"I could hear him say as he was addressing himself to the cascade, with tears in his eyes: 'Thou are a Spirit:



1, 2. The rate of recession of St. Anthony Falls since the glacial period has been estimated at 2.44 feet per year.



3. Evidence of excavation by the falls can be seen in the rocky bluffs of the Lower River gorge.

grant Those of my Nation may pass here without any disaster; that we may meet with a great many wild bulls . ." [1]

The Indians gave the falls names evoking sight and sound. Because of the huge masses of limestone broken from the edge that formed the falls the Chippewa called them "Kakabiboh" meaning "the Sacred Rocks." The Sioux, mindful of the rushing torrents, called them Minirara, "Curling Water," and Owakmenak, "Falling Water."

Another spirit named Ampato Sapa or "Dark Day" haunted a rocky wooded island at the foot of the falls. According to legend, this spirit was the wife of a Sioux hunter and mother of a small son. When her husband's fame grew with his success in the hunt, he decided to show his prosperity by taking a second wife according to the custom of his tribe. Ampato Sapa was heartbroken, but went about her work quietly, caring for her son and awaiting her moment of release.

In the spring when the Sioux were passing the falls, Ampato Sapa paddled a canoe to an island located in mid-river above the cataract. There she dressed in her bridal raiment: an embroidered robe, a crown of eagle feathers, and strings of beads. She placed the child in the canoe where he could be seen by her husband. Then, singing her death song, she guided the craft past the frantic father, over the precipice and into the boiling waters below. The memory of Ampato Sapa was kept alive by tellers of tales who reported that her lament was heard in the wind and that she was seen rising from the foam near Spirit Island, which was named for her.

"Yet that death song they say,
is heard
Above the gloomy waters roar,
When trees are by the
night-wind stirred,
And darkness broods o'er
wave and shore!
In haste, and with averted eye,
Benighted travelers pass near,
And when that song of death
is heard
Stout-hearted warriors
quake with fear." [2]

—Samuel Pond

According to Longfellow, "The Song of Hiawatha", 1885, was "founded on a tradition prevalent among the North American Indians of a personage of miraculous birth who was sent among them to clear their rivers, forests and fishing grounds, and to teach them the arts of peace." The miraculous personage was known among the various tribes by several names, and Longfellow elected to use the Iroquois one, Hiawatha. The story of the Iroquois Chief Hiawatha and his bride Minnehaha, depicted them journeying to Hiawatha's home, "the land of the Ojibways," to which Hiawatha bore the maiden in his arms "over wide and rushing rivers."

A romantic depiction of Father Hennepin christening St. Anthony Falls.

The Indians left their life stories for future peoples in many forms. They contributed words and expressions to the English language, tales of folklore, songs, foods, medicines, dyes, and such articles as toboggans, canoes, snowshoes, and hammocks. They guided the first travelers to this area and taught them to live in the wilderness.

EXPLORATION

Reaching out from settlements in the St. Lawrence River Valley in present day Canada the French probed southward for the fabled river they believed would lead to the Orient. Father Jacques Marquette and Louis Jolliet reached the Upper Mississippi in 1673. Daniel Greysolon visited what is now Minnesota in 1679, and a year later the intrepid La-Salle sent Michael Accault with Father Hennepin and Antoine Auguelle as companions on the sortie up the Mississippi that led to the discovery of St. Anthony Falls.

Father Hennepin, a Belgian Franciscan friar, "saw the only major cataract in the Mississippi River and named it for his patron saint, Anthony of Padua." He said the falls "of itself is terrible, and that something in it very astonishing; however it doth not come near that of Niagara." Hennepin returned to France and there wrote an account of his travels which was published in 1683. Drawn by his report and by a curiosity about western America, a few explorers visited this spot in the eighteenth century. Jean Penicaut, a member of a French exploring party in 1700, wrote that "the entire Mississippi fell suddenly from the height of 60 feet, making a noise like that of thunder rolling in the air." [3]

Possibly the next white man to see the falls was Jonathan Carver, a Connecticut adventurer exploring under the British flag in 1766. Twelve years later he published the earliest known sketch of the falls in a book which became a best seller and increased the cataract's fame as a landmark in a little known region. Carver gave his readers considerably more information about the waterfall than its discoverer had offered. He wrote:

"We could distinctly hear the noise of the water full fifteen miles before we reached the falls, and I was greatly pleased and surprised when I approached this astonishing work of nature. . . . . This amazing body of waters which are above 250 yards over, form a most pleasing cataract, they fall perpendicularly about 30 feet, and the rapids below . . . . . render the descent considerably greater, so that when viewed at a distance, they appear much higher than they really are. . . . . These falls vary much from all the others I have seen, as you may approach close to them without finding the least obstruction from any intervening hill."

After describing the six nearby islands which added to the beauty of the scene, Carver concluded that "a more pleasing and picturesque view cannot, I believe, be found throughout the universe." [4]

In 1805, two years after the purchase of the Louisiana Territory made the land west of the Mississippi part of the young United States, Lieutenant Zebulon M. Pike traveled up the Mississippi on an exploring mission for the federal government. He was ordered to buy Indian lands on which forts might be erected. One of his purchases was a small tract, roughly nine miles square, at the confluence of the Minnesota (then the Pierre River), and the Mississippi Rivers. Instructed to record

precise information about the country he explored, Pike described the falls far more accurately than had earlier visitors. He recorded the height of the cataract as 16½ feet:

"As I ascended the Mississippi, the Falls of St. Anthony did not strike me with that majestic appearance which I had been taught to expect from the description of former travelers. The width of the river above the shoot is 627 yards; below 209. In high water the appearance is much more sublime, as the great quantity of water then forms a spray which in clear weather reflects from some positions the colors of the rainbow, and when the sky is overcast, covers the falls in gloom and chaotic majesty."[5]

SETTLEMENT

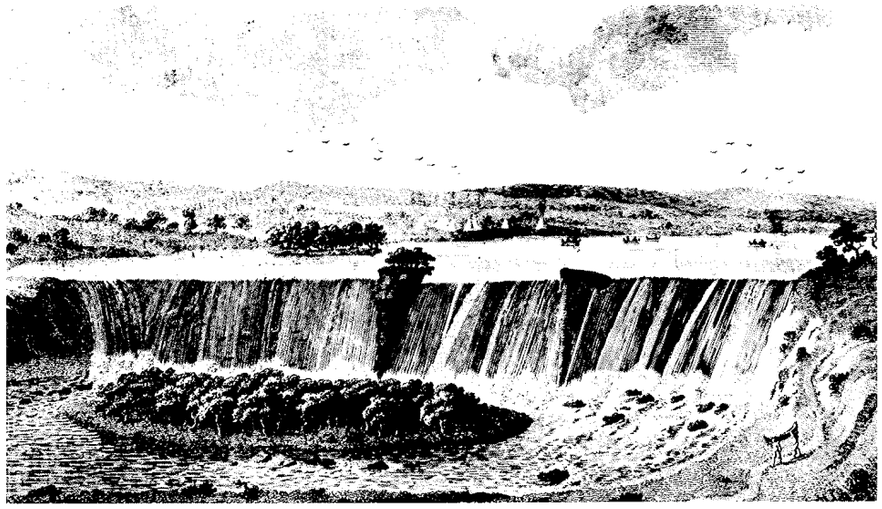
In the early days of St. Anthony and Minneapolis, history was recorded almost entirely in terms of the Mississippi River.

Fifteen years after Pike's exploration, in 1820, Fort Snelling was established on the land he had bought. The fort structures were erected on the bluff overlooking the point where the rivers meet.

The soldiers of the fort enforced peace among the Indians, extended United States influence over the region, and paved the way for white settlement of this area. In addition to clearing the way for settlement, the soldiers were the first men to make use of St. Anthony Falls as a source of power by developing and running a grist mill and a lumber mill there in 1823. This initial harnessing of the water power of St. Anthony Falls was Minneapolis' first step toward becoming a leading flour milling and lumber center of the United States at the turn of the century.

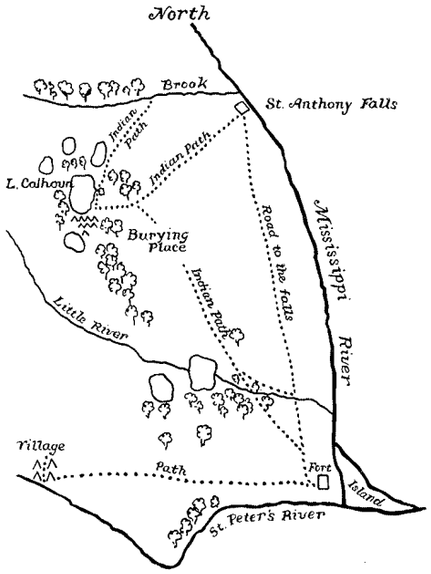
In 1836, the United States government hired Joseph Nicollet to survey and explore the sources of the Mississippi River. He came to Fort Snelling and traveled north from there to Lake Itasca, taking record of the event and making maps of the area which were later to be used by the new settlers.

When Nicollet arrived in this area from Pennsylvania, the entire region with the exception of Fort Snelling belonged to the Indians. A steamboat arrived at Fort Snelling in 1838 bringing with it news that Congress had ratified a treaty with the Indians which included the east bank of the Mississippi at St. Anthony Falls. Franklin Steele, a twenty-five year old Pennsylvanian who had arrived in 1837 to be a sutler at Fort Snelling, visited the falls and was immediately aware of the power they

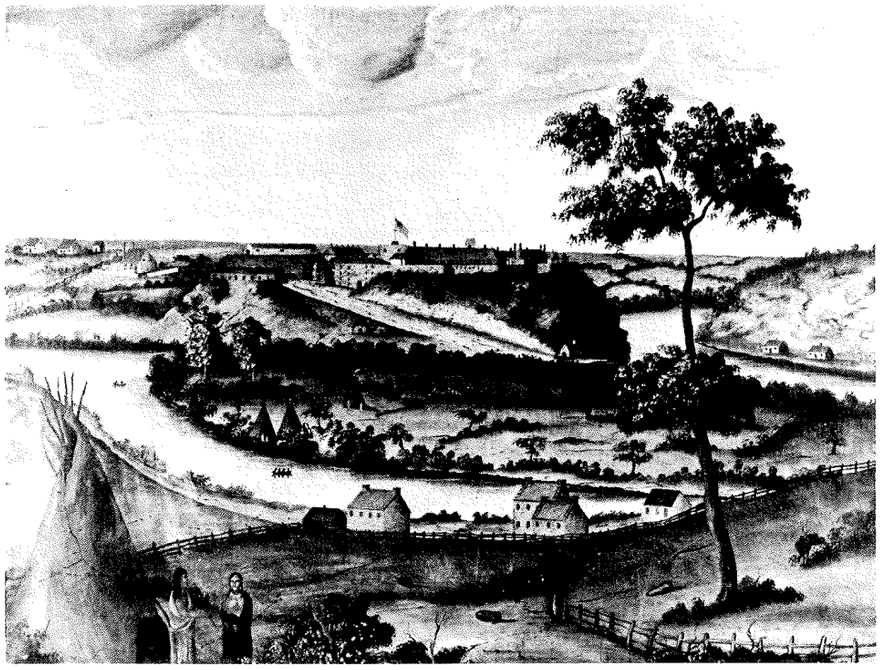


The earliest known sketch of St. Anthony Falls.

Minneapolis in 1834.



Fort Snelling, at the confluence of the Minnesota and Mississippi Rivers, c. 1850.



could produce for mills and other factories. He knew that the first man to stake a claim on the eastern shore would control half of the falls' power. During the night following the arrival of the treaty news, he crossed the river with several other men, staked a claim by the falls, and put up a claim shanty. Before long others had made claims and built shanties nearby.

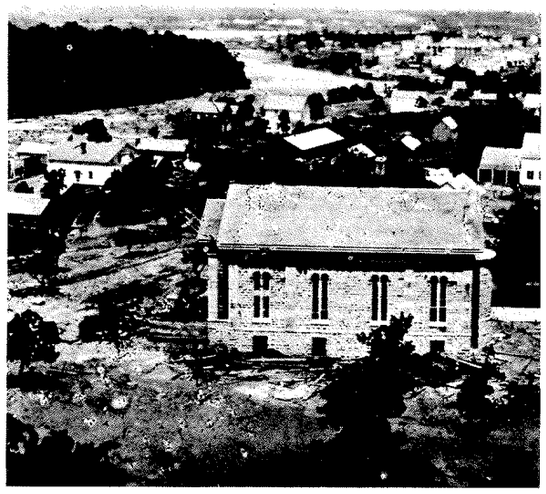
Within Steele's claim the Mississippi River dropped 50 feet, creating falls greater than those which nourished Lowell and other leading industrial cities in Massachusetts. Nature and circumstances were ready to give more, but the water power could not be used profitably without raw materials, markets, transportation, and capital. Three of these four elements were fortunately at hand.

Stretching northward into present day Canada, from only a few miles above the falls, was a forest exceeding in area the entire state of Maine, with trees reaching 200 feet toward the northern skies. These magnificent stands of pines and hardwoods covered 70 percent of the land which was to become the State of Minnesota. Draining the pinery as it flowed from Lake Itasca to the falls was the Mississippi River, a natural transportation artery for moving logs from woods to mills. Below the falls the river coursed southward through a potential market of prairie lands opening to the plow. A prophet stated that the pine would supply the whole valley of the Mississippi for two hundred years and that the water power of the falls was extensive enough to manufacture all of the extant lumber.

In 1847 Ard Godfrey, a skilled millwright, came from Maine at Steele's request to build a dam in the east channel of the river and erect a sawmill. A mess hall, carpentry and blacksmith shops, stables, and a pumphouse, were also constructed.

Located a short distance above the edge of the falls, the dam ran from the shore to a point 20 feet above the head of Hennepin Island and then to the foot of Nicollet Island. The structure was approximately 700 feet long, 16 feet high, about 40 feet wide at the base, and 12 feet wide at the top. It was anchored to the river bed, and had flumes placed at intervals to admit water. Upstream behind the dam was a millpond where logs were stored until they could be sawed.

A low wooden sawmill equipped with two up-and-down saws was completed



1. Government sawmill at St. Anthony, constructed in 1823. 2. First Universalist Church of St. Anthony in 1857—now Our Lady of Lourdes.

near the eastern end of the dam in September, 1848. In front of the mill stood a 50-foot wide platform for storing lumber. The mill began operating on September 1, and ran day and night for six days a week. It produced approximately half a million feet of lumber by the close of its first season.

In 1848 Steele subdivided his land, and in 1849 registered the plat. Upon the map the surveyor wrote "St. Anthony Falls." Declaring that the name was "too big a mouthful for a man to spit out at once," Steele shortened it to St. Anthony. Soon hundreds of settlers flocked to the townsite. By 1848 the settlement on the east bank had a population of 300. A newspaper—the St. Anthony EXPRESS—was founded in 1851 to give voice to the community's hopes.

John Harrington Stevens arrived in 1849 as Steele's clerk at the Fort Snelling sutlery. Stevens wanted to own his own land on the west bank of the Mississippi at the falls. After obtaining permission from the government, he staked a claim on the west bank, subject to the condition that he maintain a ferry over the Mississippi that would be free to the military.

In 1849 Stevens built a house in the wilderness by the river and began the cultivation of 40 acres of fields. Several years later, when he could legally buy his claim, a number of settlers had joined him on the west bank. To promote the growth of the little community which had formed, Stevens generously gave away lots to settlers who would stay and build on the land. One of the pioneers who arrived in 1852 was a New Englander named Charles Hoag. When the question came up that year as to what to call the new town on the west bank, he had a novel suggestion: "The name I propose—Minnehapolis—is derived from Minnehaha 'falling water' with the Greek affix 'apolis', a city thus meaning 'Falling Water City' or 'City of Falling Water'."[6]

His idea met with immediate approval and in a meeting held in John Steven's home, the name was formally adopted. Changing it only by dropping the silent "h", the citizens took Hoag's new word as the name for their village.

In 1858 four flour mills were powered by the imposing St. Anthony Falls, and that year the first Minnesota flour was shipped east. Harbinger of another boom, Franklin Steele's sawmill had been operating for 10 years.

DEVELOPMENT

FLOUR. It was during the 1850's that Cadwallader C. Washburn formed the Minneapolis Mill Company, after buying water rights and 89 acres of land on the west side of the river. His first flour mill was erected in 1866. Known as the "B" Mill, the stone building was the scene of his first experiments with milling processes.

In May, 1878, a tragedy occurred when floating dust in the five-year-old Washburn "A" Mill became ignited and the mill exploded. Personal injuries, deaths and destruction of half the city's milling district resulted.

Following the catastrophe, Washburn employed an Austrian milling engineer named de la Barre to install in the Minneapolis mills devices which revolutionized the milling industry. Combining the use of mechanical siftings to separate the flour from the bran, and the use of steel rollers instead of millstones, the resulting "patent process" created increasing demand for the hard spring wheat of Minnesota and the Northwest.

By 1882 Minneapolis mills had achieved world-wide recognition for "new process" flour. Steadily mounting production reached its peak in 1923 with an output of 95,000 barrels a day, produced by 30 different Minneapolis mills. Pillsbury on one side of the river and General Mills on the other then dominated the central City waterfront.

LUMBER. During the second half of the nineteenth century lumber barons grossed fortunes while thousands of lumberjacks living the Paul Bunyan myth fanned out into the Minnesota woods to "cut out and get out." Logs floated down the river to the Minneapolis sawmills, and for a brief period, Minneapolis was the leading lumber producer in the world.

In 1899 Minneapolis mills cut almost 600 million feet of lumber—and in 1900, the state as a whole, ranked third in the nation with a production of 2⅓ billion feet of lumber. But self-destruction came with the ravaging of forest resources. The supply of white pine was depleted so that, following a rapid decline, the last great lumber mill in Minneapolis closed down in 1920.

RIVER TRANSPORTATION. The first steamboat on the Upper Mississippi, "Virginia," passed up the river on her way to Fort Snelling in 1823. With the settlement of the Northwest, steamboat transportation increased with each succeeding year.

Nine out of every ten steamboats, both stern and sidewheel, were built on the Ohio River. Carrying as many as 500 passengers, the largest measured 300 feet from bow to stern and cost $40,000. About 1500 boats, including packets, raft boats, and ferry boats, navigated the Upper River between 1823 and 1900.

The loss of boats up through 1897 by snags, fire, ice, collisions, explosions, and other causes numbered 295. Other vessels wore out and were dismantled. Steamboating began to decline around 1870 with the coming of the railroads to the important river towns.

SPANNING THE RIVER. Land transportation was limited until after 1850. Stage coach service linked St. Anthony with St. Paul only after 1851, and it was 1854 before the first bridge crossed the river.

3. Logs that built the Midwest jam the east channel, c. 1857.

1. Steamboat "Minneapolis" at the Washington Avenue levee, 1859.

A gala celebration signaled the opening of a wooden tower suspension bridge spanning the Mississippi between St. Anthony and Minneapolis. This bridge was the first to link the Eastern and Western valleys of the Mississippi at any point. A group of citizens had constructed the suspension bridge from the west bank to Nicollet Island, where it met a bridge built earlier between the eastern shore and the island.

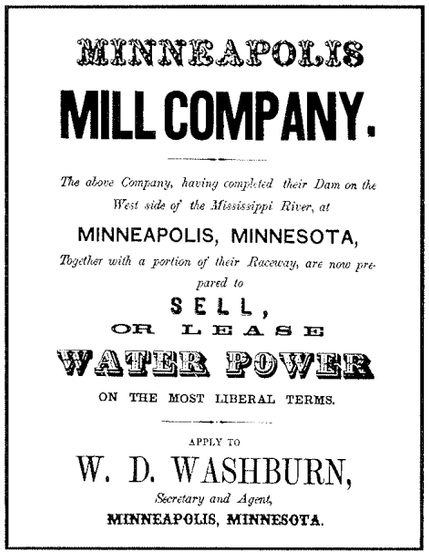
"Built at a cost of $36,000, it was looked upon as one of the most remarkable structural engineering feats of the time. Operated as a toll bridge, the charges were 5 cents for foot passengers, 25 cents for teams, 10 cents for cows, and 2 cents per head for sheep and pigs."[7] Other bridges were built to replace the worn suspension bridge in later years.

Finally the erosion was arrested; government engineers subsequently constructed a concrete dike across the river and filled the tunnel. Three years later two lower dams were built to further develop the falls for industrial use.

The Stone Arch Bridge below the Falls of St. Anthony is the result of James J. Hill's ambitious plan to improve railroad service to Minneapolis. In the 1880's when Hill announced his intention to build a bridge to accommodate the St. Paul, Minnesota, and Manitoba Railway (later the Great Northern) lines serving Minneapolis, he said it would be the finest structure of its kind on the continent.

"The masonry structure, a rarity in the Midwest in those days and a complex engineering feat, was completed in 1883 at a cost of $690,000. The graceful span, which has been compared to a Roman aqueduct, is the oldest mainline bridge in the Northwest, and next to the Eads Bridge at St. Louis, the oldest railroad bridge over the Mississippi."[8]

2.



3.

RAILROADS. The major railroad lines came to Minneapolis between 1862 and 1885, before much of the City had been built. The City's urgent need for rail connections to feed its industrial growth created a favorable civic environment for the railroads. Tracks were laid along the most direct and economical routes to business and milling districts. One example of this civic encouragement accounted for the present Milwaukee Depot, purchased and donated to that railroad by public-spirited citizens to provide a vital terminal right in the heart of Downtown. At the same time, however, such gestures established the railroad-industrial barrier which still separates Downtown from the river.

The railroads played a vital role in establishing Minneapolis as the economic center of a five-state region. They also had a tremendous impact on City and Riverfront form, by determining the pattern of later industrial land use.

An unusual attempt to connect Hennepin Island to Nicollet Island was made by William W. Eastman, who had purchased Nicollet Island in 1865. To harness water power not controlled by the companies, mills and power plants already lining both banks, he decided to build a tunnel from Hennepin Island upriver to Nicollet Island. Work on the tunnel had progressed for nearly a year, when the soft sandstone underlying the limestone edge of the falls caused the falls to give way. Several mills were swept downstream and all materials used in attempting to plug the gap disappeared in the whirlpool.

RIVERFRONT SKYLINE. Business concentrated at either end of the Hennepin suspension bridge once it was completed. Streets were developed on the Minneapolis side of the river radiating out from Bridge Square.

By the 1870's Bridge Square enterprises had expanded and spread along Washington Avenue, eclipsing rival commercial centers that were scattered along both sides of the river. In 1873, not long after the consolidation of Minneaplis and St. Anthony, a City hall

1. Looking across Washington Avenue and down the length of Hennepin and Nicollet Avenues toward the river, c. 1890.

was constructed. Along with a major hotel at Washington and Hennepin it highlighted the skyline of the City center which stretched from the Washington Avenue commercial axis to the milling district, tying together the remnants of the earlier commercial centers.

Still remaining on the east bank of the river from the 19th century skyline are the Pillsbury "A" Mill, completed in 1881, and Our Lady of Lourdes Church, dedicated in 1857 by the First Universalist Society of St. Anthony. Along with several other significant buildings and original granite cobblestone streets these structures still characterize the mood of the town of St. Anthony, long since swallowed by the faster growing Minneapolis. Only the cornerstone, however, remains of the Minnesota Exposition Building which overlooked the Third Avenue Bridge and housed the Republican National Convention of 1892. The Exposition Building had replaced the Winslow House, a popular hotel at mid-century, which drew much of its clientele from steamboat traffic.

UNIVERSITY. The University of Minnesota has been powerful for a century throughout the state, with its prime focus along the southeast Minneapolis Riverfront. Although the University was chartered in 1851, eighteen years of financial and organizational difficulties intervened before the school began functioning without threat of bankruptcy. With legislative assignment of Morrill Act lands amounting to 120,000 acres, the way was opened to the establishment of an agricultural college as part of a central state university.

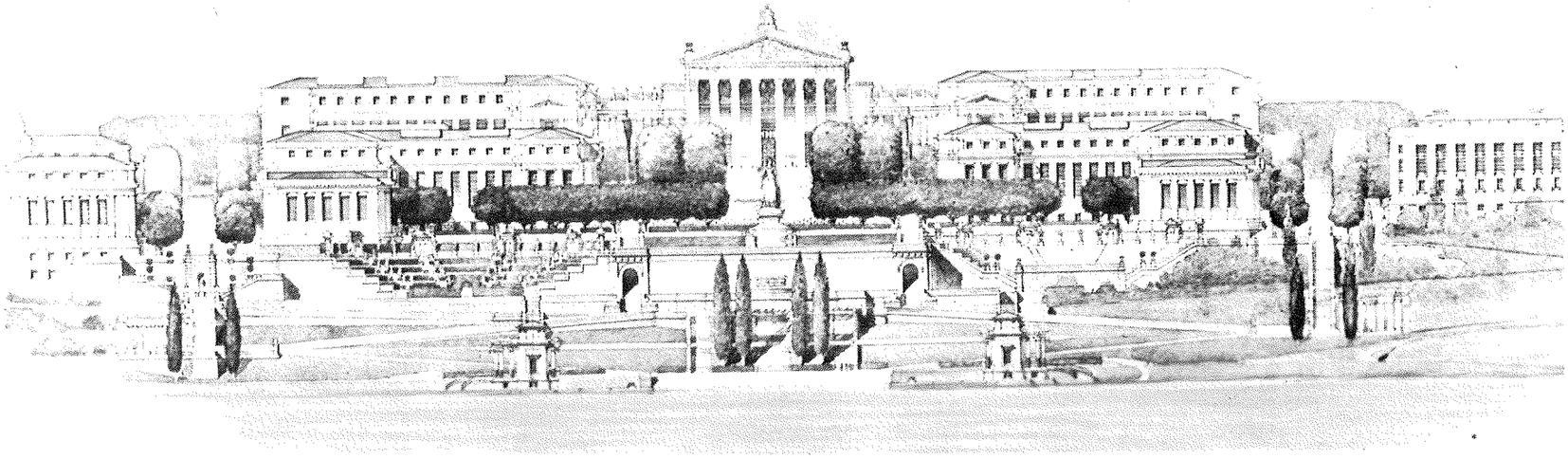
When President William Folwell arrived in 1869 he found a University faculty of nine, a freshman class of thirteen and a preparatory department numbering more than two hundred. Folwell described an exciting conception of a state university at his inauguration—a federation of schools with a faculty of teachers and investigators, junior colleges which would function in high school and academies—and asked for a wealth of facilities—museum, library, observatory, faculty and research.

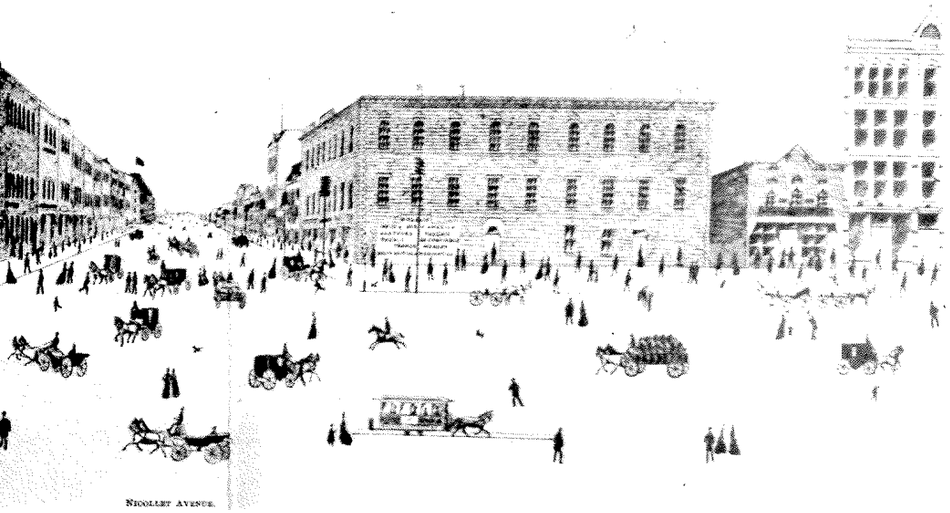
Now the third largest university in the country, the Minnesota school has grown to match Folwell's original image—and more. The Minneapolis campus might have been harmonized had Cass Gilbert's blueprints for neo-classic river-oriented architecture been fulfilled, but the campus has grown more like Topsy as funds have been allotted to meet bursting needs.

IMMIGRATION. Industrial and educational development strained to meet the needs of a city population that increased sevenfold from the close of the Civil War until 1900.

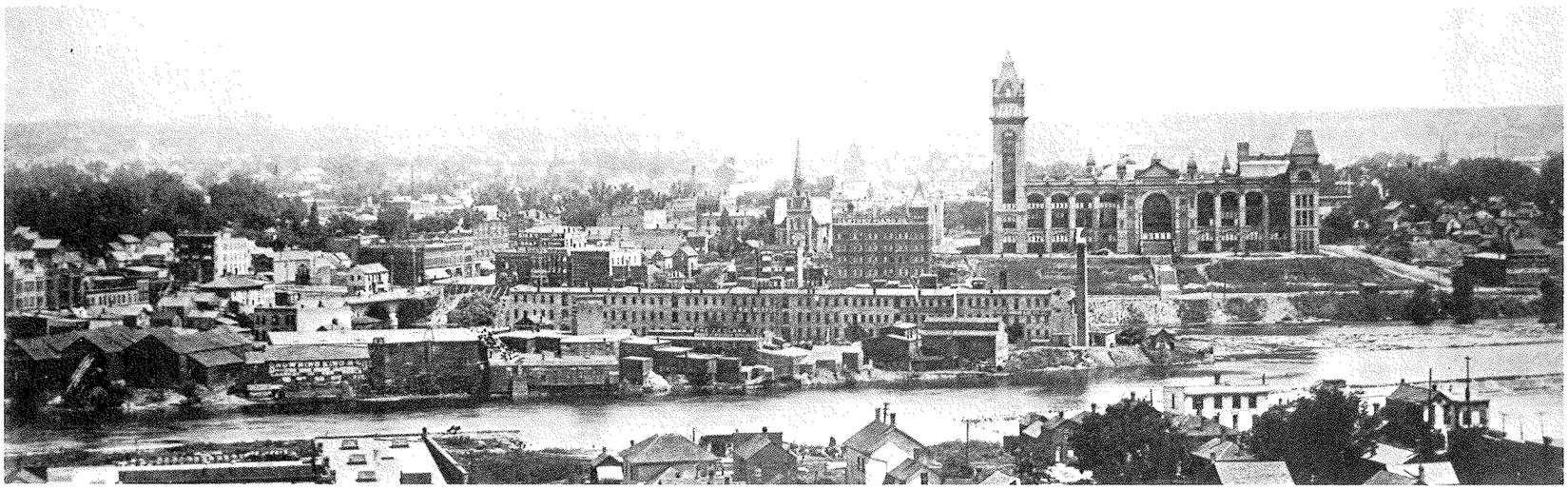
In 1880 70% of the population were Europeans of the first and second generation. Many of these Scandinavian and German immigrants returned to their homelands to successfully recruit more newcomers.

2. Architect Gilbert's vision for the University of Minnesota Riverfront.





Lower tip of Nicollet Island in 1900 with Exposition Hall in background.



TRANSITION

For a multiplicity of reasons, the City has, in the twentieth century, abandoned the river. The last lumber mill in Minneapolis was closed in 1920, as previously mentioned. In 1930 a change in freight rates brought the Minneapolis flour industry into competition with Buffalo, Kansas City, and other cities where milling had been developing. Grain elevators remained, but diversifying mills gradually moved to acreage away from the river. The effort to construct the Upper Harbor, begun about this time, was too late to offer a river transport system and stem the tide. And constant visible sewage floated on the river until the first Pig's Eye Sewer Plant was constructed in 1938. These factors combined with others produced little variety of river usage, leaving much of the river area in a state of decreasing industrial utilization.

On the east bank the University closed off its Mall from the river with the construction of Coffman Student Union. On the west bank, the Washington Avenue strip created a pocket of ramshackle buildings near the river, and the congestion of Bridge Square caused business to escape southward along Hennepin and Nicollet Avenues, where more commercial space was available at cheaper prices.

The Bridge Square area decayed noticeably. In 1908 the Park Board proposed razing the old city hall and contiguous buildings. A public park was built with the intention of creating a formal gateway to the City but this idea proved unfavorable to all but the area residents.

The task of razing decaying buildings on the west bank became the City's first major urban renewal program in the late '50s with the Gateway Center renewal project. Space still remains for future development of this area stretching from the former Bridge Square to the landmark City Hall-County Courthouse completed in 1905.

Even as earlier history offered the sense of belonging to the river, these later events have reversed this feeling of proximity. Manifestation of the river's glorious past can be found in vacant, dilapidated structures, abandoned and poorly used river edge land and in the summation of such evidence, a City with its back turned to the river.