



WATER WORKS INTERPRETIVE PLANNING

Research and Implications

Final: December 1, 2016



106GROUP

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THANK YOU

We wish to extend a sincere thank you to the many members of our community who shared their stories, memories, and vision. Your knowledge, insights, and willingness to share are greatly appreciated and will significantly contribute to Water Works being a park for all.

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INTRODUCTION

PROJECT OVERVIEW

Water Works encompasses six acres within Mill Ruins Park, adjacent to St. Anthony Falls on the West Bank of the Mississippi River. Water Works is a park development project of RiverFirst, an initiative adopted by the Minneapolis Park and Recreation Board (MPRB) in 2012 to develop riverfront parks and trails on both sides of the Mississippi River from downtown Minneapolis to the northern city limits. RiverFirst is a public-private partnership between the MPRB and the Minneapolis Parks Foundation (MPF) dedicated to transforming the once-industrial Mississippi Riverfront into a space that offers opportunities for recreation, civic engagement, and artistic performance, while promoting two key MPF goals: fostering innovation and providing "equitable access to world-class parks and green space." (<http://mplsparksfoundation.org/riverfirst/>).

The Water Works project will transform the portion of Mill Ruins Park in the West Bank Milling Area (West Bank)—a subarea of the St. Anthony Falls Historic District—into an engaging public space offering recreation, ecology, and cultural heritage, and in the process, redefine the community's relationship to the river. (<http://mplsparksfoundation.org/projects/water-works/>)

To meet those goals, the MPRB has engaged teams of architects, landscape architects, engineers, historical restoration specialists, archaeologists, and historians to study and enter into the design phases of this park. Within that wider scope of work, the 106 Group has been engaged to do deeper research into community stories that could support this work. Starting with a focus on Culturally-Connected Communities (groups that have stories related to the riverfront, including African American and American Indian stories), labor, and social histories, this research—combined with archival and archaeological work—reveals themes that should influence any eventual interpretation on site as well as the landscape and architectural programs that are in development.

This document therefore sets foundations for all subsequent planning by collecting the Mission and Goals (“why we’re doing this”), re-stating the audience (“who it’s for”), summarizing the research (“what it’s about”), and proposing principles for the design program that are based on these factors. This document is not a complete Interpretive Plan. Nor is it an interpretive Schematic Design. But it is an initial step in the direction of both of those processes, which we understand will follow.

PART OF A WHOLE

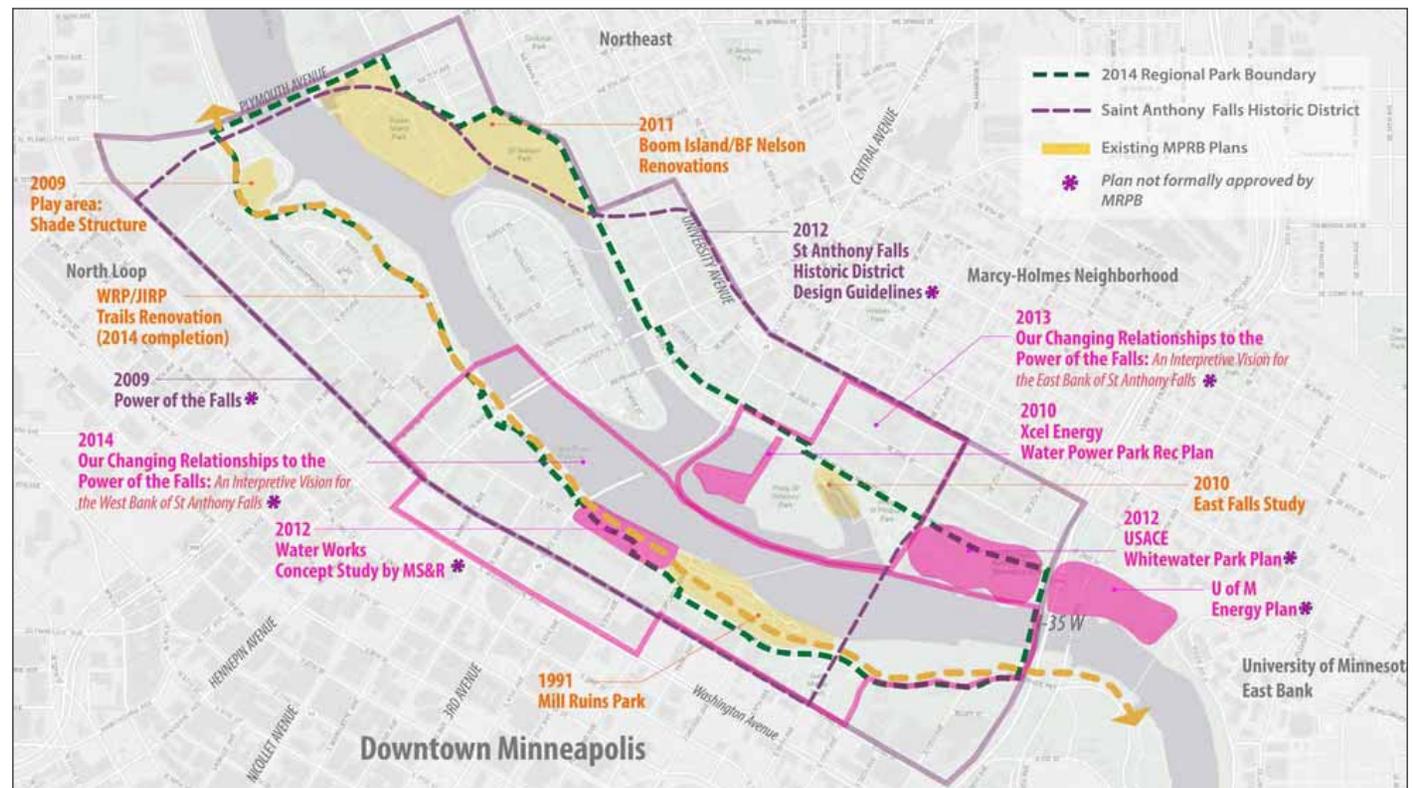
Water Works is part of a two-mile loop around the Falls known as the St. Anthony Falls Heritage Trail. Other features of this loop include St. Anthony Main, Nicollet Island, and the existing parts of Mill Ruins Park. Water Works is also part of the Central Mississippi Riverfront Regional Park, which covers both sides the river between the Plymouth Ave and I-35W bridges. In addition, Water Works is part of a much larger initiative known as RiverFirst, which will develop parks on both sides of the river from downtown to the northern city limits. Although invisible to the visitor, the experience also ties into work by the National Park Service, the Corps of Engineers, the Minnesota Historical Society, and others. Water Works does not stand alone. From the user's perspective, the entire loop should be unified in goals, styling, and storytelling.

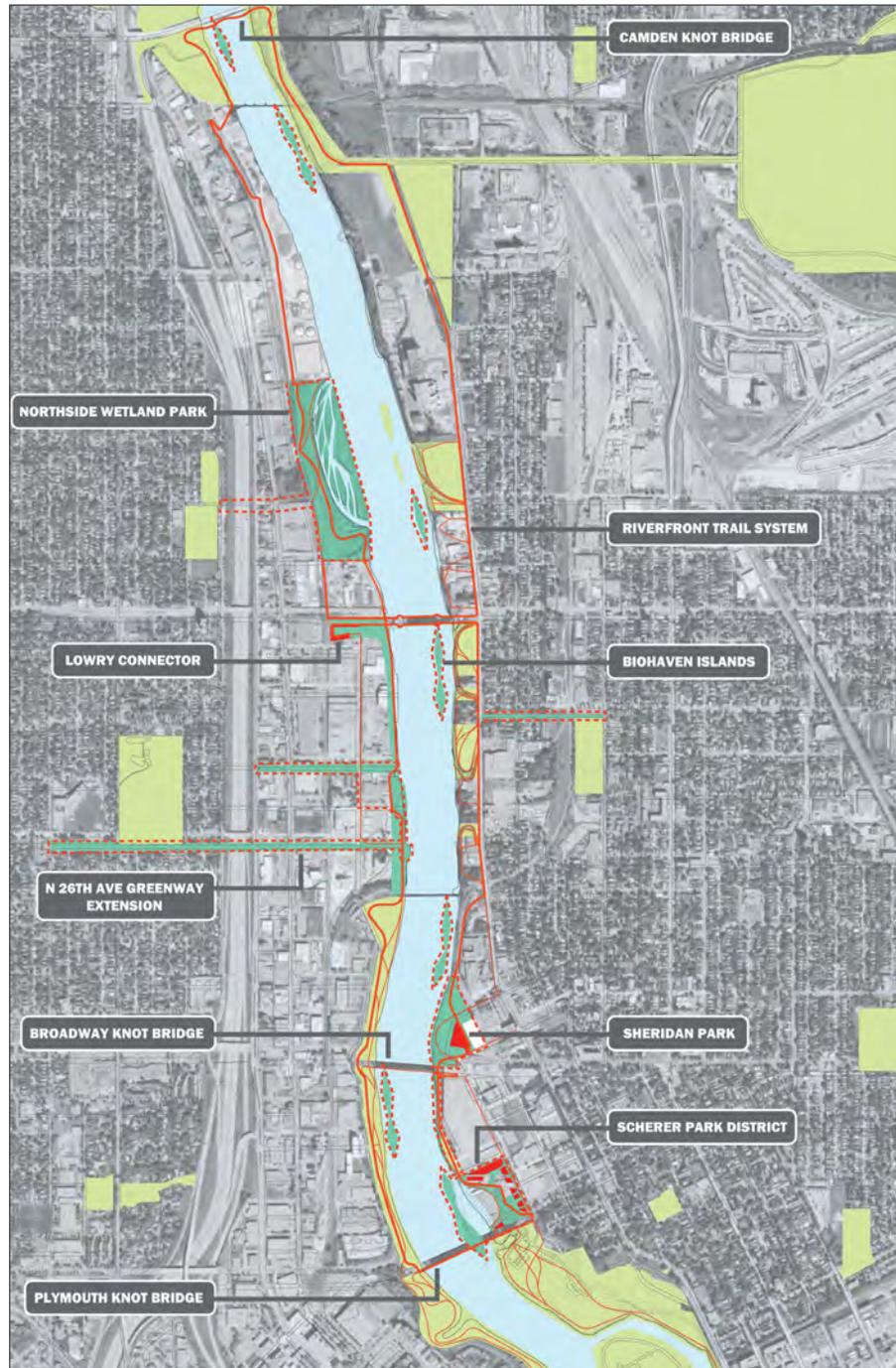
Because Water Works is one piece of a much larger story, this document will propose a preliminary unifying theme for the entirety of the riverfront, based on work done in previous planning, in order to define the subordinate Big Idea of Water Works. In the category of Future Steps, we recommend comprehensive interpretive planning for the entirety of the RiverFirst initiative.

The Saint Anthony Falls Regional Park, including Water Works: previous planning efforts.

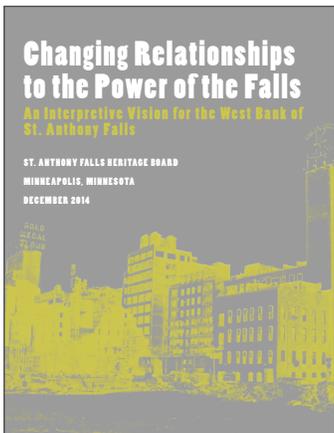
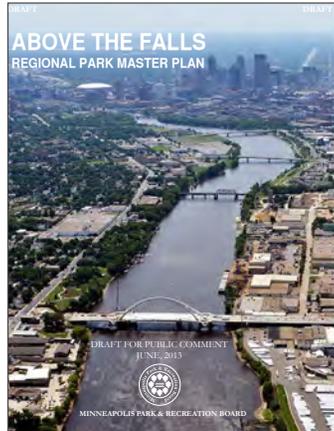
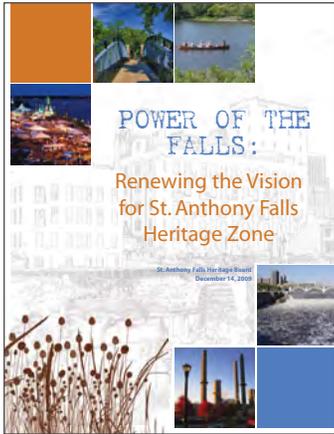
Source: St. Anthony Falls Regional Park Master Plan, MPRB, 2014.

From the user's perspective, the entire loop should be unified in goals, styling, and storytelling.





RiverFirst parks upriver from Water Works, 5 year Implementation Plan
 Source: <http://riverfirst.com/projects/>



PREVIOUS INTERPRETIVE PLANS

A number of interpretive plans have been developed for the St. Anthony Falls area since the St. Anthony Falls Historic District's listing to the National Register of Historic Places and its designation as a state and local Minneapolis historic district in 1971. A few of these are comprehensive and others are more targeted. Yet they do share some goals on which the current project is based:

Strengthening the sense of place.

Broadening the visitorship.

Preserving and promoting the area's historical and cultural assets.

Over time, there has also been consistency of messaging that keeps the river, and the Falls, central to the district's story. The story, however, has gradually expanded from a brief industrial view to a more integrated view that references cultures, nature, spirituality, industry, transportation, food, and deep time.

Previous Interpretive Plan	Theme/Message/Subjects
Saint Anthony Falls Interpretive Plan, 1990 SAFHD	Important urban river system <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Geology, Geography, Indian History • Urban growth and change • Culmination of mechanical waterpower technology • Civil engineering to preserve the Falls; important role of government • Flour, lumber • Transportation • Regional economic significance • Diverse population • Architectural history
American Indian Interpretive Programs, 2004 MHS and MPRB	For thousands of years, American Indians have lived along the banks of the Mississippi River and beyond; their culture is an important part of Minnesota's history. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Food and the Cycles of Life • Connecting People and Places • Broken Promises, Renewed Hope: Land Ethics and Sovereignty • The Industrialization of Food: the Commoditization of Nature
Power of the Falls: Renewing the Vision for St. Anthony Falls Heritage Zone, 2009 SAFHB	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Power of the Falls • Spiritual Place • Resilient Nature • Iconic Mississippi • A Revolution in Food • Life of a City • Confluence and Connections
Changing Relationships to the Power of the Falls: An Interpretive Vision for the West Bank of St. Anthony Falls, 2014 SAFHB	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • St. Anthony Falls and Spirit Island • Canal and Gatehouse • Railroads and Rail Beds • Upper and Lower St. Anthony Falls Locks • Mill Ruins and Tunnels • Bridges • Mills and Grain Elevators • Gateway

WHY WE'RE DOING THIS

Water Works is big. It results from years of dreams and visions for the role of parks and the river in the life of Minneapolis. In this early stage of planning, and throughout the process, we must be clear on the project's purpose—its goal—so that we can continually aim towards it. To that end, we consolidate here the background Mission, Vision, and Values of the MPRB, and from that define project-specific Interpretive and Visitors' Experience goals.

MPRB MISSION

The Minneapolis Park and Recreation Board shall permanently preserve, protect, maintain, improve, and enhance its natural resources, parkland, and recreational opportunities for current and future generations.

The Minneapolis Park and Recreation Board exists to provide places and recreation opportunities for all people to gather, celebrate, contemplate, and engage in activities that promote health, well-being, community, and the environment.

https://www.minneapolisparcs.org/about_us/mission_vision__values/



**Minneapolis
Park & Recreation Board**

MPRB VISION

Our vision statement and the four vision themes will guide future development, operations, and maintenance of the Minneapolis Park System into 2020.

In 2020, the Minneapolis Park System is a premier destination that welcomes and captivates residents and visitors. The Park System and its beauty are part of daily life and shape the character of Minneapolis. Natural, cultural, artistic, historical, and recreational resources cultivate outstanding experiences, health, enjoyment, fun, and learning for all people. The Park System is sustainable, well-maintained and safe, and meets the needs of individuals, families, and communities. The focus on preserving land continues, with a strong emphasis on connecting people to the land and each other. Aware of its value to their lives, residents are proud stewards and supporters of an extraordinary park and recreation system.

As a renowned and award winning park and recreation system, the Minneapolis Park and Recreation Board delivers:

VISION THEME 1: Urban forests, natural areas, and waters that endure and captivate

- Sound management techniques provide healthy, diverse, and sustainable natural resources.
- Healthy boulevard trees connect all city residents to their park system.
- Residents and visitors enjoy and understand the natural environment.
- People and the environment benefit from the expansion and protection of natural resources.
- Knowledgeable stewards and partners generously support the system's natural resources.

VISION THEME 2: Recreation that inspires personal growth, healthy lifestyles, and a sense of community

- People play, learn, and develop a greater capacity to enjoy life.
- Residents, visitors, and workers enjoy opportunities to improve health and fitness.
- People connect through parks and recreation.
- Volunteers make a vital difference to people, parks, and the community.
- Parks provide a center for community living.

VISION THEME 3: Dynamic parks that shape city character and meet diverse community needs

- Parks shape an evolving city.
- Park facility renewal and development respects history and focuses on sustainability, accessibility, flexibility, and beauty.
- Focused land management supports current and future generations.
- Financially independent and sustainable parks prosper.
- Through outreach and research, park and recreation services are relevant today and tomorrow.
- Easily accessible information supports enjoyment and use of the park and recreation system.

VISION THEME 4: A safe place to play, celebrate, contemplate, and recreate

- Positive recreation experiences and welcoming parks prevent crime.
- Residents, park visitors, and staff make safe choices in the parks.
- Intervention and communication reduces safety concerns.
- Parks are safe and welcoming by design.
- Communities, public and private partners, and staff cooperate to promote safety.

from https://www.minneapolisparcs.org/about_us/mission_vision__values/

MPRB VALUES

We apply the following values to all of our work:

SUSTAINABILITY

Meet current park and recreation needs without sacrificing the ability of future generations to meet their own needs by balancing environmental, economic, and equity concerns.

VISIONARY LEADERSHIP

Respect the vision and leadership that built the park and recreation system and recognize the need for ongoing leadership in achieving excellence.

SAFETY

Work safely to support a thriving work environment and an outstanding park experience for visitors.

RESPONSIVENESS AND INNOVATION

Anticipate and thoughtfully respond to the diverse needs of the city's communities, continually seeking ways to better deliver park and recreation services.

INDEPENDENCE AND FOCUS

Independence allows the Minneapolis Park and Recreation Board to focus on providing and obtaining the resources necessary to accomplish its mission and form effective, responsible partnerships.

We consider the following principles when making decisions that have a district or system-wide impact:

Identified Community Need and Demographics

Emphasis will be placed on researching community needs and demographics when considering program and facility delivery.

Quality versus Quantity

The amenities provided to meet the park and recreation needs of communities will be high quality and provided at a sustainable level. Amenities that have completed their useful life-cycle, especially those with a blighted appearance, will be removed and, as funding becomes available, replaced with new amenities.

Embracing Technology

Decision-making will embrace technology to better serve the community.

Fostering a New Face for Partnerships

Non-traditional partners that provide new opportunities for residents and are consistent with the organization's mission will be encouraged.

Focusing on the Activity, Then the Infrastructure

After evaluation of what the Park Board currently provides, the status of other service providers, and existing infrastructure, infrastructure will be provided to meet the service goals for that activity. Service goals for an activity will be based on demographics of an area, identified community need, and the identified target audience for the activity.

Sustainable Rate

A sustainable park system will be supported by decisions that provide services at a sustainable rate, such as providing infrastructure that can be reasonably maintained, setting realistic program and service delivery targets, or modifying land management techniques to increase efficiency.

from https://www.minneapolisparks.org/about_us/mission_vision__values/

The Mission, Vision, and Values of the MPRB provide hints at the purposes of Water Works within the larger system of Minneapolis parks. From them, other planning documents (including Interpretive Plans), and documentation related to this project specifically, we propose the following focused goals for interpretation at Water Works:

WATER WORKS' INTERPRETIVE GOAL

For the purposes of interpretive planning, the Interpretive Goal tackles the question of “Why” from the perspective of the organization. It builds from the simple framework of “[Project name] will X in order to Y.”

Water Works will bring people together—residents from throughout the metro and tourists from beyond—through a strong sense of place and identity rooted in the authentic stories of the project area.

The Falls are the beating heart of Minneapolis and the river is its life. This area is sacred to original inhabitants and capable of opening that sense of shared wonder among all those who visit. Its roaring power has called to people for thousands of years. Water Works aims to reconnect the city and its inhabitants to that heart, that identity, that wonder.

VISITORS' EXPERIENCE GOAL

The Visitors' Experience Goal builds from the Interpretive Goal, but from the perspective of the visitor. It looks at the things that will engage visitors in order to meet the site's goal.

Visitors to Water Works will find a safe and attractively welcoming space to connect to each other and the Falls that are the historical and current heart of Minneapolis. Here they sense what makes this place tick.

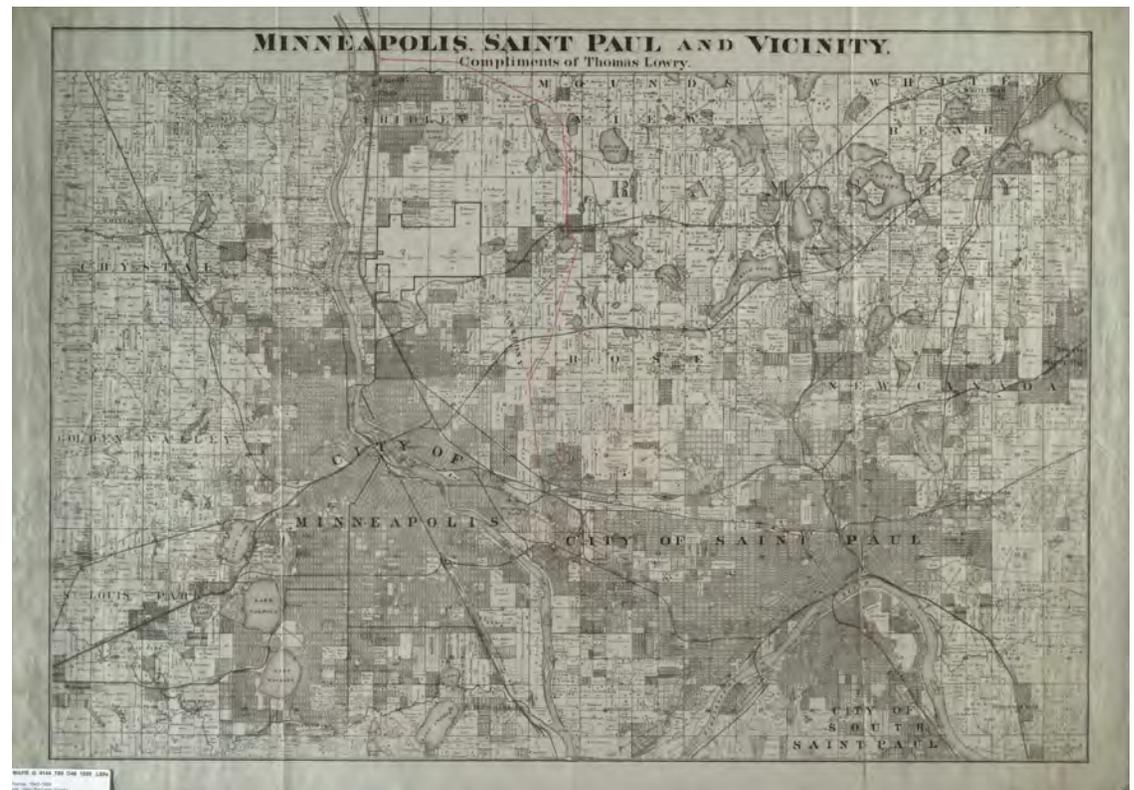
WHO IT'S FOR

The goals for Water Works involve an audience: the users. Minneapolis parks have a range of audiences, as revealed in the Mission, Vision, and Values above. Being clear about the intended audience specific to Water Works is fundamental to planning the experience.

Based on previous studies and on documentation already reviewed for this project, we know that the intended audience for Water Works is inclusive in terms of age, ethnicity, culture, abilities, and access needs. The site is intended to meet the needs of those seeking historical, cultural, and arts-based experiences, recreational experiences, and play and exploration spaces for children.

Water Works is distinctly different from a neighborhood park, whose audience is largely those living nearby. Water Works is intended to be a destination, drawing people from throughout the metro area as well as tourists, highlighting and celebrating the diversity of this place. Water Works should be such a draw because it is friendly, welcoming, and wonderful. And also because it represents—through evident interpretation and subtle hints in its design—the authentic nature of this place.

In short, Water Works is a park for all.



Minneapolis, Saint Paul and Vicinity Lowry map, 1888
Source: Wilson Library, University of Minnesota



Henry Louis: Falls of Saint Anthony
Source: MNHS



On the site of Bridge Square, 1852
Source: MNHS



Minneapolis, towards Bridge Square, 1857
Source: MNHS

WHAT IT'S ABOUT

Through extensive archival research and initial conversations with key Culturally-Connected Communities (primarily American Indian and African-American), the MPRB has found stories for this site and along the river that had previously been invisible in the historic record. This has implications for interpretation along the riverfront and especially at Water Works.

Here we sketch out a new way of thinking about the site. More depth can be found in the Appendices. Historical research should continue as this project—and RiverFirst in general—moves forward.

A BRIEF CULTURAL HISTORY OF THE FALLS

People have gathered at the Falls for many thousands of years. The Falls (Owamni yomni in Dakota) mark a point of natural kinetic energy on the River, a point which has traveled along the River's length for over 10,000 years as the soft sandstone and harder limestone along the river's bed gradually wore away. The immense power they represent—a power you can see, hear, smell, and feel—inspired stories and ritual as it drew people to its shores.

The earliest documented activities in the Falls area are acts of worship. In the 17th and 18th centuries, European missionaries and explorers recorded offerings made by the Dakota and Ho-Chunk to spirits dwelling in the Falls. Other activities documented prior to, and during the settlement of the area by non-Native peoples, were the use of the banks on either side of the Falls as a portage route and encampment by the Dakota, Ho-Chunk, and Ojibwe. The Falls were a prime place for encampments due to their proximity to a place of spiritual power, traditional routes, and locations for harvesting foods such as maple sugar and cranberries. Even after the European settlement of the cities of St. Anthony and Minneapolis, Native peoples continued to stay at the Falls through the 1860s, when they were forcibly relocated to reservations.

While St. Anthony and Minneapolis were just beginning their growth in the 1840s, the Falls were already a popular tourist destination for Euro-Americans. Early published descriptions and drawings of the Falls drew visitors from across the country—and around the world—to see the natural beauty of the cascading river. As the cities of St. Anthony and Minneapolis began to grow, community members utilized the banks on either side of the Falls as a popular gathering location for picnics and seasonal celebrations. As industrial development took place, loggers gathered here for work. The railroads brought people to this area, both passengers and workers such as the

Pullman Porters. In the mid-1800s, there were restaurants, brothels, and saloons within walking distance. The decline of riverfront industry in the mid-20th century was followed by the central riverfront revitalization, led by the Fuji Ya restaurant, the first business to incorporate historic rail structures into modern construction on the riverfront. This transformed the central riverfront into a site for weddings and other special events.

Not all the stories of the Falls are happy ones. The Falls were also a place of organizing in protest of injustice, a place of refuge for the homeless, and a place of exclusion for certain ethnic groups. The Teamster's Strike of 1934 was held in the Gateway District, just west of the Falls, and labor organizers such as Eva Valesh were active in the mills along the riverfront. In later years, after industry had declined, many of the abandoned buildings around the central riverfront served as shelter for homeless individuals in the 1980s and 1990s. The Falls has also been a place of exclusion. Dakota people were banned from the very place of their origin—the confluence of the Minnesota and Mississippi Rivers—following the U.S. Dakota War of 1862. African Americans were excluded from accessing a wide variety of institutions near the riverfront, including schools, hotels, and restaurants, during segregation. Beginning in the 1950s, these same neighborhoods were also broken apart by the interstates now running through Minneapolis, and with the advent of gentrification along the riverfront, African Americans and other oppressed groups have been priced out of their former neighborhoods.

Now that the industrial era on the central riverfront has passed, gathering places have once again begun to emerge—this time, as places of inclusion that honor the rich ethnic and cultural diversity of Minneapolis.



West Bank Mill District by Washburn 1885
Source: MNHS



Fuji Ya, 1982
Source: Star Tribune Files

INTERPRETIVE THEMES

So what is the big central idea that should be represented in Water Works? There is an industrial story to the site, supported by building remnants that will be exposed and preserved as part of this project, but that history is well represented at Mill Ruins Park and beyond. Railyards offer the opportunity for a transportation story. There is the much longer American Indian significance, which continues to this day. There is a broad natural history story that deserves to be told, as well as a story specifically of the river as water, as life, as power, as connector. There are the 20th century stories of the decline of the mills, urban renewal, and revitalization. All are worthy. But what strings them all together at this place?

Meta-Theme

Let's step back a bit first. Water Works does not exist by itself. As previously stated, it is part of a larger regional park, a historic district, and a national river corridor. It is also at the base of a larger string of MPRB parks that extend further upriver. Users will not perceive it as its own stand-alone experience and it should not be planned independently from other experiences.

For the sake of planning Water Works, the limit of the current planning effort, we have needed to consider what the larger theme is that holds these pieces together: a meta-theme. Review of the previous interpretive planning documents and research related to the current project coalesce around a meta-theme related to the river that links these sites. Further study and testing would be helpful, but for now we propose a simple yet profound big idea for all:

The River is Life.

Water Works Theme

Zooming in now to the specific Water Works site, what we've heard, through various sources, is equally simple and meaningful:

Water Works is a Gathering Place.

Along the river and next to the Falls, it naturally attracts people to teach, learn, and heal. To tell stories and engage in conversation.

For millennia, this riverfront has served as a meeting point for diverse groups of people—for worship, travel, sustenance, work, rest and reflection, social justice, and recreation. This continues through to today: the idea of a gathering place is consistent with the intentions behind creating Water Works. Indeed, the name Water Works is thematically appropriate, reflecting the power of water as a spiritual and cultural place of significance, as a builder of societies, as a connector.

PRINCIPLES AND IMPLICATIONS

WHAT IS INTERPRETATION?

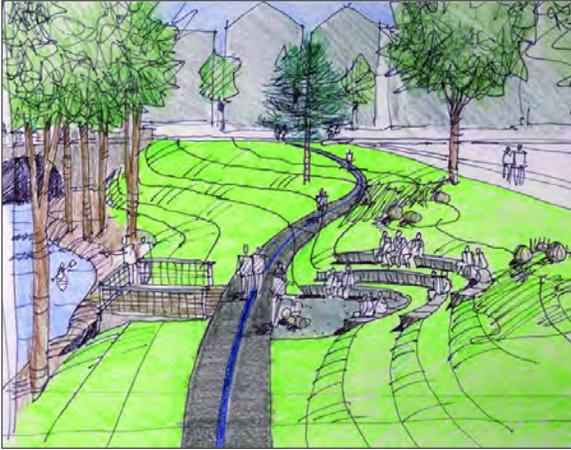
Interpretation is storytelling. More specifically, interpretation at Water Works means conveying the authentic nature of the place to the audience. It is all about setting context. The *Why* and *Who* have been established above. The *What* of the stories (or "authentic nature") is also sketched out above. That leaves the question of *How*.

The specific mix of means for conveying the stories (the Media) will be defined in Next Steps, but it will most certainly integrate planning of the landscape and buildings with a focus on the visitors. At this point, several principles for the visitor experience at Water Works do present themselves.

But interpretation is concerned with things beyond the meaning or the stories. We know that for people to be engaged, they must be able to find their way around and they need to feel physically comfortable. It really is about the entirety of the visitor experience, an integrated, multi-disciplinary approach to design and delivery.

WATER WORKS INTERPRETIVE PRINCIPLES

- Welcome.** This is a park for all, a place that actively encourages everyone to spend time. Converting that big idea to on-the-ground reality requires simple comforts, such as easy and apparent availability of food, water, shelter, and bathrooms. It requires a sense of safety, with an acknowledgement that things that may make some people feel safe may make others feel distinctly unsafe or unwelcomed. And it requires accessibility, including connecting to a city-wide networks of trails, public transportation, roads, and parking.
- Restoration.** First, do no harm. Protect the existing historic ruins and structures. Honor the significance of the nature that is so hard to imagine in this place today.
- Relevance.** Because Water Works seeks to bring people together, everyone needs to see themselves, through authentic stories relevant to their backgrounds, represented at the site.
- Storytelling.** The riverfront, and the particular piece of real estate that is Water Works, is rich with stories. Personal stories. Multi-cultural stories. Sacred stories. Nature stories. Stories from history and stories from today. But who gets to tell these stories? Water Works should create spaces for people to tell their own stories. And to hear each others' stories.
- Conversation.** Interpretation here should avoid being fixed—e.g. a series of paragraphs etched into panels—but instead should invite conversation and expansion through spaces that are naturally and culturally relevant to the place. Interpretation is about setting the context for these conversations and making room for them to happen.
- Reflection.** To accomplish all of the above, the feel of this place should be calm. It should invite joy and laughter as well as reflection. It should welcome play as well as sitting quietly. Weddings and memorials. Here is what Water Works is not: a high energy activity area, e.g. a skate park, water park, or sports field.



Earthworks gathering area
<http://hammerwalsh.com/pages/portfolio/trails/spicket-river4.html>



Spring Lake Park Reserve, Schaar's Bluff Dakota compass



Nature play area, <http://www.campwidji.org/>

IMPLICATIONS

This document is not a design document. It is, however, intended to inspire the landscape and architectural designs that are entering Schematic phases. Thus it seems appropriate to identify some of the design ideas that flow from the research at this point.

- Interpretation here is about subtle relationships, details, space, and ongoing programming rather than words or panels. For example, design might reference Dakota forms.
- Because we want to encourage gathering, both formal (through bookings) and informal, a simple mounded or recessed circular space could offer a place for healing, gathering, and talking. We heard from various sources about cultural traditions of healing circles, gathering circles, and talking circles. It is important to provide opportunities for private ceremonies as well as group gatherings.
- Let the space emphasize nature. This might include trees, grasses, and rocks that would have been here pre-industrialization, in natural forms with natural views. A number of respondents of different ethnic backgrounds requested natural play space for children, as well as natural spaces for quiet reflection for visitors of any age. A Dakota respondent suggested that the natural space be allowed to be the teacher.
- Leave room for visitors to observe: to hear, see, smell, and touch.
- Traditional knowledge and connections among different cultural cosmologies—Dakota, Western, secular, Tibetan, Hmong, Somali, Catholic, and others—might be represented at the site. We were struck in one conversation by a reference to shared cosmological understandings between a Dakota elder and Hmong leaders. Find commonalities, not differences, in experience.
- Reference diverse communities, for example, through language. E.g., reference the Dakota language: One Dakota respondent noted that "the language is a living being that is fed when it is spoken." Visitors are speaking some Dakota, even if they don't realize it: Minnesota = Mni Sota, from Mni Sota Makoce = The land where the waters reflect the sky.
- Fundamentally, this should be a place where diverse communities have ongoing opportunities to tell their own stories. This includes both onsite—through built-in opportunities to leave an oral history or a memory, e.g. through integration of Story Corps or Story Mobile—and universally through websites. This also requires a partnership that would collect, catalog, and preserve the stories that are shared.

Orientation

Stepping back out to the subject of the larger visitor experience that includes other parts of the St. Anthony Falls Heritage Trail and RiverFirst, the meta-theme needs to be conveyed somewhere. Think of it generally as a 8-10 minute orientation video that tells the larger story and introduces the different parts that are represented by Mill Ruins, Gateway, the Stone Arch Bridge, Saint Anthony Main, Water Works, etc. This should be at a site that itself sets a more general context, has a good structure that could show the film (or provides a backdrop for projection mapping), includes a space for group gatherings that might also serve as a classroom for tours, and has good transportation access. Where would that space be? Might it be Water Works? A future site to be developed? A partner site? The proposed Water Works pavilion building certainly makes a lot of sense as the venue for such a film.



Sit in a story circle

Courtesy Close Landscape Architecture



Projection mapping

<https://www.pinterest.com/matthieugeorges/projection-mapping/>

NEXT STEPS

CAPTURING THE STORIES

Efforts so far have been to identify broad themes and potential sources for deeper information. A concerted effort should now be undertaken to **collect** oral histories and other primary sources that are not currently in any archives. A key first step for this is **identifying a partner** that can support the effort and serve as a long-term repository for materials collected. This requires a commitment to catalog and make available all materials.

Ongoing development also needs **continued engagement** with ambassadors from Culturally-Connected Communities (CCCs): groups that have a history with this site. The discussions referenced in this document only crack open the door to future needed conversations, primarily with African American and American Indian participants. These relationships need to be strengthened and broadened, with input and review during subsequent design phases. And **other CCCs should be identified** and engaged.

SCHEMATIC DESIGN

Research from the current project has revealed new themes and stories that spread all along the riverfront, paralleling MPRB's RiverFirst initiative. Even though many of these stories do not belong at the Water Works site, they deserve to be told. We suggest an **interpretive review** for parks all along the river, including updating the interpretation for other parts of the St. Anthony Falls Heritage Trail. Although this eventually deserves to be an extensive study, at this time an initial bubble map within a larger Schematic Design for Water Works may be more appropriate to the timeframes and budget. This would identify parks along the river, distribute primary topics, and reference types of activities (e.g. the Meta-Theme Orientation referenced above).

Alongside this, a baseline **style guide** should be developed, identifying voice, colors, fonts, layouts, and materials to create that cohesive experience all along the riverside. This is a natural part of Schematic Design for Water Works, it would simply be taken further to test it in different contexts along the river.

Interpretation at Water Works should be deeply integrated into the landscape and facilities designs over traditional wayside panels along paths. Interpretive Schematic Design, then, involves **continued integration and partnership** with the Damon Farber team. As specific interpretive elements are defined in this partnership—whether public art pieces, videos, handheld activities, or graphics—those would be **written, sketched, drawn, laid out, and specified** through Schematic and into Design Development and Construction Documents in successive stages paralleling the rest of the design.

APPENDIX A:
HISTORICAL CONTEXTS
METHODOLOGY

APPENDIX A: HISTORICAL CONTEXTS METHODOLOGY

From July to October 2016, the 106 Group conducted preliminary research on the social and labor history of two communities that are underrepresented in Minneapolis' historical record - African Americans and American Indians. In addition to being historically underrepresented compared to most Euro-American communities, these two communities have had a strong presence in or around the project area for a century and a half in the case of African Americans, and in the case of American Indians, for millennia, despite historical oppression and continuing issues of inequality. As a result of this research, a historical context was drafted for each of these communities (see following Appendices).

In addition to conducting historical research, 106 Group initiated preliminary discussions with members of the African American and American Indian communities in Minneapolis. While the focus of both the historical contexts and the discussions was on these communities' histories along the Minneapolis riverfront, more recent topics of importance to interviewees, including current events within the community, were given equal weight in discussions, in part to better understand how community leaders and influencers are contextualizing current events in relation to the past.

MPRB and 106 Group staff reached out to community leaders, local historians, and community activists to receive guidance on who should be contacted to initiate discussions of these underrepresented histories, as well as to identify key themes, stories, and issues of importance to the contemporary communities. Community members were identified based on the following criteria: a) their engagement with the community, b) knowledge of local history, c) willingness to meet, and d) availability. The research process subscribes to the idea of shared historical authority, an approach within the field of history that includes the public in the interpretation of history. All contacts were documented and followed up on with the goal of ensuring a comprehensive preliminary outreach effort.

After initial contacts were made and invitations were extended to meet, discussions were held with individuals who were interested and able to schedule meetings within the project's timeframe. A total of 15 in-depth face-to-face interviews with 18 individuals and three telephone interviews with two individuals were conducted. Interviewees included community activists and historians, academics, and representatives of longstanding community organizations.

The goal of the interviews is to identify key stories, themes, and issues concerning the Minneapolis riverfront that are pertinent to these communities, which will in turn inform the design concepts and interpretive planning for the Water Works development. Past interpretive plans for the Mill Ruins Park have identified a lack of diversity in visitorship, particularly regarding communities of color (e.g., St. Anthony Falls Heritage Board 2009; Ketz et al. 2004). One of the primary goals of the Water Works project is to create a space that is equitable, welcoming, and inclusive to all visitors. Equitable design and programming begins with engaging communities that are not currently being served. This study is intended to continue MRPB's ongoing efforts to engage underserved communities.

While this study focuses on two underrepresented communities, we acknowledge that there are many other voices that are less visible in the historical record. MRPB's ongoing community engagement efforts continue to build on engaging with diverse communities across the city of Minneapolis. This study is meant to support those efforts by providing a context of the history of two of these communities in relationship to the West Bank of the Minneapolis riverfront. Future stages of this project will involve continuing engagement with both these and other underrepresented communities.

APPENDIX B: COMMUNITY INPUT

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Community interviews were conducted in two phases, during July and October 2016. This appendix provides a description of comments provided by interviewees, organized into three categories: 1) Historical Memory 2) Currents and Undercurrents, and 3) Contemporary Reflections.

Historical Memory

Historical memory refers to the ways in which groups and individuals construct, and identify with, particular narratives about historical periods or events. Conveying history in ways that are sensitive to social justice concerns necessitates a reshaping of the master narrative. In the United States, this foundational story is rooted in the colonial period and privileges a Euro-centric version of events in the making of America. This version of the story largely excludes the contributions of under-represented groups, such as Native Americans and African Americans. The process of reclaiming discarded or untold histories involves lifting up counter narratives or alternative versions of history.

A Latina interviewee who works in the social justice arena put it this way: A denial of “heavy history” facilitates racism in schools and society. “It’s the image of Lincoln, the great emancipator, and then 38 Dakota hung on his order... a mass hanging in the history of this land we are on. We don’t know the story.” The interviewee is referring to events that occurred during the U.S.-Dakota War of 1862 in Mankato. This heavy history, she went on to say, changes how you interact with the space. She asks: “How are we responding to misrepresentations and lies being told about us? What are we creating and building? How do we create more opportunities in our parks that integrate the history of the land?”

This sentiment was echoed again and again by interviewees from various walks of life as they expressed a strong desire for parks with meaning, places that help to tell the story of all people’s contributions to the making

of Minneapolis and other parts of the state. “There is no sense of the history of African American people anywhere in this state,” declared an African American nonprofit executive. “No sense that this is our city too, with representations of people who helped to build it.” Respondents told us that Native American stories are also not well told. Following the relocation of her family to Minneapolis from a northern Minnesota reservation in the 1950s as part of the Indian Relocation Act, one Ojibwe interviewee described herself as feeling like she “lived in two worlds.”

Interviewees generally had limited knowledge of the history of the riverfront industries and the people working in them. This suggests that these stories are not well told. The places, people, and events that do stand out in both individual and community memories are important indicators of what has impacted interviewees the most—if not personally then generationally or as knowledge is gained. Such incidents make their way into long-term memory when they are emotionally charged, and influence how we communicate with each other today.

So how does history relate to the Water Works project? Harkening back to the ancestors, an interviewee explained: “We are all connected by the river... It’s how we got here. The making of this place by industrial and urban processes follows patterns common to other places, but also unique to here.” The “river equals life” said a Native American interviewee. Even so, another interviewee added:

The water landscape does not serve everyone equally. Understanding this place now means knowing its past and its possible futures; it means understanding that the river is dynamic, that it carries various things from one place to another, that it is a place of flowing as well as a place of stasis. Nothing here is accidental.

Telling inclusive stories and exposing the deliberately hidden parts

of history is crucial to understanding the bigger picture, said a third generation African American Minnesotan and community historian -- no matter which way the truth bends. "The river was used for good and for bad," she said. Another African American interviewee agreed and advised, "Maintain the journey of the state... don't avoid the ugly parts; they don't go away just because they aren't mentioned."

Currents and Undercurrents

Most of the people we spoke with had positive feelings about their early years growing up in Minneapolis and around the state. They described safe, loving and protective environments, with neighbors who looked out for their well-being, thriving businesses and community centers that offered social and recreational family support. An Ojibwe interviewee recalled close-knit multi-generational family ties. Even after her family relocated to Minneapolis from a reservation in northern Minnesota, her parents maintained close ties with her grandparents, affording this interviewee the opportunity to learn about her family's Ojibwe language and culture.

Both Native American and African American interviewees described tight-knit communities in which people took care of one another, regardless of whether they were part of the same family or tribe. More than one Dakota respondent mentioned the phrase *Mitayuke Oyasin* - "we are all related." Dakota and Ojibwe interviewees also emphasized the importance of being a good relative, and explained that it is foundational in their cultures. This includes "thinking and feeling for all." Even today, these communities come together to talk, eat, and visit with neighbors. Today, the predominantly African American West Phillips neighborhood hosts the largest National Night Out in Minneapolis, while the Little Earth of United Tribes, a rental assistance community of whom 98% of the residents are Native, hosts the second largest. One Native interviewee's uncle opened a cafe on Washington Avenue, only two streets south of the Water Works project area, which served as a soup kitchen at night. This interviewee said

that she appreciated being able to walk down Washington Avenue and see interpretive kiosks that mention American Indian history - someday, she'd like to learn where her uncle's cafe was. An African American interviewee noted:

I have always lived North. It's a great place to live. I never heard anything growing up from a poverty perspective, only community and closeness. Even today, I live by the Parkway. There are lots of multi-generational housing units within six blocks. Everyone in my family lives close by—uncles and aunts, my sister is next door, cousins. You can smell the barbeque when someone is cooking and everyone comes over. My nephews ride their bikes to our house almost every day.

However, not all memories were positive. Two African American interviewees, community elders, readily recalled hurtful events that happened decades ago. In telling their stories today, their pain could still be felt. "I was a teenager. I went downtown to pay a bill for my mother and they called me a nigger," a woman shared in a heartfelt tone. And shaking her head back and forth in an expression of "no" as another interviewee told a positive story, one interviewee said "The teachers at Clinton in Northeast were very racist! They would never call on the black students." These interviewees had been instantly transported back to events that are now seared into their memories.

An elder interviewee remembered Arthur and Edith Lee's family being harassed and their house vandalized for weeks in 1931 in the all-white Fielding neighborhood. Neighbors had signed a covenant three years earlier that no blacks would be allowed to live there. Lena Smith, an African American attorney, intervened. She advised the family not to move. Her strong public statements condemning the attacks are said to have quelled the violence. The family moved North to an all-black neighborhood a few years later. A interviewee told a story of her family being gifted a house from the noted Walker family as a result of their work for the family over

many years. As a result of this gifted housing, the interviewee's family was be one of the first black families to live south of 35th Street Northeast.

An interviewee of German and Welsh ancestry who grew up in Northeast, a traditionally working class neighborhood, spoke of the cultural diversity within the community. “There was Little Italy, Norwegian Hill, and Ukrainians, Lebanese, and Polish all within a few blocks... the Northeast had the highest concentration of Orthodox Christians. It’s multiethnic even today with a high concentration of Middle Easterners and Latinos.” She continued, “If you lived in the valley on the Northeast side, as many immigrant families did, or on the opposite side of the river, you were perceived as being in a lower class.” This interviewee’s mother worked at Pillsbury on the riverfront in the 1940s. She warned her daughter never to cross the river without an adult. And then came bussing.

I remember one day when I was in 3rd grade [in the late 1960s] my mother told me that a little black girl and her brother, about the same ages as me and my little brother who was in kindergarten, were going to be coming to my school and the other kids might be mean to them. She said I needed to be their friend. Adults were at school that day—and police. I saw the girl standing there, holding her little brother’s hand. My heart was pounding, but I kept hearing my mother’s voice in my head—“You have to be their friend.” So I took my little brother’s hand and walked over to them, and I said, “Hi, my name is Janie [name changed to protect anonymity].”

The presence of Native Americans in the riverfront industries was not mentioned. While interviewees attested with confidence to African Americans working in the milling industries and in other factories along the riverfront, they were unable to point to specific examples. A Phase I interviewee explained that “those would have been good jobs reserved for whites.” When asked how they knew blacks worked in buildings along the riverfront, interviewees responded that they saw them going in and out

of the buildings—one while riding her bike, another while playing with friends in the area. Early in the 20th century African Americans in the riverfront industries could have been working in the cafeteria, janitorial, in an office or on the factory floor. The same social rules that applied outside of the plant would have applied inside of it—blacks would most likely have held the lowest positions. One Ojibwe interviewee noted that her mother moved to Minneapolis as part of the Indian Relocation act to work as a laundry maid in a hospital. Employment opportunities for Native people who relocated were limited, and often involved challenging manual labor, as were the positions available to other people of color.

Participation on the railroads was more visible. A interviewee vividly remembers her uncles and other family members who worked as Pullman Porters returning home from assignments to the smiles of all the community. “And he’d pour out all these coins!” that the children would dive for - coins he had received as tips while working on the trains. Though most Pullman Porters had college degrees, they had little choice but to work in this subservient role to earn a decent wage. A professor we interviewed is currently engaged in research on the Pullman Porters, looking at their work experience, working conditions and activism. He is interested in how the Pullman company “reproduced the 19th century experience of the master/slave relationship—by exploiting black workers in a different way.”

Contemporary Reflections

A number of Native interviewees discussed the importance of water to their culture, both historically and in the present. They noted “water is our first medicine”, “the word for life contains the word for water”, and “water is everything to us - life, love, family - it binds us, and surrounds us even before we are born.” Also frequently discussed was the way water connects people - “people gathered to live all along the river, and everyone moves along that river,” one Ojibwe interviewee commented. The same interviewee described how she and her husband were married in a water

ceremony in which water from lakes in both of their home communities was joined with the Mississippi River. Interviewees described how what is done downstream affects people upstream, and vice versa. For example, damming the Mississippi downstream flooded traditional rice beds and villages upstream.

Dakota interviewees described how people from their communities continue to hold private ceremony at St. Anthony Falls. An Ojibwe interviewee noted that Ojibwe as well come to the Falls to make offerings. Interviewees discussed how it is imperative that these experiences honoring the sacredness of the Falls, and the practice of traditional culture, are encouraged to continue unhindered. Dakota interviewees suggested ways in which the Falls could become a more welcoming place for people who do ceremony there. This includes creating natural places within the site where solitude, reflection, and privacy are emphasized, and ensuring that Native people do not need to obtain a permit to practice their traditional religion. One Dakota respondent suggested holding a ceremony at the opening in which Native people are invited to attend a welcoming feast.

Both Dakota and Ojibwe interviewees also talked about the importance of circles. Circles were described as places of prayer, healing, teaching, peace talks, and celebration. Suggestions included a ceremonial circle with an arbor, and a circular splash pad. Both Native and African American interviewees emphasized the importance of nature at Water Works. They described a rustic/naturalistic setting as allowing for a deeper connection to place, and requested the use of wood, stone, and plants rather than cement, in landscaping. One Dakota interviewee suggested "don't program every inch of the space - include natural areas, and encourage native species to return."

Some Dakota interviewees spoke of the Falls as a teaching place. They noted that even though the landscape and Falls themselves have been greatly altered by industry and development, the sacredness and educational power

of the Falls remains. One Dakota interviewee asked that words such as "cultural remnants" not be used - she explained that the significance and energy of places such as the Falls is still very much present. Another Dakota interviewee suggested that the design of the Water Works site should allow visitors to feel the energy and sacredness of the place for themselves, so that they may reflect and begin, or deepen, their relationship to the place. She described the importance of allowing people to open up and learn what they are ready to learn from this teaching place.

The first round of community interviews were coincidentally conducted in the immediate aftermath of the fatal shooting of Philando Castile by a Falcon Heights police officer in a suburb of St. Paul. The incident was captured on video and shared on Facebook by Castile's girlfriend, Diamond Reynolds. Prior to the shooting, Castile was stopped by the police 52 times for minor traffic violations, prompting charges of widespread racial profiling and harassment. A interviewee felt that the underlying issue is one of a person's humanity and sense of belonging. "It's hard when some people feel that this is not their country anymore." Another community member commented,

Part of the terribleness is that it (the wrongs) happened before. But we can get [to] something different. And regardless of white people's decision (to participate or not in protests), each time they [even] think about it [their privilege] there is pressure taken off people of color.

This person described two creative ways that he and others are responding. "We use gardening with urban farmers as a community organizing tool. The best learning we can do is to talk to each other. Gardening is a great safe space that also leads to environmental justice."

One of the interviewees who was contacted because of his work in community advocacy and equity is of Latino descent, and during the course of the discussion he noted that he feels that the story of Latino experiences is also not being told. A Latina interviewee also noted that she

feels that the history of Latinos in the Twin Cities is not visible. This is an important point that warrants follow-up in future phases to ensure that other underrepresented communities are engaged so that their histories and perspectives are incorporated in planning and interpretive efforts.

An interviewee who works on racial justice issues believes we must begin to change attitudes sooner rather than later. An important part of the work of his 125-year-old community organization is educational workshops on how to talk with kids about race and inclusion.

Our focus is on all kids regardless of race. No kid is born into a world wanting to be a racist. First they learn the social structure... You can't quantify cultural suffering. You can't say that someone's pain is worse than slavery or what someone goes through with illegal immigration. Comparing sufferings doesn't get you anywhere. We must develop concrete plans for change. Young people of all ethnicities should have an equal voice.

In addition to his focus on children and youth, this interviewee explained that after the shooting his organization held three internal workshops. “We wanted to make space for facilitated conversations under our program called ‘It’s time to talk about race.’ We follow up with them [employees] to continue the dialogue. Like our motto says, we believe that Talk is Action.” This organization also facilitates race related discussions for corporations. Target, Best Buy, Minnesota Historical Society and Minnesota Public Radio are among those that have participated.

While one interviewee supports the Black Lives Matter agenda, he said his perspective is a little different.

My brother is a police officer. I understand both sides. I completely recognize the feelings that communities of color have towards the police—and the Black Lives Matter movement. But you can support both. Every professional police officer shouldn't be targeted—the problem is larger and systemic. What is going to prevent that mindset? Laws and policy are

important, as well as what is being taught.

Talk as action is an emerging theme of our interviews. Echoing the sentiments of the YWCA's campaign, an interviewee convenes reconciliation talks in Rondo at the East Freedom Library on the second Thursday of every month.

We come to talk about things we never talked about before. Folks of color [have always] had to put too much into the fight—it takes ongoing dialogue [from both sides]. We're getting closer and closer but still we have a ways to go. The unfolding solution is restorative justice. It's close to truth and reconciliation. There's also white guilt and trauma on both sides. What to do? It takes time to know what to do. Take time to smile at someone. Stand by and show support.

A professor explained that his goal in the face of pressing social justice issues is to try to empower people to be change makers. He does this by working to cultivate empathy in his students. “I want them to understand how incredibly dehumanizing it was [for African Americans] to be rendered an object.”

The organizing principle that I use is rather than focusing on the history of achievement, I look at the history of struggle—how people struggled to claim the very fact of their humanity. African Americans should not just be remembered; they should be respected.

But he said the work should go beyond that. “There is a need to tease out coalition politics. For example, with Blacks and Jews we need to talk to more people to understand the tensions, limits and possibilities.” This work is lagging behind.

Asian Americans and Afro Asians here go to Black Lives Matter meetings to show solidarity. Their public statements are super-nuanced. They are trying to implode model minorities and find ways to align with the struggle politically. Somalians here have a different struggle. Black racism is huge.

The Black Lives Matter movement in Minneapolis and St. Paul was mentioned in relation to a discussion about the case of William Billy McGhee of Duluth who in the 1960s was killed by police. Interviewees said that killing stemmed from the same police attitudes that led to recent shootings of Philando Castile and other local black men. One interviewee emphasized that it is important to clarify exactly what the Black Lives Matter Movement is. She explained...

Black Lives Matter (BLM) and civil disobedience is a collaboration of freedom fighters, many of whom are not linked with any particular group, and of organizations including the NAACP. BLM is a tag given for this collective work. A lot of young African-American artists are involved. They bring their social and cultural art work to the movement.

Integration of the arts into interpretive planning for the Water Works site was mentioned by several people as an important aspect of social change. A professor, who also has taught theater, explained how the arts can help communities progress.

I'm coming to this [Black Lives Matter Movement] as an educator, so I've been working with the St. Paul Teachers Union; there are some teachers who teach in the hood and use spoken word and theater to try to get white people to listen.

In the end, an interviewee expressed hope. A favorite African proverb of his is when spider webs unite they can tie up a lion. He believes that mentors, elders, community members, families, school counselors all have a responsibility to always be giving back to the community "because there are barriers all the time." He shared that his own personal experiences of injustice led him to "peaceably" work in low-resourced communities of color.

Contemporary issues raised also involved land and rights, including solidarity with the Standing Rock Indian Reservation in North Dakota,

where at the time of this writing the largest gathering of indigenous nations in modern American history has assembled at the confluence of the Cannonball and Missouri rivers in North Dakota to protest a pending pipeline that they say will destroy sacred land and contaminate their water supply. A Native American interviewee called this "Very damaging to the earth." Interviewees expressed a need for healing in the city through honest conversations on "race" and equity. Rondo's recent efforts were mentioned as an important step forward and an Ojibwe interviewee spoke of the need for healing circles. She said she recently took her Ojibwe students on a field trip and a racist remark was hurled at them. The students were stunned and hurt. "They drew back and asked if they could come to the circle."

Finally, many interviewees of diverse backgrounds emphasized the importance of communities being able to tell their own stories. They asked that Water Works be designed in such a way as to welcome storytelling, for example, through the design of a naturalistic amphitheater. Some of the interviewees noted the similarity in themes and messages among their own cultures and those of other cultures, and explained that they would like to see this cross-cultural sharing developed and encouraged.

APPENDIX C:
AMERICAN INDIAN
HISTORICAL CONTEXT

APPENDIX C: AMERICAN INDIAN HISTORICAL CONTEXT

The historical overview presented here focuses on American Indian history in southeastern Minnesota, with emphasis on the Minneapolis riverfront.

Precontact Period (10,000 BC—1750 AD)

For thousands of years prior to the arrival of Europeans, ancestors of the Siouan people (including the Missouri, Ojibwe, Ioway, and Dakota) were living in the land that would later become known as Minnesota. From mobile, compact bands of hunter-gatherers during the early Holocene, to denser settlements proficient in ceramic manufacturing and corn and squash-based horticulture by the 5th century AD into the late eighteenth century, Native people in what is now south-central Minnesota demonstrated resiliency and a complex understanding of the ecological and social environments in which they lived (Dobbs 1989, Wedel 1986, Ketz et al. 2004, Gibbon 2012).

Contact Period (1750 AD—1850)

The earliest Euro-Americans in the land that was to become Minnesota were French missionaries and fur traders during the mid-to-late 17th century, followed by British, and later American, traders and explorers in the 18th and 19th centuries. The arrival of Euro-American, who within two hundred years dramatically altered the environment and social landscape through the fur trade, warfare, settlement, and treaties, forced Native peoples to find new ways to adapt to an increasingly altered homeland. Cultures living in southeastern Minnesota during the mid-17th century include the Ioway, Ojibwe, and Dakota, the latter of whom were primarily based further north but often made seasonal southward excursions. During the mid-17th century, the westward expansion of the fur trade and a growing European presence, as well as conflict between tribes resulted in the migration of the Ioway and Ojibwe south and west into Iowa and Nebraska. During this time, the Dakota more permanently settled in the area, due in part to the establishment of the Ojibwe in north and central Minnesota, and maintained a strong presence until treaties, war, disease,

and forced removal diminished their numbers (Anfinson 2003).

During the Contact Period, there was a permanent Dakota settlement on the shores of Lake Calhoun led by Mahpiya Wicasta (Cloud Man). There was also a seasonal encampment near St. Anthony Falls used primarily by Dakota leader Tacanku Waste (Good Road) and his band. Dakota, the Ojibwe, and Ho-Chunk also portaged around the Falls on their journeys through the area (Stevens 1890:29). Both Cloud Man and Tacanku Waste's bands sugared on Nicollet Island during the spring and, even after they had been removed to the reservations, returned to Minneapolis in the fall to gather cranberries (Two Pines Resource Group LLC, 2016:22). The Falls themselves possess spiritual significance to the Native people. In 1680, Father Louis Hennepin observed a Dakota man praying and making a sacrifice for safe passage at the Falls (Hennepin [1683] 1938:117), and in 1766, explorer Jonathan Carver documented an offering made to the Great Spirit of the Falls by a Ho-Chunk man he witnessed while on an expedition (Two Pines Resources LLC 2016).

During this time, the presence of a small but influential number of individuals who were of African as well as Native heritage played a vital role in navigating the cultures and economics of the times. George and Stephen Bonga (born in 1799 and 1802 in present-day Duluth), the sons of a former slave-turned fur trader named Jean Bonga who spoke English, French, and Ojibwe, and Ogibwayquay, an Ojibwe woman, followed in their father's footsteps, becoming fur traders, translators, and cultural negotiators. Both brothers' signatures are present on treaties that they helped to translate between the U.S. government and the Ojibwe during the mid-1800s (Green 2007, Washington 2009). According to one source, a number of fur traders sought out African Americans to serve as negotiators with American Indians, noting that these interactions were characterized by "less friction" than those between whites and American Indians (Porter 1934:432).



Detail from Seth Eastman "Indian Village on the Mississippi near Ft Snelling", 1846-1848. (MNHS)

Post Contact Period (1850—Present)

Following a series of treaties which transferred the vast majority of Dakota land to the U.S. government in the early to mid 1800s, the government attempted to forcibly remove Dakota populations to reservations in neighboring states. By the early 1860s, the Dakota who remained in Minnesota were facing starvation as a result of decimated lands, disease, and failures on the part of the government to dispense payments promised in the treaties. A group of Dakota warriors waged an attack on government outposts and white settlers as winter approached, resulting in the U.S.-Dakota War of 1862. Following the war, the remaining Dakota in the state were forcibly removed to reservations and prisons in surrounding states and Canada. The 1862 removal effort took the form of the internment of 1,600 Dakota, mainly women, children, and the elderly who had surrendered, at Fort Snelling during the winter of 1862-1863. During the winter they were beset by disease and assaults from some soldiers and local civilians, and approximately 130 - 300 perished (MNHS 2016a). That following spring, the remaining Dakota were forcibly removed to western reservations, with some of the men imprisoned at a military prison in Davenport, Iowa, where at least 120 died (MNHS 2016b).

From the 1830s to the 1860s, the Ojibwe had also lost vast amounts of land to U.S. government treaties and encroaching settlement. They were eventually concentrated on seven reservations in the central and northern portions of the state (Bois Forte, Fond du Lac, Grand Portage, Mille Lacs, White Earth, and Red Lake.) During this time, the Ho-Chunk, who resided primarily in their ancestral lands in Wisconsin but had traveled throughout south-central Minnesota for centuries, were also experiencing a series of removals and land losses. Eventually, a number of Ho-Chunk were removed to reservations at Long Prairie and Blue Earth Minnesota in the 1840s through the 1860s. When their annuities expired, they were forced to cede even more land for income. In the aftermath of the U.S.-Dakota War of 1862, the Ho-Chunk were exiled from the state along with the Dakota; over 550 died during the removal to South Dakota (MNHS 2016c).

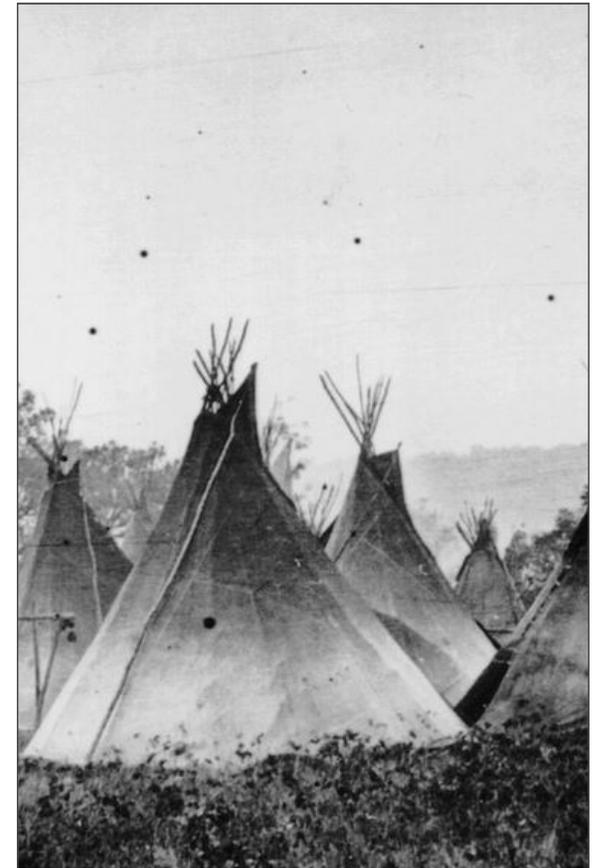
With the new availability of land, settlement of the area around the confluence of the Minnesota and Mississippi Rivers by Euro-American immigrants, as well as other ethnic groups, including African Americans, rapidly commenced. St. Paul was incorporated in 1854 and Minneapolis in 1867 on land containing a number of places of spiritual significance to the Dakota, including Mnirara/Owamniyomni (St. Anthony Falls), Bdote (the confluence of the Minnesota and Mississippi Rivers), Wakan Tipi (at the present day Bruce Vento Nature Sanctuary), and

Oheyawahi (Pilot Knob in present day Mendota Heights).

In the 1870s, less than 200 Dakota remained in Minnesota, a stark contrast to the over 7,000 that were recorded in the state prior to the 1860s. Those who managed to remain in Minnesota were not able to receive government benefits since they were living off the reservation. By 1889, the Dakota population had grown only slightly, to 300. In the early 1880s, Episcopal Bishop Henry B. Whipple, who worked for decades among the Dakota, prompted the allocation of government funds for the purchase of lands for the Mdewakanton Dakota at Birch Coulee, in present day Morton, Minnesota. In 1884, Dakota leader Good Thunder utilized this allocation to purchase the land that would become the Lower Sioux Community. In 1886, the government appropriated additional funds for Dakota land purchases at Prairie Island, Prior Lake, and Wabasha (Holmquist 1981:22). Eventually, these purchases led to the formation of the four federally-recognized Dakota communities within Minnesota: the Lower Sioux Indian Community, Prairie Island Indian Community, Shakopee Mdewakanton Sioux Community, and Upper Sioux Community.

In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, the U.S. government established a number of boarding schools throughout the country as part of an effort to assimilate Native children into Euro-American culture. In many instances, children were removed from their families and forced to attend these schools, often enduring harsh punishments for speaking their native language. Physical, sexual, and emotional abuse was prevalent. This proved an extremely disruptive force to the communities that were reforming on the reservations. Despite the challenges of re-establishing communities in Minnesota, the populations of the reservations slowly grew, with the residents adapting innovative ways to respond to a drastically reduced land base while still maintaining traditional skills and activities. A number of families maintained a seasonal round of hunting and gathering foods and materials, some of which they would sell for income. A number of American Indian men in Minnesota participated in the Indian Civilian Conservation Corps and the military. Even before they were considered citizens of the United States, 10,000 American Indian men voluntarily enlisted for duty in World War I (Burnstein 1986:33). A large number of Native men also fought in World War II, and many received military honors.

With the Indian Relocation Act of 1956, which incentivized the relocation of American Indians from their home reservations to urban centers as part of an assimilation effort, a number of American Indians from a variety of tribes resettled in the Twin Cities, and as a result American



"Indian tepees, site of Bridge Square, Minneapolis 1852"
(MNHS)



"Group of Indians posed by C.M. and St. P. Railway Depot c1880" (MNHS)

Indian neighborhoods such as Franklin Avenue in Minneapolis were formed. During this time, American Indians settled in St. Paul as well, though not in the numbers or concentration they did in Minneapolis. This is likely due to both the larger population of Minneapolis to begin with and its increased housing and employment infrastructures, although racism and discrimination proved to be barriers to American Indian access to these resources.

By the mid-20th century, a large number of American Indians had been relocated to urban areas, but there was a dearth of resources to aid their resettlement or help address employment, housing, and social service needs. The housing shortage was further intensified by urban renewal, freeway construction, and city planning efforts that displaced American Indian residents in the late 1950s and early 1960s. In addition, a number of punitive and discriminatory legislation against American Indians remained on the books, such as the 1880 Civilization Regulations which outlawed traditional Native religious practices, the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934, which imposed a Western government model on traditional tribal leadership structure and increased authority of Secretary of Interior over American Indians, and legislation in the 1930s through the 1950s that attempted to provoke rapid assimilation.

In Minneapolis in 1968, a group of approximately 200 American Indians founded the American Indian Movement (AIM) to address the discriminatory legislation, American Indian sovereignty and treaty rights, racism, police harassment, unequal access to employment and affordable housing, and cultural preservation. AIM's efforts, which included the founding of a K-12 school and an occupation of the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) in Washington D.C. to protest its policies, were met with backlash and reprisals from the FBI and the CIA. In 1973, AIM members, led by Oglala Lakota Russell Means, encamped in the Indian community of Wounded Knee in South Dakota, the site of a brutal massacre in 1890 of hundreds of Lakota, mostly the elderly, women, and children, by the U.S. government. A 71-day siege on the AIM members by the government ensued, resulting in the deaths of two American Indians and the arrests of 1,200 people; AIM leaders were later acquitted in Minnesota (MNHS 2016d). AIM continues to be active in the forms of the AIM-Grand Governing Council in Minneapolis, and the AIM-International Confederation of Autonomous Chapters in Denver, Colorado. In 1974, the Minneapolis American Indian Center was established as one of the earliest American Indian urban centers in the U.S., and continues to provide education and social services today (Minneapolis American Indian Center 2016).

The organized efforts of American Indians to combat the challenges they faced from racism and discrimination eventually led to the passage of a variety of legislation that attempted to address past injustices and assert American Indian sovereignty, including the Indian Civil Rights Act (1968), Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act (1975), the American Indian Religious Freedom Act (1978), the Indian Mineral Development Act (1982), Indian Gaming Regulatory Act (1990), Native American Languages Act (1990), Indian Arts and Crafts Act (1990), Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (1990), Native American Free Exercise of Religion Act (1994), and the Executive Order on Indian Sacred Sites (1996).

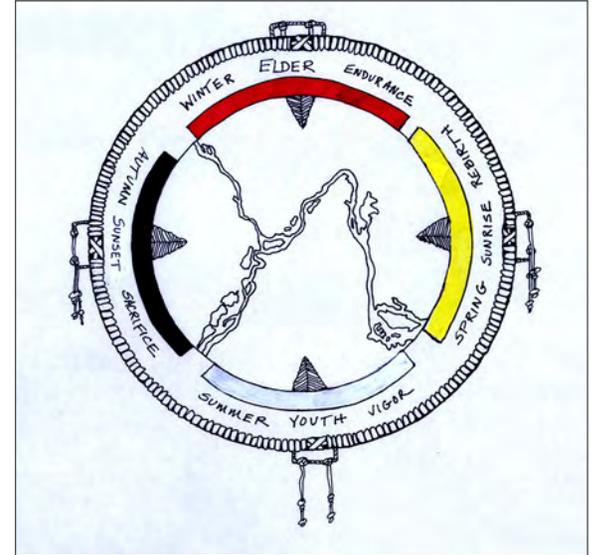


Illustration of a Dakota medicine wheel by Amanda Adams
Source: *American Indian Interpretive Programs*, 2004

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APPENDIX D:
AFRICAN AMERICAN
HISTORICAL CONTEXT

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The historical overview presented here focuses on African American history in Minnesota, with emphasis on the Minneapolis riverfront, to contextualize the Community Input summary.

Contact Period (1750 AD–1850)

African Americans were not only present in the Wisconsin (and as of 1849, Minnesota) Territory during the contact period, albeit in small numbers, but played a vital role in navigating the cultures and economics of the times. For instance, George and Stephen Bonga were born in present-day Duluth in 1799 and 1802. The sons of a former slave-turned fur trader named Jean Bonga—who spoke English, French, and Ojibwe—and Ojibwayquay, an Ojibwe woman, they followed in their father's footsteps to become fur traders, translators, and cultural negotiators. Both brothers' signatures are present on treaties that they helped to translate between the U.S. government and the Ojibwe during the mid-1800s (Green 2007, Washington 2009). According to one source, a number of fur traders sought out African Americans to serve as negotiators with Native Americans, noting that these interactions were characterized by "less friction" than those between whites and Native Americans (Porter 1934:432).

There was a sharp contrast between the Bonga family's ability to navigate among Ojibwe and white cultures, and the oppression faced by other African Americans in the Minnesota Territory during this time. The first enslaved blacks were brought to Fort Snelling soon after its construction began in 1819, and were owned by officers such as Colonel Josiah Snelling, the fort's namesake, despite the fact that slavery was illegal in land acquired as part of the Louisiana Purchase (excluding the state of Missouri). Dred Scott and Harriet Robinson Scott met and married while at Fort Snelling from the 1830s until 1840, when they were relocated to St. Louis to live with the wife of their owner, Dr. John Emerson, when Emerson was transferred to Florida. The Scotts came to national attention when they unsuccessfully sued Emerson's wife for their freedom in 1846. After a series of appeals

the case went to the U.S. Supreme Court, which ultimately ruled against them as well. The decision, opposed by Abraham Lincoln, became a catalyst for tensions surrounding slavery among communities across the nation (MNHS 2016a), including the Minneapolis area.

Early Settlement

Following forced removal of Dakota populations to reservations in South Dakota, Nebraska, North Dakota, and Canada in the mid-1850s and 1860s, settlement of the area around Minneapolis by Euro-American immigrants burgeoned. Along with immigrants from New England, Scandinavia, the British Isles, and Germany, free blacks began immigrating to the nascent towns of St. Anthony and Minneapolis, incorporated in 1855 and 1857, on either side of St. Anthony Falls in the 1850s. Some African Americans were also brought by Euro-American pioneers as servants and slaves. One of the earliest African American families to settle in the budding metropolis were Ralph Grey, who arrived in St. Anthony in 1855 from Pennsylvania to open a barbershop, and his wife Eliza and son William, who joined Grey in 1857. Two additional children were born to the Greys in St. Anthony (Murphy and Murphy-Gnatz 2002). Emily Grey, at that time the only black woman living in St. Anthony, wrote favorably of their new home, describing the "good, old-time neighborly calls ... [and] kind deeds done by new-made friends" (Green 2007:80). Both William and Emily Grey were strong supporters of African American rights. Emily and her parents had been abolitionists in Pennsylvania, and the Grey family helped slave, Eliza Winston, who was owned by a Mississippi family vacationing in the free state of Minnesota, obtain her freedom in 1860 (Franks 2005). The previous year, a group of local citizens founded the Hennepin County Anti-Slavery Society (Spangler 1961). In 1863, the African American community in St. Anthony founded the St. James African Methodist Episcopal Church on 2nd Street between 1st and 2nd Avenues SE (Zellie and Lucas 2008).

At the same time that St. Anthony and Minneapolis (which merged into



Figure 1 Portrait of unidentified man c. 1890, taken within two blocks of the Water Works project area (MNHS, #GT1.3f r48)

the city of Minneapolis in 1872) were growing, St. Paul was keeping pace, and served as a place of settlement for African Americans as well. Some accounts note that blacks were settling at Mendota just south of St. Paul as early as 1837, with the children attending an integrated public school which likely consisted of children of families associated with Fort Snelling (Spangler 1961:22). The Reverend Robert Thomas Hickman, born a slave in 1831, led a group of 76 slaves on a journey up the Mississippi to freedom in 1863. Although they were initially prevented from landing by Irish workers fearful that the new arrivals would take their jobs, Hickman and many of the others eventually settled in St. Paul, where Hickman helped organize the Pilgrim Baptist Church in 1866, still in existence today (Murphy and Murphy-Gnatz 2002). A group of 218 African Americans, approximately 100 of whom were women and children, arriving the same year aboard the Davenport steamboat received a similar reception, but also ended up staying (Taylor 2002). An African American educator, editor, and politician John Quincy Adams arrived in St. Paul from Kentucky, where he was editor of the Louisville Bulletin, in 1886 and became editor of *The Western Appeal*, an African American newspaper started in St. Paul the year before by Samuel E. Hardy and John T. Burgett (Taylor 1973). Four years later, Adams went on to help found the National Afro-American League with African American civil rights leaders Frederick McGhee and Booker T. Washington (Delton 2002).

The late 1850s and early 1860s were a tumultuous time for the residents of Minnesota, as a result of the high civilian (both white and Dakota) casualties during the U.S. Dakota War of 1862, the forced internment and removals of Dakota people that followed, and the Civil War which raged from 1861 - 1865 drawing large numbers of young men away from the newly formed state. Minnesota was the first state to offer troops, and had an unusually high volunteer rate in proportion to its population - 104 of these were African American men (MNHS 2016b) during a time when the 1860 U.S. Census listed a total population of 259 African Americans in Minnesota (Scott Publishing Company 1976, Taylor 2002).

Industry and Organization

The earliest industry of Minneapolis and St. Anthony was sawmilling, which first started in the 1820s with a government-owned gristmill and sawmill at the Falls, and then began operating in earnest in the 1860s. While there is occasional reference to African American men working in the lumber industry, including sawmilling, (Murphy and Gantz Murphy 2002), little documentation is available on the workers themselves. A few studies which explore the ethnicity of Minneapolis'

early laborers in related industries lend some insights into demographics of the workforce. In Minneapolis, one of the early large-scale projects was the construction of a canal along the West Bank to allow water to flow to mills that were constructed along the shore. As water passed through the tunnel beneath each mill, it activated a series of turbines which moved the milling machinery. The men who labored on the West Side Waterpower Canal and its expansion in the 1850s and 1860s were largely white, mainly Irish, Scots, and New Englanders, who were later joined by Scandinavians, Germans, and a new wave of Irish immigrants, the majority of whom were single (Hess Roise 2003a, 2003b).

One possible explanation for the lack of an African American presence in sawmills and related laborer positions is that blacks do not appear to have migrated in large numbers to Minnesota during the 1850s and 1860s (Spangler 1961), and the black settlers who are known arrived with families and vocations, such as barbers and editors. In contrast, large numbers of single Europeans immigrants came to America in search of laborer positions, and appear to have overwhelmingly held these positions in Minneapolis during the 1850s - 1870s. While Minneapolis was a leader for lumber production during the early decades of sawmilling, the introduction of steam power in the 1870s provided an alternative to water power, expanding the potential locations of sawmills across the state and country. The arrival of steam power, coupled with the denuding of the northern Minnesota forests, pushed the lumber industry westward towards yet untouched stands of pine and hardwood. As a result, many of the Minneapolis sawmills were converted to, or replaced by, flour and grist mills, and from the 1880s to the 1930s Minneapolis was known as the Flour Milling Capital of the world (Mill City Museum 2016). By the 1920s, census data reveals that mill workers, most of whom worked as unspecified laborers and packers, were predominantly Scandinavian in origin (unpublished "Mill Workers Information" document on file at the Mill City Museum, Minneapolis), although some Eastern European immigrants who had begun to arrive in America in large numbers in the early 1900s held positions in the mills as well.

While there is little to suggest that African Americans worked in either sawmills or flourmills in significant numbers, they worked in a variety of positions that served both the milling industries and the growing population of the metropolitan area. In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, many African Americans were employed in hotels, restaurants, hotels, and factories and foundries, as well as in private homes (Stangler 1961). A smaller number owned their own shops and businesses, such as barbershops, real estate companies, beauty parlors, and funeral homes, while



Cataract Mill Wagon Driver 1858 (MNHS)



Figure 2 African American worker at Munsingwear Knitting Mills Minneapolis (MNHS)



Figure 3 Lena O. Smith (Twin Cities Pioneer Press)



Figure 4 Nellie Stone Johnson in 1988 (Star Tribune)

others worked as educators, activists, architects, and lawyers (Murphy and Murphy-Gnatz 2002, Zahn 1990). A large number of African American men worked as Pullman porters, who served on sleeper cars for the railroads.

In 1925, the Pullman Porters formed the first all-black union, and it was not long before large-scale organization efforts by the African American community in Minneapolis followed (Zahn 1990). Prior to this, African Americans in Minneapolis had led efforts to end slavery, secure the vote for black men, which passed in Minnesota in 1868, and fight racism (Taylor 2002). But the unionization movement powered by large numbers of laborers concentrated within metropolitan areas, in concert with the burgeoning civil rights movement, heralded a new era.

Only three years after the National Association for the Advancement for Colored People (NAACP), was formed nationally in 1909, a newly organized group called the Twin City Protective League, founded by several members of the African American community, voted to affiliate with the NAACP. In 1913, their charter was formalized, the same year a Minneapolis branch was established. The local branches of the NAACP continue to play a prominent role in defending and advancing the rights of African Americans in the metropolitan area. In 1920, the NAACP came to the defense of a group of black men, three of whom were lynched while in jail, who were accused of an alleged assault (Kenney 2016).

In 1934, the racially and ethnically diverse Minneapolis Teamsters went on strike in the Warehouse District, receiving support from the Hotel and Restaurant Employees International Union. The Teamsters in turn expressed their commitment to the Hotel and Restaurant Employees International Union, declaring "No non-union cook, waiter, or bartender would be found working in Minneapolis" (Mielke 2016). Despite the fact that two of the striking teamsters were fatally shot by police, the Teamsters eventually won the strike and, in solidarity with other massive labor strikes in 1934, initiated the rise of industrial unionism (Teamsters 2016). Efforts to organize laborers and secure basic civil rights intensified with the return of African American soldiers from World War II, when African American veterans faced discrimination and lack of access to vital resources.

Minneapolis Urban League annual reports between 1933 and 1950 paint a vivid picture of the African American community's fight for employment and fair treatment (Minneapolis Urban League collection, on file at MNHS). They detail the formation of an Industrial Committee working

to raise the status of the group to higher occupational standards, a Women's Auxiliary linking social and civic groups to advocate for these issues, classes on the historical background of organized labor and current economic and political problems, and the establishment of the first committee formed in 1937 "to encourage Negro workers to become better informed as to trade union developments and to stimulate those who had recently been drawn into labor unions to take an active part in the affairs of their organizations as a means of safeguarding their own interests." The reports show some African American women working in needle trade industries that were in 1945 "bogged down in lack of materials and failure of management to follow through on commitments" (Figure 2). Labor unions listed as helpful to the African American community included: AFL, Amer. Fed. Musicians No. 73, Upholsterers, Building Service Employees, Amer. Fed. Hosiery Workers No 39, UE-CIO, Laundry Workers No 32—AFL, Cooks, Waiters, Waitresses No 458 AFL, and the Minneapolis Typographical Union No 42 AFL (Minneapolis Urban League collection, on file at MNHS).

Two African American women who were key figures in the fight for civil rights were Lena Olive Smith (Figure 3) and Nellie Stone Johnson (Figure 4). Smith was born in Kansas in 1885, and moved to Minnesota in 1906 with her family. Ten years later, she obtained a law degree and began working in real estate, where she fought for her African American clients' right to live in white neighborhoods. Smith then opened her own law firm and forged a path as a successful civil rights attorney and activist. Nellie Stone Johnson, born on a farm in 1905 in Lakeville, Minnesota, south of Minneapolis, moved to Minneapolis as a young woman so she could attend high school. After attending college as well, she went on to become a leader in Minnesota's civil rights and labor movements, helped found the Democratic-Farmer-Labor Party, which involved the alliance of blacks and white farmers; represented the Hotel and Restaurant Workers Union during the merger; and served on the Democratic National Committee in the 1980s (Zahn 1990, Murphy and Murphy-Gnatz 2002, Woltman et al. 2016). During an interview in 1989 at the age of 84, Johnson noted "Since nearly all blacks were and are laborers, the impact of labor unions on the treatment and welfare of American blacks is paramount" (paraphrased in Zahn 1990).

Neighborhoods

While the earliest blacks arriving in the Minneapolis area in the mid-1850s had settled in St. Anthony, by the late 19th century most lived adjacent to the warehouse district which, along with the railroads and associated infrastructure, skirted the heavy industry of the riverfront area.

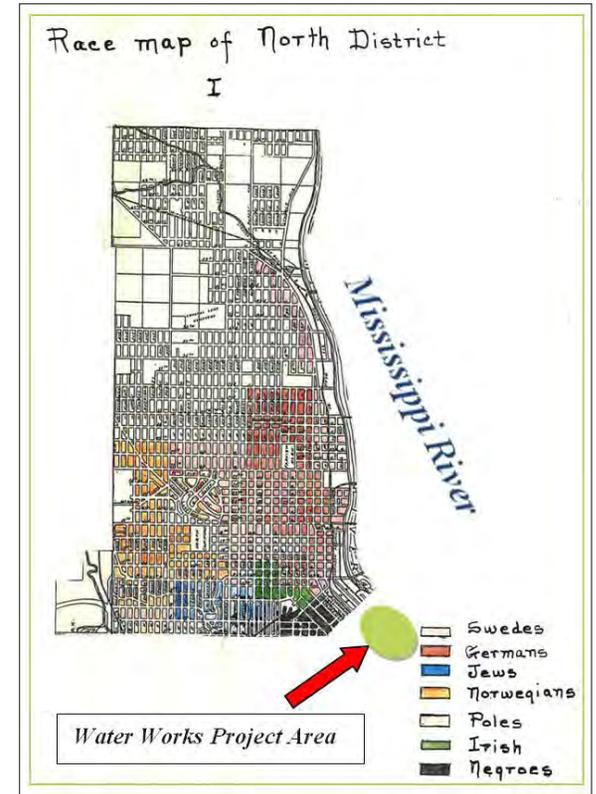


Figure 5 Map of Settlement by Ethnicity (UM Social Welfare History Archives), with overlay of Water Works project area depicted by green oval.

This location is depicted on a color-coded map documenting residential communities by ethnicity prepared by the Minneapolis YWCA in 1919 on file at the UM Social Welfare History Archives (Figure 5) By the early 20th century, the largest African American neighborhood was coalescing in the North Side neighborhood, northwest of downtown Minneapolis (Taylor 2002). Only a decade before this area had been primarily occupied by Scandinavians and Germans, who settled here for proximity to their jobs, but as they further assimilated they gradually moved further from the downtown (Peterson and Zellie 1998). A detailed hand-drawn map of this community created by deceased community elder, artist and Pacific Bell employee, Clarence William Miller (1908-1988), is on display at the Sumner Library in the North Side neighborhood. Miller drew the map as he remembered the community from his childhood. This map lists the name of many families, stores and other businesses. In the early 20th century, as whites began to move further out from the downtown and public transportation became widely available, African American residents began to migrate south and northwesterly through Minneapolis (Holmquist 1981:78), with additional African American neighborhoods forming in the Central neighborhood in south Minneapolis, generally bound by I-35W, East 31st Street, Park Avenue, and East 38th Street, and in the Bryant neighborhood, just south of Central. By 1930, there were 4,176 African American residents in Minneapolis (Holmquist 1981:81).

Over the decades, a number of African American churches and community organizations had formed. These included the St. James A.M.E., St. Peter's A.M.E., Free Will Baptist, Bethesda Baptist, and Zion Baptist Mission (Taylor 2002). Community Centers such as the Phyllis Wheatley Community Center, established in 1924, and the Hallie Q. Brown Community Center, established in 1929, were founded to serve the needs of the African American community. They were sources of vitally important programming and services, and offered a safe place for traveling blacks to stay during a time when hotels were segregated (Phyllis Wheatley Community Center 2016, Hallie Q. Brown Community Center

2016). Minneapolis resident Polletta Vera Leonard Webster, born in 1909, recalled learning to sew at the Pillsbury House (Webster 1974), a settlement house originally founded in 1879 by the Plymouth Congregational Church in Minneapolis. In 1897, it was reorganized into the Bethel Settlement, and in 1905 brothers John and Charles Pillsbury, owners of four flour mills, donated \$40,000 for the construction of a new facility southeast of downtown Minneapolis, near Bohemian Flats, which was completed in 1906 and offered a women's employment offices, children's clubs, and home economics and art classes (Pillsbury United Communities 2016).

Modern Era

In the first part of the 20th century, jobs could be difficult to come by in an environment where some employers refused to employ black workers (Delton 2002). Nonetheless, community organizations such as the Phyllis Wheatley Community Center and the Pillsbury House offered African Americans opportunities to gain assistance and skills, and according to lifelong resident Polletta Webster, Minneapolis offered better living and working opportunities for blacks than many other areas of the country, stating in a 1974 interview, "I really think Minneapolis was better [for black people than elsewhere in the nation] ... If you want a job, you can find it" (Webster 1974). In addition, the St. Paul and Minneapolis Urban Leagues, founded in 1923 and 1928, were dedicated to helping African Americans obtain employment and offered an opportunity for blacks to become actively engaged in addressing the unemployment problem, though they still had few opportunities to enter the political mainstream (Delton 2002). During both World Wars, some Minneapolis companies recruited Southern blacks to move to the North to meet labor shortages, although the job opportunities in the Twin Cities were relatively scarce compared to other metropolitan areas such as Detroit and Cleveland (Taylor 2002). Restrictive housing covenants beginning in the 1920s had resulted in the formation of dense population centers riddled with poverty and poor quality housing, which worsened with an increasing population as a result of migration and returning veterans after both World Wars (Taylor 2002).

The housing shortage was further intensified by urban renewal, freeway construction, and city planning efforts that displaced African American residents in the late 1950s and early 1960s. From 1950 to 1970, the black population in Minnesota grew from 13,775 to 34,868, coinciding with the peak of the civil rights movement. Contributors to this growth in the state's African American population may have included employment opportunities, public assistance, and legislation aimed at minimizing some racial disparities, though an analysis of data suggests that the racial climate in the Twin Cities was not substantially different than that of other northern cities (Taylor 2002). In the 1950s, the development of the interstate system in Minnesota segmented a number of neighborhoods, particularly those that were predominantly poor communities of color. The tearing apart of the African American Rondo community in St. Paul as well as neighborhoods such as Phillips in Minneapolis, severely disrupted the social and economic growth of these communities. During the 1960s, demonstrations were held by African Americans of diverse ages and backgrounds, including out-of-work black citizens as well as students feeling the strain of racial discrimination. In the mid 1960s, The Way, a community organization dedicated to addressing power imbalance between whites and blacks, was founded. Operating on a Black Power foundation, The Way was established as a community center born out of racial crisis that attended to the needs of youth, particularly those along Plymouth Avenue (Rosh 2013). The organized efforts of African Americans to fight racism and discrimination eventually led to the passage of a variety of legislation. With the passage of the Civil Rights Acts of 1964 and 1968, and the commencement of the process of desegregation (United States Commission on Civil Rights 1977) following an NAACP suit, Minneapolis, along with the rest of the nation, was spurred to examine and begin working to redress many of its long-standing inequalities.

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