

ACROSS GRANDVIEW PARKWAY

TRAVERSE CITY CHARACTER STUDY:
Strengthening the Connection Between Downtown and the Bay

By:

Erik Dayrell

Lisa DuRussel

Leah Hollstein

Sabrina Siebert

Lindsay Smith

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Faculty Advisor:
Dr. Larissa Larsen

ABSTRACT

Known as the Cherry Capital of the World, Traverse City is an economic and tourism hot-spot in the northwestern lower peninsula of Michigan. Located at the base of West Grand Traverse Bay, Traverse City's mild climate and sandy beaches have made it a vibrant and popular place to live, work and play for generations. During the spring of 2005, the decommissioning and deconstruction of the city's power station returned a significant portion of the waterfront to open space. This newly acquired open space garnered significant attention from residents and city officials. While the area is a great location for a park or other pedestrian-oriented space, Grandview Parkway, the main east-west connector through the city, creates a physical and psychological barrier to accessibility between the downtown and the waterfront. In an attempt to create a safe and enjoyable pedestrian connection that draws visitors back and forth between the waterfront and downtown, this Character Study was developed to assist the city. Public participation, site visits, historical research, and land-use evaluations were used to better understand the tangible and intangible qualities of Traverse City that combine to produce its unique personality. Information gathered during the Character Study process was then used to identify specific areas within the downtown core to concentrate on as key downtown-to-waterfront transition areas. Recommendations and suggestions are also included in an effort to enhance and maintain Traverse City character for future residents and visitors.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Acknowledgements	i
Character Study Rationale.....	2
Introduction	4
History	
Historical Synopsis.....	7
Natural History.....	11
Cultural History.....	15
Layers of Traverse City: Past and Present	
The Evolving Boardman River.....	53
The Face of Traverse City Today: Demographics.....	57
Evolution of the Central Business District.....	62
Historic Buildings.....	68
A Planning History of Traverse City.....	81
Zoning Boundaries: Past and Present.....	86
Parking.....	90
Traffic Moving out of Downtown.....	93
Character Evaluation	
Gaining Insight through Photography.....	94
Character of Traverse City.....	101
Mapping the Central Business District.....	101
Character of the Central Business District and Waterfront.....	115
Conclusions.....	117
Recommendations	
Maintaining and Enhancing Traverse City's Character.....	118
Endnotes.....	120
Appendices	
A Historic Timeline	
B Zoning Code Analysis	
C Comprehensive Plan Comparisons	
D Traverse City and Beyond: 2000 Census Data for Traverse City, Grand Traverse County, Michigan, and the US	
E Gaining Insight Through Photography: Methodologies	

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The purpose of this Character Study is to understand the essence of Traverse City's downtown character through a thoughtful review of the following: the City's history, past and present planning initiatives, residents' sentiments, and the consideration of sustainable development practices. In addition, the Traverse City Character Study serves as one of several sources which will inform a set of forthcoming design guidelines for creating new connections between the City's Central Business District and the waterfront. Both of these documents are part of the larger "Your Bay, Your Say" initiative. This initiative brings the knowledge and ideas of Traverse City residents together with the expertise of Michigan State University and the University of Michigan to develop a contemporary vision for the West Grand Traverse Bay waterfront and enhanced connections between the Bay and the Downtown. This initiative consists not only of the authors of this Character Study but also of undergraduate Landscape Architecture students from Michigan State University who participated in a design charrette with Traverse City residents in September of 2005 to generate design ideas and identify preferences. This Character Study was completed to partially-fulfill the requirements for Master of Landscape Architecture and Master of Science degrees from the University of Michigan in the spring of 2006. This project was completed over a sixteen month period from January 2005 to May 2006 and the Traverse City Downtown Development Authority served as our client.

CHARACTER STUDY RATIONALE

The purpose of this urban character study is to understand the tangible and intangible qualities of downtown Traverse City that combine to create its unique personality. Kevin Lynch, the eminent urban design scholar, in his landmark 1960 text "The Image of the City", noted the importance of the physical landscape in providing the settings for a meaningful everyday life. He stated that "A vivid and integrated physical setting, capable of producing a sharp image, plays a social role as well. It can furnish the raw material for the symbols and collective memories of group communications."¹ Thus, the very nature of the built environment can contribute to or detract from the social life of the city. The citizens of Traverse City have long appreciated their scenic waterfront location and sought to shape their built environment in a harmonious and enlivening manner.

Traverse City has a well-established downtown core that is economically vibrant and therefore evolving. Centrally located industrial and residential neighborhoods can contribute to the aesthetic qualities of the downtown core. Jane Jacobs, in her seminal 1961 book "The Death and Life of Great American Cities" decisively concluded that "...lively, diverse, intense cities contain the seeds of their own regeneration, with energy enough to carry over for problems and needs outside themselves."² This regeneration is successfully represented in Traverse City, as it has matured from a small mill-town in the mid 19th century to the successful community that it is today, constantly evolving and revolving around its central downtown area and waterfront.

Traverse City's cohesive character can be found in its downtown. Small shops and businesses that have withstood the retail shift towards big-box stores and the suburbanization of commerce. Its success is in part due to its location and pedestrian scale, sandwiched between the bay and the Boardman River. William Whyte, in his book "The Social Life of Small Urban Spaces", noted the importance of density and urbanity in smaller cities:

"...some are blessed with a tight, well-defined center, with some fine old buildings to anchor it. But many others have loosened up; they have torn down old buildings and not replaced them, leaving much of the space open. Parking lots and garages become the dominant land use, often accounting for more than 50 percent of downtown. ...they are so interspersed with parking lots that they don't connect very well..."³

While the variety of uses in the downtown and the physical waterfront setting of Traverse City have contributed to its unique character, it is the architecture of the area that has done the most to define Traverse City as a distinct Northern Michigan city. Many old buildings, such as the historic City Opera House, the Park Place Hotel, and the Hannah-Lay Mercantile Building, have been retained and preserved. These buildings serve as links to Traverse City's past and form a foundation in the city's architectural character. William Whyte described the function of historical buildings in well-working downtowns by saying

"It is significant that the cities doing best by their downtowns are the ones doing best at historic preservation and reuse. Fine old buildings are worthwhile in their own right, but there is a greater benefit involved. They provide discipline. Architects and planners like a blank slate. They usually do their best work, however, when they don't have one. When they have to work with impossible lot lines and bits and pieces of space, beloved old eyesores, irrational street layouts, and other such constraints, they frequently produce the best of their new designs - and the most neighborly"⁴

A city's character is influenced by many things: the natural landscape, the uses contained, and the architecture of the area. However, it is only when people interact and interpret these factors that the character of a city becomes truly recognizable. Kevin Lynch captured this complex truth when he wrote that "Nothing is experienced by itself, but always in relation to its surroundings, the sequences of events leading up to it, the memory of past experiences."⁵ Preserving a city's character requires thoughtfully distilling its essence and suggesting how change should be managed to promote the unique possibilities inherent to the city and its inhabitants.

INTRODUCTION

Traverse City is located in the Northwest part of the Michigan's Lower Peninsula, just south of the Leelanau Peninsula. In 2000, the city was home to 14,500 people, and encompassed just over 8 square miles. Incorporated in 1895, the city has a long and varied history predating this time.

This character study was undertaken at the behest of the city in an effort to: take stock of residents' current attitudes and preferences on the city's current form, determine the direction the city relative to future development, and strengthen connections between the waterfront and downtown.

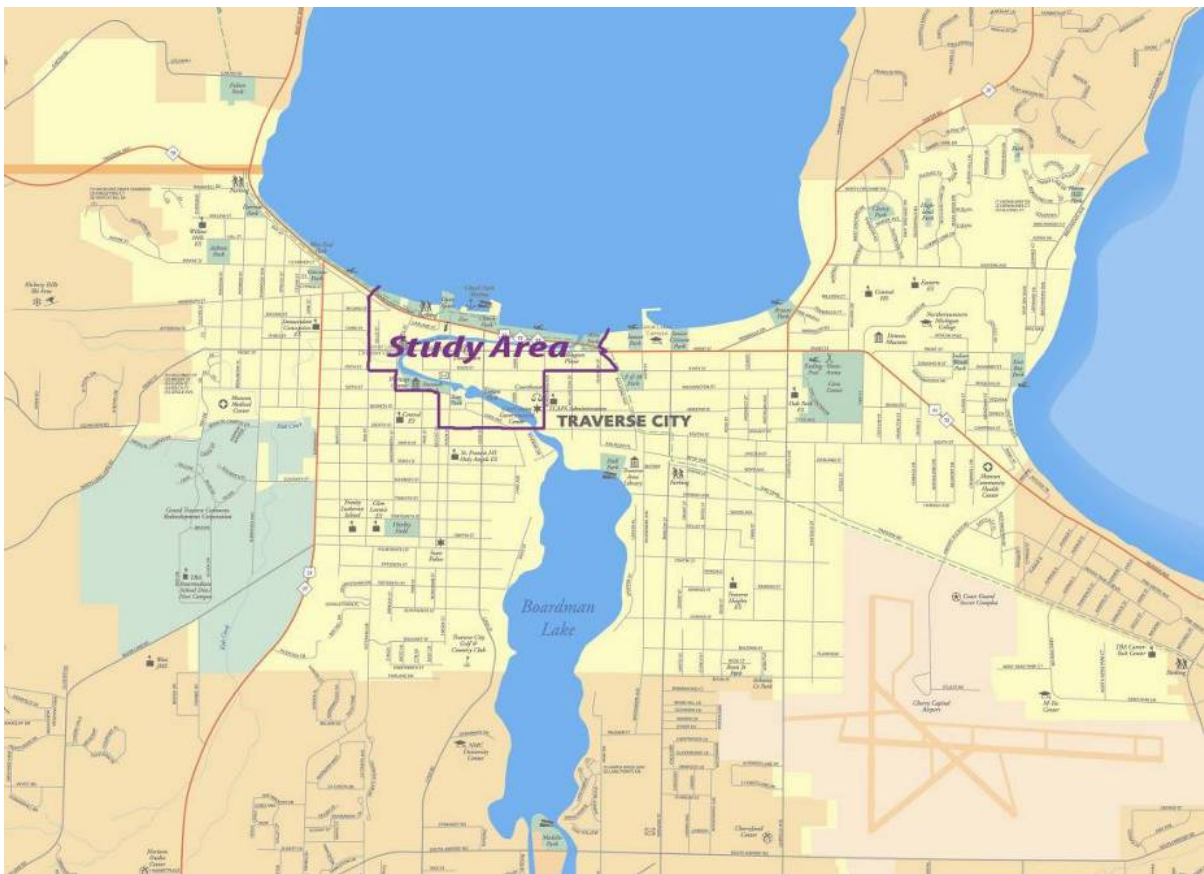


Fig. 1: Study Area in the Regional Context⁶

For the purpose of this character study, we will be focusing on the area surrounding the downtown core, shown in Figure 2. This area is defined on the western edge by Oak Street, from the Bay south to Fifth Street, continuing along Fifth Street to Wadsworth Avenue, south on Wadsworth to Sixth Street, east on Sixth to Locust Avenue, and south on Locust to Eighth Street. The southern edge of the district is defined by Eighth Street from Locust to Boardman Avenue. The eastern edge of the area is defined by Boardman between Eighth and State Street, continuing east on State to Railroad Avenue, Railroad Avenue northwest to Front, east on Front Street, then following Grandview Parkway west for a short length to just east of the mouth of the Boardman River.

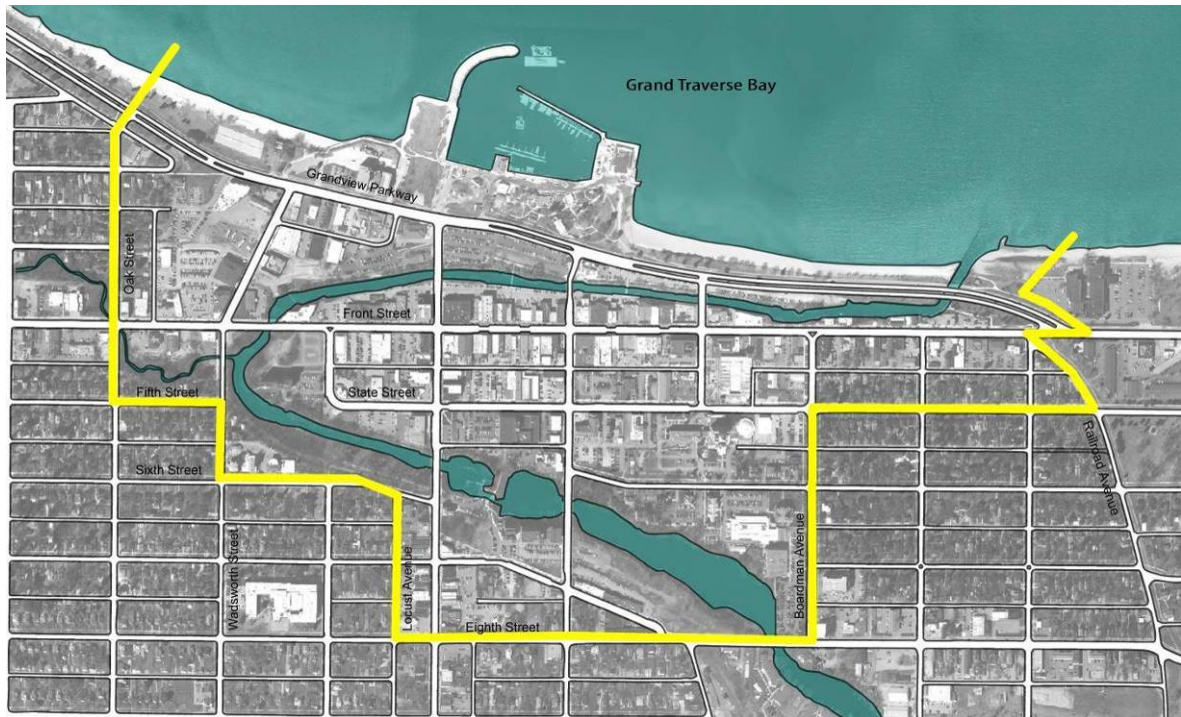


Fig. 2: The yellow line indicates the extent of the area within which the Character Study was undertaken. This area is generally bordered on the West by Oak Street, the South by Eighth street, and the East by Boardman and Railroad Avenues

Located at the intersection of wine country, Sleeping Bear Dunes, the Lake Michigan coast, and the numerous downhill skiing areas of Northern Michigan, Traverse City is one of Michigan's premier vacation spots. As such, Grand Traverse County's population has grown quickly: the 1970 population of 39,175 doubled to 77,654 by 2000. Growth in the county has averaged 15% a decade for the past 100 years, but a 40% growth rate from 1970 - 1980 left the county with a population far exceeding the city's capabilities to provide services. In direct contrast to the county's growth, the city has seen a 4.3% population decrease over the past decade. The population has declined from 15,155 in 1990 to 14,532 permanent residents in 2000. As a result of the population change throughout the county, Traverse City's development in the past few decades has been more suburban in character. Much growth has taken place along the bay and south of downtown, past the natural barrier of Boardman Lake, and further out into the county.

The National Cherry Festival, held each summer on the Bay Front in downtown Traverse City, draws many tourists, both nationally and locally. In addition to this week-long event, Traverse City has worked hard to create year-round events, to draw both area residents and visitors to what is one of Northwest Michigan's most vibrant downtowns.

Traverse City is the economic center of the region. Residents and visitors alike recognize that what distinguishes the city apart from other Northern Michigan towns is its vibrant downtown, diverse recreational offerings, the natural beauty of the surrounding area, and its small town atmosphere. It is in the hope of aiding Traverse City in retaining and enhancing these assets that we undertake this character study and the accompanying design guidelines.

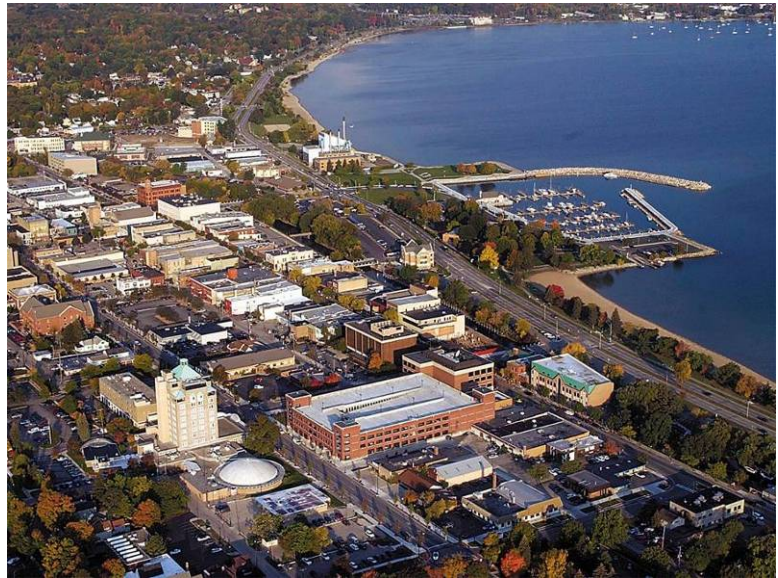


Fig. 3: 2003 Birds-eye-view of downtown Traverse City, looking northwest. Photo credit: *Traverse City Record-Eagle*

HISTORY

Historical Synopsis

Like Michigan's oldest towns and cities, Traverse City has a rich natural and cultural history. The Grand Traverse area's unique landforms, water bodies, and climactic conditions were fundamental in shaping the indigenous and immigrant societies which depended upon the area's resource base. The area's extensive coastline, sandy beaches, rolling hills, verdant forests, surging rivers, and inland lakes continue to be prized assets for Grand Traverse residents and visitors.

There can be no precise date that marks the beginning of Traverse City's story; however, the formation of the land and bays that lend the Grand Traverse area its shape is a useful starting point. The region's topography is largely a result of the movement and melting of glaciers as they receded around 6100 B.C. The area's proximity to Lake Michigan, along with its protected bays, has resulted in a moderated climate. Grand Traverse's natural history has had important implications for the ecology and commerce of the region over the millennia.

The first known inhabitants of the region, the indigenous mound-building peoples, are believed to have come to the area after the glaciers receded, and are thought to have depended upon agriculture, including corn. Much later, around the 1700s, Native Americans (primarily the Odawa and Ojibwa) took advantage of the area's favorable climate and sandy soils to garden and tend fruit trees. Cherries, one of the agricultural products which have taken on cultural importance in the area's modern history, were first cultivated by Reverend Peter Dougherty in 1852 at his mission in Omena.

In addition to fruit production, the Grand Traverse area's water bodies and forests played a seminal role in the region's modern development. The mid-1800s witnessed a significant influx of European settlers, attracted first by pine lumber and later by hardwoods. The history of the lumber industry in Traverse City is the history of its influential founders. The flurry of economic and demographic growth that lasted until the early 20th century, depended upon the area's rich forests but would not have been possible without its proximity to a number of important water bodies. What is today known as Traverse City was particularly attractive for commerce and residence due to its location on the Boardman River. With its mouth at the foot of West Grand Traverse Bay, the river proved fundamental in the lumber industry's growth, permitting workers to float timber downriver. The use of the land, river, and bay for logging operations led to the beginnings of a village; with mills and worker housing along the bay front, and institutional buildings, retail, services, and residences on the land nestled into the crook of the river. By the late 19th century, increasing numbers of tourists began to arrive in Traverse City to enjoy the area's natural beauty. Beachside resorts and hotels sprang up in response to this growing hospitality industry.

The Boardman River and other important features of Traverse City took their name from Captain Harry Boardman, one of the city's most influential settlers. In the mid-1800s he purchased 200 acres of land from the US Government between the contemporary Boardman Lake and West Grand Traverse Bay. Boardman quickly resold his land to Perry Hannah, Tracy Lay, and James Morgan from Chicago. Hannah, Lay and Company was the first substantial employer in the city. The Company's success exercised a heavy and lasting influence on settlement patterns and urban form in Traverse City. The village was formerly laid out by lumber baron Tracy Lay, with Hannah, Lay, & Company donating land for the first courthouse, jail and a number of other important institutions.

The mid-1800s through the beginning of the 20th century witnessed the arrival of important transportation services, the enhancement of transit routes, the provision of the first public utilities, and increased construction activity. By the early 1870s, the first railroad came to Traverse City. This was a great boon for both commerce and the movement of new residents and tourists. The Hannah, Lay, & Company Mercantile Building, still standing today at the corner of Front and Union Streets, opened in 1863. A multitude of religious organizations formed and built places of worship from this time forward. Schools, a fire station, and a waterworks were added, and in 1885, Traverse City's first electric light and power plant opened. The Northern Michigan Asylum (later known as the State Hospital) opened in the same year. Working-class immigrants concentrated in modest, but architecturally-interesting residences south of the Boardman around Union and 8th Streets. At the same time, business and professional people began to form what is now the Boardman neighborhood. Cultural landmarks were born to serve the growing population of residents and tourists, including the City Opera House. Finally, important buildings that remain today were added to the downtown during the 1890s: the Masonic, Beadle, Munson, and Wurzburg Buildings, along with the Whiting Hotel. By 1895, Traverse City officially became a city and adopted a charter.

In 1900, long distance telephone service with the rest of the state was established. The new Boardman River Electric Light & Power Company began servicing buildings and streetlights. Improved and expanded utility service coincided with an explosive amount of construction during the first decade of the twentieth century. Between 1900 and 1905, almost 500 buildings were erected, forming the core of today's downtown. By 1910, the city's population was a little more than 12,000. The automobile had arrived to Traverse City and would only grow in popularity, bringing more visitors to the area. Regionally, agriculture was thriving. In the early 1910s, cherry production outpaced apples. In 1913, a half million dollar cherry crop resulted in Traverse City's designation as the cherry center of the nation. Traverse City commemorated its new status as the "Cherry Capitol of the World" with a festival for the first time in 1925.

Although industry was on the decline, improvements to the city's infrastructure, transportation networks, and urban form continued throughout the early- to mid-20th century. Dangerous bridges spanning South Cass and Union Streets were replaced with two new bridges in the 1930s, and a new city airport opened in

1938. The landmark Park Place Hotel that sits at Park and State Streets was built by 1930. Traverse City Park Commissioner Conrad Foster spearheaded an immense effort of hundreds of volunteers in the early 1930s to clean up the waste leftover from industries on the bay, and to make a portion of the bay front into a public park. This would be the beginning of a number of city efforts to acquire property along the bay front for the establishment of park and recreational areas. Also during this decade, an aquarium, the Con Foster Museum, the Clinch Park Zoo - which would later move to the bay front - were constructed and opened to the public.

In 1940, Traverse City adopted the city manager form of government. The same year, the city began planning for the construction of Grandview Parkway to address increasing traffic and congestion. The Parkway was completed in 1953 and two years later, Front and State Streets became one-way. An additional significant development of the 1950s was the establishment of Northwestern Michigan College.

In the 1960s Traverse City reached its peak population of some 18,400 residents. As discussed in later chapters, this number would decline to today's estimated 14,500 owing to the closing of the State Hospital and the lure of growing suburban areas. There was increasing diversification of the area's economic base in the 50s and 60s, though agriculture and tourism continued to play seminal roles in the economy. The 1960s also saw the formation of the Downtown Traverse City Association, an organization of merchants and other businesses whose purpose was to market and promote Traverse City. By the late 1970s, the Downtown Development Authority was formed as the impact of competition from shopping centers and malls was felt by downtown businesses. Finally, during these decades the people of Traverse City increased their support for conservation and preservation. Public support continued to grow for the "Open Space" along West Grand Traverse Bay as more buildings were removed, as did a commitment to the preservation of a number of historic structures in the downtown. (The We-Que-Tong Building was torn down in 1945. The Musselman Grocery Company Building and the J.C. Morgan Cider Mill came down in 1969 and 1970. Strong support for the preservation and enhancement of the "Open Space" continues today. In 2005, the last major industrial structure on the bay front, the Traverse City Light and Power Plant, was torn down.)

In the late 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s, additional improvements to infrastructure, parks and recreational opportunities, and important services proved to be fundamental in building the vibrant place that Traverse City is today. During these years, the Governmental Center Building was constructed to house both city and county offices. The Bay Area Transportation Authority (BATA) and the Traverse Area Recreation and Transportation (TART) Trail were both established, a new public library was built on Boardman Lake, and reuse and redevelopment of the old State Hospital into a new mixed-use Grand Traverse Commons began. The new airport added in the late 1960s, along with the expansion of healthcare and educational services through Munson Medical Center and Northwestern Michigan College, respectively, are other important milestones in the city's

recent history. Indeed, it is this progressive improvement in public amenities, social services, and environmental protection over the years that has made Traverse City's downtown one of the healthiest for local businesses, and most attractive to residents and visitors in the State of Michigan.

Natural History

The unique combination of landforms, water bodies, and air masses that meet in the Grand Traverse area create a wealth of natural resources. The extensive coastline, sandy beaches, rolling hills, verdant forests, surging rivers, and inland lakes have been prized for centuries by Grand Traverse residents and visitors.



Figs 4a,b,c: Traverse City Beach, Vineyard on Old Mission Peninsula, Big Manistee River

Geomorphology

Geologists estimate that 14,500 years ago, the last ice sheet of the Wisconsin ice age covered most of what is now Michigan. As the ice sheet receded from the area that is now Grand Traverse County, around 8100 years ago⁷, the sediments

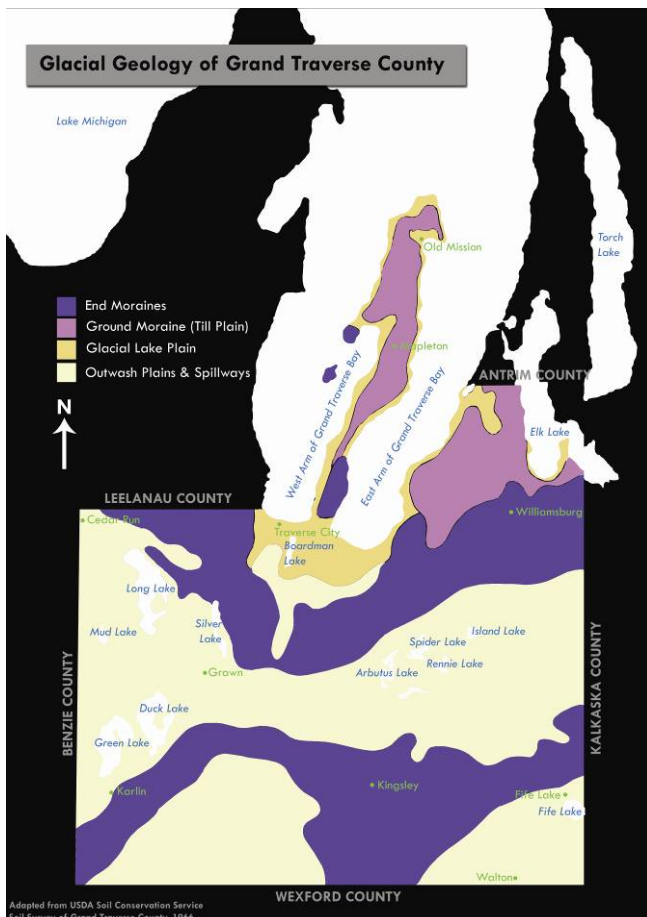


Fig 5: Glacial Geology of Grand Traverse County

deposited by its melting bulk formed the Manistee moraine (“End Moraine” in Fig 5). The Manistee moraine is a broad ridge, three to four miles wide, that partially surrounds Traverse City, extends north into Leelanau County, and extends east from Acme to the point where the Kalkaska County line meets Round Lake. Two large ground moraines form most of Old Mission Peninsula and a portion of land east of East Grand Traverse Bay. Drumlins rise up from these ground moraines, giving these areas their picturesque rolling landscape⁸. Along the shores of the bays are lake plains; these were once the bottom of glacial Lakes Algonquin and Nipissing on which present-day Traverse City is located. Parallel beach ridges are interspersed with swales containing shallow ponds or swamp forest. South of the lake benches and north of the Manistee moraine is an area of outwash

plains and glacial spillings. Traverse City and the area immediately surrounding it are on the Rubicon-Grayling soil association, which includes level to steep droughty soils. More specifically, the area that is now the Central Business District, along with all of the shore, is fairly level Lake Beach and Eastport Sand. Further south, all the way to the south end of Boardman Lake, the area is covered by East Lake-Mancelona loamy sands.⁹ The drumlins consist of well-drained gravelly sand and gravelly sandy-loam.¹⁰ Many of the narrow depressions between drumlins contain peat and other thick organic soils.¹¹

Watershed

Grand Traverse Bay is a large, deep, oligotrophic (read ecologically “young”) inlet of Lake Michigan, covering a surface area greater than 360 square miles, with a shoreline longer than 132 miles. Old Mission Peninsula divides the bay in two: West Grand Traverse Bay averages 167 feet in depth, with a maximum depth of 402 feet, while East Grand Traverse Bay averages 193 feet, with a maximum depth of 612 feet. Grand Traverse Bay drains a watershed of about 973 square miles, including more than 20 tributaries, the most important of which are Boardman River (which flows through Traverse City), Elk River, Mitchell Creek, Yuba Creek, and Acme Creek. The gravel and sand comprising so much of the region’s soil allows water to infiltrate and move through the soil readily. The tributaries of Grand Traverse Bay are therefore 95% groundwater fed, with stable, cold flows that create ideal habitats for cold-water fish.¹²

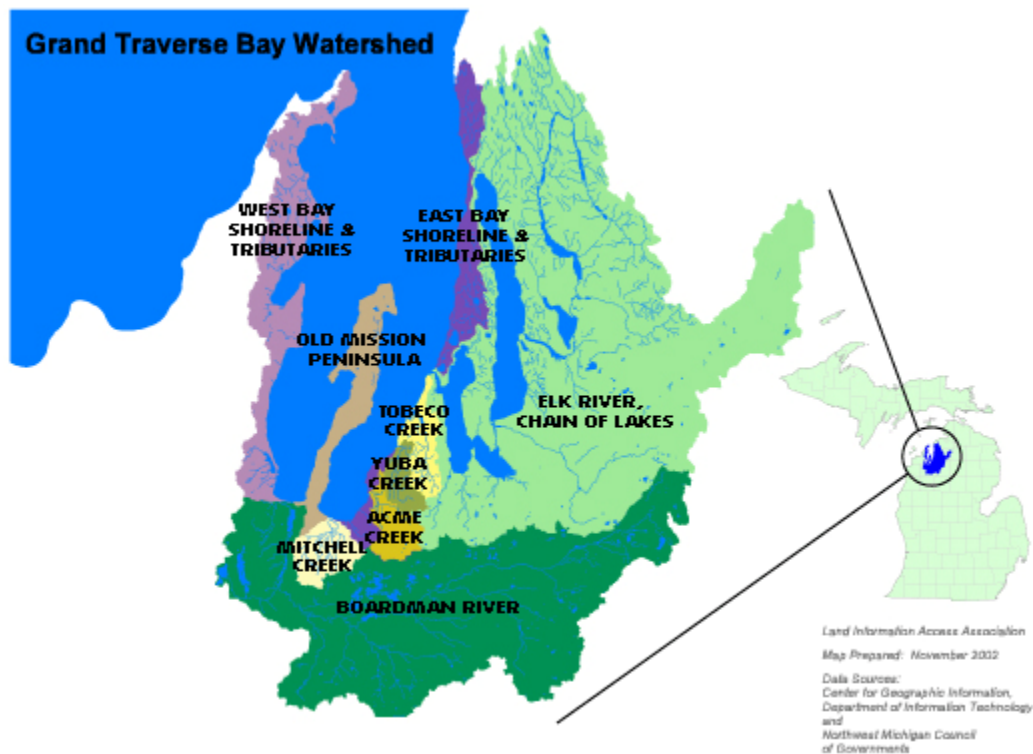


Fig 6: Grand Traverse Bay Watershed Sub-basins¹³



Figs 7a,b,c: Fly-fishermen on the Boardman River, Bowers Harbor on West Bay 1905, Shore along Grand Traverse Bay, 2005

Climate

The proximity of these landforms to Lake Michigan and the protected bays has a moderating effect on the area's climate, creating a hybrid of continental and quasi-maritime climates. Like most large bodies of water, Lake Michigan retains the warmth of summer far into the autumn, and the cold of winter far into the spring. Winds from the south or southeast blow overland and this is sometimes the cause of abrupt temperature variation. However, winds traveling west over the Lake grow warmer or colder in accordance with the water temperature. By the time they reach the Grand Traverse area, westerly winds bring cooler temperatures in the spring, discouraging plants from budding too early, before the last frost; and they bring warmer temperatures in the autumn, allowing plants more time to mature and bear fruit. The lake also stabilizes the yearly precipitation, so that rainfall from April to September tends to be well-distributed. Most thunderstorms lose strength as they cross Lake Michigan, although there are sometimes high-intensity storms in the summer.^{14, 15}

These climactic conditions have had important implications for ecology, agriculture, industry and tourism over the millennia. Plants, protected from wasting their energy early in the spring, also thrive later into the growing season, leading to productive forests and farmland. Air drainage down hillsides reduces the danger of frost damage. Snowfall in the winter is usually sufficient to protect both winter grain and grapevines from freezing. This favorable climate, along with the sandy, well-drained soils found throughout the region, provides ideal conditions for the growth of many kinds of fruit.¹⁶



Figs 8a,b,c: A fruit stand at the edge of an orchard, Farmland, Vineyard on Old Mission Peninsula

Atop the landforms and soils was the natural resource that drew a huge influx of settlers in the mid-1800s: the forests. Loams and limey soils supported the

growth of sugar maples, beech, elm, and other trees, especially hardwoods. Stands of red and white pine, interspersed among the hardwoods, made the most of poor, infertile soils. Black spruce, northern white-cedar, and balsam fir dominated in swamps. Trees present in less profusion included black oak, white oak, trembling aspen, bigtooth aspen, balsam poplar, hop-hornbeam, yellow birch, paper birch, black cherry, white ash, black ash, basswood, jack pine, hemlock, tamarack, and juniper.¹⁷

Human Influence

Clear-cut timber harvesting left large swaths of land empty of all but snags and dry, discarded brush, called "slash." This accumulation of dry woody debris set the perfect conditions for raging forest fires, especially where pitch-containing pine brush was left behind. Consequently, wildfires frequently blazed through logged areas, living forest, and towns.^{18, 19}

Fire stimulated the growth of aspen stands, oaks, and pin cherry trees, among others. In many cases, attempts to farm land which had been clear-cut and burned were unsuccessful until the land recovered enough nutrients to support crops. The infertile soils which bore pine trees thwarted would-be farmers in particular.^{20, 21}

"Log running," the practice of floating large quantities of timber downstream during spring floods, caused erosion of river banks and channels, modifying their shapes and flow regimes.²² Construction of dams, first for water power and later for hydroelectric power, changed the flow of water, sediment, nutrients, energy, and biota, interrupting and altering most of the rivers' important ecological processes, and transforming riverine habitats.^{23,24}



Figs 9a,b,c: Log running on the Boardman River. Boardman River, far upstream of Traverse City 2005. Dam between Cass and Union Streets, built 1867 to provide water power for a gristmill

Over the last century and a half, industry, agriculture and development of land for housing, commercial, and transportation purposes have had significant effects on natural resources. Waste disposal, excessive fertilizer and pesticide use, construction activity, removal of forest, and increases in impervious surface have contributed to erosion, sedimentation of streams and rivers, and pollution of land and water with excess nutrients, toxins, and pathogens. Additional concerns include thermal pollution of waterways, habitat loss, and invasive species that outcompete their neighbors or alter the environment so that other species can no longer survive. The protection of large swaths of land as the

Pere Marquette State Forest has helped to preserve habitat and limit fragmentation. Contemporary efforts to establishment greenways throughout Northwestern Michigan are also beneficial for the species that inhabit this region. The map below shows the land uses in the region around Traverse City in 1978. Today, the land use in the Grand Traverse Bay Watershed is still largely forest (49%), agriculture (20%), and open shrub or grasslands (15%). Water makes up 9% of the land use, and wetlands account for 1%. The remaining 6% is urban area, with Traverse City and Kalkaska being the largest urban centers.²⁵

Cultural History

11,000 - 1500 A.D. Prehistoric Peoples

The first people to leave behind evidence of their presence in the Grand Traverse area were Paleo-Indians. They are believed to have migrated into the area from the south as glaciers retreated. Spear points from these early inhabitants, dating from around 8,000 B.C., have been found in Grand Traverse County.²⁶

The next inhabitants of the area were a population of mound-building indigenous people. Small burial mounds were found around Boardman Lake and along Boardman River, including many at the site that is now the location of the Grand Traverse County Courthouse (Boardman Avenue and Washington Street). These mounds were generally three to five feet tall and approximately 18' in diameter, containing weapons, ornaments, tools, and possessions, as well as bodies of the dead. The site of an ancient manufactory of stone arrowheads was found on a bank of the Boardman River.^{27, 28}

It is unclear whether the mound builders that inhabited the Grand Traverse area were of the Hopewell culture (beginning around 300 BCE and ending between 600 and 800 CE) or the Mississippian culture (beginning between 600 and 900 CE, and ending between 1000 and 1400 CE). Both cultures had widespread trade networks, cities, and well-established forms of government and religion. Both depended on agriculture: the Hopewell cultures grew squash, sunflowers, and various grasses, including maize. The Mississippian cultures focused primarily on intensive maize production. The Hopewell cultures seem to have disappeared starting around 300 CE, and it is uncertain whether they have a link to the Mississippian culture. However, the latter culture transitioned through stages from sedentism through the formation of complex chiefdoms, to a period of increasing warfare, political strife, and population movement. First contact of the Mississippian cultures with Europeans resulted in misunderstandings and aggression. Eventually, as Europeans settled the eastern coast of North America, diseases devastated some communities, while others acquired European horses and returned to a nomadic way of life. European settlers who noticed the earthworks developed an idea that they had been constructed by a "lost race" of mound builders unrelated and superior to the Native American peoples they were displacing. However, scholarly research in the late 1870s showed that there was no physical difference between the mound builders and the Native Americans

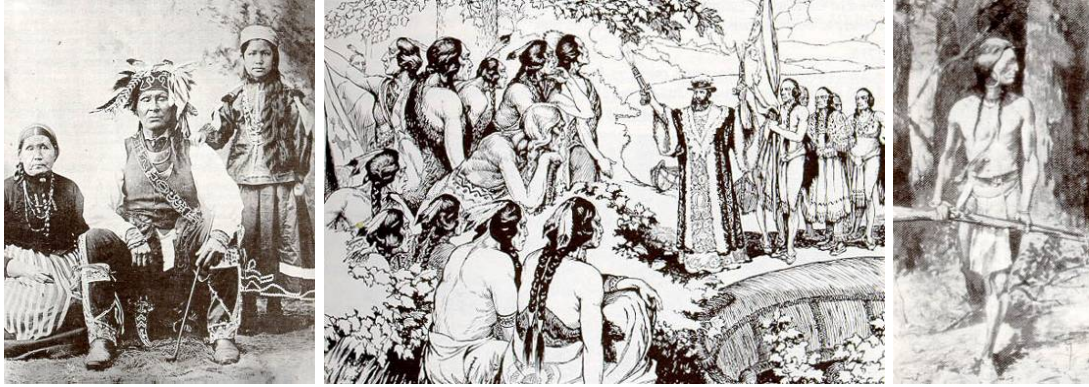
encountered by the settlers. The Mississippians are now believed to be ancestral to the Native Americans living in the same territories in the 1500s.^{29, 30, 31, 32,}

1500s - 1700s The Anishnabek, French Traders and "Le Grande Traverse"

Other Native Americans also came to the Grand Traverse area. The majority of these people were members of two tribes indigenous to "Turtle Island" (North America), who migrated west through Canada from the eastern coast of the continent during the 1500s, eventually reaching the Lower Peninsula of Michigan. These people, along with other tribes, called themselves the Anishnabek ("good man" or "original man). They shared and still share a culture, spiritual beliefs, religious practices, and the Anishinaabemowin language. The Anishnabek established trade routes from the Atlantic Ocean to the Rocky Mountains and from northern Canada to the Gulf of Mexico.^{33, 34, 35}

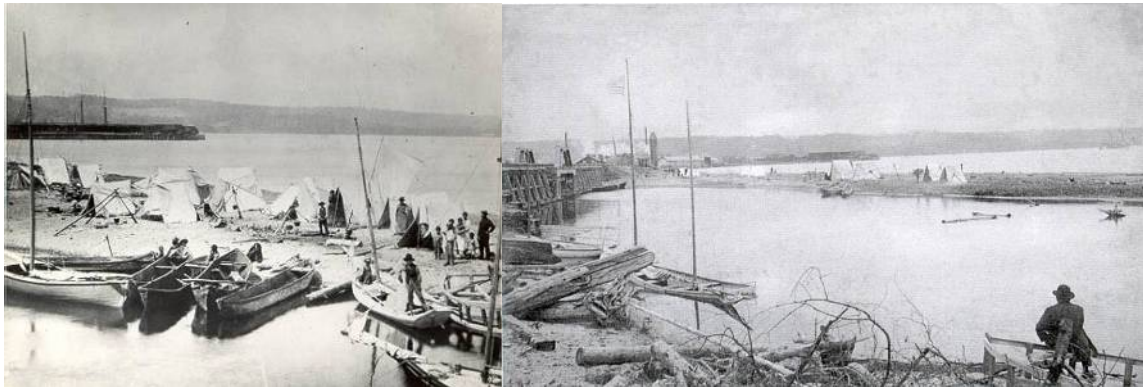
Traveling through Ontario in 1615 and to Sault Ste. Marie in 1622, the Anishnabek encountered French explorers. Legend recounts that the names of sub-groups of the Anishnabek were the result of a miscommunication between early explorers and the native people. Explorers attempting to make inquiries in Anishnaabemowin mistakenly assumed that words describing the tasks carried out by different groups of Anishnabek ("ojibwek" - going to build lodges, "odawak" - going to trade, and "bodwe'aadamiinhk" - keeping the fire) were the names of different tribes. These names were pronounced "Chippewa," "Ottawa," and "Pottawattamii" by Europeans. More recently, many of the indigenous people have chosen to return to the names "Ojibwa," "Odawa" and "Bodowadomi." These three groups form the "Three Fires Confederacy."^{36, 37} The Algonquin also consider themselves to be Anishnabek, but hold themselves politically independent of their kinfolk.³⁸

The French traders treated the Native Americans with respect, offering gifts and unfamiliar weapons - guns and gunpowder - in exchange for furs. Unlike the British and American settlers who came later, many Frenchmen married Native American women. The Anishnabek did not arrive in Grand Traverse Bay until the 1700s, when the Odawa population shifted from eastern to western Michigan. They had amicable relations with the French for many decades, and it was the French who named the region "Le Grande Traverse" ("The Great Crossing") because of the stretch of open water at the mouth of the bays that must be crossed, when traveling along Lake Michigan's southern coastline.^{39, 40, 41, 42}



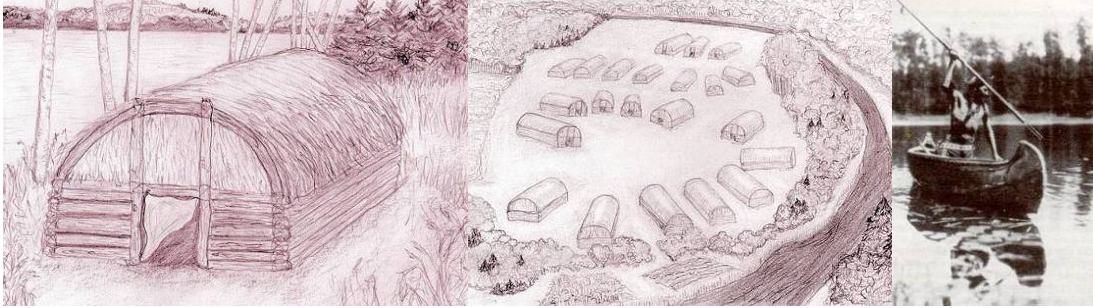
Figs 10a,b,c: Anishnabek family, Meeting European explorers, Anishnabek warrior

For those who resided in northwestern Michigan's Lower Peninsula, the large bays and the mouth of the river at the south end of the western bay were particularly important. The river is located so that its last course before joining the bay runs nearly parallel to the bay's shoreline. The Anishnabek frequently used the point of land at the mouth of the river as a staging area where they changed between canoe travel and overland foot travel through the forests. For this reason, the land was still known as "Indian Point," long after white settlers built their city around it, and the Anishnabek returned to camp and to hold pow-wows there through the 1920s.⁴³



Figs 11a,b: Two photographs of Anishnabek camping on Indian Point

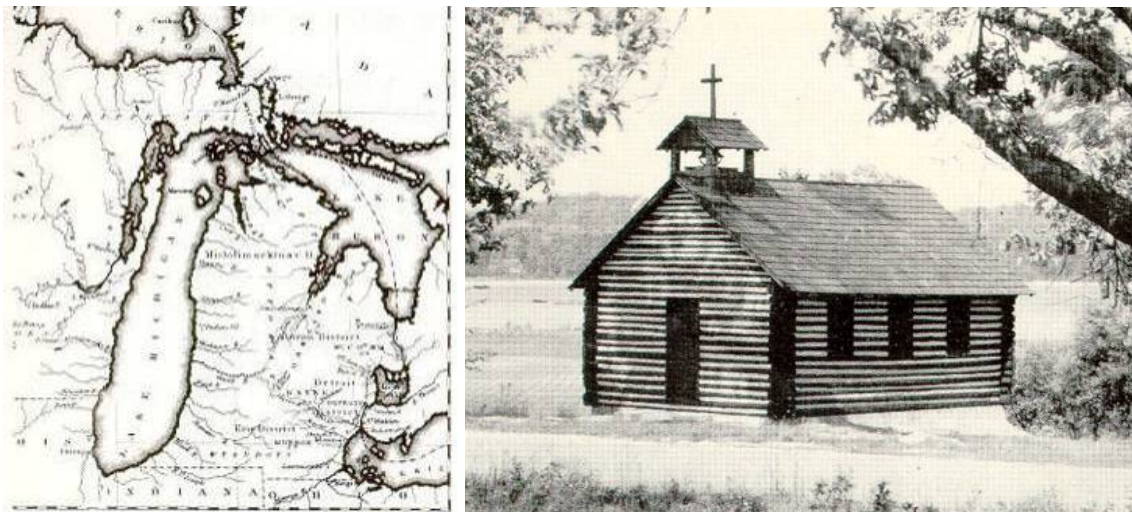
Members of a clan typically chose sites near water to build homes singly, in small groups, or in larger communities (based on family affiliations) such as the one at Old Mission. While their summer dwellings varied in size, shape, and material, the largest lodges, called wiigiwaam, measured 50-60' in length and could contain three fires. Villages often included separate buildings where the community's food was stored. The Anishnabek grew pumpkins, corn, beans, and potatoes in their gardens. In springtime, they harvested sap from maple trees for sugar. During the winter, they scattered to the forests to hunt and fish, and some brought back seeds of wild plum and other fruits from their southern hunting grounds.^{44, 45}



Figs 12a,b,c: Wiigiwaam, Anishnabek Village, Fishing in Canoe

1836-1847 Indian Removal Policy of the United States Government

The new United States government sent Commissioner Henry Schoolcraft to the Odawa and Ojibwa in Michigan in 1836, with a treaty. The two bands of Anishnabek agreed to act together, and ceded away two-thirds of the land that is now Michigan, but reserved one-third of the land for their own use and retained their hunting, fishing, and gathering rights on the ceded lands. This reservation was intended to remain in effect for only five years; after this time, the bands would be moved west of the Mississippi. Presbyterian missionary Peter Dougherty established a mission in 1839 on the north end what later became known as Old Mission Peninsula. He and his followers built a mission church there in 1842. Some of the Anishnabek scouted out the land to which their removal was planned, and became distraught upon seeing its dry, barren nature. Dougherty advised these Anishnabek to try to become citizens, so that they might be able to purchase available lands from the U.S. government and avoid being forced to relocate. From 1841-44, these individuals petitioned the Legislature to support their bid for U.S. citizenship, which it finally did in 1844.^{46, 47, 48, 49}



Figs 13a,b: Early map of Michigan, Mission Church built in 1842

1847- 1863 Logging and the Company Town

The United States and Michigan governments pursued a strategy of acculturation and assimilation of Native Americans. The 1859 Michigan constitution allowed

“males... of Indian descent” to vote, as long as they denounced their affiliation with any tribe. Most of the Anishnabek in Michigan managed to avoid deportation out west. In 1855, the Odawa and Ojibwa signed a second Treaty, dissolving their tribal organization and thus ending the threat of removal. The treaty reserved tracts of land for allotment to the Indians, including most of Leelanau County and some of Antrim County. However, a large proportion of this land could not be claimed by the Odawa and Ojibwa within the ten year time limit, due to a combination of federal laws, governmental mismanagement, illegal transactions, squatters, and the Anishnabek’s unfamiliarity with the workings of the land tenure system.⁵⁰

In 1847, Captain Harry Boardman from Naperville, Illinois purchased 200 acres of land between the lake and the bay from the U.S. government. This area included the river connecting them. His son, Horace, along with several hired hands, built a single water-powered sawmill on Mill Creek (now Kid’s Creek), to mill the Eastern white pine.⁵¹

In 1851, Perry Hannah, Tracy Lay, and James Morgan, owners of the recently-formed Hannah, Lay and Company, of Chicago, purchased the land, buildings, and mill from Captain Boardman. Hannah, Lay and Company immediately built their own steam-powered sawmill between the Boardman River and the bay. They cleared the river of debris, enabling workers to fell trees, skid logs out of forests over snow in winter, float them downriver during spring floods, haul logs into the mill, and load processed lumber right onto ships in the bay on the other side of the mill. A second steam sawmill was added in 1862. Logging would become less seasonally-dependent as big wheels, invented in 1875, and later logging railroads on narrow-gauge moveable tracks allowed logs to be transported year-round.^{52, 53, 54}



Figs 14a,b,c: Hannah, Lay & Company sawmill built in 1853 (1880 photo) and logs floating down the Boardman River, Skidding logs out of the forest over snow, Workers posing with big wheels

The use of the land, river, and bay for logging operations led to the beginnings of a village. Initially, Hannah, Lay, and Company was the only employer in town. The mill hands settled along the bay to the west of the new steam sawmill. Their homes were constructed out of mill slabs, and as a result the little community came to be known as “Slab Town.” As the number of workers grew, Hannah, Lay and Co. moved and expanded their small general store. In 1855, they constructed a 90-foot two story frame building north of Bay Street. This store eventually gained three additional sections, and included a general banking room and vault. Other retail, services, institutional buildings and residences

were constructed on the land nestled into the crook of the river. Saloons were established, and boarding houses, such as Bay House, Cutler House, Sprague House, Gunton House, and the Exchange Hotel, were built to accommodate unmarried workers.⁵⁵



Figs 15a,b,c: Captions: A Slabtown home (between 1860 and 1870), Hannah, Lay & Co. General Store on the Bay, Cutler House boarding house on the southwest corner of Front & Union Streets

Grand Traverse County was officially organized in 1851. The village was laid out by lumber baron Tracy Lay. In 1852, the establishment of a post office required the town's name to change from the unofficial "Grand Traverse City" to "Traverse City." Traverse City's first school started in 1853, with classes taught by Helen Goodale in a converted stable on the 400 block of E. Front St. Later, a frame school building constructed at the corner of Park and State Streets was used for church services, community gatherings, and classes. The Methodist Episcopal Church and the Congregational Church were organized in 1858 and 1863, respectively. Hannah, Lay, and Company donated land for the first courthouse and jail which were built in 1854. However, the wooden courthouse burned down just 8 years later.^{56, 57}



Fig 16: Hannah, Lay and Company's lumber schooner, the Oak Leaf, sailing to Chicago after the Great Fire in 1871

Until 1864, Traverse City was very isolated. Those seeking to reach or leave the town had to travel Lake Michigan by boat, or trek the Native American trails. This largely limited travel to the warmer seasons, as boats could not safely traverse the bay in winter. Hannah, Lay and Company purchased ships to

transport their lumber to Chicago. Connection to Traverse City improved with the construction of a road to the nearby town of Acme in 1857.^{58, 59, 60, 61}

1864-1871 The Road, Settlers and Agriculture

In 1864, after four years of construction, the Northport-Newago State Road opened. It was the first road to the south, and followed a Native American trail. At this time, stagecoach service was offered to both the Old Mission Peninsula and to Muskegon. In 1870, Henry D. Campbell established stagecoach lines that connected with the Grand Rapids and Indiana Railroad at Big Rapids. Although the road was not easy to travel in winter, it was highly traveled during warmer seasons, as new settlers moved to the Grand Traverse Area.^{62, 63, 64, 65}

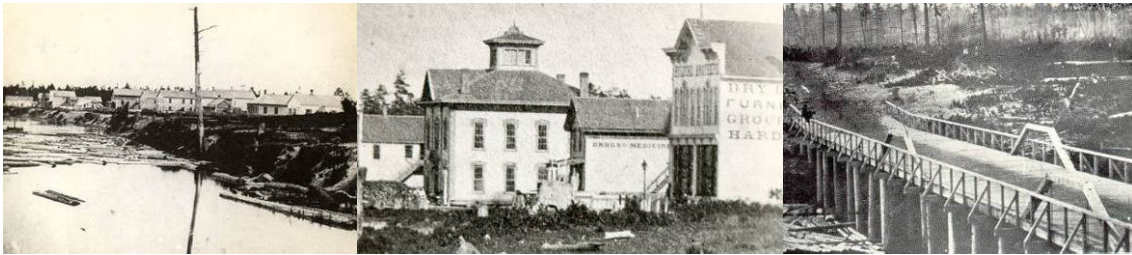
In the mid-1860s, a number of factors made Northern Michigan an appealing destination for settlers. Congress passed the Homestead Act in 1862, allowing any individual 21 years or older to claim a 160-acre parcel of public land, so long as they could pay a filing fee of \$18, live on the land, build a home, make improvements, and farm for 5 years. This was an incredible opportunity, especially for newly-arrived immigrants, farmers without their own land, single women, and former slaves. Unfortunately, this also meant that many settlers disregarded Anishnabek claims, and seized land. At the end of the Civil War, in 1865, many soldiers were paid in land grants. Those receiving land grants in the Grand Traverse Area who had little interest in living in Northern Michigan sold their land to lumber barons or to eager settlers.⁶⁶

In 1865, some of Traverse City's prominent citizens hired a state geologist to examine and report upon the suitability of land and the climate in the area for agriculture, with the hopes of attracting farmers. The report was very favorable, pronouncing the region's moderate climate and sandy soils well-suited for fruit production. A species of crabapple, *Malus coronaria*, was already present in the area before European settlers arrived. However, with European settlement, foreign varieties of apples were introduced.⁶⁷ The first cherry trees in the area were cultivated by Reverend Peter Dougherty in 1852 at his mission in Omena.⁶⁸ Farmers were delighted to find that the cool nights were favorable "for ripening of high-quality cherries and [producing] good color of McIntosh apples."⁶⁹ The most successful orchards, later, were those within 5-10 miles of the bay. In 1867, George Parmalee established a fruit farm on Old Mission Peninsula, specializing in apple production. In other parts of the area, professional men experimented with different varieties of fruit, including cherries. By 1868, potatoes were being grown as a cash crop for export around Traverse City.^{70, 71, 72}

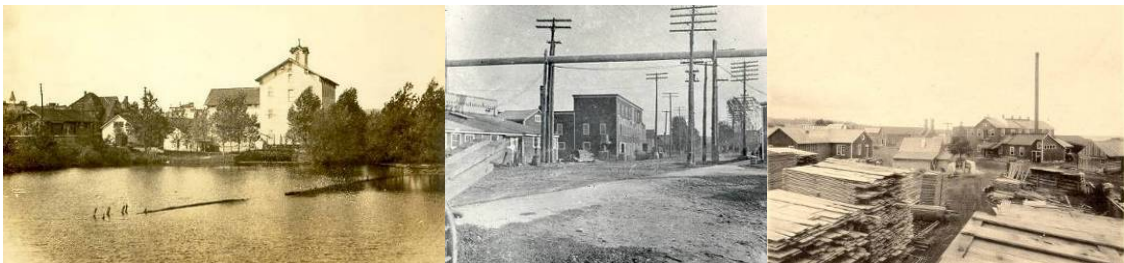


Figs 17a,b,c: Two photos of early homesteaders, The orchard of Dr. Kneeland

Meanwhile, Traverse City itself was growing. A building constructed on the corner of Front and Park Streets in 1868 by the Honorable D. C. Leach included county offices and a room for holding court.⁷³ New industries such as the Greilick Chair Factory and Greilick Manufacturing Plant, started by an enterprising former Hannah, Lay and Co. employee, focused on the use of hardwoods. Two newspapers, "The Grand Traverse Herald," started by Morgan Bates, and the "Traverse Bay Eagle," run by Elvin Sprague, competed within the small community. Hannah, Lay and Co. built new structures. These included the bridge at the foot of Union Street and a permanent dam on the Boardman River, between Cass and Union Streets, which was used to power the new four-story Hannah-Lay Gristmill. On Washington St. near Cass, the Methodist Episcopal Church was built on land donated by Perry Hannah, and dedicated in 1867. The Congregational Church at 302 Washington was constructed the same year.⁷⁴



Figs 18a,b,c: Front Street 1865, Leach Building on left in 1870, Union Street Bridge built 1866.



Figs 18d,e,f: Hannah-Lay Gristmill built 1869 on Boardman River near Union St., Greilick Chair Factory, Joseph Greilick's sawmill & factory, built 1871 at the foot of Union St. on the Bay

1872-1890 Railroads, New Markets and Growth

The arrival of the railroad, a reliable multi-season mode of travel, had been long-awaited and precipitated great change in all areas of Traverse City life. The first railroad to come to Traverse Bay was supposed to bypass Traverse City and to go to the town of Little Traverse instead. Citizens of both Traverse City and Grand Traverse County formed the Traverse City Railroad Company and raised \$20,000, which was matched by another \$20,000 from Hannah, Lay and Company, to build a branch of railroad from Walton to Traverse City. In 1872, the Grand Rapids and Indiana Railroad arrived in Traverse City. A temporary depot built at this time was replaced by separate freight and passenger depots in 1884. The railroad was a great boon for both commerce and personal travel; along with lumber, potatoes were among the first cargoes exported from the region. Easier travel

also made Traverse City more accessible to the lecture circuit; for example it enabled Susan B. Anthony to speak about women's suffrage at the Ladies' Library Association in 1879. As Traverse City became more and more accessible, the population grew rapidly, increasing from 3,000 in 1884 to 4,000 in 1885.^{75, 76, 77}



Figs 19a,b,c: The Grand Rapids and Indiana Railroad, . This early 1890s view west from the railroad water tower shows the RR bridge over the Boardman River (left), near its mouth into West Grand Traverse Bay (right), Loading potatoes onto railroad cars in 1898

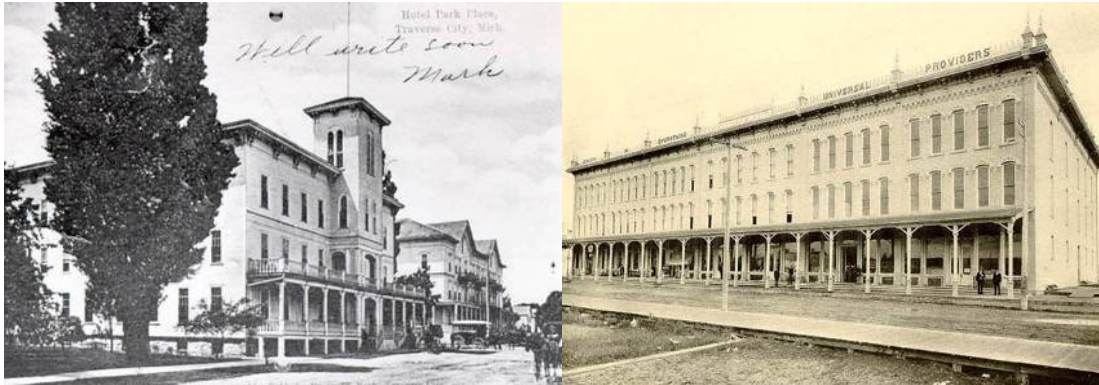
Railroads didn't provide the only new connection to the outside world. Michigan Bell Telephone ran lines to Traverse City from Charlevoix and Elk Rapids in 1875, and a telegraph line connected the post office to the Grand Rapids and Indiana Railroad depot.



Fig 20: Clara Belle, purchased by Hannah, Lay & Company in 1876

Regular telephone service was established in 1884. Local travel by water also improved, with Hannah, Lay, and Company steamers "Clara Belle" and "City of Grand Rapids" offering service to Northport, New Mission, Suttons Bay and Bowers Harbor, Petosky and Mackinaw.^{78, 79}

Growth of retail and services continued downtown. In 1873, Henry D. Campbell built Campbell House, a hotel on Park and State Streets, to serve visitors. Hannah, Lay, and Company bought Campbell House in 1879, and added a 3-story Annex across Park St. in 1880. The immense Hannah, Lay, and Company Mercantile Building opened on the corner of Front and Union in 1863. Hailed as the biggest general store north of Grand Rapids (possibly the largest general store in Michigan), the three story building included six large departments, a bank vault, and a generator in the basement to provide the first electricity in town. Traverse City was dramatically different from most other company towns, due to the character of its founding fathers. Instead of trying to monopolize business, as would have been typical in company towns, Traverse City's lumber barons encouraged growth by providing start-up capital for enterprising workers who wished to open competing stores and industries. One prominent competing dry goods store, operated by former Hannah, Lay and Co. employees J. W. Milliken and Frank Hamilton, opened in 1874 and moved into a new building on the corner of Front and Cass, which they shared with the First National Bank, in 1889.⁸⁰



Figs 21a,b: The Campbell House built 1873 on the corner of State and Park Streets, The Annex, which was connected by an enclosed walkway over Park St., was built in 1880. The Hannah, Lay & Company Mercantile Building



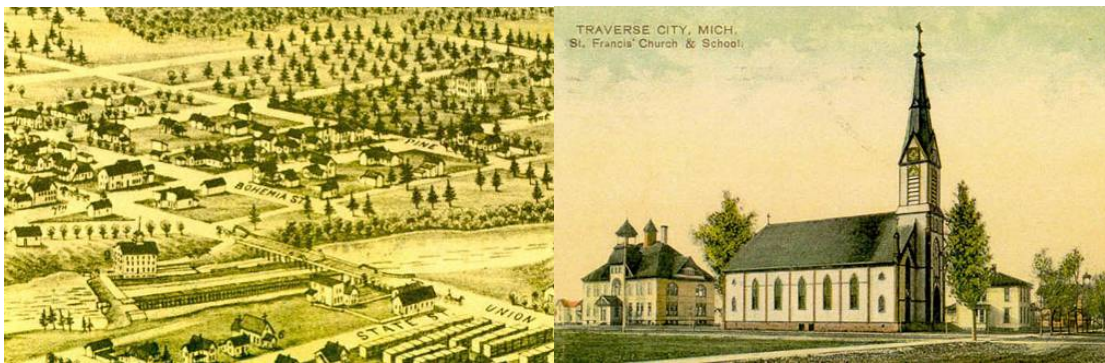
Figs 21c,d,e: Interior of Mercantile, The Milliken-Stage Building, Interior of Milliken-Stage

Traverse City's institutions were growing at this time as well. In 1881, Traverse City was incorporated as a village, with Perry Hannah as president. Central School was built in 1877 at the current location of Central Grade School, and Traverse City High School was built in 1886. A Fire Station was constructed on the corner of Union and Seventh Streets. Traverse City's first water works were built by Judge Campbell in 1881, and his sons joined him to build Traverse City's first electric light and power plant at the same site in 1885. The new jail and sheriff's quarters were completed in 1884. The Northern Michigan Asylum (later known as the State Hospital) opened in 1885 under the direction of Dr. James Decker Munson. Occupational therapy and contact with nature were an important part of treatment at the Asylum. The patient population increased from 43 to more than 400 within one month, and soon became one of the largest employers in Traverse City.^{81, 82} A multitude of religious organizations and structures sprang up, including the Baptist Church at 244 Washington Street and St. Paul's Church (later to become Grace Episcopal) on State Street (both built in 1874), as well as Congregation Beth-el at 311 S. Park Street, south of Washington Street, in 1885. The Friends (the Quaker Church) began meeting, and St. Francis Catholic Church was built on Cass and 10th Street in 1887.^{83, 84, 85}



Figs 22a,b,c: Jail & Sheriff's Quarters built 1884, Congregation Beth-el built 1885, Northern Michigan Asylum built 1885

St. Francis became the nucleus of the already-thriving Bohemian community that had grown up south of the Boardman River, as new immigrants arrived to work at the sawmills from the 1850s through the 1870s. Concentrated around Union and 8th Streets, the Bohemians built homes of modest size, exhibiting a great variety of styles and individuality that was expressed in fine woodcarving and small details. This neighborhood gained three additional amenities in the late 1880s: the Wilhelm Bros. Clothing and Dry Goods Store, built on the northeast corner of Union and 8th Street in 1885; Novotny's Saloon, built in 1886 at 423 S. Union Street, and the Cesko Slovansky Podporujici Spolecnost community lodge hall, built in 1887 at 320 S. Union Street.^{86, 87}

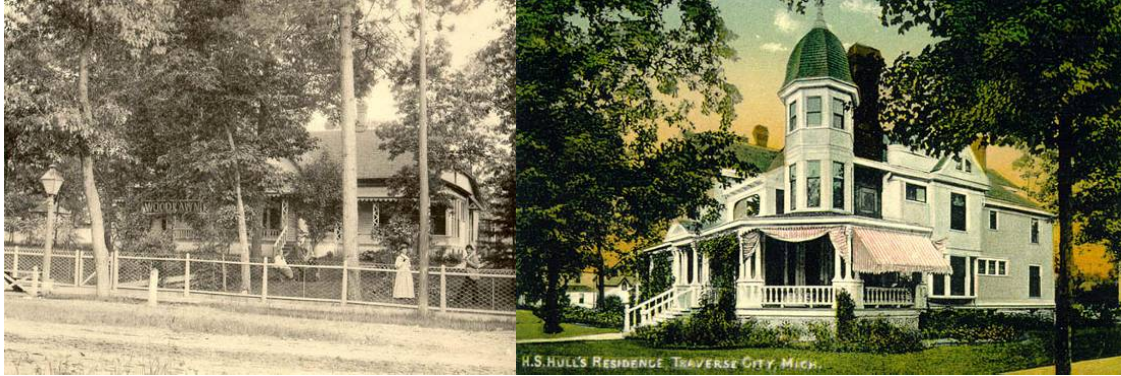


Figs 23a,b: 1879 Aerial view drawing of Traverse City's south side (with Union Street Bridge in foreground), St. Francis Church on Cass and 10th Streets built 1887



Figs 23c,d,e: Cesko Slovansky Podporujici Spolecnost lodge hall built 1887, View looking north along Union St. from 9th Street, View north along Union from 8th Street

While members of the working class - including mill hands, factory workers, clerks and carpenters - lived in boarding houses or at the perimeter of the city, the families of business and professional people began to form a neighborhood around Washington Street, east of Boardman Avenue and south of Front Street. Eventually, this became the Boardman neighborhood, which soon extended to Railroad and Eighth Streets. The earliest houses in the Boardman neighborhood were carpenter's cottages, which gained additions as families grew. In the early 1880s, the fanciful and romantic Queen Anne style of architecture appeared in Traverse City. Characterized by steeply-pitched roofs, asymmetrical gables, towers, turrets, and copious amounts of gingerbread, part of the appeal of this style was that its surface decoration allowed for a great range of individuality, even amongst houses of the same exact structure.^{88, 89}



Figs 24a,b: 1890 photograph of Woodlawn built in the 1880s at 516 Washington St., The Victorian home of Oval Wood Dish President Henry S. Hull, built on the northeast corner of Washington and Wellington Streets in 1894

The look of the downtown streets was changing too: in 1878, Washington St. was graded, clayed, and graveled from Boardman Ave. to 244 Washington. In 1886, Front Street between Cass and Park was improved with a curbing of blue Euclid stone and sewers to carry water away. Front Street bore raised boardwalks on either side of the street near its intersection with Union. A year later, street numbers were established with odd numbers on the east and north sides of the streets, running consecutively up from the corner of Front and Union. Bridges were built at W. Front Street and at 8th and Boardman Ave.⁹⁰



Figs 25a,b,c: Aerial view drawings of Traverse City in 1879

The United States government continued to push for the assimilation of Native Americans, through the Dawes General Allotment Act of 1887. This act divided up the least desirable tribal lands for use by individual Native Americans. This undermined traditional tribal ties and lifestyles of indigenous peoples, while making the remaining land available for non-Native Americans. Around the same time, schools for Native American children were established. Children were often taken far from their homes and families, deprived of the use of their native languages, and indoctrinated into the ways of mainstream Americans.

1890s Culture, Recreation, Tourism and New Industries

The 1890s ushered in a new era of culture and recreation for Traverse City. Believing that the city was ready for the next step in its cultural evolution, Perry Hannah persuaded Charles Wilhelm, Anthony Bartak, and Frank Votruba to build a much larger structure to serve as home for their mercantile, grocery, dry goods, carriage and leather goods stores and would also include a Victorian-style, 1,200-seat opera house. In its early years, the City Opera House served as a venue for

“concerts, traveling plays, vaudeville shows, high school graduations, dinners and balls.” Steinberg’s Grand Opera House, seating 900, was completed just three years later, farther east on the north side of Front Street, and also provided delightful live entertainment and culture for its patrons until the rise of motion pictures and concurrent decline of live shows in the late 1910s caused it to close.⁹¹



Figs 26a,b,c: 1930s photo of the City Opera House built 1891, Frank Votruba’s Leather goods store on first floor of the City Opera House Building, Julius Steinberg’s Grand Opera House built 1894

Outdoor recreational opportunities increased, as the city leased land bounded by Union, Division, 11th, and 14th Streets for a park. The park contained a baseball diamond and mile track. The Leach Building was moved back from Front Street so that it opened on Park Street instead of Front Street, and an ice-skating rink was put in on its former site in the winter of 1893. Traverse City’s first golf course was constructed on land provided by Perry Hannah. Traverse City’s high-society organized the exclusive social and recreational We-Que-Tong Club, and members built a three-story clubhouse at the mouth of the Boardman River, between the river and the bay, with an area in the lowest level for docking pleasure craft.^{92, 93}

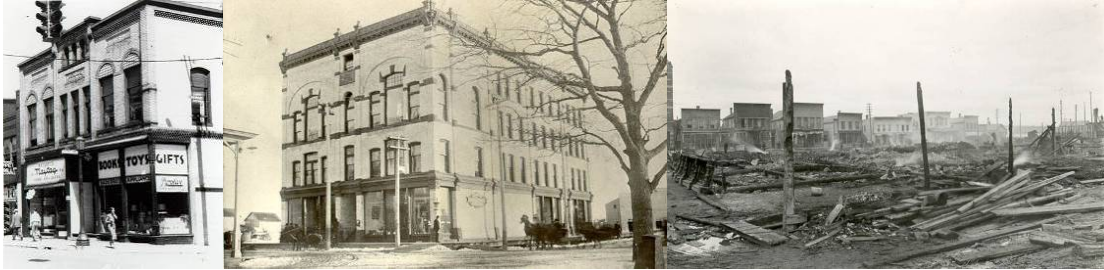
Residents were not the only ones to benefit from these new amenities. Traverse City continued to become more accessible with the arrival of the Chicago and Western Michigan Railroad in 1890, and the Manistee and Northeastern Railroad in 1892, allowing tourists from the south to seek the cooler summer weather and scenic vistas of northwestern Michigan. Visitors attracted by the clean lakes, sandy beaches, woodlands, hills, and valleys arrived to spend their summer vacations at local resorts, guest houses and hotels.⁹⁴



Figs 27a,b,c: The We-Que-Tong Club, Bicyclists on the beach in 1896, Manistee and Northeastern Railroad Depot, built 1892 near Union and Bay Streets

Downtown continued to grow and prosper, with the addition of the Masonic, Beadle, Munson, and Wurzburg Buildings, and the Whiting Hotel. The most devastating fire in the history of Traverse City’s downtown occurred in 1896,

destroying most of the wooden buildings on the south side of Front Street between Park and Cass. All of these structures were replaced with brick buildings.⁹⁵



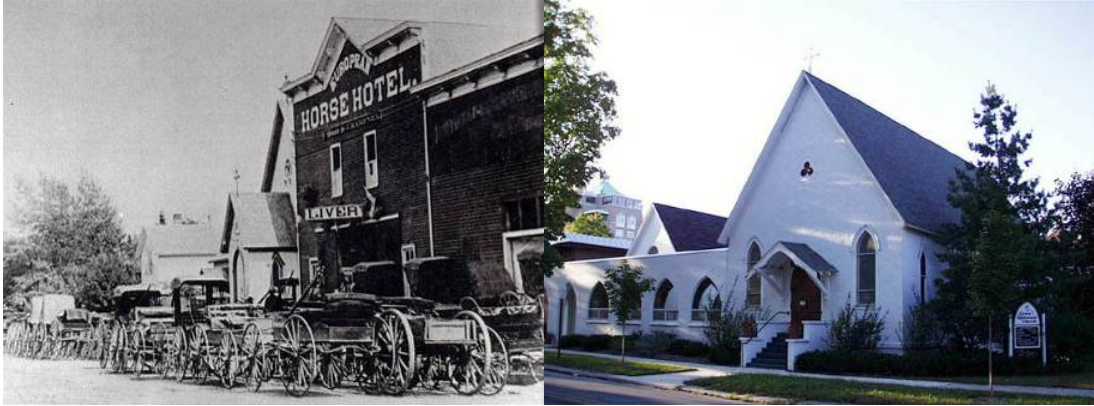
Figs 28a,b,c: Beadle Building (northwest corner of Front and Cass Streets) built 1892, Masonic Hall (southeast corner of Front and Union Streets) built 1890, Destruction caused by 1896 fire

In 1895, Traverse City officially became a city, with a city charter and Perry Hannah as President. Services and utilities increased. A new Fire Station was built on Cass Street. Consumer Oil Company began daily deliveries of kerosene and gasoline by tank wagon, and the first bulk fuel station opened on Gillis Street. The new Boardman River Electric Light and Power Company began servicing not only businesses and residences, but was also contracted by the city to provide electricity for streetlights. Northern Telephone came to Traverse City in 1898 and strung wires on poles along the city streets. However, they were soon taken over by Citizens Telephone Company, which buried the downtown lines underground, began providing rural service, and by 1900, established long distance connections with the rest of the state. Public transportation began in 1894 with new horse-drawn city bus lines that ran from the Asylum to Union Street and on to Front Street, and from Oak Park down Washington St. and back to Front Street.^{96, 97}



Figs 29a,b,c: Firehouse (on the corner of Cass St. and the alley between Front and State Streets) built 1890, Electricity poles along Front Street in 1896, Citizens Telephone Company cross-connecting room 1903

In 1897, a speed law for horses was passed, limiting speeds to 8 mph on Front Street, and 12 mph on Union Street. State Street was becoming populated largely by livery stables; the stench and flies of the European Horse Hotel next-door to Grace Episcopal Church motivated the clergy and parishioners to physically move the church building three blocks, to a new location on Washington Street.^{98, 99}



Figs 30a,b: The European Horse Hotel next to Grace Episcopal Church, Grace Episcopal Church, recently torn down, on Washington St.

Farmers had long considered fruit trees to be a secondary source of income, alongside their main crops. However, by 1890, many found that it was more profitable for them to focus their production on cherries and other fruits, rather than on grains and vegetables. Orchards, vineyards, and berry farms thus became increasingly popular, while potato farming continued to flourish.¹⁰⁰

New industries utilizing hardwoods, as well as those capitalizing on Traverse City's burgeoning commercial fruit and potato production, popped up all along the city's many waterfronts. The hardwood industries included W.E. Williams Company, the Wells-Higman Basket Factory (which produced containers for picking, shipping, and storing fruit), Oval Wood Dish Factory (one of the city's largest employers for many years), and Fulghum Manufacturing Company. J.C. Morgan bought a cider mill at the foot of Union Street, on the bay, from Hannah, Lay and Company, and soon built a cold storage plant nearby. The Potato Implement Company manufactured sprayers, dusters, and the locally-invented seed/corn hand planters, for worldwide distribution. Michigan Starch Company, producing potato and then corn starch, opened on the bay, but closed within four years.¹⁰¹



Figs 31a,b,c: W.E. Williams Company 1890, (south of 8th Street, west of Boardman River), Baskets from Wells-Higman Basket Factory (south corner of 8th & Wellington Sts.) built 1892, Oval Wood Dish Factory relocated to the shore of Boardman Lake (southwest of the Railroad Depot), from Mancelona in 1892



Figs 31d,e: J.C. Morgan Cider Mill, purchased 1892 from Hannah, Lay & Co., Michigan Starch Company (1899-1903) on Bay St.



Fig 31f: Major Industrial Sites in Downtown Traverse City

1900-1910 Construction Extravaganza

The first decade of the twentieth century was Traverse City's most prolific period of growth. From 1900 to 1905, almost 500 buildings were constructed, forming the core of today's city.¹⁰² By 1910, the city's population had grown to 12,115.¹⁰³ Some of the most notable structures built during this decade were:¹⁰⁴

- Emanuel Wilhelm's five-story brick "skyscraper," home to the Traverse Theatre¹⁰⁵, and later, Traverse Hotel (This building lost its top three stories in a fire in 1970.)
- The stone and brick County Courthouse on Washington Street and Boardman Avenue
- The Traverse City State Bank on the northwest corner of Front and Union Streets
- The Carnegie Library on Sixth Street
- Traverse City's first Post Office Building on the corner of State and Cass Streets
- The Ladies' Library Building on Cass Street, just south of the new Post Office.



Figs 32a,b,c: The Emanuel Wilhelm building (on the southwest corner of Front and Union Streets), built 1900, The County Courthouse (on the southeast corner of Washington Street and Boardman Avenue) built 1900, The Traverse City State Bank (on the northwest corner of Front and Union Streets) built 1902



Figs 32d,e,f: The Carnegie Building (at 322 Sixth Street) built 1904, The Post Office (later to become City Hall, on the southeast corner of State and Cass Streets) built 1905, The Ladies Library (at 216 S. Cass Street) built 1909

Significant residential construction also occurred during this period. The completion of Perry Hannah's immense Victorian house on Sixth Street in 1894 made this street suddenly fashionable, and other well-to-do families subsequently located here. Hannah approved each plan before a new home was built on Sixth Street. Preferring order, symmetry, and a certain unity of appearance, Hannah platted the lots himself, and specified that all homes along Sixth Street be set back the same distance from the street. (This may have been one of Traverse City's first *documented* efforts to regulate building standards that would not be codified as law until about fifty years later.) Although many of the new homes were in the Queen Anne style, by the late 1890's frustration with the amount of maintenance required for this style caused an adverse reaction, and large, square neo-Colonial homes or Georgian-Colonial homes became popular.^{106, 107} Although a cemetery sat across Sixth Street from his new home, Perry Hannah had the graves (including those of some Native Americans) relocated to Oakwood Cemetery, making way for a new park.¹⁰⁸ The construction of Hannah Park along the south shore of the Boardman River, right next to the site of the soon-to-be-built public library, was yet another attraction for prospective new home-owners. Central Neighborhood grew outward from Sixth Street, and today is roughly bounded by 5th, Union, 13th, and Division Streets.¹⁰⁹



Figs 33a,b,c: Perry Hannah's house on Sixth Street occupied seven lots, the Carriage House in later years, The Cary Hull House built 1905



Figs 33d,e: Hannah Park, along the south shore of the Boardman River west of S. Union Street

More modest residences were constructed on the south side of town to house workers employed at a new railroad yard and roundhouse. Built in the early 1900s east of Lake Avenue, between 11th and 12th Streets, the roundhouse provided maintenance and repair services for steam engines of all three of Traverse City's railroads.¹¹⁰



Figs 34a,b,c: New worker housing on E. 10th and 11th Streets and lumber ready for more houses on E. 12th Street, around 1905, Traverse City's Railroad yard and Roundhouse east of Lake Ave., between 11th and 12th streets around 1900

Industries in Traverse City and the region were kept busy supplying materials for all of this new construction. R.W. Round and Son foundry produced heavy castings for building columns and door sills. Traverse City Manufacturing Company made custom millwork, including doors, window sashes, store and office fixtures, and planing mill products. Southside Lumber Company manufactured hardwood interior furnishings for homes and businesses. A.W. Rickard specialized in marble and granite works, while Traverse City Iron Works,

on the southern shore of the Boardman River, west of Cass Street, also prospered.¹¹¹

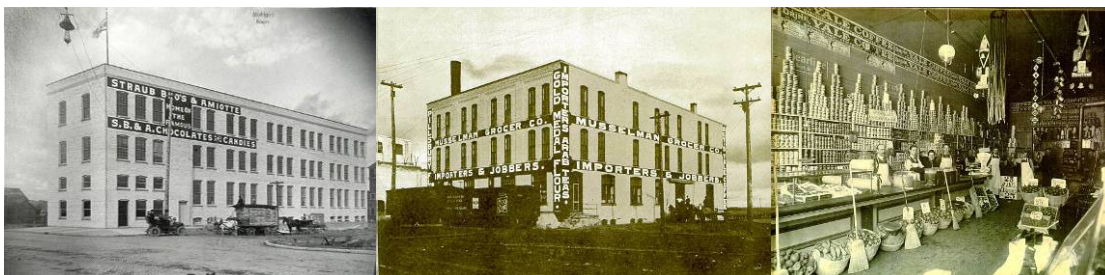


Figure 35: Southside Lumber Company (on Lake Avenue between 8th and 9th Streets), built 1900

Other industries complemented Traverse City's agricultural activities, catered to residents' sweet teeth, or increased Traverse City's importance as a center of regional commerce. Traverse City Canning Company, owned by Perry Hannah, Dr. C. J. Kneeland, and Birney Morgan, opened on Hall Street in 1902 and later moved to Lake St. J.C. Morgan (no relation to Birney Morgan) opened Morgan Cannery on N. Union Street in 1907. Women often earned extra income for their families by working in fruit-processing plants. Straub Bros. and Amiotte Candy Company constructed a new building on W. Front and Hall Streets, also employing mostly young women. In 1902, Musselman Grocery Company opened a large (3 stories + basement) wholesale warehouse on the bay, from which they distributed their products regionally and supplied local grocers.^{112, 113}



Figs 36a,b,c: Traverse City Canning Company on Lake St, Morgan's Cannery at the north end of Union Street built 1907, Women working in a cannery



Figs 36d,e,f: Straub Bros & Amiotte Candy Factory at the northwest corner of Front and Hall Streets built 1905, Musselman Grocer Company (on the Bay) built 1902, A neighborhood grocery store

Utilities grew and the city began to assume responsibility for some services. In 1900, H.D. Campbell and Sons sold their water works to the city, heralding the beginning of the Traverse City Water Department. The Traverse City Gas

Company, located on Hall Street (now the Candle Factory) manufactured flammable gas from coal, and distributed it to customers through pipes, starting in 1901.¹¹⁴



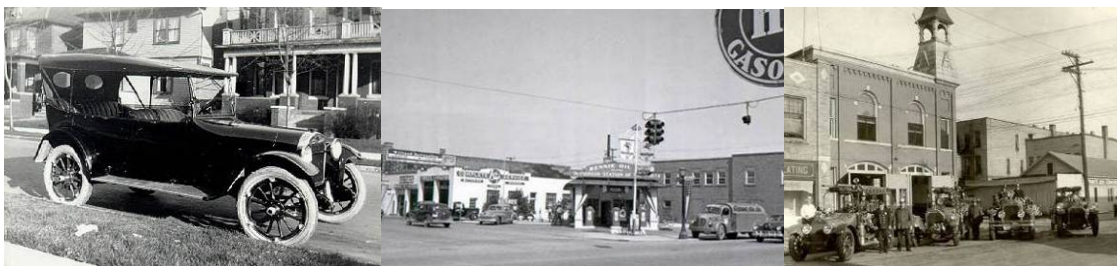
Fig 37: Traverse City Gas Company on Hall St. built 1901

1910-1924 Automobiles, Cherries and Economic Decline

The preferred mode of transportation in Traverse City changed between 1910 and 1914 as automobiles became increasingly popular. Dealerships such as the Grand Traverse Auto Company appeared on Front Street and more and more rough, potholed roads were repaired and paved with crushed rock. Traverse City even had its own automobile manufacturer, the Napoleon Motor Car company, from 1917-1924. Rennie's Oil Company, the city's first gas station, opened at 128 S. Union Street in 1918. In 1921, motorized bus service became available in town, and the firehouse also changed over to motorized vehicles in the 1920s.^{115, 116}



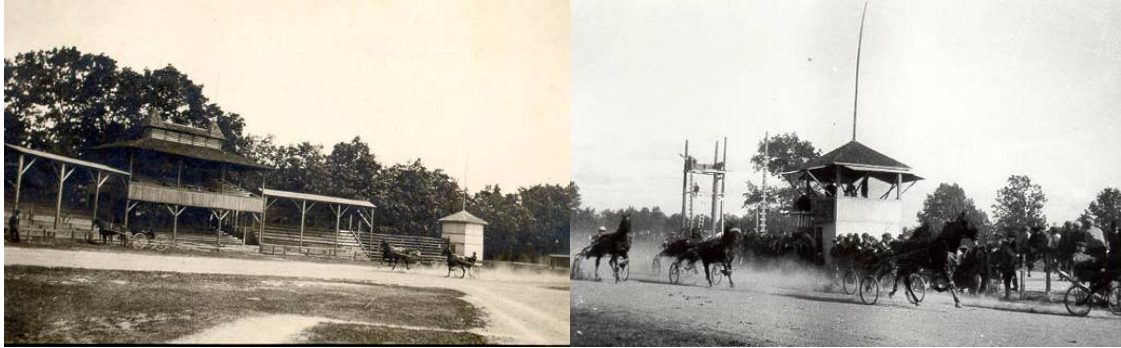
Figs 38a,b,c: 1912 photo of Columbia Transfer Company, Convoy of Ford owners preparing for a picnic sponsored by Grand Traverse Auto Company in 1914, Grand Traverse County road-paving crew in 1916



Figs 38d,e,f: An automobile manufactured by the Napoleon Motor Car Company 1917, Rennie Oil Company's "Pioneer Station of the North", Motorized vehicles used by Traverse City's firemen, outside Cass St. Firehouse

As automobiles became increasingly affordable and reliable, more tourists arrived, seeking peaceful relaxation or active recreation in Grand Traverse Bay's natural areas and cities. Camp Interlochen, a recreation camp for girls, opened near Traverse City in 1917.¹¹⁷ The Boardman River's charm for fishermen was enhanced in 1913 when it was stocked with 56,000 rainbow trout.¹¹⁸ The

Northwestern Michigan Fair found a home in land purchased from Howard and Isabelle Whiting by Grand Traverse County.¹¹⁹ In 1905, the Traverse City Golf and Country Club opened to Traverse City's elite with an eighteen-hole golf course that doubled as a toboggan run in winter.^{120, 121} Traverse City State Park was established on the East Bay in 1920. In 1918, a new attraction materialized downtown, with the opening of the motion picture-playing Lyric Theatre at 233-235 E. Front Street. Unfortunately, in 1920, the motion picture firm operating the Lyric Theatre also leased and closed the City Opera House to remove competition for its own film theaters.^{122, 123}



Figs 39a,b: Two views of racing on the County Fairgrounds



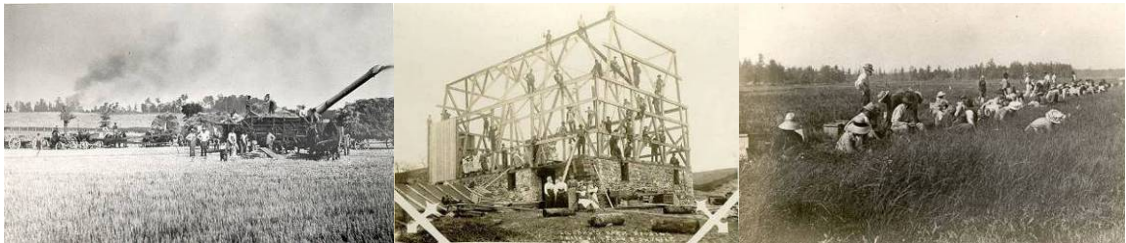
Figs 39c,d,e: Traverse City Golf and Country Club in warmer weather and in winter, Traverse City State Park on East Bay

A variety of festivals and parades attracted tourists, enabled Traverse City residents to connect as a community, and allowed merchants to advertise their wares with floats. Traverse City's Fourth of July Parade drew visitors from as far away as Manistee. Some of these festivals even doubled as service days, such as "Clean Up and Paint Day" in 1912.¹²⁴



Figs 40a,b: A Milliken Store float in a 1920s Fourth of July Parade, Clean Up and Paint Day, 1912

Agriculture was thriving in the Grand Traverse region in the early 1900s and 1910s. Barn-raising and threshing days served as social events as well as being efficient ways of pooling the labor of a group of farm families to achieve individual projects. Cranberries, raspberries, and ginseng were profitable to grow in the region, in addition to Traverse City's usual cash crops of potatoes, apples, and cherries. In the early 1910s, cherry production started to exceed apple production and in 1913, a half million dollar cherry crop led to Traverse City's recognition as the cherry center of the nation. 1914 saw the first refrigerated train cars which allowed fruits to be shipped across the country.^{125, 126}



Figs 41a,b,c: Threshing day (Elmwood Twp.) 1907, Barn-raising 1912, Harvesting cranberries (Walton Junction) 1909



Figs 41d,e,f: Ginseng farm (Grawn) around 1904, Potato buyer's station (corner of Union and State Streets, TC) 1910, Apple harvest (Old Mission Peninsula) 1918

From 1910 to 1920 industry declined due to the depletion of hardwoods. Many factories destroyed by fire were not rebuilt. In 1917, Oval Wood Dish Company moved to Tupper Lake, NY, taking 100 worker families with it, and precipitating an economic decline that lasted until World War II.^{127, 128} By 1925, Traverse City's population had declined to 10,925.¹²⁹

These were also a time of political turmoil for the United States. When the nation entered World War I, all aliens in Traverse City were rounded up and registered. Prohibition was in effect from 1920 to 1933, generating great enthusiasm for moonshine production amongst some portions of the population. In 1923, the Klu Klux Klan held a demonstration on Front Street.¹³⁰



Figs 42a,b,c: Oval Wood Dish Company, early 1900s, Prohibition-era sled bearing supplies for making moonshine, Traverse City's "Home Guard" organized after the United States entered WWI

Positive progress during this period included the first vote for women in a school board election in 1917, the organization of Traverse City's Chamber of Commerce in 1918, and the chartering of the Rotary Club of Traverse City in 1920.¹³¹

1925-1939 Festivals, Air Travel, Clinch Park and the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934

Traverse City held a new festival in the spring of 1925 to celebrate its new status as the "Cherry Capitol of the World." Complete with a cherry blossom queen, a parade with a multitude of blossom-bedecked floats, and a priest to provide the blessings, the Blessing of the Blossoms Festival was a delightful occasion for residents, business-owners, and tourists. Just three years later, the celebration was renamed the Michigan Cherry Festival, and was rescheduled for mid-July to take advantage of the abundance of ripe Grand Traverse cherries.¹³²



Figs 43a,b,c: 1925 cherry harvest, A priest performing the blessing of the blossoms in 1926, the Cherry Blossom Queen candidates



Figures 43d,e,f: 1926 Blessing of the Blossom parade floats

In the 1920s, a number of civic improvements made Traverse City easier to navigate. The North Cass Street Bridge was built over the Boardman River in 1926. A cobblestone fountain was installed in the center of Cass Street at the same time, serving as a home to a number to sturgeon during the summer months. Traverse City's first traffic lights were installed on Front Street at the intersections with Park, Cass, and Union Streets. In 1930 and 1931, dangerous old bridges spanning South Cass and Union Streets were replaced with two new bridges. The city was cognizant that the quality of bridges at these important locations could seriously influence tourists' perception of Traverse City. The Union Street Bridge, in particular, served as a gateway to Traverse City because of its location on a state and federal route. They took care to ensure that the design and materials used were aesthetically pleasing. The city's first airfield was established south of town on Ransom field, on top of Rennie Hill. A biplane named "Spirit of Traverse City" provided Traverse City's first air service to the rest of the state. In 1936, a new city airport opened on Garfield Avenue, and Penn-Central Airline began service there in 1938.^{133, 134}



Figures 44a,b,c: The Cobblestone Fountain on N. Cass Street, The old bridge at S. Cass Street (1892-1929), The new American Legion Memorial Bridge at S. Cass Street



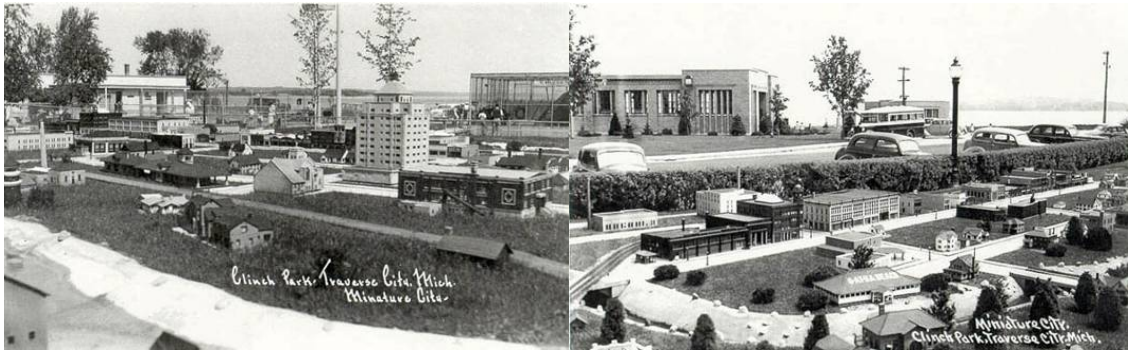
Figures 44d,e: The biplane "Spirit of Traverse City", The Traverse City Airport (1936)

In 1930, old factories and industrial waste still littered Traverse City's bay front. Traverse City Park Commissioner Conrad Foster spearheaded an immense effort of hundreds of volunteers in the early 1930s to clean up the waste leftover from industries on the bay, and to make a portion of the bay front into a public park.¹³⁵ The Michigan Starch Company Factory on the bay was torn down in 1922, and the We-Que-Tong Club property was sold to the city in 1935 (with the intention that it be used for park space). Clinch Park, as this section of bay front was named, grew rapidly. Conrad Foster convinced the Public Works Administration to hire locals to build three structures for the park. In 1930, an aquarium was built at Clinch Park to house local freshwater fish. In 1931, the Clinch Park Zoo opened at the end of Cass Street, and in 1935 the Con Foster

Museum was constructed.¹³⁶ Conrad Foster journeyed throughout the Midwest purchasing Native American and pioneer artifacts to display in the museum.¹³⁷ The Elsie Raff Hannah Bathhouse joined the other buildings on the bay, and a wading pool in front of it allowed swimmers to rinse beach sand off their feet before going indoors.¹³⁸ Another project of the Works Progress Administration was the construction of the small-scale buildings of a Miniature City, a permanent exhibit at the Clinch Park Zoo, to the delight of children and adults alike. The quality of the water also improved after the first sewage disposal plant was built on Boardman Lake in 1933.^{139, 140}



Figs 45a,b: The Con Foster Museum (1935), The Elsie R. Hannah Bathhouse



Figs 45c,d: Two views of the Miniature City

A number of industries, institutions, and businesses downtown experienced various combinations of closures, fires, renovations, and turnovers in ownership. The Hannah, Lay and Company gristmill burned down in 1926, while the Greilick Chair Factory and Straub Bros and Amiotte Candy Factory both closed in 1929. The old Park Place Hotel was torn down in 1929, and an impressive new nine-story Park Place Hotel was completed in 1930.^{141, 142} Many other buildings downtown were spared from renovation by the lack of available funds during the Great Depression.¹⁴³ By the late 1930s, many chain stores were moving into downtown Traverse City. The Hannah-Lay Mercantile closed, and in 1937, Montgomery Ward and Company moved in. Three years later, a fire destroyed the two east bays of the building. J. C. Penney Company opened at 243 E. Front St. A new Post Office Building was completed at the corner of Union and State Streets in 1939, and City Hall moved into the original Post Office Building.¹⁴⁴ Also in 1939, a farmer's cooperative, Cherry Growers Inc., opened a canning factory on the bay.¹⁴⁵ While all of this churning occurred downtown, the opening

of the Munson Medical Center on the State Hospital Grounds marked a hopeful beginning of a new occupational trend in Traverse City.¹⁴⁶



Figs 46a,b: Munson Medical Center (on State Hospital Grounds) opened 1926. Post Office (on the southwest corner of Union and State Streets) built 1939



Figs 46c,d,e: J. C. Penney Company (at 243 E. Front Street), Michigan Theatre (at 121 E. Front Street) built 1940, Park Place Hotel (on State Street at Park Street) rebuilt 1930

During this period, the US government acknowledged regret for its oppression of Native American peoples, and took steps to mitigate the centuries of persecution. The Indian Reorganization Act of 1934 provided a congressional sanction for tribal self-government and was meant to encourage economic development, cultural plurality, a revival of tribalism, and self-determination. The Anishnabek in the area applied for federal recognition under this Act but were denied.^{147, 148}

1940-1959 WWII, Second Industrial Revolution and Grandview Parkway

The United States' entry into World War II caused hardships for citizens across the nation, but the increase in production to support the war effort finally lifted the national economy out of its long decline. Many Traverse City residents were either directly or indirectly affected by the war. As during WWI, all "aliens" in Traverse City were rounded up and registered. In 1942, some Japanese-Americans were brought to Traverse City to pick cherries, followed by Jamaicans three years later. This marked the beginning of the era of migrant labor camps and their role the fruit harvest in the Grand Traverse Area.^{149, 150} Meanwhile, the Anishnabek applied for federal recognition under the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934 again in 1943, and were once again denied.¹⁵¹



Figs 47a,b,c; The Roll of Honor on W. Front Street listed local men and women serving in the Armed Forces during WWII, Air Raid Warden, Camp of migrant cranberry harvesters

The 1940s and '50s were a time of great technological advancement for Traverse City. Parsons Corporation moved to Traverse City at the behest of the Chamber of Commerce in 1942. They set up their Pureair Unit Kitchen Division in part of the old Greilick Factory. However, the company soon turned to production of



Fig 48: Equipment inside the Parsons Corporation

aircraft wing panels and helicopter rotor blades for military use. Machining the complex contours of these parts required meticulous calculations and care. Parson's method of operating machine tools automatically through commands received by their processing units came to be known as "numerical control," and its inception made Traverse City "the birthplace of the Second Industrial Revolution."^{152, 153}

Progress was evident in many other areas of life as well. In 1940, Traverse City adopted the city manager form of government. The Michigan Theatre was built at 121 E. Front in 1940, and included a roller skating rink below.¹⁵⁴ The first radio station in town, WTCM, was established by Les Biederman in 1941. The first TV station in the area, Midwestern Broadcasting Company, followed in 1954, opening on County Line Road M-72. Traverse City's first supermarket, Oleson's, opened on State Street in 1946. The supermarket moved to a new location on Garfield Avenue in 1953 where it expanded greatly and was claimed to be the largest supermarket in northern Michigan. Traverse City's Osteopathic Hospital was built in 1947. The Lyric Theatre burned in 1948, but quickly reopened as the State Theatre. Northwestern Michigan College was set up in an old Coast Guard building in 1952. In 1956, the city acquired its first dial telephone service.¹⁵⁵

Traffic patterns were changed to accommodate the increased traffic and to relieve traffic congestion downtown. Beginning in 1940, the city began planning the construction of a parkway along Grand Traverse Bay; Grandview Parkway was opened and dedicated in 1953. Its location necessitated the relocation of several companies and public amenities. The North Cass Street fountain was removed, and the Clinch Park Zoo buildings and animals were moved to the bay side of Grandview Parkway. The North Union Street Bridge over the Boardman River was rebuilt, and Front and State Streets became one-way streets in 1955.^{156, 157, 158}



Figs 49a,b: Two-way traffic on Front Street around 1950, Birds-eye-view of downtown Traverse City with Grandview Parkway 1953

1960-1970: Economic Diversification, 1960s Construction and "Open Space"

The next decade was characterized by diversification of Traverse City's economic base. Agriculture continued to thrive, and technological advances enabled farmers to use new methods of spraying, pruning, cultivating, and harvesting. The advent of mechanical harvesting reduced labor requirements and ended the migrant labor camps.¹⁵⁹ Tourism expanded to include recreation in fall, winter, and spring, as well as summer. Holiday Hills and Hickory Hills, which opened in 1949 and 1950-51, respectively, became popular skiing destinations.^{160, 161} Meanwhile, the Ahgosa Golf Course, with its reasonable prices and unpretentious atmosphere, was a favorite with Traverse City's working men.¹⁶² The first Traverse Bay Outdoor Art Fair was held in July 1961 under the ancient pine trees on the Northwestern Michigan College campus.¹⁶³

Northwestern Michigan College began training pilots in its new Aviation Program in 1967. A new County Jail and Sheriff's Quarters were constructed in 1965. New industrial and retail developments began. These included construction of Giantway Plaza, Traverse City's first shopping mall, on Munson Avenue in 1966.¹⁶⁴ The 1960s formation of the Downtown Traverse City Association, a voluntary organization of merchants and other businesses, allowed members to better market and promote Traverse City.¹⁶⁵



Figs 50a,b: Northwestern Michigan College entrance, Munson Medical Center in 2005

Fire, demolition, and new construction continued to change the look of the city. Fire destroyed Steinberg's Grand Opera House in 1963, and burned the top three floors of Wilhelm's 5-story building in 1970. The Park Place Hotel Annex was torn down in 1956, and the main part of the hotel was renovated in 1964. The Elsie Hannah Bathhouse was torn down in 1969. New buildings, all in the Modern style

characteristic of the 1960s, included the Chamber of Commerce “Blockhouse” on Grandview Parkway, a new wing added to the Carnegie Building for the children’s section of the library, and the 1969 Cherry County Airport.^{166, 167}



Fig 51: The addition to the Carnegie Building now houses the Grand Traverse Heritage Center

The people of Traverse City strongly maintained their support for the “Open Space.” Over time, the city acquired a significant amount of property along the waterfront.¹⁶⁸ More buildings along the bay were demolished: the We-Que-Tong Building was torn down back in 1945, and the Musselman Grocery Company Building and the J.C. Morgan Cider Mill were removed in 1969 and 1970, respectively.¹⁶⁹ Although there was some thought of selling the County Fairgrounds to a private developer in 1962, the plan was abandoned due to the public outcry. The fairgrounds were renamed the Grand Traverse Civic Center in 1967.¹⁷⁰

1971- 1989 Services, Competition for Shoppers, Renovation and Restoration, the Grand Traverse Band of Ottawa and Chippewa Indians

Services related to agriculture, government and transportation advanced in the 1970s and 1980s. In 1979, the Northwest Michigan Horticultural Research Station was established on the Leelanau Peninsula, with Michigan State University Extension in charge of research and educational programs. This station been an invaluable resource for farmers throughout the region.^{171, 172} The Governmental Center Building was constructed in 1979, to house both city and county offices.¹⁷³ The Bay Area Transportation Authority was established in 1985 to provide bus service around Traverse City, though this was not the city’s first bus service.¹⁷⁴



Fig 52: The Governmental Center, 2006

In the mid-1970s, competition from shopping centers, malls, and big box stores at the outskirts of the city and in the suburbs presented a dilemma for businesses downtown. At some points, there were 17 or 18 empty stores downtown at the same time. A summit organized by the Chamber of Commerce and downtown merchants welcomed all interested community members to participate and generated a vision of downtown Traverse City as “a place to shop, a place to work, a place to live, a place for recreation, and a place that [is] safe.”¹⁷⁵ The Downtown Development Authority formed in 1979, taking responsibility for retail



and office recruitment efforts, public improvements, planning and development issues, and the organization of the Traverse City Farmer's Market (later renamed for local community leader Sara Hardy).¹⁷⁶

Fig 53: Sara Hardy Farmer's Market, 2005

Traverse City's businesses, government, and residents have been reusing historic buildings throughout the city's history: some in a condition close to the original, others with a great deal of modification. The 1970s brought a new appreciation for the historic structures in the city, and the beginning of ongoing efforts to preserve and restore them. The City Opera House was put on national and state historic registers in 1971, and the City Opera House Heritage Committee began raising money in 1978 to restore the building. In 1975, City residents voted to remodel the Grand Traverse County Courthouse building and a campaign led by the County Historical Society President, Jennie Arnold, raised \$1.7 million to help fund the renovation.¹⁷⁷



Figs 54a,b: The City Opera House 2005, The County Courthouse 2006

The Grand Traverse Band of Ottawa and Chippewa Indians was officially recognized as an Indian Tribe by the United States government in 1980, under the provisions of the 1934 Indian Reorganization Act. The Tribe drafted a Constitution and formed a government, developing Tribal programs to serve its membership. An Economic Development Corporation established by the Tribe in 1983 enabled them to effectively launch businesses, including casinos. They provide many services and assistance to their members, demonstrate excellent stewardship of their natural resources, and strive to maintain a closely knit community that embraces its cultural heritage.^{178, 179, 180}

1970s- Present day: Community Amenities

The Rotary Club of Traverse City received a windfall in 1976 when oil was discovered on 400 acres of land that had been leased to the Boy Scouts since 1920. Within two years, they formed Rotary Charities, and proceeded to distribute interest income from the oil and gas royalties as challenge and

matching grants given to worthy projects throughout the five county region of Northwest Michigan (Antrim, Benzie, Grand Traverse, Kalkaska, and Leelanau Counties). The first such projects included Munson Medical Center's Biederman Cancer Center and Northwestern Michigan College's University Center and Dennis Museum. This group also purchased the closed Park Place Hotel and made major renovations and upgrades to the building. (They also managed the hotel for several years before selling it.) According to one local official, this project was considered one of the most significant investments to the downtown during the recession of the 1980's.¹⁸¹ In addition to health and education, projects focusing on affordable housing, environment, culture, recreation, strengthening families, and community capacity building have been grant recipients. Rotary Charities also supported the birth of the Grand Traverse Regional Community Foundation, organized in 1992, which "[develops and supports] a diverse collection of permanent endowment funds supported by a wide range of donors," manages these funds, and coordinates disbursement of resources through scholarships and grants for special projects involving youth, community, and the environment.^{182, 183, 184}

Several new recreational facilities have grown over the years. The Grand Traverse County Civic Center gained the Easling Memorial Pool and Pool Building, as well as the Howe Arena, in 1971, '73, and '89, respectively.¹⁸⁵ Later additions included a baseball field, a skateboard park, and Kids' Cove, an unusual and much-loved wooden playground. The Friends of the Traverse Area Recreation and Transportation Trail in 1989, and succeeded in obtaining the funding and support necessary to construct the TART Trail. The trail was paved from 1991 to 1995. In 1998, associations for the four trail systems: TART, Vasa, Leelanau, and the Boardman Lake Trail, joined together to form TART Trails, Inc. The East-Side Boardman Lake Trail opened to the public in 2005.¹⁸⁶ In 2004, the Clinch Park Marina was expanded to include a 500' break wall, a state-of-the-art floating dock system, a new harbor master building, and improved pedestrian paths and public access to the bay.^{187, 188}



Figs 55a,b,c: Grand Traverse Civic Center, baseball field, & Kids' Cove playground



Figs 55d,e,f: TART Trail, Leelanau Trail, Clinch Park Marina

Creative and performing arts are highly valued in Traverse City. Artists have been continually attracted to the natural beauty of the area, and the numerous galleries and art fairs held around the city give them the opportunity to showcase their work. The Downtown Art Fair has been held annually since 1977, while the much more recent (2001) Old Town Arts and Crafts Fair replaced the Old Town Bazaar.¹⁸⁹ The Dennon Museum at NMC, opened in 1991, includes an extensive collection of Canadian Inuit art, as well as changing displays of nationally and internationally acclaimed artwork.¹⁹⁰ The Music House Museum, which opened in Acme in 1985, houses a collection of rare antique instruments and music-making machines, as well as the 1931 Miniature model of Traverse City (donated by Howard Stoddard in 1993, and now undergoing restoration).¹⁹¹ In 1972, the Traverse City Civic Players, a community theatre group formed in 1960, moved into the First Christian Church which had been converted into Old Town Playhouse. The Playhouse was completely renovated in 1999.¹⁹² The first Traverse City Film Festival, held in July 2005, motivated many volunteers to help in the cosmetic restoration of the State Theatre, and has helped refocus some community attention on its planned renovation, which is still in fundraising stages.¹⁹³ Orchestras or bands in parks and ensembles downtown provide musical entertainment for residents throughout the warmer seasons. A new community festival, Friday Night Live, started in 1991. This downtown event recurs each Friday from mid-July through August, with food vendors, activities, and entertainers along Front Street, which is closed to vehicular traffic during the event.^{194, 195}



Figs 56a,b,d: Belstone Gallery (321 E. Front Street), Insideout Gallery (229 Garland St.), Art Fair summer 2005



Figs 56d,e,f: Concert in the Park, Interlochen student ensemble outside Bravo! (237 E Front), Friday Night Live!, 2005

Two important informational resources for the public are intimately connected by their consecutive inhabitation of the same structure: the Carnegie Building.

The Traverse City Public Library accumulated so many books that its collection could not be adequately housed in the Carnegie Building, by the 1980s and '90s. The Traverse Area District Library (TADL), a federated system including Fife Lake, Interlochen, Kingsley, Peninsula, and the Traverse City Public Libraries, was created in 1984. In 1999, TADL moved into a new building on the Boardman lakeshore, overlooking the new Children's Learning Garden that was created as the library's back yard.¹⁹⁶ The Friends of Con Foster Museum had been seeking a new place to show the collection, and in 2002, the Grand Traverse Heritage Center moved into the restored Carnegie Building, along with the Grand Traverse Pioneer and Historical Society, the Maritime Heritage Alliance, the Railroad Historical Society of Northwest Michigan, the Women's History Project of Northwest Michigan, and the Grand Traverse Area Rock and Mineral Club.¹⁹⁷



Figs 57a,b,c: Traverse Area District Library on the north shore of Boardman Lake, Universally accessible garden at TADL, The Carnegie Building, now home to the Museum of History at the Grand Traverse Heritage Center

Education mixes with environmentalism in a number of organizations. The Inland Seas Education Association began teaching kids about aquatic science, environmental awareness, and how to sail from their tall "schoolship" in 1989.¹⁹⁸ In 1993, the Land Information Access Association formed as a nonprofit corporation, "to provide technical, scientific, educational and informational services to individual citizens, local interest groups, local governments, and other nonprofit corporations for land use planning, resource management, emergency management planning, and environmental protection."¹⁹⁹ The Great Lakes Children's Museum, which opened in 2001, features hands-on, interactive, informal exhibits meant to stimulate curiosity and exploration.²⁰⁰ They have temporarily moved to Greilickville, while hoping to relocate when they find an appropriate space in downtown Traverse City. Adult education has been enhanced, too, with NMC's addition of their Michigan Technical Education Center in 2001 and their Great Lakes Campus in 2004. The latter includes the Great Lakes Water Studies Institute, the Great Lakes Maritime Academy, and the Great Lakes Culinary Program.^{201, 202, 203}



Figs 58a,b: The Hagerty Center at the Great Lakes Campus of Northwestern Michigan College, The Maritime Institute Dock

Recent Years: Brownfield Redevelopment, Current Renovations, Technological Innovations in Services, and Agriculture

In 1990, The Downtown Development Authority merged offices and staff with the Downtown Traverse City Association, and began to manage the city's parking system. A retail market analysis performed in 1991 determined that the success of Traverse City's downtown hinged on its ambiance as a "hometown place to shop," encouraging businesses to focus on local customers in order to draw both locals and visitors. The analysis also highlighted the importance of maintaining a sense of history to increase the appeal of downtown businesses.²⁰⁴

Along waterfront areas and downtown, a formidable problem was presented by brownfield properties contaminated by Traverse City's industries, utilities, depots and fueling stations. Developers were unwilling or unable to pay for the extensive clean-up that would be necessary before such properties could be redeveloped. Changes in Michigan's clean-up standards, along with new grants, loans, and tax increment financing opportunities, enabled local leaders, public officials, and developers to take a fresh look at redevelopment in 1995. Grand Traverse County established a Brownfield Redevelopment Authority in 1997, to write brownfield plans and apply to the state for brownfield incentives. From 1997-2004, Traverse City obtained \$27 million from Michigan's brownfield redevelopment program.^{205, 206}

The first brownfield redevelopment to benefit from such a grant was River's Edge, a mixed-use 2 to 5-story urban infill development connecting downtown to Old Town, at the former site of the old Traverse City Ironworks. Harbour View Centre, built with a brownfield revitalization loan that is being paid off with brownfield tax increment financing, is a mixed-use five-story building on Grandview Parkway near Hall St., where part of the Traverse City Gas Company's coal gasification plant once was. On sites that had been home to a gas station and car dealership, Radio Centre, a retail and office complex on the corner of Front and Park Streets, and the adjacent Larry C. Hardy Parking Deck (built by the city) were funded through a combination of a state brownfield grant and tax increment financing.^{207, 208}



Figs 59a,b: River's Edge, a mixed use community on the shores of the Boardman River (completed in 1999), Harbour View Centre on Grandview Parkway



Figs 59c,d: Radio Centre (300 E. Front Street) built 2001, Larry C. Hardy Parking Deck on State St, built 2001.

Abandoned properties present similar challenges that can be transformed into opportunities when the right combination of incentives and people are involved. The Traverse City State Hospital closed in 1989; in the early 1990s, the Grand Traverse Commons Redevelopment Corporation formed to save the historic structures and park-like landscape from destruction.²⁰⁹ A portion of the State Hospital structures have been renovated into Grand Traverse Pavilions, residential facilities including various levels of health care.²¹⁰ Other parts of the State Hospital, including the enormous "Building 50," are being restored as the Village at Grand Traverse Commons, a mixed-use, walkable community. This redevelopment is currently benefiting from incentives received both as a brownfield (some abandoned buildings qualify for this designation) and as a Renaissance Zone.^{211, 212}

In 2004, voters in Garfield Township and in Traverse City overwhelmingly approved three open space proposals: the first authorized funding for a joint township-city recreational authority to purchase the historic barns and 54.7 acres around them, while the second was an operational millage providing funds to purchase the former Smith Barney office building on Grandview Parkway, to purchase and maintain the 117-acre Oleson Field, and to maintain the State Hospital property and barns for twenty years.^{213, 214}



Figs 60a,b,c: Building 50 of the Traverse City State Hospital in the 1990s, Dining spaces in a restaurant in the Village at Grand Traverse Commons, Old State Hospital barn

A more unusual approach to renovation and new development is seen in the current (2006) Courthouse expansion project on Washington St. The existing



Bethany Baptist Church and Old Stone Church are being renovated and connected by a building that is largely a modern-looking glass block, but with a partial stone facade along the ground floor, meant to match and tie together the two stone churches. This structure will house the 86th District Court and Probation/Family Court.²¹⁵

Fig 61: 2006 Courthouse expansion encompassing two stone churches with new modern structure built between them

Technological innovations in utility and transportation services are helping to make Traverse City one of the more environmentally progressive cities in the state. Traverse City Light and Power, a community-owned municipal facility, erected a wind turbine in 1996 and has been offering customers the opportunity to pay the “green rate” which enables them to receive all of their electricity from wind energy. As of 2004, Traverse City Light and Power served over 10,000 customers, of which about 125 residential and commercial customers chose the green rate.²¹⁶ The Traverse City Regional Wastewater Treatment Plant was converted into the largest operating Membrane Bioreactor in North America by July 2004, increasing the plant’s capacity as well as improving the quality of effluent dramatically.²¹⁷ In 2005, the Bay Area Transit Authority unveiled a prototype, custom-made 27’ hybrid-diesel/electric bus, which is currently being tested along its regular fixed routes.²¹⁸

Agriculture has seen many ups and downs over recent years. In addition to apples and cherries, other produce such as plums, peaches, apricots, pears, chestnuts, and hazelnuts are currently grown for direct sale to consumers at fruit stands and farm markets. Grapes are also grown for local wine making.²¹⁹ In 2000, cherry supply far surpassed demand and a national effort to maintain cherry prices dictated that certain districts limit the volume of cherries that they could sell. Any further supply had to be marketed for a different purpose or stored.²²⁰ Although this seemed like a hardship at the time, an early bloom

followed by a killing frost in 2002 made farmers glad to have had cherries in reserve.²²¹ Such early blooms have been problematic in some recent years, with unseasonably warm spring weather.²²² The Montmorency cherry has traditionally been the most popular tart cherry in the area, but the development at MSU of the Balaton cherry, which blooms later and may therefore escape frost damage more readily, may help cherry agriculture in the future.²²³ To capitalize on tourist attendance, the National Cherry Festival dates were moved to encompass the July 4th weekend. However, in some years, this means that the Grand Traverse cherry crop is not ripe in time for the Festival, and cherries have been imported from Washington and Oregon to fill in the gaps in the past.²²⁴ Today, cherry growers emphasize the importance of finding unusual ways to market cherries, and honor individuals who create new cherry products.²²⁵



Figure 62a,b,c: Fruits sold at the Sara Hardy Farmers' Market, Vineyard and winery near Traverse City, Cherries growing in an orchard near Traverse City

Public interest in improving and protecting the ecological qualities of the Grand Traverse Bay Watershed has increased during recent times. Organizations involved in environmental conservation and restoration have become increasingly important. The Grand Traverse Conservation District, established during the Great Depression, has long provided planning, technical, and educational services related to land use and stewardship of natural resources. In 1991, GTCD created the Boardman River Restoration Project, which has been partially funded by grants from the Clean Michigan Initiative since 2001.²²⁶ The Grand Traverse Bay Watershed Initiative (now, the Watershed Center Grand Traverse Bay) was formed in 1990 by a number of groups devoted to "sustaining or restoring the bay's watershed to ensure the region's economic viability, high quality of use and employment for future generations." The organization has proceeded to take on projects that balance economic growth with environmental protection. In 2002, the watershed center became part of the Waterkeeper Alliance, creating the new position of Baykeeper. The Baykeeper is an advocate for the environmental health of the Grand Traverse Bay Watershed. Their responsibilities include: acting as a liaison between concerned community members and regulating bodies, working with local governments, monitoring pollution levels and enforcing standards, and conducting outreach and education programs. Together, the watershed center and the Baykeeper have developed an extensive watershed protection plan, and continue to coordinate community activities and restoration efforts such as the Boardman Lake Clean-up and the 2005 Kids Creek Restoration.²²⁷

The last major industrial structure on the city's bay front property, the Traverse City Light and Power Bayside Power Plant, was torn down in 2005. Today, Traverse City residents place a great emphasis on the importance of "The Open Space" to their community, and take great pleasure in the public ownership of such a large swath of bay front property. The public beaches and parks along the bay are enjoyed by those seeking recreation or just a beautiful view.²²⁸



Figs 63a,b,c: Former site of the Traverse City Light and Power Bayside Power Plant. Friendly Garden Club Planting Bed. View of "The Open Space" across Grandview Parkway

LAYERS OF TRAVERSE CITY: PAST AND PRESENT

Through the years, Traverse City has seen many changes. Logging gave way to industry which has now been surpassed by agriculture and tourism. Vehicles and parking have taken over from horses and liverys. Wooden frame buildings became brick and then steel. All of these changes have left their mark on Traverse City, and reveal themselves in subtle layers as one walks down the street or stands in the sand at the foot of the bay. The people of Traverse City comprise another layer in the landscape that reflects the past, present and future. Their decisions will influence the heart and face of Traverse City to come. It is therefore imperative to understand the foundation upon which they move, live, and work.

The following section describes the multitude of layers that create Traverse City, starting with its spine: the Boardman River. As discussed in the preceding historical monograph, the growth of Traverse City has been significantly influenced by the river. Subsequent sections describe the Traverse City residents of today, the built environment constructed by their descendants, and the character that these spaces portray. It is by examining these layers that we are able to learn, grow, and become inspired for the future.

The Evolving Boardman River

The Boardman River travels its last mile and a half through Traverse City before it empties into Grand Traverse Bay, just northeast of the downtown. For years the Boardman has been an integral part of the Grand Traverse region's economy and culture. Whether it was used for travel and sustenance of the Native Americans, for floating timber to the mills by settlers from the mid 1800s, or to generate hydroelectric power in the 20th century, the river has always been an asset to the region and city. Today recreation is also popular on the river, as it is a great place to fish, paddle, or dock your boat. A salmon harvest weir (Fig 64a), located immediately northeast of the Front Street Bridge, allows passage of small watercraft all year long except for September and October. Further upstream, the Union Street Dam (Fig 64b) prevents boat travel to Boardman Lake. A fish ladder (Fig 64c) here allows trout and salmon to migrate, while blocking upstream movement of sea lamprey. Hannah Park (Fig 64d) stretches along the river's southwestern bank for roughly a quarter of a mile and is one of the best places to get close to the river. Paved or dirt paths provide informal access to the river. Boardwalks allow pedestrians to walk along many parts of the river, including: Midtown, River's Edge, Hannah Park, and Front Street, east of N. Cass Street (64g,h,k,m). A stretch of sidewalk accompanies the Boardman River to its outlet into West Grand Traverse Bay (Figs 64n,o) .



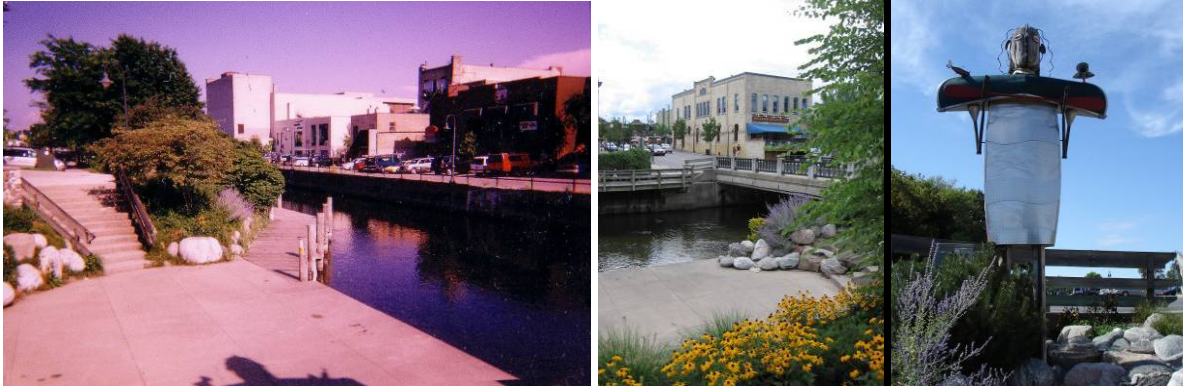
Figs 64a,b,c: The DNR fish weir near the Front Street bridge, The Union Street Dam, Fish ladder



Figs 64d,e: Hannah Park where residents and visitors can get close to the Boardman River, The shrub-enclosed area near the fish weir



Figs 64f,g: Bridges over the Boardman River, north of Front Street's 100 block and 200 block



Figs 64h,i,j: Landscaped mini-amphitheatre Plaza, N. Cass Street bridge, Riverman sculpture



Figs 64k,l: Vehicle parking and delivery access have been given priority along the southern edge of the Boardman River, Balconies facing the river along the 300 block of Front Street



Figs 64m,n: A treed area along Front St. near the Boardman Avenue intersection allows pedestrians to peek at the river, Wellington Plaza



Figs 64o,p: A walking path under Grandview Parkway, The mouth of the Boardman River

While Traverse City has been able to capitalize on the Boardman River in the past, recent news that three of its four dams may be removed as early as 2007 has brought new attention to the waterway. Studies like the “Boardman River Natural River Plan” and the “Boardman Lake Watershed Study of 2003” (BLWS) have shown the need for conservation and management of both the river and greater contributing watershed with better land use practices and sustainable stormwater management techniques²²⁹. The south side of the Boardman River, between the points where it crosses under Front Street and under Grandview Parkway, is retained with a concrete wall and a steel sheet piling wall. This wall was placed there in the late 1950’s when the main trunk line of the regional interceptor sewer was added²³⁰. This retaining wall reduces flooding risk for the buildings on the north side of Front Street and stops stream-bank erosion. Close attention should be paid to heavily paved areas, especially when they are directly adjacent to water bodies, as are the parking lots behind buildings on Front Street,.

While the sewer and stormwater systems are separated throughout Traverse City, stormwater is currently mostly untreated and flows directly into the Boardman River and bay. Best Management Practices (BMPs) should be used to prevent untreated stormwater runoff from entering the river. The BLWS reported nutrient and bacterial contamination in stormwater culverts along portions of the Boardman River that flow through downtown, as well as a pipe near the Cass Street Bridge that was releasing water at a temperature of 96.8 °F²³¹. Contaminants and high temperatures can have deleterious effects on the ecological quality of the river and bay, as well as contribute to potential health risks for users.



Figs 65a,b: A retaining wall on the south side of the Boardman River, A stormwater outfall on the Boardman River

As mentioned in the History section of this document, many groups are currently working to combat the deleterious effects of pollution and improve the health of the Boardman River and Grand Traverse Bay Watershed. Among these entities are the Watershed Center Grand Traverse Bay, the Grand Traverse Baykeeper, and the Grand Traverse Conservation District. The city has also recently received a grant to investigate the use of Best Management Practices along the Boardman. The Baykeeper has been actively working with the city government to implement more BMPs such as grease separators, rain gardens, and riparian buffer zones.

In addition to addressing the ecological needs of the Boardman, more can be done to highlight the aesthetics of the river and integrate it into the vibrant downtown. Buildings in the Central Business District have historically been built with a focus on Front Street, leaving a void behind the buildings which is currently used for little more than deliveries and parking.

As discussed in the Planning History portion of this study, Traverse City residents have recognized these issues for more than 50 years. The 1977 Comprehensive Plan highlighted many opportunities to enhance the Boardman River, as did earlier Plans. The 1977 plan explicitly stated that one of the community goals should be to develop the Boardman north of Front Street “as a commercial and recreational resource” with small shops and cafes.

The Contemporary Face of Traverse City: Demographics

Since the softwood lumber industry first moved into Traverse City in the mid-1800s, the city has grown substantially (Table 1). In the 1960s Traverse City reached its peak population; however, several events triggered a population decline in the latter part of that decade which has continued to the present. A key factor in the decline was the State Hospital’s reduction in the number of resident patients, causing many employees who lived in the city to find work elsewhere. The eventual closing of the State Hospital resulted in the largest decline - estimated at 3,000 people - in the city’s population.

Year	Traverse City	Grand Traverse County	Ratio of City to County Residents
1890	4,353	13,355	1 to 3.1
1900	9,407	20,479	1 to 2.2
1910	12,115	23,784	1 to 2
1920	10,925	19,518	1 to 1.8
1930	12,539	20,011	1 to 1.6
1940	14,455	23,390	1 to 1.6
1950	16,974	28,598	1 to 1.7
1960	18,432	33,490	1 to 1.8
1970	18,048	39,175	1 to 2.2
1980	15,516	54,899	1 to 3.5
1990	15,155	64,273	1 to 4.2
2000	14,532	77,654	1 to 5.3
2004	14,508	82,752	1 to 5.7

Table 1: Population of Traverse City, Grand Traverse County, from 1890 - 2004

While the number of dwellings in Traverse City have increased since the 1960s, the family size per dwelling has dropped sufficiently to result in a loss of overall population, even discounting the loss of the State Hospital residents and staff.

The removal of downtown buildings for surface parking lots has factored into the loss of population density in the downtown as many residents moved beyond the city limits into suburbs of Grand Traverse County. By 1970, the percentage of residents living in Traverse City made up less than 50% of the total population of Grand Traverse County, and has been decreasing since that date.

As demonstrated in Table 2 on pages 61 to 62, Traverse City has experienced several notable demographic trends. The population of Traverse City is, on average, older than those of Grand Traverse County, the State of Michigan, and the United States, with the median age of 38 being 3 years older than the state and national median age. In terms of race, Traverse City is less diverse than both the state and the nation. Its residents most strongly identify with German, Irish, English, and Polish ancestry. Relative to the state and the rest of the country, Traverse City residents possess a high level of education. 31.2 percent of Traverse City residents hold a bachelor's degree or higher, compared with 21.8 percent of Michigan residents. (This figure is 24.4 percent for the entire United States.) In addition, 11.6 percent of Traverse City residents have a graduate or professional degree, whereas this number is 8.9 percent for the nation. Although

median household income (\$37,330) and family income (\$46,912) is lower in Traverse City than in the state (\$44,667 and \$53,457) and nation (\$41,994 and \$50,046), per capita income is higher (see Table 2), and the percentage of families considered to be living below the poverty level (3.8%) is significantly less than these percentages for the state (7.4%) and the rest of the country (9.2%). Bringing additional permanent residents to the downtown in particular could create an even richer cultural environment, while also strengthening the ability of the city government to continue to provide the services and amenities that it does to Traverse City residents.

Geographic Area	Traverse City		Grand Traverse County		State of Michigan		United States	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Subject	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Total population	14,532	100	77,654	100	9,938,444	100	281,421,906	100
AGE								
Median age (years)	38.1	(X)	37.7	(X)	35.5	(X)	35.3	(X)
18 years and over	11,585	79.7	57,925	74.6	7,342,677	73.9	209,128,094	74.3
21 years and over	10,852	74.7	55,016	70.8	6,914,135	69.6	196,899,193	70
62 years and over	2,527	17.4	11,956	15.4	1,436,729	14.5	41,256,029	14.7
65 years and over	2,204	15.2	10,144	13.1	1,219,018	12.3	34,991,753	12.4
RACE								
White	13,950	96	74,945	96.5	7,966,053	80.2	211,460,626	75.1
Black or African American	95	0.7	307	0.4	1,412,742	14.2	34,658,190	12.3
American Indian and Alaska Native	142	1	724	0.9	58,479	0.6	2,475,956	0.9
Asian	72	0.5	383	0.5	176,510	1.8	10,242,998	3.6
Hispanic or Latino (of any race)	242	1.7	1,155	1.5	323,877	3.3	35,305,818	12.5
EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT								
Population 25 years and over	10,020	100	51,801	100	6,415,941	100	182,211,639	100
Some college, no degree	2,587	25.8	13,297	25.7	1,496,576	23.3	38,351,595	21
Associate degree	988	9.9	4,995	9.6	448,112	7	11,512,833	6.3
Bachelor's degree	1,964	19.6	8,504	16.4	878,680	13.7	28,317,792	15.5
Graduate or professional degree	1,160	11.6	5,016	9.7	517,579	8.1	16,144,813	8.9
Percent high school graduate or higher	88.7	(X)	89.3	(X)	83.4	(X)	80.4	(X)
Percent bachelor's degree or higher	31.2	(X)	26.1	(X)	21.8	(X)	24.4	(X)
ANCESTRY (single or multiple)								
Total population	14,551	100	77,654	100	9,938,444	100	281,421,906	100
Total ancestries reported	17,615	121.1	87,471	112.6	10,859,658	109.3	287,304,886	102.1

Occupied housing units	6,443	100	30,396	100	3,785,661	100	105,480,101	100
Owner-occupied housing units	3,805	59.1	23,521	77.4	2,793,124	73.8	69,815,753	66.2
Renter-occupied housing units	2,638	40.9	6,875	22.6	992,537	26.2	35,664,348	33.8
Average household size of owner-occupied unit	2.31	(X)	2.6	(X)	2.67	(X)	2.69	(X)
Average household size of renter-occupied unit	1.94	(X)	2.14	(X)	2.24	(X)	2.4	(X)
Specified owner-occupied units	3,489	100	17,669	100	2,269,175	100	55,212,108	100
VALUE								
Median (dollars)	124,600	(X)	130,400	(X)	115,600	(X)	119,600	(X)
YEAR STRUCTURE BUILT								
1999 to March 2000	83	1.2	1,642	4.7	91,872	2.2	2,755,075	2.4
1995 to 1998	276	4	3,799	10.9	272,594	6.4	8,478,975	7.3
1990 to 1994	163	2.4	3,782	10.9	259,389	6.1	8,467,008	7.3
1980 to 1989	577	8.4	6,203	17.8	446,197	10.5	18,326,847	15.8
1970 to 1979	1,108	16.2	7,743	22.2	722,799	17.1	21,438,863	18.5
1960 to 1969	566	8.3	2,773	8	602,670	14.2	15,911,903	13.7
1940 to 1959	1,507	22	4,353	12.5	1,123,299	26.5	23,145,917	20
1939 or earlier	2,557	37.4	4,547	13.1	715,459	16.9	17,380,053	15

Table 2: Traverse City and Beyond: Select Statistics of Interest from the 2000 U.S. Census

Evolution Of The Central Business District

Historical Growth of the Downtown

To gain a better understanding of the development of downtown Traverse City, several types of historical documents were consulted. The first method involved the analysis of Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps from 1884, 1904, 1929 and 1945. These maps were used by insurance companies to show potential fire risk to urban structures. They included numerous details about built forms, including building outlines, construction materials, building heights, and uses. For this character study these maps were used to create figure-ground studies in which all built structures inside the study area were outlined and shaded to definitively show the amount and location of development present in each time period. The same process was used with aerial photographs of Traverse City taken in 1961, 1981, and 2003. Together, these maps illustrate the evolution of the downtown over a period of 119 years.

To quantify downtown growth, Polk City Directories were used for the years 1894, 1929, 1940, 1962, 1980, and 2004. Streets were analyzed in the directories

on a street-by-street basis and the uses at each address were recorded as one of six possible categories: institutional, residential, commercial, office, industrial or vacant. When the data were tallied by period it permitted us to compare the distribution of uses over time.

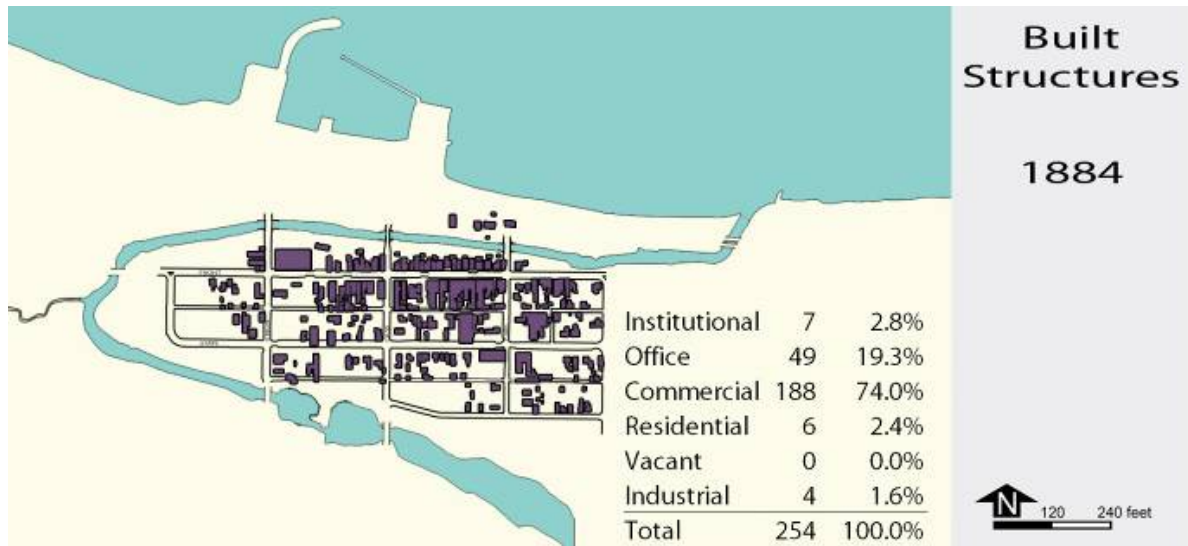


Fig 66: Downtown Traverse City, 1884.²³² Development occurs south of the Boardman River and is focused around Front Street. Beginning at Union Street, development occurs eastward with the peak building density between Cass and Park Streets. Private residences and boarding houses are dominant uses off of Front Street, with the exception of a few warehouses and liverys. At this point, very little development has occurred on the bay side of the Boardman River.



Fig 67: Downtown Traverse City, 1904.²³³ Development pushes eastward along Front Street and forms along State Street. The densest area of development occurs along Front Street between Union and Park while development north of the Boardman River remains minimal.

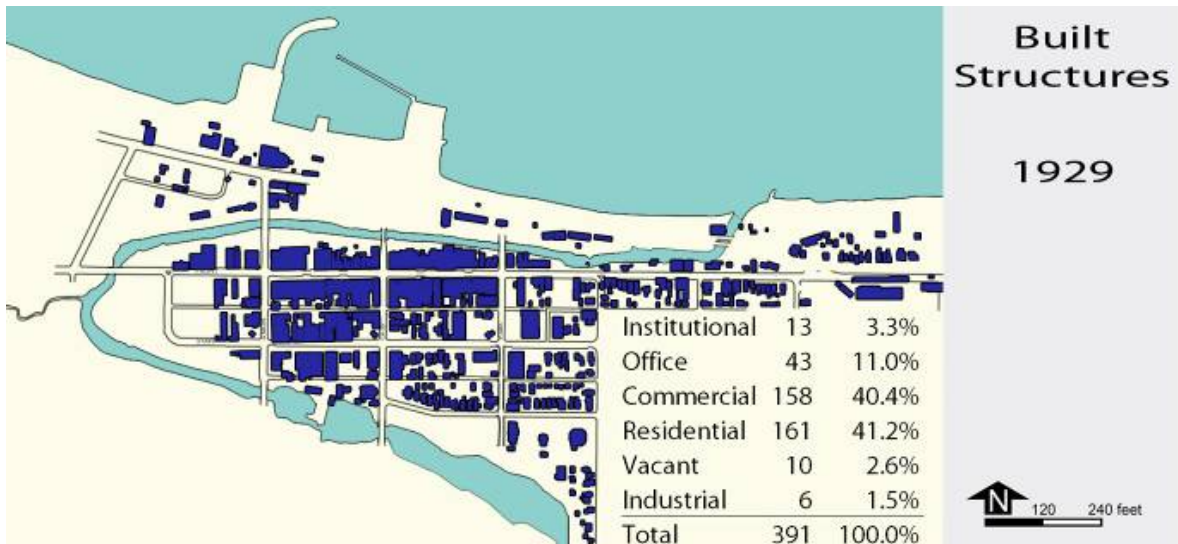


Fig 68: Downtown Traverse City, 1929. By the end of the 1920s, density has increased along State Street and extended further east along Front Street. This time period also ushers in the beginnings of an industrial district that is now known as the Garland Hall District. This industrial district is located between Union and Hall Streets, just northwest of downtown Traverse City.

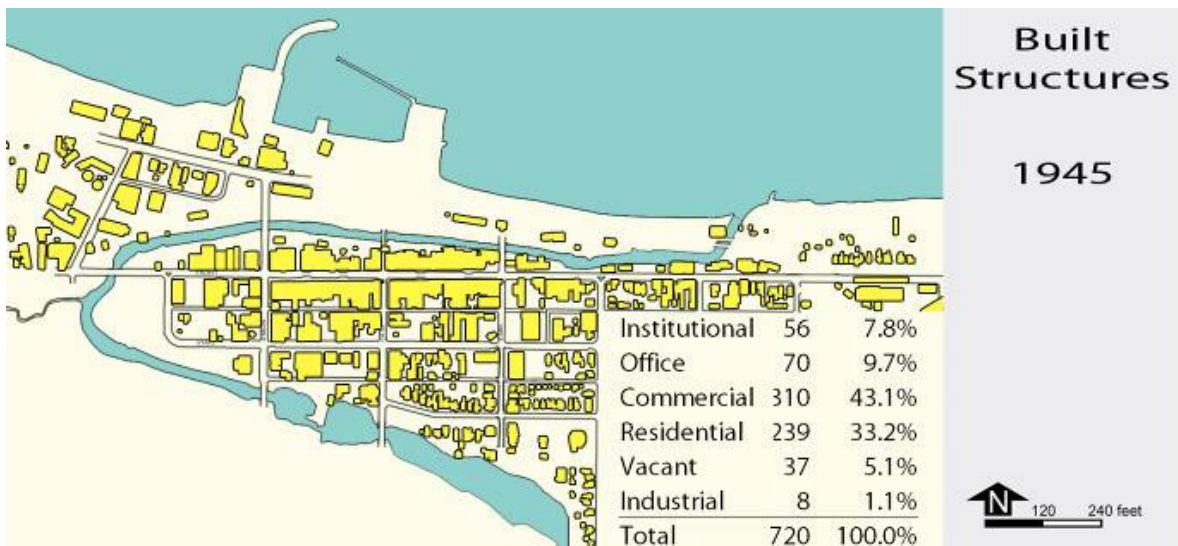


Fig 69: Downtown Traverse City, 1945.²³⁴ By the mid-1940s rail lines have promoted the creation of a bustling industrial sector and density has increased on the western edge of Front Street, just east of Pine Street. New development has occurred south of Washington Street at the edge of the Boardman River.

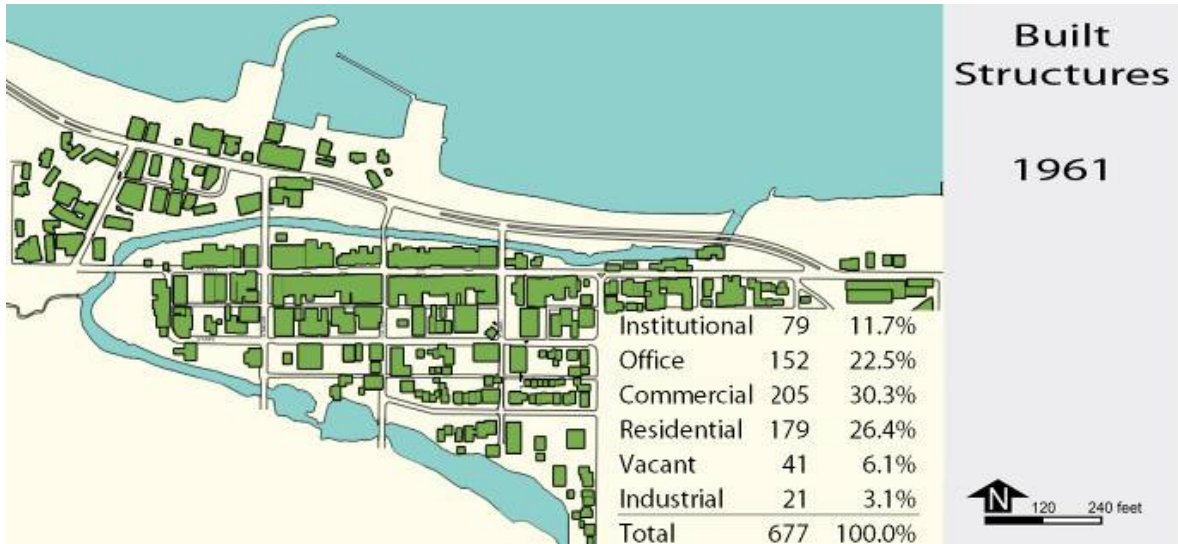


Fig 70: Downtown Traverse City, 1961.²³⁵ In the 1960s Traverse City experiences its peak building density. Front Street is completely developed, Grandview Parkway has been constructed between the downtown and the bay, and the Garland Hall District has a large number of industrial buildings and warehouses.

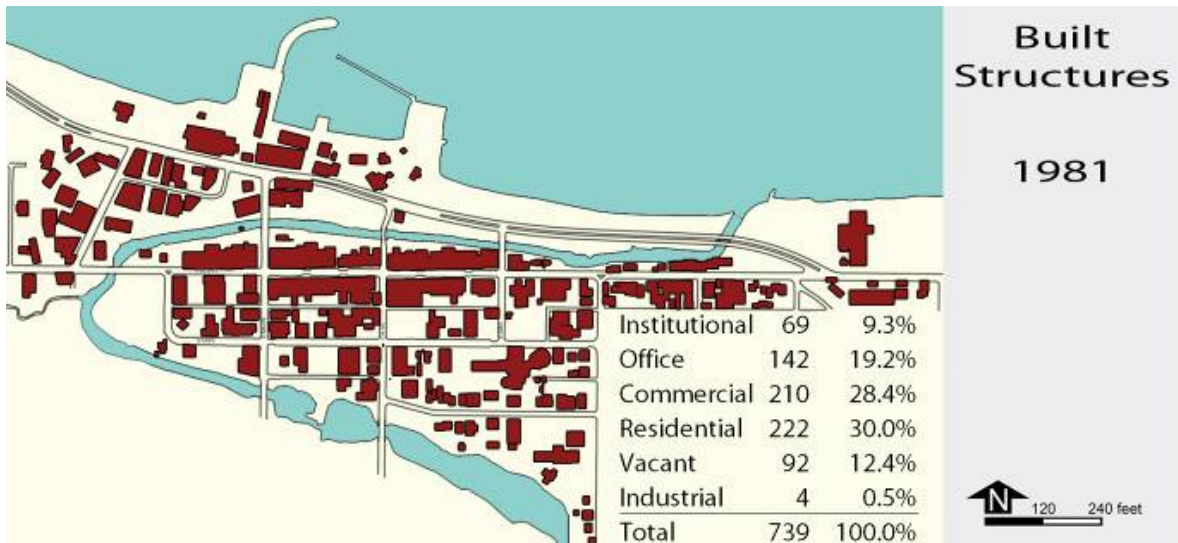


Fig 71: Downtown Traverse City, 1981.²³⁶ Building density has decreased since the mid 1960s. Empty lots remain where buildings formerly existed on the south side of Front Street, as well as on the north side of State Street. There is new development along the bay front, with the addition of the Holiday Inn Hotel and several other structures near the power plant.



Fig 72: Downtown Traverse City, 2003.²³⁷ The year 2003 shows additional vacant areas in the downtown where buildings existed as recently as the 1980s. The Garland Hall District shows a significant reduction in the number of structures, and surface parking has become a dominant feature in the downtown.



Fig 73: Downtown Traverse City 2003 with surface parking illustrated in grey

With a broad understanding of the changes in downtown over time, a more detailed look at Front Street seems appropriate due to its pre-eminent position as the heart of downtown Traverse City. City directory information was used to chart the evolution of usage along Front Street from 1894 to 2004 (Figure 74). Dating from the earliest records, commercial usage has consistently been the most prevalent type of use of downtown built space. It is only in the past few years that office use has risen to approximately an equal percentage of commercial. While office use is more conducive to drawing pedestrian traffic downtown than industrial, keeping office space on the second floors (and above) of buildings, particularly along Front Street, is strongly recommended. Commercial uses consistently draw a larger, more varied group of pedestrians into an area than any other combination of uses. It is especially important to offer priority to commercial spaces at street level for this reason. Residential use

is also valued in the downtown. Along Front Street, residential uses steadily declined after 1929, and have only recently increased to represent 24% of downtown use. The most positive trend shown by Figure 74 is that the proportion of vacant use along Front Street has decreased since its maximum in 1980, and is continuing to decline as the downtown becomes a more varied and exciting place to live, shop, and work.

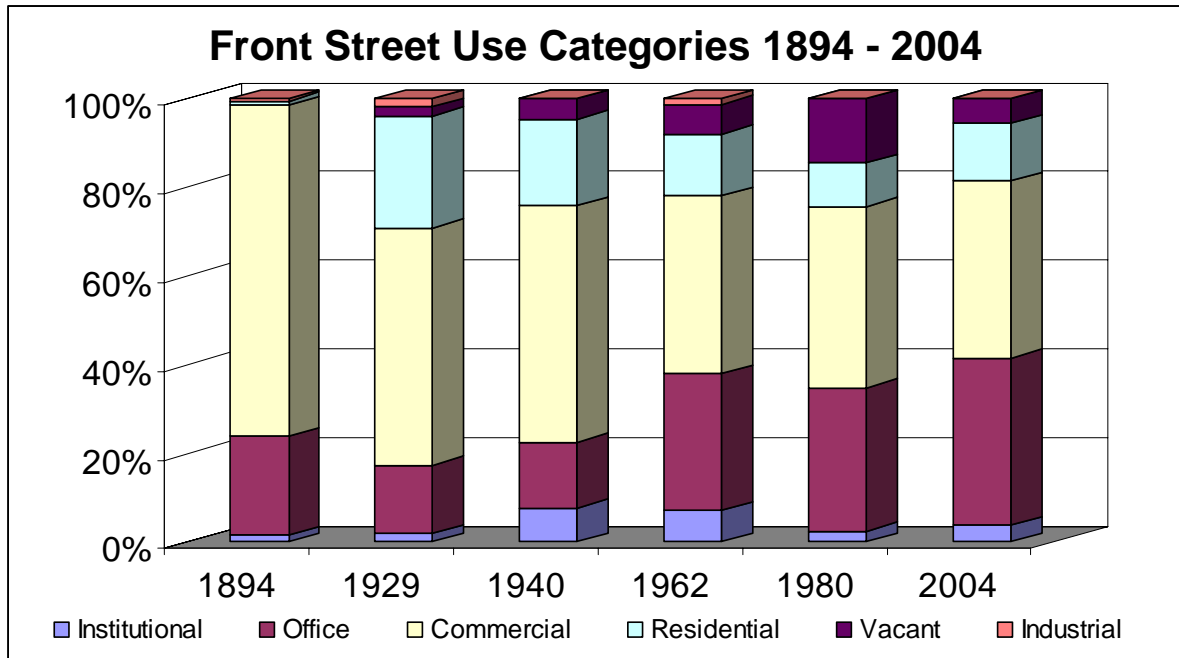


Figure 74: Use Figure 80: Use in buildings facing Front Street between Franklin Street and Hall Street from 1894 to 2004. Note that use data is not continuous

Historic Buildings

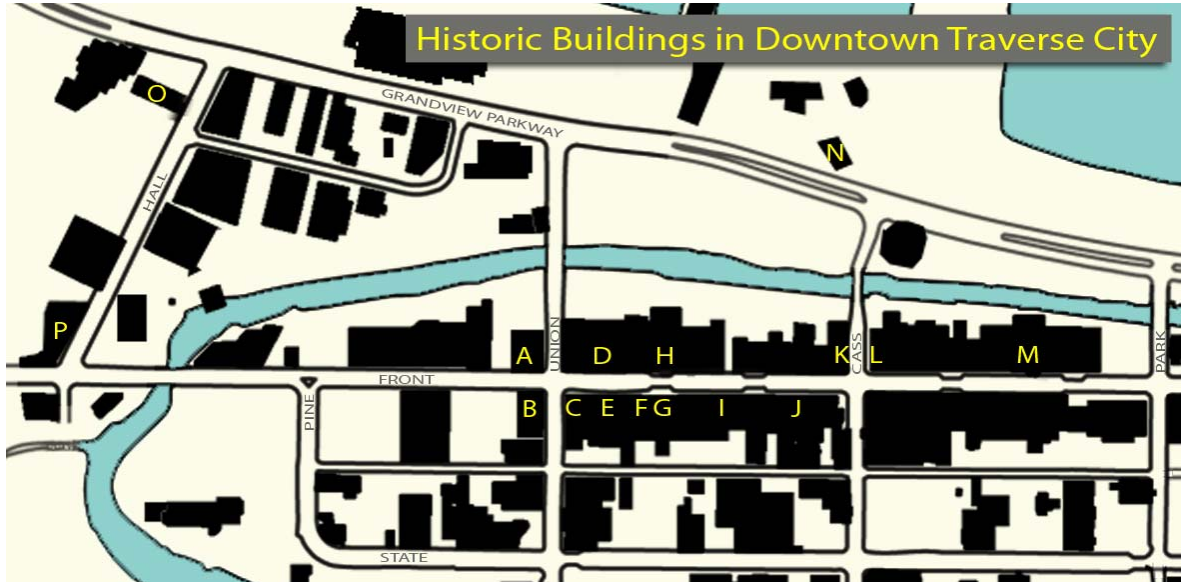
One of the features of Traverse City which makes it so attractive to residents and visitors is the eclectic mix of new and old buildings found there. Traverse City possesses many historic treasures, a number of which are listed in the National Register of Historic Places and/or on the State of Michigan's Historic Register. (A complete list of these is found in Table 3.) Here, however, the focus is on those structures in downtown located on Front Street and Grandview Parkway, most of which are not listed on either Register. This is because one of the emphases of the character study is on informing the forthcoming design guidelines for connecting the Central Business District with the bay. It is thus worthwhile to examine the architectural history and features of these structures in greater detail in an effort to bring to light those elements and materials which might be included in future construction. The locations of these featured structures are lettered A-P in Figure 81, with a narrative on each following subsequently. The history and features of the structures referred to in Table 3 are already well-documented, and therefore are only referenced here.



Fig 75: Martinek's clock in downtown

Structure	Year Constructed	Location	Register and Date Listed
American Legion Memorial Bridge - South Cass Street Bridge	1930	South Cass Street where Cass meets the Boardman River	National Register of Historic Places, 2000. State Register of Historic Places, 1971. National Register, 1972.
City Opera House	1891	106-112 East Front Street	State Register, 1975.
Congregation Beth El	1885	312 South Park Street	
Grand Traverse County Courthouse	1898 (present structure)	Southwest corner of Boardman and Washington streets	State Register, 1974. State Register, 1971. National Register, 1972.
Perry Hannah House	1891-1893	305 Sixth Street	State Register, 1986.
Ladies Library Building	1909	216 Cass Avenue	State Register, 1987.
Mac's Super Service Station	1931? 1935?	501 South Union Street	
Northern Michigan Asylum - Traverse City State Hospital - Grand Traverse Commons	approx 1885 (main building)	West end of Traverse City, bounded partially by Division and 11th streets and Elmwood Avenue.	National Register, 1978. State Register, 1985.
Novotny's Saloon - Dill's	1886	423 South Union Street	State Register, 1979.
Park Place Hotel	1929-1930	300 East State Street	State Register, 1990.
Sleder's Tavern	1882	717 Randolph South Union Street where Union meets the Boardman River	State Register, 1981.
South Union Street/Boardman River Bridge	1931		National Register, 2000.
Wilhelm Brothers Store	1883?	427 South Union	State Register, 1985.
Areas of Historic Significance			
Boardman Neighborhood Historic District	1890s-	Between State and Webster Streets, Railroad and Boardman Avenues	National Register, 1978.
Central Neighborhood Historic District	1890-1914	Between Fifth, Locust, Union, Ninth and Division Streets	National Register, 1979.
Grand Traverse Bay		Northern boundary of Traverse City	State Register, 1956.

Table 3: Historic Structures with National and State Recognition in Traverse City²³⁸



	Name	Address	Built
A	Traverse City State Bank (Fifth-Third Bank)	102 W. Front St.	1902
B	Emanuel Wilhelm Building	101-103 W. Front St., 102-108 S. Union St.	1900
C	Masonic Building	102-104 E. Front St.	1890
D	Hannah, Lay and Co. Mercantile Building	101 E. Front St.	1883
E	City Opera House	108-112 E. Front St.	1891
F	Anderson Building	114-116 E. Front St.	1892
G	Wurzburg Building	118 E. Front St.	1893
H	Michigan Theatre (Front Row Centre)	121 E. Front St.	1940
I	People's Savings Bank	134 E. Front St.	1902
J	Whiting Hotel	150-154 E. Front St.	1894
K	Beadle Building (Mackinaw Brewing Company)	161 E. Front St.	1894
L	First National Bank (Federico's Design Jewelers)	201 E. Front St.	1908
M	Lyric Theatre (State Theatre)	236.5 E. Front St.	1918, 1949
N	Con Foster Museum	181 E. Grandview Parkway	1934
O	Traverse City Gas Company (The Candle Factory)	301 Grandview Parkway	1901
P	Straub and Amiotte Bros. Candy Factory (North Peak Brewing Company)	400 W. Front St.	1905

Fig 76a, b: Historic Buildings in the study area and corresponding table

A) *Former Traverse City State Bank (Fifth-Third Bank)*



Fig 77a: Traverse City State Bank (date unknown)



Fig 77b: 5/3 Bank in December 2005

Located at on the northwest corner of Front and Union Streets, the former Traverse City State Bank was built in 1902 with materials from Markham's brickyard in nearby Greilickville. The building stands about 60 feet tall, with a clock tower and flag pole that may reach 100 feet high. Absent today's building are the Vermont marble columns and first floor façade details. The original roofline has also been modified as illustrated by the photos above.

B) *Emanuel Wilhelm Building*



Fig 78a: Emanuel Wilhelm's "skyscraper" (date unknown)



Fig 78b: Emanuel Wilhelm's Building today

Built in 1900, Emanuel Wilhelm's "skyscraper" was 5 stories. Reaching perhaps 75 feet in height, it was the tallest brick building of the day until the Traverse City

State Bank came along two years later with a striking tower that surpassed it. Formerly the Traverse Theatre and the Traverse Hotel, it now houses retail establishments and offices.

The top 3 floors of Wilhelm's building burned in 1970. Note that the second story windows on today's building are the same as those in the original building. However, the modern Mansard style roof added after the fire gives the impression that the windows and second floor are shorter than they actually are. In addition, the entrances to the building have been significantly modified, and in some instances, relocated.

C) Masonic Building



Fig 79a: Masonic Building built 1890



Fig 79b: The reconstructed building in 2006

At 102 and 104 East Front Street, across the street from the old Hannah Lay and Company Mercantile, is the Masonic Building. Designed by architect E.R. Prall of Pontiac, the building was constructed in 1890 with a double storefront and two stores in rear of building on Union Street. The Masonic Lodge occupied the upper two floors in earlier times.

A fire destroyed much of the building sometime between 1986 and 1987, and the building was mostly rebuilt. While it retains much of the character of the original, there are notable differences. Once a four story building (as pictured in the original photograph), the majority of the Masonic Building with frontage on Union Street is now just three stories. The front of the building remains largely the same, although shorter than the original. Note how the taller windows of the original building's first floor make it appear much taller than today's first story. Much of the ornamentation has been replicated, including the window fenestration. Decorative cornices as shown in the original photograph, however, these were not been replicated in the newer structure.

The building directly south of the Masonic Building is an addition to it, and includes an elevator. Since the southernmost storefront of the Masonic Building on Union Street had housed a continuous series of barbershops from the building's construction until the fire, the location of Robertson's Barbershop in

the first floor of the addition building picks up and continues a long tradition of use.

D) Hannah, Lay and Company Mercantile Building



Fig 80a: Mercantile Building (date unknown)

Fig 80b: Mercantile Building in 2005

At 101 E Front St, on the northeast corner of Front and Union Streets, sits the old Hannah, Lay and Company Mercantile Building built in 1883 of Markham brick. It was the biggest general store in Northern Michigan, and possibly in all of Michigan for a time. In 1928, the Mercantile closed and remained so until Montgomery Ward occupied the building in 1937. The structure is currently home to Boyne Country Sports.

Note that the building originally possessed 6 bays, whereas today there are 4. The two easternmost bays burned in 1940. However, a firewall prevented the fire from spreading further west throughout the building. The upper two stories of the building closely resemble the original structure in terms of the fenestration and building material, although today the brick is painted. In addition, the entire first floor façade is a more modern one than the original with arches over the entrances and windows. The long colonnade has been removed.

E) City Opera House



Fig 81a: City Opera House 1930s



Fig 81b: City Opera House 2006



Fig 81c: Votruba's Store (date unknown)



Fig 81d: Votruba's Store 2005

The City Opera House, at 106 E. Front Street, was built in 1891 by John Wilhelm with financing from Anthony Bartak, Charles Wilhelm and Frank Votruba. Also designed by E. R. Prall, this late Victorian-style building has been the host of numerous functions, such as meetings, concerts, dinners, and dances. In 1980, a descendant of Frank Votruba donated the building to the city and efforts to restore its interior continue into 2006. The City Opera House was added to the State Register in 1971, to the National Register of Historic Places in 1972, and in 1985 a historic marker was placed near the site.²³⁹

The building remains 3 stories high and is constructed mainly of brick. Note the changes in the first story facades of the businesses that are located there. Frank Votruba's Harness Company became a Leather Goods Store in the late 1920s. Some of the stone accents remain the same, but the sign now covers much more of the windows. The second and third floor exteriors are the same, with brick pilasters adorning both.

F) Anderson Building



Fig 82: The Anderson Building in 2006

The Anderson Building at 116 East Front Street, built with Greilick brick in 1892, was partially destroyed by fire at some point in its history. While it lost its third story, today's second story is very similar to the original.

G) Wurzburg Building



Fig 83: The Wurzburg Building in 2006

Next door to the Anderson Building is the Wurzburg Building, built in 1893 at 118 East Front Street. Originally a furniture store, it is the only building on Front Street whose original bay window remains intact. Mullions provide a decorative appeal to the windows above the storefront.

H) Michigan Theatre (Front Row Centre)



Fig 84a: Michigan Theatre built 1940



Fig 84b: Front Row Centre shops and offices 2006

The Michigan Theatre, built in 1940 at 121 East Front Street, has undergone some significant changes over the years. For instance, an extra story was added. Note how the symmetry of the building has been preserved through the addition of long windows that fit the shape of the pilasters extending the length of the original structure. The same square-shaped ornamentation persists. One example is the replication of the original marquee in the form of a permanent awning. Although this building may not be considered one of the downtown's most beloved historic structures, it is one example of an eclectic architectural contribution to the area's overall diverse mix of buildings.

I) People's Saving Bank



Fig 85a: The building in the early 20th century



Fig 85b: The building in 2006

The People's Savings Bank at 134 E. Front was Traverse City's second bank and was constructed in 1902. It closed during the Depression and today serves as the location of the retail store Nannette Keller. Much of the original architecture has been preserved. The first floor has been painted, but the masonry work is intact. The roman arches on the first and third floor remain, though the original second and third story casement windows were replaced, and the decorative glass over the entrance was removed. In the entryway, the name of the bank is still visible in a floor mosaic.

J) Whiting Hotel



Fig 86a: The Whiting Hotel in the 1940s



Fig 86b: The Whiting Hotel today

At 150-154 East Front Street sits the Whiting Hotel, the first brick hotel in the city, built in 1894. Since the 1940s, there appear to have been no structural changes to the second and third floors of the building. Notably, the balconies, fire escape ladders, and hotel sign were removed, but the segmented arches on the third floor windows remain, as does the parapet that adorns the roofline of the building.

K) Beadle Building (Mackinaw Brewing Company)



Fig 87a: The Beadle Building in the 1940s

Fig 87b: The Beadle Building in 2006

The Beadle Building sits at 161 East Front Street on the northwest corner of the Front and Cass Street intersection. It was built in 1894 from Markham Brickyard bricks, and is now home to the Mackinaw Brewing Company and upstairs offices.

Notable changes to the first story include a change in the location of the principal entry on Front Street. As shown in the photo from the 1940s, the entrance subdivided the building into two retail spaces, producing a double storefront. Later the entrance would be moved to the west end of the storefront. The large windows on the ground floor remain principally the same, although the advertisements that used to adorn the upper portion of these windows have been removed, allowing more light in from the outside. Additionally, a brick corner was added to the southeast side of the building.

L) First National Bank (Federico's Design Jewelers)



Fig 88a: First National Bank (date unknown)



Fig 88b: The building in 2006

First National Bank opened on the northeast corner of Front and Union Streets in 1908. At 201 East Front Street, Federico's Design Jewelers occupies this historic structure today. With the exception of extensive changes to the front of the building, including the removal of the Ionic columns and changes in masonry, much of the original architecture has been preserved. (The columns were removed to give the building a more modern appearance.)

M) Lyric Theatre (State Theatre)

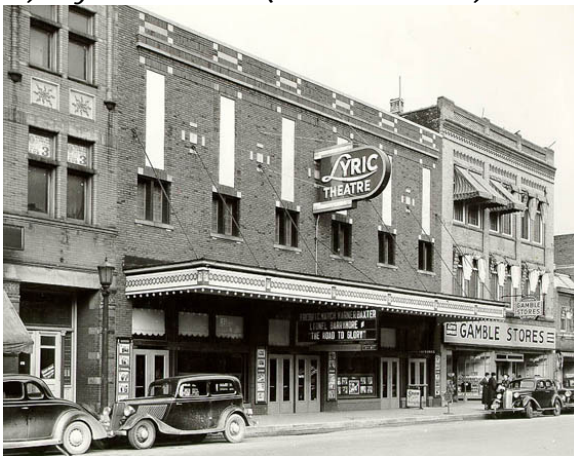


Fig 89a: The Lyric Theatre, early 20th Century



Fig 89b: The State Theatre in 2006

At 233-235 East Front Street, is the State Theatre, once the Lyric Theatre. The latter was built in 1918, but burned in 1948. The State Theatre, which opened in 1949, retains the side and back walls of the Lyric. As a result of the fire, however, the front of the original building collapsed and the brick was replaced with the bright red tile pictured above. The windows and original ornamentation were not replaced, giving the new façade a much more modern appearance. A modern marquee was added and an important Traverse City landmark was born.

N) Con Foster Museum



Fig 90a: Con Foster Museum built 1934



Fig 90b: Con Foster Building today

At 181 Grandview Parkway is the Con Foster Museum, built 1934. The staff and Friends of the Con Foster Museum decided to move the collections once housed there to the Carnegie Building in 2002 where they can be more readily accessed year-round. Since this time, the Con Foster Building has remained empty.

The brick structure, built in the Art Moderne style, still looks as it originally did. However, the landscape around the building has changed considerably, with the construction of Grandview Parkway in 1952, the addition of the underpass nearby, and the conversion of stairs to an accessible ramp.

O) Traverse City Gas Company (The Candle Factory)



Fig 91a: Traverse City Gas Company



Figure 91b: 2006 as the Candle Factory

At 301 Grandview Parkway, the old Traverse City Gas Company appears to have remained largely intact over the years, particularly in the eastern half of the building. Although the original windows are still observable, it looks as if the door on the western side of the building has been converted into a window and that the primary entrance is now on the north end. The roof has changed overtime with the removal of the upper portions.

P) Straub and Amiotte Bros. Candy Factory (North Peak Brewing Company)



Fig 92a: The Straub Bros. Building (date unknown)

Fig 92b: North Peak Brewing Company 2006

The Straub Bros and Amiotte Candy Factory was built in 1905 at 400 W. Front Street when the company grew too large for its earlier factory. After the Candy Factory closed during the Great Depression, the building served a manufacturing company and a motor car company. Today, it is the home of North Peak Brewing Company and upstairs offices and residences.

Several changes have occurred over the years. The primary entrance has been relocated to the western side of building, and an additional entrance has been added on the eastern side. It appears that the southernmost portion of this structure was rebuilt at some point: there are more windows on south side. New windows have replicated the existing windows which were built with mullions to create separate panes.

A Planning History of Traverse City

As mentioned in the historical overview, Traverse City's tradition of regulating and planning for development began long before the city adopted its first zoning code in 1941.

Shortly after Traverse City adopted its first set of zoning ordinances, J Martin Frissel, a city planning consultant from East Lansing, completed *A Report Upon The Comprehensive City Plan 1942* for Traverse City. Major revisions to the comprehensive City Plan were subsequently adopted in 1962, 1977, and 1994. Revisions to the city plans have coincided with major changes in the Traverse City Zoning Code at several points in the city's history. At the writing of this study, a group of citizens and city officials are revising the 1994 plan. Minor amendments have occurred since the plan was adopted in 1994, however, more significant changes are expected with amendments in 2006.

Appendix C presents several comparative examinations of the city plans and zoning ordinances throughout the years in an effort to chronicle the changing trends in planning in Traverse City. A content analysis of the city plans reveals both significant changes in the approach to planning in Traverse City, as well as several consistent concerns about the character of the community.

Notable changes in Traverse City Planning (as embodied in the city plans) include:

1. *Increasing concern for maintaining and enhancing quality of life.*

Population projections are an important part of any comprehensive plan. The projections for Traverse City from the 1942 and 1962 plans proved inaccurate²⁴⁰ and, by 1977, the physical build-out of the city proper just exceeded the 1960's level. However, growth outside of the city boundaries continued at a high rate.

Whereas the 1941 and 1962 Plans emphasized the technical aspects of physical planning, such as the distribution of an increasing population across the city, the suitability of land for development, and infrastructure provision, by 1977, there was a new focus. This new focus was on broader community goals such as the urban and social character of the city and historic and environmental protection.

The 1977 City Plan reflected an increased awareness of the linkages between population growth and economic factors, as well as the growing national environmental consciousness of the day. In Traverse City, the environment has always been valued for its recreational and agricultural value, but a history of growth, along with experience with earlier planning efforts, led to a more forward-looking city plan. By the late 1970's, the importance of adopting a flexible, dynamic document reflecting community goals became the norm.

2. *An increase in the amount of public participation and community involvement in the planning process.*

Significant documentation of community involvement in the planning process first appeared in the 1977 City Plan. In the 1942 and 1962 plans, the concepts of community goals and public involvement are mostly absent. The 1942 plan recommends

"that every individual interested in the orderly development of Traverse City, study the city plan and bring to the City Planning Commission suggestions, comments, and constructive criticisms which may be helpful in keeping the plan a living and vigorous achievement, as is done in business and industry to make the plan effective."²⁴¹

By the 1970s, community participation in the revision and adoption of the plan (largely prepared from consulting work conducted by Johnson, Johnson, and Roy - JJR) is discussed at length in the Plan. In Traverse City, *community involvement in the planning process has become more proactive and inclusive over time.*

3. *Greater concern for environmental protection.*

In the early 1940's, environmental concern in the city plan was focused on recreation and the preservation of scenic vistas. While these goals remain, today

there are more explicit references to the need to protect woodlands, wetlands, water areas, and other significant features for reasons beyond human enjoyment.

4. *The importance of preserving the historic character of the Central Business District first appeared in the 1975 Traverse City Central Area Plan and later in the broader, 1977 City Plan.*

Whereas the 1962 Plan envisioned a downtown with newer, modern-style structures, the 1977 Plan emphasized maintaining the pedestrian scale of the Central Business District, enhancing historic façades and adding pedestrian streetscape improvements.

Both the 1962 and 1977 Plans called for malls in the West End of the Central Business District, the latter suggesting a pedestrian mall in the alley between Front and State Streets. Alternatively, the 1962 Plan called for a reorientation of the buildings on the north side of Front Street toward the Boardman River.

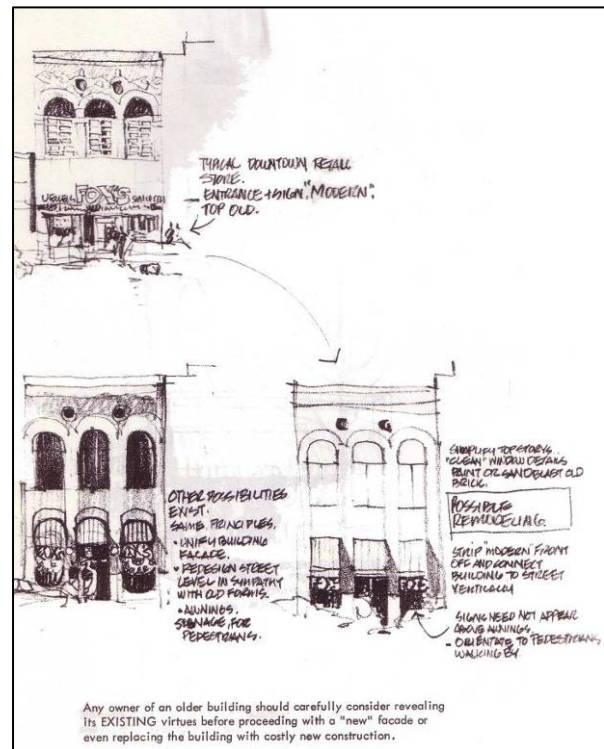


Fig 93: Recommendations for enhancing historic building façades from the 1975 Traverse City Central Area Plan prepared by JJR.

On the south side of Front Street and north side of State Street, new structures would be erected facing one another, with parking between the two. This would effectively create a 1960's shopping plaza in the downtown, with Front and State Streets becoming major traffic corridors.

A number of concerns have persisted throughout the evolution of the city plans. These concerns are:

1. *Preserving Traverse City's "small-town character."*

The 1977 and the 1994 City Plan made the preservation of its small-town character a community goal. In 1977, the plan talked of "(maintaining) a small-town atmosphere [and] keeping the balance and diversity of people and environment." Elements of this included a mix of historic and new structures and a pedestrian-scale built environment. It also included less tangible attributes such as community involvement, "familiar people and places, friendliness and concern, and a hometown feeling."²⁴² Interest in preserving the

city's character did not begin in the 1970s, but was less pronounced in earlier planning documents.

2. Concern for protection of the Boardman River, as well as its enhancement and development for recreational enjoyment.

The 1942 City Plan stated:

"The protection and development of the banks of Boardman River for public use is as important as the development of the bay front. The river winds through the center of the city and is constantly in the public eye...various treatments will be required as conditions may warrant. Certain narrow stretches in the business district may be merely tree lined walkways or promenades; in other places a trail above or below the bluffs will give the public access to the scenic value of the River, which is now neglected and abused. It is important that the community exercise control over the river banks to protect them from spoilation."²⁴³

3. A continuing call to improve the rear façades of the buildings on the north side of Front Street overlooking the Boardman River.

Phase II of the 1962 Bartholomew Plan was the first to prescribe treatments for the rear sides of the buildings north of Front Street. Referring to architectural designs and concepts included in the 1962 Plan, Bartholomew and Associates assert that

"...the suggested treatment would afford marked advantages. The structures would not only be more attractive, but could also be more convenient for the customers moving from the parking facilities to the individual units. The walks provided in the rear of the stores would, in effect, result in double frontages, which should attract customers and improve the value of the properties for retail use."²⁴⁴

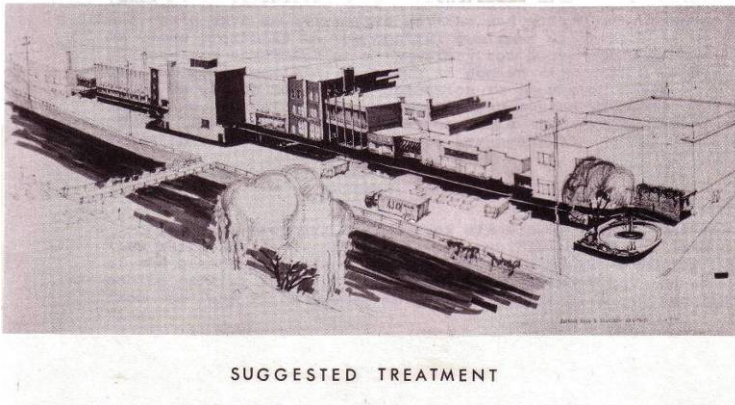
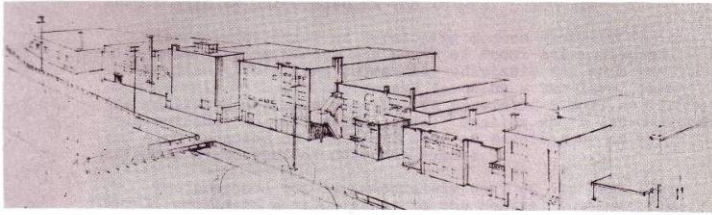


Fig 94: Suggested front façade treatments.

IN 200 BLOCK
EAST FRONT STREET



EXISTING REAR ELEVATION

Fig 95: Suggested rear façade treatments for buildings facing the Boardman River from the 1962 Second Phase Master Plan prepared by Harland Bartholomew and Associates, St Louis, MO.

4. A consistent concern for the enhancement of the Central Business District (CBD) and the Bay Front.

The value of the CBD, the river, and the bay front, has long been recognized in Traverse City. In addition to the aforementioned comprehensive plans for the city, special studies, such as the 1974 Central Business District Plan prepared by JJR, have been commissioned from time to time, highlighting the importance of these areas to Traverse City. This plan was the first to articulate the potential benefits of enhancing the Boardman River as a means to integrate the downtown and the waterfront. The work of Traverse City residents and partner institutions in the current "Your Bay, Your Say" initiative is particularly relevant when the documentation of these enduring priorities is considered.

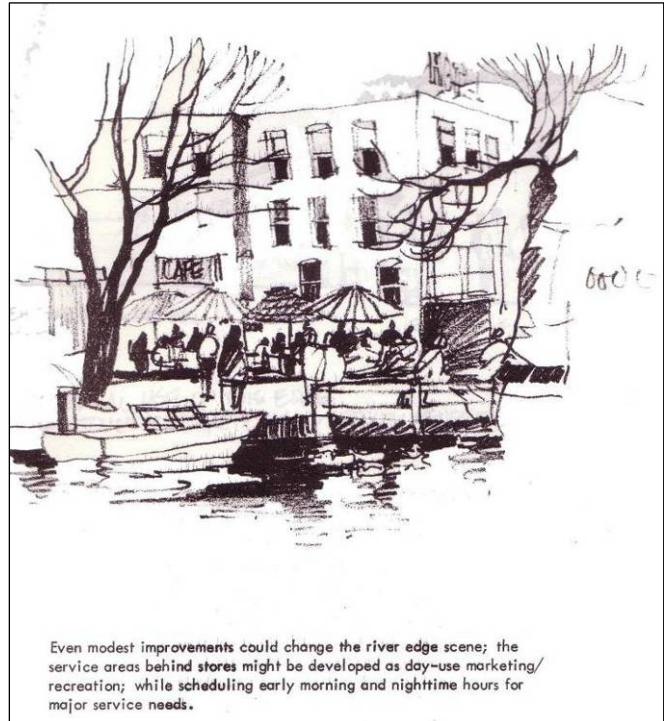


Fig 96: Recommendations from the 1975 JJR Plan for inserting activity along the edge of the Boardman River, creating destinations between the downtown and the waterfront.

Zoning Boundaries: Past and Present

While the Comprehensive Plan is the community's road map for its future, the zoning ordinance is the specific rule book that shapes change over time. As mentioned earlier, Traverse City adopted its first zoning code in 1941. Major revisions to the code were enacted in 1958 and 1999, with a number of amendments made in the intervening years. Figures 97 and 98 compare zoning in 1941 and today.

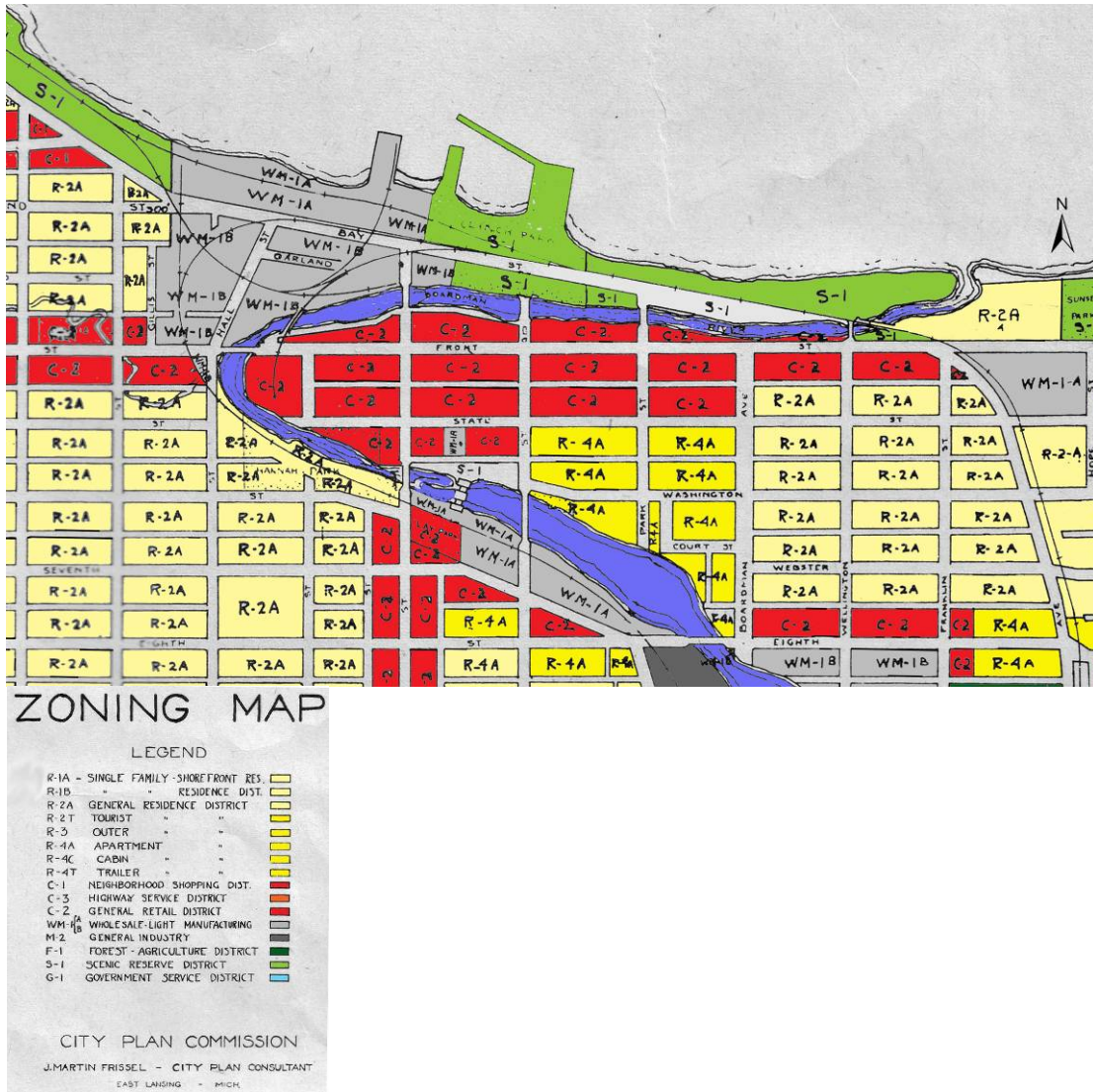


Fig 97: 1941 Traverse City Zoning Map. Source: 1941 Code of ordinances. Map colors added to illustrate the distribution of commercial, residential, industrial, and open space areas in 1941.

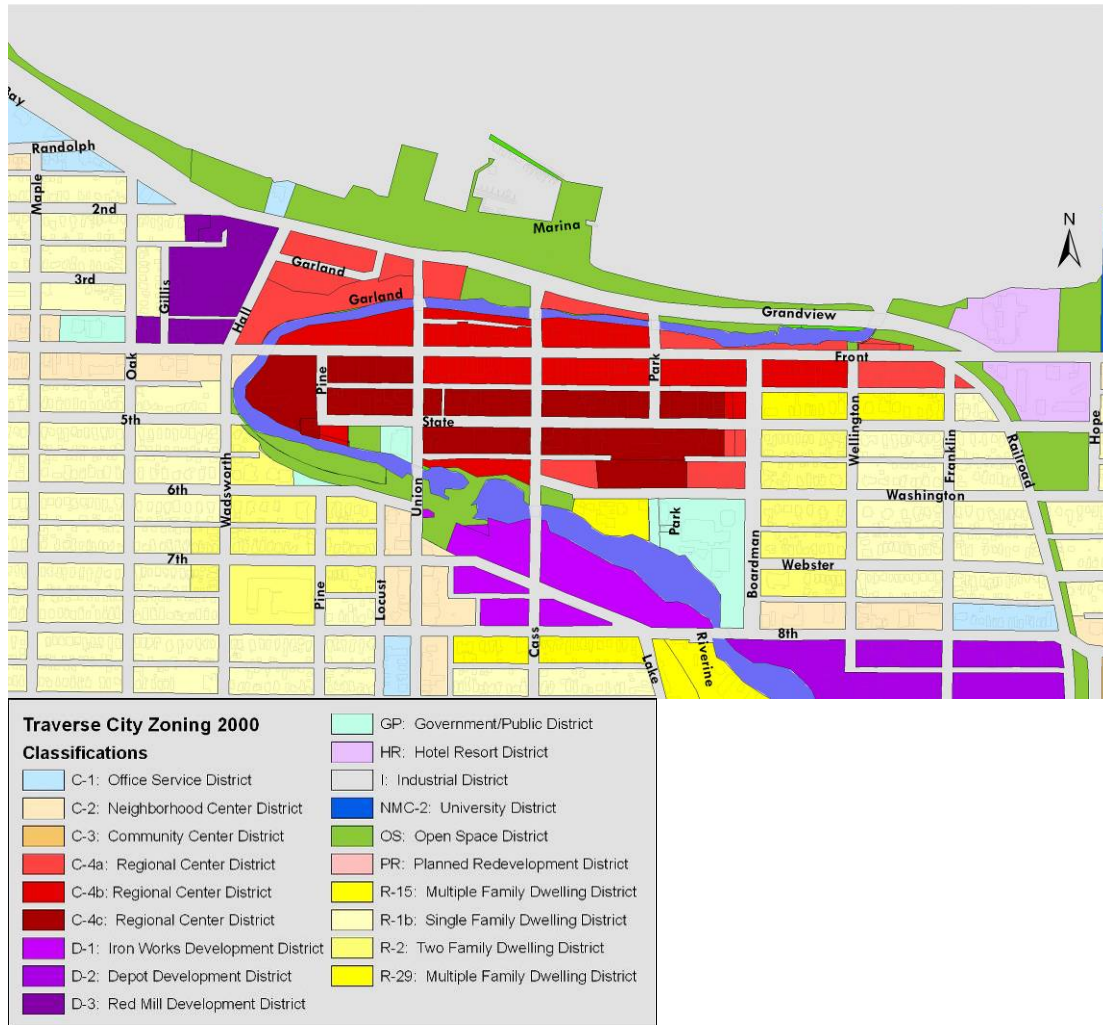


Fig 98: Traverse City Zoning 2006.

By comparing the 1941 zoning map with the current zoning map, numerous changes are evident between 8th Street and the bay front. These changes include an increase in the amount of open space along the bay front, the removal of industrial districts, a decrease in multi-family residential areas, and changing designations for commercial space. Further, note the increase in flexibility within this area today insofar as the type of development is concerned and the addition of three different development districts which allow for, and encourage, mixed use. Table 4 shows the evolution of zoning districts *within the Traverse City Character Study Area* through the years. Appendix B contains a table of complete zoning districts for this period.

1942 Code of Ordinances	1958 Code of Ordinances	1999 Code of Ordinances
	Note: A 1970s copy of this Code was analyzed for this report which likely included amendments to some of the original provisions of the 1958 Code.	
R-1A: Single Family Residential	R-1: Single Family Residence District	R-1a and R-1b-Single Family Dwelling Districts
R-1B: Single Family Residence District	R-2: Single Family Residence District	R-2 - Two-Family Dwelling District
	R-3: Two-Family Residence District	
	R-4: Multiple Dwelling District	R-9, R-15 and R-29 - Multiple Family Dwelling Districts
	R-4a: Medium-Density Multiple Dwelling District	
	R-4b: Low-Density Multiple Dwelling District	
		C-1 - Office Service District
R-4A: Apartment Residence District	R-6: High-Rise Apartment District	
	C-3 Commercial District	C-3 - Community Center District
C-2 General Retail District	C-4 Central Business District	C-4 - Regional Center Districts (a,b,c designations)
WM-1A: Wholesale-Light Manufacturing		D - Development Districts
WM-1B: Wholesale-Light Manufacturing		GP - Government/Public District
M-2: General Industry		
F-1: Forest Agriculture District		
S-1: Scenic Reserve District	Parks, Recreation, and Open Space	OS - Open Space District

Table 4: Zoning Districts in the Traverse City Character Study Area. 1942 to present

In an effort to compare not only the changes in land use designations since the 1940s, but also the changes in building standards since that time, we examined the standards for multi-family dwelling districts, the Central Business District, and office and institutional spaces. Retaining a mixture of uses is a critical component for the enduring vitality of any downtown. These designations are highlighted in Table 4. Appendix C provides a comparative chart of changes in site planning and building standards in these districts throughout the years.

Building height, Development Districts, and parking and setback requirements are important indicators of the city's commitment to encouraging renewed growth in the downtown and infill development. We have summarized the change in these indicators over time.

Building Height

Between 1942 and today, allowable maximum building height has fluctuated with an increase in some areas. (Recall that some of Traverse City's tallest buildings, such as the four-story Fifth-Third Bank on at the northwest corner of Union and Front and the ten-story Park Place Hotel at State and Park Streets, were constructed well before the zoning code was enacted.) In 1942, the maximum height of buildings was not to "be erected to a height exceeding the width of the street it fronts or abuts. In 1942, the width of Front Street ROW was 66 feet wide. (The street pavement from curb to curb is 44 feet wide.) By 1958, buildings in the C-4 CBD were allowed to be a maximum of ten stories and 125 feet tall. By 1999, the C-4 district was divided into three separate classifications: C-4 a, b, and c. In these areas, new construction can range from 30 to 100 ft in height, although any building higher than 60 feet must contain at least one floor of residential units. Above a height of 45 feet for these buildings, the floor must be recessed ten feet from the first floor building façade. In addition, buildings are allowed to reach 100 feet only if the top floor is used to screen needed building equipment. (This provision was approved in late 2005.)

In the multiple dwelling districts, allowable building height has increased by just 5 feet since 1941, except for in 1958 when a high rise district was added to very select areas adjacent to the CBD with allowances for multiple dwelling units that were up to 125 feet tall.

We are particularly supportive of the increases in the commercial districts with incentives for mixed use development, especially because new construction in these areas is likely to occur south of Front Street, and in some cases, at its western end. Although these regulations allow for potential changes to the skyline of the CBD, they are highly unlikely to produce development that will obstruct views from the CBD to the bay front and vice-versa.

Development Districts and other Improvements to Regulation

The inclusion of special Development Districts, such as the Red Mill Development District in the 1999 Code, is an innovative and important step to support the objectives mentioned above.

Additional progressive changes that have encouraged efficient use of land and resources in the downtown are discussed below.

One such change was the elimination of front setback requirements in the CBD commercial areas in the late 1950s - except for instances in which structures are to be constructed adjacent to residential areas. Between 1958 and 1999, rear setback requirements in commercial areas were reduced from 25 feet to a range of 5 to 20 feet, depending upon the structure's proximity to residential districts.

In 1942, the Traverse City zoning ordinance restricted development by implementing restrictions on lot frontage, lot area, and by requiring minimum floor areas and lot sizes for dwelling units. By 1999, all of the above provisions had been removed from the multiple family and commercial districts. (Some, but not all, of these provisions had been removed in the interim version of the Code) While still regulating building placement and height, the current code offers much greater flexibility in terms of the varieties of parcels which can now be developed.

Although some may feel that taller buildings threaten the small-town feel of Traverse City, increased density does not have to mean additional traffic, or a deterioration of community. Increased density is essential to make the most efficient use of city tax dollars, as well as for encouraging compact development that relies less on automobiles, and more on walking and biking. The impact of automobiles and their attendant greenhouse gas emissions are increasingly evident throughout the world. In order for Traverse City to minimize the impact of climate change on the natural areas that it holds important for personal and financial reasons, we urge the community to take advantage of the opportunity it has to serve as a model of environmentally responsible development for the rest of Northern Michigan.

Parking: Historic Trends

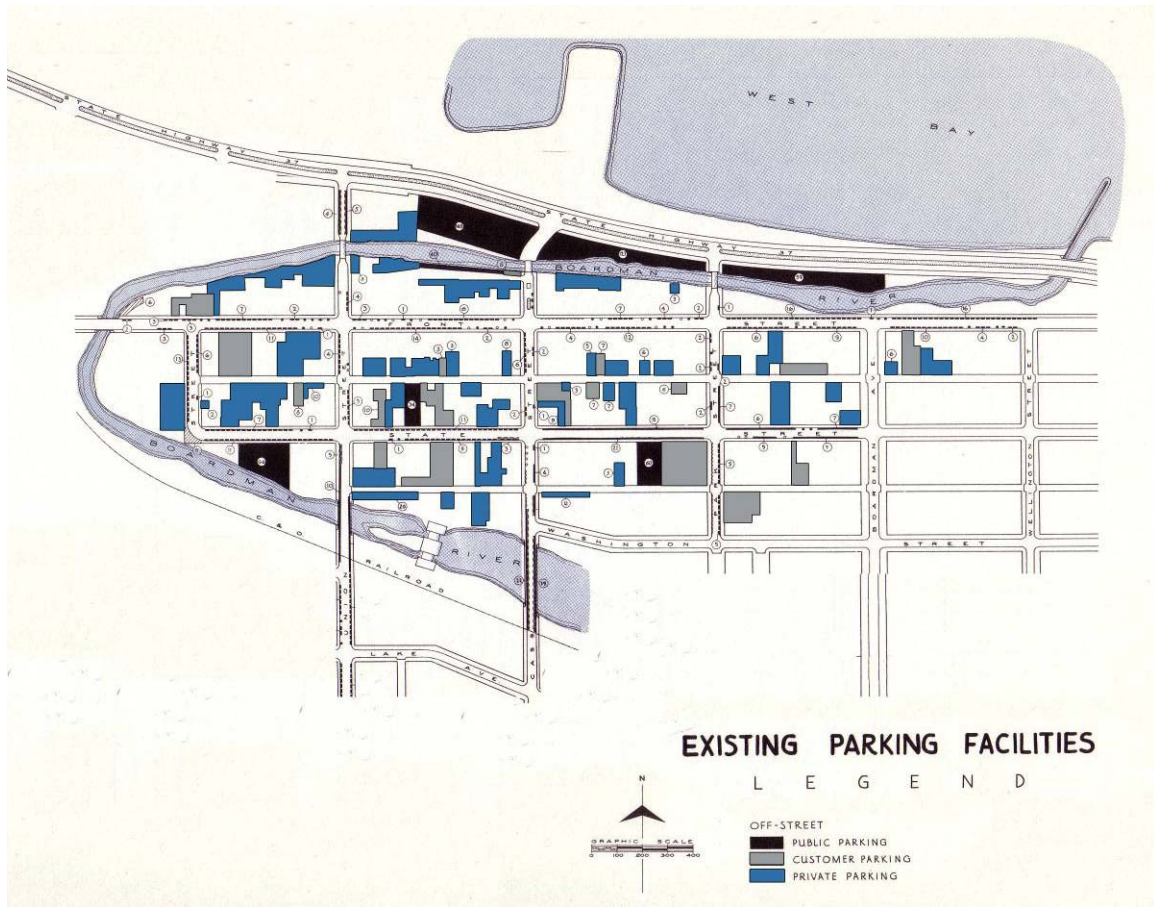


Fig 99: Parking Facilities in the Central Business District 1962²⁴⁵

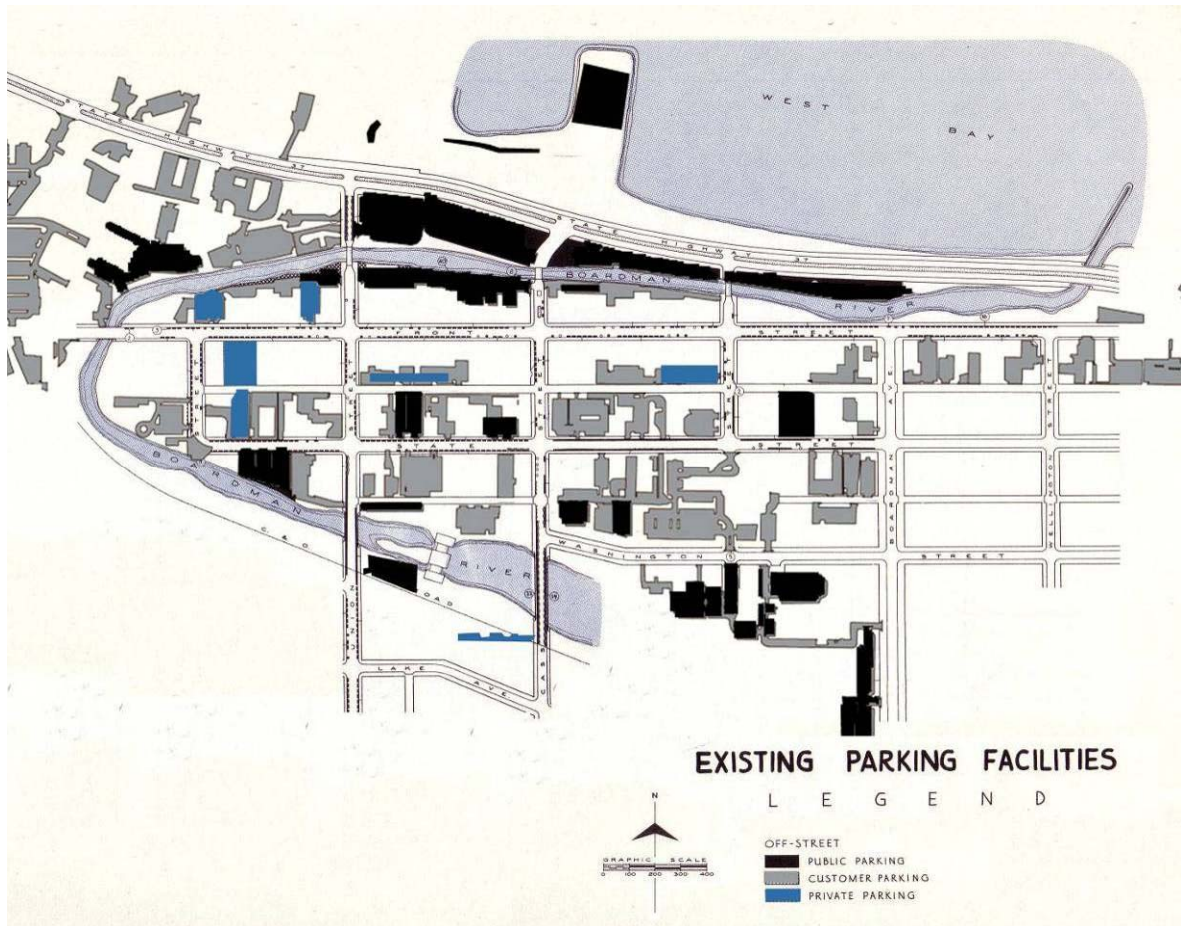


Fig 100: 2006 Public Parking Facilities in the Central Business District.

Table 5 quantifies the changes in parking evidenced in Figures 99 and 100. Of important note is that today's DDA boundaries vary from the area inventoried in 1962. In contrast to 1962, some of the parking that the DDA oversees is found west of Pine Street (between Front and State), south of Washington, and south of the Boardman River between Union and Cass. (Parking that exists today south of Lake Street is not pictured in Figure 100.)

Parking System	Number of Spaces		Notes on 2006 Parking
	1962	Today	
Curbside Parking	513	679	Mostly metered-parking
Off-Street Spaces: Public Lots	549	1655	Included in this figure 475 are metered and permit spaces in the Larry C Hardy Deck.
Off-Street Spaces: Customer Lots	485	664	
Off-Street Spaces: Private Lots	749	1384	Some of these spaces are located south of Lake Street, not counted in 1962
Total	2296	4382	

Table 5: Parking available in the Downtown: 1962 and 2006²⁴⁶

Although the inventory boundaries are not a complete match, the amount of parking has increased in Traverse City over time. The 1962 Bartholomew Plan indicates that a 1952 survey found 1724 parking spaces (with another 60 spaces under construction.)²⁴⁷ Furthermore, when the associates at Harland Bartholomew conducted their study, they reported that there were 84 parking spaces per 1000 residents living in Traverse City in 1962.²⁴⁸ Recall from the 1960 U.S. Census data that Traverse City's population equaled about 18,400 residents. Our calculations show that there were about 125 total parking spaces per 1000 residents in 1962, while today this figure is more than twice that: 302 parking spaces per 1000 residents.

Traverse City has taken a proactive strategy in providing parking for its residents and visitors in the downtown, while also recognizing the need to turn less-used surface parking lots into more productive uses. Consolidating surface lots into structures such as the Larry C. Hardy deck at the east end of the downtown follows precedent. The construction of the Hardy structure incorporates the latest mechanism for maximizing commercial, residential, and other space and promoting infill development: the structure is concealed in the middle of the block, enveloped by businesses, offices, and other uses.

The new Bay Area Transportation Authority (BATA) station will hopefully further alleviate some of the need for parking as residents consider the financial and environmental benefits to be had of taking public transit.

Today, much of the downtown, and indeed the area covered by this study, fall under the C-4 commercial zoning designation where off-street parking is not required. This is a wise policy for ensuring a healthy mix of office, retail, and residential uses in the downtown.

Traffic Moving Out of Downtown

According to the Michigan Land Use Institute, 2000 US Census figures show that commuters in Traverse City increased their average trip time to 20 minutes each

way, an increase of almost 25% since the 1990 Census. Also, during these ten years, vehicle registrations in the Traverse City region increased at double the rate of the State of Michigan.²⁴⁹ US Census data shows that in the 25 years between 1975 and 2000, the number of licensed drivers in the US increased by 46%, from 130 million to 190 million. Over the same time period, the number of vehicles in the US increased by 58% from 138 million to 219 million.²⁵⁰ We can see that the increase in registrations in the Traverse City area is closely allied with national trends, showing that there are more cars being registered in the country than new drivers becoming licensed. What this means for the Traverse City area is that there are more unaccompanied drivers on the roads and less carpooling is happening, or more cars are being stored in the community.

Examining traffic counts that range from the mid 1960s to 2003, it appears that the main cross streets through downtown, N. Cass Street, N. Union street, E. Front Street, and E. State Street, actually have lower traffic numbers in 2003 than in the 1960s.²⁵¹ Perhaps as a result of the increasing travel time and automobiles on the road in Traverse City, many commuters have switched their East-West crossings from the northern route through downtown to the southern route closer to Boardman Lake. Traffic counts for the same 40-year period of time reflect large increases in traffic outside of downtown. Areas showing the largest increases are: the southern edge of Traverse City on Cass Street just north (a 287% increase) and south (246%) of Fourteenth; Fourteenth Street (422%); and Silver Lake (361%) and Parsons Roads (402%), which lead both SE and SW out of the central city. The redirection of the traffic out of the downtown reflects the movement of both residences and work out of the central city.

As an aid to relieving traffic congestion, Traverse City is currently building the BATA transit station as urban infill development in the Red Mill Development District along Hall Street. It will service city, rural, and village-connector service buses. The transit station is scheduled to be completed in the summer of 2006.

CHARACTER EVALUATION

Gaining Insight through Photography

To gain a better idea understanding of what the community and visitors value within and around Traverse City, we randomly distributed 120 disposable cameras to Traverse City residents and tourists at the end of June 2005. With the assistance of the Traverse City Convention and Visitors Bureau, 20 cameras were distributed to each of six distinct segments of the population: community members included children (0-12 yrs), teenagers (13-19 yrs), younger adults (20-39 yrs), adults (40-59 yrs), and seniors (60+ years). The sixth group consisted of tourists of any age. Along with the cameras, we included instructions reading, in part:

“We would like you to participate in our study by taking 27 photographs of the things **YOU VALUE MOST** about Traverse City. We will collect the cameras and analyze the images to gain insight into what residents and visitors prize within the community. Below are 27 empty lines, one for each exposure on the camera that you have. To help us understand what is important to you, please write down a description of the picture you took. You may also use the back of the sheet to tell us anything else that you feel you were unable to explain with just a picture.”

We distributed 120 cameras; 28 cameras were returned with photos taken by 7 children, 6 teenagers, 2 younger adults, 3 adults, and 10 seniors. We did not receive any cameras from tourists. Some photographers used all 27 exposures, while others used only part of the roll. All of the respondents included at least a list of the photos taken, and many described the photos or explained what the scene featured represented to them in more detail. In some cases, photographers listed additional sights they would have liked to include, and explained why.²⁵²

Results

The four specific categories with the highest numbers of photographers were the marina (57%), boating/boats (43%), “open space” (39%) and “shopping downtown” (39%). It is interesting to note that these categories all relate to outdoor activities. Both the content of the photographs and comments provided by participants were used to cluster specific categories into broad groupings, providing a more comprehensive analysis of what photographers valued. All of the photographs in this section were taken by camera study participants.

The highest ranking groupings were Natural Features, Recreational Opportunities, Cultural or Community Amenities, Businesses, and Managed Landscapes.

A resounding 96% of participants took pictures of Natural Features. The beaches, bays, open space, and Boardman River were the most photographed, demonstrating the prominence that these waterfront areas play in defining Traverse City’s uniqueness in participants’ minds.



Similarly, within the Recreational Opportunities group, boating was the most popular photographic subject. Pictures of play structures, swimming, and trails were present but less frequent.



Within the Cultural/Community Amenities group, many photographers took pictures of specific places or organizations. The most popular subjects included the new marina, the zoo, the district library, the City Opera House, the farmer's market, the Great Lakes Children's Museum, and the civic center - all popular destinations for families.



Within the Businesses grouping, 17 people highlighted Traverse City's downtown in general, with pictures of people shopping, restaurants, activities, and downtown diversity. Fifteen people photographed specific restaurants, pubs, ice cream shops, and wineries - some downtown, others in the surrounding area. Twelve people noted specific shops (mostly downtown or in the Garland-Hall area), 7 people mentioned hotels, and five people took pictures of entertainment locations. Four people (3 teenagers and 1 younger adult) photographed stores outside the downtown, in Grand Traverse Mall, strip malls, or big box stores. Three people stressed the importance of small and/or independent local businesses. The high percent of participants including photographs of downtown Traverse City reflects the relevance of downtown commercial businesses to everyday life.



Within the Managed Landscapes grouping, participants were most enthusiastic about horticulture, and many photographers featured the Friendly Garden Club planting bed on the bay or the Children's Garden at the library. The numerous parks, orchards, farms, and trails in and around Traverse City were very popular. The Boardman River boardwalk and fish weir were also included.



Of the participants who photographed examples of Transportation, most were concerned with resources for pedestrians and bicyclists: either praising the trails systems or emphasizing the importance of the underpass (under Grandview Parkway), sidewalks, and driver etiquette. The pedestrian bridge over the Boardman River was also included. Parking, the new airport, public transportation and cars received much less attention in images and comments than the city's walkability.



Built Features were included by fewer photographers (16/28), but out of these examples, twelve focused on historic architecture. Many participants photographed the city's well-kept Victorian-era homes, including the historic Perry Hannah House on Sixth Street. The State Hospital and barns, the City Opera House, and the former Traverse City State Bank were the next most popular categories of photographs taken of historic buildings. In their comments, photographers emphasized an appreciation not only for the preservation of historic structures, but also for their continuing use.



We have named one of the most interesting categories of photographs "Intangible Qualities". The photographer's written comments were extremely important in making this determination. Photographs in this category conveyed a character or feeling through the visual medium. These photos illustrated neighborhood aesthetics, safety and security, community feeling, humor, and preservation/restoration. Examples of comments that illustrate these "Intangible Qualities" are: "Hope for the Future", "Pride in the Past", and "Living the Simple Life".



Camera Study Results by Category		Total number photographers	Percentage photographers
NATURAL FEATURES		27	96%
	Beaches	16	57%
	Bay	13	46%
	Open Space	11	39%
	Boardman River	10	36%
	Wildlife	9	32%
	Views	5	18%
	Old Mission Peninsula	3	11%
	Boardman Lake, Waterfront, Landforms, and Forest	2 of each	7%
RECREATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES		26	93%
	Boating/Boats	22	79%
	Play Structure/Area	7	25%
	Swimming	6	21%
	Trails	5	18%
	Baseball and Volleyball	4 each	14%
	Boardman Boardwalk, Bicycling, and Hiking	3 each	11%
	Canoeing, Fishing, Picnicking, Running/Track, Skateboarding, and Skiing	2 each	7%
CULTURAL/COMMUNITY OPPORTUNITIES/AMENITIES		26	93%
	Marina	16	57%
	Clinch Park Zoo	13	46%
	Library (Traverse Area District Library) and City Opera House	7 of each	25%
	Sara Hardy Farmer's Market, Grand Traverse Civic Center (inc. exhibit hall), and Great Lakes Children's Museum	6 of each	21%
	Denno's Museum	5	18%
	Grand Traverse Heritage Center, Old Town Playhouse and Convention and Visitor's Bureau	4 of each	14%
	Milliken Auditorium	3	11%
	Music House Museum and Senior Center	2 of each	7%
BUSINESSES		25	89%
	General Photos of Downtown Traverse City	17	61%

	Shopping Downtown	11	39%
	Restaurants Downtown		14%
	Central Business District Diversity and Active Downtown	2 of each	7%
	Downtown Alleys	1	4%
	Specific Eateries	15	54%
	Specific Restaurants	8	29%
	Outdoor Dining and Wineries	4 of each	14%
	Ice Cream Shops	6	21%
	Specific Shops	12	43%
	Hotels	7	25%
	Entertainment	5	18%
	Mall/Strip/Big Box Stores	4	14%
	Small/Independent Local Enterprises	3	11%
	MANAGED LANDSCAPES	23	82%
	Horticulture	14	50%
	Parks	10	36%
	Agriculture	9	32%
	Trails and Boardman River Structures	8 of each	29%
	TRANSPORTATION	18	64%
	Pedestrian Trails/Crossing/Access	15	54%
	Bicycling	9	32%
	Parking	3	11%
	Airport	2	7%
	Cars and Public Transportation	1 of each	4%
	BUILT FEATURES	16	57%
	HISTORIC ARCHITECTURE	12	43%
	Historic Homes/Victorian Architecture	7	25%
	Perry Hannah House	4	14%
	Historic Buildings being used by businesses	5	18%
	State Hospital and Barns – Village at Grand Traverse Commons and Grand Traverse Pavillions; potential uses for barns currently being debated	3	11%
	City Opera House	2	7%
	Traverse City State Bank Building - current 5th/3rd Bank	2	7%
	Beadle Building - current Mackinaw Brewing Co.	1	4%
	Ben's Bar - current Moe's Bum Steer	1	4%
	Car Dealership - current Antique Store	1	4%
	Carnegie Building – current Museum of History at the Grand Traverse Heritage	1	4%

	Center		
	City Gas Co. - current Candle Factory	1	4%
	Dairy Bar - current Stained Glass Store	1	4%
	Historic Firehouse - current Hanna Bistro	1	4%
	Hannah Lay Mercantile Building – current Boyne Country Sports	1	4%
	Ladies' Library and City Hall – currently law offices	1 of each	4%
	Bldg that now contains Omelette Shop	1	4%
	Auto Service - current Randy's Old Town	1	4%
	Historic Buildings and Architectural Details	2	7%
	Old Mission Lighthouse	1 of each	4%
	Firehouse #1 sign and Martinek's Clock	1 of each	4%
	NEIGHBORHOODS	3	11%
	New Architecture, Site Furniture, Signage and Sculpture	2 of each	7%
	Mixed Use Developments and Alternative Energy Sources	1 of each	4%
	INSTITUTIONAL	12	43%
	Educational	10	36%
	Continuing/Specialized	7	25%
	Secondary and Elementary and College	6 of each	21%
	Religious	3	11%
	Financial	2	7%
	INTANGIBLE QUALITIES	10	36%
	Neighborhood Aesthetic Qualities	8	29%
	Victorian-era/ Stately Older Homes	5	18%
	Brick Streets	2	7%
	Trees Providing Dappled Shade	2	7%
	Gardens, Sidewalks and Well-Kept Homes	1 of each	4%
	Quiet	1	4%
	Community Feeling	6	21%
	Preservation/Restoration of Historic Architecture for Current Use	5	18%
	Safety and Security	2	7%
	Hope for the Future, Living the Simple Life, Open Space/Forest Conservation, Patriotic Spirit, Preservation of History, Pride in the Past, and Place for Solitude	1 of each	4%
	SERVICES	9	32%
	Medical Services	7	25%
	Governmental Services	2	7%
	Courtesy Services, Police/Security and Lifeguards/Safety	1 of each	4%

	EVENTS	9	32%
	Yearly Events	7	25%
	Film Festival	5	18%
	Cherry Fest	4	14%
	Weekly/Monthly Events	5	18%
	Shakespeare in the Park, Free Concerts in Parks and Music by the Bay	2 of each	7%
	Live musical performances - Interlochen, etc.	1	4%
	Monthly/Annual Events	3	11%
	Art Fairs	2	7%
	Friday Night Live	1	4%
	OUTSIDE TRAVERSE CITY	10	36%
	Natural Features	9	32%
	Cultural/Community	5	18%
	Managed Landscapes	5	18%
	Trails	4	14%
	Parks and Structures Associated with Water	2 of each	7%
	Agriculture and Aquaculture	1 of each	4%
	Recreational Opportunities	3	11%
	Built Features	2	7%
	Small/Local Enterprises	1	4%

Table 6: Camera Study Results

Character Of Traverse City

The general character of Traverse City, based upon photographic analysis, historical research, stakeholder surveys, and field observation is that of a historic northern resort town located on the waterfront with the charm of small town living. Being home to events such as the National Cherry Festival and the locally-popular Friday Night Live, Traverse City still maintains a small town character with a charming northern quality throughout much of the year. The majority of the downtown is highly walkable, allowing the street to be a place of social interaction. Each distinct area of the downtown provides the pedestrian with a distinct experience, dependent upon the combination of land use, services provided, and architecture.

Mapping The Central Business District

Urban design scholar Kevin Lynch suggested that a community's character could be separated into five distinct categories: districts, paths, edges, landmarks, and nodes.²⁵³ Using Lynch's methodology, we were able to map out these characteristics in Traverse City based on input from community members, walking tours, the camera study, and participation in a community-wide

waterfront focused design charrette. As seasonal change dictates usage of an area, our site visits occurred during different times of the year.

Districts

Districts are areas that maintain a distinct visual character throughout. They may have distinct boundaries, such as being surrounded by a busy road, or they may be united by a common pedestrian scale or architectural style. Districts vary in size. It is not uncommon for a district to have a strong core surrounded by a gradient in which the character changes as you move outward.²⁵⁴ Ten different districts are contained within the downtown Traverse City area. These areas range from residential districts (Central Neighborhood, Boardman Historic District), to mixed use (River's Edge, Old Towne), primarily commercial (the "Central" Business District and its subset Pedestrian Core area), current redevelopment areas (Warehouse District and Red Mill District), and open areas (Waterfront). These districts are shown in Figure 101 and described in further detail below.



Fig 101: Districts located in the Traverse City study area.

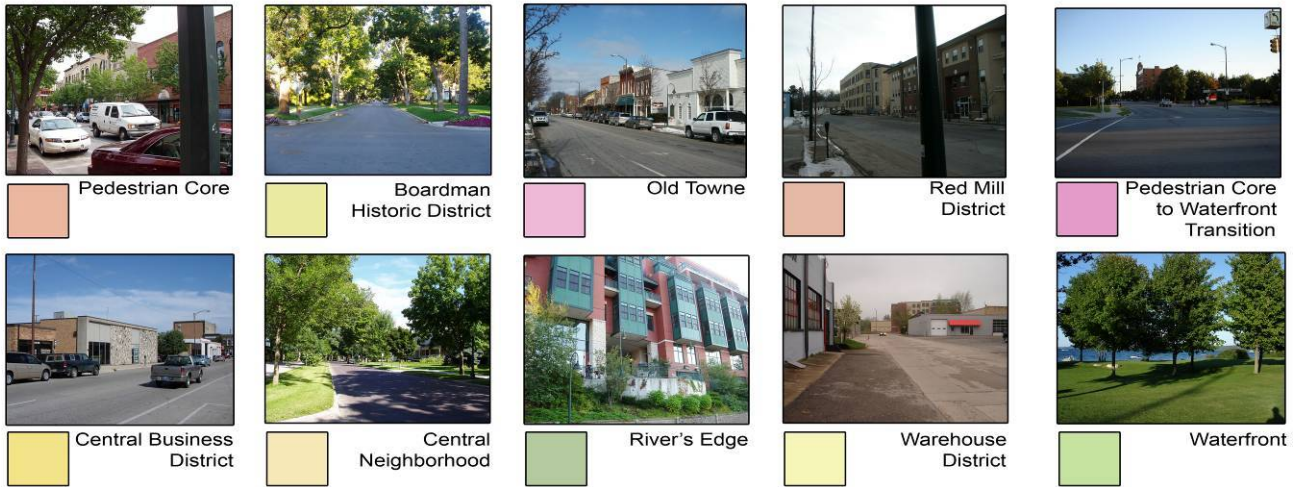


Fig 102: Character districts

Central Business District

Enclosed by the organic form of the Boardman River on three sides, the Central Business District's grid-like streets provide an easily navigable experience for vehicles and pedestrians alike. Traveling through this district outside of the Pedestrian Core, a visitor will notice evenly sized blocks filled with a mix of uses. Retail, office, and institutional uses are housed side by side in a series of dispersed buildings interrupted by surface parking lots. The frequent incorporation of parking lots on the street sides creates open views, allowing for the backs of buildings along Front Street to be occasionally observable and not as pedestrian friendly. Buildings in this district maintain a relatively common building height, many being only one to two stories in height, with the exception of the Park Place Hotel, which visually punctuates the sky with its ten-story tower. A decreasing amount of first-floor retail is noticed as one travels outward from the center of the Central Business District, resulting in a lack of pedestrian interest and travel. Streets are wide enough to allow for two lanes of vehicular traffic with parallel parking on both sides. Sidewalks are wide and lined with young trees. Four-way stops or stoplights exist at intersections to regulate traffic and allow for safe travel by foot. The amount of surface parking contained downtown in addition to the large parking deck located on the block of State Street between Park Street and Boardman Avenue demonstrate the importance of the motor vehicle. The combination of a limited public transportation system into surrounding neighborhoods, along with a comparatively small number of residences in the downtown versus the suburbs; causes most residents and visitors to drive to and from downtown. Therefore, much of the pedestrian travel in this area is comprised of visitors traveling from their cars to shops or to work.



Pedestrian Core

Pedestrian travel increases as one moves closer to the “pedestrian core” of the Central Business District. Located along Front Street in between Union and Park Streets, the visitor will immediately notice a distinct visual change from the surrounding areas. Buildings become much denser and gradually rise in height—up to four stories in some areas. Decorative cornices in a mix of colors crown the buildings, while their arched windows create a cadence of glass down the street. Colorful awnings and trees lining the street extend out over the sidewalk to enclose the pedestrian in the streetscape. Parallel parking on both sides of the street provides protection to the pedestrian, creating a buffer from two lanes of traffic heading west on Front Street. Filled with dispersed retail, offices, and residences, Front Street keeps the visitors eyes wandering from storefront to storefront. The densely arranged buildings make use of a mixture of materials, including both painted and native brick, wood, and concrete. New architecture blends with old and new retail uses such as the Mackinaw Brewing Company inhabit historic structures. From the historic red brick of Fifth-Third Bank, to the stone walls of the historic First National Bank building, construction materials provide visual interest as they change from block to block. Crosswalks and bump-outs interrupt each block, allowing brick-paver paths to guide the pedestrian from each side of the street.



Boardman Historic District

Located directly adjacent to the Central Business District, a visual change in land use is observable as the visitor enters the more private residential area of the historic Boardman Neighborhood. Single family homes architectural styles, demonstrate the variation in age of homes in the district. Homes in assortments of colors and sizes ranging from cottages to the romantic and decorative Queen Anne style exist. Peaked roofs, wrap around porches, turrets, and colorful ornamentation are common as one travels from block to block. Moving

throughout the district, lush vegetation and manicured lawns become evident, showing that this area was once and still is a fashionable place to live. High canopies of mature trees create a sun-dappled effect on the narrow streets, reinforcing the residential, high-end feel of the area.



The Central Neighborhood Historic District

Traveling from north to south within the Central Neighborhood, the visitor immediately notices the transition from grand old homes of a common Victorian style to smaller, more conventional single family homes. A few commercial, retail, and institutional land uses are interspersed throughout the area, including the National Cherry Festival Headquarters, the Grand Traverse Heritage Center, and the Reynolds Jonkhoff Funeral Home (also known as the historic Perry Hannah House). The central neighborhood became one of the most desirable places to live within Traverse City after Perry Hannah built his home there. In this section of the district, homes are set back at a uniform distance on lots on Sixth Street's north side, as Hannah enjoyed the unobstructed view from his porch. Lush vegetation greets the visitor, providing a canopy of green as one passes through. Houses built in this section of the neighborhood follow Hannah's ideals of symmetry and an orderly community. Situated close to the mixed use area of Old Towne and the major arterial streets of Division and Eighth, this neighborhood takes on a more public feel than the Boardman neighborhood to those passing through by car. Brick-paved streets, patched with asphalt, show evidence of gradual deterioration due to traffic flows and the age of the brick.



Old Towne

The intersection of Sixth and Union Streets marks the district historically known as the Old Town Business District. Upon crossing over the Union Street Bridge, a

smaller pedestrian scale retail area exists that slowly melds into Lay Park and the Central Neighborhood. This area contains a series of 2-story retail and commercial buildings extending down Union Street and mimicking the architectural style and detail of those buildings in the pedestrian core. Young trees and parallel parking create a buffer to the two lanes of vehicular traffic moving north and south on Union Street. This strip contains the closed Dill's (once known as Novotny's Saloon), a historical building noted by the Michigan Historical Register.



River's Edge

Upon entering the River's Edge district, the visitor encounters an area filled with new development. The River's Edge district, once containing an iron foundry was redeveloped from a neglected brownfield to an area filled with mixed uses and detailed landscaping that connects the past with the future. Standing at approximately two to five stories above grade, this development gradually steps back from the Boardman River as it rises up to its maximum height. Materials such as red brick, concrete and glass give a more industrial feel to parts of the site, connecting back to its historically industrial use. Other housing choices, including condominiums in a variety of pastel shades, visually connect to the architecture of the Boardman Neighborhood. Borrowed views to the Boardman enhance River's Edge, whose modern style and size are a bit overwhelming to those passing through via the Boardman River boardwalk.



Red Mill District

Visitors to the Red Mill district will immediately notice an extension of the Warehouse area, including three well known enterprises, North Peak Brewery, Folgarelli's Market, and the Candle Factory. Old and new architecture meet in this area as they, along with the Northern Lakes Community Mental Health building and BATA station (currently under construction), combine to create the

eastern edge of the Red Mill district along Hall Street. Numerous redevelopment efforts exist in this area, attempting to create better pedestrian connections to the waterfront. Brownfield redevelopment has significantly increased development in the Red Mill District, allowing for new construction such as the Harbour View Centre.



Warehouse District

Containing former industrial uses, this area is home to both neglected and restored buildings that are either vacant or serve as commercial enterprises. Buildings in this district are primarily one or two stories tall, are commonly constructed of concrete, and exhibit a distinct industrial feel. Few trees exist in this area as much of the land area is covered by pavement and surface parking although the overgrown edge of the river, on the south edge of the district, is a popular place to fish. Due to the many open areas and juxtaposition with the waterfront, the National Cherry Festival is held in part in this district during the summer months. Pedestrian and vehicular movement through the site is minimal as a result of Garland Street turning north to Grandview Parkway rather than continuing straight through from Hall Street to Union Street. Both pedestrians and drivers feel as though they are trespassing through a private area as a reflection of the industrial nature of the site.



Pedestrian Core to Waterfront Transition

This area, primarily comprised of surface parking, is a zone of flexible use and transition. It houses the popular and beloved farmer's market twice a week during the market season and is a well-used parking lot during the rest of the week. A boat launch on the southeastern side of the parking lot is also frequently used by boaters throughout the year. With architecture reminiscent of the old Manistee and Northeastern railroad depot, the Traverse City Convention and Visitor's Bureau and the Chamber of Commerce both call this district home. Looking to the south of this district, the visitor will see a line of vegetation,

highlighting the edge of the Boardman River. Views to the north are completely open, allowing for a long view over Grandview Parkway towards the bay. This district also facilitates physical movement across Grandview Parkway as the underground tunnel to the zoo is found near Cass Street. Public art in the form of sculpture, a small riverside plaza, and access to the river boardwalk make this district one of the most diverse in the city.



Waterfront

Considered Traverse City's most beloved resource, the waterfront is home to Traverse City's "open space," sandy beaches, and a recently renovated marina complex. Boating traffic is high during the summer months and visitors can often be found playing sand volleyball or swimming near the beach. Few structures currently exist, with the exception of the structures associated with Clinch Park Zoo and the Duncan L. Clinch Marina. Paved paths on the north side of Grandview Parkway allow for pedestrian and bicycle travel. Plantings do exist; however, they are strategically placed to avoid obstructing pedestrian and vehicular views to the bay. Views to the bay can be seen from the downtown, looking north on Park, Cass, and Union Streets. As Grandview Parkway runs the length of the waterfront to the south of the site, pedestrian access to the waterfront from downtown is only permitted via crosswalks at these streets, the boardwalk at river level, or the pedestrian underpass connecting to the Zoo.



Pathways

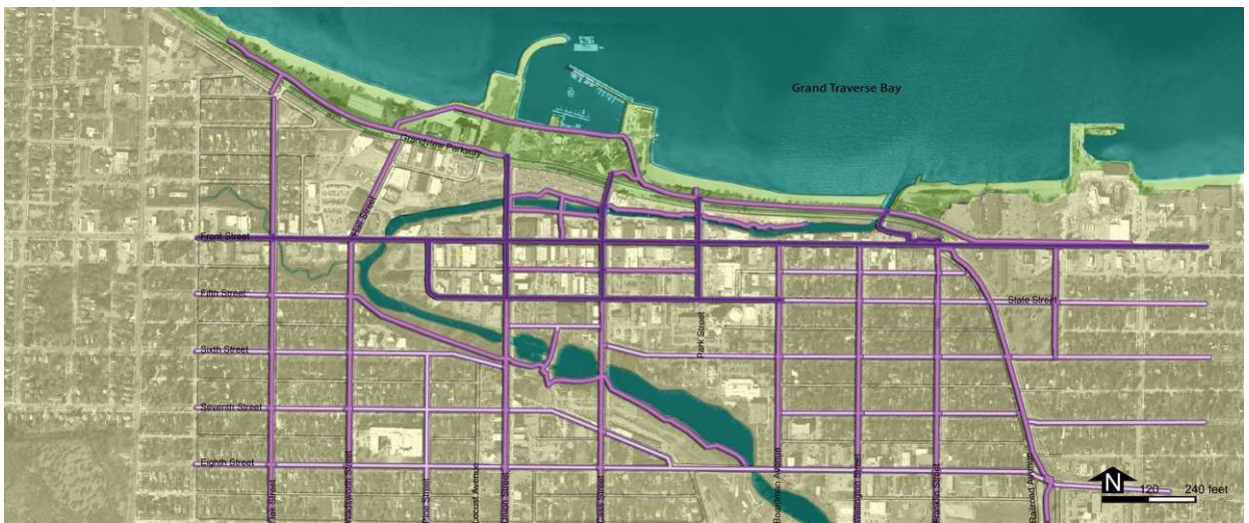


Fig 103: Pathways located in the Traverse City study area.

Pathways, often dominant city elements, are defined as linear segments in the landscape that are used to travel from point to point. Their level of importance is dependent upon use. Pathways can include pedestrian and vehicular routes. In Traverse City, our team has focused on pedestrian paths. In addition to the sidewalk system, pedestrians travel throughout the study area via the existing TART trail, Boardman River boardwalks, and waterfront trails. A hierarchy of foot-traffic on these paths is shown in Figure 103. The majority of these paths provide pleasant traveling experiences; however, the pedestrian occasionally faces the challenge of crossing busy streets. For example, the corridor along Grandview Parkway, although located near the waterfront, is unpleasant to cross due to fast moving vehicles. To the visitor, this major east/west corridor becomes conceptually dominant as vehicles are not required to stop. A pedestrian underpass at Cass allows people to avoid conflicts with vehicular traffic while crossing to Clinch Park. However, the tunnel is often locked during the cold season and from evening until morning. Union, Cass, and Park Streets are the major north/south connections in the hierarchy of paths linking downtown to the waterfront. The views down these streets lead directly to the waterfront. The view culminates in open space when looking down both Union and Park Streets to the north. Cass Street, centrally located within the Pedestrian Core, acts as a grand promenade. The view north down Cass Street to the waterfront culminates at Clinch Park Zoo and the Con Foster Building, creating a destination at its northern end. Each year during the holidays, the City places a large, decorated holiday tree in the center of Cass, north of Front Street. Historically, as described in the history section, a fountain was located at

this point. These actions signify Cass Street as being an important pathway from downtown to the waterfront in all seasons.

Particular attention should be paid to the pathways created by Union, Cass, and Park Streets, as making major downtown to bay connections is possible at these points. Hall and Division Streets are secondary in the north/south connection hierarchy. The northern views looking along these streets are unobstructed vantage points of open space on the waterfront. However, the Red Mill District and the Warehouse District, as described previously, do not provide pleasant pedestrian experiences through which to travel. In addition, traveling south on these streets does not connect to the downtown. Front Street acts as the major east/west pathway for pedestrians based on the high levels of activity making it a memorable place.

Edges



Fig 104: Edges located in the Traverse City study area.

Edges are created by distinct changes in character, influenced by traffic flows, natural features, and perceived changes in the landscape. Edges, whether they be railroads or throughways, topography, or district boundaries, typically fragment the landscape.²⁵⁵

As shown in Figure 104, the Boardman River acts as a clear edge of separation in the landscape. A vehicle or pedestrian cannot cross it unless permitted to do so by bridge, underpass, or boardwalk. River's Edge, the Warehouse District, the Central Business District, Old Towne, and the Pedestrian Core to Waterfront Transition all share a common boundary: the Boardman River. Many areas along the Boardman River, including those between Cass and Union Streets, Hannah Park and the River's Edge District, are well kept and provide for pedestrian access. However, along some parts of the Boardman, these edges are undesirable. Pedestrians are not always permitted to walk to the edge of the river, due to steep slopes or dense, shrubby vegetation. Additional areas are fenced off, giving the feeling that you are not supposed to cross or that danger

sits behind it. Along Front Streets, nearly all buildings have their backs facing the river and allow for parking behind, further accentuating the Boardman River edge.

Traffic movement also creates defining edges. Grandview Parkway and Eighth Street have heavy traffic flows, each creating an edge that makes it difficult for a vehicle or pedestrian to move across these streets. Pedestrians are required to dart across these edges, since actual crosswalks are infrequent and widely spaced. The five-lane Grandview Parkway, in particular, acts as both a visual and mental barrier to pedestrians wishing to travel from downtown to the bay front. There is not a stoplight or formal crosswalk at Cass Street (the grand promenade) and Grandview Parkway, making travel across the parkway even more difficult for pedestrians. (As noted earlier, the tunnel at Cass and Grandview Parkway is frequently locked, especially during winter months.) Stoplights do exist at the intersections of Union and Park Street with Grandview Parkway, allowing for formal crosswalks, but the length of time allowed for pedestrians to cross is short.

As Lynch writes, "a strong edge does not necessary equate to something that is a barrier, or impenetrable".²⁵⁶ A strong edge exists at the transition between the Pedestrian Core as one moves into the Central Business District. Once a pedestrian crosses over this edge or threshold, the character of the downtown is distinctly different. One feels as if they are entering into an entirely new section of town, where the buildings become denser and begin to enclose the pedestrian and the streets feel more walkable. One feels this change in character as they move outward from the Pedestrian Core to the Central Business District. Buildings become less dense and more surface parking lots arise. This strong edge is felt at the intersection of Front and Hall Streets, just past the Boardman River. A number of new infill and redevelopment plans have been proposed for this area, which may aid in relieving this sudden change in character.

Another good edge is located along Boardman Avenue along the stretch in between the Courthouse and old elementary school. Although Boardman Avenue defines a separation between the Central Business District and the Boardman Neighborhood, the style and architecture of these buildings echo each other from across the street. This creates a nice transition from either side, signifying the positive character that an edge can create.

Landmarks



Fig 105: Landmarks located in the Traverse City study area.

A landmark is a physical object defined in the landscape, often used as a visual marker for orientation and way finding. For example, if someone from out of town were to ask a Traverse City resident for directions, the latter may use landmarks to describe how to get from place to place (“walk towards the Fifth-Third bank tower”, “across the street from Horizon Bookstore”, “two blocks down from the County Courthouse”, or other phrasing). Landmarks are often spatially prominent, where the element is visible from many locations or it provides a local contrast with surrounding elements. Landmarks are often located at junctions, where important decisions are made. They are also located along dominant pedestrian paths such as those described earlier. Many of these landmarks are located on Front, Union, Cass, and Park Streets, which are the dominant pedestrian pathways described above. They are often directly viewable when traveling down these paths and in some cases, signify a beginning and an end to dominant pathways. Landmarks often define the end of views. This is the case with the view north towards the Bay Front on Cass Street. The view ends in the visual landmark of the Clinch Park Zoo. However, visual landmarks do not exist at the northern views along Union and Park Streets. Traverse City has a high number of landmarks, which are identified in Figure 105.

Grand Traverse Bay: Perhaps the most important and highly valued landmark in Traverse City.

Boardman River: Although underutilized, it is still recognized as important due to its containment of the downtown and connection to the bay.

Friendly Garden Club Planting Bed: One of the largest and most well-maintained garden beds on the bay front. Its Victorian-style plantings often create a picture for the viewer.

Farmer's Market: Located in a flexible use space in the pedestrian core to waterfront transition, this commercial and social area is a parking lot during non-market times.

Traverse City Convention and Visitor's Bureau: An important landmark for tourists to learn about Traverse City's amenities and attractions.

Fifth-Third Bank Tower: A historic building on the northwest corner of Union and Front, which stands taller than any other on Front Street; it provides vertical punctuation of the skyline with its tower.

City Opera House: A historic building that is currently in the process of being renovated; it is home to many cultural events, dinners, and performances.

South Union Street/Boardman River Bridge: A historic bridge that offers a connection from the Central Business District to the surrounding residential neighborhoods.

Grand Traverse Heritage Center and the Museum of History: A historic building that houses a museum and numerous organizations devoted to the preservation of Traverse City history.

Reynolds Jonkhoff Funeral Home (Perry Hannah House): A historic home built by lumber baron Perry Hannah for his retirement.

Duncan L. Clinch Marina: The newly developed marina is a bay front landmark.

Clinch Park: Adjacent to the area known as the "Open Space" along the bay front, this area is also full of green recreational space and provides an unobstructed view to the bay.

Clinch Park Zoo and Mini-Train: It currently serves as a destination point on the waterfront for the many children and parents who wish to see animals and ride the train. Although the zoo will be closing soon, this area will likely serve another important civic function in the future, remaining a focal point of activity.

Traverse City Chamber of Commerce: A newly-built structure that embraces historical architecture and overlooks the waterfront.

State Theatre: A place of entertainment where movies are currently shown as part of special events, it is hoped that the Theatre will reopen soon with a more permanent schedule.

Horizon Bookstore: This independent retail shop draws visitors of all ages and its coffee shop and patio serve as an important Traverse City gathering point.

Park Place Hotel: Its ten-story tower, the highest structure in the study area, provides a vertical marker high in the sky.

County Courthouse: A large, historic brick structure surrounded by a well-maintained carpet of green.

Governmental Center: A large, attractive building situated on the banks of the Boardman River.

Nodes



Fig 106: Social Nodes located in the Traverse City study area.

Nodes are similar to landmarks in that they define social gathering spaces within the community and add to its perceived vibrancy. As Lynch suggests, “people heighten their attention in areas where decisions are made. In these areas, nearby elements and landmarks are often perceived with higher than normal clarity”.²⁵⁷ In Traverse City many of these nodes, shown in figure 1, are located in places of social interaction or pathway intersection. Social nodes include: the marina, Clinch Park and the Open Space, the Farmer’s Market, and Horizon Bookstore. Intersection nodes include: the intersections of Front Street with Union, Cass, and Park Streets and the intersection of Front Street and Grandview Parkway (Figure 106). These nodes are more heavily used in the summer, when the weather is pleasant. These areas also act as places of winter activity, although this activity is sporadic, demonstrating the need for additional winter nodes. There are also many places to informally eat outside, including the space outside of Sassy Sandwich at Union and Front Streets, Horizon Bookstore, the grassy area between 242 and 250 East Front Street, and potentially the Jay Smith walkway that is currently under reconstruction.

Nodes are associated with a sense of arrival. For example, visitors recognize that they’ve entered downtown Traverse City when they cross the intersection of Front and Park Streets. They also tend to recognize that they’ve left it once they cross over Front and Union Streets. Clinch Park is a type of thematic concentration, characterized by typical open space complete with trails, plantings, and pedestrian activity. “A strong physical form is not essential to the recognition of a node”.²⁵⁸ The Farmer’s Market, located in the parking lot in the

Pedestrian Core to Waterfront Transition District is most memorable when the market activity is occurring, rather than when it is merely a parking lot.

Character Of The Central Business District and Waterfront

Districts, paths, edges, landmarks, and nodes simply comprise the basic elements used to create the city image.²⁵⁹ Each of these elements come together to intensify and enhance the overall character of the area, ultimately defining its structure and identity. For a identifiable form to be created, these elements must be combined to either reinforce each other or create structure through conflict. For example, one building or place often serves as both landmark and node, thus reinforcing its importance. We also see edges and districts abutting each other to create tension and focus through their interaction.

Districts are made distinct by the overarching land use, scale, and typical building forms. The ten districts included in the study area create a variety of experiences, from the dense pedestrian core with its access to services and easy walkability, to the less dense areas, like the sporadically populated Warehouse District. Within each district are particular types of the other basic elements that further differentiate the districts from each other. Narrow streets based on a grid, wide sidewalks, and tree-lined streets create pathways that encourage pedestrian movement. Landmarks exist throughout each area, giving residents and visitors visual clues to help them move throughout the city. Small spaces that invite socialization create nodes in the city, often at areas of pathway intersection or high activity. These spaces make the city attractive and vibrant, and add to the existing small town feeling.

Two districts within the study area, in particular, are highly valued by residents and visitors alike: the Pedestrian Core (mentioned by 61% of photographers in the Camera Study) and the Waterfront (mentioned by 68% of photographers). Each of these districts has unique characteristics, which are described in detail below.

The Pedestrian Core provides a mixture of architectural forms and details and the quality and type of building materials in this district certainly connect viewers to the history of the city. Historical buildings still exist within the city, as shown in Figure 105, and it has been demonstrated that residents value the preservation of these structures and would like to see new developments build upon historic architecture. (43% of all photographers from the camera study noted that they value historic architecture.)

The waterfront is another important district within Traverse City. As evidenced by the camera study and public participation meetings, open spaces and views within those spaces are highly valued. In fact, natural features such as the bay and waterfront were the most valued community assets in Traverse City, according to results of the camera study. The waterfront acts as both Traverse City's front yard and a popular destination; however, physical access from the downtown is minimal, due to the perceived "edge" created by Grandview Parkway. The waterfront is visually accessible at both pedestrian and driving

scales. It is, however, viewable downtown Traverse City only at select points: looking north on Union and Park Streets. (At Cass St, it is more difficult to see the bay, though the upcoming closure of the zoo offers an opportunity for improving the view from the downtown to the marina.) These forced views allow for much potential in terms of creating experiences along viewable areas on the waterfront.

Both the camera study and public participation meetings show that the two most popular characteristics of Traverse City include the Grand Traverse Bay/Waterfront and access to downtown services. These activities are found in the Waterfront and Pedestrian Core Districts, which are both physically separated by the perceived “edge” created by Grandview Parkway and psychologically separated by the perceived inability to walk between the two. As there is little interaction between the two districts, it makes sense to borrow from the qualities that make each area so attractive and enhance flows between the two; residents and visitors that often use the waterfront must be drawn into the downtown and vice-versa. It is evident that we must build on existing relationships to marry the waterfront and the Central Business District.

Five areas for improvement have been identified; they can easily be defined as central nodes of interaction in downtown Traverse City. Their development will help bridge the gap between the Central Business District and Waterfront. They are shown in Figure 107.



Fig 107: A hierarchy of nodes to be used to strengthen the connections between downtown Traverse City and Grand Traverse Bay.

Grandview Parkway and Front Street

If we were to create a hierarchy of importance for these “nodes” of interaction, then the corner of Grandview Parkway and Front Street acts would be at the highest level. This intersection acts as a gateway for vehicular and pedestrian traffic to both the downtown and the waterfront. It is also the point at which Grandview Parkway begins to bisect the downtown and the waterfront. The

mouth of the Boardman River is located near this intersection and can also be enhanced to act as a destination point.

Grandview Parkway and Union, Cass, Park Streets

The intersections of Grandview Parkway and Union, Cass, and Park are next in the hierarchy. It is important to create nodes in these areas that will act as connectors between the waterfront and downtown. As described earlier, these nodes also provide visual connections to the waterfront from downtown and the potential for punctuation at their respective terminuses on the bay.

Garland Street and Hall Street

The Garland/Hall area acts at the final node in the hierarchy. If the Grandview Parkway and Front Street intersection is the front door, then the Garland and Hall area is the less well-known backdoor into Traverse City. The area around this node is presently much less developed than that of the “front door” or downtown area, presenting Traverse City with an exciting opportunity to create another unique gateway to their downtown.

Conclusions

A city’s character is influenced by many things; but it is only truly recognizable when people interact with and interpret it. We must build on existing relationships to engage in a distinctive marriage between the preservation of natural features and the growth of Traverse City. The story of the city is preserved among the sands of Grand Traverse, held in the trees that line Front Street, observed in the banks of the Boardman, and seen in the walls of historic architecture. It *is* possible for development and nature to coexist, as each touches back to the history and culture of Traverse City and reminds us that this is an area full of unique possibilities and special qualities. The city’s character will always be faced with change, but now as these identifiable traits are recognized, the city can plan to manage and enhance the connections between them.

In light of the accumulated findings of this Character Study, as well as the public meetings and other events held with Traverse City residents over the period of the study, we offer the following suggestions for further enhancing the city’s fascinating, eclectic, and historic character. These recommendations will be built upon in the Design Guidelines portion of this study:

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR MAINTAINING/ENHANCING TRAVERSE CITY'S CHARACTER

- Follow long-standing community goals to promote the ecological restoration and aesthetic enhancement of the Boardman River.
 - Provide uninterrupted boardwalks to allow pedestrians opportunities to be close to the river.
 - Consider streetscape treatments, landscaping improvements, and architectural changes to improve the rear façades of the buildings along the north side of Front Street, making them more aesthetically appealing and inviting to pedestrians.
 - Implement Stormwater Best Management Practices wherever possible.
- Continue to promote mixed use compact development, particularly of residential, commercial, and institutional spaces in the Central Business District.
- Destination spaces of both active and passive use should be created within all of Traverse City's Districts, along with well established pathways, to guide Traverse City residents to and from these areas and create a well-unified community.
 - Districts should, however, maintain their unique architectural and historical styles though the use of site furnishing, architectural details, and building type.
- Encourage new construction that makes use of the latest advances in energy efficiency, on-site stormwater management techniques, and environmental stewardship
- Continue Traverse City's history of rehabilitating historic structures for contemporary uses.
- Continue to strategically reduce off-street surface parking in the Central Business District by moving it to structured parking, so that new parcels may become available for future construction, parks or gathering spaces, and other positive uses.
- Complement the existing variety of unique districts by targeting underutilized areas, for development which obeys community-driven design guidelines (i.e. the Warehouse and Red Mill Districts) without sacrificing the districts' existing distinctive qualities.
 - Focus on underutilized areas for investment and development in order to promote desirable uses in Districts and preclude less-desirable ones.
 - Consider overlay zoning or form-based coding to achieve the abovementioned objectives.
- Make the intersection of Grandview Parkway and Front Street the vehicular gateway to downtown and the waterfront.

- Create destinations at the intersections of Union, Cass, and Park Streets with Grandview Parkway to act as main points of connection between downtown and the bay front.
- Continue examining site planning and building standards to further promote infill development.
- Create incentives for the development of affordable housing options in the Central Business District for those that work in the downtown and would like to live there.
- Convert the “Pedestrian Core to Waterfront Transition” area to a new “district” that will facilitate the transition and flows between downtown and the waterfront and reinforce those characteristics that the visitors and residents of Traverse City continue to value.

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