

After the City

by

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Author's Declaration

I hereby declare that I am the sole author of this thesis.
This is a true copy of the thesis, including any revisions,
as accepted by my examiners.

I understand that my thesis may be made electronically
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Abstract

This thesis is an anthology of stories, mappings, photographs, and thoughts about Detroit. It is an analysis of the post-metropolis, the most modern city in the world, and the events and convulsions that have brought it into being. It describes the city that was, that which remains, and the city that may again be. It is also an account of my journey to find that city and to walk its streets as a brother.

Detroit is not simply a collection of roads and buildings and people, however many or few, but rather it is an ecology of interdependent and often competing desires. Its story is the story of the building of the modern world, and its fall is the beginning of that world's end.

In a city defined by erasure and unbuilding, the role of architecture is unclear. It can provide the language to describe the structure of the city and the pieces that remain - it can suggest possible futures, but cannot realize them alone. Just one of the constellation of forces that have conspired to make the city on the straits, architectural, landscape, and urban design have become useful tools for those seeking to reconstitute Detroit for their own ends, with often uneven results.

This thesis seeks to reconcile the city, not to remake it. It is not an intervention.

Acknowledgements

Dr. Robert Jan van Pelt has been a mentor and a friend throughout my studies, and someone who taught me more in a few years than I expected to learn in a lifetime. He has helped me through the most difficult parts of this project, as I continuously reformulated the basic question and my response to it. I am eternally grateful for his trust and insight.

After a rough start in Detroit, Professor Donald McKay helped me understand the limits of field research and was an endless well of ideas on how to describe the vastness of the subject matter. If I have succeeded in producing a book that is elegantly designed and beautiful to look at, I owe this all to Donald.

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My external reader Bill Woodworth opened my eyes to the greater ecology that is Detroit and to the historical perspective necessary to bring such a place into focus. He encouraged a more sensitive reading of the evolution of the city and the need to reconcile the past before moving forward.

Professors Lola Sheppard, John McMinn, Derek Revington, and Adrian Blackwell were thoughtful critics during the early stages of this project and contributed greatly to the scope of research contained within.

My father never let me lose sight of why I was doing all of this, and without him, it would not have been possible to have made it this far.

My mother has been a source of optimism and encouragement, so essential to keeping the right mindset as I confronted a seemingly insurmountable challenge.

Matthew Barbesin is the reason that I chose to work on Detroit. Years ago, we played with the idea of farming out the city's vacancy and since then, Detroit has never really left my mind. He also took me there for the first time and helped me find my bearings before this project ever started. He explained the brilliance of a Coney Dog and showed me how to do a Michigan left, which probably saved my life a dozen times.

Mariella Amodio, Steve Bayne, Joanne Clark, Julian Francouer, Alondra Galvez, Clayton Lent, Peter Markine, Gail Rodrigues, Jeff Romanick, Kirk Scammell, Rosa Sessa, Matteo Terzi, Jenelle Thacker, and Gen Zinger were all fellow travelers on the roads of Detroit and trusted me to guide them safely home. They also listened with interest and patience as I rattled off stories and facts and trivia at every stop along the way.

The friends that I have met in Detroit enabled much of my field research, instilling in me the confidence to explore and the caution with which to do so. They unlocked secret places in the city that I would not have discovered, and taught me things I would never have learned on my own. It is the work of a lifetime to know a city as well as I tried to know Detroit, and I thank you, Lindsay, Marcus, & Tim for helping me get along.

Dedication

For the people of Detroit -
You haven't given up, so neither will I.



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After the City

Introduction

Detroit, the metropolis of Michigan has a respectable age and a history full of adventure and picturesqueness, fascinating to the imagination. The drama of its life is a succession of striking pictures, accompanied by the martial music of diverse nations.

Anonymous¹

What Detroit became, cars now rolling off assembly lines, was a rowdy, workingman's shot and a beer town. It offered few cultural pretensions besides some of its architecture...it was like living on the edge of a changing civilization with an undefined future.

Elmore Leonard²

Loosely organized as a chronological creation story for Detroit, this thesis incorporates historical portraits and urban trajectories with stories from my experience of the city and an analysis of the governmental and development trends that are emerging in the city following its bankruptcy.

The first three chapters of this thesis find their inspiration in the history of Rome. On the surface, many comparisons can be drawn between the urban transformations of the Eternal City and the Motor City, post calamity, though this is not a comparative analysis of the two. Rome provides a language to help describe the post-metropolis as it grew from a French fort to the Arsenal of Democracy and then collapsed. This is explored through the landscape and environment, through networks of connectivity and commerce, and through the influence of culture and capital on Detroit's urban form. Chapter one, Abitato, details the rise of Detroit; the second chapter, Siege describes the events that shook the fully formed city and laid the foundations of its dissolution; and chapter three, Disabitato, describes the nature of the vacancy that now floods the city.

Chapter four, Detroit Diamonds, is a limited portrait of some of the non-traditional ways in which Detroiters are reclaiming their city, and the motivations of those

who would seek a middle ground between disinvestment and rampant speculation.

Chapter five, *Delta City* describes the historical and contemporary efforts to remake Detroit through the stories of some of its most significant actors, with a somewhat critical view of this process and its import to the city residents.

The final chapter is a discussion of the city that has emerged post-bankruptcy and the various efforts underway to improve and to reduce the cost of city services by offloading some to the private sector, and expanding the reach of others into the Metro. It also an overview some of the challenges that have arisen as a result of the insolvency.

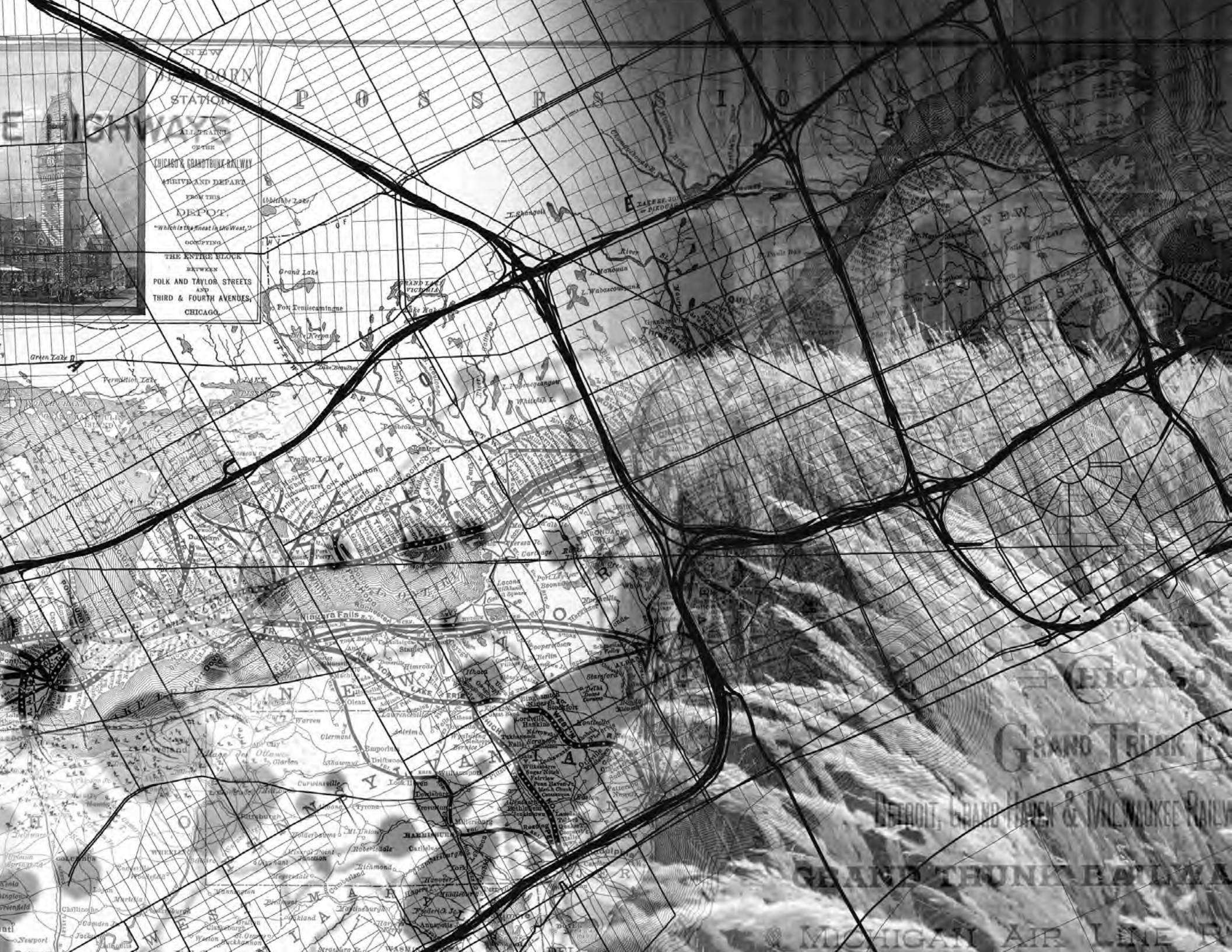
The epilogue contains speculations on the agency of architectural, landscape, and urban design in the future of the city and on the urban plan that has been developed to help it thrive in the coming decades.

The stories contained throughout these chapters seek to portray the humanity of the city, and the challenges faced by both residents and visitors alike, through my experiences there and portraits of a few of its indicative neighbourhoods. It is important to have a healthy fear of Detroit, as others have said before me, but only so much as you need to stay safe. Staying scared isn't going to make you safe, just scared. To try and see Detroit, the real Detroit, requires the arresting of those fears - I had to take a few chances, and unlike many who have stalked the city as of late, there would be no motorcade of armed guards behind my camera. I went in search of Detroit many months ago, and this thesis is a chronicle of the city I have found.

E HIGHWAYS

NEW YORK
STATION
ALL TRAINS
OF THE
CHICAGO & GRAND TRUNK RAILWAY
ARRIVE AND DEPART
FROM THIS
DEPOT,
"Which is the finest in the West,"
OCCUPYING
THE ENTIRE BLOCK
BETWEEN
POLK AND TAYLOR STREETS
AND
THIRD & FOURTH AVENUES,
CHICAGO.

P O S S E S S I O N



GRAND TRUNK RAILWAY

DETROIT, GRAND HAVEN & MILWAUKEE RAILWAY
GRAND TRUNK RAILWAY

MICHIGAN AIR LINE RAILWAY

The city, however does not tell its past, but contains it like the lines of a hand, written in the corners of the streets, the gratings of the windows, the banisters of the steps, the antennae of the lightning rods, the poles of the flags, every segment marked in turn with scratches, indentations, and scrolls.

Italo Calvino³

When a century old, it was still a frontier town. The ninety years of this century have seen it grow to a stately and beautiful city of nearly a quarter of a million, with an extensive commerce both by water and by rail; with great and varied manufactures, the products of refined taste, and distinguished also for its educational, religious, charitable, and benevolent institutions.

Anonymous⁴

Before the decline and bankruptcy of 2013, Detroit was one of the most prosperous cities in America, rising in prominence through the nineteenth century as Great Lakes shipping routes, railways, and roads enabled access to markets across the region. Numerous resource industries gave way to diversified manufacturing, chemical, and pharmaceutical production, and as the population grew, the city rapidly increased its borders. While Detroit was fostering its identity as the Motor City, the population reached its zenith and the city limits had expanded outward in every direction from the river. The fully formed industrial metropolis, now in its late stages, was the most significant incarnation of the City on the Straits, though just one of its many lives.

The story of Detroit begins centuries before the missionary voyages of Jesuit iconoclasts and the arrival of Antoine de la Mothe, Sieur de Cadillac. Early inhabitants had migrated to the region nearly 9,000 years ago and established numerous areas of settlement. The retreating ice age had created abundant rivers and lakes, forming the main migration routes between early areas of settlement. Many of the tribes were nomadic, migrating in the winter from coastal areas to inland river mouths. The Algonquin, Ojibwe, Huron, Miami, and Potawatomi also frequently traveled within the region and into what is now southwestern Ontario. Other tribes preferred traditional territory, but gradually a network developed by which people could cross the Michigan peninsula by land or by canoe.⁵ The siting of Detroit is a legacy of the earliest days of inhabitation in what is now northeast Michigan, traces of which and can still be read in the urban form of the modern city.





Figure 1.0: (p. vii)
LZ 127 Graf Zeppelin flying over Detroit, 1930.

Figure 1.1: (p. 4-5)
Montage

Figure 1.2:
1:500 000 scale
Cadillac's journey to Detroit

Water

London has its Thames, Paris, the Seine, Rome, the Tiber, and New York, the Hudson; but in everything the Detroit excels them all. It is no wonder that the first visitors came by water when such a stream flowed by them and beckoned them along.⁶

As it never overflows, it is never a menace, but always a joy and blessing. Yachts, sail boats, barges, ferries, and great steamers ply and fly over its silver and blue, and in the season of summer travel it is a panorama of beauty, gay with music, streamers and happy voyageurs.⁷

Silas Farmer

The Detroit River is the primary element of the city, and for much of Detroit's history has been an essential part of daily life, providing sustenance, mobility, and prosperity. Before heavy industry occupied the straits, its shores were broad prairie landscapes stretching back to wild orchards of fruit trees at the edges of towering hardwood forests. There are several indigenous names for the Detroit River: Wayweatunong (the crooked way), Tsycharondia (the bend in the river), Karontaen (the coast of straits).⁸ All describe the east-west shift in the river's path as it flows past Detroit, and the calming effect that the bend has on the water. There are legends that say that the river does not flood, and nothing has been found to disprove that assertion. The river is also narrowest here, where it bends past Detroit, and as it is the narrowest point of crossing in the lower Great Lakes, could be easily traversed in a birch-bark canoe. Landing sites on both sides of the river served as native encampments for years, and were roughly situated where the giant caissons of the Ambassador Bridge now lie.

When Cadillac arrived on the site that would become Fort Ponchartrain du Détroit, he had travelled over 2,000 kilometers along the shorelines and rivers of the Great Lakes waterways from Quebec and northern Ontario, rowing and portaging long canoes,





Figure 1.3:

Fort Lernoult and the Detroit River, 1798. Ribbon farms flank the fort and line both coasts of the river, and a few farms have been established on Ile aux Cochons, present day Belle Isle. This map shows the original fort, Pontchartrain du Détroit, despite the fact that the second, star shaped bastian fort had been constructed twenty years previous.

along with his young son, 2 Jesuit priests, and over one hundred men, both French and Algonquin.⁹ After reaching the present Grosse-Isle, the party set up camp on the island to stage an expedition to site the new fort. Several days later, a bluff was chosen near the modern intersection of Griswold and Shelby Streets, offering clear views in both directions along the coast.¹⁰ The fur trade, Detroit's primary export economy in the early years, was enormously dependent on the rivers and streams of the region. Goods loaded at Montréal would follow Cadillac's preferred route to Fort Ponchartrain: the less lengthy Niagara route through the eastern Great Lakes, which despite the considerable obstacles posed by the falls at Niagara, involved far fewer portages and could be accomplished in nearly half the time. The area was under Iroquois control for much of the early years of the fort, and could often be treacherous due to longstanding tensions between the indigenous Iroquois and the colonialist French.

Several smaller waterways that coursed through the area would facilitate the expansion of Fort Ponchartrain, as well form primary elements of the city that was rebuilt following the great fire of 1805. They had considerable value in driving mills, which began to crop up along these historic creeks in the mid to late eighteenth century. Unlike the more prominent Rouge River, these smaller waterways have been largely erased, buried, or channeled, though their presence can still be partially read in Detroit's modern urban form. The Grand Marais River, later Conner's Creek, in the far eastside was the most substantial of Detroit's lost rivers. It formed the western boundary of the Grand Marais, a long drained marshland that comprised much of what is now the Jefferson-Chalmers neighbourhood and the town of Grosse Pointe Park. The Conner Creek greenway running along side Chrysler's massive east side assembly plant roughly follows the path of the now channeled waterway. The Grand Marais was also fed by the Coulée des Renards, a small creek beginning in the northern forests and running near the route of present-day Jefferson Avenue before terminating in the marshland. The marshes were drained in the end of the nineteenth century, with the Coulée being channeled into a ditch cutting diagonally through the wetland to the river. Renards was later renamed Fox Creek, and exists today as a canal beginning at Jefferson Avenue and Alter Road, forming several kilometers of the eastern border of Detroit and Grosse Pointe Park. Fox Creek by 1930 was complemented by a series of smaller canals, the formalized leftovers of other drainage channels, creating

Figure 1.4: (opposite top left)

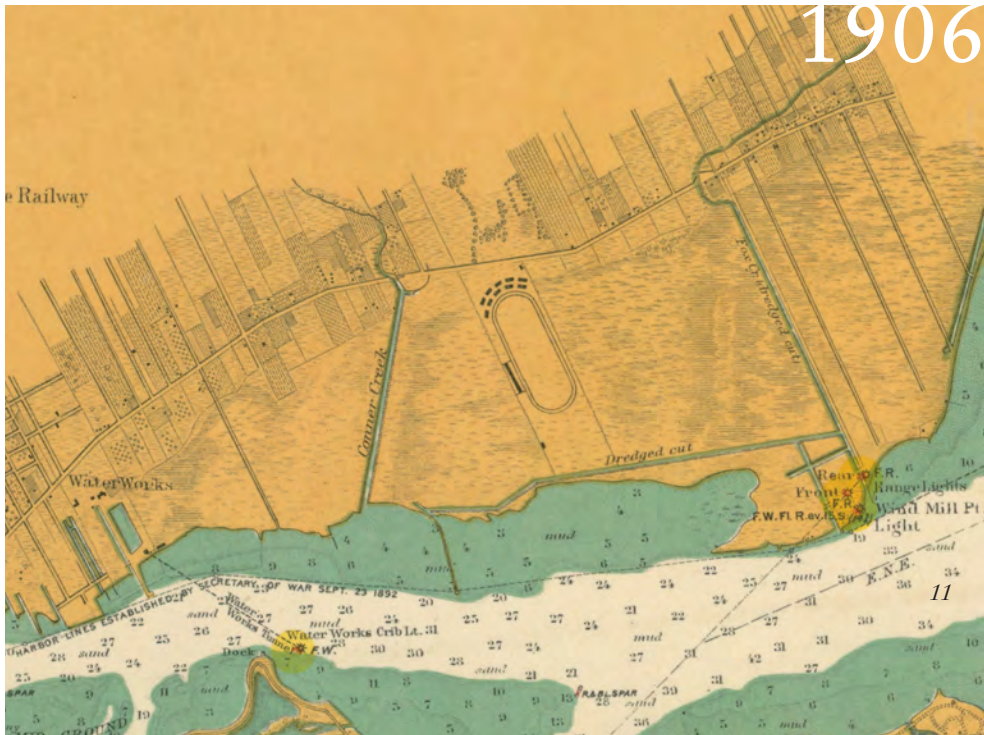
The Grand Marais, Fox Creek, and Conner's Creek, 1873. Jefferson Avenue runs through farmland north of the marsh and crosses several streams.

Figure 1.5: (opposite right)

Fox and Conner's Creek, 1930. Both creeks remain daylight north of Jefferson Avenue. The newly created canal district is visible in the southeastern tip of Jefferson-Chalmers. The neighbourhood streets have been completely surveyed.

Figure 1.6: (opposite bottom left)

The Grand Marais, Fox Creek, and Conner's Creek, 1906. Canals have been dredged to drain the marsh, the creeks have been channelled, and the Water Works has been constructed on the site of former marshland lagoons.



a small marine community at the edge of the city. Houses along these canals have docks, and in some cases boathouses, and four small islands were created by the intersection of the canals. While a few of the houses are in poor condition and some docks are collapsing into the creek, the community is well populated and relatively unblighted. An historic lighthouse, and a popular marina and park compliment the neighbourhood, taking over space previously used as a trailer park and the Mariner's Hospital.¹¹

The Huron, later Xavier, and finally Savoyard River was a small, swamp-born river that began near the former intersection of Riopelle and Congress Streets, in what was the Black Bottom neighbourhood. It ran westward below the Grand Circus to its outlet near Fourth Street and Woodbridge, an intersection that no longer exists, having been removed for the construction of the John C. Lodge Freeway and later the Joe Louis Arena, which sits atop the old river outlet. The river was a useful means of accessing the river from further within the city, as well as a popular fishing spot. Board planks crossed the narrow channel in many places along its length and a wide bridge was provided at the intersection with Woodward Avenue. In time, the Savoyard became inundated with industrial and household waste and was regarded as a great open sewer, one which had “lost all its primeval charms, and grew so offensive and malodorous that in 1836 the city was compelled, at a great expense, to convert it into a deep and covered sewer by enclosing it in stone.”¹²

North of the Savoyard was May's Creek, formerly Campau's River, which had several tributary sources around the Grand Circus, itself a marshland prior to construction of Woodward's radial plan. The creek was used for running grist mills, which could operate on its banks up to eight months a year, as was Knagg's Creek, another small waterway which reached the river at the site of Bela Hubbard's farm on the western shore.¹³

Bloody Run Creek is the most storied of Detroit's lost rivers and streams, and the lone survivor of years of sewerage the city's water courses. Its source was a marshland north of the early city, approximately at the intersection of present day Warren and Woodward Avenues, and it meandered east through the landscape before joining with a small tributary stream and turning southward to the river. The creek was originally named after an early settler and gunsmith, Joseph Parent, though following an ambush of British regulars by Ottawa warriors led by chief Pontiac, the creek was said to have run red with the blood of the killed and wounded, it came to be known by its current name. Dalzell, the

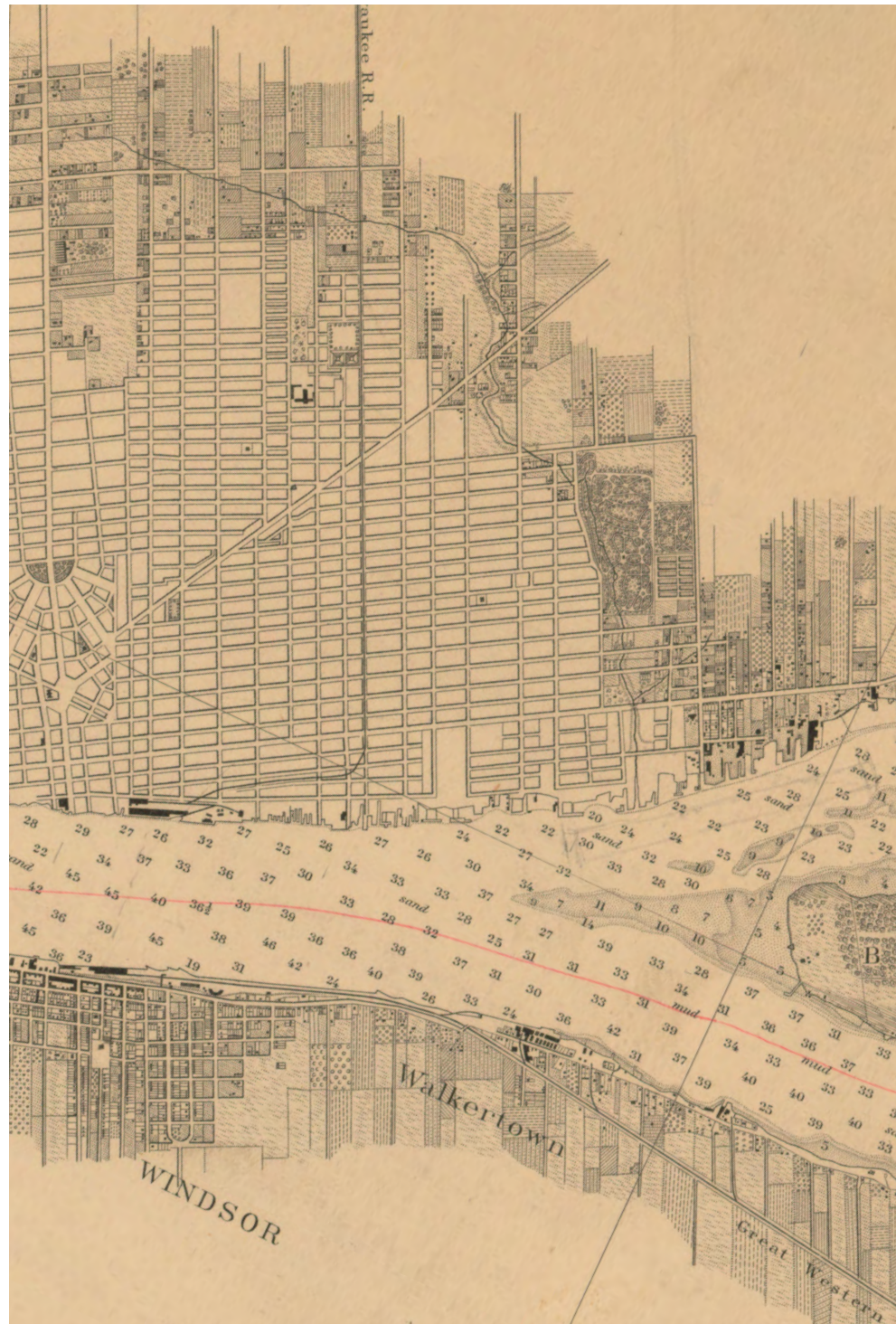
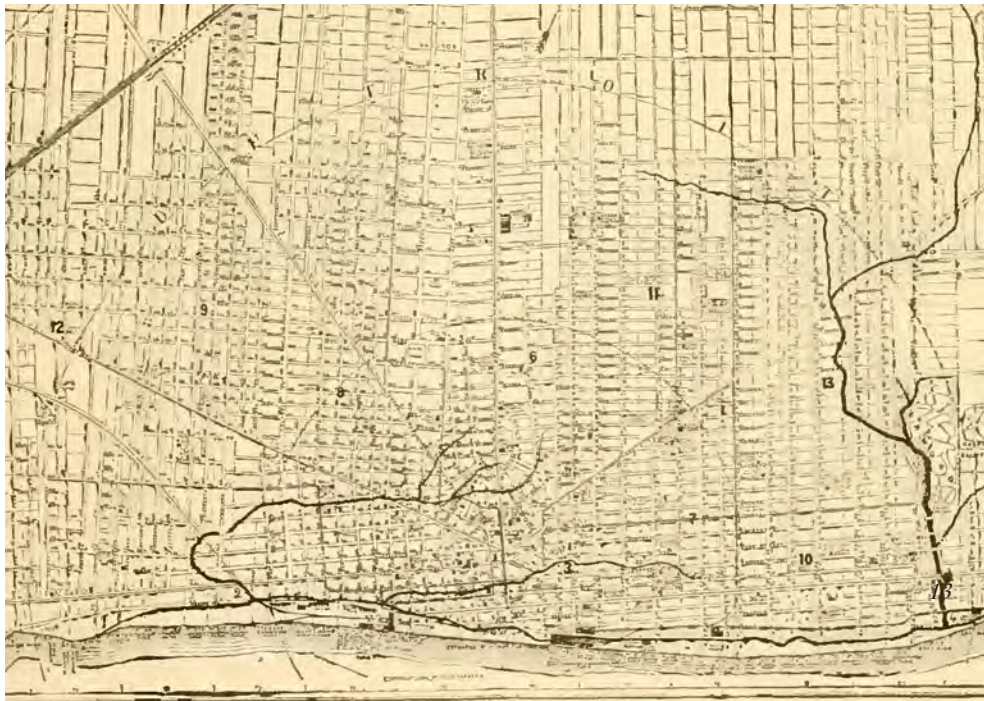
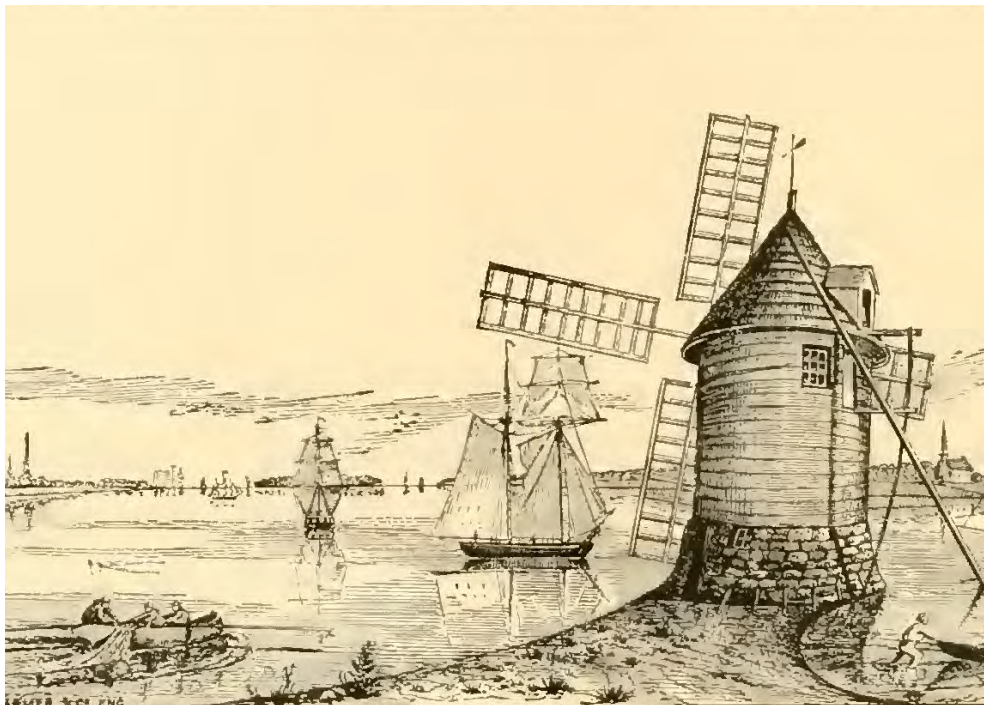


Figure 1.7: (above)
The Mariner's Hospital.

Figure 1.8: (opposite top left)
Knagg Creek and Windmill Point at the Hubbard Farm, 1838.

Figure 1.9: (opposite right)
Bloody Run Creek, 1873. The historical source of the river still exists at Woodward and Warren Avenues and farms line both sides of the waterway.

Figure 1.10: (opposite bottom left)
The former Savoyard River and May's Creek, superimposed over a map of the city, circa 1880. The historic shoreline is also shown.



British Captain who was killed along with his men, has a street named for him in a distant west side neighbourhood. Francis Parkman, in his history of New France, describes the creek in the time of the battle with Pontiac:

Bloody Run descended through a wild and rough hollow, and entered the Detroit amid a growth of rank grass and sedge. Only a few roads from its mouth, the road crossed it by a narrow wooden bridge...Just beyond this bridge, the land rose in abrupt ridges parallel to the stream.¹⁴

This quote seems to describe a location in the present day cemetery, though the precise spot where the ambush took place is not known. A bridge exists in this area, but is most certainly not the bridge described above. As late as 1901, the creek crossed through farmland at the periphery of the city to Elmwood Cemetery, but less than five years later, with the city rapidly expanding, it begins to disappear. A very small portion of the original creek still exists within the historic cemetery, weaving through a shallow valley lined with hardwood trees. The current source of the water is unknown. Its former route is reflected in the irregular western border of the cemetery.¹⁵ To find Bloody Run today, one must walk to the center of the cemetery, through some of the last pieces of original landscape to be found in Detroit. Nearly the entire city has been graded flat, its trees cut down and its rivers edge walled and filled, and its historic waterways converted to sewers or hidden in culverts. But, in this one small piece of Detroit, surrounded by two centuries of graves, a glimpse of the past can be seen.

Along with the disappearance of smaller creeks and rivers, the growth of Detroit and the rise of industry altered the city's relationship with the river. The evolving shoreline was a function of this growth, beginning modestly under the French and British in the form of docks and short sections of timber river walls. Rivard's plan of 1796 indicates embankments or bluffs on the shoreline east and west of the city, with streets and buildings located in a cluster close to the water. The river maintained a natural edge until the nineteenth century when maps begin to show increasing construction of docks, wharves, and river walls to contain landfill. This was limited at first to the central shoreline, roughly between 17th Street and Mount Elliot, with the areas to the east and west remaining

Figure 1.11: (opposite top left)

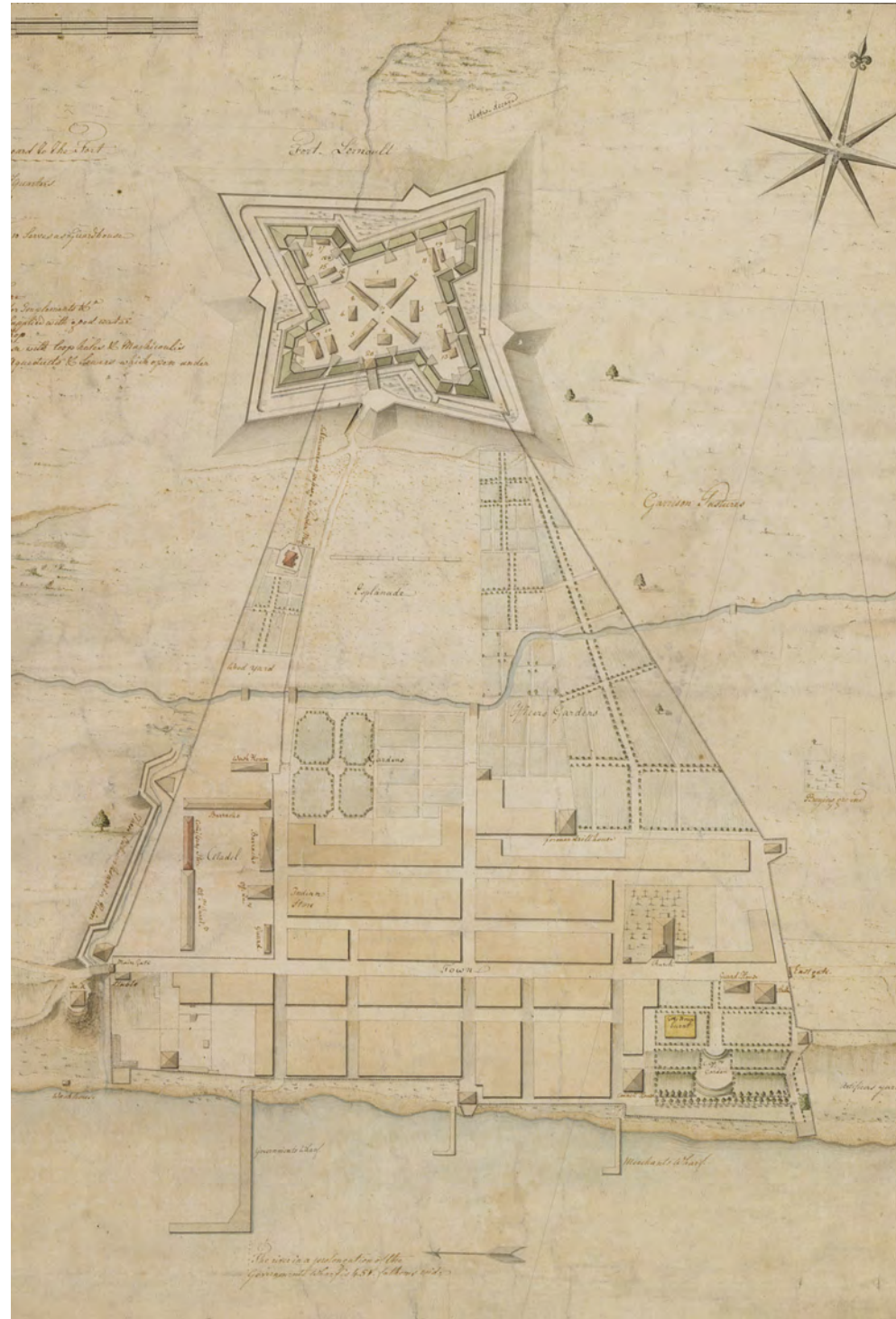
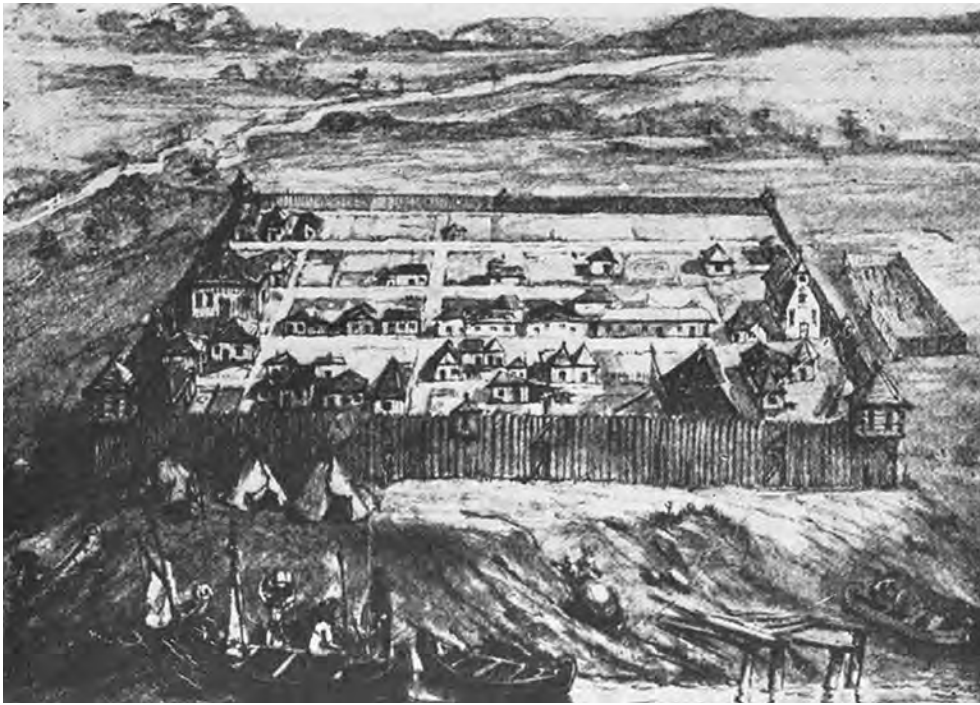
The original French settlement, Fort Ponchartrain du Détroit, 1701.

Figure 1.12: (opposite right)

Fort Lernoult and the town of Detroit, 1796. The shoreline at this time is largely natural, with several wharves. The Savoyard River bisects the stockade east-west near the path of present-day Congress Street.

Figure 1.13: (opposite bottom left)

Fort Ponchartrain du Détroit, 1706. An Aboriginal encampment is located to the east of the stockade.



natural, though industrial development and the serpentine reach of the railroad system quickly transformed the waterfront from the city core to the Rouge River. A small canal existed by 1900 that had transformed a marshy peninsula into Zug Island and when Henry Ford built his superfactory, the River Rouge complex, the river and canal were dredged and widened, with the artificial outlet now the Rouge's primary outfall. Giant ships filled with coal and iron-ore arrived to feed the blast furnaces, while ships filled with automobiles left the ports for the expanding markets in America and abroad.¹⁶ A complex network of canals was cut to drain the marshes west of the Rouge, while on the east side, the remaining lands of the Grand Marais were being slowly taken over by a mix of industrial, residential, and sporting uses.¹⁷ By 1930, this process was complete and the vast majority of Detroit's waterfront and that of Ecorse and River Rouge to the south was devoted to heavy industry. Train yards occupied the central waterfront and a neighbourhood of warehouses and small scale manufacturing was built to the east between the rail lines and the dry docks. Past Belle Isle, canals running parallel to the gridiron stretched up to Jefferson Avenue, creating narrow peninsulas occupied by a mix of residential and industrial uses, as well as the water and electric utilities. Many of these canals were ultimately the result of channeling Detroit's lost streams and rivers, and provide some clues as to the courses or outlets of these largely forgotten streams.

Detroit experienced a revitalization of the central waterfront following the extension of the Lodge Freeway to Jefferson Avenue in the early 1950s. Rail lines were removed or substantially decreased in number. The Henry and Edsel Ford Auditorium and Cobo Hall and Convention Centre were built, followed by the Renaissance Centre, the Joe Louis Arena, Riverfront Apartments¹⁸, and Hart Plaza in the 1970s.¹⁹ When industry decamped from Detroit, much of the remaining waterfront became a landscape of polluted, scoured sites and empty factories. Today the effort to continue what began with Ford's auditorium has seen an expansion of the park system and its connecting paths, gated residential development around the canals and marinas, and a handful of institutional projects. Much vacant land remains on both sides of the downtown core, with the neighbourhoods further to Detroit's eastern border experiencing modest redevelopment and the cleanup of some of the most heavily polluted sites, such as the UniRoyal brownfield.²⁰

Figure 1.14: (opposite left)

The Detroit River, Zug Island, and the River Rouge drainage canal system, 1901. The waters edge is primarily natural at this time.

Figure 1.15: (opposite right)

Aerial view of Elmwood Cemetery, 1997. Bloody Run Creek can be seen running along the west side of the cemetery.

Figure 1.16: (overleaf)

The last remnants of Bloody Run Creek, Elmwood Cemetery, 2012.









Figure 1.17: (top)
Fox Creek, 2014. Grosse Pointe Park is beyond the chainlink fence.

Figure 1.18: (bottom)
The marina district and Harbour Island in Jefferson-Chalmers, 2012.

Figure 1.19: (underlay)
Panoramic view of Detroit, Belle Isle, and the Detroit River taken from Mariners Park, 2012.





Trails

...the building, the monument, and the city become human things par excellence; and as such, they are profoundly linked to an original occurrence, to a first sign, to composition, permanence, and evolution, and to both chance and tradition. As the first inhabitants fashioned an environment for themselves, they also formed a place and established its uniqueness.

Also Rossi²¹

Even more significant than the waterways to the early aboriginal inhabitation of the region were the system of trails footpaths that crossed the peninsula. Initially developed for tribal migration through the interior, the trail system grew to connect the upper peninsula with the east and west coasts of the lower mainland present day New York and Maine, and via the great lakes, into Ontario and Quebec. They later became important routes for the Voyageurs and Couriers de Bois involved in the fur trade and the siting of new settlements. The trails were so significant to the lives of the both the indigenous peoples and colonists, that they have largely persisted to this day in the form of rural roads, highways and interstates, having slowly transformed from the footpaths of the pre-colonial era, to stagecoach highways, and then into the concrete superhighways of today.

In many cases the original routes are largely unaltered, though the territory through which they pass has radically changed. The footpaths were planned from their onset to follow the least varied or difficult routes and cross streams and rivers at their shallowest points, generally following water courses on high ground through the forests and open lands. Numerous camp sites, stone markers and secondary trails were to be found along the main trail system, which was deeply worn from centuries of foot traffic by the time the colonialists arrived. It was through these lesser routes that many of Michigan's county roads and its smaller towns developed, especially where river travel inland by water would have prohibitive.

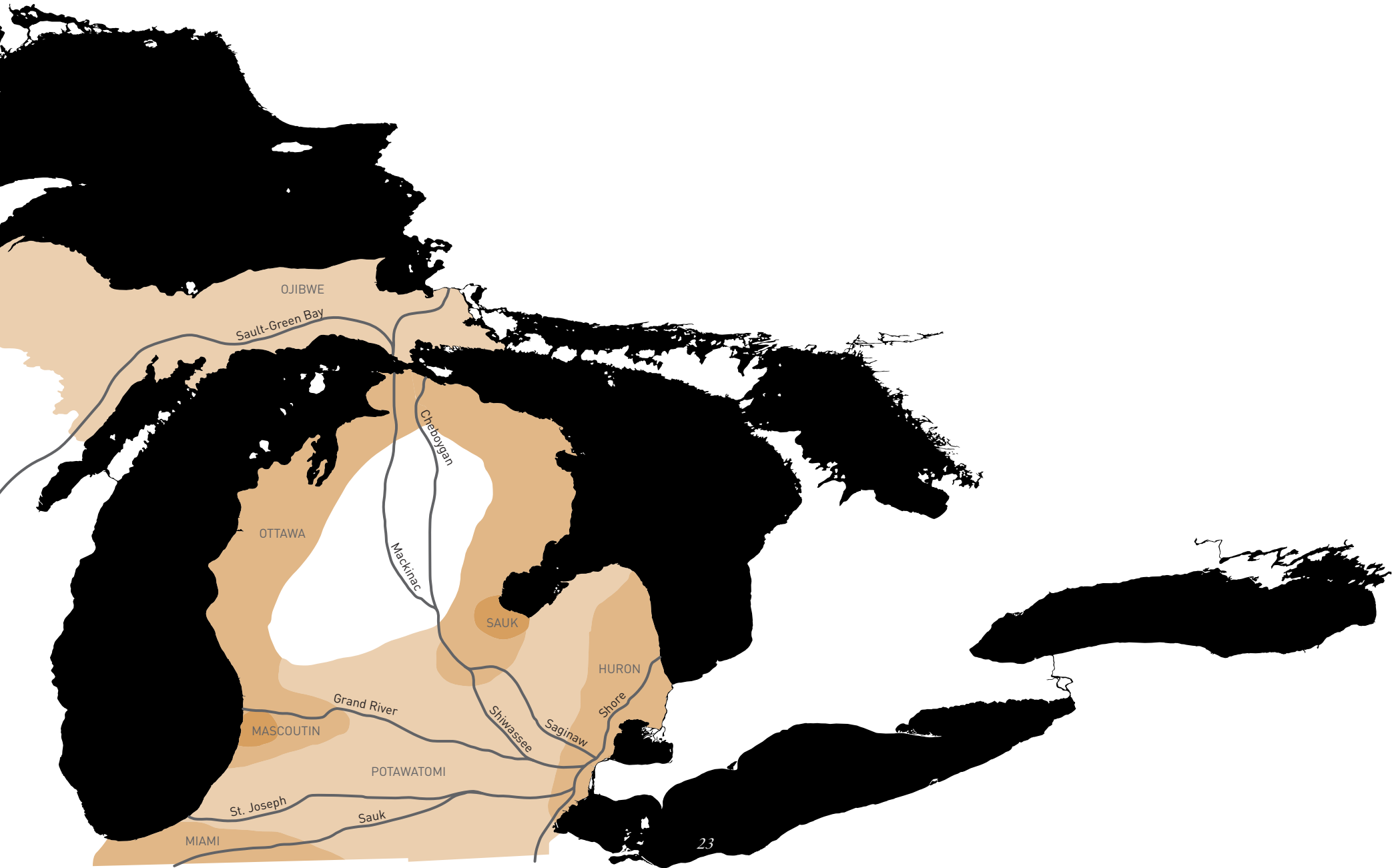
The Saginaw, Grand River, Sauk, and Shore trails are the most visible of the



Figure 1.20:

1:5 000 000 scale

Native trails and traditional areas of settlement in pre-colonial Michigan.



OJIBWE

Sault-Green Bay

Cheboygan

Mackinac

OTTAWA

SAUK

HURON

Shore

Grand River

MASCOUTIN

Shiwassee

Saginaw

POTAWATOMI

St. Joseph

Sauk

MIAMI

23

ancient native footpaths to remain. The former trail, largely following the route followed by Woodward Avenue (Michigan Highway 1) and the I-75, connects Detroit through Flint and Saginaw to Mackinac and the northern peninsula, and is the most significant highway in America and the first paved street in history.²² Augustus Woodward, in formulating his 1805 plan for the city, used these trails to chart the approach roads radiating out from Detroit's core. Jefferson, Grand River, Michigan, Woodward, and Gratiot Avenues all remain as modern evidence of these historic trails and form a unique foil to the gridiron and later cardinal axis of the federally surveyed road system. Michigan Avenue in Detroit began as the Old Sauk Trail and now runs across the lower peninsula to Lake Michigan as the M-12 highway. Grand River Avenue evolved from its namesake footpath and connects Detroit with Kalamazoo and the Lake Michigan coast, and the Gratiot path, which was a part of the shore trail, runs north to Lake Huron.²³ The endurance of these trails over the history of the state has produced a unique juxtaposition where later regularized patterns of land surveying and subdivision are set against the weaving, non-linear trajectories of the major road system.

Figure 1.21:

1:350000 scale

Native trails (green) with existing railroad (blue) and highway systems (orange) overlaid.



25

Land

It was the paradise of North America. Here [Cadillac] founded a colony protected by a garrison of farmer-soldiers, and his colony was a success.

C.M. Burton²⁴

The point of the bastion is a cavalier of wood...the palisades are in good repair, there is scaffolding around the whole...There are seventy or eighty houses in the forest; laid out in regular streets. The country is inhabited ten miles on each side of the river and it is a most beautiful country.

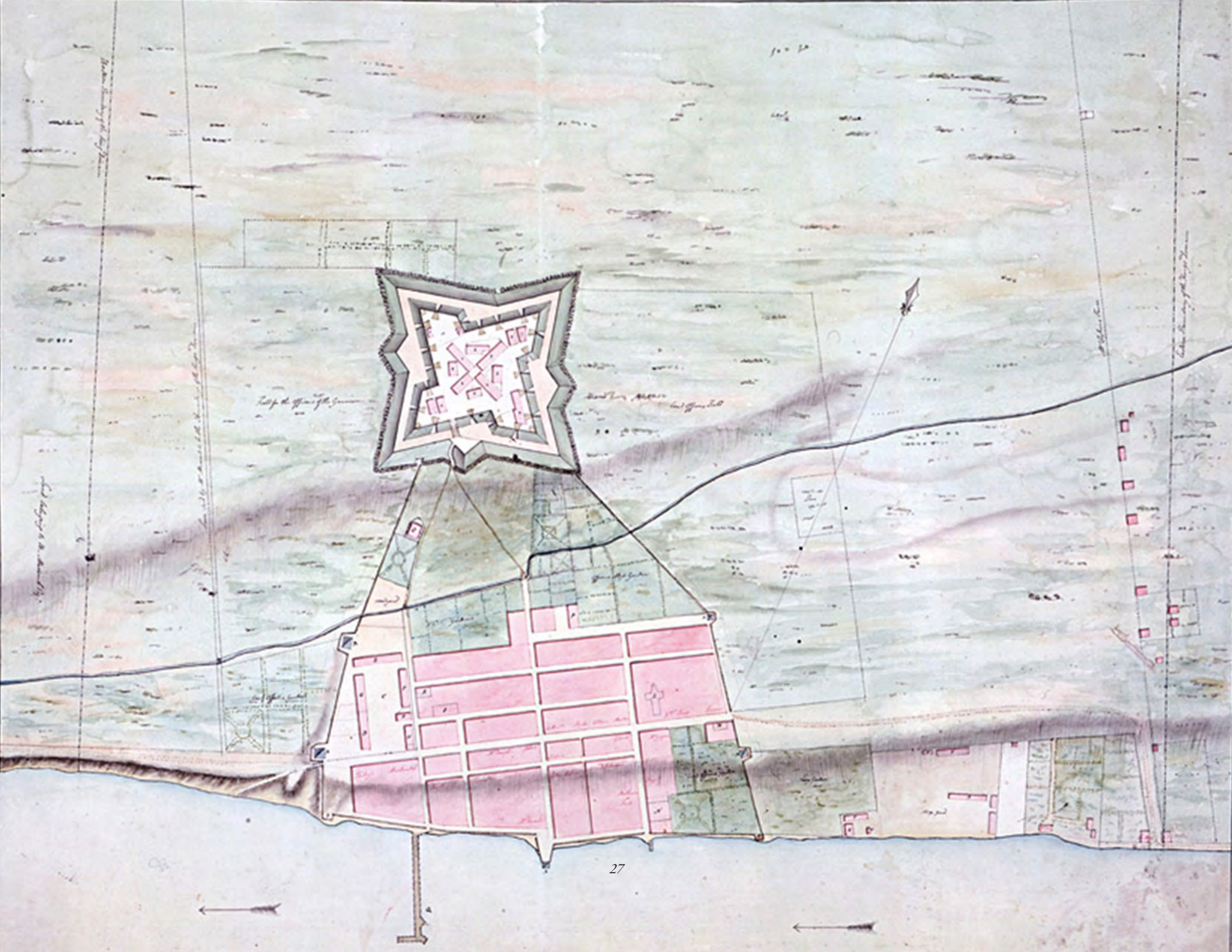
Captain Donald Campbell²⁵

As the early city grew, the river would form the basis for extensive ribbon farming, where French settlers staked out plots that were often less than fifty meters wide along the rivers edge, stretching back for kilometers into the hardwood forests. Similar farms would soon be found lining the Detroit River on both shores, from what is now Windsor and LaSalle on the south shore and from River Rouge through Detroit and beyond the Grosse Points on the north. This type of farming was advantageous as it provided each farmer with a fresh supply of water, pasture for grazing livestock, and a source of wood for building construction, cooking, and heating the farmhouses. The Shore Trail ran through these farms and provided a means of travel between farm and fort and further afield on the peninsula.

Cadillac had farmers pay a yearly rental for their lands in lieu of taxation, which continued over much of the next century as Detroit's population rose to nearly 3,000. The farm lands would endure through the War of 1812 and the period of rebuilding that followed, though they would quickly disappear as the city grew during the industrial revolution. These historic lot lines became gridiron streets as Detroit expanded outwards from the fort, and many of the original settler's names live on today in the names of the city's oldest streets, names such as Beaubien, Chene, Dequindre (now largely removed and rebuilt first as a train cut, then as a pedestrian and cycling greenway), Dubois, Joseph Campau, Riopelle, Rivard, and St. Aubin.²⁶

Figure 1.22: (opposite)

Fort Lernoult, formerly Fort Ponchartrain du Détroit, 1792. The fort has been rebuilt, expanded, and renamed by the British garrison. Military gardens fill the space between the town and the fort, and ribbon farms are located outside the stockade. The location of the future Woodward Avenue is occupied by a narrow street dividing the town east-west.



John Farmer's 1831 map shows the city to have expanded between Seventh Street to the west to Riopelle Street to the east. Within the limits of the city several large ribbon farms still existed alongside smaller farm plots that had been subdivided from the original tracts, though none had direct access to the waterfront, which had been taken over by the growing gridiron. The area between Russell and Brush Streets on the near east side contained an open area consisting of old land claims, sandwiched between the growing city grid on its flanks. The larger farm plots included those belonging to the Beaubien, Moran, Mullet, and Rivard families, among others, while Governor Cass' huge farm is still undeveloped, as is a smaller property, labeled a reserve, north of the Grand Circus and belonging to John R. Williams, Detroit's first mayor of the chartered common council.²⁷ Robinson's map of 1873 illustrates Detroit's rapid expansion over the previous forty years, with the limits of the city at 24th Street to the west and Mt. Elliott Street to the east. No farm plots remain in central Detroit, though many can still be found north of the city and further afield on the banks of the Detroit River. Robinson mapped the city in the same year that a depression crippled the local economy,²⁸ though population expansion continued unabated, more than doubling by 1900 to 280,000.²⁹ Maps from this period show a city in dramatic transformation from an agrarian and resource economy to an industrial city.



Figure 1.23: (left)

Detroit and Wayne County, 1853. Land subdivision adjacent the city continues to be oriented toward the river, while the rest of county has been surveyed using a cardinal grid.

Figure 1.24: (opposite)

Plan of the city of Detroit, 1831. Ribbon farms have begun to be incorporated into the growing gridiron.

Figure 1.25: (overleaf)

Detroit and the Detroit River in 1906. The city is a nearly equal mix of industrial and agrarian uses surrounding the gridiron.

MAP of the CITY OF DETROIT IN THE STATE OF MICHIGAN

by John Farmer, District Surveyor

Eng. by C. R. & J. H. Graham Lithographers, 24 John St., New York

REFERENCES

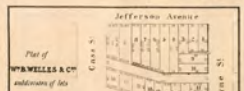
- B. Military reserve as subdivided by order of the Corporation.
 - C. A copy of the record of Peter Berthlet's property as subdivided the recorded plan of which was not made from survey nor calculation and will be found erroneous.
 - D. Part of the Branch farm as subdivided.
 - E. Hamilton's sections of the Branch farm as subdivided.
 - F. Park lots 25 of A & B as subdivided.
 - G. John H. Williams' park lots as subdivided.
 - H. Military reserve as subdivided by order of the Secretary of War. Tracts colored thus denotes individual claims to parts of Streets and Alleys not yet extinguished.
- Note: The Stone Monuments designed for the corners of Section VII are found to be 4-1/8 feet along the line of the Avenue on the Public Square.

Based according to all of the surveys on the City's Office of the Surveyor, Volume 2, Appendix, 1835.



DETROIT

RIVER



1873.
 1892-94.
 1901.
 Army, in 1902-03
 by Edward Molitor, Assistant Engineer.

NOTE.

altitudes and Longitudes depend upon the position of U.S. Lake Survey East
 Observatory 1871 on Grand River Ave. near Park Place, Detroit, Michigan as
 the newly adopted U.S. Standard datum of Greenwich.
 42° 19' 58" 65, Longitude 83° 03' 06" 64.7. West of Greenwich.
 00.556. Longitude 83° 03' 06" 64.7. West of Greenwich.
 ings, expressed in feet, are referred to the sloping surface of the River,
 air is at elevation 576.17 feet, and Lake Erie at elevation 573.11 feet
 at New York. See table of comparative elevations of water levels.
 res represent the depths of 6, 12 and 18 feet.
 epths to 6, 12 and 18 feet are tinted in blue.

SAILING DIRECTIONS.

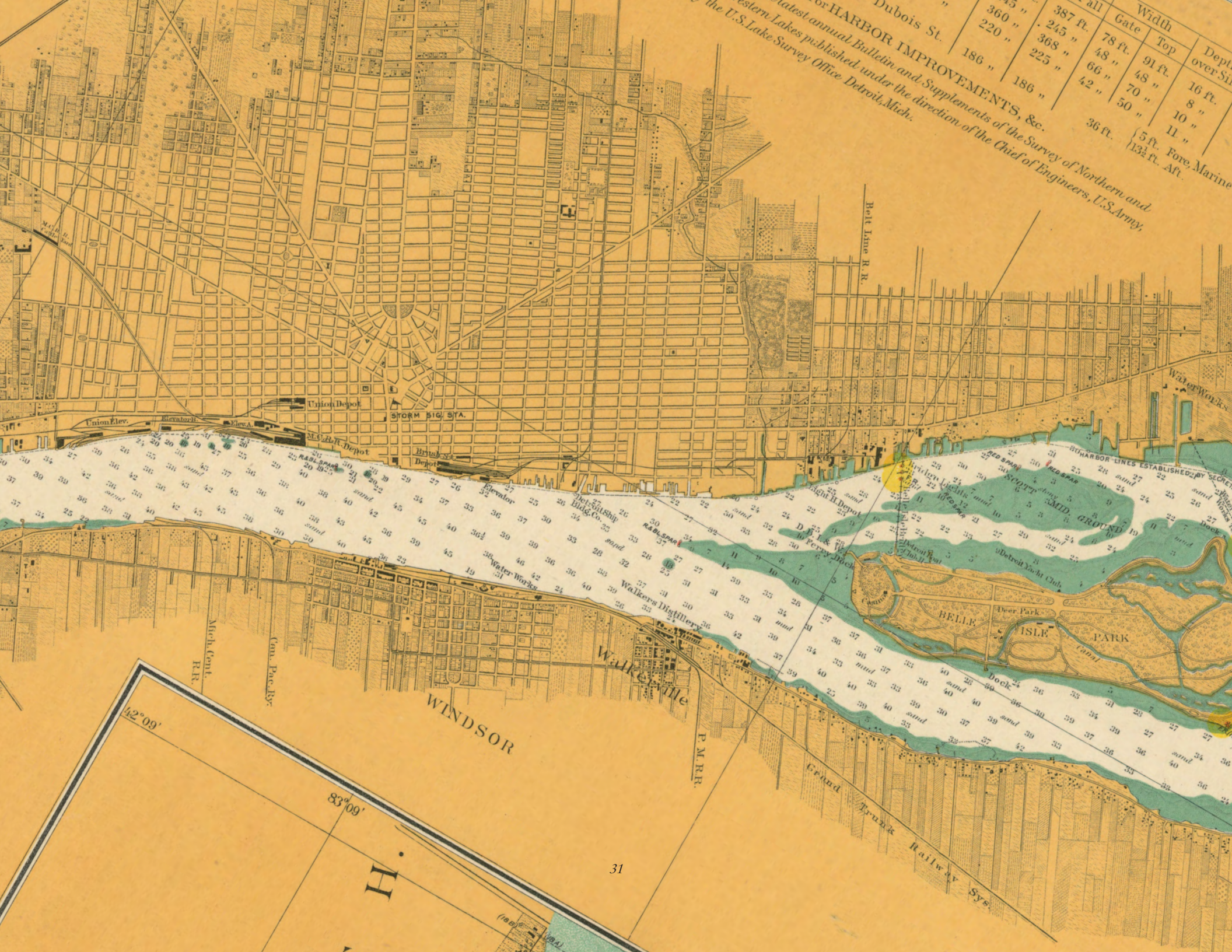
Range lines are true. Distances in statute miles.
 by the Secretary of War are shown thus:

TIDAL VARIATIONS.

| DATE OF OBSERVATION. | OBSERVER. | COMPUTED VARIATION FOR 1905. | ANNUAL CHANGE. |
|----------------------|------------|------------------------------|----------------|
| 1905 | T. Russell | 1° 52' W. | + 3/8 |
| 1901 | T. Russell | 1° 14' W. | + 3/8 |
| 1905 | T. Russell | 1° 33' W. | + 3/8 |

ery. Ecl. - eclipse Fl - flashing
 y, BRL - barrel, SP - spar
 Signal Station, character of light, indicate
 above lake level.





for HARBOR IMPROVEMENTS, &c.
 latest annual Bulletin and Supplements of the Survey of Northern and
 Western Lakes published under the direction of the Chief of Engineers, U.S. Army,
 by the U.S. Lake Survey Office Detroit, Mich.

| Gate | Width | Top | Depth |
|-------|-------|--------|--------------------|
| 360 " | 245 " | 78 ft. | over 16 ft. |
| 220 " | 368 " | 48 " | 8 " |
| 186 " | 225 " | 66 " | 10 " |
| | 186 " | 42 " | 11 " |
| | | 36 ft. | 5 ft. Fore, Marine |
| | | | 132 ft. Aft. |

42°09'

83°09'

H.

Fire

In 1805, nearly ten decades of years after the founding of the city, its swaddling bands were loosened by the fire that swept away, not only houses and stores, but streets as well. This most fortunate event...gave us an entirely new plan for the city, with streets and avenues and a Campus Martius and Grand Circus that will be an honor to the city, and a joy and delight for a thousand years and more.

Silas Farmer³⁰

Speramus meliora; resurget cineribus
(We hope for better things; it will rise from the ashes)

The Motto of the city of Detroit ³¹

Detroit has had a difficult relationship with fire, and has come to be negatively characterized by the phenomenon known as Devil's Night, where in the past decades dozens, sometimes hundreds of fires have been intentionally set in inner city neighbourhoods, destroying vacant buildings, terrorizing citizens, and frustrating the efforts of overburdened firefighters. Race riots have burned down black inner city neighbourhoods twice and the revolt of the frustrated citizenry in the summer of 1967 destroyed huge swaths of middle Detroit over days of insurrection. These are destructive fires that Detroit would have been fortunate to have been spared, though one event, more destructive than any previous or since, would be the city's fire of formation, from which the modern Detroit arose.

At the turn of the nineteenth century, Detroit was a wooden city. Houses were typically built of chinked cedar or oak logs with thatched or birch bark roofs and limestone chimneys, and were accompanied by wooden barns, stables, and storehouses. North of the residential area was the fort, separated from the city by fields and orchards.³²

Fort Ponchartrain au Détroit had been replaced several years previous, after the settlement was given to the British and the French fort abandoned. The new fort, named

Figure 1.26:
The Great Fire of Detroit, 1805
by Robert Thom.



Lernoult, contained over two hundred homes in the garrison, with another one hundred living outside the walls on ribbon farms.³³ On 11 July, 1805, the wooden city would be completely destroyed.

A baker's pipe ignited a patch of hay in a stable that morning, which quickly set the building ablaze. A few hours later, the entire town was burning as people frantically attempted to quench the flames. Lines were formed and water was passed up from the river in buckets, but to no avail. Even the canoes and boats that had been filled with belonging and supplies burned on the surface of the water, as cinders of shingles rained down everywhere. No one perished in the fire, and at least one building was left standing, though the walls of the stockade were gone. Presumably the fort itself survived the conflagration,³⁴ though all that remained of the settlement were blackened chimneys piercing through the rubble. Detroit historian Silas Farmer, writing in 1884, described the devastation:

The excitable French population grew almost frantic as they saw houses, shops, and barns turned to ashes, one after another, almost in a moment. The thatched buildings, many of them a century old, moss-grown, and made sacred by a thousand memories and traditions, handed down from those who risked their all in the first settlement on the banks of the Detroit, flamed and flashed, and faded out of sight.³⁵

The residents of Detroit would pack into farmhouses along the banks of the river and within a few days, supplies, funds, and sundry items would begin to arrive at the ruined fort from elsewhere in the territory and, when word reached Montréal, from the French population of Upper Canada as well. When Augustus Woodward arrived at Detroit only a few weeks later, he found a demoralized and shaken populace living in farmhouses and tents outside the ruined town. Ten years before the fire, the population of the settlement was nearly 3,000, located within and without the stockade, but following the fire, the population declined rapidly as citizens left for forts at Gratiot and Niagara.³⁶ Within five years of the fire, fewer than eight hundred people lived on the banks of the Detroit.³⁷

Figure 1.27:

A building that has collapsed due to fire, a very common sight in Detroit. Michigan Avenue in Southwest Detroit, 2012.



The Judge

Here on the banks of the Detroit should arise a new city of wide streets and avenues diverging from common centres, with reservations and parkings, and all the beauties that L'Enfant had borrowed from Versailles to make beautiful the nation's capitol.

Charles Moore³⁸

The town came out of this fire entirely changed - built on a new plan, with new streets and new names, a new basis for the land titles, and a new and original system of local government; in fact, every interest of the inhabitants, social, political, and commercial, was affected by the event so appropriately commemorated in the seal of the city.

Silas Farmer³⁹

August Brevoort Woodward was greeted by Father Gabriel Richard at the ruins of Detroit. Together they walked the remnants of the settlement while the priest described to the judge the city that once stood there. According to legend, it was during this walk that Father Richard coined Detroit's motto *Speramus meliora; resurget cineribus* (We hope for better things; it will rise from the ashes). Having lived in Washington for several years prior, Woodward intended to create a grand city in its image from the ashes of Detroit.

While the French settlers would have preferred to rebuild the town exactly as it had been, densely packed with narrow streets, Woodward had different ideas for the future of the city. By all accounts, a thoughtful and well-educated man, if somewhat prone to arrogance, Woodward was a contemporary of Thomas Jefferson and a great admirer of his philosophies of limitless expansion of knowledge. The house at Monticello, as well as the plan for the Federal City, were seen by Woodward to be physical manifestations of this boundless knowledge and he sought to impart the same significance in his designs for new the new Detroit, invisioned as a territorial counterpart to Washington, a third Versailles, or the 'Paris of the West', as it was later known.⁴⁰

Figure 1.28:

Augustus Breevort Woodward

While Woodward awaited the delivery of L'Enfants Washington plans, he sat in meditation amidst the rubble, ignoring pouring rain, lightning, and glaring sun. The French thought him a strange man, and were distrustful of his intentions for their city. When the plans finally arrived, a Canadian surveyor was brought to Detroit to begin the process of laying out the new town. A contemporary account describes Woodward's design:

For the space of thirty days and thirty nights, he viewed the diurnal evolution of the planets, visible and invisible, and calculated the course and rapidity of the blazing meteors. To his profound observings [sic] of the heavenly regions the world is indebted for the discovery of the streets, alleys, circles, angles, and squares of this magnificent city.⁴¹



The new urban plan was to have as its focal point an open public square, the Campus Martius, from which all major thoroughfares would radiate outwards. Equidistant from the Campus Martius was the Detroit River to the south and the Grand Circus to the north. Woodward envisioned that in each major triangular block, residents would find all of the amenities that were required for daily life, with the plan being able to theoretically expand outwards indefinitely, creating small city centres every few blocks. As he plotted the trajectories of Detroit's new streets, Woodward incorporated the extant native trails in locating the major approach roads of the city: Woodward, Jefferson, Grand River, Gratiot, and Michigan Avenues.

While rebuilding of Detroit began immediately after the 1805 fire, Woodward's plan would not begin to be implemented until the cessation of hostilities following the War of 1812. After this point, the plan began in earnest, with Jefferson and Woodward Avenue being laid out first. An illustration from 1819 shows the establishment of Detroit's *Cardo* and *Decumanus*, Woodward and Jefferson Avenues, though the remaining radial streets have yet to be built, and Fort Lernoult remains within the stockade, located immediately to the west of the as yet built Campus Martius, south of what would become Michigan Avenue. The Savoyard River runs east-west through the centre of the town, with a bridge at Woodward Avenue that marks the approximate centre of the Campus Martius, which would be graded beginning in 1835. The area of the commons adjacent the military

stockade had been given this name in 1788 due to its proximity to the armoury and its use as grounds for military exercise.⁴² This name was easily adopted by the judge, who had sought in his new plan to establish a link between Detroit and the great cities of Europe. He would never see the implementation of his plan, however abbreviated, as a decade after the British retreated from the fort in 1813, Woodward was relieved of his post by President Munroe and sent to the District of Florida to sit as judge in the courts at Tallahassee.⁴³ Residents quickly abandoned the plan after Woodward's departure, and although some core development continued along those streets which had been surveyed as part of the radial plan, and the Grand Circus was drained and landscaped in the mid-nineteenth century, subsequent street development would revert back to the gridiron derived from the lot lines of ribbon farms. The growth of the city along these lines would continue until the Territory of Michigan became a state in 1837, after which street surveying would shift its axis away from the river to run cardinally over the landscape. Despite the early abandonment of Woodward's plan, the grand radial avenues would continue their path outwards from the Campus Martius, cutting through the later, regularized street grid.

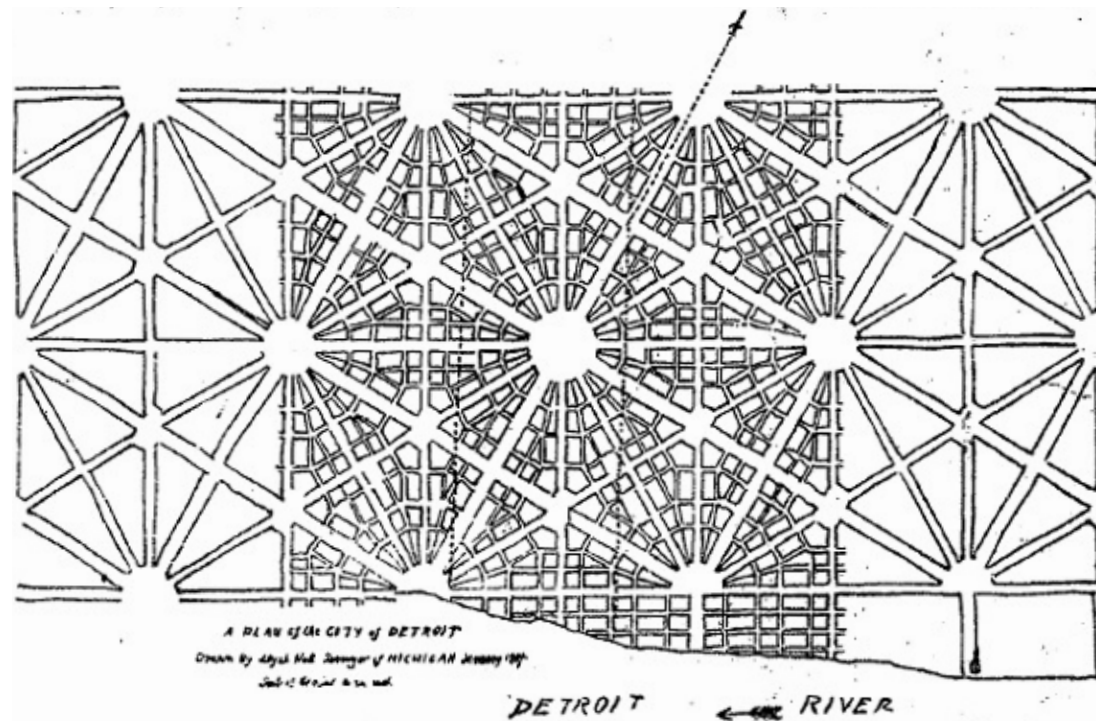


Figure 1.29: (left)

Woodward's original plan for Detroit, discovered by historian C.M. Burton, apparently folded up in a shop window

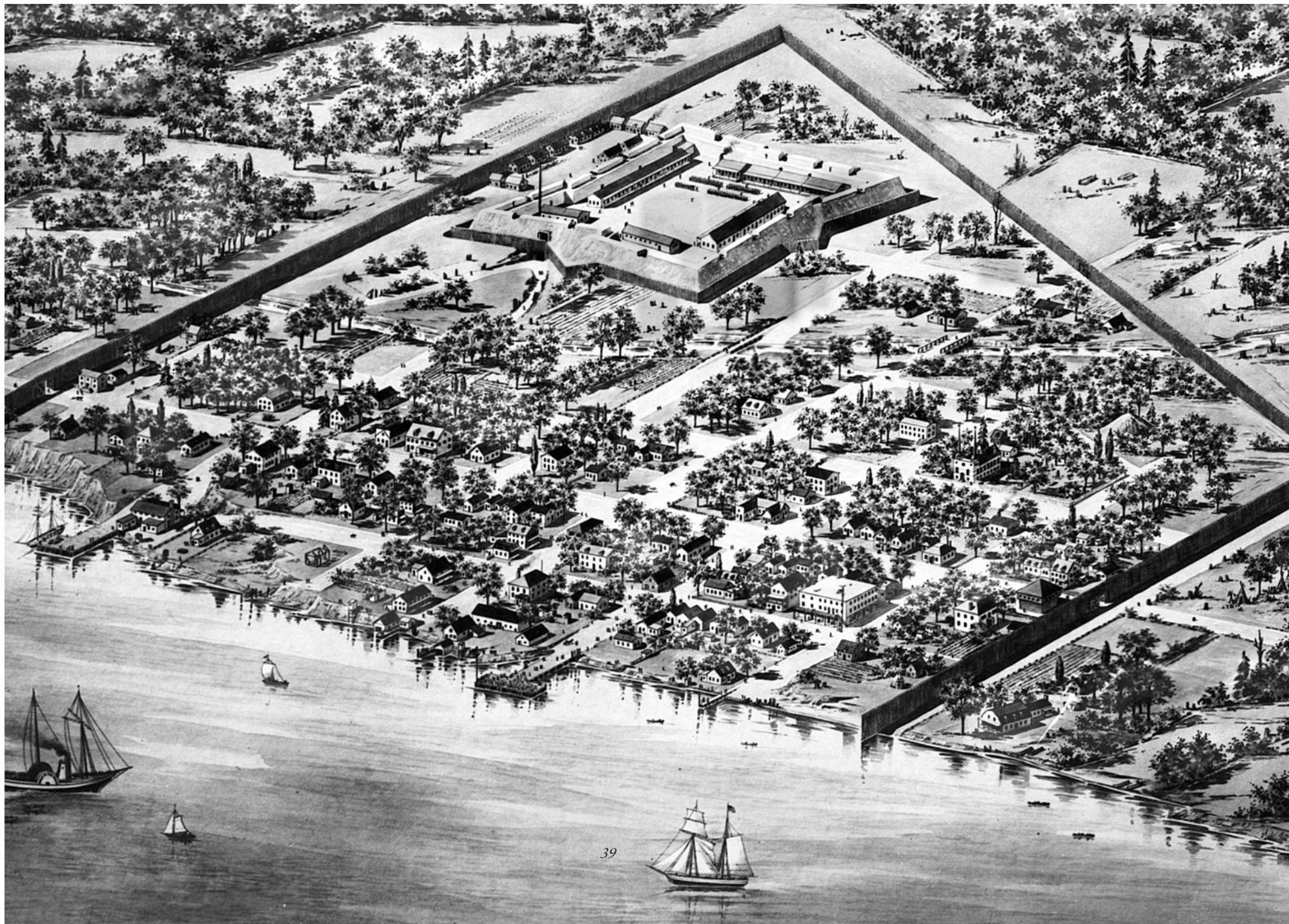
Figure 1.30: (opposite)

The rebuilt fort of Detroit prior to the partial implementation of the Woodward plan, 1819. The site of the Campus Martius is directly to the east of the fort near the Savotard bridge. The quantity and maturity of the tree cover within the stockade is very likely exaggerated, only fourteen years following the burning of the entire settlement.

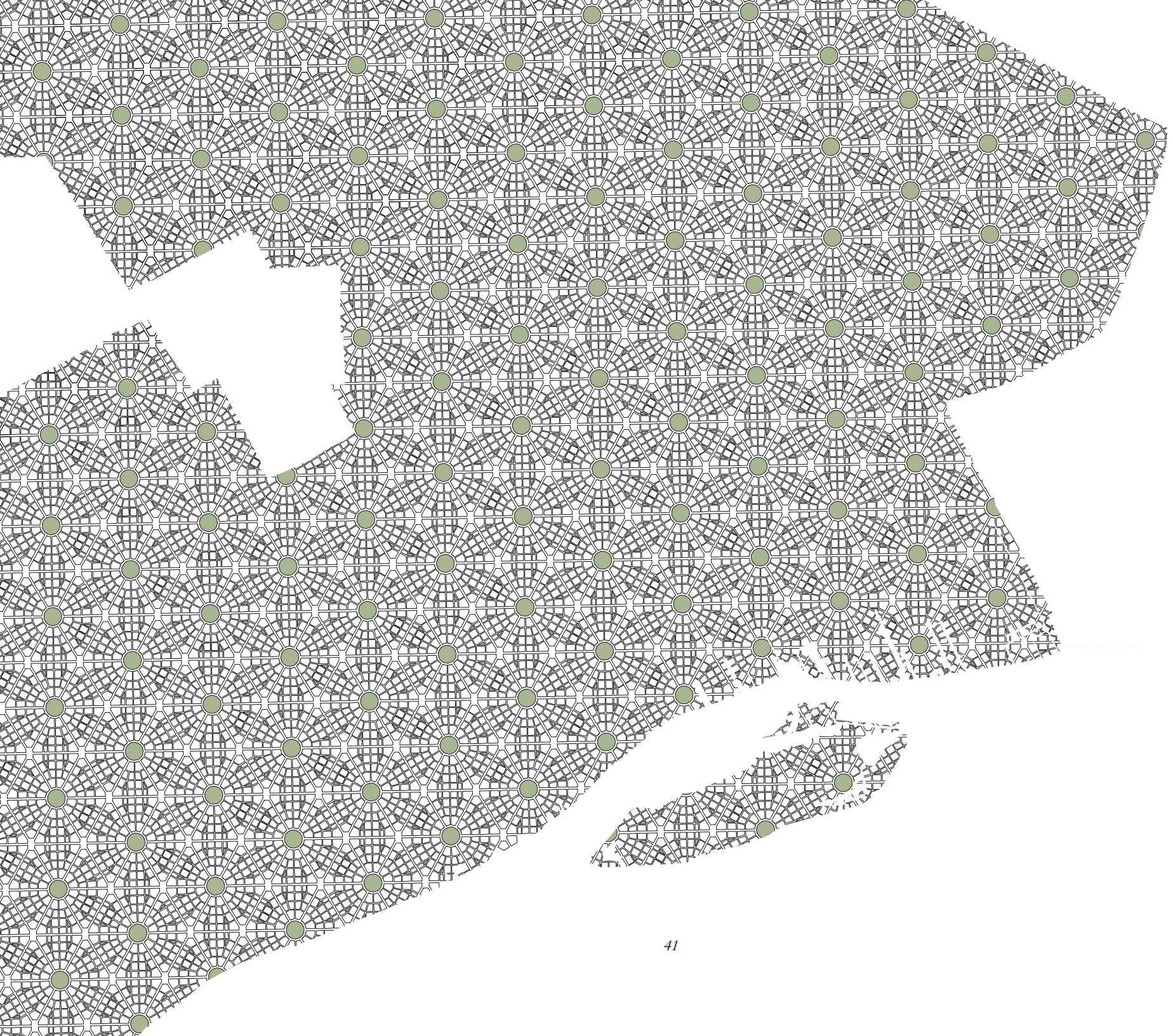
Figure 1.31: (overleaf)

1:70 000 scale

The Woodward plan, applied across the entirety of present day Detroit.







Rail

The traveler enters the city, of course, by the Michigan Central, and passes through its elegant commodious depot.

Anonymous⁴⁴

This invasion of Nature by Trade with its money, its credit, its steam, its railroad, threatens to upset the balance of man, and establish a new Universal Monarchy more tyrannical than Babylon or Rome.

Ralph Waldo Emerson⁴⁵

Railroad building began in Michigan in 1830, with the chartering of the Pontiac & Michigan line between Detroit and Pontiac, which at the time was no more than a handful of wooden houses arranged around a flour mill.⁴⁶ The territorial legislature had passed a law that allowed for the formation of banks by groups of twelve people or more. \$50,000 was the minimum capitalization for the bank's operation and ninety percent of that capital could be supplied in the form of a mortgage on land. While this led to a glut of banks and worthless currency, and an overvaluation of land in communities that scarcely existed yet, it did spur the development of the railroad industry across the peninsula.

The railroads were essential to the growth of Detroit and Michigan's primary industry at the time, timber, and to the shipment of copper and iron ore, as well as to the establishment of diversified enterprise. Within half a decade, several other lines such as the Pennsylvania Central, the Erie & Kalamazoo, and the Detroit & St. Joseph were begun, all with Detroit as the starting point. A brief economic contraction that caused many lines under construction to halt, known as the Panic of 1837, forced the state government to take over the uncompleted lines, and they sat undeveloped for some time. This recession had largely been created by the explosive growth of banks, over forty in just a few years, and the unsustainable mortgages that caused their collapse. Only the Bank of Michigan survived the Panic with both its assets and reputation unscathed, while other surviving banks later collapsed because of poor relationships with their counterparts in the east

Figure 1.32:

1:350 000 scale

The Metro Detroit railroad system (*shown in blue*) at its full build-out, circa 1950.



and fall-out from the scandal. James Frederick Joy, a lawyer with the Bank of Michigan, convinced the state government to let him purchase the Detroit & St. Joseph Railroad and complete its link with the town of St. Joseph, on the eastern coast of Lake Michigan. He renamed it the Michigan Central Railroad, and by 1848, had overseen its expansion to New Buffalo on the Indiana border, substantially reducing travel time to Chicago.⁴⁷

Further railroad development through the late nineteenth century blanketed the region and much of the east coast in railway lines. Routes such as the Michigan Southern, The Grand Trunk, The Chicago & Canada Southern, and dozens of other lines were completed linking Detroit with various hubs in the Midwest and to the east coast and Canada. The Reconstruction era had seen unprecedented growth in railroads, with James Joy leading the way in establishing links across the nation, pushing ever further westward. The expansion was not without controversy, as it was a means of colonizing the western frontier, ultimately destroying farmland in Ohio and Indiana, and displacing indigenous peoples in Missouri, Kansas, and beyond. Railroad executives countered this with a campaign to recruit rural people to move into the growing towns, newly founded along their railroad routes. Agents were sent into European countries as well, to sell the dream of land and promise in the American west. These entreaties would bring many people to the growing city of Detroit.

The railroads not only promoted trade and connectivity, but also brought with them waves of migration to Detroit, the travel inland from traditional port of arrival now aided by locomotive. Immigrants from Ireland, Germany, Britain, the Ukraine, and Mexico arrived in Detroit either by rail or to work for the railroads.^{48,49} The effect on the city was significant. The population increased from 2,220 in 1830, when the first railroad charter was passed, to 285,704 by 1900, ultimately reaching 993,678 in the roaring twenties, at the height of the railroad era.⁵⁰ In contrast to later transportation infrastructure, the effect of the railroads on Detroit was almost entirely beneficial, with only minor negative consequences. The population explosion that rail enabled led to brief housing and job shortages, and in turn conflict between existing ethnic groups and those recently arriving in Detroit. The industry itself was heavily polluting and, combined with the smokestacks of industry, had contributed to significant environmental decline in parts of the city, especially along the waterfront. However, unlike the later highway building programs, the railroad lines were able to reach the inner city and waterfront of Detroit without the necessity of

Figure 1.33: (opposite top left)
Sinking the last section of the Detroit River Tunnel, circa 1905.

Figure 1.34: (opposite top right)
The Michigan Central line looking towards the tunnel to Windsor, circa 1910.

Figure 1.35: (opposite bottom)
The route of the Chicago & Grand Trunk Railway, 1887.



destroying existing urban fabric. The railroads often preceded industry, which would then locate along one of the trunk lines that ran south through the city to waterfront. Working class communities then grew between these various lines in what are now the oldest parts of modern Detroit.

Fifteen years into the twentieth century, and seven years after Henry Ford drove his Model-T through the streets of Detroit, railroads across America were still the dominant means of transportation of both people and goods. The industry employed nearly two million people in the United States, carrying hundreds of thousands of passengers, and hauling astounding amounts of freight over more than 400,000 kilometers of track.⁵¹ The railroads were conquerors of pure space, and they provided a speed of connection between places never before dreamed of. They completely transformed the economy and urban form of Detroit, and they contributed to the diversification of the population, but ultimately the most profound effect of railroads on the city would be their capitulation to the dominance of the automobile.

Figure 1.36: (left)

The Michigan central Railroad Depot, 1883.
The building was destroyed by fire in 1913.

Figure 1.37: (opposite)

Train cars are ferried into Detroit prior to the construction of the Detroit River Tunnel, circa 1890-1900.





Cityscape I: Brush Park





Detroit is without a doubt the best-drained, the best paved, the best shaded, the cleanest, and in general the healthiest city in the west. Having so much ground, the dwellings are not crowded together in solid blocks, but are mostly detached, with plenty of intervening space.

The Michigan Gazetteer⁵²

The back extensions of the houses along Alfred Street became illegal drug markets. Vacant houses were used as shooting galleries and were inhabited by squatters. The remaining mansions were isolated amid overgrown vegetation, where they were set off like extraordinary jewels - gems of devastation.

Camilo Vergara⁵³

In the decades preceding the automotive boom, the economy of Detroit had transformed from a centre of trade based on furs, agriculture, and lumber to one of ever growing heavy industry. The seemingly endless forests of old growth hardwood trees had been decimated by the lumber industry to such an extent that despite Michigan's continued dominance in the export, little hope remained for the future of the industry. America was emerging as an industrial powerhouse, employing tens of thousands of people in the mining of iron ore, steel production, machine shops, and foundry operations. Detroit and Michigan were rapidly following suit. While in 1880 Michigan produced more iron ore than other state in the nation, it was to be quickly overtaken by the Minnesota-based mining operations of John D. Rockefeller and Andrew Carnegie, such that by the early twentieth century, Detroit and Michigan ceased to be the dominant actor in their former key markets.⁵⁴

Many Detroiters had made considerable fortunes in these and other industries, and sought to acquire for themselves homes suitable for the display of such wealth. Into this growing class of elites came a man named Edmund A. Brush, the eldest son of Detroit's second mayor of the unchartered council, Vermont lawyer Elijah Brush. The elder Brush had acquired a large farm of about 140 acres following Detroit's devastating fire, farming the land for several years before the 1812 Siege of Detroit saw him imprisoned by the British in Toronto. Returning to his farm in late 1813, Elijah Brush would spend only a

Figure 1.38: (p. 48-49)

Brush Street looking south from Erskine, 2012. The Renaissance Centre looms in the distance.

Figure 1.39: (opposite left)

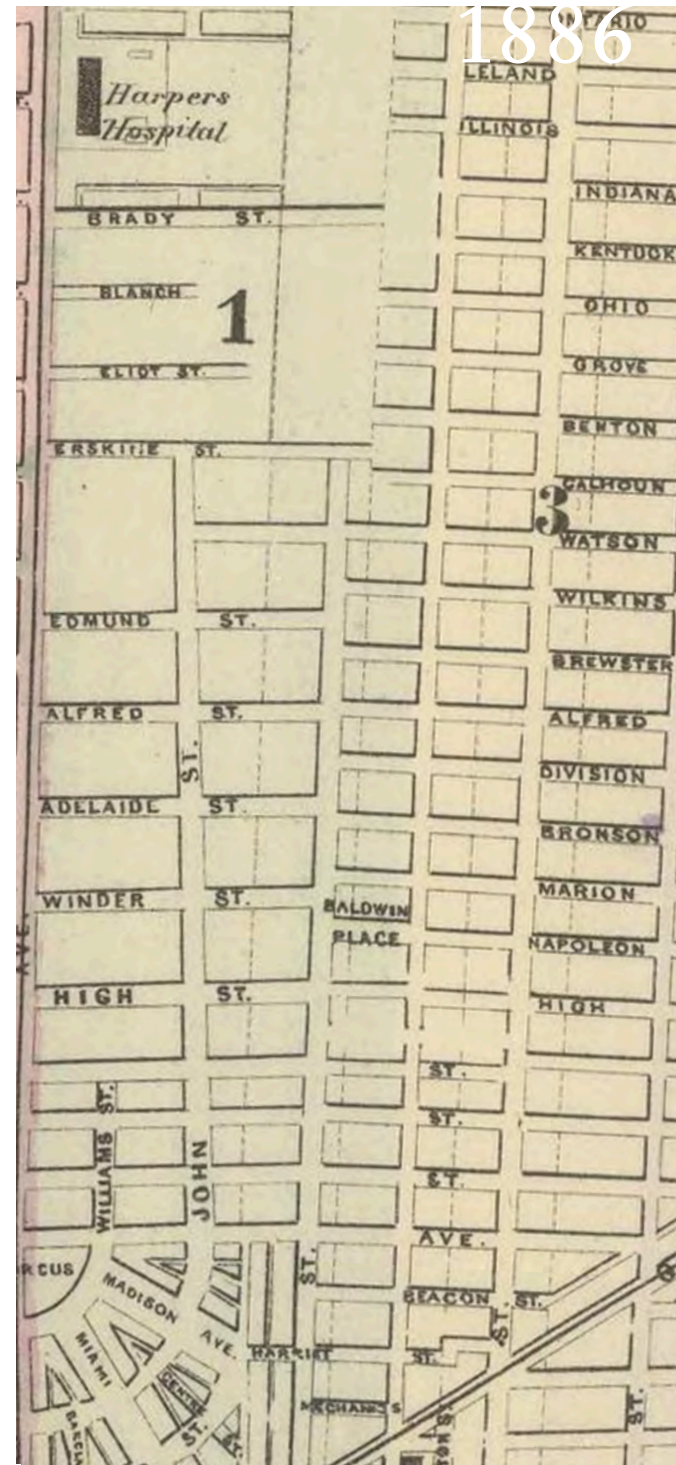
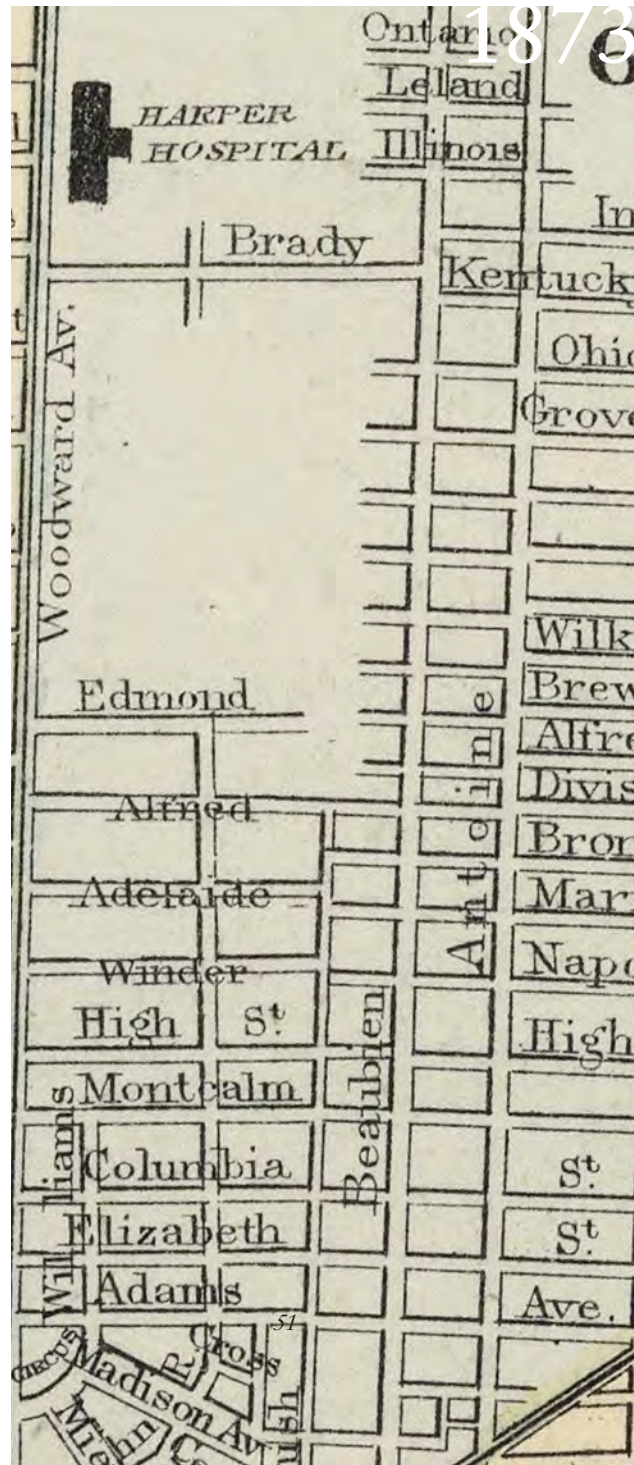
Brush Street prior to the subdivision of the original farm, 1831.

Figure 1.40: (opposite center)

Brush Park in 1873, a large unplotted area exists north of the original four east-west streets.

Figure 1.41: (opposite right)

Brush Park in 1886, the neighbourhood is now nearly complete, with only Blanch and Eliot Streets unfinished.



few weeks at Detroit before passing away from unknown causes.⁵⁵ Shortly after, Edmund Brush arrived at Detroit from Schenectady, New York to take over the family farm, and quickly became involved in the management and politics of the city, taking on many roles from volunteer firefighter to territorial surveyor in the exploration party of Governor Lewis Cass. The Brush farm was an extremely valuable piece of land, located immediately to the northeast of the as yet undeveloped Grand Circus Park. One of the larger of the remaining French Ribbon farms, the plot combined three properties originally owned by the St. Martin, Gamelin, and Askin families, running north from the river between present-day Brush Street and the I-375 leg of the Chrysler Freeway.⁵⁶

The opening of the Erie Canal brought new opportunities for the elite of the city to invest earlier fortunes made in lumber and mining in new industries, and an economic and construction boom soon followed. By the time that the area of the Grand Circus was drained and landscaped (1844-1853), Brush had subdivided the southern portion his farm and the construction of a new neighbourhood for the wealthy was taking shape.⁵⁷ While Fort Street and Woodward and Jefferson Avenues had previously been the preferred location for the largely wooden estate homes of Detroit's rich, this new neighbourhood was considerably more favourable amongst the elite, as it offered a location for stately homes that was removed from the growing industrial presence along the riverfront and all of its deleterious affects on the land, water, and skies. Brush Street, so christened in 1828, formed the early western boundary of the new neighbourhood, which was fully developed by the late 1870's following the subdivision by Brush of the remaining northern parcel. Brush tended not to sell the land to prospective residents, but rather leased them the plots upon which their homes were built. While this was for more profitable for Brush (and more expensive for his clients) than traditional land subdivision and sale, it did not discourage prospective homeowners. In moving out of their traditional, but shared territory near the core of the city, the wealthy industrialists of Detroit had created an exclusive community of Victorian, Italianate, and Second Empire mansions of lasting permanence and beauty commensurate to the tastes of the Gilded Age.⁵⁸ While most other residences in the city were of wood construction, Brush Park boasted brick and stone buildings with slate and terracotta roofs, a significant development for a city that had burned entirely to the ground at the beginning of the century and was still largely constructed of timber. The

Figure 1.42: (opposite)

Brush Park and the surrounding area, 1885. The neighbourhood is well established with most properties occupied; the Brewster Projects would eventually encompass most of the area east of Beaubien Street in the Third Ward.

Scale 150 feet per inch.



neighbourhood was home to the wealthiest citizens of Detroit, including Hudson's founder J.L. Hudson; lumber magnates David Whitney, Jr. and Lucien Moore; and newspaper publisher and president of the Dime Savings Bank of Detroit, William Livingstone, Jr. Many prominent architects of the day were employed in the design of these homes, including a young Albert Kahn who was responsible for Livingstone's home on Eliot Street.⁵⁹

Edmund Brush died an extremely wealthy man, having amassed a fortune in the creation of Brush Park, which in addition to bearing his family name, contained streets named for at least four of his children, street names which have endured to this day. The built fabric of the neighbourhood, however, would not be so permanent. By the time that Brush died in 1877, Detroit had annexed all of the lands within the area bound by present day Mount Elliot Street to the east, the Edsel Ford Freeway to the north, and Grand Boulevard to the west. The Detroit of the late nineteenth century had expanded to more than twenty times its size than when Augustus Woodward had arrived in 1805, and industries as well as housing for workers and their families were pushing outwards from the rivers edge at an equal pace. As the inner city filled and the effects of the new economy began to materialize, Detroit's wealthy citizens began what was to be a perpetual migration away from the core into ever more peripheral locations where larger, grander mansions could be built, where the smokestacks of industry could not be seen blackening the sky, where the health problems of overcrowded neighbourhoods were not to be found.⁶⁰ Neighbourhoods such as Boston-Edison and the Indian Village began to replace Brush Park as the desired sites for the homes of Detroit's wealthiest citizens, while new suburbs for the growing middle class were built around Woodward Avenue by wealthy landowners including Truman Newberry and Henry Bourne Joy, son of railroad magnate James F. Joy, both of whom would go on to finance the rise of the Packard Motor Car Company.⁶¹ Also complicit in this exodus from the inner city was the growth of mass transportation, beginning in 1863 when the Detroit City Railway Company began running horse-drawn streetcars down the radial avenues of Gratiot, Michigan, Woodward, and Jefferson. The tram cars ran in steel tracks set into the cobbled streets and provided safe passage throughout the city and onwards to passenger rail links connecting with Pontiac, Kalamazoo, and Chicago. Within twenty years, the horsecars were joined by electrified

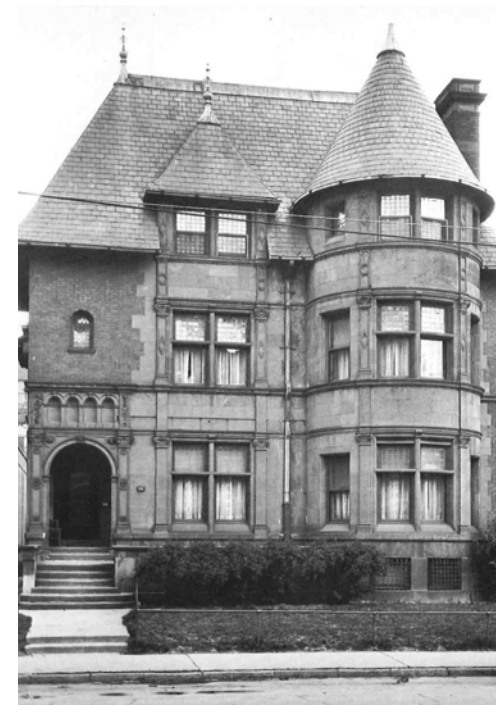
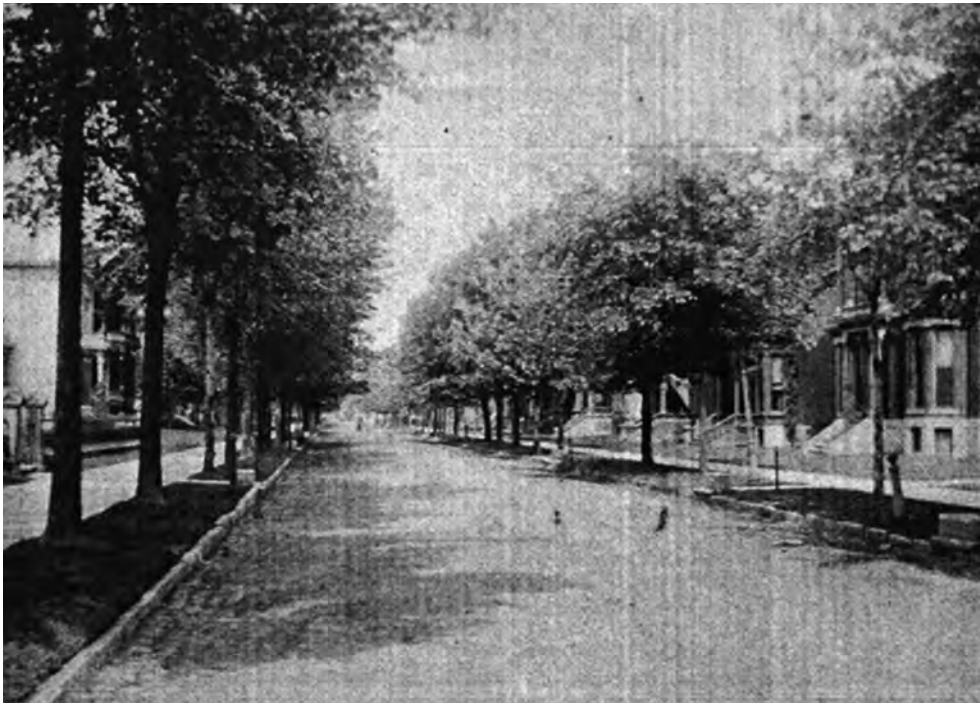


Figure 1.43: (above)
The William J. Livingstone House, circa 1898.
Designed by a young Albert Kahn.

Figure 1.44: (opposite top left)
Alfred Street in the early twentieth century.

Figure 1.45: (opposite bottom left)
The home of G.S. Frost at 86 Edmund Place,
built in 1881.

Figure 1.46: (opposite right)
The home of George Jerome at 85 Albert
Street (built 1877), 1881.



tram lines that ran along what is now the Vernor Highway and through Highland Park on Woodward Avenue. By 1896, when Charles Brady King drove the first automobile through the streets of the city, the horsecar had completely disappeared. The automotive age had begun.

Brush Park throughout the early twentieth century maintained much of its stately character, owing to the rapid expansion of the city limits and the increasing demand for housing. Mercantilists, entrepreneurs, and members of the arts community had to populated the homes left by earlier industrialists, though Detroit was rapidly becoming a one-industry town. This made the city particularly vulnerable to economic fluctuations, and with the stock market crash of 1929 and the subsequent Great Depression, much of Detroit's new-found prosperity disappeared. Demand for housing remained high, however, and as fortunes were lost and families could no longer maintain such grand homes, much of the housing stock in Brush Park was converted into rental housing. Other uses emerged, as smaller homes were converted into a myriad of commercial uses, a private school located in one large home, and machine shops and mechanic's garages were built in rear yards. The Second World War offered some economic reprieve as Detroit rose again to prominence as the Arsenal of Democracy, but by the wars end, Brush Park declined at an increasing pace. The Interstate System hastened suburban development and the resultant population decline within the city, with the oldest neighbourhoods suffering the most.

Figure 1.47: (left)
Aerial view of Brush Park, 2014.

Figure 1.48: (opposite top left)
Looking south at John R. & Watson Streets, 2012. This empty lot is now a public park.

Figure 1.49: (opposite right)
311 Watson Street, 2012.

Figure 1.50: (opposite bottom left)
Housing on Alfred Street viewed from Edmund Place, 2012.

Figure 1.51: (p. 58)
Aerial photograph of Brush Park, 1952.

Figure 1.52: (p. 59)
Aerial photograph of Brush Park, 1997.





1952



1997



Interstates

Cars, cars, fast, fast! One is seized, filled with enthusiasm, with joy... the joy of power. The simple and naive pleasure of being in the midst of power, of strength. One takes part in this society: it will find a magnificent expression of its power. One believes in it.

Le Corbusier⁶²

Thanks to the interstate highway system, it is now possible to cross the country from coast to coast without seeing anything.

Charles Kuralt⁶³

By the late 1920s, American policymakers were beginning to realize that the system of roads linking the country was vastly inadequate. Discontinuous networks in various states of repair comprised significant portions of the nation's roadways and many were unpaved. A series of bills culminating in the 1956 Federal-Aid Highway Act (FAHA) sought to rectify this problem with more than 65,000 kilometers of new state and interstate highways, funded almost entirely by Washington.⁶⁴ Freeway projects of various scales were constructed in Detroit leading up to 1956, though it is this legislation which would solidify the American government's position on the relationship between automotive transportation and national defense, and thus press the issue to the top of the legislative agenda. The freeway system was thought to aid in establishing a more loosely organized network of small, medium, and large sized cities, which could each handle a share of industry, thus ensuring that a Soviet (or other) attack on a major city would not cripple production capacity and response capability. President Dwight D. Eisenhower had observed the defensive advantages of a superhighway system when he commanded the Allied forces in World War II. Bombing railroad lines had proven an effective way to disrupt German supply lines, passenger services, and the movement of people bound for the extermination and labour camps, often for days at time, while the Autobahn system proved far more

Figure 1.53:
1:350 000 scale

The Interstate system in Metro Detroit, 2015.



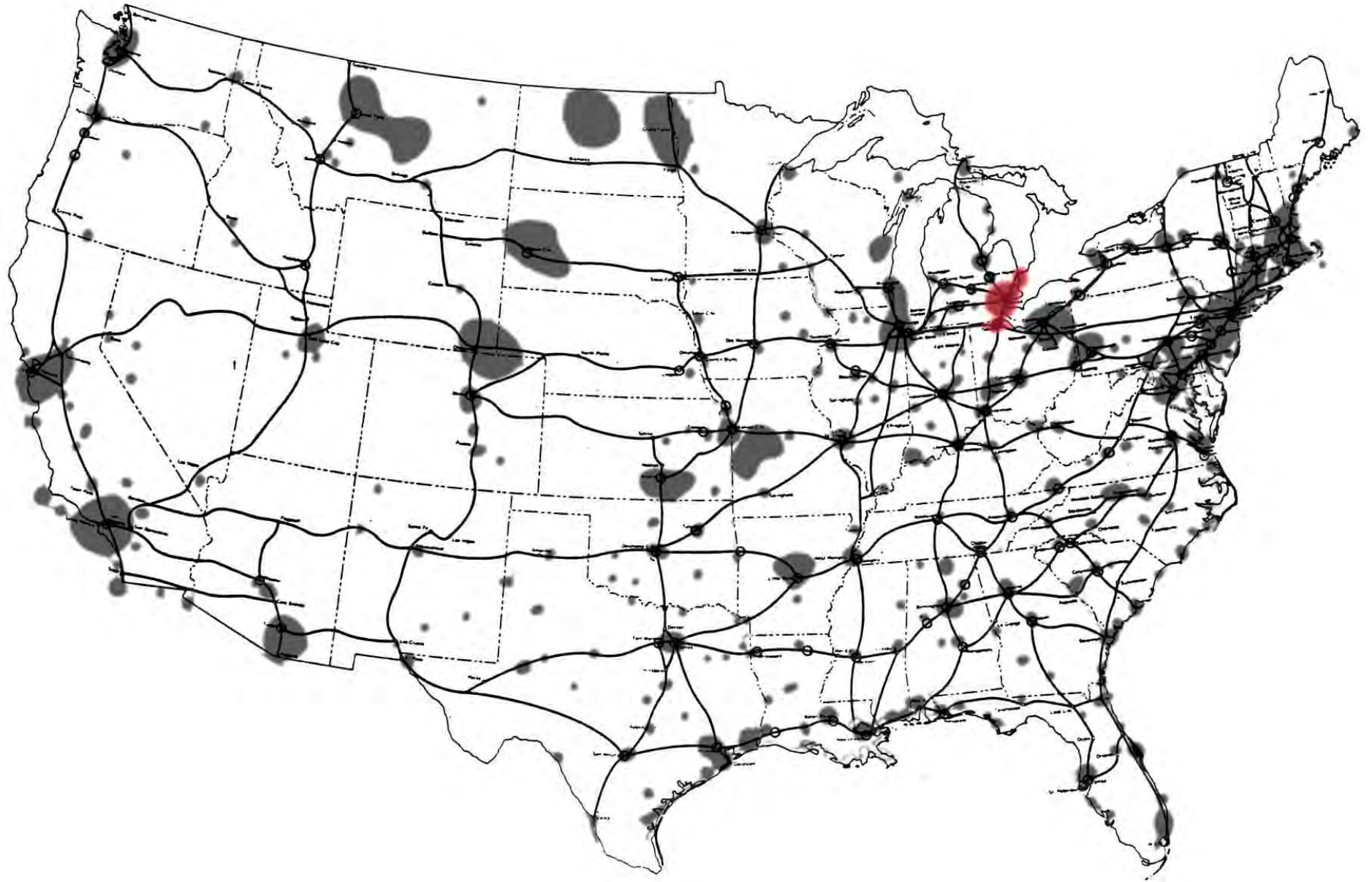
resilient to air campaigns, with convoys able to move across even the most crater filled roads. Eisenhower later wrote in his memoirs, perhaps unaware of the prophetic nature of his words, that there was no “better way to evacuate cities than by superhighway.”⁶⁵ The military leadership agreed, and pushed for a ring road of expressways to be built around every major American city. When the FAHA was signed, the Eisenhower administration envisioned that it would take thirteen years to finish the freeway system, though it would ultimately be over forty years before the final stretch was opened in 1990, completing the link between Boston and Seattle.

Detroit, always the prototypical modern city, became continually invested in highway construction projects, transforming arterial roads into two, then four, then eight-lane freeways as the old surface routes through the city grew into the sunken interstate highways I-75, I-94, I-96, and the I-375, as well as a half dozen other state highways along the expanded approach roads. Automobile executives and property developers welcomed the construction of these routes enthusiastically. For automakers, the roads provided new destinations and increased mobility, more reasons to own and drive a car. For developers, it afforded to opportunity to experiment with novel forms of real estate, ushering in the era of the drive through restaurant and the gas bar, the shopping centre and the suburb, and making possible the formation of the edge city.

As these highways swelled in width, their points of intersection became increasingly complex, requiring ever larger and more elaborate interchanges. Highway planners were not sensitive to the needs of cities and often put local governments in the position of having to either resist modernization through the highway system or agree to the partial destruction of their inner city neighbourhoods. The interstate system was ravenous in its use of land, requiring twenty-four acres for each mile of freeway, and over eighty acres for an interchange.⁶⁶ This had the effect of reducing the tax base in a given city, as so much occupied land was given way to freeway trenches and overpasses. Often this land was carved out of minority communities which lacked the political power necessary to challenge the government planners, resulting in the destruction of these communities and the eviction of residents, well evidenced in the earlier highway building programs in New York City led by Robert Moses. Building this infrastructure evicted thousands of families each year as more and more expressways were planned, contributing to housing shortages

Figure 1.54:
Not to Scale

Map of the national Interstate system overlaid with Soviet-era nuclear targets; Metro Detroit is shown in red.



already well underway in the post war era. Detroit was to be little different. Between 1940 and 1960 the Chrysler and Lodge Freeways had cut through black neighbourhoods on the lower east and west sides of downtown, as well as severing the inner city in two pieces north-south with the extension of the Bomber Road (Edsel Ford Freeway/I-94) between the Willow Run plant near Ypsilanti and the central city. These three projects together destroyed more than 5,000 buildings, the majority of which were residences. Many white residents were able to move their homes to a new location, while the black population, mostly renters, was forced to find new accommodations, as their homes were destroyed and the federal government had no plans in place for their relocation.⁶⁷ Jerry Herron, writing in *Stalking Detroit*, discusses the power of the automobile in destroying the physical and historical city:

The automobile is the mechanical summation of our urban predicament: the ultimate love object of our national desire which renders the city at once accessible and also outmoded, inconvenient, unnecessary, like the history, supposedly, from which it was born. There is simply nowhere convenient to park in the city or history. Whatever is to become of the metropolis, then, and us along with it, will be determined by the confrontation of cars with historic space.⁶⁸

In the neighbourhoods of Corktown, Black Bottom, Paradise Valley, Woodbridge, Poletown, and into the enclave city of Highland Park, entire swaths of urban fabric were cut away without regard for the spatial logic of the resultant neighbourhoods or the socio-economic costs of breaking communities into unsustainable fragments. Despite criticism from community activists, this was seen as a necessary aspect of highway construction, as elucidated by Robert Moses in 1965:

When you operate in an overbuilt metropolis, you have to hack your way with a meat axe. I'm going to just keep right on building. You do the best you can to stop it.⁶⁹

Figure 1.55: (opposite top right)
Hastings Street in Paradise Valley, circa 1955

Figure 1.56: (opposite top right)
The Chrysler Freeway/I-75 circa 1962.
Hastings Street and the surrounding neighbourhood have been completely obliterated.

Figure 1.57: (opposite bottom)
The sunken I-94 near Coleman A. Young International Airport, circa 2011. Nearly every gridiron street has been severed to accommodate the freeway.



In the dusty remnants of these neighbourhoods, too remote or despoiled for residential development, border crossings and security checkpoints, factories and warehouses were erected; fences were built to keep things apart and to keep people out. In the period between 1939 and 1967, dozens of freeway projects had laid a more or less complete framework for the Detroit that we see today. Neighbourhoods had been partitioned and isolated, the sinuous disabitato of the sunken freeways now delivered vehicles to and from the city center, barely visible from beyond the concrete barrier walls above. This period of intense highway building marks the beginning of the decline of the Motor City, as destabilized areas began to evacuate, their white owners escaping to the suburbs. As Robert Conot writes in *American Odyssey*, his monumental history of Detroit:

As freeways channeled through the city, they tapped the pool of middle-class whites, long chafing at their urban entrapment. Like water, they poured into the channels and out of the city.⁷⁰

Though ostensibly paid for with \$25 billion worth of federal gasoline and vehicle taxes, these new highways placed an enormous financial burden on the older cities they cut apart. The horizontal liberation provided by the Interstate system not only had the effect of channeling people and defensive and heavy industries out of the city, it also gradually sucked away retail, professional services, grocery stores, and car dealerships. That these highways seemed designed specifically for this purpose was surely not lost on the inner city residents of Detroit, who could view from their ruined doorsteps vehicles they could not afford, driving to places they would never visit. Contrary to predications at the time (and now common theory), the new highway system did not decrease congestion, but rather increased it through induced demand, with the new highway system enticing more and more people to explore the endless horizon, the freedom of the road.

Figure 1.58: (opposite top left)
The pedestrian realm along the Fisher Freeway/I-75 service roads in Foxtown, 2012.

Figure 1.59: (opposite top right)
Freeway interchange between I-75 and I-94 in Poletown East, 2011.

Figure 1.60: (opposite bottom)
Ramp to a pedestrian walkway over the I-75 between Briggs/Rosa Parks and Corktown, 2012.

Figure 1.61: (overleaf)
Demolitions underway for the construction of the John C. Lodge Freeway/M-10, 1952. Clearance for the Edsel Ford Freeway/I-94 is visible in the upper centre of the image. The western edge of downtown Detroit is at the bottom right of the photograph.



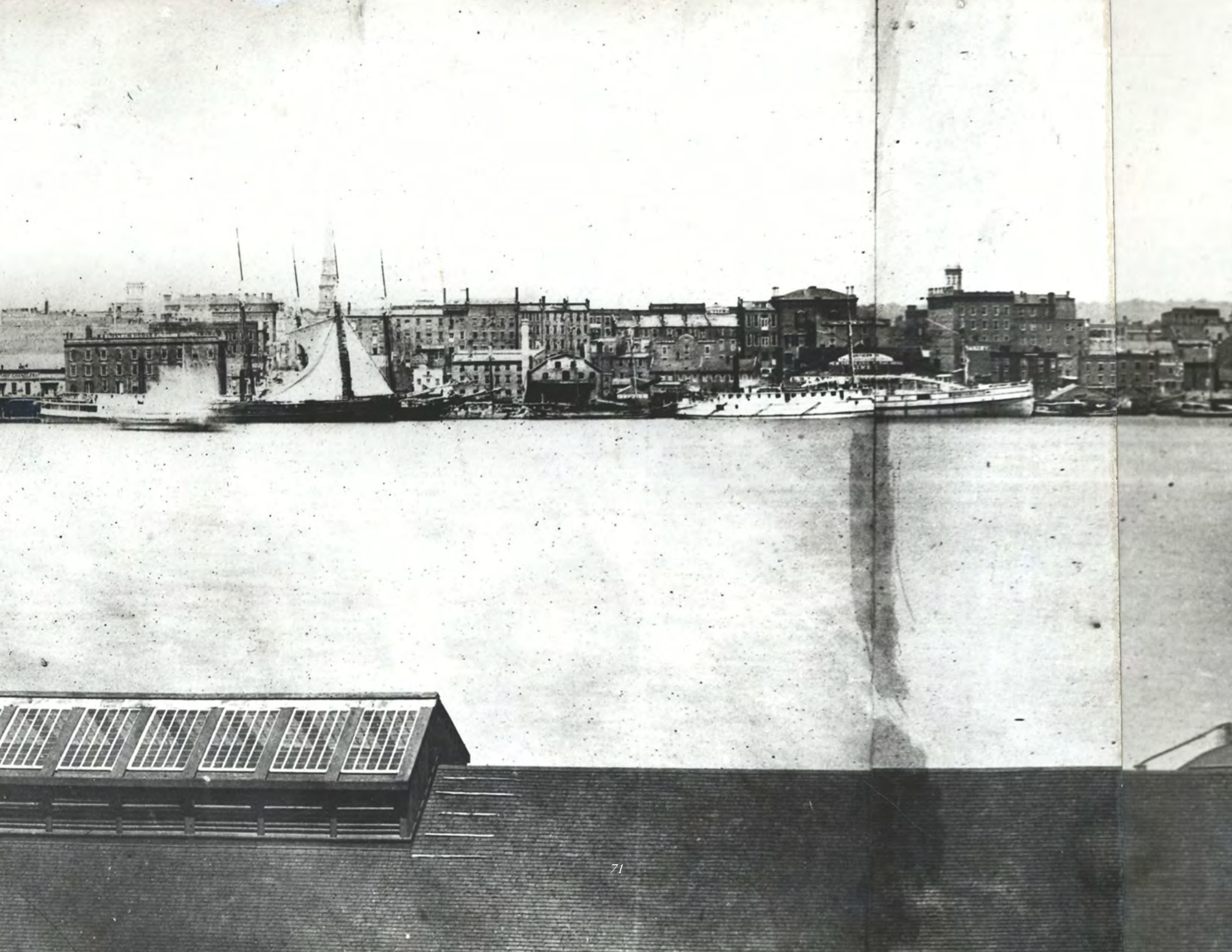


68



69





Industry

Detroit will resolve itself into one of the greatest industrial islands on Earth.

E.B. Ward⁷¹

I'm tired of whoopin' and hollerin' up and down the Mississippi road...
picking that nasty cotton.
Gonna catch me a bus up north.
I won't have to keep saying yes, sir, boss.
I'm going to Detroit, Michigan...going to get me a job on the Cadillac
assembly line.

Albert King ⁷²

The railroads had allowed Detroit to emerge as an economic force with a market reach far greater than it had previously known. Once the center of a regional economy, Detroit now reached out to the nation and beyond to sell the products of its burgeoning industrial economy. The railway era enabled the rise of many diversified industries and Detroit quickly became a leader in many of them. The prodigious forests of northeastern Michigan had long ago established Detroit as the capitol of trade in timber, and as a result, in ship-building, and the mines of the interior peninsula had supplied copper and iron ore to the city's growing collection of foundries and metal benders. The Detroit Stove Company, founded in 1864, quickly became the world's largest manufacturer of stoves, and companies such as the Fulton Iron & Engine Works built locomotive steam engines while the Detroit Bridge & Iron Works built the spans that would carry these engines over the rivers and valleys of the state.⁷³ In addition, smaller concerns produced tobacco products, pharmaceuticals, paints, beer, and spirits. Machinist shops produced an array of mechanical products and metal works.⁷⁴ Towards the end of the nineteenth century wages in Detroit were among the most competitive in the nation, at an average of \$1.74 per day for skilled labour, \$1.45 per day for unskilled labour, and \$0.78 per day for women,





regardless of the work.⁷⁵

The advent of the automobile industry led to a staggering reorganization of Detroit's economy. In the years proceeding Henry Ford's famous unveiling of the Model-T, new automotive factories sprang up along existing train lines, and new lines were driven through the city in order to reach plants being built in the west near Conner's Creek. Companies such as Cadillac, Continental, Dodge, Ford, General Motors, Hudson, Maxwell-Briscoe, Oldsmobile, Packard, and Pierce-Arrow began mass producing cars in the early twentieth century, and by 1904, Detroit was building more than 20,000 cars each year.⁷⁶

The early automotive factories were multi-storey buildings located within the inner city, along the beltlines. The workforce was largely local, and many employees could walk from their homes to the factories, as most neighbourhoods outside of Detroit's core contained mixed residential, industrial and mercantile uses. When many of these factories were initially built, they were on the outskirts of the city, but population explosion soon found them enveloped on all sides by the urban fabric. Towards the end of the Great War, factories began to look outside the borders of the city in order to expand their facilities.

The spatial and economic logic of the modern auto factory and its effect on the city has been called Fordism, attributing to the pioneering automaker and his principle architect, the visionary Albert Kahn, an explicit responsibility in the shaping of the modern city. Fordism did not arise from a conscious desire to remake the city as an ever expanding horizon of objects in motion, but rather from the scientific principles of efficiency in production: the usefulness of repetition and time-conscious integration of processes combined with advancements in architectural design that made possible the large spans required to house such manufacturing. As the multi-storey, vertical factory became quickly outmoded, Ford constructed the River Rouge complex, a colossal expanse of single storey extrusions, each housing discrete manufacturing operations, joined together into a city of industry. All operations were contained within the Rouge, which saw raw iron ore enter one side of the factory and finished automobiles exit from the other.⁷⁷

The Second World War brought with it the need for advanced military production, and further facilities designed in the vein of the River Rouge. Most of the factories producing automobiles at the outset of the war were converted for production of tanks,

Figure 1.62: (p. 70-71)

The Detroit skyline viewed from Windsor, 1866.

Figure 1.63: (p. 72-73)

The city of industry, circa 1880.

Figure 1.64: (opposite top right)

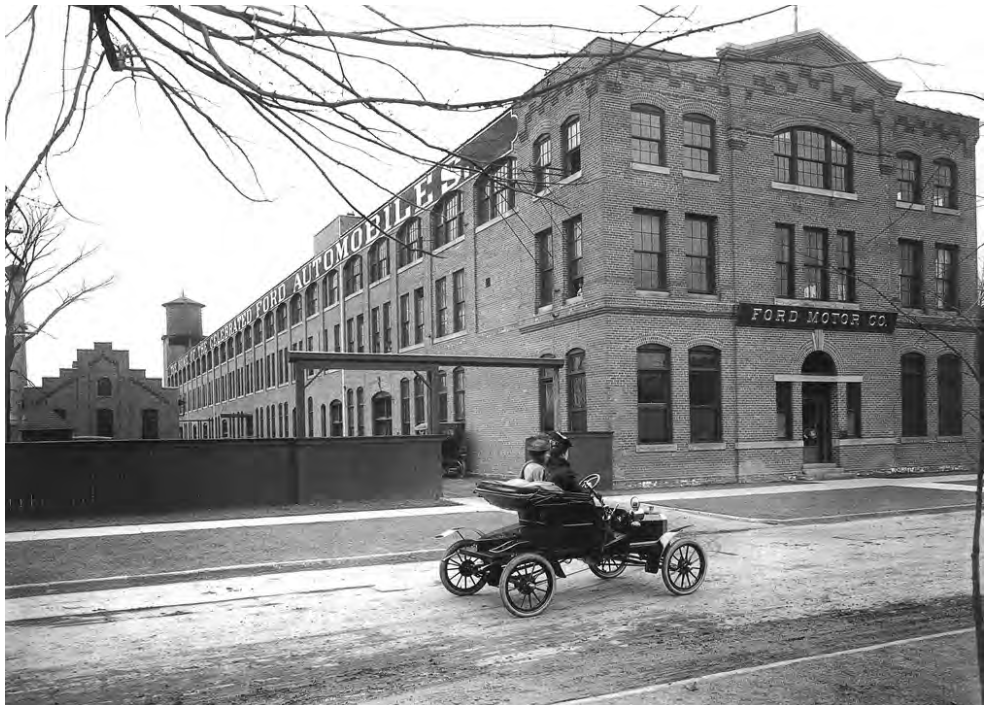
The Ford Motor Company's first plant on Piquette Avenue, circa 1910.

Figure 1.65: (opposite top right)

The Cadillac Motor Car Company, circa 1920.

Figure 1.66: (opposite bottom)

The Ford Motor Company's Highland Park plant, 1914.



planes, bombers, and engines. The Packard Plant was converted for the production of aircraft engines, adapting its grey iron foundry and forge into facilities for the production of aluminum parts. The company built enormous new facilities for the engine's manufacture and testing, while on the outside of the city, near Ypsilanti, Henry Ford was building the Willow Run bomber plant in the model of River Rouge. As Coleman Young later remarked on the motivations of the horizontal expansion of these facilities both within and without the city:

Ostensibly decentralization was a military mechanism, advertised to make the defense industry less susceptible to wholesale nuclear destruction.⁷⁸

The scientific principles that had led Ford to the creation of the assembly line, the atomization of work into a few discrete movements repeated ad nauseam, and the Kahn system of factory design, allowed for the expansion of industry even further afield than the metro region. Soon, entire processes were removed to other factories in other cities and the components of automobiles were soon be shipped into Detroit for assembly from throughout the rust belt. It is during this period that a major consolidation of the automobile industry takes place. Smaller manufacturers such as Hudson, Continental, Packard, and Studebaker folded, one after another, as the market share and investment capital of Detroit's Big Three automakers rendered them non-competitive. The remaining companies continued to expand production outside of Detroit, with this process increasing in the period following the OPEC crisis and the negotiations for NAFTA, when both capital and production were liberated from regional and national boundaries.⁷⁹ Previous systems of manufacturing based on closed supply chains and local labour gave way to the Japanese model of just in time production, which could be more adequately applied to the growing number of satellite production facilities that scattered themselves across America and later the world.

Figure 1.67: (opposite)

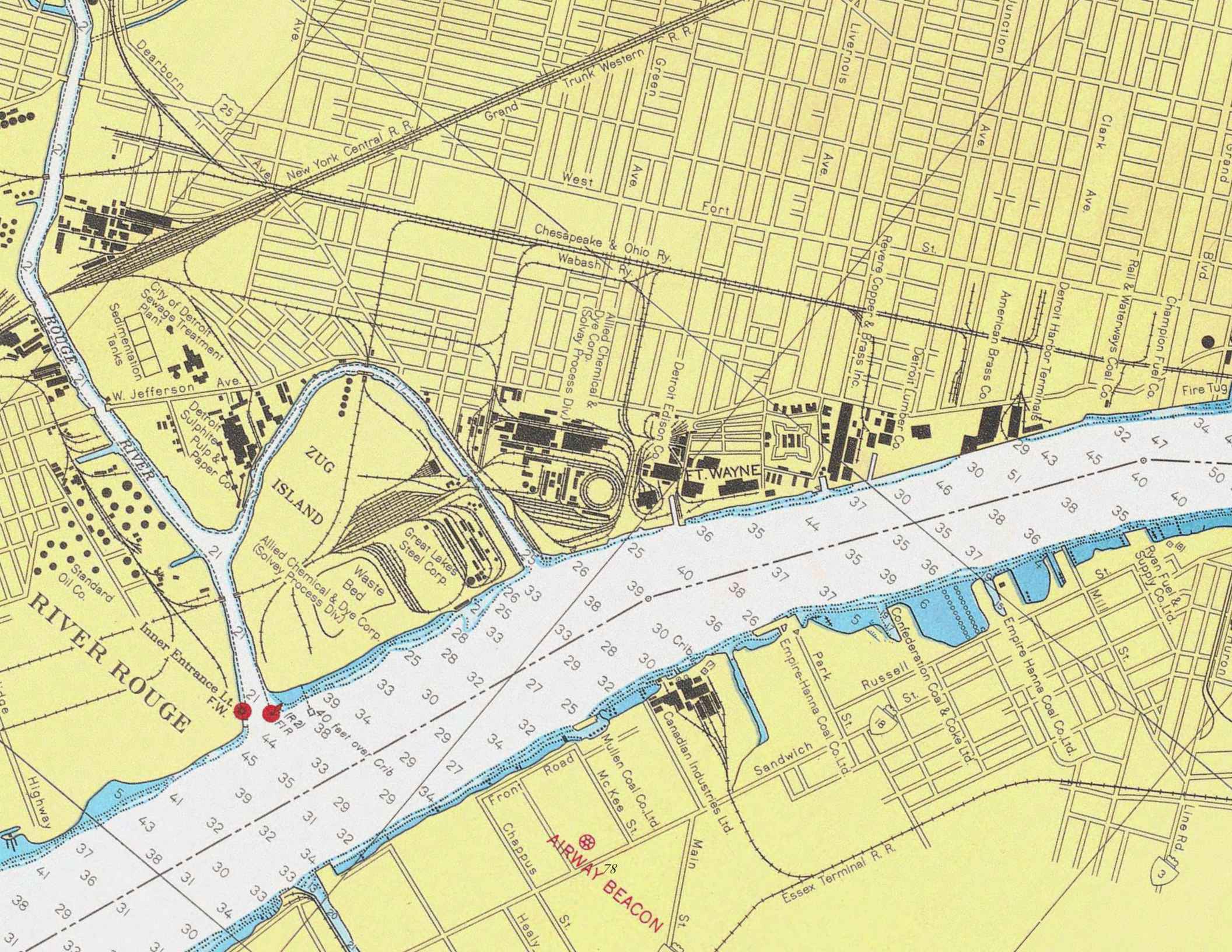
The Ford River Rouge Plant, designed by Albert Kahn, circa 1926.

Figure 1.68: (overleaf)

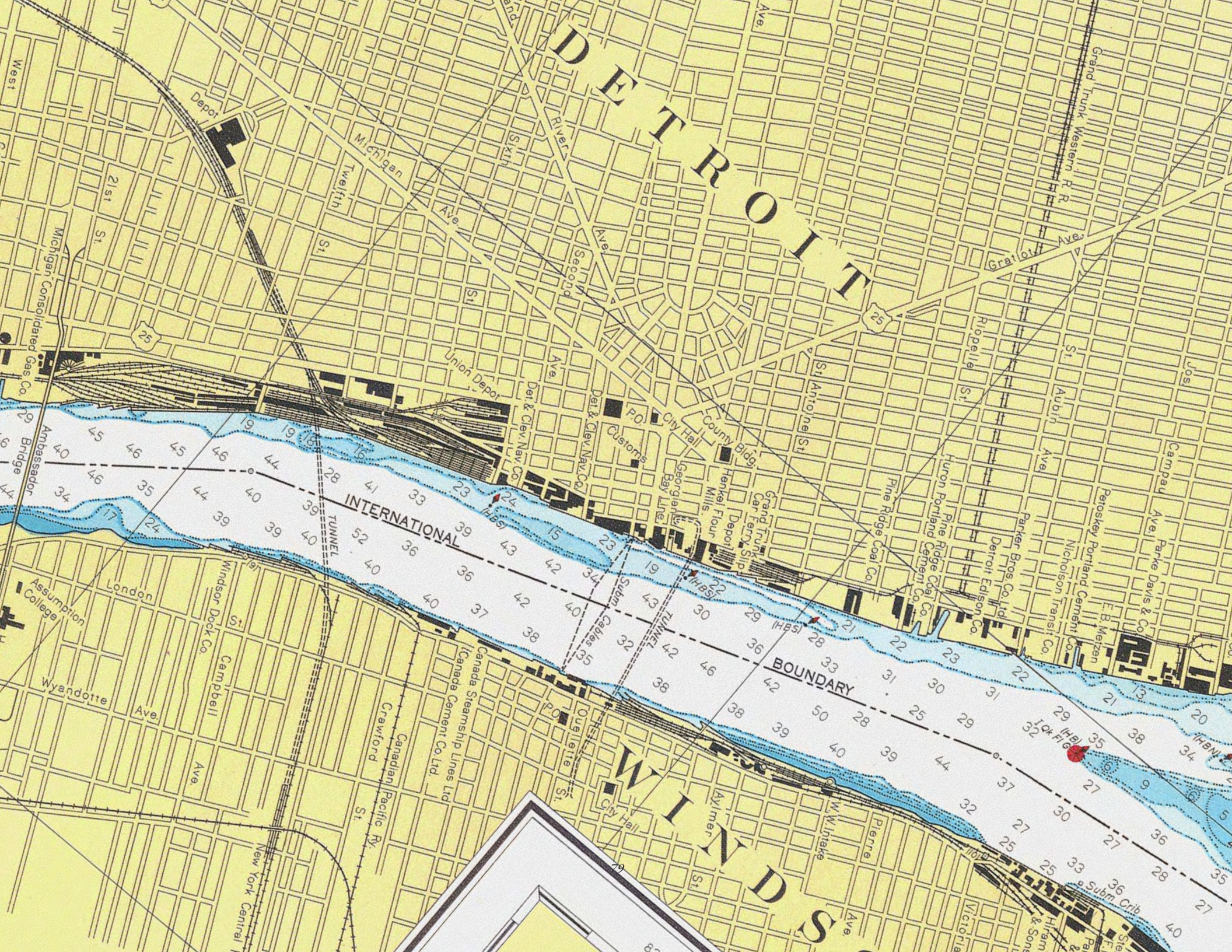
Industrial activity along the Detroit River, 1945. The map illustrates the maximum industrial development of the rivers edge during the days of the Arsenal of Democracy. Industrial buildings and railroad infrastructure are shown in black.



SAFETY IS EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS



DETROIT



INTERNATIONAL TUNNEL

BOUNDARY

WINDSOR



Dispatch I: Getaway Car

....security in Detroit, as it is everywhere, is in your mind. You can have all the locks in the world. But its really in your mind. Its a healthy paranoia.

Michael Farrell, Brush Park resident⁸⁰

The Brewster Projects!? Even I don't go down there!⁸¹

Brush Park was the first place in Detroit where I felt I was in danger. I had arrived in the afternoon on a warm day in late February to photograph the neighbourhood and take a walk to the Brewster-Douglass project. I thought that there would have been more to see, but the amount of vacant land is staggering: Brush park is nearly completely removed of the hundreds of homes that once lined its streets. Unlike most blasted-out neighbourhoods in the city, there is almost no vegetation here, save for groundcover, and in most places the skyline of downtown is fully in view, with Detroit's great obelisk, the Renaissance Centre, holding court at the rivers edge.

I parked my car in an alley below Erskine and walked to the intersection at John R. At the north side of the corner was a boarded up early twentieth-century apartment, three floors all stripped and burned, and made of steel-coloured limestone. On the other side of the street was a newer building, it looked like it had been transported from some banal Victorian theme park only a few years prior, and was also closed with plywood. Probably a hundred years had elapsed between the construction of these two, and yet their fate was the same. Already the Park intrigued me, and so I walked on, finding a few of those old mansion houses, some sunken and falling, others lovingly, if partially restored, and the sun began to set. By now I was several blocks from my car. This was my first trip to Detroit where I was travelling alone and after nightfall, I was fairly apprehensive of being much further than a few minutes walk from my hotel so I decided to head back for the car. Brewster would have to wait until next time; I was leaving this city in the morning.

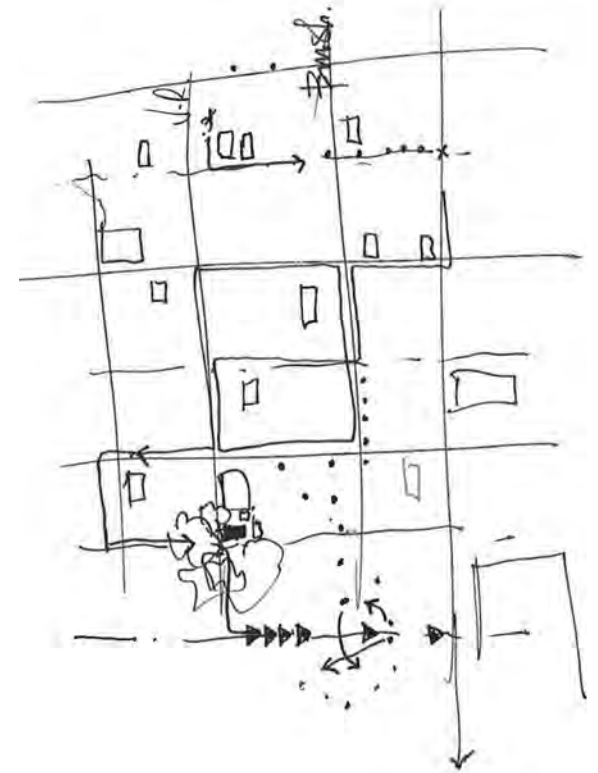


Figure 1.69: (above)
Sketchbook entry, Brush Park February, 2012.

Figure 1.70: (right)
My old 1997 Chevrolet Lumina a couple of days before its destruction, 2012.

Figure 1.71 : (p. 82)
Alley north of Perry Street between Wabash and 14th in Briggs/Rosa Parks, 2012.

Figure 1.72: (p. 83)
Alley south of Spruce Street between Rosa Parks and Vermont in Briggs/Rosa Parks, 2012.



As I headed down John R., I spotted a couple of figures across the block, moving in the same direction. I assumed they saw me too, as they quickly changed course and started towards me. Lest I seem like a scared Canadian by running away, I opted to confirm my suspicions. A few deliberate movements between houses and alleys did not shake them and when I doubled back towards Erskine and they were still behind me, the situation was clear. I walked just out of view, off the street and between two houses and then raced back down the alley to my car. By now, the sky was inky black, the broken street lamps and unlit skyscrapers failing to provide that glowing orange haze that defines the night in more prosperous cities. Keys already in hand, I reached the driver's door, jumped in, and rolled the engine. The car was old enough to have manual headlights and I left them off, slowly moving ahead to John R. and to the safety of my last night's bed. Ahead, the two reappeared - I could see them searching for me, but I remained unseen.

Now, the alleys of Detroit are not what one may typically expect: they do not provide a convenient parallel to the street grid. They are cracked, heaving ruins in asphalt, concrete, and brick, frayed at the edges and returning slowly to nature. They are often filled or framed by garbage, by used tires, by dead boats and spent cars. Erskine alley was blissfully free of these, but its edges permitted only a one way road. My options were either to reverse blind through the alley to Brush Street or drive right on towards my stalkers. And so I floored the gas and moved forward, dropping my head below the dash and throwing on the lights. One of the two figures, now obviously young men, reached for something in his pants as they both jumped from the path of my speeding car. When I looked up, the alley was over. A panicked left turn drove the bottom of the Chevy so hard against the pavement that a trail of sparks shot out from underneath. But I was home free now. I sped back to the hotel and to safety. Now to figure out what the hell had just happened.

The next afternoon, driving back to the university, my brakes failed on the 401 a few kilometers outside of Windsor. After barely avoiding a high-speed collision, I took to the concessions armed with a half dozen bottles of brake fluid, rolling to a stop in Cambridge many hours later. It was unknown to me at the time, but I had killed that car: when the full extent (and cost) of the damage became clear, the old Chevy was towed out of my driveway and crushed into a cube. But I was saved. And now, to plan for the return to Detroit.





II

SIEGE





Eight

Mile

State Fairgrounds

Palmer Park

Davison Ave.

TROUBLE AREA

Grand River

DETROIT

Grand Ave.

Edsel Ford

Michigan Ave.

BE Din

BAR

Gulf

I think you will forget the bad times which have taken place for some time past. Likewise, I shall forget what you may have done to me, in order to think of nothing but good.

Chief Pontiac⁸²

Mr. Backlash, Mr. Backlash, just who do you think I am? You raise my taxes, freeze my wages, and send my son to Vietnam.
You give me second class houses, second class schools, do you think all coloured people are second class fools?
Mr. Backlash, Mr. Backlash, I'm going to leave you with the blues.

Nina Simone⁸³

Detroit has been no stranger to conflict, and far before the much publicized struggles it endured in the twentieth century. The early days of the fort were wrought with tension, as the historic hostilities of Europe migrated in tall ships to the New World. The French and English, and later the Americans, battled each other over control of the fort and the vast natural riches that lay in the regions beyond. These rivalries did not occur in a vacuum, for the native tribes that lived in the Michigan Territory had been, for centuries, battling one another, forging and breaking alliances. Fort Ponchartrain was torched by tribal warriors two years after its founding.⁸⁴ The British fort, Lernoult, was besieged for six months beginning in the spring of 1763 by a combined army of Wyandot, Potawatomi, Ojibwe, and Ottawa natives, led by the latter tribe's chief, Pontiac. Seeking the complete removal of British military garrisons from the Great Lakes region, Pontiac intended to destroy Detroit either by force or by famine. It was in the context of this siege in which the commander, Dalzell, and his men were slaughtered in the ambush at Bloody Run.⁸⁵

When the Americans and the British, via their Canadian and native proxies, fought each other over control of the Canadian territories in the War of 1812, Detroit was again threatened. This time, the fort's commander, Hull, believing false rumours spread by the enemy about the strength of their forces, surrendered without protest once General Brock's army had pounded the bastions with cannon fire and several of Hull's men were killed.⁸⁶ Just over one year later, Detroit would return to American control.⁸⁷ From this

Figure 2.0: (p. 84-85)
Montage.

Figure 2.1: (opposite)
Bombardment of Fort Detroit, 1812
by Peter Rindlisbacher.

Figure 2.2: (p. 88-89)
Woodward Avenue as it looked during the first riots, circa 1860.

Figure 2.3: (p. 90-91)
Map of Underground Railroad routes through the United States and Canada, 1838-1860.

point, almost without fail, the city expands, first based on Woodward's plan, quickly abandoned, and then later on the early ribbon farm gridiron. As America approached the middle of the nineteenth century, Detroit's population was diversifying, due to the growth of the existing ethnic population and an influx of European migrants. To this was added an internal migration of blacks escaping bondage, and later Appalachians escaping poverty.



Two Solitudes

...I picked the cotton. And I carried it to market. And I built the railroads. Under someone else's whip for nothing. For nothing. The southern oligarchy...was created by my labour and my sweat and the violation of my women and the murder of my children. This, in the land of the free and the home of the brave.

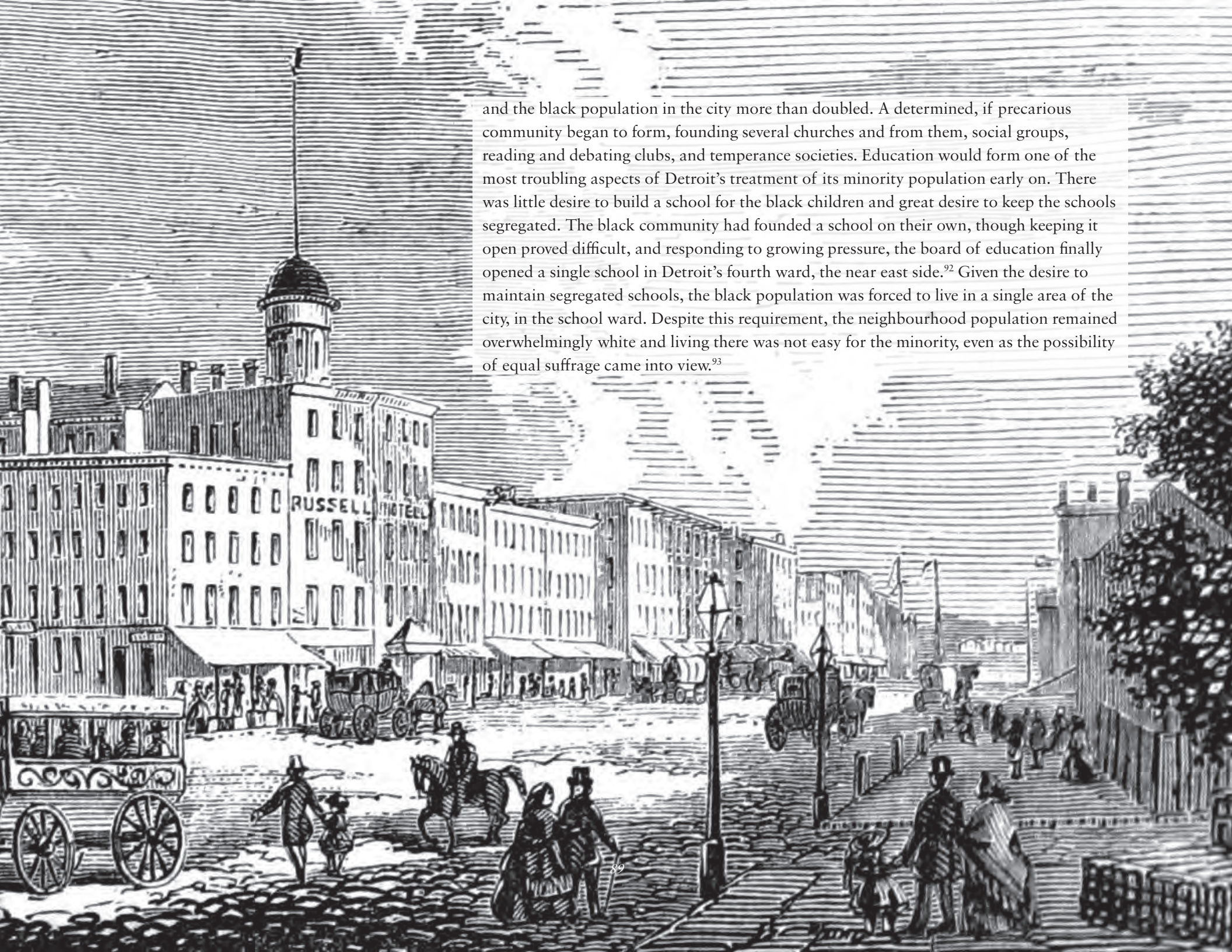
James Baldwin⁸⁸

There had been slaves in Michigan, both black and aboriginal, from its earliest days as a territory, and the French, the British, and later the Americans were all complicit in its endurance. The earliest slaves in the settlement had been captives handed over to the French by native tribes that maintained encampments around the fort at Detroit, and the practice had expanded along with the city, doubling in size with each passing decade.⁸⁹ Augustus Woodward had tried to abolish the trade shortly after he arrived in 1805, and though unable to do so, succeeded in preventing any further expansion of the obscene practice, such that within ten years there were fewer than twenty slaves remaining in the territory. Outright abolition came in 1837, though enfranchisement was a distant reality and, given the situation in the American south, black residents of Detroit lived under fear of being delivered back into servitude and of the hostility of the white majority. One June, four years prior to the abolition of slavery in the Michigan Territory, Detroit experienced its first race riot, when, incited by slave hunters who had arrived from the south, blacks threatened to burn the city. Destruction as a result of the riot was minimal, though it had the affect of increasing the perilous living situation of Detroit's black population and sowing greater suspicion between ethnic groups.⁹⁰ Isolated incidents of unrest persisted through the summer until, after the municipal jail and courthouse were torched in late July, federal troops were called in from Fort Gratiot, at present-day Port Huron, to patrol the streets. Blacks were forced to pay a peace bond or leave the city, which many did, following the Underground Railroad to Canada, or Heaven, as it had come to be known.⁹¹

The first major waves of southern migration occurred between in 1840-1850,



and the black population in the city more than doubled. A determined, if precarious community began to form, founding several churches and from them, social groups, reading and debating clubs, and temperance societies. Education would form one of the most troubling aspects of Detroit's treatment of its minority population early on. There was little desire to build a school for the black children and great desire to keep the schools segregated. The black community had founded a school on their own, though keeping it open proved difficult, and responding to growing pressure, the board of education finally opened a single school in Detroit's fourth ward, the near east side.⁹² Given the desire to maintain segregated schools, the black population was forced to live in a single area of the city, in the school ward. Despite this requirement, the neighbourhood population remained overwhelmingly white and living there was not easy for the minority, even as the possibility of equal suffrage came into view.⁹³

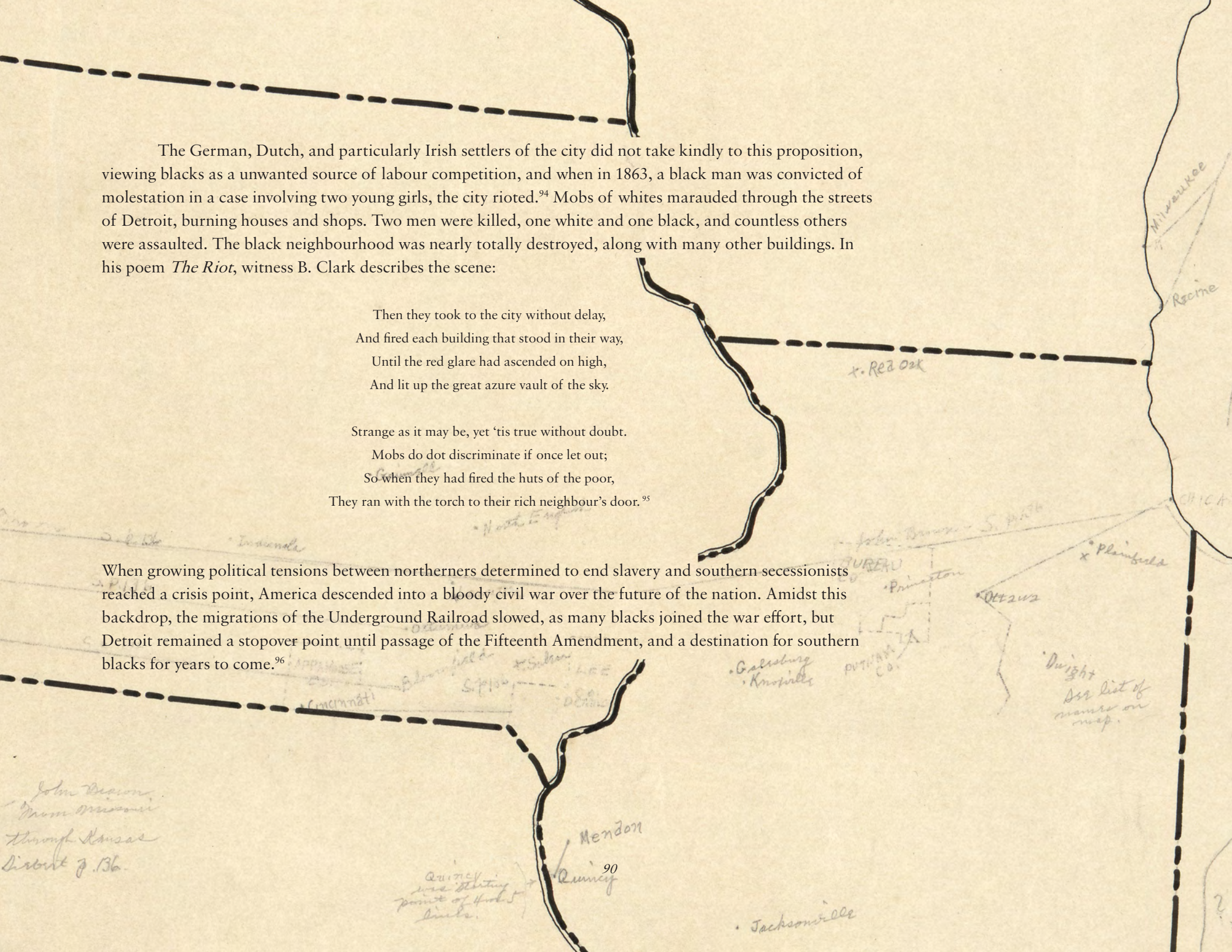


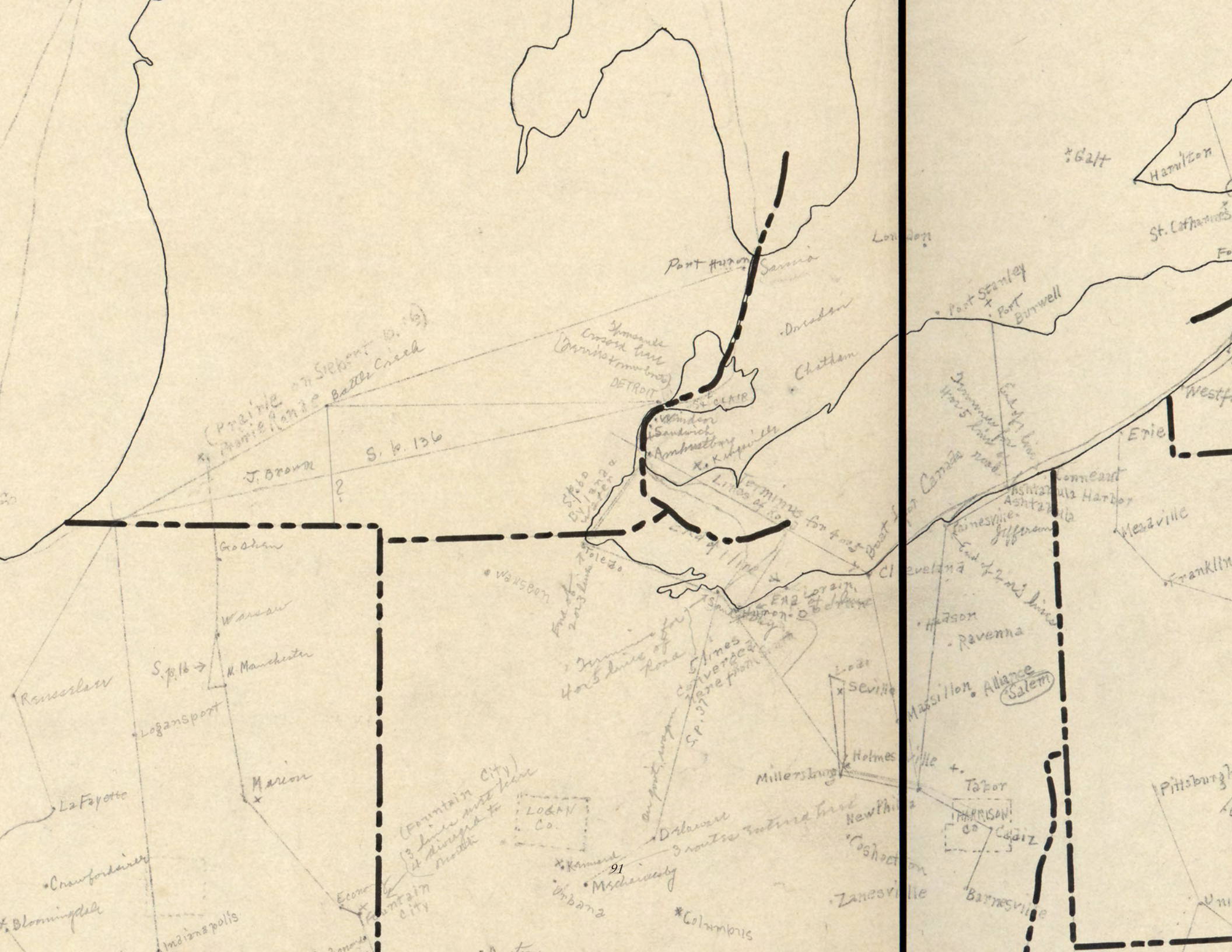
The German, Dutch, and particularly Irish settlers of the city did not take kindly to this proposition, viewing blacks as a unwanted source of labour competition, and when in 1863, a black man was convicted of molestation in a case involving two young girls, the city rioted.⁹⁴ Mobs of whites marauded through the streets of Detroit, burning houses and shops. Two men were killed, one white and one black, and countless others were assaulted. The black neighbourhood was nearly totally destroyed, along with many other buildings. In his poem *The Riot*, witness B. Clark describes the scene:

Then they took to the city without delay,
And fired each building that stood in their way,
Until the red glare had ascended on high,
And lit up the great azure vault of the sky.

Strange as it may be, yet 'tis true without doubt.
Mobs do not discriminate if once let out;
So when they had fired the huts of the poor,
They ran with the torch to their rich neighbour's door.⁹⁵

When growing political tensions between northerners determined to end slavery and southern secessionists reached a crisis point, America descended into a bloody civil war over the future of the nation. Amidst this backdrop, the migrations of the Underground Railroad slowed, as many blacks joined the war effort, but Detroit remained a stopover point until passage of the Fifteenth Amendment, and a destination for southern blacks for years to come.⁹⁶





(Prairie on Siebent D. 16)
* Prairie on Siebent D. 16
Batter Creek

J. Brown
S. P. 136

Russell
S. P. 16 →
Logansport

La Fayette
Marion
* Columbus

(Mountain City)
3 lines into here
it diverges to
north
LOGAN Co.
* Kimmel
* Urbana
91
* Columbus

Termines for 4000 feet
Lines of 1000
Lines of 2000
Lines of 3000

Delaware
* Columbus

Massillon Alliance
(Salem)

HARRISON Co.
* Cadiz

* Galt

Hamilton
St. Catharines

Port Stanley
Port Burwell

West
Erie

Franklin
Mezaville

Pittsburg





Home

The United States seems to cherish an image of itself as a country of opportunity for all, a country that invites in the world's tired, its poor, and its huddled masses. But the United States is not exceptional in its rates of social mobility. It can perform no special alchemy on the disadvantaged populations of any society in order to transform their life opportunities. The truth is that the American Dream was always an illusion.

Gregory Clark⁹⁷

No white person can be hurt by a positive struggle for black rights. What is good for black folks, who are at the lowest level of the economic and social structure in this day, is good for all folks, is good for white folks. By the same token, that which injures blacks injures all. That's a hard lesson. Sometimes those who preach it die by racist acts. Others will follow to tell the story. It's the only route I know to freedom.

Coleman A. Young⁹⁸

Post-war Detroit was a dense gridiron of residential neighbourhoods, with shops and merchants along every major thoroughfare, and through which wove a labyrinthine network of rail lines along which major industry was gathered. When the highway building programs of the 1940s and 1950s began to slice large swaths through the city, many residential neighbourhoods were sacrificed. While these sunken roadways would generally travel through the poor inner city, often minority, neighbourhoods, the necessity of linking the new highways with the established road network of northeast Michigan made the expropriations more or less indiscriminate in nature. The distinction was in the ability of the affected populations to cope with the consequences of the relocations. Newer predominantly white middle class neighbourhoods in the far edges of the city were not immune to the destruction wrought by interstate construction. While some effort was made to follow the existing trajectories of rail lines, so as to avoid unnecessary destruction

Figure 2.4: (p. 92-93)

The Detroit skyline viewed from the rooftops of Windsor, circa 1929.

Figure 2.5: (opposite bottom left)

The 8-Mile and Wyoming neighbourhood, 1949.

Figure 2.6: (opposite top left)

New housing at Neff Street and Chandler Park Drive in the Cornerstone Village neighbourhood, circa 1950.

Figure 2.7: (opposite right)

Neighbourhood clearance for the construction of the Chrysler Freeway/I-75, circa 1960.

Figure 2.8: (overleaf)

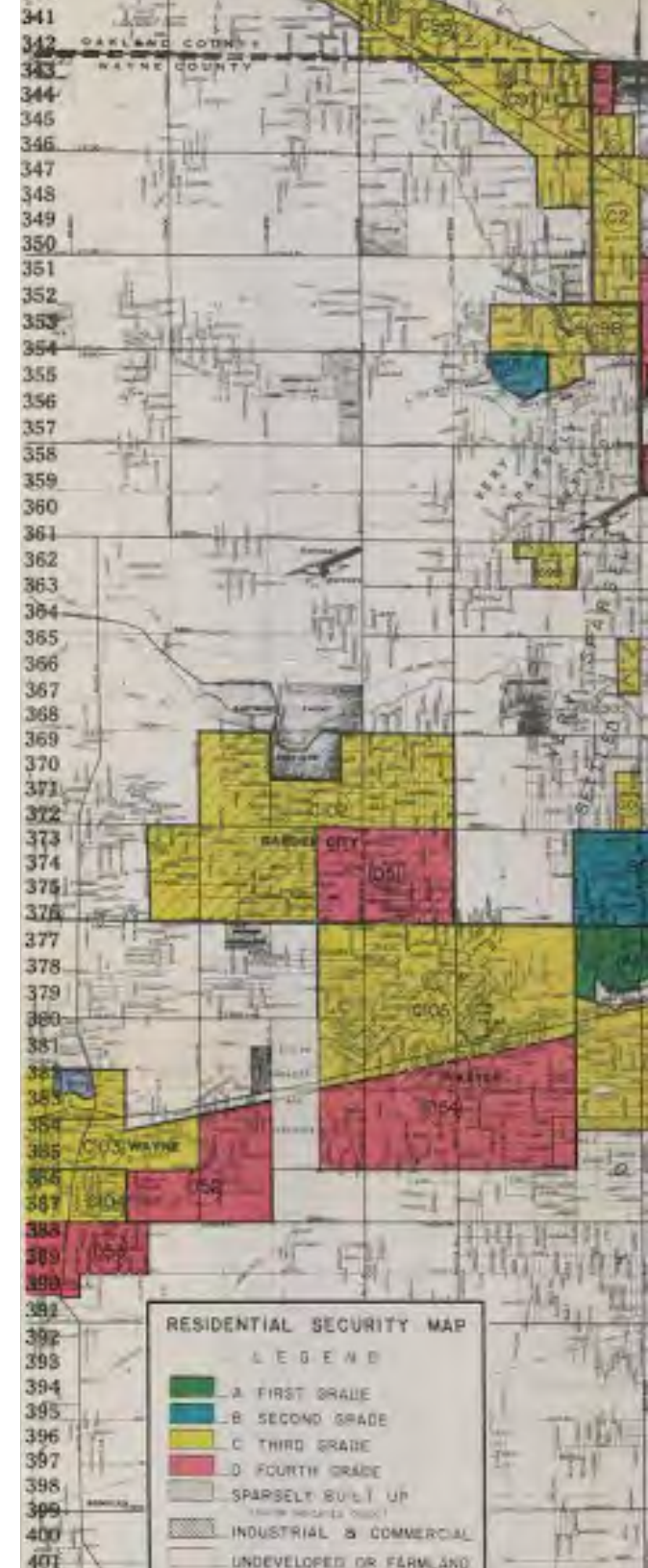
A residential security map prepared by the Hearn Brothers for the Detroit Chamber of Commerce, circa 1965. Very little of the housing in the city is of the first or second grade.

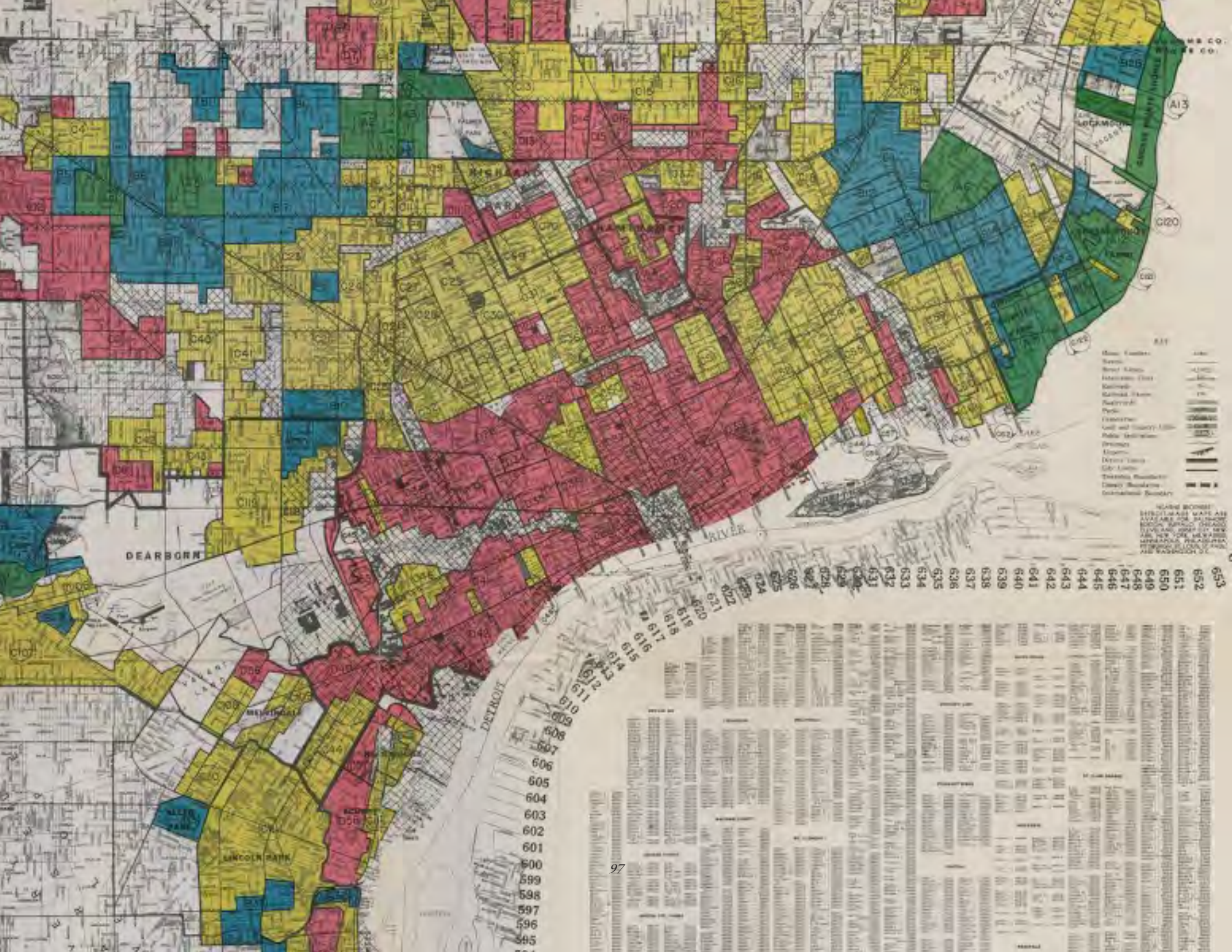


of the city fabric, the routes of the Lodge, Jeffries, Chrysler, and Edsel Ford Freeways were all dug through the existing gridiron.

Displacement from these projects, as well as from urban development schemes underway in the inner city caused acute shortages in housing. The housing boom of the Post-War era was considerable, as material shortages eased and FHA money was made available, though the population expansion in Detroit far exceeded the availability of new homes. Added to this was the preference of developers in Detroit to build for the middle class and the general unavailability of many neighbourhoods to black residents. While both whites and blacks suffered under the housing shortage, the problem was far more severe for black families. Collusion between government and the private sector kept certain areas out of reach for the black population, while also guaranteeing a decline in the quality of their existing neighbourhoods.

One way this was accomplished was through redlining, which was a practice deployed by almost all mortgage lenders, from private banks to the FHA backed mortgage agencies Fannie Mae and Freddie Mac. Colours were drawn onto maps of the city's neighbourhoods, assigning each colour a letter ranking from A to D, with red D zones being unfit for government or private mortgages. With the exception of areas of the far west near Conant Gardens, red zones were invariably black neighborhoods. There were only a few areas of black settlement in Detroit when redlining became a widely used practice, but as time progressed and more neighbourhoods became integrated, disinvestment areas grew to encompass nearly half the city, further exacerbating the housing crisis as loans could not be secured even to repair existing housing stock, let alone build new homes. The criteria for neighbourhood rankings considered the age of the structures, amenities and infrastructure, and significantly, the ethnic and economic uniformity of a neighbourhood.⁹⁹ Receiving a favourable rating for a neighbourhood was so crucial to receiving loans for either new construction or renovations, that in the early 1940s, a developer seeking financing to build a middle class subdivision west of an established black neighbourhood was compelled to construct a physical separation between the two.¹⁰⁰ The black neighbourhood near 8-Mile and Wyoming was comprised of self-built houses that dated from the early 1920s when a thousand southern black migrants set up an encampment on former farmland, while the new community was to be a medium





MB CO.
RE CO.

(A13)

(C20)

(C2)

(C22)

(C24)

(C26)

(C28)

(C30)

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(C34)

(C36)

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density cluster of post-war Monopoly houses.¹⁰¹

The built result of this fear of integration was a one kilometer long wall, two meters high, of reinforced concrete running continuously between the neighbourhoods, breaking only for east/west flow of streets. It stretches south from 8-Mile Road to Van Antwerp Park, running through the backyards of residents on Mendota and Birwood Streets. Known as the 8-Mile Race Wall or the Little Berlin Wall, today it has been reclaimed by the community, and features murals along its length where it forms the west end of the Alfonso Wells Park & Playground. The murals speak of equality between races, the dignity that comes from full employment, and of social justice.

Blockbusting was another distinct tactic often deployed to facilitate real estate speculation in white neighbourhoods. Along with redlining, it was one of the more notorious real estate practices carried out in the 1950s and 1960s, unfolding during a period when Detroit's neighbourhoods were undergoing ethnic transition. An agent would either sell a home to a black family in an all-white neighbourhood or on a given street, or spread rumours to that effect, and then take advantage of the desperate situations that followed. Some would even phone white residents on a desired street to inform them that blacks were moving in and that the time was right to sell, while they could still receive value for their property. As historic black communities were wrecked for highways and urban renewal, families became desperate for accommodations, often paying far more than market value for housing. Agents would then use the ensuing racial discord to goad whites into selling their properties at below value rates. This ultimately had the effect of hastening the migrations out of Detroit and into the suburbs, where FHA money was being used to construct new homes on more spacious lots.¹⁰²

Figure 2.9: (opposite)

Housing construction on the east side, circa 1935. Grosse Point Park to the east is expanding rapidly, while substantial undeveloped land remains along the Detroit waterfront.

Figure 2.10: (overleaf)

The 8-Mile Race Wall, 2014.







Cityscape II: The Brewster-Douglass Projects





The houses, mostly standing as they stood a half-century ago, are dismal structures. Some have night-blooming grocery stores in their front yards. Some have boarded windows, All stand in bitter need of paint and repair. It is a desolate street; a scene of poverty and chop-fallen gloom; possibly of worse things. But once, with a clear middle-aged mind, Alfred Street was a lovely place.

Russell McLauchlin¹⁰³

Gradually, the eastern portion of Brush Park became part of Paradise Valley, the long since lost geographical and cultural heart of Detroit's black population, with its western boundary at Hastings becoming the cultural centre of the burgeoning community. In large part due to overcrowding, the age of the homes, and the negligent practices of landlords, Paradise Valley was quickly becoming a slum. Overcrowded, and prone to fires and disease, the mid-nineteenth century neighbourhoods of the inner city were viewed with hostility, as slums desperately in need of clearance and reconstruction. Of course, this was a view held only by the ruling elite, invariably white. To those who found their home in this neighbourhood it was true to its name, as one former resident recalled:

Paradise Valley was a beautiful place. Blacks entertained in black clubs. It was a first-class atmosphere. When they broke up the east side...When those bulldozers tore down Hastings Street, the black community shifted over to Twelfth Street and it was never the same. Paradise Valley was ours...¹⁰⁴

While many of the grand homes of Brush Park would remain reasonably intact, despite the impact of the 1943 race riots which had strayed into the area, a portion of the northeast was targeted for demolition for the construction of the Brewster Homes, a low rise residential project for the working poor championed by First Lady Eleanor Roosevelt. Inaugurated in 1935, the project would cause a massive eviction of families, followed by the abject failure of the Detroit Housing Commission to relocate those dispossessed of their homes.¹⁰⁵ A televised announcement from the Federal Housing Authority, attempted to position the project as a progressive vision of affordable housing for the black population:

Figure 2.11: (p. 102-103)

The last four high-rise towers at Brewster-Douglass, 2012. The Brewster-Wheeler Recreation Centre in the background.

Figure 2.12: (opposite)

A resident poses on the back porch of his house in Paradise Valley, 1942. The house is typical of the neighbourhood at that time.



Detroit, Michigan, a city forging into the future! With the might of Ford, Chrysler, and General Motors, Detroit is leading the way in twentieth century innovation! Amidst Detroit's industrial surge, housing has become the city's number one social and economic problem. Last week, the first lady, Eleanor Roosevelt, graced this underbelly of Detroit for the Black Bottom Pageant. The First Lady joined children and residents for a parade to break ground at the Brewster Homes. The modern housing project will serve low-income groups and will be entirely for Negro occupancy. This ten block project is designed as the first step in a program that contemplates rehabbing all of Detroit's slum districts. This public works administration project will become a model for urban renewal across the nation! For the first time in their lives, the working Negro can enjoy green lawns, flowers, and intact families.¹⁰⁶

Despite initial difficulties in bringing the project to fruition, the Brewster Homes saw their first tenants arrive in October of 1938, and the project rapidly expanded, adding more low-rise units, as well as the later Frederick Douglass apartments, which combined low-rises with townhomes, and six cruciform apartment towers inspired by Le Corbusier's *Ville Radieuse* plan for central Paris. The irony of evicting black families from their homes and then naming the neighbourhood that displaced them for Frederick Douglass, one of the most prominent African-American abolitionists and civil rights activists, seemed lost to all involved in the planning, and that many of the evicted families were never given a chance to move back into the newly completed units completed the disgrace. Quotas established by salary and family size and composition had the effect of further reducing the number of people eligible to live at Brewster-Douglass. These later developments at Brush Park were born of the Detroit Plan, a 1946 initiative launched by Mayor Edward Jeffries that sought to clear the old city away and rebuild for both industry and housing.¹⁰⁷ The plan called for the condemnation and acquisition of blighted or slum properties, which would then be cleared and offered up to private developers at fractions of the land value and expropriation costs.¹⁰⁸ While the combined Brewster-Douglass project was built with government funds rather than private investment, it followed the logic of condemnation

Figure 2.13: (opposite top left)

Aerial view of the Brewster Homes, 1936. The Brewster-Wheeler Centre is in the lower left of the image.

Figure 2.14: (opposite right)

Construction of high-rises at the Frederick Douglass Apartments, circa 1950.

Figure 2.15: (opposite bottom left)

Aerial view of the full Brewster-Douglass Project, circa 1951.



that would later be deployed at Lafayette Park, the most significant and largely privately funded urban renewal project in Detroit's history.

With the election of mayor Albert Cobo in 1949 and the duress of community groups opposed to integrated communities, much support for public housing collapsed. Brewster-Douglass would be one of three of the original twelve proposed housing developments to be built, all of which are located in the inner city.¹⁰⁹ By the time that Brewster-Douglass had reached its full build-out, Detroit's population had begun to slowly decline as the suburbs lured more and more citizens north of 8-Mile Road. The Chrysler Freeway and its interchange with the I-75 had recently been rammed through the remaining portions of Paradise Valley and Black Bottom, and the housing situation for Detroit's black population was reaching a crisis point. Housing segregation was rampant at this time, and with traditional black neighbourhoods falling victim to redevelopment policies that did not provide them with a new home, existing rental properties were subdivided even further or saw multiple families living together in one residence. Michigan's Highway Commission was not bound by law to relocate persons displaced by the building of the Interstate system, and landlords took advantage of the ensuing desperation to increase rents far beyond the value of their properties. Increasingly, the communities neighbouring the freeway were hollowing out and the remaining residents and business owners saw property values drop precipitously. At the same time, housing activists were calling for municipal funding for construction of single family homes on vacant parcels which could be offered for rent to low-income families.¹¹⁰

For those who were lucky enough to live at Brewster, life was good for a time. The new units were spacious and modern compared to many of the older homes that had been cleared away, and few families had to double and triple up in order to afford rents, a situation that had been all too common in the black community. Fires and illnesses decreased. Brewster enjoyed near complete occupancy, housing upwards of 10,000 residents by the late 1950s, and in time became an integral part of the black community, slowly, if incompletely healing some of the wounds that its construction had created. Early on, the community was described by former residents as nearly free of crime and wonderful to live in. Many of these residents would gather for annual reunions there long after they had moved away.¹¹¹

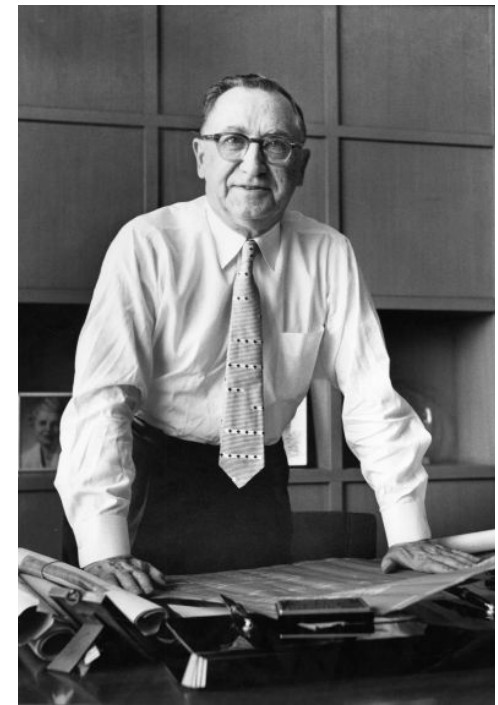


Figure 2.16: (top)
Mayor Albert Cobo, 1956.

Figure 2.17: (opposite top left)
The corner of Hastings & Winder Streets, circa 1930.

Figure 2.18: (opposite right)
Children playing at the Brewster Homes, circa 1940.

Figure 2.19: (opposite bottom left)
The completed first phase of the Brewster Homes low-rises on St. Antoine Street, 1939.



The instability that followed the destruction of Hastings Street had an impoverishing effect on the community. Crime, prostitution, and drug use increased, and the homes fell in to disrepair. The slow evacuation of Detroit's white population, which accelerated following the rebellion of 1967, provided black families with the ability to acquire single family homes that previously had been out of their reach financially or located in a neighbourhood hostile to their arrival. Declining conditions at Brewster, both from crime and municipal neglect made the decision to move that much easier. By the 1990s it seemed that a point had been reached where the collapse of the neighbourhood was irreversible. While a handful of the grand old homes of the nineteenth century were being restored, most were being torn down or set on fire or sat there rotting away, gradually imploding. The Brewster-Douglass project, which by now represented nearly the entire inhabited portion of Brush Park, had also declined significantly in both the condition of the buildings and in population. Attempting to stave off any further ruination, mayor Coleman A. Young's administration began amalgamating individual properties that had long since been devoid of buildings, in the hopes of offering them up to developers for larger scale, and theoretically, more dependable ventures. When this was later proven to be an ineffective strategy, a spokesman for the mayor recalled: "The vision was you do the one house, but you still have these vacant lots on either side. You want people to redevelop the whole area. In retrospect, you could probably argue that [we] should have let people proceed."¹¹² Under Mayor Young, the city also demolished the original 1935-1938 low-rises and replaced them in 1994 with 250 two and three bedroom townhouse units arranged around a central square, amidst considerable public protest demanding that the existing housing stock be renovated into shelter for the growing homeless population of the midtown area.¹¹³ The new project removed the existing street grid, providing only three access points to the housing development, which was inwardly focused, its back turned to the city. In Brush Park, the administration invested considerable funds redeveloping the area, however the project suffered from a lack of skilled labour and was focused solely on infrastructure such as streetlamps, curbs, streets, and sidewalks. Most of the Elm trees lining the streets were inexplicably cut down, while the alleys were left untouched. Today, it is a bizarre sight to walk through a depopulated and mostly unbuilt neighbourhood with sidewalks and streets paved in unbroken concrete, not asphalt, cutting lines through an

Figure 2.20: (opposite left)

The Brewster Project can be seen covering ten city blocks (*upper left*), temporary housing dots much of the lands to the south (*center left*), 1949.

Figure 2.21: (opposite center)

The Frederick Douglass Apartments low-rise and townhouse developments are complete, demolitions are underway for the high-rise towers, 1952.

Figure 2.22: (opposite right)

The combined Brewster-Douglass project fully constructed, 1956.



evacuated urban prairie.

At the same time as Young was making investments that he hoped would spur development in Brush Park, the Frederick-Douglass Apartments were becoming a massive liability, both in terms of maintenance costs and the effects of crime and abandonment. Eventually, portions of the project began to close, and two of the high-rises were demolished by implosion in 2003, while the entire housing project was shut in 2008 and the remainder of the buildings, including the older townhomes and the last of the low-rises, were demolished between 2013 and 2014. Today all that remains is the 1994 townhouse project and the remnants of paths, playground, and parking lots. In the years between its closure and erasure, Brewster-Douglass had become a target for scrappers and a safe haven for those with nowhere else to sleep. The nearby Brewster-Wheeler Recreation Centre laid fallow and tangles of weeds and tall grasses covered the lawns and playgrounds, while drug deals and murders played out in the shadows of the gutted buildings.¹¹⁴ Brewster-Wheeler used to be an integral part of the community: it had originally been built as a branch of the Detroit Public Library, serving the residents of Paradise Valley, before a grand Art Deco addition transformed the building, adding gymnasias, courts, and a pool. Currently semi-derelict, Brewster-Wheeler is one of a series of properties that the city has offered at below market rates to private investment, in hopes of spurring its restoration. Despite its sitting vacant and unsecured, Brewster-Wheeler has not yet been desecrated by scrappers, and in the estimation of the author, maintains structural integrity and is undamaged by fire. It is hoped that whatever happens to redevelop Brush Park and the Brewster lots, this building will be saved. Wheeler was the gym where Joe Louis trained. Brewster was where he lived, along with Stevie Wonder, all three of the Supremes, Smokey Robinson, and other noted Detroiters.

Today the City of Detroit through the Planning & Development Department owns most of the properties in the historic portion of Brush Park west of Beaubien Street, while the Detroit Housing Commission owns everything to the east between Beaubien and the Chrysler Freeway.¹¹⁵ With over six million dollars in federal funds, the Duggan administration finished what others had started and fully cleared the property for sale, with an apparently value of over three million dollars.¹¹⁶ Given its proximity to the existing Ford Field and to the new Red Wings Stadium district currently under construction, the

Figure 2.23: (opposite left)

Brewster-Douglass and Brush Park with demolition underway for the Chrysler Freeway/I-75, 1961.

Figure 2.24: (opposite center)

Full development of the Chrysler Freeway/I-75 is complete, the hollowing out of the adjacent neighbourhoods can be seen to the east (*right*) of the freeway, 1981.

Figure 2.25: (opposite right)

Shipping and facilities emerge east of the freeway, the low-rises have been demolished and rebuilt as the Brewster Homes, north of the tower site (*top*), 1997.



Brewster lots may generate significant interest, should the DHC receive permission to sell.¹¹⁷ Lost amidst all of this is the realization that some still live in the neighbourhood, and many have called Brewster-Douglass home long since it was closed by the city. Citizens had been demanding the conversion of vacant units into proper housing for the homeless in the early 1990s, but the city was slow to react, if at all. This pattern has continued, albeit less callously, to this day, with each successive mayor since Coleman Young preferring to take care of the problem of poverty by throwing money at industry and business rather than investing in a social safety net of any significant kind. Despite their efforts, or perhaps because of them, the homeless population remains. It has not evaporated along with Brewster, it has just migrated, once more, as business pushed them out. A former Brewster resident, James Van Horne, described the experience of having lived in a closed social housing project while major redevelopments were happening across the freeway:

Can you imagine trying to live in these kinds of places in the wintertime? You know, the walls are cold, you are walking through 4-5 feet of snow to get up in there. You go to bed cold, you wake up cold. I was raised and born in this area...And when the big businesses moved in, they tried to get most of the poor people, which happened to be black, to move away, to get out the area. And sometimes they even will stop you now, want to know what you're doing in this area. And you now, most times we've been in this area all our life, you know? You know the Lord giveth and the Lord taketh. Blessed be his name.¹¹⁸

With so much of what was Brush Park now gone, and only a few of the townhouse units and a retirement home built in last two decades, the future of this neighbourhood seems unclear. Current trends would suggest that, should Detroit's bankruptcy creditors not be given the land as part of the ongoing bankruptcy settlement, it will be entrusted to whichever developer can provide a cogent plan for the entire package. The one parcel at time method, first brushed aside, and then later reluctantly acknowledged by the Young administration as preferable to stagnation, seems to have been discarded once more, though perhaps not without legitimate reason. A recent request for proposal from the

Figure 2.26: (opposite top left)

Entrance to the Brewster-Wheeler Recreation Centre, 2012.

Figure 2.27: (opposite bottom left)

Tower 306, Brewster-Douglass projects, 2012.

Figure 2.28: (opposite right)

Parking lot at tower 306, Frederick Douglass Apartments, 2012.



city placed several acres of the historic district into speculation, engaging developers to provide designs for new single family housing and townhouses, as well as renovations to several existing properties, with an eye to a design style that would create an “historically harmonious residential community.”¹¹⁹ There is a tendency towards this sort of restorative nostalgia in new Detroit architecture, as though the lost neighbourhood can be resurrected through period styles and simulacra, and the city has tried these tactics in the past to entice developers to the area with limited success.¹²⁰ An increasingly tight housing market in the central city, combined with the projected positive effects of the M-1 LRT line, now being built within Woodward Avenue to the west of Brush Park, may provide the necessary motivation to rebuild the neighbourhood, but what must come first is the needs of the existing community.¹²¹ When there are so many neighbourhoods in Detroit that are struggling, and with Brush Park’s decline having stabilized, the city must consider not only the attraction of new residents, but also those who never left.

Figure 2.29: (opposite)
Demolition of the last Brewster high-rises, 2014.

Figure 2.30: (overleaf)
Frederick Douglass Apartments, 2012. Towers 301 (*left*), 306 (*left rear*), 303 (*center*), & 302 (*right*).







Sojourner Truth

...housing became a major arena for organized political activity in the 1940s, where Detroiters, black and white, fought a battle that would define Detroit politics for decades to follow.

Thomas J. Sugrue¹²²

In 1941 the Detroit Housing Commission selected a site in the Krainz Woods neighbourhood in northeast Detroit to build a housing project, along with a second site in Black Bottom that would ultimately become Lafayette Park. The federal government was against the plan and forced the city to agree to a single project at the northeast site, to be exclusively for black occupancy. Krainz Woods had a predominantly Polish population at the time and the possibility of desegregation enraged parts of the community.¹²³ The project was to consist of about two dozen low rise apartment blocks in an inwardly focused community and was to be named for the celebrated abolitionist, women's rights activist, and escaped slave, Sojourner Truth.¹²⁴

Because the FHA had committed to building public housing in the area, no further loans were forthcoming for private home construction in the neighbourhood, further enraging residents who saw the move as detrimental to their property values. The government pressed on with the construction of the project despite waves of resistance, and on 28 February 1942, the first families began to move into the small wartime row houses and low-rises. Crowds gathered in both support and protest of the new residents on that Saturday morning, with blacks overwhelmingly in favour and whites equally opposed.¹²⁵ Fighting broke out amongst the crowd in the late morning, when over a thousand people had gathered on the streets. Sixteen mounted police officers rode into the melee in attempt to separate both sides, but a truckload of blacks armed with pipes arrived and the fighting intensified until one hundred police officers were ultimately called in to end the fighting. The police arrested 78 people, all but two of whom were black, and would remain at the housing project for several days after to stifle any chance of more rioting.¹²⁶

The local government and the DHC seemed unprepared for the backlash to the

Figure 2.31: (opposite left)

Sojourner Truth

Figure 2.32: (opposite top right)

A flyer promoting a public meeting to protest the federal government's reversal of its original decision to dedicate the Sojourner Truth homes for black occupancy, 1942. The white community was initially successful in protesting integration, but the government ultimately reserved its decision again.

Figure 2.33: (opposite bottom right)

A pro-segregation sign erected at the Nevada Avenue site, 1942.



**Negroes, Unite For Justice
and Democracy!!!**

**PROTEST LOSS OF
SOJOURNER TRUTH
HOMES**

Gigantic MASS MEETING



project and, led by their local congressman, white community activists with the 7-Mile-Fenelon Improvement Association quickly succeeded in forcing the DHC and federal government to reverse their decision. The project became solely for white families. The name remained, however, though it was likely that few living there knew its significance. In the aftermath of the riot, a team of federal investigators from the Office of War Information was sent to Detroit to determine the causes of the city's racial unrest. Their report to the FHA concluded that Mayor Jeffries was incapable of diffusing tension between Detroit's ethnic groups and that the police force, along with housing shortages and racial problems between Poles and blacks, were the primary cause of the tension. The report also concluded that police had been at least partially responsible for the violence that day, stating that "in order to keep the peace, police seem bent on suppressing the Negroes," calling the actions of the DPD "civil warfare."¹²⁷ One police lieutenant was recorded as telling investigators "if you locked them up, they ate free [sic]...and if you shot them, they didn't have to worry anymore."¹²⁸

Today the project has been partially rebuilt, beginning in the 1970s, and is part of a neighbourhood that is predominantly black and relatively populous. A number of the original structures remain at the north end of site along Stockton Avenue and in the centre of the development, as do many of the small single family homes while the newer townhouse style residences are to the south on Nevada. The row houses have been demolished and the entire property is fenced, though not gated.

Figure 2.37: (left)

Aerial view of the Sojourner Truth homes, 1997.

Figure 2.34: (opposite top left)

Newly completed row houses, 1942.

Figure 2.35: (opposite top right)

Newly completed low-rises, 1942.

Figure 2.36: (opposite bottom)

Black residents protest the government's rescinding of occupancy at Sojourner Truth, 1942.





Riot

Detroit workers seem to hate and suspect their bosses more than ever... Detroit manufacturers have made a failure of their labour relations. Too many of the people are confused, embittered, and distracted by factional groups that are fighting each other...Detroit can either blow up Hitler or it can blow up the U.S.

Life Magazine¹²⁹

That was a real race riot. They had boundaries set up which, if you would pass, you would certainly get killed or hurt.

James E. Cummings¹³⁰

The race riots of 1943 were Detroit's third, and to date, the last insurgency in the city that could truly be described in such terms.¹³¹ It was also the worst race riot in America's history, claiming thirty-four lives, with hundreds more injured and thousands arrested.¹³²

Tensions between the white and black community had been rising during the years of the Great Migration, during which traditional labour groups found themselves competing with unskilled workers arriving from the south and from the heartland states. Long time Detroiters and recent immigrant groups such as the growing Polish labour force and the Hillbillies,¹³³ who brought with them from the mountains of Appalachia a dislike of blacks informed by generations of prejudice. The Great Depression saw a downturn in the automobile industry, with many jobs evaporating overnight. With a glut of workers, and the desire by manufacturers to drive their costs down even further, wages dropped and intense competition arose between blacks and newly established whites for the remaining, often less desirable positions. Out of this period, the Klu Klux Klan emerges in northeast Michigan, apparently having emigrated out of the south along with Detroit's growing workforce. In Michigan, the Klan never attained the position of influence that it held in the American south, but was nevertheless capable of disrupting plans for new housing

Figure 2.38: (opposite top left)
The walk-out at the Packard Plant, 1943.

Figure 2.39: (opposite top right)
Aerial view of Belle Isle, circa 1942.

Figure 2.40: (opposite bottom)
Soldiers on Belle Isle, 1943.



for black families, enforcing segregationist policies in neighbourhoods and factories, and generally terrorizing the black citizenry. With the emergence of America from the Depression and the urban revitalization programs of that era forcing many black residents further from their traditional neighbourhoods, housing became scarce and anger was building.

A series of strikes during the early years of America's involvement in the Second World War had caused concern among military planners, governments, and manufacturers. White workers resented that they should labour alongside blacks in the pounding factories of the Arsenal and staged many walk-outs. Known in Detroit as hate strikes, one such event occurred just a few days before the 1943 riots when 25,000 men walked out of the Packard Motor Company Plant in protest over the promotion of three black men.¹³⁴ It was presumed that the Klan was involved in planning and executing the strike, during which the crowd was provoked with racist diatribe screamed over loudspeakers.¹³⁵ To be continuously denied a meaningful place in society despite years of contributing to the incredible success of Detroit's metal bending industries was very demoralizing for the black community, and that sentiment was only intensified by the effects of poor housing conditions and general segregation. The climate grew ever more tense until one summer afternoon on Belle Isle, a place of leisure for much of the black population, those tensions were released, to terrible effect.

With an estimated 100,000 people on the island that day, it took only a few hours for a couple of isolated fights between teenagers to escalate into a full scale riot, with roaming gangs of blacks and whites, often armed with knives, clubs, and pistols, savaging each other on the streets of Detroit. The police had initially succeeded in clearing the MacArthur Bridge to Belle Isle, where much of the early violence had been contained, however rumours of murderous violence had reached into both white and black communities across the city. Most damaging was the story, as told at the popular Forest Club on Hastings: "There is a riot on Belle Isle. The whites have killed a coloured lady and her baby. Thrown them over the bridge," called out a man from the club's stage.¹³⁶ That this was an untrue statement was of little concern, for the real riot had already begun. The early hours of 21 June saw the first deaths as police attempted to restrain the mobs. Later,

Figure 2.41: (opposite top left)
Alfred and Brush Streets, 1943.

Figure 2.42: (opposite top right)
Military police patrol Brush Park following the riots, 1943.

Figure 2.43: (opposite bottom)
A Detroit police officer protecting a black man from the white mob near Woodward Avenue, 1943.



as stores were looted and torched, police began shooting black rioters indiscriminately, and in some cases, assaulted random blacks that they found walking the streets. Blacks flung bricks through windows of moving cars and attacked the white drivers as they tried to flee. The white mobs were also fuelled by rumour: This time, the fiction was that a white woman had been murdered Sunday evening on the MacArthur Bridge, and white mobs swarmed groups of blacks leaving downtown theatres. Police were reported to have done little more than try to chase blacks away from the area, allowing the mob free reign to terrorize the fleeing patrons. People were dragged from cars and beaten, their vehicles flipped and set ablaze.¹³⁷

Black community leaders and government officials tried in vain to convince rioters to disperse, with one Reverend even driving through Paradise Valley in a loudspeaker truck, directly pleading with the people. Unable to quell the violence, Mayor Jeffries asked the Michigan Governor to request federal troops be sent in to Detroit. Many in the city and the administration were outraged, as this seemed a violation of the American Constitution. UAW president Walter Reuther recalled the experience of the militarized streets.

...soldiers in armoured cars are patrolling the streets of Detroit with guns made here in the Arsenal of Democracy.¹³⁸

Emergency Plan White, as it was called, was put into action, though Governor Harry Kelly was hesitant to declare martial law in the city, the effect of which would be, as stated by the Mayor, that “All laws, city and state are suspended; the courts suspend operation, the Common Council has no more authority, the Police department ceases operation; the State authorities of all kinds suspend operations in the area...the Army commander in charge rules the area exclusively in all respects. Civil rights and functions are temporarily and completely abrogated.”¹³⁹ As the violence increased into the early evening of 21 June, Kelly finally acquiesced, having discovered the state police to be terribly unprepared to assist, and two Army battalions moved into the riot area from their stations at River Rouge Park and Fort Wayne. It would be several more hours before President Roosevelt would sign the official proclamation, authorizing the use of federal troops, by which time the military had already wrestled back control of the city.

Figure 2.44:
Fires burn on the corner of Alfred and John R. Streets, 1943.



By the third day of the riot, Detroit seemed a ghost town. Schools were open but empty, sports fields and the state fairgrounds were closed, and Paradise Valley was a plundered and smoldering ruin. In the week that followed, small clashes occurred near the riot area, including at Northwestern High School's commencement ceremony on 23 June. Many blacks feared leaving their homes, even for work or to venture into another neighbourhood for groceries, their local stores having been destroyed. People's reluctance to return to their jobs had a significant effect on war time production, as many of the factories of the Arsenal were closed for days following the riots or experienced significant labour shortages. Paradise Valley was largely destroyed, suffering nearly \$30 million in damages and the loss of most of its shops and markets. Of the thirty-four people killed, twenty-five had been black. The majority of these men had also been killed by Detroit police officers.¹⁴⁰ As World War II ground on, little was done to address tensions between Detroit's two dominant communities and fear and mistrust grew, and when the war was finally won and the soldiers returned home seeking work and housing, the situation would become increasingly desperate.



Figure 2.45: (left)

A white mob tries to pull a black man off the city bus on Woodward Avenue, 1943.

Figure 2.46: (opposite)

Firemen attempt to extinguish a burning car on Woodward Avenue, 1943.

Figure 2.47: (overleaf)

1:45 000 scale

A map of the movements of the various groups involved in the riots of 1943.

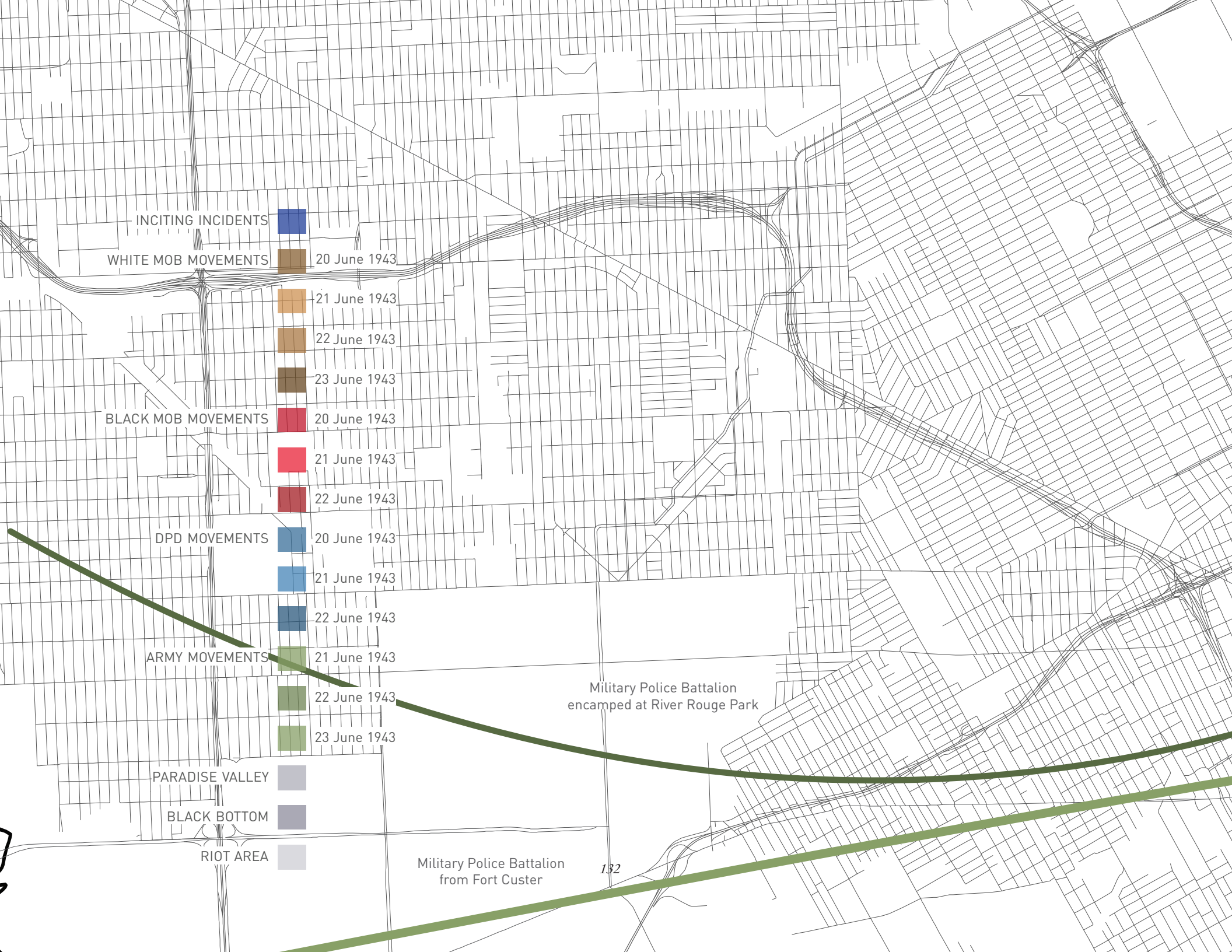


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MIRROR HILL

E. BOBBER

E. 5th



INCITING INCIDENTS



WHITE MOB MOVEMENTS



20 June 1943



21 June 1943



22 June 1943



23 June 1943

BLACK MOB MOVEMENTS



20 June 1943



21 June 1943



22 June 1943

DPD MOVEMENTS



20 June 1943



21 June 1943



22 June 1943

ARMY MOVEMENTS



21 June 1943



22 June 1943



23 June 1943

PARADISE VALLEY



BLACK BOTTOM



RIOT AREA



Military Police Battalion
encamped at River Rouge Park

Military Police Battalion
from Fort Custer



Renewal

If the city...were able, as it has indeed been able...to reconstruct itself, to tear down buildings and raise great new ones, downtown, and for money, and has done nothing whatever, except build housing projects in the ghetto, for the Negroes...if the American pretensions were based on a more solid, a more honest assessment of life and of themselves, it would not mean for Negroes, when someone says Urban Renewal, that Negroes are simply going to be thrown out into the streets, which is what it does mean now. This is not an act of God, we are dealing with a society made and ruled by men.

James Baldwin¹⁴¹

Is it normal to build and construct? In fact it is not, and we should preserve the absolutely problematical character of the undertaking.

Jean Baudrillard¹⁴²

At its maximum in 1950, the population of Detroit was 1,849,568.¹⁴³ The economic boom of the post-war period had not even begun to slow, and the city was experiencing the most acute housing shortage since the Great Fire of 1805 destroyed every home in the fort. The modern borders of Detroit were established by 1926, and the city had no more room to grow, having already enveloped Highland Park and Hamtramck in the early twentieth century. Having already begun the process of urban renewal in earnest with the piecemeal removal of Paradise Valley through highway building and housing projects, as well as the development of the Lodge Expressway through Corktown, the city's oldest intact neighbourhood, Detroit was poised for much more ambitious plans.

The slow train of reform in Detroit begins in with the Gratiot Redevelopment Project, part of Mayor Jeffries 1946 Detroit Plan. Black Bottom was to be expropriated and cleared, before being offered to developers for new residential buildings. At the time the neighbourhood had more than double the number of residential units as it did residential structures, despite the fact that the majority of buildings in the area were detached houses.

Figure 2.48: (opposite top left)

Mayor Albert Cobo (l), Henry Ford II (c), and an unknown man examine an aerial photograph of the Gratiot Redevelopment site, circa 1950.

Figure 2.49: (opposite top right)

Lafayette Avenue in Black Bottom, circa 1950.

Figure 2.50: (opposite bottom)

The Gratiot Redevelopment site, 1955. After Black Bottom was demolished, the site laid fallow for years, slowing returning to nature and gaining the nickname Ragweed Acres.



Many of the homes were amongst the oldest in the city, with over half built prior to 1900. The history of Black Bottom was almost as old as the city itself, and it had long been home to mixed migrant populations arriving in Detroit before slowly transforming into a black enclave. Coleman Young described growing up in the area at that time:

Black Bottom, which was not named for the colour of its inhabitants, but for the rich, dark soil on which the early settlers farmed, was in a transitional stage when my family arrived. It had long since passed from agrarian to urban, but by the early 1920s the neighbourhood was in the process of turning over again, from European to black. In the meantime, for a decade or so it was completely and uniquely integrated.¹⁴⁴

Beginning in 1947 and lasting until 1951, the Gratiot properties were condemned and acquired by the city, which in 1949 with the passage of the Federal Housing Act, was relieved of the financial burden of financing demolition of the Gratiot site. Furthermore, money was made available to complete the Brewster-Douglass Apartments and the Edward J. Jeffries Homes location, as well as to begin planning of an unnamed project across the Grand Trunk railway line from the Gratiot site, known as U.R. Mich. 1-11. The purpose of the FHA was to aid cities in acquiring private investment, with the aim of creating low-cost housing while ultimately saving the government money.¹⁴⁵ The program was dependent upon approval at the municipal level, and when a change of government saw Albert Cobo rise to mayor's office, the focus on building new public housing shifting from a previous plan to build twelve developments throughout the city, including seven sites at the city limits, to one of concentrated slum clearance in the inner city, specifically the on near east side.¹⁴⁶ To the black community, this shift in focus was not surprising, and part of a larger pattern of urban reconstruction at the expense of minority communities:

[Black Bottom] was red-tagged by the government as a sort of Yankee-Doodle sacrifice, a trespasser upon somebody's sacred bureaucratic vision of America, a sociological trouble spot for which the keepers of the dream had no real solution but to lay waste.¹⁴⁷

At the same time that the city was pursuing neighbourhood clearance for new housing in Black Bottom, another urban renewal project emerged on the near west side, in Corktown. The Lodge

Figure 2.51: (opposite left)
Michigan Avenue in Corktown, circa 1950.

Figure 2.52: (opposite top right)
Men dine outside of their homemade shanty houses on Michigan Avenue, circa 1950. This neighbourhood was one of concentrated poverty in the post-war era and came to be known as Skid Row.

Figure 2.53: (opposite bottom right)
Planning map of the Gratiot Redevelopment site and the Civic Centre renewal area, circa 1955.



expressway had cleared a large portion of east Corktown by 1952, partially absorbing land intended for an earlier residential project, and was followed a decade and a half later by the Fisher Freeway, Interstate 75, which bisected the area into two neighbourhoods north and south of the freeway. North of the freeway became known as Briggs or North Corktown, while the southern half retained its Irish name. For many decades, Corktown had been cut off from the water by the train yards of the Michigan Central Railroad, and the houses nearest the water, in area known as Skid Row, were very old and in poor condition. Opinions were mixed as to whether the neighbourhood should be cleared, and for what type of redevelopment. As early as 1945, city officials were recommending a residential development parallel to the Gratiot project, though Cobo's election terminated the proposal, instead selecting industrial redevelopment for the neighbourhood. Given Corktown's relatively white population, the city made the case that evicting residents would not cause undue harm as they could easily find accommodations elsewhere, given their ethnicity.¹⁴⁸ While the residents of Corktown fought to prevent the condemnation of their neighbourhood, the city Planning Commission, seeking FHA dollars, set about to issue blight notices throughout Skid Row.

When residents associations argued for the cancellation of the project to avoid destabilization of the entire neighbourhood, city planners countered that they were concerned only with the project area, and encouraged residents to accept their classification of South Corktown as a slum. They also added that Skid Row, a name which citizens rejected, was particularly suited for renewal due to the existing mixed-use nature of the neighbourhood: commercial and industrial uses were already to be found intermingled with the residential fabric, and planners viewed such a neighbourhood as undesirable.¹⁴⁹ Ultimately the community lost and the West side Industrial project was born. By 1961, clearance of the area was nearly complete, and the construction of new buildings had begun. The success of the project would be short-lived, as by the twenty-first century much of the forty-year old industrial project sat vacant. Corktown, meanwhile endured, and has been one of only a few neighbourhoods in Detroit to avoid total collapse and also one of the first to experience the positive effects of the city's slow resurgence.

Later projects would deploy similar tactics in the quest for economic growth, including the demolition of Poletown for the GM Hamtramck Assembly Plant, Industrial expropriations for the construction of the Chrysler Conner's Creek Assembly plant, the demolition of much of Rivertown for a never realized casino - in addition to the three casinos that were built elsewhere, all of which consumed city resources and land - as well as the floundering I-94 Industrial Park, which has seen the city spend over \$20 million acquiring, clearing, and maintaining land in the 189 acre development that today sits at only ten percent occupancy.¹⁵⁰

Figure 2.54: (underlay)

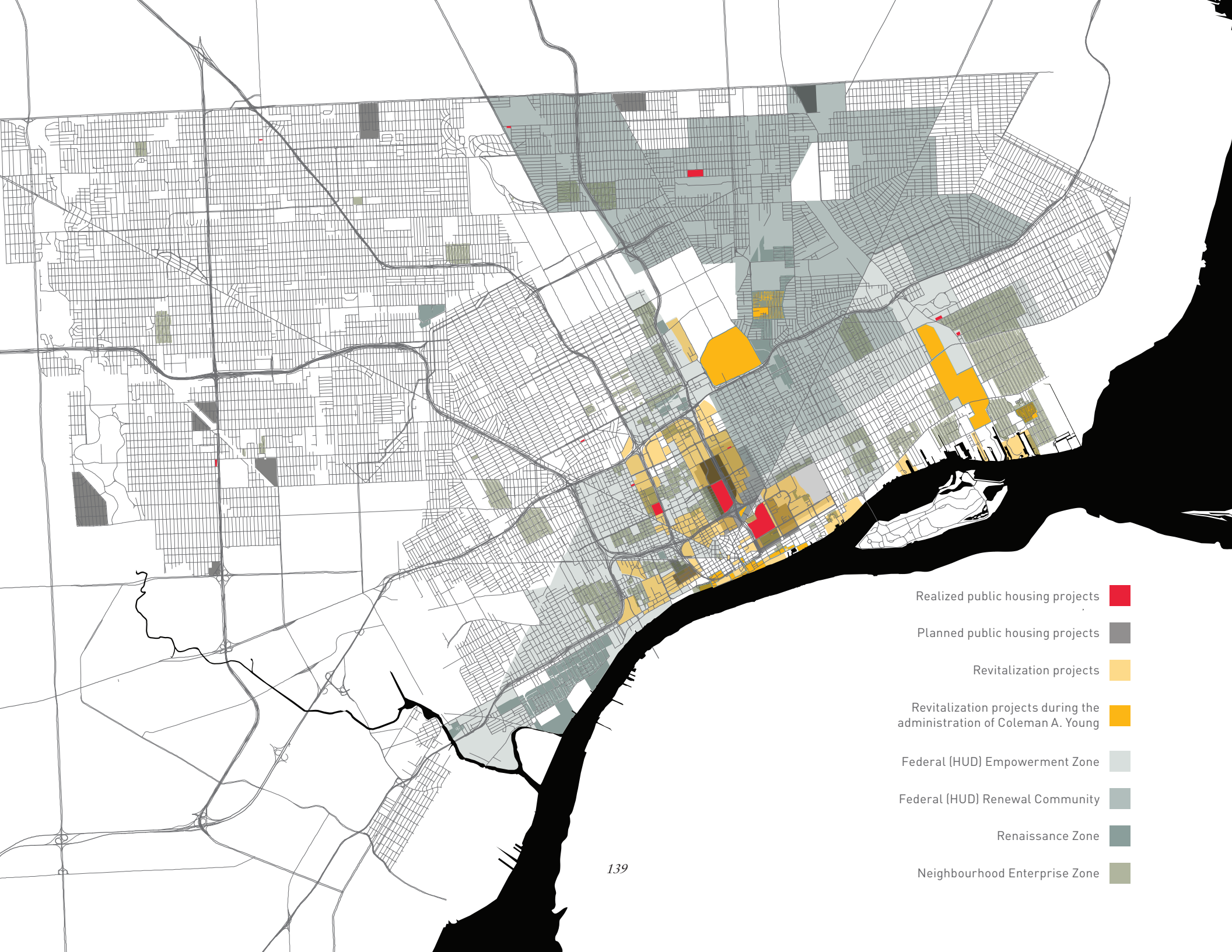
1:125 000 scale

Urban renewal and tax & development incentivization in Detroit, 1930-2014.

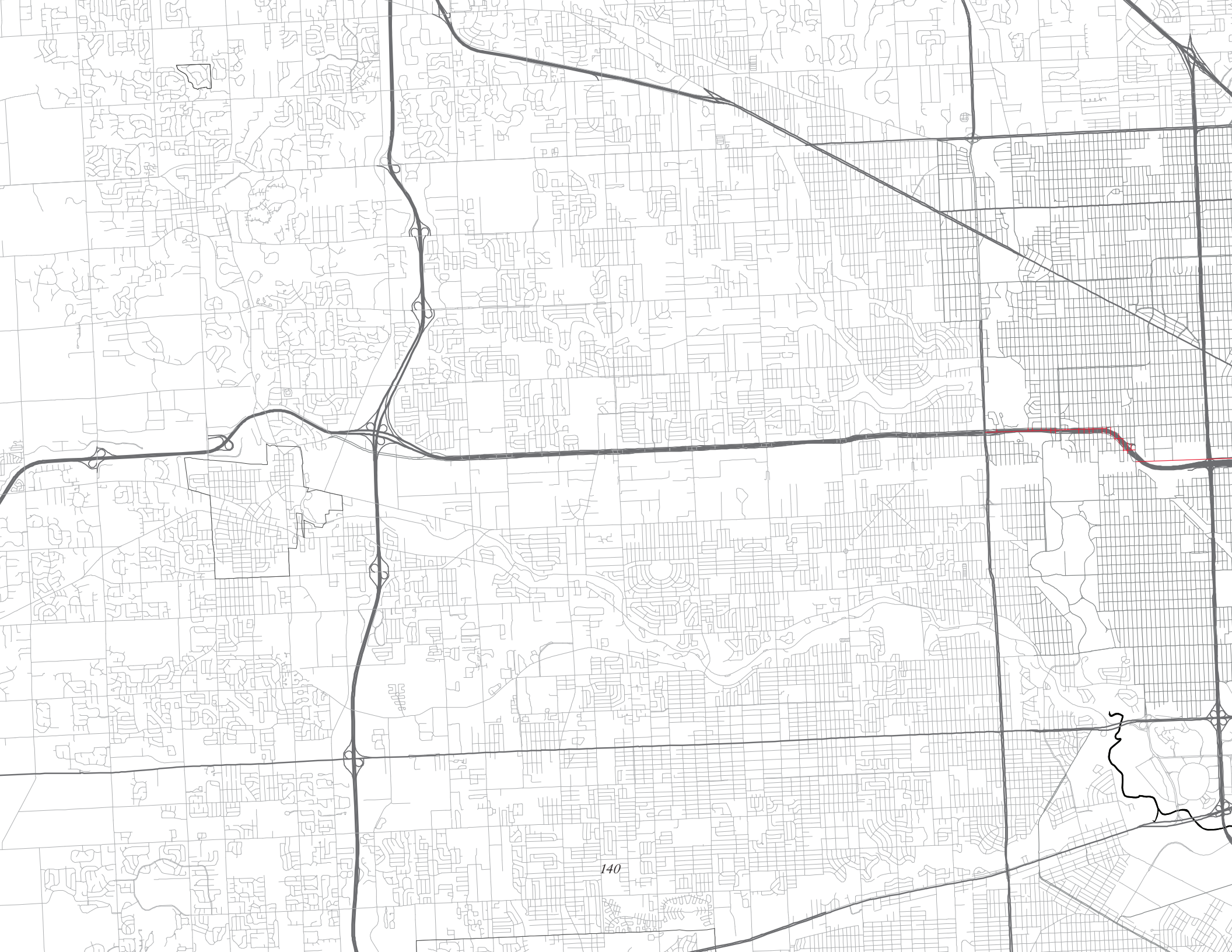
Figure 2.55: (overleaf)

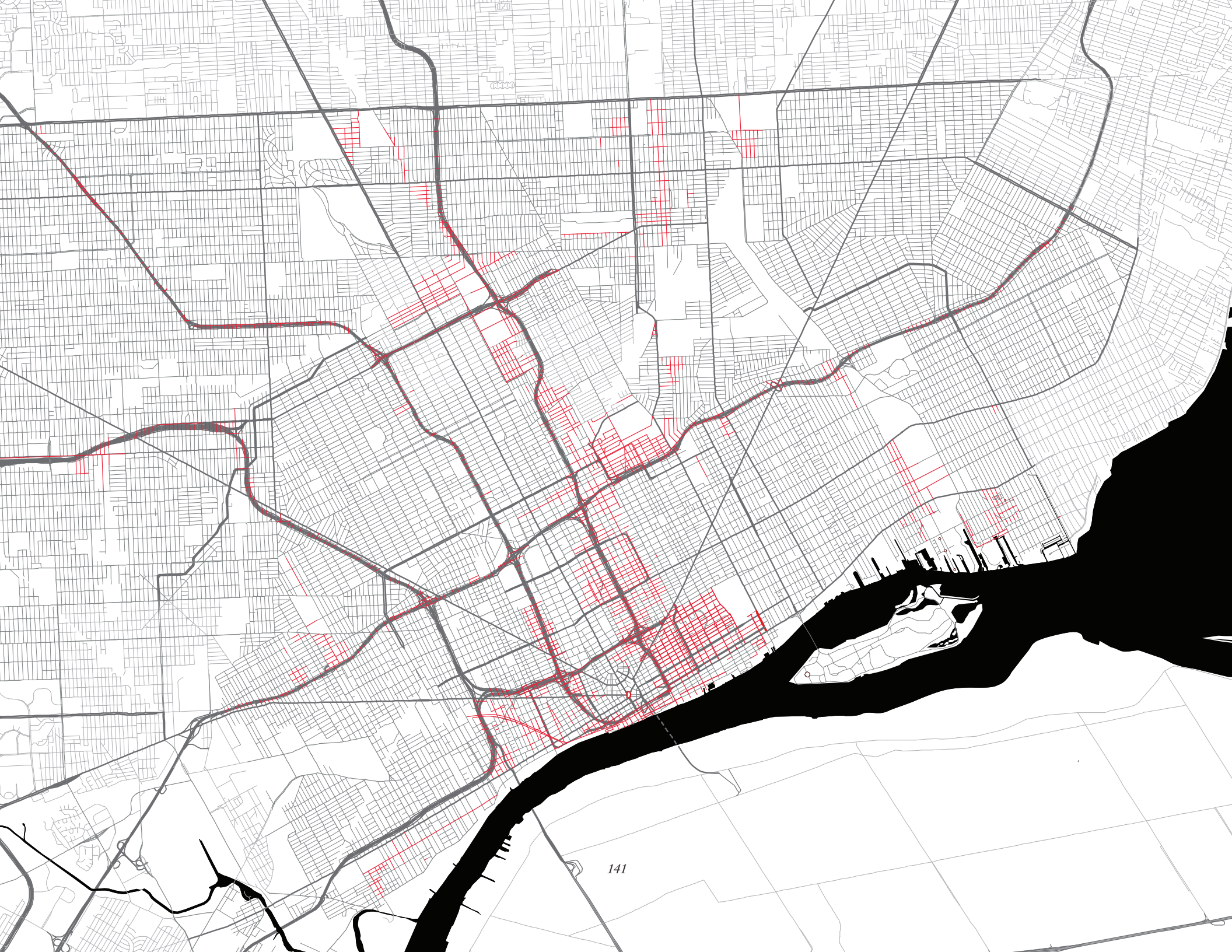
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The broken gridiron of Detroit, shown in red. Many nineteenth and early twentieth century streets have been severed or erased by highway building and urban renewal projects.



- Realized public housing projects ■
- Planned public housing projects ■
- Revitalization projects ■
- Revitalization projects during the administration of Coleman A. Young ■
- Federal (HUD) Empowerment Zone ■
- Federal (HUD) Renewal Community ■
- Renaissance Zone ■
- Neighbourhood Enterprise Zone ■





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Cityscape III: Lafayette Park







The city is damned, but by no means doomed. Let's rebuild it.

Herbert Geenwald¹⁵¹

With the rise of the automobile industry, Detroit's population increased rapidly. But no plan was made to direct the city's rapid growth. That growth proceeded in complete disorder...the structure of the city is wrong and cannot be improved merely by multiplying traffic facilities. Only a structural change of the city could bring about the necessary order.

Ludwig Hilberseimer¹⁵²

Lafayette is not a part of the disabitato. It is however, the culmination of a set of urban policies and market practices that have directly led to the hollowing out of Detroit. It also presages the urban developments of the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, in which developers have been able to use the mechanisms of government to acquire both the land and the capital for redevelopment. Lafayette Park is the first act of urban revitalization to occur in Detroit, and likely the most continuously successful example of such a project in America.

Following the establishment of the Detroit Plan, Black Bottom was designated a slum and planned for clearance. It was renamed the Gratiot Redevelopment Area, and with the FHA act of 1949, money for the clearance of the slum began to flow in from the federal government. Plans for condemnation of the slum and residential evictions began almost immediately, and the city began to demolish Black Bottom in 1950.¹⁵³ While most of the evictions and demolitions were completed by early 1952, it would take another two years to completely raze the site and another two more before a developer willing to finance the construction could be found. Over 8,000 resident were evicted in advance of demolition, and many found new housing difficult to obtain. The black community in Detroit was devastated by the destruction of Hastings Street and the surrounding neighbourhood, for years the major cultural destination for the black population. Worse still, following the demolitions and presaging what would be a growing trend in Detroit in the ensuing decades, the site sat fallow for years as weeds overtook the cleared land, earning it the

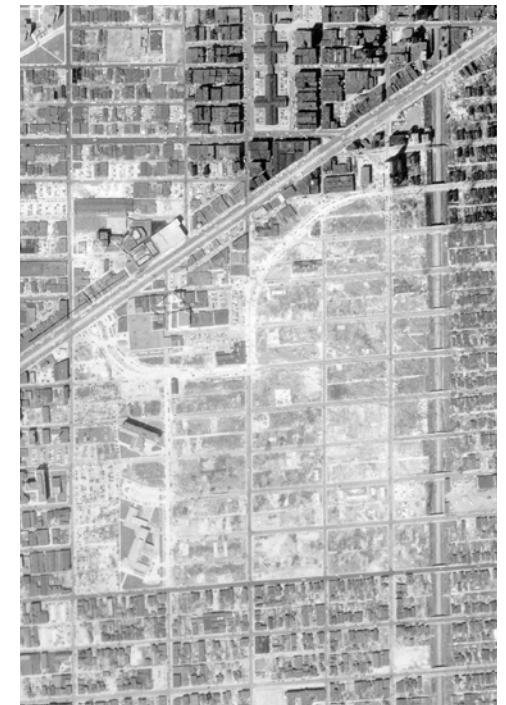


Figure 2.56: (p. 142-143)
Lafayette towers, 2012.

Figure 2.57: (p. 144-145)
Lafayette plaisance, 2012.

Figure 2.58: (above)
The Gratiot Redevelopment Area, 1956. Black Bottom has been cleared, new roads and a medical building are under construction.

Figure 2.59: (opposite top left)
Hastings Street, 1941.

Figure 2.60: (opposite right)
A home in Black Bottom, circa 1930.

Figure 2.61: (opposite bottom left)
A home in Black Bottom on St. Antoine Street at Jefferson Avenue, before 1921. The site is located where the I-375 now ends at Jefferson.



nicknames Ragweed Acres or alternately, Cobo's Fields, named for the project's champion at city hall.¹⁵⁴ Conot describes the Mayor's motivations for clearing the site, now unfortunately stalled out, despite Detroit's acute housing shortages:

The goal of the Cobo administration, despite casuistic declarations to the contrary, was to raze what was the city's highest crime area and part of its worst slum - become what might of its residents.¹⁵⁵

Initially the city wished for a mixed-use, mixed-income, and mixed-race project, one that would provide housing for some of the families that had been evicted from Black Bottom, as well as providing employment opportunities for middle class white families. Developers were skeptical, assuming that the integrated, variable income community would all but guarantee that whites would not move to Lafayette. To hasten the project along, a development committee was formed, financed largely by Henry Ford II, who at the time was attempting to rectify the image created by his father of the Ford Motor Company as a callous and indifferent employer, uninvolved in the urban integrity of Detroit.¹⁵⁶ The committee hired planners and architects, notably Victor Gruen, to create development proposals for the site to pique the interest of the development community. While initial designs called for low-income housing to be mixed within the larger development, those plans were quickly abandoned when developer Herb Greenwald joined the project.

Greenwald was a Chicago-based developer who dreamed of creating a modern, urban landscape development at the Gratiot site, a garden suburb within the city. Detroit was viewed in planning circles as direly in need of structural change, of a new design philosophy that would move it away from the dense gridiron clusters that defined the old city, and into the future. To that end, Greenwald brought in architect Mies van der Rohe, landscape architect Alfred Caldwell, and urban planner Ludwig Hilberseimer to help design the 192-acre site, part of a three phase 280-acre development straddling the highway and Lafayette Avenue. The final phases would not be completed until many years after the original development, and would feature the long-forgotten low-income residences that were envisioned in 1949 in the new neighbourhoods of Elmwood Park and Forest Park.¹⁵⁷ Each of these three designers brought with them not only expertise in their respective



Figure 2.62: (above)
Herbert Greenwald and Mies van der Rohe
with an early model of Lafayette Park, 1956.

Figure 2.63: (opposite)
Lafayette townhouses, summer 2014.



fields, but a revolutionary approach towards building the city, one which sought a total reinvention of old modes of urban design.

Mies was primarily interested in the establishment of order, viewing the gridiron city as a cramped and obsolete mess arising from decades, if not centuries of non-planning and haphazard development. It was, in his view, a constructed chaos.¹⁵⁸ In a lecture given during the design phase of Lafayette Park the architect elucidated his theories of order and organization in the modern city:

One can only order what is already ordered in itself. Order is more than organization. Organization is the determination of function. Order, however, imparts meaning. If we would give to each thing what intrinsically belongs to it, then all things would easily fall into their proper place; only there they could fully be what they are and there they would fully realize themselves, The chaos in which we live would give way to order and the world would again become meaningful and beautiful.¹⁵⁹

From Hilberseimer comes the idea of the decentralized city, combining the ideals of Jeffersonian agrarianism and Frank Lloyd Wright's Broadacre City with modern technology and an architecture of speed. The result was a design philosophy in which a thin, continuous city stretching across the face of America. Hilberseimer described the advantages of such a system in *The New Regional Pattern*, after which his urban design system was named:

The decentralized city would combine the advantages of a small town with those of a metropolis. The metropolis can be located in the landscape. With its parks and gardens it can, indeed, become part of the landscape - urbs in horto - the city set in a garden.¹⁶⁰

Caldwell was more pragmatic than Hilberseimer, and although no less susceptible to ideological flourish, his designs, also inspired by the work of Frank Lloyd Wright - particularly the Broadacre City - and the expanse of the American prairie, were intended to be site specific. Unlike Hilberseimer, he rejected the notion of a pure design philosophy

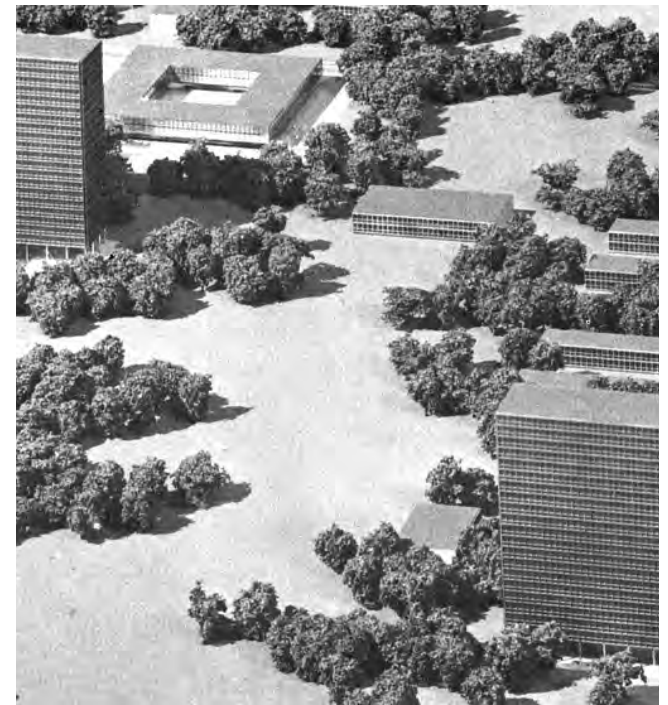


Figure 2.64: (above)
A detail of the Lafayette Park presentation model, circa 1956.

Figure 2.65: (opposite top)
Hilberseimer's Mixed Height Housing Development from his New City principles, an endless de-intensified city.

Figure 2.66: (opposite bottom)
A photomontage of the full Lafayette Park proposal.



that could be utilized anywhere in the industrialized world. Caldwell stressed the middle landscape, a space between the city and the wild, in which nature could be rendered productive and beautiful, while also being thoroughly modern, and he brought these sensibilities with him to the design of Lafayette Park, moderating the design ideology of Hilberseimer, while at the same time staying true to the spatial separation of speeds of movement called for in the New Regional Pattern.¹⁶¹

The completed Lafayette development, curtailed somewhat by the sudden death of Greenwald in a 1956 plane crash, was immediately popular, though the townhouses were set in a rather alien landscape before the plantings matured. The combination of amenities in the Lafayette Park neighbourhood, including public spaces, retail, and an elementary school, combined with the adjacency to major highway routes has ensured property values remain strong, though the development has fallen short of its mixed income mandate. For a time, during the recessions of the 1980s, the owners of Lafayette Park entered into a deal with the federal housing authority to provide low-income apartments in the towers, but when real estate rebounded the deal quickly ended and the tenants were evicted.¹⁶²

The community succeeds not only because of local amenities, but also because of the sensitivities of its design. Cars are integrated, but diminished from view in parking lots sunken below the ground level of the townhouses courtyard homes. Layers of gardens create privacy in forecourts and courtyards and security on playgrounds. The spaces are functional and the architecture pristine, if somewhat irrelevant to the place or context, and occasionally severe in its modernist logic. The east and west Lafayette Towers, flanking a parking garage with roof top pool, offer hermetically sealed and units without operable windows, and walls of glazing hamper efficient energy use. The Pavilion Apartments, intended for high-end rental, moderates this somewhat with operable glazing and a more suitable site orientation.

Where the project fails is its insular nature: gated cul-de-sacs rarely invite the city in, and at all edges the park is wrung with wide and often sunken boulevards and freeways. Buildings are set far from the street, and though now lush landscape now fills the space between them, the retreat of Lafayette Park from the city is palpable. This may have been responsible for the relative exclusion of Lafayette from the 1967 riots, however it also has prevented Lafayette Park from leading an equitable revitalization of its surrounding community.



Figure 2.67: (above)

Lafayette Park shortly after its completion, circa 1957-1959. Prior to the maturation of Caldwell's landscape designs, the property was very barren.

Figure 2.68: (opposite)

Lafayette Park site plan showing the full development, including the unrealized east portion which mirrored the western half. The plan is oriented with north to the right.

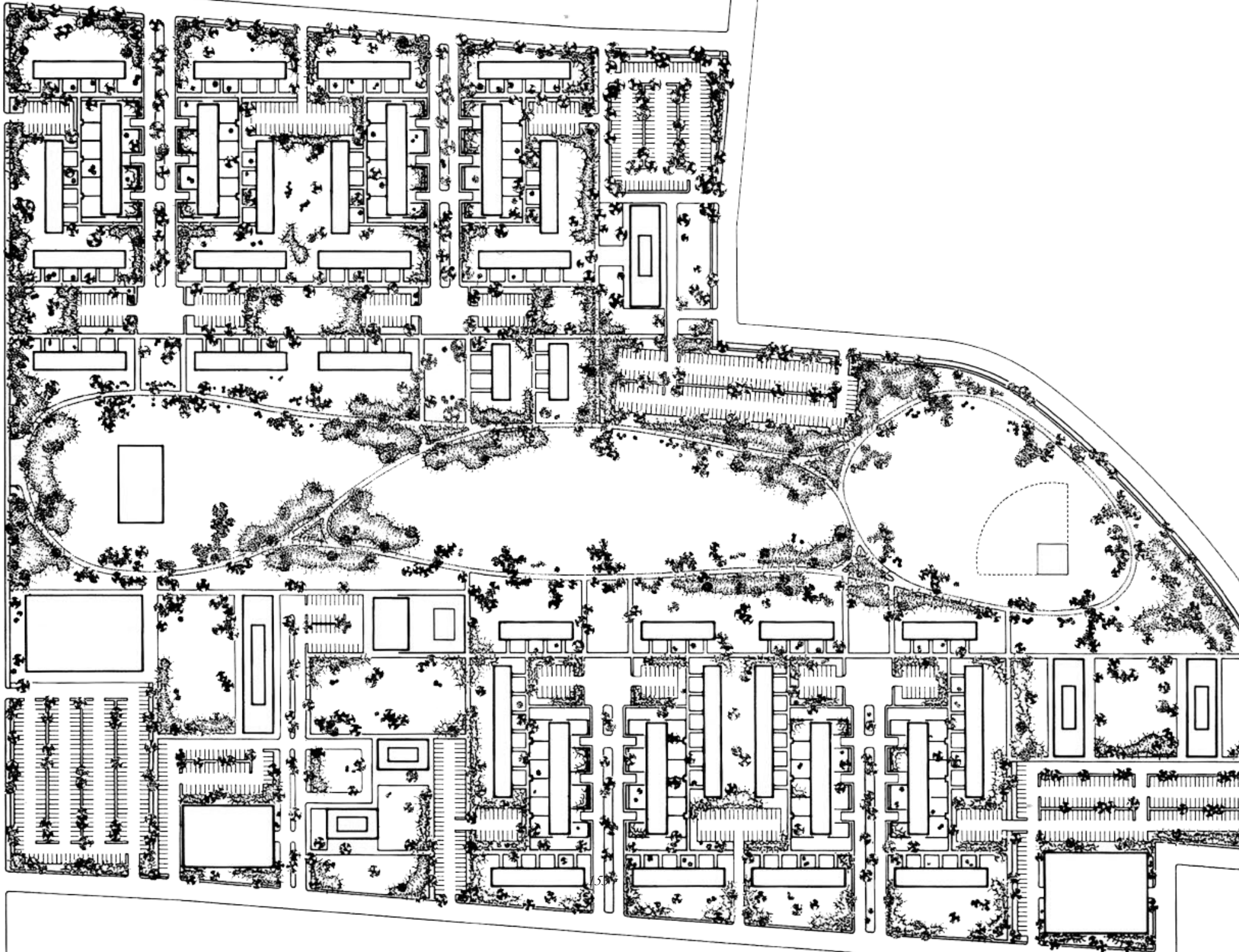








Figure 2.69: (p. 154-155)

Layers of landscape, garden walls, and sunken parking lots help to shelter Lafayette Park from the city and control the physical presence of the car.

Figure 2.70: (top left)

A disconnected drinking fountain, Chrysler Elementary School, 2012.

Figure 2.71: (bottom left)

Lafayette Townhouses, Autumn 2014.

Figure 2.72: (opposite top left)

The Pavilion Apartments, 2011.

Figure 2.73: (opposite right)

Lafayette Towers West, viewed from swimming pool above the parking garage, 2011. Non-residents are no longer permitted to visit the pool area or photograph on the property.

Figure 2.74: (opposite bottom left)

The mall at Lafayette Park, 2011. The residential tower in the background is 1300 Lafayette, built as a tangential project to the Gratiot redevelopment.

Figure 2.75: (overleaf)

The playground at Lafayette Townhouses, 2014.









Rebellion

... we the American people, [must] accept the fact that I have to accept... that on [this] continent we are trying to forge a new identity for which we need each other. And that I am not a ward of America. I am not an object and missionary charity. I am one of the people who built the country. Until this moment, there is scarcely any hope for the American Dream, because the people who are denied participation in it, by their very presence, will wreck it.

James Baldwin¹⁶³

Well, it started on 12th and Clairmont this morning
I don't know what it's all about
The fire wagon kept coming
The snipers just wouldn't let 'em put it out
Fire bomb busting all around me
An' soldiers was everywhere
I could hear the people screaming
Sirens fill the air
I don't know what the trouble is
I can't stay around to find it out
Taking my wife an my family
And little Johnny Lee is clearing out...
...The motor city's burning.

John Lee Hooker¹⁶⁴

While 1943 had seen marauding gangs of whites and blacks pitted against each other in the brawling streets and police either joined in or stood idle as people were beaten and killed, the uprising of 1967, however severe, was not such a riot. Though the majority of the participants in the riot were black, it having taken place in predominantly black neighbourhoods, the violence experienced in 1967 was at the hands of the police and rioters who shot at each other and citizens who shot rioters over stolen property. It was not a race riot. Insofar as the DPD was overwhelmingly white and the rioters overwhelmingly



Figure 2.76: (above)

A map of the area where the rioting was most severe, published in *The Detroit Free Press*, 1967.

Figure 2.77: (opposite top)

12th Street (now Rosa Parks Boulevard) prior to the rebellion, circa 1965.

Figure 2.78: (opposite bottom)

12th Street burns during the rebellion, July 1967.



black, this riot was racial. But more than that, it was a rebellion against impoverished living conditions, poor job prospects, uncertain futures, and hostile law enforcement.

After years of disinvestment in black neighbourhoods and with the hardships of Detroit's deindustrialization coming into clear view, the atmosphere in the city was highly charged. Property ownership and prosperity remained elusive concepts for blacks, who found themselves increasingly crowded into aging communities that already had an established population. Conot describes the situation created by the forced relocation of communities then underway as the cause of much internal strife:

Twelfth Street still had a residue of the vice and racket of the roaring twenties and Depressed thirties. The area had always been a place of action... 'Integration' mixed Paradise Valley vice with Twelfth Street vice. The action was transformed into conflict, and the conflict was commonly expressed in terms of crime.¹⁶⁵

Hastings Street, once the main thoroughfare of black culture and entrepreneurship had been completely obliterated by the Chrysler Freeway and Interstate 375, its former trajectory now home to a service road that snakes alongside the sunken highway. With a housing stock similar in age to the former lower east side neighbourhoods of Black Bottom and Paradise Valley, the lower west side soon began to take on familiar characteristics. The beginning of a renewal project in the Medical Centre for Wayne State University and various Detroit hospitals had further displaced families into the Twelfth Street area, which by one account, had more than 16,000 residents living in the area of Twelfth and Clairmont alone, which became the epicentre of the 1967 rebellion. As John Hersey describes the state of the city at the time:

Detroit is a vast sprawl of houses planlessly intermixed with schools and colleges and great automobile factories and little works and warehouses and stores and public buildings, and in this sprawl the resident nations of black and white had for years been encroaching and elbowing and giving way to each other; there was no great ghetto; there were pockets

of prosperity, of ethnic identity, of miserable poverty, of labour, of seedy entertainment, and sometime [sic] joy.¹⁶⁶

In addition to the tensions caused by economic disparity and overcrowding in the inner city, relations between the black community and the police department were at a breaking point. Marauding quartets of police, units known as the Big Fours, had been responsible for indiscriminate beatings of blacks over the preceding several years, and overall the feeling in the community was one of hopelessness.¹⁶⁷ This was the situation that Detroit found itself in when, during a simmering heat wave in late July 1967, the city exploded in its second major riot in under twenty-five years.

Early in the morning of 23 July 1967, DPD officers raided an after hours club on Twelfth Street, known as a blind pig, and arrested eighty black partygoers. While the police waited for paddy wagons to ferry the arrestees back to the station house, crowds began to gather at the scene. Accusations of police brutality were shouted at the DPD and soon bottles and stones were being hurled at the arresting officers. By sunrise, the crowd had swelled to over three thousand and the rebellion was underway.¹⁶⁸

In what has been called a “revolt from below,”¹⁶⁹ shops were ransacked and burned for five days, destroying 2,509 buildings and causing over \$250 million in damages. Snipers fired at police officers from rooftops in the riot area, and police responded with extreme prejudice. Thirty people were killed by police or the National Guard during the riot, including what appeared to be the deliberate killing of three unarmed black men at the Algiers Motel in the New Centre, while another thirteen people were killed by rioters. Soldiers policed the streets in army tanks as the smoke from hundreds of fires blackened the sky. Damage from the fires of 1967 can still be seen in many of the most highly evacuated parts of Detroit’s near west side, while the Twelfth Street neighbourhood that came to be known as Rosa Parks, never fully recovered from the destruction of that day. As Coleman Young described in his memoir:

Figure 2.79: (opposite top left)

Firefighters battle multiple fires at the intersection of Grand River Avenue and 12th Street, 25 July 1967.

Figure 2.80: (opposite top right)

Rioting and looting on 12th Street, July 1967.

Figure 2.81: (opposite bottom right)

The remains of a neighbourhood near 12th and Clairmount, July 1967.

Figure 2.82: (opposite bottom left)

Detroit police on 12th Street at the beginning of the riot, July 1967.



Statement on Detroit Rioting.

7/24/67 Live-TV-Radio

The heaviest casualty...was the city. The riot put Detroit on the fast track to economic desolation, mugging the city and making off with incalculable value in jobs, earnings taxes, corporate taxes, retail dollars, sales taxes, mortgages, interest, property taxes, development dollars, investment dollars, entertainment dollars, tourism dollars, and plain damn money.¹⁷⁰

Today the area at the epicentre of the rebellion is amongst the least populated in Detroit. Other neighbourhoods affected by the riot have fared better, including the southern area of the Midtown-Medical Centre district and parts of Corktown, specifically those south of the freeway, which were spared the worst of the violence and destruction. The lasting legacy of the rebellion, however, was not its physical effect upon the city, but rather, as Young has suggested, the effect it had upon the already extant process of white flight to the suburbs and subsequent economic disinvestment.

Figure 2.83: (opposite top)

Federal troops patrol the streets of Detroit, 27 July 1967.

Figure 2.84: (opposite bottom)

Mayor Jerome Cavanagh and Senator Philip A. Hart viewing the aftermath on 12th Street, July 1967.

Figure 2.85: (underlay)

Excerpts from the script of Lyndon B. Johnson's address to the nation on the use of federal troops in Detroit.

Figure 2.86: (p. 166-167)

Population graph of Detroit and the Metro region, 1910-2010.

Figure 2.87: (p. 168-169)

The Detroit skyline viewed from atop the Maccabees Building at Woodward and Warren Avenues, 1942.

1080

LAW AND ORDER

HAVE BROKE

DOWN IN

DETROIT.

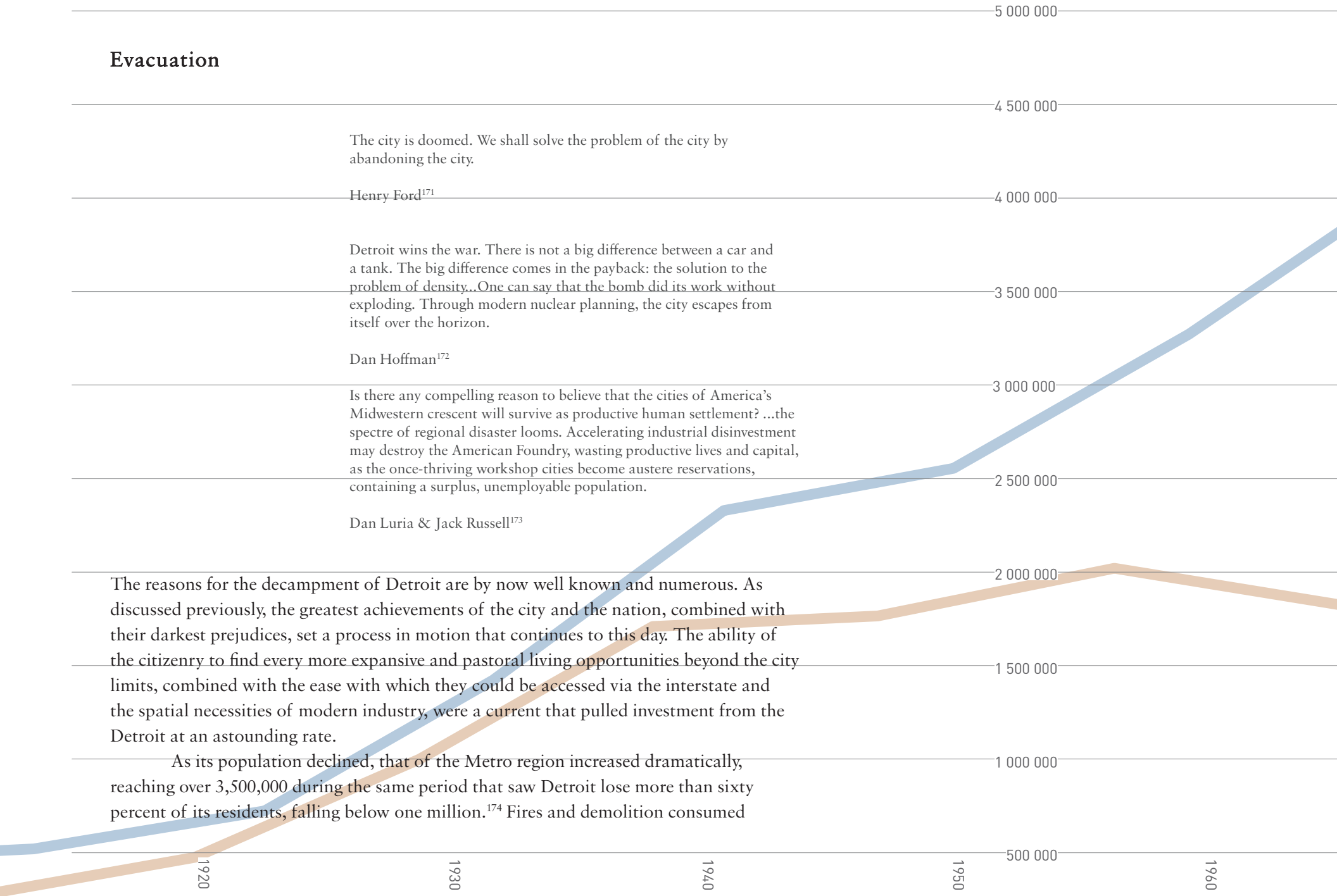
PILLAGE

LOOTING

MURDER AND



Evacuation



The city is doomed. We shall solve the problem of the city by abandoning the city.

Henry Ford¹⁷¹

Detroit wins the war. There is not a big difference between a car and a tank. The big difference comes in the payback: the solution to the problem of density...One can say that the bomb did its work without exploding. Through modern nuclear planning, the city escapes from itself over the horizon.

Dan Hoffman¹⁷²

Is there any compelling reason to believe that the cities of America's Midwestern crescent will survive as productive human settlement? ...the spectre of regional disaster looms. Accelerating industrial disinvestment may destroy the American Foundry, wasting productive lives and capital, as the once-thriving workshop cities become austere reservations, containing a surplus, unemployable population.

Dan Luria & Jack Russell¹⁷³

The reasons for the decampment of Detroit are by now well known and numerous. As discussed previously, the greatest achievements of the city and the nation, combined with their darkest prejudices, set a process in motion that continues to this day. The ability of the citizenry to find every more expansive and pastoral living opportunities beyond the city limits, combined with the ease with which they could be accessed via the interstate and the spatial necessities of modern industry, were a current that pulled investment from the Detroit at an astounding rate.

As its population declined, that of the Metro region increased dramatically, reaching over 3,500,000 during the same period that saw Detroit lose more than sixty percent of its residents, falling below one million.¹⁷⁴ Fires and demolition consumed



nearly 150,000 housing units in the last half of the twentieth century, while rates of unemployment and poverty exploded. Estimates placed over a quarter of the city's population below the poverty line, and traditional indicators such as home and vehicle ownership, education and literacy, and quality of life plummeted at the same time as infant mortality rates, murders, and crime skyrocketed.¹⁷⁵ The city was unable to cope with these trajectories, and slowly the disinvestment of Detroit took shape. Schools and libraries were closed, followed by parks and recreation centres. Transit routes were curtailed and municipal services such as garbage collection and the maintenance of roads and street lights failed to meet the needs of the citizenry. Police, ambulance, and firefighter response times slowed as department shed employees in an ever desperate attempt to balance budgets. Historic city owned properties such as Fort Wayne and the gilded age buildings of Belle Isle fell into disrepair and neighbourhoods collapsed as more and more money was funneled into downtown revitalization projects. Institutional collapse was the ultimate result of the evacuation of Detroit, as Jerry Herron has written:

Institutions of democratic culture are in a state of visible decay. They are no longer there to break the fall after culture. And this becomes nowhere more apparently, and frightening, than in the absent heart of America's great cities. There the combination of magnificence and decay is unmistakable.¹⁷⁶

Today, Detroit struggles with this legacy of disinvestment. Recent developments have taken advantage of the profound vacancy of the city, and the often bargain basement prices for land and buildings in order to expand private enterprise, and the city has reclaimed much of the waterfront for current and further development. But the bereft zone that rings downtown remains, confounding attempts at redevelopment either large or small.

The city that remains is a scatter of empty lots and buildings, with small pockets of intensity, where services and institutions remain stable, where schools operate and the community thrives, but even in these areas, the quality of life falls below the standard of other, more prosperous American cities. The weaving together of these stable communities into a resilient city remains the greatest challenge facing Detroit as it moves into the future.





III

DISABITATO





That cities, and the situation of the class historically created by them, now seem so puzzling and often threatening may have a lot to do with vanishing of institutions that once made sense out of them - institutions offering a culture, which purported to stand for the whole.

Jerry Herron¹⁷⁷

When the Goths sacked Rome, the collapse of the city was near total. The aqueducts were severed and the population evaporated. The city shrunk away from its breached walls towards the Tiber, and in the disabitato, trees and vines rose up amidst the ruins. When Detroit began to falter however, there was no single nucleus at which the city could gather itself, and the effect was near catastrophic. Industries left and took the population with them, while services declined across large swaths of the city as the evacuation was conducted piecemeal and the tax base collapsed. While Detroit's municipal government focused desperately on bringing developments of any kind to downtown and various locations along existing interstate and highway routes, lavishing tax breaks and issuing bonds to build projects with the private sector, the neighbourhoods suffered. Blighted structures became targets for arson or refuge for drug dealers. Garbage strewn vacant lots depressed property values in hollowing out neighbourhoods such that those who wanted to leave, most often could not, properties having become so devalued. Shops and retail suffered from the loss of population as their customer base dried up. Many simply moved away, while those left living in the community found themselves ever more deprived of amenities. To quote mayor Coleman Young:

The neighbourhoods collapsed because half the goddamn population left!¹⁷⁸

In fact, the city has lost almost 63% of its population since the peak measured in the 1950 census. At the time, Detroit was the fourth largest city in the United States with just under two million people living within the city limits. Today, with a population below 700,000, Detroit is far down on that list, surpassed younger cities such as Austin, Texas; Jacksonville, Florida; and Phoenix; Arizona, and its population continues to decline, albeit

Figure 3.0: (p. 170-171)

Montage.

Figure 3.1: (underlay)

1:10 000 scale

Figure ground mapping of the Briggs/Rosa Parks neighbourhood, 2012. Inhabited structures are shown in black and vacant structure in grey.





at a slowing rate.¹⁷⁹ Simply put, there are far too many buildings left in Detroit for the people that live there, even with several decades of fires, demolitions, and neglect erasing the urban form at an alarming rate. Before all of the vacancy in the city falls to these destructive forces, stock must be taken of what remains, and how best to use it in the future.

Vacated Places

For a moment, at the frontier, the bonds of custom are broken and unrestrained is triumphant. There is not tabula rasa. The stubborn American environment is there with its imperious summons to accept its conditions; the inherited ways of doing things are also there; and yet, in spite of the environment, and in spite of custom, each frontier did indeed furnish a new field of opportunity, a gate of escape from the bondage of the past; and freshness, and confidence and scorn of older society, impatience of its restraints and its ideas, and indifference to its lessons...

Frederick Jackson Turner¹⁸⁰

Given the profound vacancy in Detroit, both in terms of properties and structures, considerable barriers exist between the citizens of the inner city and the services most essential to them. Entire streets are devoid of inhabited properties, while the demolition of derelict structures continues at a rate that outpaces redevelopment. As Dan Hoffman noted in *Stalking Detroit*, “un-building has outstripped building as Detroit’s primary architectural activity.”¹⁸¹ Indeed, between the years 1969 and 2002, over 167,000 demolition permits were issued, while only 3,540 building permits were issued over the same period.¹⁸²

This vacancy, though occasionally taking the form of boarded-up or fenced off properties, large, darkened buildings, or ghostly towers ostensibly inaccessible to the curious public, is most often articulated in vast expanses of wide open buildings and urban prairies and cleared sites. This assembled vacancy, estimated at over fifty square kilometers, represents over 80,000 houses, a quarter of the city’s industrial lands, and more than a third of all commercial parcels.¹⁸³ It is a largely traversable field on which an array of artifacts from Detroit’s urban history can be found. It bleeds together across streets and neighbourhoods, offering the explorer a continuous urban park, a landscape that continues to inspire and perplex. To begin to view this vacancy in productive terms, as an asset upon which to leverage a regeneration of strategic parts of the city, a method must be developed for classifying these sites and buildings according to their suitability for restoration, demolition or deconstruction, speculation, or land banking. The following is a typological analysis of this vacancy and speculations on its usefulness in the future.

Figure 3.2:

Spaulding Court in Briggs/Roas Parks, 2012. The courtyard apartment building had an absentee landlord who had completely abandoned maintenance and there were several fires forcing out its last tenants in 2012 after living there without services for months. A community garden is located beyond the terraces and a non-profit has taken control of the building beginning in late 2014, with the goal of renovating and renting all of the units in the 1912 building.



Urban Prairies

You lose your rights one by one, first your job, then your car. And when your driver's license goes, so does your identity. This way entire swaths of the population are falling into oblivion, being totally abandoned. Enfranchisement was an historical event: it was the emancipation of the serfs and slaves. And yet at the same time, entire social groups are being laid waste from the inside. Society has forgotten them and now they are forgetting themselves.

Jean Baudrillard¹⁸⁴

The most conspicuous vacancy found in Detroit is in residential neighbourhoods, particularly in older, inner city areas on the near east and west of downtown. These neighbourhoods have often suffered the most from the effects of the siege of Detroit, with many never fully recovering after the rebellion of 1967. North Corktown/Briggs/Rosa Parks, McDougall-Hunt, Brush Park, Brightmoor, and others have seen a massive hollowing out of their residential fabric, such that block and after block can be found without a single inhabited structure, and often there are no structures to be found at all.

Given the rapid population expansion during the early twentieth century, a considerable amount of the residential fabric of Detroit was built quickly and often, cheaply. With ample employment and good wages, many could afford single-family homes, which due to the haste of early twentieth century construction, were often wood stick-framed homes, clad in wood siding, with wood shingled and later asphalt roofs, and concrete block foundations. These homes filled the working class neighbourhoods of the lower east and west sides, and the areas north of the present University District. Middle class and upscale neighbourhoods exhibiting fine masonry homes, built with considerably more care and more durable materials than those of the workers, and were found throughout the Midtown area and into the northern edges of the city.

Significant reworking of the urban fabric through the highway acts of the 1940s and 1950s coupled with blockbusting and redlining practices left many working class communities in a perilous position leading into the latter half of the twentieth century.

Figure 3.3:
New sidewalk corners in the Briggs/Roda Parks neighbourhood, 2012.



Social unrest culminated in the days of fire and rioting of July 1967, destroying hundreds of buildings and savaging low-income, predominantly black neighbourhoods. When the economy of Detroit began to falter, many of these neighbourhoods entered a period of increasing decline, eventually losing huge numbers of their population.

Those still residing in these neighbourhoods remain attached to them, despite the decline in services, retail, and overall security. When the Detroit Vacant Land Survey was released in the early 1990s, detailing the plight of Detroit's most depopulated areas, ombudsman Marie Farrell-Donaldson recommended that these neighbourhoods be completely evacuated, buildings demolished and streets closed.¹⁸⁵ The intention was to concentrate resources on key areas of population density, and perhaps in doing so improve the situation for thousands of Detroiters. The proposal was widely rejected, and has never been seriously considered again, despite a population loss of over 400,000 in the interim.¹⁸⁶ Today, given the realities in Detroit, this may be a necessary step to take. The prairies landscapes of Detroit have only increased in size since the publication of the Vacant Land Survey, and while some areas have seen new buildings fill that void - Motor City Casino in Corktown, the Chrysler expansion in Jefferson-Mack - there has been little meaningful construction of the small scale fabric necessary for a sustainable community. Meanwhile, money that is spent, has in the past been spent foolishly or had too many restrictions on it to make it useful.

A few years ago when I was walking through Briggs/Rosa Parks, at the epicentre of the rebellion, I noticed that each sidewalk corner had been completely rebuilt to be wheelchair accessible, and contained a rumble strip of some sort for wintertime safety. These had not been here the previous year. This in a neighbourhood with about 10% of its buildings standing and even fewer being occupied. The streets here have not been repaired in decades: the red brick of the nineteenth century is visible through the balding asphalt and the pink basalt curbs have long ago shattered in place. Alleys are grown over completely and stuffed with garbage, except, it seems, where an intrepid homeowner has taken to clearing debris themselves. When a building burns and collapses onto the street, the city simply drops blocks of concrete on the streets and closes them for weeks, months even, before the debris is cleared, if it ever is.

Citizens cannot be expected to live in these conditions such, nor should they be forced to evacuate a neighbourhood, for this has too often been a burden that Detroiters have had to bear. The city Planning and Development Department owns many of these vacated residential properties, and through property tax foreclosures, owns a great deal more blighted homes than any other entity in the city. The Blight Removal Task Force released a survey of the 263,569 properties in the city showing that Detroit itself owned most of the blight: 24, 977 ruinous structures and 3,600 blighted lots. It is estimated that removal of this blight will cost nearly \$2 billion, almost twice the city's yearly budget.¹⁸⁷

The middle ground, it seems, is for the city to withhold some of these properties from the market while gradually taking care of unsafe structures and securing others to prevent vandalism and arson. In each prairie neighbourhood there are pockets of stability, of relative density. These are the places where investment must be targeted: not the neighbourhood itself, but strategic places within it. Past attempts to create hot zones, neighbourhoods of targeted municipal investment, had focused on those parts of the city which were already stable, such as Mexicantown, Boston-Edison, and the Golf Club-Palmer Woods-8-Mile-Wyoming neighbourhoods.¹⁸⁸ Moving forward, the urban prairie can be strategically land banked and held out of speculation, with services & maintenance reduced to a minimum necessary to prevent the properties from returning to blighted condition. This will ultimately allow for a higher concentration of services where they are needed, and in the long run will have the effect of increasing property values elsewhere in the city, as the population of Detroit begins to stabilize.¹⁸⁹

Figure 3.4: (opposite)

The last remaining low rise at Brewster-Douglass, 2012.

Figure 3.5: (p. 180)

Gray Street in Jefferson-Mack, 2012. Most of the auto plants in this neighbourhood closed after the Second World War, and the remaining Chrysler plant at Conner's Creek employs a mere fraction of the former local workforce. Jefferson-Mack is widely abandoned.

Figure 3.6: (p. 181)

Empty lots at Temple & Wabash Streets in Briggs/Rosa Parks, 2012. This neighbourhood was at the center of the 1967 Rebellion.

Figure 3.7: (p. 182-183)

A stalled out gated community off Lenox Street in Jefferson-Chalmers, 2012. These lots have been abandoned since 2009.

Figure 3.8: (p. 184)

The broken playground at the abandoned St. Vincent de Paul Middle School in Corktown, 2012. Vegetation is cracking through the concrete and the park is destroyed but the building may yet be repurposed. It has recently been purchased for the construction of workshops for small businesses and entrepreneurs.

Figure 3.9: (p. 185)

Mies van der Rohe Park in Lafayette Park, 2011. Vegetation is cracking through the concrete and the park seems destroyed, it was designed to be that way. It has recently been settling and is now rather difficult to walk on. An inscription on the north end of the park reads, "What finally is beauty? Certainly nothing that can be calculated or measured. It is imponderable, something that lies between things."















Citadels

Most things are not even worth destroying or sacrificing, only works of prestige deserve that fate, for it is an honour. This proposition is not as paradoxical as it sounds, and it raises a basic issue for architecture: one should build only those things which, by their excellence, are worthy of being destroyed.

Jean Baudrillard¹⁹⁰

The citadels of Detroit are houses of memory, buildings that have been at the center of Detroit's remarkable rise, that have housed its most productive industries and reflected its greatest aspirations, and which now stand as hollowed-out reminders of the limits of those dreams. Detroit has always had a citadel, indeed it was built as one, and these sites, many predating the formation of the arsenal, now lay dormant.

They are often notorious places, so impressive in scale and sublime in their decay, that they can be seen to stand in for the city as a whole. They often represent an era of prosperity or cultural expression that will never return to Detroit, and citizens often wish that these buildings would disappear as well. The Packard Plant, The Michigan Theatre, Continental Motors, Michigan Central Station, Cooley High School, the National Theatre, the Fisher Assembly Plant, and the Ford Highland Park Plant are such buildings. Others have come and gone, falling victim to the wrecking ball or the scourge of fire. The Hudson's downtown department store, the UniRoyal plant, Tiger/Briggs Stadium, the Olympia Arena, Dodge Main: All have been physically destroyed, though not lost to memory.

The early automotive factories in Detroit were decidedly different from the sprawling smart sheds of today's manufacturing industry. From Ford's first plant on Piquette Avenue to the clustered complexes of the Fisher Assembly plant, the primary typology of pre-1950s automotive plants was a multi-storey assemblage of linear buildings built in bays of reinforced concrete with masonry infill, with the employment of steel in later buildings to create large span interior spaces. Their construction was the result of

Figure 3.10: (opposite)

Demolition of the J.L. Hudson's Department Store on Woodward Avenue, 1998.

Figure 3.11: (p. 188)

The Continental Motors Plant in Jefferson-Mack, 2012.

Figure 3.12: (p. 189 left)

Andrew Jackson High School in Chandler Park, 2014.

Figure 3.13: (p. 189 right)

The Michigan Central Station in Corktown, 2011.



technological advancement in building techniques, and the growing influence of industrial logic on architecture. Today, stripped of their ornaments and finishes, structure is all that remains.

The final form of these factories was constantly evolving, such that complexes composed of similar elements could take on unique manifestations as the factories responded to transportation corridors, production shifts, and constraints of site. Closed loops such as the Dodge Main or the Ford Highland Park plant were often located at bends along existing rail corridors, while the Packard Plant, built in 1903 parallel to the Detroit Beltline grew in a linear fashion along the east corridor of the rail line. The adjacency of rail encouraged further growth along these corridors, and eventually mutually supportive industries and warehouses consolidated in swaths across the city. The beltline industrial corridor continues southward to the Detroit River where it culminates in the UniRoyal brownfield, a large site that once held the factories of the Detroit Stove Company and the Detroit Engine Works, before being transformed for a third time into a rubber and tire factory. Portions of the buildings remain scattered over the site, with one reasonably intact wing of buildings retained at the end of the former train line. Many of Detroit's major automobile manufacturers had factories here, but by the 1950s, spatial constraints and the growing ability of the highway network to provide access to large exurban tracts saw the most prominent manufacturers move operations away from the beltline.

Other structures, such as the Michigan Central, built during the height of railroad travel in the United States, are expressive of the hope of a growing and dynamic city. The station was built as the anchor of a new downtown, four kilometers from the city centre, built around a grand park system, with the imposing neo-classical façade of the train hall, modeled on the Diocletian baths of Rome, as its backdrop. This development failed to materialize, and only a few years later, the automobile industry would surpass rail as the dominant means of transport. The station closed in the mid 1980s, as has since been robbed of its treasures of marble, bronze, iron, and wood. Many times, the city has tried to demolish the building, and many times its owner has proposed to sell or redevelop, but to date nothing has happened. Today the station stands empty, windowless, and wrung in razor wire, the silent, darkened guardian of Corktown.





Cityscape IV: The Packard Plant









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This place is not dead; it just needs a little help...you can't bury what's not dead.

Robin Cristini¹⁹¹

Detroit [is] a town with a lot of history, a European touch, a French touch. The first time I read about Detroit, it was completely...undervalued. I see something very close to...the old ruins of the Greek towns, the Roman towns, or the South American towns. You see a lot of history. Of course you see destruction, but on the other hand...if you are able to read the buildings, you get a lot of information.

Fernando Palazuelo¹⁹²

The Packard Automotive Plant is the most impressive of the vacant citadels of Detroit, and one of its most enduring buildings. Designed in large part by architect Albert Kahn, it is a 3.5 million square foot complex comprised of dozens of buildings, nearly all of which are connected to form an over two kilometer long industrial complex running north-south across the east side of Detroit. Several streets pass through the plant east-west and the factory bridges over the city grid to enable interior continuity, the southern portion of the plant embraces both sides of the former Bellevue Street, and the northern portion bridges the Grand Trunk Railroad line to join with the World War II era buildings built for aircraft and marine engine testing. The world's first reinforced concrete industrial structure is located here, partially buried within the later expansions of the plant. At the height of automobile production, Packard employed 12,000 people in Detroit, and when the factory expanded and converted into an engine works for wartime aircraft, that number rose to almost 44,000.¹⁹³ Immediately after the war, the company merged with Studebaker automobile and began a precipitous decline that led to the plants closure in 1956. The end of Packard was emblematic of the problems that besieged smaller automakers in the post war era:

Packard had fallen victim not to an egalitarian trend in American society - the segment of the American population that had bought Packards in the 1920s were more affluent than ever in the 1950s - but

Figure 3.14: (p. 190-191)

The remains of buildings #41-50, formerly used for die storage, metal pressing, transmission installation, and receiving. The long wall at left is all that remains of building #90, used for steel storage, 2012.

Figure 3.15: (p. 192-193)

The Packard Plant viewed from East Grand Boulevard, 1910. Building #27 is on the left, with #26, the power plant, visible beyond. Building #13 is at right, under going vertical expansion. The famous bridge spanning East Grand has yet to be built.

Figure 3.16: (opposite above left)

Bellevue Street, circa 1923. The bridge began as an open passageway, built table like over the street, connecting wings of the plant. It was later enclosed and a second storey was added.

Figure 3.17: (opposite above right)

Bellevue Street, 2014. The brick clad bridge in the mid-ground has been scrapped of its supporting columns and lower beams, and the concrete slab has collapsed across the street.

Figure 3.18: (opposite below)

Interior of Packard building #13, 2012. This was the administration, accounting, purchasing and showroom building.



to the Hollywoodization of the automobile industry, to rising costs; to automation; and most of all, to the continuing centripetal forces that were concentrating east economic power in ever fewer and more gigantic financial and manufacturing enterprises.¹⁹⁴

Ownership of the plant over the next several decades is unclear, but numerous small manufacturers, auto repair shops, parts stores, chemical companies, and even an electroplating enterprise operated from the building, which was well suited for subdivision, giving the rigid column and bay structure present throughout. The long facade on Concord Avenue shows evidence of these smaller outfits, each of which subtly modified the exterior bays to advertise services or facilitate clients moving in and out of the building. By the late 1980s, the plant was owned by a company called Bioresource Incorporated, which envisioned a technology and industrial park arising from the renovated complex. This failed to generate interest, however, and with much of the building falling into disrepair, and tarps covering the cracking roofs, owner Aziz Khondker sold Bioresource to Edward Portwood.¹⁹⁵ Portwood managed the plant and its tenants for several years before he passed away in 1998. That same year Dominic Cristini, a Detroit native and strip club manager, purchased all of the shares of Bioresource, Inc. from Portwood's widow for the sum of \$3,000, about \$0.0009 per square foot.¹⁹⁶ The plant still had over two dozen tenants at the time that the state issued a demolition order for the property. Cristini, by then throwing occasional raves inside the plant and dealing cocaine and ecstasy from a nearby abandoned school, barricaded himself in the building for days in protest of the decision, which was ultimately stayed.¹⁹⁷ When Cristini was arrested and imprisoned, the city began to evict the remaining 89 tenants of the plant with the last company, Chemical Processing, Inc., leaving in late 2010.¹⁹⁸

After the city evicted all remaining businesses from the plant, it suffered from considerable deterioration in some areas due to fire, structural collapse, the deleterious effects of invasive tree growth and pooling water on the roofs of the factory, and the slow wearing of time. Other portions remain in considerably better shape, exhibiting robust structure and masonry, while a portion of the northern end of the factory, once used for aircraft engine assembly during WWII, has been renovated into warehousing space, and which continues to operate as a separate facility. The Packard Plant is nevertheless in a



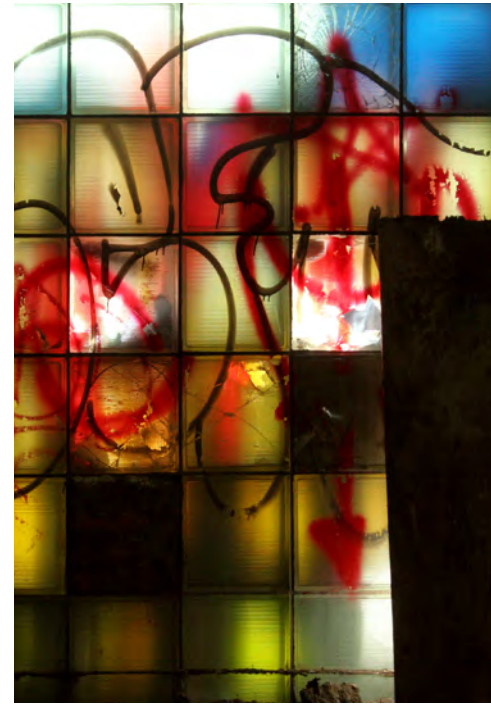
Figure 3.19: (above)
Columns on the collapsing roof of building #92, the axle and transmission shops, 2012.

Figure 3.20: (opposite top left)
Banksy Mural at the Packard Plant, 2010.

Figure 3.21: (opposite top centre)
Employee entrance, building #13, 2014.

Figure 3.22: (opposite top right)
Glass block windows in building #13, 2012.

Figure 3.23: (opposite below)
Packard buildings #10(l), used for repair and surplus parts; #23(c), for shipping and export; and #5(r), for final motor assembly, tool making, machining, and carpentry; 2014. Building #10 is the first example of the Kahn system of reinforced concrete factory buildings.



state of partial ruin, and with several, albeit unsuccessful, moves by the city to demolish the structure, it's future was uncertain for quite some time.

Recently, the Packard Plant was the subject of a design competition that sought to reimagine the massive factory for future use. Contemporary to the design brief was the sale of the building at tax auction, which after at least two incomplete bids, was acquired for \$405,000 by Fernando Palazuelo, a Spanish developer based Peru who specializes in the rehabilitation of former industrial sites.¹⁹⁹ In contrast to the sordid and disinterested ownership of the past twenty years, Palazuelo has embraced the building and the community, first paying down all remaining back taxes on the property, modestly securing the facility from arsonists and scrappers with the provision of a twenty-four security detail patrolling the grounds, and clearing away the piles of rubble scattered between buildings and along streets. It is unclear if the collapsed bridge hat currently blocks Bellevue Avenue will be removed in the early stages. Unstable structures are to be demolished, and work is underway to repair the bridge over East Grand Boulevard.²⁰⁰ Palazuelo envisions cleaning the site of pollution and dangerous structures before the development of an entire community within the complex, which will offer multiple programmes from residential suites to offices, tech startups, solar farms, and urban agricultural projects, and has proposed to invest \$350 million to make it happen.²⁰¹ He discussed his early hopes for the redevelopment and the necessity of reusing historic structures:

The Packard Plant project will be a long project because of the size. Seven to ten years. I would like to have seven or eight types of different tenants - from residential to a school, to commercial to recreational, art. I think [it] is very important to bring young artists from all over the country, all over the world here. The history of the building with the old Packard is something we would also like to [embrace]. Bring a context to the building again.²⁰²

It is by far the most ambitious plan ever drawn up for the Packard Plant, and will require a massive investment and many years to complete. It is hoped that Palazuelo will succeed where so many others have failed, and breath a new life into this broken, magnificent citadel of industry.



Figure 3.24: (above)
Fernando Palazuelo, 2014.

Figure 3.25: (opposite)
Downtown viewed from the upper floors of building #13 over building #27 and Trinity Cemetery, 2012.

Figure 3.26: (p.200-201 underlay)
An advertisement for Packard's WWII boat production, 1943.

Figure 3.27: (p.200-201 overlay)
The Packard Plant (shown in red) amidst the largely vacant (grey) industrial beltline, 2013. North is to the left of the image.

Figure 3.28: (p. 202-203)
Packard buildings #1, used for chassis, wheel & tire assembly; and #12, used for painting, receiving, and storage, 2012.





In Action against the Enemy



THE NEWSPAPER HEADLINES of this war have given us evidence that America's new weapon—the U. S. Navy's potent "Mosquito Fleet"—has proved its worth in action against the enemy.

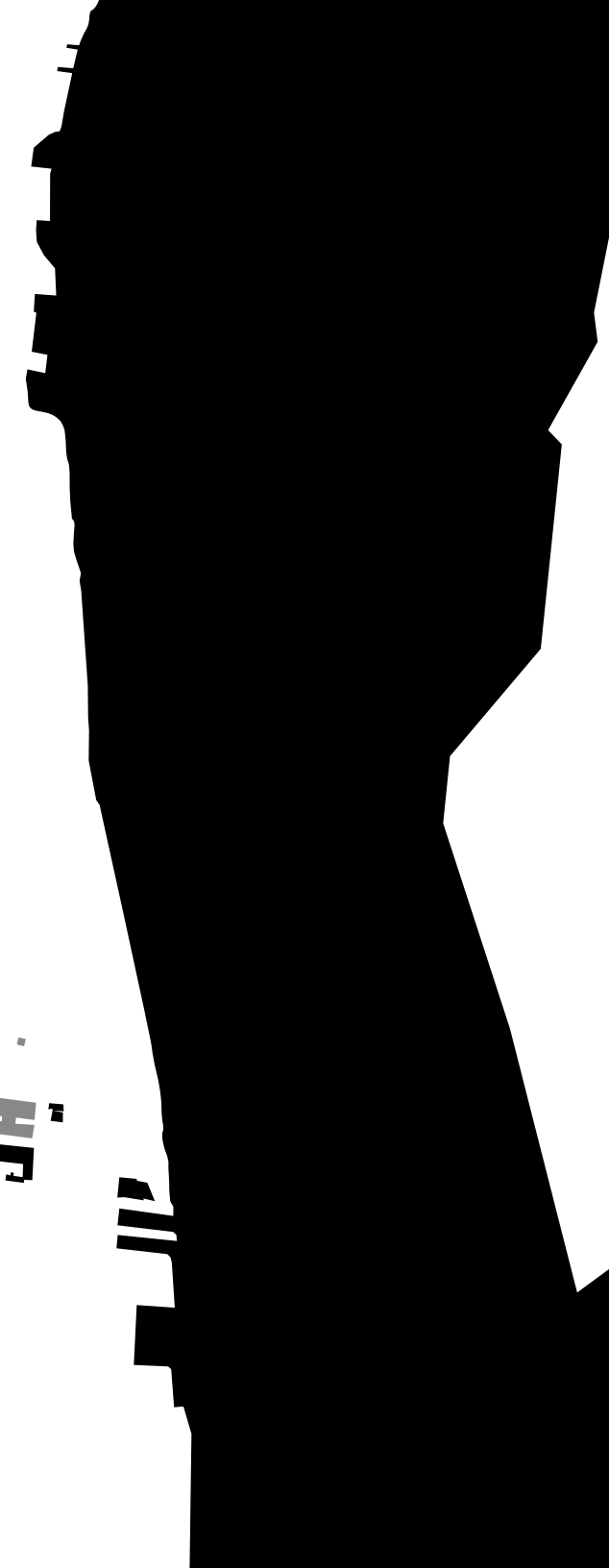
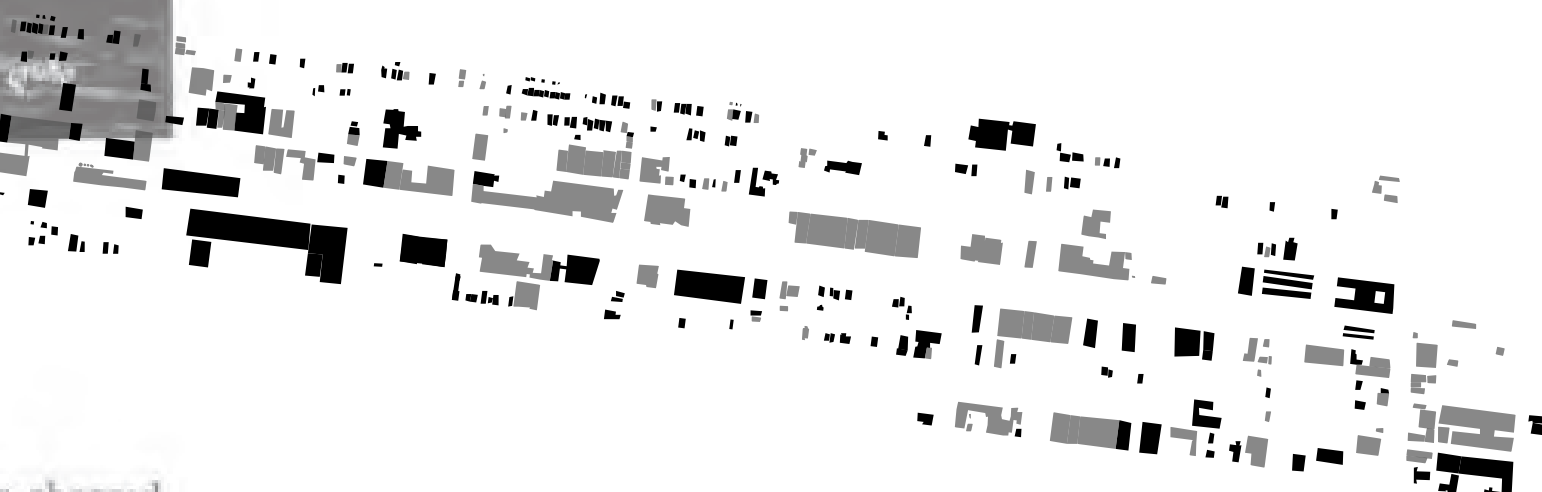
Designed for speed and striking power, the torpedo boat has already demonstrated its ability to tackle and destroy ships of many times its own tonnage.

And thanks to the lightning speed of its attacks, the torpedo boat has annihilated enemy

by a bank of three Packard supermarine engines—a trio that churn horsepower.

So effective are the PT boats, that has placed an order with Packard for engines—as quickly as they can be doubles, for the third time in two years pany's production schedule on PT bo

In addition, Packard is turning Rayson six-cylinder engines—the famous



re-charged
is up 4050

the Navy
still more
built. This
s, this com-
at engines.

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oper plants





Gridiron Remnants

While flexibility, mobility, and speed made Detroit an international model for industrial urbanism, those very qualities rendered the city disposable. Traditional models of dense urban arrangement were quite literally abandoned in favour of escalating profits, accelerating accumulation, and a culture of consumption.

Charles Waldheim²⁰³

Gathered around the former train spurs and freeway nodes of Detroit are 11,070 acres of industrial land, arranged in sinuous bands. These sites, once fiercely productive during Detroit's heyday, now sit idle, with over ninety percent vacancy.²⁰⁴

Much of the building stock within these areas is composed of mid-sized, steel framed and masonry-clad warehousing structures and smaller machine shops and manufacturing buildings. They are most often slotted into the fabric of the city, witness to a time when the clear lines of separation between land uses had yet been drawn. To this typology we also add the mercantile and shop front structures of the gridiron city, often built side by side with machine shops and small scale manufacturing. Together they are the leftover pieces of the nineteenth century economy, and are as varied in formulation as were the industries that they served.

With the abandonment of much of the rail system and the gradual loss of productivity within the city, these sites became obsolete, and today exist in a partially intact form. Many structures have been demolished over the years, both for reasons of safety and real estate speculation, but there remains a significant amount of structurally sound vacant structures. They often lack functional services, full roof cladding, and much of their original glazing, and their interiors have been subject to the ravages of exposure, scrapping, and vandalism. Despite these deficiencies, larger structurally stable structures of this kind (in desirable neighbourhoods) are often the focus of considerable speculation. Their suitability for renovation and the adjacency of many to both the riverfront and transit corridors has led to many projects for residential lofts and several commercial

Figure 3.29:

Gunsberg's Building on West Jefferson Avenue at Cary Street in Delray, 2014. Some disambiguation exists as to what Gunsberg's business was: a liquor merchant, a Kosher meat packer, possibly sewing machine repair. The building sits vacant, the last of five on an otherwise cleared block. These pieces of the gridiron are the most rapidly disintegrating part of Detroit's vacant building stock, as they are often pulled down a block at a time for parking lots or strip mall plazas or allowed to collapse on their own in areas of extreme disinvestment.

GUNSBERG'S

projects in the East Rivertown, Eastern Market, and Corktown neighbourhoods. Fears of gentrification have been one result of the redevelopment of these properties, though it would be difficult to point to any single example where a project of this nature has actually transformed a neighbourhood or altered its occupancy structure, for better or worse.

The smaller scale gridiron fabric is more difficult to revitalize. These buildings are built largely of wood with masonry cladding, are more susceptible to damage by vandalism and arson, and exposure to the elements degrades them much more quickly than their steel framed counterparts. They are pieces of what was the continuous urban landscape, lining major streets and filling in the industrial blocks of the inner city, and their reuse is predicated upon the resurgence of the communities in which they are located. Given the unabated population loss in Detroit, a return to prosperity for these communities, and any subsequent reuse of their built fabric is a tenuous proposition. It may be that the usefulness of these structures will come from the reuse of their constituent parts following a process of unbuilding or deconstruction that will return their materials of construction to the market place.

Figure 3.30: (left)

Former auto parts shop, Michigan Avenue in Corktown, 2011.

Figure 3.31: (opposite)

The former Detroit Grey Iron Foundry on Meldrum Street in Rivertown, 2012.

Figure 3.32: (overleaf)

Vacant gridiron warehousing buildings on Franklin Street in Rivertown, 2012.









Dispatch II: The Waters Edge

There was a huge dry docks building on Atwater street in Rivertown, the historic warehouse district east of the Renaissance Centre. The basalt lined brick streets of the neighbourhood now move through vast expanses of empty property, cleared in the early 1990s in anticipation of a casino that would never be built. There is a park connected to the waterfront pathway system and a giant grass covered mound of earth that flank the dry dock slip, now permanently flooded. The historic shoreline is gone, but the top of the dry dock inlet marks its former location, in some places now hundreds of meters inland from the modern edge. The dry docks building, now known as the Globe Trading Company, stands sentinel over the neighbourhood, alone amidst the cleared sites. The complex, built between 1892 and the early 1910s, was an essential part of the heyday of Great Lakes shipbuilding, producing steam engines for passenger and freight vessels. Before closing in the 1920s, the dry docks complex covered almost four city blocks and boasted its own grey iron foundry. Railway tracks cut through complex east-west and the Dequindre Cut brought trains from the north to spurs at the waterfront. Many smaller buildings at the shoreline and east of the Dequindre Cut were removed as the complex was converted first for stove making, then for a repair shop for the Detroit Edison Company, and finally for the Globe Company, a wholesaler of industrial machinery.²⁰⁵ The foundry was spun off as a separate company, before being demolished, along with much of the surrounding neighbourhood. The Globe building is one of the last pre-Motown industrial sites that exists in Detroit, and is typical of the construction methods used at this time. Heavy steel framing with masonry infill comprises the buildings walls, while a variety of truss systems riveted together using standard sections create long open spans and in some cases support the weight of upper floors, hung of from the structure above.

For a time it was very easy to get inside this building, and I have been through it on a few occasions. The first was during a winter visit in 2012, where I found a nearly empty shell, streaming with winter light from the shattered, iron-framed windows in the clerestory. The walls were covered in graffiti and chains and pipes dangled from the ceiling, gently knocking together together in the wind, joining with the sound of falling



Figure 3.33:
Itinerary one, February 2012.

water droplets in the creation of a formless music. In the old foundry, a piano sat alone and broken in the middle of the room. A friend of mine from South Detroit joined me to tour Rivertown, which has at various times been considered an up and coming neighbourhood. Today, closest to the RenCen, the neighbourhood is gutted: just parking lots and other emptiness. The east side of Rivertown is more constructed and has a some restaurants, a brewery, a live/work building, and some various other developments in the old warehouses. The dismal colour of the sky seemed to make the bricks appear even more red as Matty and I walked down Woodbridge towards the old dry docks. All the while, a large sport utility vehicle seemed to be trailing us, always at a distance behind or across the block. The vehicle circled around the Globe twice while we were walking it's perimeter and then stopped on Atwater Street to our east. It sat there for a long while, before a young woman carrying a huge camera stepped out and approached us. It turned out that she was a photographer for The Washington Post, in Detroit to cover the run-up to the Presidential elections later that year. The Republican candidate, Mitt Romney, who in a 2008 editorial for The New York Times, had infamously suggested that Detroit be allowed to go bankrupt, had been in town for a fundraising event, and she was there to document the hometown that he seemed to care so little for.²⁰⁶ We spoke about Rivertown and the possibility of redeveloping the Globe building,²⁰⁷ and about the goals of my thesis, such as they were at the time. A few days later, a small excerpt of our conversation appeared in the Post, along with a photograph of my friend and I cast against the downtown skyline, with the RenCen looming in the background.

Matty and I moved on to the car and to Corktown for barbecue. On the way back I realized that there was no one to be seen anywhere in this neighbourhood, until moving through its more intact eastern portion, where we spotted two men leaving the ground floor of an apartment building. One of them opened the trunk of a Chrysler minivan, revealing it to be empty inside, while the other began to push something through the apartment door. When he was half way through the door, the first man grabbed the other end of what was now clearly a gurney, on which a body was laid under a white sheet. The men maneuvered the stretcher into the back of the waiting van, closed the door, and drove off. This was an ambulance apparently, at least the one you get if you are already dead.

Figure 3.34: (top left)

Franklin Street looking towards the RenCen, 2014.

Figure 3.35: (top right)

Woodbridge and Dubois Streets, 2012. The van at left is the ad-hoc ambulance described.

Figure 3.36: (bottom left)

An alley in Rivertown, 2012. The Globe building is at left.

Figure 3.37: (bottom right)

Matthew Barbesson (r) and the author (l) photographed in Rivertown. From *The Washington Post*, 24 February 2012.



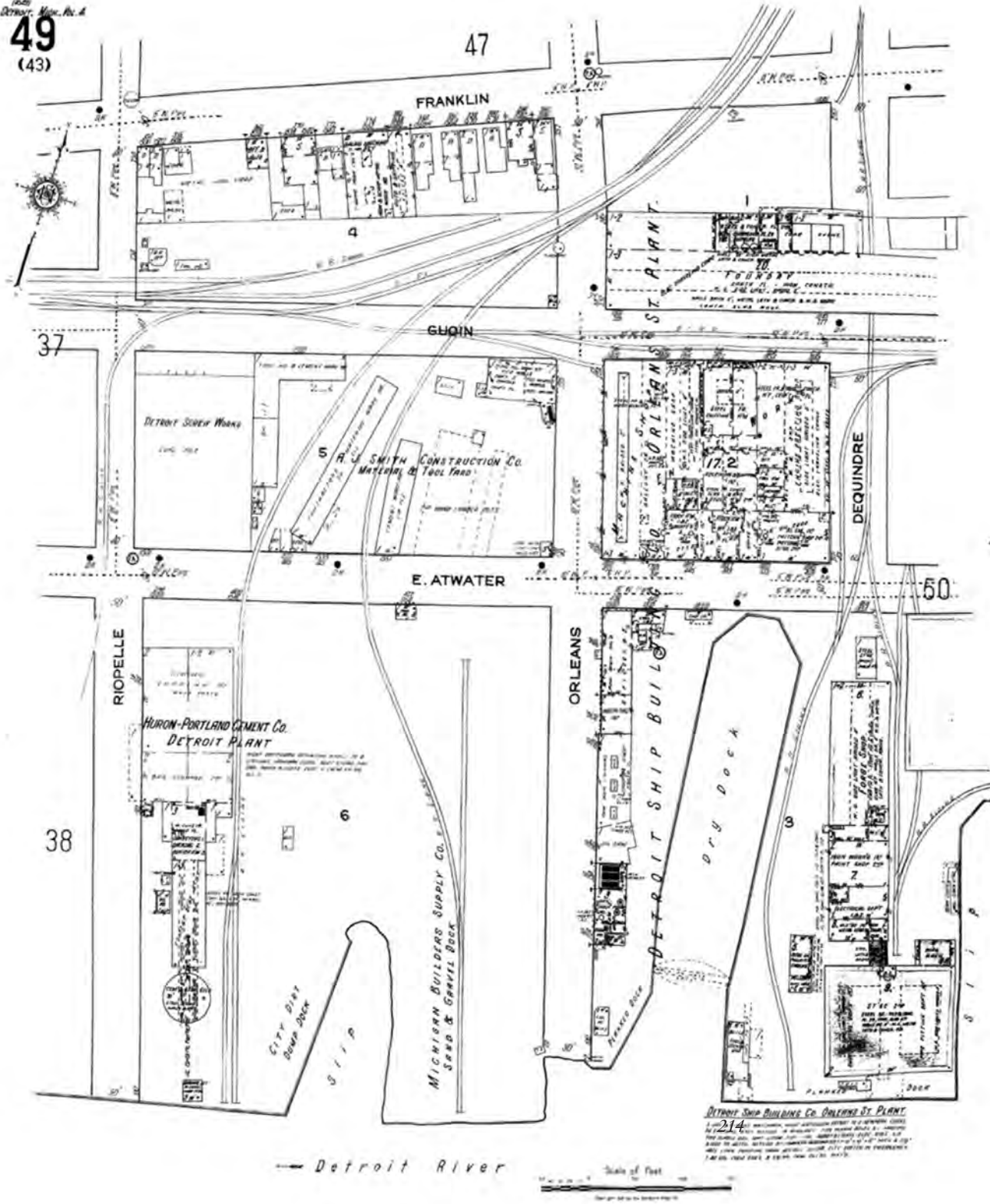


Figure 3.38: (left)

Sanborn fire insurance map of the Dry Docks Complex, circa 1910.

Figure 3.39: (opposite top left)

The Globe Trading Company roofline, circa 1990.

Figure 3.40: (opposite top right)

Interior of the foundry building, circa 1990. The foundry was built in 1902.

Figure 3.41: (opposite bottom left)

The garage and boiler house, circa 1990. The building was constructed in the early 1910s and demolished in the late 1990s.

Figure 3.42: (opposite bottom right)

The machine shops, circa 1990. The shops were originally built in 1892 and expanded in 1910.





Figure 3.43: (left)

A broken piano in the former foundry building of the Globe Trading Company, 2012.

Figure 3.44: (opposite right)

The Globe Trading Company, 2012. At this time, the building was still unoccupied. Nearly all of the building along Atwater Street was demolished to construct the DNR Outdoor Adventure Centre.

Figure 3.45: (opposite bottom)

The Globe Trading Company building, 2014. Michigan's Department of Natural Resources is in the midst of renovating the building into an Outdoor Adventure Centre.



Ghost Towers

...they are dramatically lit from below by street lights, and from above by the moon and the stars. Shadowy structures, silhouetted against the sky, loom like huge, undefined forms. Yet immense aspiration remains embodied in these monumental edifices.

Camilo José Vergara²⁰⁸

The historic core of Detroit was fully formed by the time that the city reached its maximum population in the early 1950s. The northern nexus of Detroit's radial plan, the Grand Circus Park, was fully ringed by stately pre depression-era towers, as were the boulevards that radiated outwards from the Circus and the Campus Martius. Though many of these towers still stand, some such as the Hotel Charlevoix and the Salvation Army building, known as the CARE building, have been demolished after long periods of vacancy and dereliction.

Designed by architect William S. Joy of Detroit's prominent Joy family, and built in 1905, the Charlevoix was one of the city's few remaining hotels from the pre-automobile era and was located on Park Avenue between West Elizabeth and West Adams Streets in the Foxtown district.²⁰⁹ A steel building clad in well-detailed yellow brick and sandstone, with once prominent Beaux-Arts cornices on the upper floors. The Charlevoix was converted shortly after its construction to offices before being vacated completely in 1980, boarded up, and abandoned. It was demolished in 2013.

Adjacent to the Charlevoix is the Albert Kahn-designed tower, 1000 Park Avenue, built during the Detroit boom of the early 1920s, a period that saw the erasure of many of older two and three storey buildings typical of the gridiron city. Several structures were razed to assemble the land needed for the twelve-storey reinforced concrete structure, which is clad in white limestone and brick masonry and features, like its former neighbour the Charlevoix, distinctly neoclassical ornament. Structurally, the building is sound and overall stands in reasonable aesthetic condition, though it has been boarded and closed for many years and has been recently threatened with demolition.

Figure 3.46: (opposite top left)

The Hotel Charlevoix and the Park Avenue Apartments, 2012.

Figure 3.47: (opposite right)

The Hotel Charlevoix, circa 1910-1915.

Figure 3.48: (opposite bottom left)

The Hotel Charlevoix (left) and 1000 Park Avenue (right), 2012. The Charlevoix was demolished 2013. The dark brown brick tower at far right is the Park Avenue Apartments.



In some cases new buildings have taken the place of demolished structures, but often they are removed to provide surface parking or even simply an empty lot, presumably preferable to having bricks rain down upon the street from collapsing cornices. Still more towers stand empty, boarded off at ground level, often devoid of glazing, and in extreme cases, such as at the Book Tower and the former Charlevoix, removed of portions of the vertical circulation conduits to prevent vandalism and trespassing. The interiors of some of these towers appear as though they were abandoned in mid-use, with entire office suites and state rooms filled with furniture and personal effects, small relics within the greater relic of the tower, itself frozen in time at the point of its last use.

Restoration projects have commenced on several of these towers, most notably the Book-Cadillac hotel, which was recently renovated at a cost of over \$200 million. Much of the tower is a four star hotel with the upper floors containing luxury condominiums. This type of development, while important to the establishment of a flourishing downtown, requires such intensive capital investment as to make it impossible, or at least undesirable, for developers to offer low income or live/work rental scenarios. Though many middle and upper class tenants have been lured into these new projects, the continued decline in housing values in the city puts the future of such projects in question. Recently, billionaire Dan Gilbert has been buying up much of the vacant stock of towers downtown, and reopening them slowly for new business. Other developers have taken advantage of the shortage of rental units and condominium housing in the core to renovate these towers into new residences. The Broderick Tower and the David Whitney Building on the Grand Circus are two such projects that have gone to market in recent years, and both have enjoyed a very quick turnaround, as new residents flock to the core city, while the fate of other historic structures such as the Metropolitan Building, the Book Tower, the Wurlitzer Building, and the Free Press Building remains unclear.

Figure 3.49: (opposite top left)
The Book Tower, 2012.

Figure 3.50: (opposite right)
1000 Park Avenue, 2012.

Figure 3.51: (opposite bottom left)
The AAA Building, also known as the the CARE building, 2012. Demolished 2013.



Living Machines

I wanted something nobody wanted, something that was impossible. The city is filled with these structures, houses whose yellowy eyes seem to follow you. It would be only one house out of thousands, but I wanted to prove it could be done.

Drew Philp²¹⁰

The final typology of vacancy in Detroit is that of the residential structure, which appears in two distinct forms: the single family home and the residential apartment building. The former comprises that vast majority of structures in Detroit, both derelict and inhabitable.

Detroit had always been a city whose urban fabric was dominated by houses, row after row on narrow streets, with alleys running parallel between the properties. The oldest housing stock is to be found in the near east and west sides of the city, in Corktown, and to a lesser extent, the peripheral remnants of Paradise Valley, Poletown, and Black Bottom on the east side. Much of the old stock, dating from the mid nineteenth century, has been demolished to make way for urban redevelopment, with the remaining homes being built in the pre-war period. Those homes that do remain exist in every state between intact and inhabitable, to burned out scraps piled atop a collapsing foundation. As with the smaller scale gridiron remnants, the reuse of these homes can be problematic.

Even more so than the surrealistic phenomenon that is the \$1 house, typically a scorched pile of materials on an overgrown, garbage strewn lot, interest has been growing in the \$500 house, a recent Detroit real estate phenomenon stemming from the mortgage crisis of 2008. The foreclosures that followed the crisis have steadily increased Detroit's stock of vacant housing, and though many have encountered problems in settling back taxes or evicting squatters, the purchase of these houses by new residents is an increasing trend.²¹¹ Many of these homes will be partially fire damaged, devoid of glazing and fixtures, boarded up or open to elements. Many are also located in undesirable neighbourhoods where the urban fabric has either collapsed completely, or access to

Figure 3.52: (opposite, left to right)
Houses for sale in Detroit, 2012.

5821 Garland Street, \$1.00.

15922 Muirland Street, \$1.00.

13953 St. Aubin Street, \$1.00.

13996 Indiana Avenue, \$1.00.

15857 Parkside Street, \$1.00.

11829 Evanston Street, \$49.00.

5428 Springwells Street, \$99.00.

21400 Margareta Avenue, \$99.00

12072 Rutherford Street, \$100.00.



amenities is difficult. For those with investment capital and the ability to locate the right property on the right street, several thousand dollars can purchase more intact homes and can offer an opportunity to live in a building the cost of which would far exceed the owner's salary, were it located in a more expensive real estate market. Those who seek out homes of this kind have become the early adopters of the new Detroit, those who seek to further creative or entrepreneurial pursuits in a city where the cost of property ownership is within reach of the average citizen.

Those homes unsuitable for reuse should ultimately see the same fate as their gridiron counterparts, that is to be deconstructed for salvage with the properties held in a land bank until such time as new land would be required in a given neighbourhood. Other may need to simply be demolished, as the city and other private entities have been doing for some time. A point is reached in the life of each of these buildings when they are too far gone to be saved and must be removed. The side effects of unbuilding the residential city are the expansion of the urban prairie and the continued dissolution of neighbourhoods.

Given the historic desire of Detroit residents to own their own home, and the reluctance of the city to build much in the way of public housing prior to the population collapse, Detroit has relatively few vacant structures that were designed as multi-unit residential. Many of those that were built are located along the eastern riverfront and remain at least partially occupied. Those apartments that are unoccupied have suffered a similar fate as the city's detached homes. Homeless populations have squatted in these vacated apartments, and occasionally lit fires in the winter to keep warm, leading to many destructive fires amongst this typology. Very few vacant structures of this kind exist today that have not seen at least some fire damage, and they have been an easy target for scrappers who have removed ornate finishes, fireplace mantels, and woodwork, torn copper and iron piping from walls, and smashed window frames to get at the lead counterweights.

Figure 3.53: (opposite top left)

A house on Tillman Street in Southwest Detroit, 2012.

Figure 3.54: (opposite right)

The Roosevelt Hotel, 2011. The building is a former hotel and later rooming house, and today is undergoing a slow renovation.

Figure 3.55: (opposite bottom left)

The Somerset Apartments, 2012. The building is on the United States Register of Historic Places and is located on Jefferson Avenue near Lafayette Park. In 2013 the building was partially destroyed by fire and is now slated for demolition.

Figure 3.56: (p. 226-227)

Spaulding Court, 2012.

Figure 3.57: (p. 228-229)

Aerial view of Detroit and Windsor, 1962.











IV

DETROIT
DIAMONDS





A reorientation of our project - from retrenchment and reinvestment to the Right to the City, that is, putting people's needs and desires and use-values ahead of the needs and desires and exchange-values of capital - might possibly open up a new way not just of living in cities but especially of making cities. Such a reorientation would be nothing short of revolutionary.

Don Mitchell²¹²

Precisely because physical devastation on such a huge scale boggles the mind, it also frees the imagination...to perceive reality anew; to see vacant lots not as eyesores but as empty spaces inviting the viewer to fill them in with other forms, other structures that presage a new kind of city which will embody and nurture new life-affirming values in sharp contrast to the values of materialism, individualism, and competition that have brought us to this denouement.

Grace Lee Boggs²¹³

Within the considerable boundaries of Detroit lies a growing frontier; a bereft landscape of vacant lots and buildings, broken glass and parched streets. Life in Detroit is precarious and the city struggles to provide essential services to its shrinking population. Despite this, many residents gather resources to resist the collapse of their city and to take measures to protect it; acting as urban sentries, they render safe, or productive, or inhabitable the forgotten corners.

The physical disinvestment of Detroit has enabled a form of experimental urbanism, removed of typical patterns of speculation and building, and concerned more with new ways of reading the city, of utilizing its vacancy and, perhaps suggesting new modes of inhabitation. From pop-up markets to art-project houses, city sculptures, and nomadic communities, the revolutionary urbanists challenge the norms of city building and offer a new perspective on the shrinking city.

While these methods of occupation and encampment represent a critique of the failure of the post-metropolis, that is rarely their sole intention. Each project, whether it be a DIY museum for the display of African bead art, or the painting a swath of derelict housing units near the Davison Freeway in homogenous construction orange, or the creation of biergarten in disused parkland, seeks a to renew the relationship between city and citizen, this time on the citizen's terms.

Figure 4.0: (p.230-231)

Montage.

Figure 4.1: (opposite top left)

The remains of the original Theatre Bizarre. The Halloween masquerade was held annually in a residential neighbourhood near the state fairgrounds, before it was closed by the city. Theatre Bizarre is now held in the Masonic Temple.

Figure 4.2: (opposite top center)

Dabl's Gallery and the MBAD African Bead Museum.

Figure 4.3: (opposite top right)

A house in Highland Park near the Davison Freeway, 2011. Numerous abandoned houses have been painted in this way by the arts collective Object Orange.

Figure 4.4: (opposite bottom)

Detroit Disneyland, 2012. Artist and former autoworker Dmytro Szyrak created this sculptural installation in his backyard and on the roofs of his and his neighbour's garages.



The Heidelberg Project

...this project is a whole lot of things all at once - legal tangles and art-historical squabbles, neighbourhood battles and demolitions, spiritual journeys and catfights, “art” maybe, and life, surely life, that this project forces to an intensity that, regardless of one’s view, is impossible not to admire.

Jerry Herron²¹⁴

...it was from the debris of the neighbourhood that I created the Heidelberg Project landscape. There was no plan and no blueprint, just the will and determination to see beauty in the refuse.

Tyree Guyton²¹⁵

Beginning in 1986, a unique art project began to arise in the McDougall-Hunt neighbourhood of Detroit’s lower east side. The area is part of one of the oldest residential neighbourhoods in the city, having been incorporated in the mid nineteenth century, and as early as the 1940s, had suffered the affects of neglectful landlords, overcrowding, and the lack of modern amenities. Emerging out of the Great Migration era, the lower east side became known as Paradise Valley and was one of only a few areas where black residents could own a home or start a business in Detroit. Together with the Black Bottom neighbourhood directly to the west, Paradise Valley was the heart of Detroit’s black community. As the post-war period progressed, urban planners sought to clear the city’s cramped old neighbourhoods and replace them with modern towers and townhouses, and these two neighbourhoods were singled out as slums, most suitable for renewal. While Black Bottom was completely erased from existence in a single act of demolition at the conclusion of World War II, Paradise Valley was slowly carved into several pieces by public housing projects and the freeway building programs of the 1940-1960s, as its residents suffered from the suburbanization of Detroit’s manufacturing base and the disastrous effects of the Twelfth Street rebellion.



Figure 4.5: (above)

Tyree Guyton posing in front of a Heidelberg installation in Midtown.

Figure 4.6: (opposite)

The House of Soul (l) and War Room (r), 2012.



This was the situation with which Tyree Guyton, a former soldier, firefighter, and auto worker turned artist, was confronted when he moved back to his childhood home on Heidelberg Street, now a deteriorating landscape of ruinous houses and vacant lots, with a community plagued by the ravages of gangs, drugs, and crime. Together with his grandfather, Sam ‘Grandpa’ Mackey, Guyton began to collect discarded pieces of the lives that had long ago evacuated to the suburbs, composing, juxtaposing, and curating them into work of public art at the scale of a neighbourhood. The streets, lots, and the vacant houses themselves became the canvas upon which the artists staged their work, often dense and richly layered compositions in every possible media from toys to automobiles. In its earliest formulations, Heidelberg found itself the target of considerable resistance, both from politicians and residents who objected to the visual clutter of the project, its use of objects deemed garbage, and the tenuous legal basis that the artist had for taking over both the vacant land and houses of the street.²¹⁶ Against this backdrop ranging from indifference to outright hostility, Guyton’s work began to attain prominence in Detroit and beyond, appearing in print media and television, and receiving a Spirit of Detroit award in 1989, only two years before the first demolitions of the project were ordered by mayor Coleman A. Young. This tumultuous relationship with the city continued unabated throughout the 1990s, with the council and subsequent mayors alternately railing against the project or lavishing it with arts grants. Grandpa Mackey passed away in June of 1992 and Guyton continued developing the project with the help of his partner, Jenenne Whitfield, until in 1998 the city once again sought to demolish the adorned houses of Heidelberg, showing up in the middle of the night to begin the tear down. Guyton was defiant:

I’m going to challenge the system, challenge the government. Don’t tell me its an eyesore. Have those awards expired? They want to take it down because they don’t believe in truth and they don’t want to see. We educate the kids, they learn about art and meet people from all over the world. This project is working.²¹⁷

Figure 4.7: (opposite top left)
The Numbers House (right) and Tyree Guyton’s home (left), 2012.

Figure 4.8: (opposite bottom left)
Painted automobile hoods at the Heidelberg Project, 2014.

Figure 4.9: (opposite right)
The People’s House/Dotty Wotty House, 2012. The tree at left is decorated with items salvaged from the early demolitions of the project.



A restraining order against the city was obtained to prevent the demolition, though this reprieve would be short lived: The city began tearing down the project only hours after the restraining order was lifted in 1999 against the backdrop of a televised court battle between Guyton and councilor Kate Everett. Heidelberg resident Teresa Woods remarked on the destruction of the arts community that had brought at least a small measure of stability to the neighbourhood:

That man was making something out of this neighbourhood. Now that it's gone, we really do live in a ghetto.²¹⁸

The new millennium brought with it a considerable amount of recognition of the artists and their work, with the production of a short documentary, commissions by the Detroit Institute of Arts among others, the printing of a monograph and a children's book, numerous grants and awards, and their representation of the United States at the Venice Biennale of Architecture in 2008. Throughout this period, Guyton and Whitfield extensively travelled America and the world lecturing about their work, and Guyton was invited to serve a year-long residency at the Laurenz Haus in Basel, Switzerland. Lasting validation of the project, so elusive in its early years, seemed to have arrived at last.²¹⁹

In *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*, Jane Jacobs writes of the usefulness of sidewalks in the lives of children, which contrary to sites with an implied meaning, such as a sports field or playground, are seen as “unspecialized outdoor home base[s] from which to play, to hang around in, and to help form their notions of the world.”²²⁰ At Heidelberg, this is perhaps more true than she could have ever imagined. While undeniably an art project, it is abstract and open-ended, with the siting begging a more nuanced reading of a city where so much space is indeterminate. The children of McDougall-Hunt, by now so used to growing up in a public realm that is made up not only of sidewalks and neglected parks, but also ruinous homes, buildings, and the garbage strewn lots in-between, find in the Heidelberg project a way to read this urban condition differently than their parents or grandparents, those for whom the blighted landscapes remember a more prosperous time long since past. Heidelberg suggests a way to invent new uses in place of the lost ones and to reclaim that wasted landscape and transform it, pacify

Figure 4.10: (opposite top left)
The Taxi House prior to the fire, February 2012.

Figure 4.11: (opposite top right)
The Taxi House following the fire, September 2014.

Figure 4.12: (opposite bottom left)
Detail of the Party Animal House prior to the fire, December 2012.

Figure 4.13: (opposite bottom right)
Detail of the Party Animal House following the fire, September 2014.



it, even celebrate it. With few obvious explanations for much of the art found there, one is forced to reconcile the profound familiarity of the media used with the otherworldly, and at times unsettling, nature of its presence. It is profoundly rooted in Detroit, its successes and failures; it is as Jerry Herron has written, the manifesto for the future of a city which has already lost so much of its past.²²¹

The demolitions have continued at Heidelberg in recent months, as the project has been besieged by a series of unexplained arsons that have destroyed seven of the nine remaining houses within the two block area of the installation, leaving only The People's House (also known as the Dotty Wotty House and Guyton's childhood home) and the Numbers House standing. The House of Soul is being rebuilt under the watchful eye of solar powered LED light standards with mounted cameras which now film the entire site, purchased with a series of arts grants and public donations that followed Heidelberg's last fire, as the project transitions from an architectural canvas to one composed primarily on the landscape.²²²

Reflect, realize, renew: these are the three R's of Heidelberg, and they continue to inspire the citizens of the McDougall-Hunt to strike a bold move for the future of Detroit. What they put forth is compelling not only in terms of its cooperative and democratic nature, but also in the remarkable vision that it posits for the vacant lands of Detroit: the city as a massive vault of discarded objects, homes, properties, and memories that can be deconstructed and reassembled, taking on new lives, new functions. The houses of Heidelberg seek to expose the harsh truths of life in the shrinking city and comment upon the state of general apathy with which this life is viewed outside Detroit. But they also look inwards to the community that created them, to respond to its needs: educating and involving children, removing dangerous black holes in the neighbourhood to create safer streets, and resisting the forces that would seek to further divide them.

Figure 4.14: (opposite top left)

The House of Soul prior to the fire, February 2012.

Figure 4.15: (opposite bottom left)

The House of Soul following the fire, September 2014.

Figure 4.16: (opposite right)

The House of Soul in the process of being rebuilt, October 2014.

Figure 4.17: (p. 242-243)

The Operation Justice (OJ) House prior to the fire, February 2012.

Figure 4.18: (p. 244-245)

Aerial photographs of Heidelberg Street and the surrounding neighbourhood, 1949-1997.

Figure 4.23: (p. 250-251)

Heidelberg Street, 2014. The Operation Justice House in the center of the photograph has been largely destroyed by fire.







FLU SHOTS AVAILABLE

SAM

TAXI DETROIT TAXI



1997



Figure 4.19:

1:3500 scale

Partial mapping of McDougall-Hunt showing
figure ground, 1952.



Figure 4.20:
1:3500 scale

Partial mapping of McDougall-Hunt showing
figure ground, 2014.

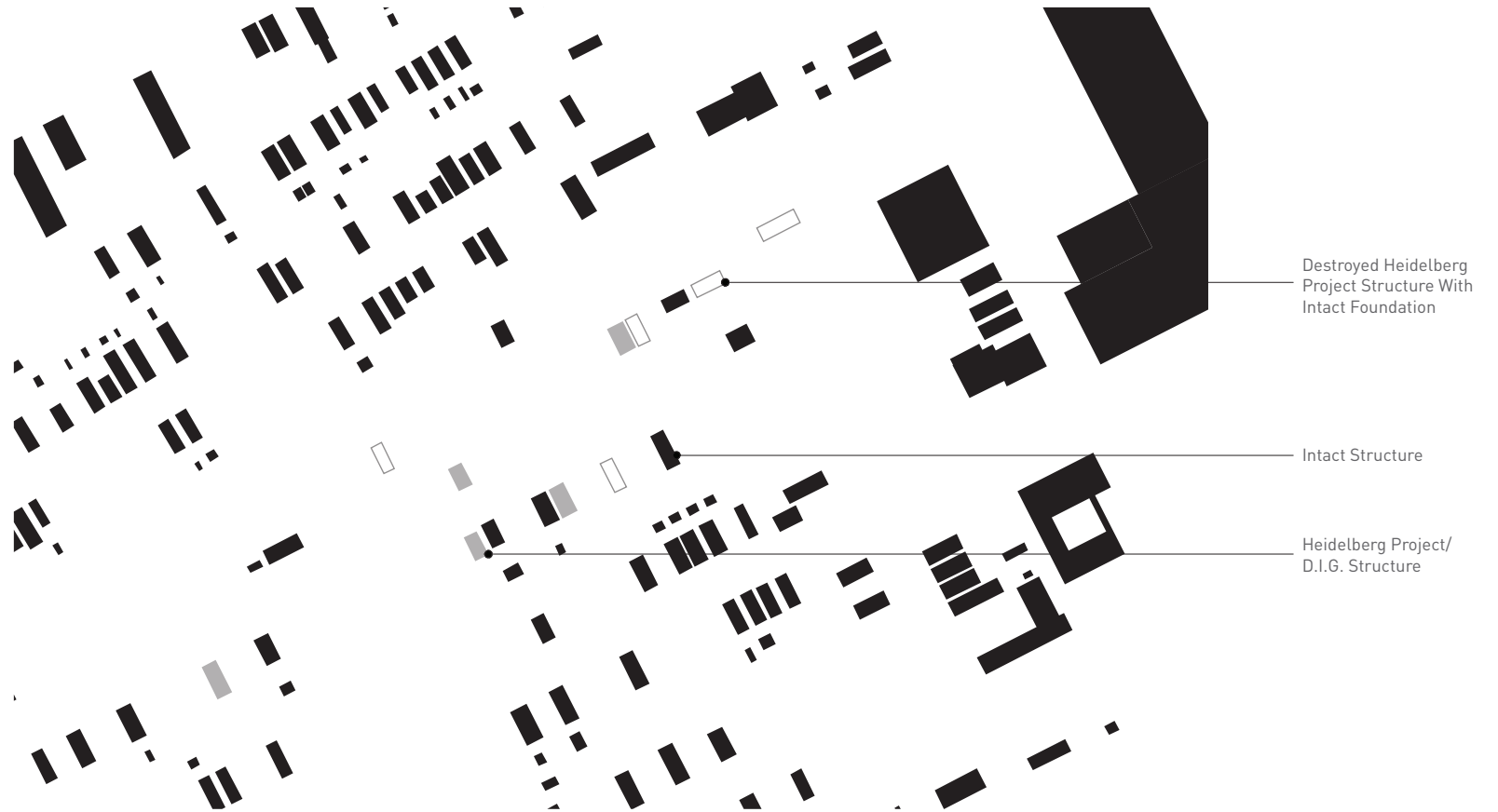


Figure 4.21:

1:3500 scale

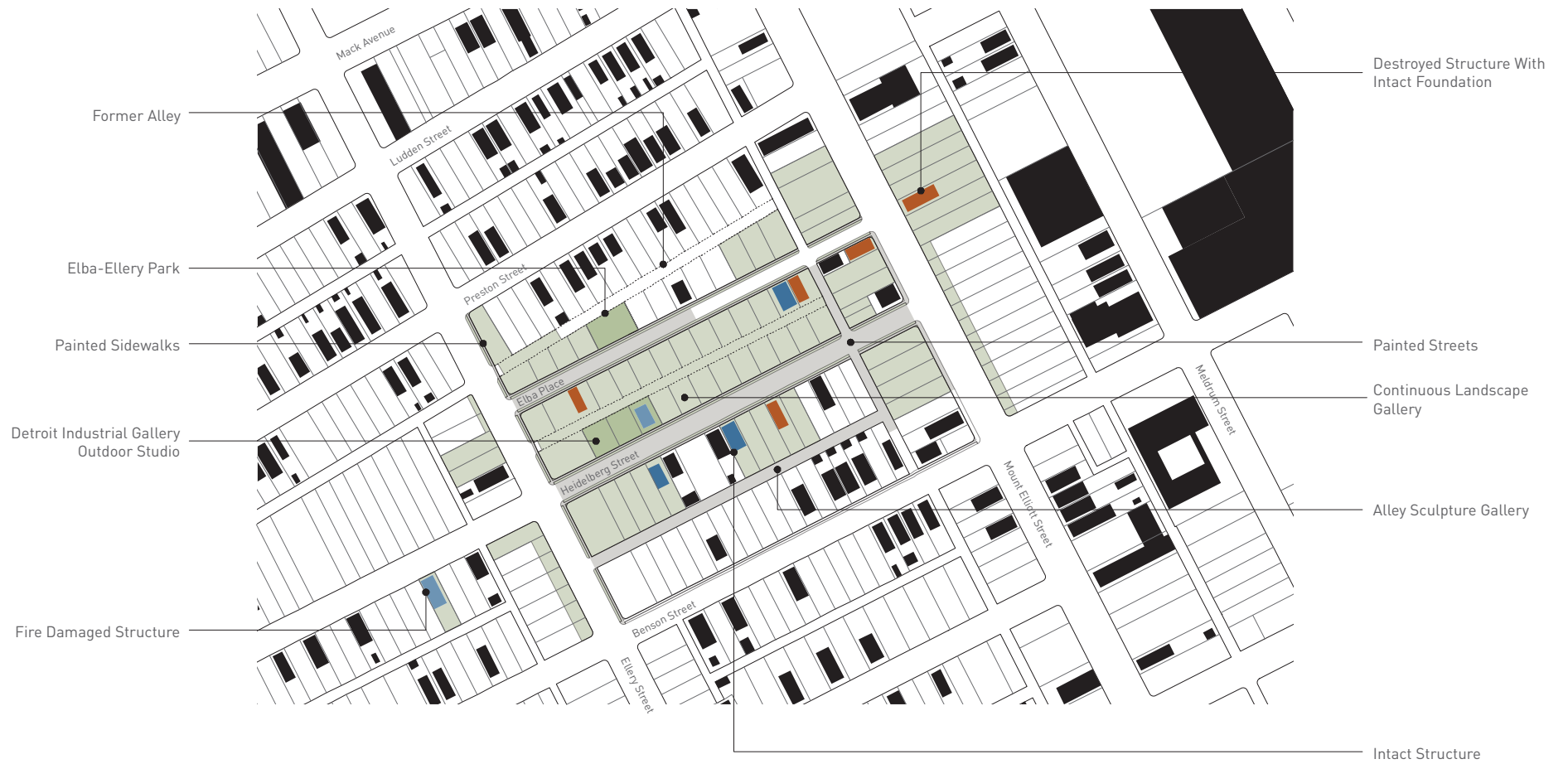
Mapping of the Heidelberg Project showing existing and former structures, 2014.



Figure 4.22:

1:3500 scale

Mapping of the Heidelberg Project showing
land use, 2014.







The Detroit Industrial Gallery

I lived with a therapist and his family for four years, after my divorce, when I was trying to quit drinking. The therapist used art projects to help me get outside myself. One day he handed me two nails and some twine and said, “Here, make something out of this.” Two nails? A piece of twine? I was worried he expected me to make something on a grand scale, because my dad is an artist with a degree from Wayne State University. I made a little cross, handed it back to the therapist, and said, “Here, that’s the best I can do.” For months, he kept bringing crap to the house and telling me to make something out of it.

Tim Burke²²³

We need art, in the arrangements of cities as well as in the other realms of life, to help explain to us, to show us meanings, to illuminate the relationship between the life that each of us embodies and the life outside ourselves. We need art most, perhaps, to assure us of our own humanity.

Jane Jacobs²²⁴

Tim Burke’s Detroit Industrial Gallery is a small enclave within the Heidelberg Project. Simultaneously an outdoor studio and a work of art itself, it operates separately but in parallel with its neighbour. Guyton’s work has undeniably influenced Burke, however, as Andrew Herscher noted when the artist listed the Detroit Industrial Gallery up for sale for \$1 billion they have two considerably different aspirations.²²⁵ Burke’s commentary is economic rather than social, pointing to the absurd condition of value in Detroit’s property market, which can see houses priced at only a few hundred dollars in one neighbourhood, while in another they are worth thousands.

The DIG was recently a victim of arson, its roof and attic badly damaged on 18 September 2014,²²⁶ only two weeks after I first met the artist. We spoke of the path that led to him to purchase a small, run down house on Heidelberg Street and begin creating



Figure 4.24: (opposite top left)
Tim Burke, 2012.

Figure 4.25: (opposite top left)
Detail, the Detroit Industrial Gallery, 2012.

Figure 4.26: (opposite bottom left)
Detail, the Detroit Industrial Gallery, 2012.

Figure 4.27: (opposite right)
A sculpture made from steel salvaged from demolitions of the Packard Plant, 2014.



sculpture from architectural materials salvaged from the destruction and demolition of many of Detroit's most significant buildings. Perhaps even more so than Guyton, who began his work as a reaction to the physical and social conditions of his city, Burke's artwork is highly personal, touching on themes related to his recovery from alcoholism and finding new lives for the remnant pieces of his earlier life. Having grown up in Detroit, Burke watched as iconic buildings disappeared first in presence, then in memory, and his sculptures, creatures, as he calls them, attempt to bring to life these vestiges of the lost Detroit. He has used steel beams from the Packard Plant, marble taken from the Detroit Institute of Arts, and scraps left over from the demolition of the downtown J.L. Hudson store. When we last met, two months after the fire, he was working sheets of copper that were first salvaged from the spire of his childhood church during its demolition, then salvaged again from the burned ruin of his attic storage room, now honed by hand into beautiful jewelry, scorched into deep shades of purple, orange, and red.

Figure 4.28: (opposite top left)

Raw materials, the Detroit Industrial Gallery, 2012.

Figure 4.29: (opposite bottom left)

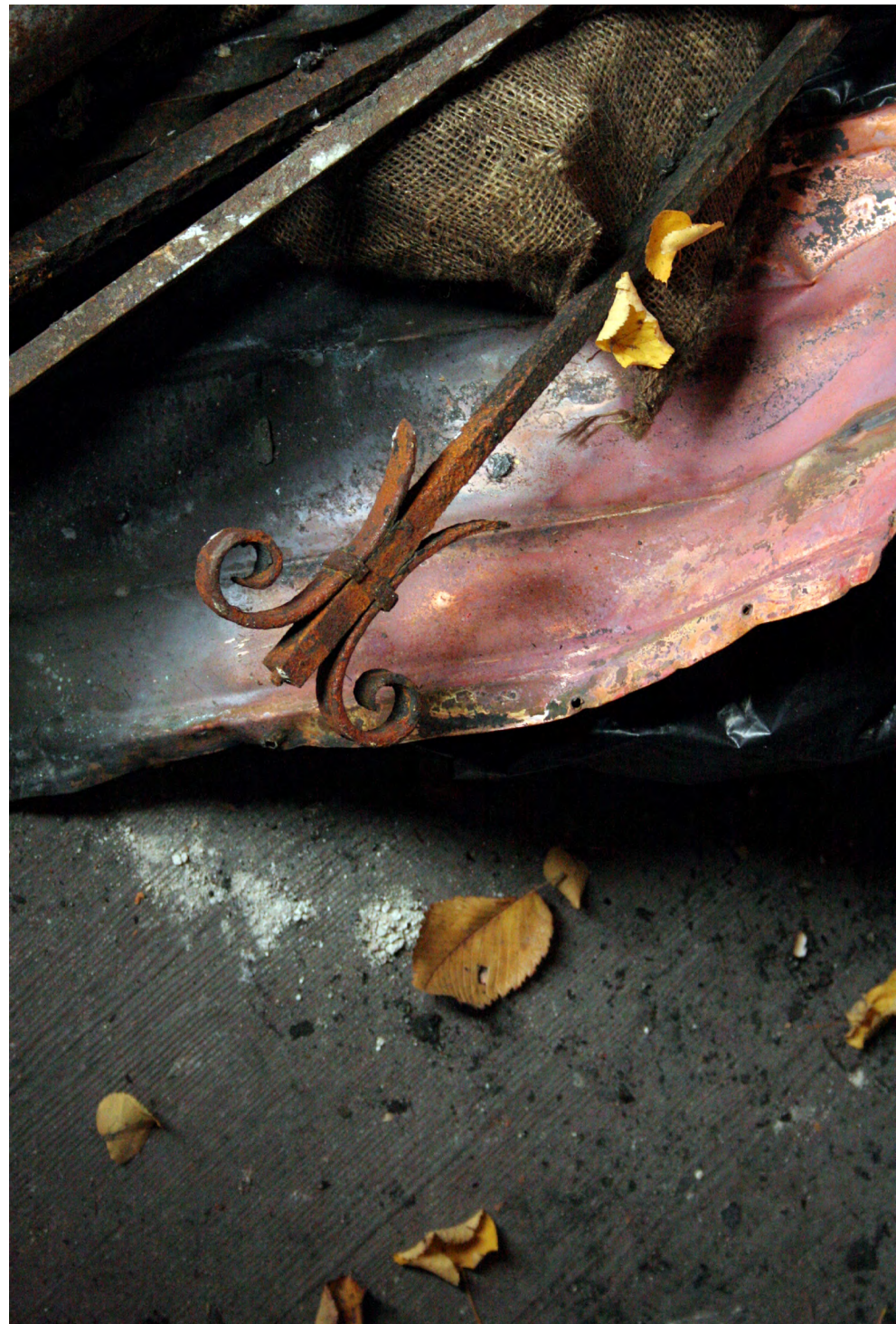
Fire scorched copper, the Detroit Industrial Gallery, 2014.

Figure 4.30: (opposite right)

Interior detail following the fire, October 2014.

Figure 4.31: (overleaf)

The Detroit Industrial Gallery following the fire, October 2014.







Dispatch III: What Are You Doing Here?

Yet, what are where is the community? Who can legitimately speak on behalf of the community? Who is able to listen to the community? The Heidelberg Project raises these complex questions without providing simple answers in response, a provocation particularly suited to unreal estate and one that may yet comprise the project's most profound social effect.

Andrew Herscher²²⁷

My first visit to the Heidelberg Project occurred by accident in the winter of 2012. On a mild and nearly snowless February day, I was driving north along Mount Elliott Street headed to the Packard Plant. The scene was kind of unbelievable; I had yet to see the full effects of Detroit's decline on its neighbourhoods, but that was changing fast. I had sort of hoped that the stories about Detroit's blight were exaggerated, but it was looking otherwise. I had read of the project prior to my visit, but had little idea of where to find it and was suitably cautious about wandering alone on the streets of the east side, portions of which appear as though they had been bombed out in some unnamed war. And then, there it was. Brightly coloured dots and smiling faces painted onto plywood stood nailed to posts in the ground on both sides of Mt. Elliott, stretching around fences and up into trees, layered across the walls and roofs of houses in between decaying stuffed toys, residential appliances, and car tires. A half dozen houses on polka dotted streets held up and merged with these collected remnants, creating a spectacular landscape that wove around and between inhabited houses and alleys, bleeding across streets as the project seemed to be reaching outward into the city, challenging its borders, almost alive. Amidst the canted house-sculptures stood at least four buildings that I was sure were inhabited. I parked three blocks away and got out of the car. I wanted to see the project the way that the people who live here see it, as if this was my neighbourhood and I was just walking home from school. A block ahead of me, a group of grade school children were doing just that. They must have heard me snapping pictures, as they stopped ahead, turned and stared.



Figure 4.32 (underlay)

Itinerary two, February 2012.

Figure 4.33: (overleaf)

The Heidelberg Project, 2012.



HAMBANK
DISNEYLAND

NEW YORK

Riverside Park

Lincoln Center

Riverside Park

Riverside Park

Riverside Park / Riverside

Riverside
Corm

Riverside / NCS / Imagination Station

“Hey, what are you DOING here?”

I get that question a lot when I am in Detroit.

“I’m looking for the Heidelberg Project, do you guys know where that is?” I ask, not exactly sure why. I often ask questions that I already know the answer to...its a conversational device, I suppose.

“Right over there!” Yells one child.

“Cool jacket, can I try it on?” Asks another.

I shrug in the affirmative and then we all have a good laugh as the little boy drowns in my secondhand leather jacket.

“You know I painted on the street there last summer,” he says and hands the jacket back to me. “And I found some old toys and brought them over and they got nailed to the house.”

I was wandered around there for a few hours, staring at this fantastical world through my camera, capturing vistas large and small. I was alone here the entire time and felt totally enveloped and consumed by the place. All feelings of danger and unease disappeared. In that time, quite a few automobiles cruised the painted streets with the slow, deliberate speed of a drive-by shooting. None of these cars seemed to belong to this neighbourhood and none stayed long, typically encircling the block and then leaving the way they came. Nearly every face that I saw was wide-eyed, and none of them stopped the car to get out and walk around, nor did they roll the window down to take the blurry cellphone pictures that would undoubtedly serve to illustrate to anyone who would look, just how bad Detroit had got. I wondered if they had just read another bleak summary of Detroit’s violent crime and murder rates and decided not to risk it, even here in the daylight. They all gave me the same look that by now, on only my second trip to Detroit, I had grown quite accustomed to, the unspoken version of “Hey, what are you DOING here?”

Now every time I’m in the city, I visit Heidelberg, probably half a dozen times so far. With many of the houses falling victim to arson, the landscape has changed dramatically in only a few years.^{228, 229, 230} When various Mayors took to ridding the city of Guyton’s houses, the project consolidated itself around The People’s House, as it has done once again. At the corner of Mt. Elliott, next to the Heidelberg sun dial a woman is





taking donations to repair her family home. For one dollar, you can sign the house, and then photograph and upload it to the guestbook on the Yellow House Facebook page. There is no mention of how they are doing relative to their \$20,000 goal, but the campaign is already in its third year. Down the street, Tim Burke continues to produce work at the Detroit Industrial Gallery, seemingly undeterred by the fire, which he now refers to as the House Warming Event.²³¹

The Imagination Station

Now, you are needed in Detroit, but before you show up, you need to know that it ain't damn Disneyland for hipsters.

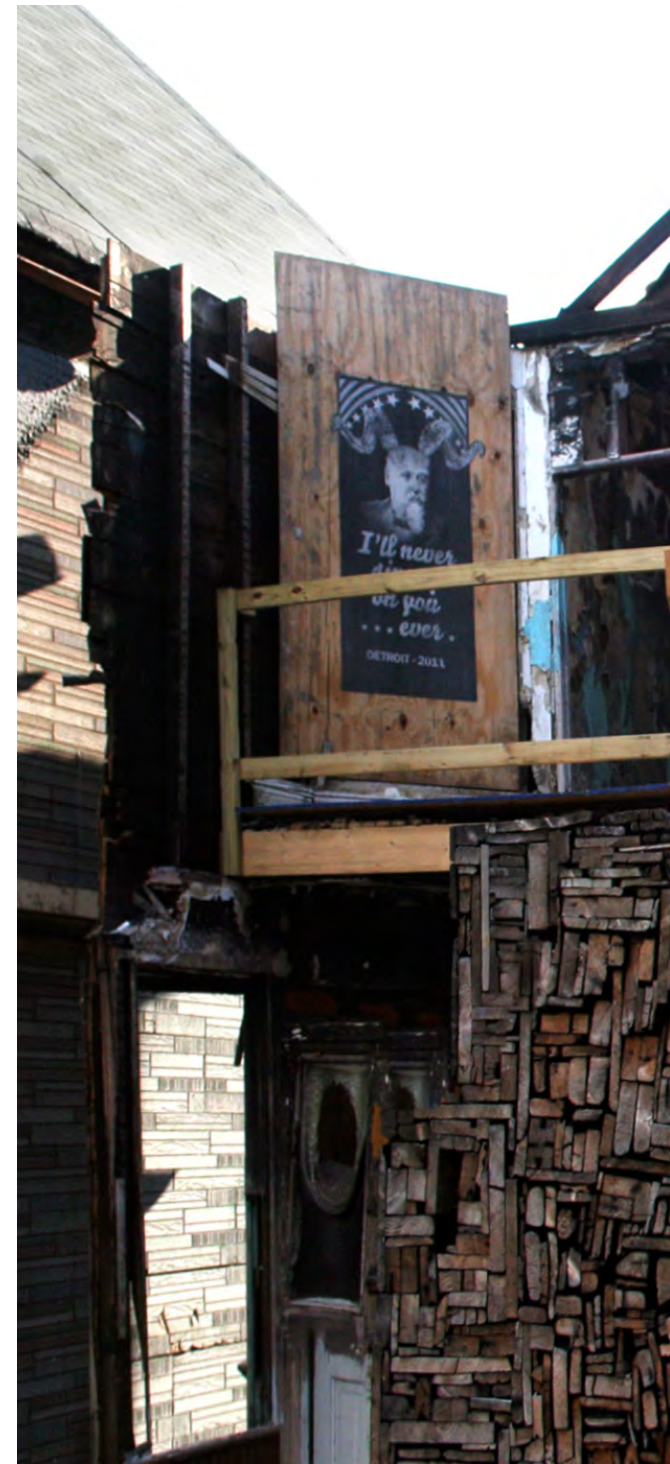
Josh McManus²³²

Things like [the fires] happen in Detroit. The neighbourhood doesn't rally around to stop it. They just do their thing, not wanting to go digging into some hornet's nest.

Jerry Paffendorf²³³

Founded in the mid-2000s by Jerry Paffendorf, the Imagination Station was comprised of two nineteenth century houses in Corktown, known as Righty and Lefty, next to the vacated Roosevelt Hotel and facing the Michigan Central Station on Roosevelt Park.

Having relocated from Silicon Valley to Detroit, Paffendorf and his friends bought the houses and an adjacent vacant lot for \$6,000 with the intention of running a performance venue from one of the houses, and operating a tech start-up and headquarters for the Imagination Station from the other. Collaborations with local and foreign artists and collectives, such as Montréal's Dare-Dare Collective, saw the two houses and their adjacent lands transformed into an open air venue for everything from community barbecues to dance parties and film screenings. Of the two houses, Lefty, the house between Righty and the Roosevelt Hotel, was the worse for wear, and Paffendorf and his crew completed a strategic demolition of much of the rear of the building, previously damaged by fire, rebuilding the ground floor on the existing foundation to accommodate a large stage. From the burned scraps of the house, artist Catie Newell created *Salvaged Landscape*, an inhabitable cube of wooden strips, cut clean and flush at the exterior, with a charred interior of various lengths creating a dark passageway through the art work. The artist described the piece, which was the first stage in a process that would have deconstructed the entirety of Lefty down to the performance stage and the artwork:





Irreversible, transformed, and impaired - the material and spatial qualities of a house are dramatically altered with the introduction of fire. Severely damaged and unsafe, the house at 2230 14th Street necessitated a deconstruction. Framed by the setting and pace of demolition, *Salvaged Landscape* appropriates the charred wood from an arsoned [sic] house to create spatial adjustments which uncover the material qualities reliant on flame to exist.²³⁴

A miniature golf course was constructed on the vacant property beginning in 2011. In collaboration with Lawrence Technical College, the Urban Putt-Putt (also known as the Roosevelt Par) was largely completed in 2012 and featured seventeen holes of free mini golf to whomever brought with them balls and a putter. Sculpture punctuated each hole in the course, made from salvaged and new materials woven around the Imagination Station property. In 2012, both Righty and Lefty were torched by an arsonist, with both suffering heavy damage. Lefty was ultimately demolished, as even the new stage was destroyed in the fire, while an enormous hole was burned through the roof of Righty. Days after the fire, Paffendorf et al. painted the words ‘It’s Okay!’ in giant pink letters across the south wall of the scorched house. Not long after, the miniature golf course mysteriously disappeared.

Figure 4.34: (p. 262-263)

The Imagination Station, 2011. Catie Newell’s *Salvaged Landscape* sits below the balcony of Lefty.

Figure 4.35: (opposite top left)

The Imagination Station: Lefty and Righty, 2011. Founder Jerry Paffendorf is walking between the two houses.

Figure 4.36: (opposite top right)

The Imagination Station following the fire, 2012. Lefty has been nearly completely destroyed and has since been demolished, while Righty has been badly damaged.

Figure 4.37: (opposite bottom left)

Salvaged Landscape on the stage of Lefty, 2011.

Figure 4.38: (opposite bottom right)

Righty following the fire, 2012.

Figure 4.39: (p. 266)

Artwork and installations at the Imagination Station:

(left) Detail of *Salvaged Landscape* by Catie Newell, 2011

(top right) The *Urban Putt-Putt* by Steve Coy and his students, 2012.

(bottom right) Detail of the *Urban Putt-Putt*, 2012.

Figure 4.40: (p. 267)

Artwork at the Imagination Station:

(top left) Graffiti by unknown artists, 2012.

(top right) Interior mural in Lefty, 2011.

(bottom left & right) Detail of a mural by artist Jason Botkin of the Dare-Dare Collective, in collaboration with fel3000ft, Sintex, Mike Han, & Chris Carden, Roosevelt Hotel, 2011.

Figure 4.41: (p. 268-269)

The Imagination Station, 2012. The Michigan Central Station and the Roosevelt Book Warehouse can be seen in the background.











New Arcadia

Now a lot of what you see is vacant lots. Most people see only disaster and the end of the world. On the other hand, artists in particular see the potential, the possibility of bringing the country back into the city, which is what we really need.

Grace Lee Boggs²³⁵

We need scarcity. We can't create opportunities, but we can create scarcity...[that] is how I got onto this idea of the farm.

John Hantz²³⁶

The growing amount of open space in Detroit, now estimated at over one hundred square kilometers presents a set of unique challenges and opportunities.²³⁷ Given the vast amount of land previously devoted to single family homes, and the continuous unbuilding of these structures over fifty years, most open space is post-residential. The properties may contain remnant foundations, or the concrete pads of driveways and garages, but a great many are dense thickets of trees, grasses and brush, often covering entire city blocks. Other properties are missing pieces of the gridiron, once a market or a machine shop. Post-industrial sites are the most challenging and often come saddled with collapsing buildings and contaminated soil. In all places, nature is reasserting its dominance over the man made environment: Trees sprouts from the rooftops of factories and shops and even from the faces of buildings. Collapsed roofs are overtaken by spontaneous courtyards of pioneer species that take root within the brick walls of empty warehouses, and colonies of Monarch butterflies migrate through old train corridors lined with wild milkweed, thistles, and golden rod.

Elsewhere in the city, vacant land is being put into productive use. Detroit has been called a food desert, and today there are no major grocery stores within the city limits, save for a small Whole Foods in Midtown. A number of small neighbourhood markets selling fresh produce, meats, and dairy are scattered throughout the city and the Eastern Market,

Figure 4.42:
Keller Street in Delray, 2014.



near Gratiot Avenue and the Chrysler Freeway, operates several markets each week. For many stranded in Detroit's far-flung bereft neighbourhoods, the situation remains dire, as the combination of lack of availability to fresh food and substandard income levels leave many residents with few options beyond processed food bought from a party store or a chain restaurant.

To counter this problem, a number of groups and organizations have arisen, in distinct parts of the city. Some, such as the farm program at the Catherine Ferguson Academy for Young Women, operate through the school system on the initiative of people like teacher/farmer Paul Weertz.²³⁸ Weertz geared the work of the academy particularly towards helping young mothers attain the skills necessary to provide for their children in a city of shrinking resources, as well as providing an education into the basic principles of small scale urban farming, including the raising of livestock.²³⁹ Initially, the academy battled for its continued existence while under the aegis of the troubled Detroit Public School system, and was threatened with closure several times before becoming a charter school in 2012. It was finally closed in the summer of 2014, following a period of declining enrolment and the inability of many students to afford the increased fees that came with charter status. Recently, the DPS has made public its intention to open another charter school with a similar mandate.²⁴⁰

Many of the non scholastic groups collaborate with each other on larger projects, allowing them to fund soup kitchens, homeless shelters, and food banks with fresh produce, chickens, eggs, and dairy. This cooperative dynamic is essential to the success, and indeed each project, whether in individual or organizational collaboration uses this model. Like Heidelberg, it is a method of empowerment and involvement. Several medium sized farms have been created in Detroit, and even more community gardens are being established, with over 900 such properties currently being farmed. The Detroit Agricultural Network was established in order to advance the interests of urban farmers in the city, and to counter what had often been considerable resistance from city hall and to challenge state regulations that have been slow to modernize. Recently, legislation was passed that has allowed Detroit to draft its own legislation pertaining to farming in the city, which has cleared the way for a more intensive strategy.²⁴¹ Typically, urban farming initiatives have been almost entirely pursued by the citizenry, however the city has also continued a long

Figure 4.43: (opposite top left)
Vermont Street Community Garden in Briggs/
Rosa Parks, 2012.

Figure 4.44: (opposite top right)
Tree planting in North Corktown by the
Greening of Detroit, 2012.

Figure 4.45: (opposite bottom left)
Pavilion by Andrew Zago at the Greening of
Detroit Park, 2012.

Figure 4.46: (opposite bottom right)
Greenhouse at the D-Town Farm, 2011.



standing policy of offering homeowners the option vacant lots next to their own for a substantially reduced price, between \$200-\$500, provided that the lot is maintained. This has led to many residents not only doubling the size of their property, but also allowing for a substantial garden. The policy has roots in the late nineteenth century, when the city Detroit, led by mayor Hazen Pingree, began a program of offering up parkland and encouraging owners to donate vacant lots for the establishment of farmland. The 1890s had seen economic hardship in Detroit and these vegetable gardens, which became known as ‘Pingree’s Potato Patches’, supplied food to nearly half of the families in need of assistance, and were planted and tended to by the city’s unemployed.²⁴²

Earthworks Farm, run as part of the Capuchin Soup Kitchen, and D-Town Farms are the two most substantial agricultural operations in Detroit right now, joined recently by a fledging community of shipping container homes built around a farming collective. The former two farms have been involved in both community outreach and education and have encouraged the growth of smaller scale projects around the city. The latter is the work of the Michigan Urban Farming Initiative, which will begin with a demonstration project, a single container home, designed in collaboration with the University of Michigan and with a grant from General Motors.²⁴³ Students will have the opportunity to live, farm, and conduct research into the growing urban agriculture movement, and the farm itself is envisioned as a means of community engagement and socioeconomic empowerment,²⁴⁴ echoing the sentiments of many in the community, best expressed by Detroit Free Press writer John Gallagher in his recent book *Revolution Detroit*:

Enthusiasts for the urban agriculture movement try to build communities, using small plots of land as rallying points. They bring people together at these gardens to celebrate their neighbourhoods, to clean up a blighted lot, to dispel drug dealers from the street corner, to welcome immigrants to America, or to shelter battered women within a productive enterprise.²⁴⁵

Embracing the potential of Detroit’s vacant landscape has not been limited to agricultural production. The Greening of Detroit is a local non-profit established in 1989, which, in addition to promoting urban agriculture, has planted tens of thousands of trees across the

Figure 4.47: (opposite top)

Mayor Hazen S. Pingree operating a plow during the ground breaking for Grand Boulevard, 1891.

Figure 4.48: (opposite bottom)

A Thrift Garden in Detroit, circa 1931. Inspired by Pingree’s Potato Patches, Mayor Frank Murphy encouraged the farming of vacant land throughout the city during the Great Depression.

Figure 4.49: (276-277)

The Hantz Woodlands properties in Foch, the East Village, and Kettering. Chrysler’s Conner Creek plant is immediately to the east of the Woodlands.

Figure 4.50: (p. 278-279)

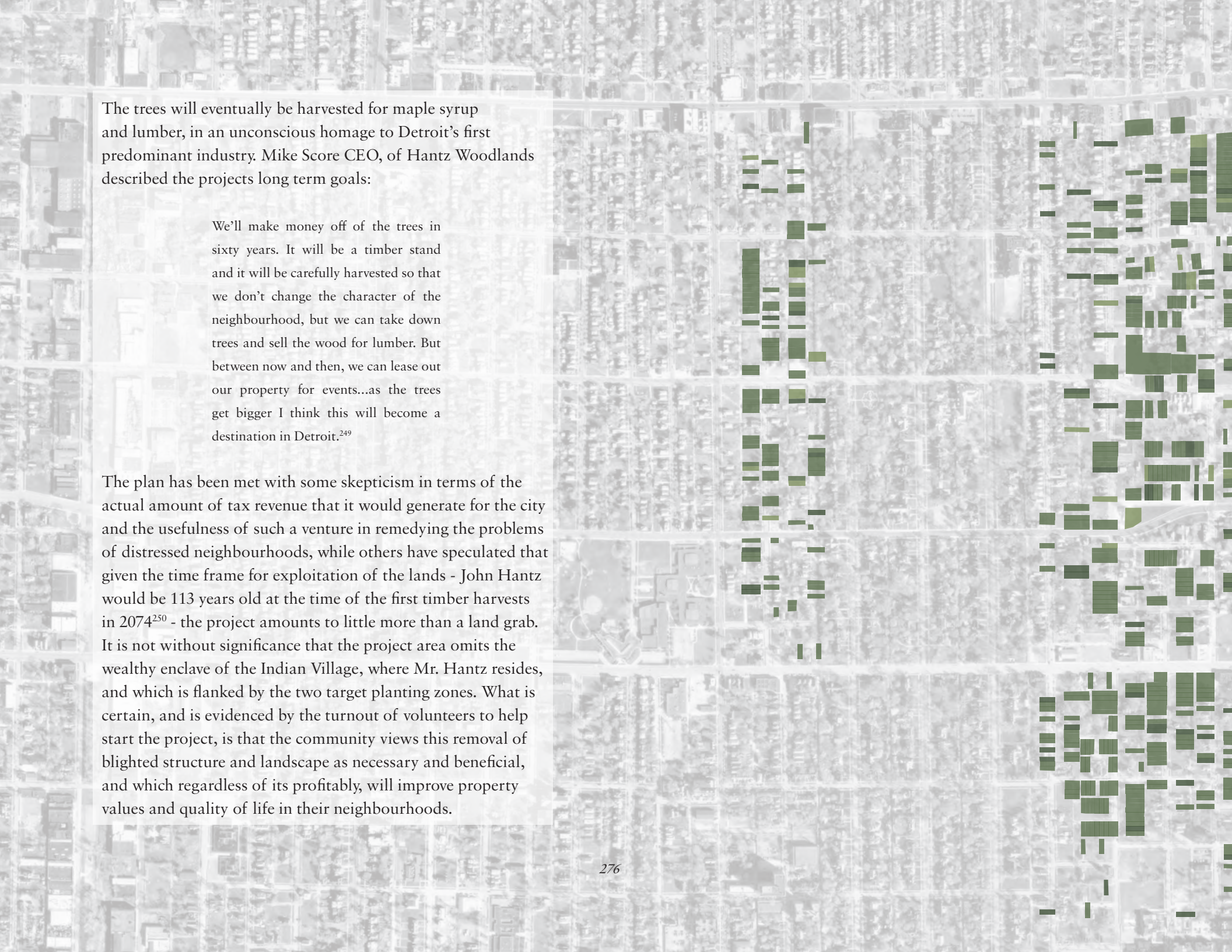
Aerial view of Detroit, circa 2005.



city. The planting sites are maintained by the Green Corps, a youth employment program. The foundation has redeveloped several parks and created a new green space known as the Greening of Detroit Park, which continues the greenbelt established by Lafayette Plaisance and Lafayette Central Park south to East Jefferson Avenue and contains a public art piece by Andrew Zago.²⁴⁶

There are some who have sought a more market-driven use for Detroit's growing wilderness. Millionaire stockbroker and Indian Village resident, John Hantz recently succeeded in establishing the first plantings of the Hantz Woodlands in eastern Detroit. Located within a nearly 900 acre area composed of the Foch and East Village neighbourhoods and a portion of Kettering, the project "plans to transform urban wastelands into working, commercial farms through partnerships with progressive scientists, and the use of biofuels and windmill power,"²⁴⁷ beginning the process with the planting of a tree farm. Deploying over 1,000 volunteers, the company planted the first 15,000 oak trees and 5,000 sugar maples across a small portion of the total project area, which will eventually comprise more than 150 acres of property acquired from the city in 2013 and will involve the demolition of at least fifty structures.²⁴⁸



An aerial photograph of a city grid, likely Detroit, with numerous green rectangular overlays of varying sizes and orientations scattered across the landscape. These overlays represent planting zones for a project. The background is a grayscale aerial view showing streets, buildings, and vegetation.

The trees will eventually be harvested for maple syrup and lumber, in an unconscious homage to Detroit's first predominant industry. Mike Score CEO, of Hantz Woodlands described the projects long term goals:

We'll make money off of the trees in sixty years. It will be a timber stand and it will be carefully harvested so that we don't change the character of the neighbourhood, but we can take down trees and sell the wood for lumber. But between now and then, we can lease out our property for events...as the trees get bigger I think this will become a destination in Detroit.²⁴⁹

The plan has been met with some skepticism in terms of the actual amount of tax revenue that it would generate for the city and the usefulness of such a venture in remedying the problems of distressed neighbourhoods, while others have speculated that given the time frame for exploitation of the lands - John Hantz would be 113 years old at the time of the first timber harvests in 2074²⁵⁰ - the project amounts to little more than a land grab. It is not without significance that the project area omits the wealthy enclave of the Indian Village, where Mr. Hantz resides, and which is flanked by the two target planting zones. What is certain, and is evidenced by the turnout of volunteers to help start the project, is that the community views this removal of blighted structure and landscape as necessary and beneficial, and which regardless of its profitability, will improve property values and quality of life in their neighbourhoods.







V

DELTA CITY





America is neither dream nor reality. It is hyperreality. It is a hyperreality because it is a utopia that has behaved from the very beginning as though it were already achieved.

Jean Baudrillard²⁵¹

History is more or less bunk. Its tradition. We want to live in the present, and the only history that is worth a tinker's damn is the history we make today.

Henry Ford²⁵²

The Delta City is a total construction. It is not the result of the slow, deliberate cultural movements that give birth to and then continuously redefine the metropolis. It is an overnight city, a singular work of design. Its scale is colossal. It has an agenda and a manifesto; it has a champion and perhaps a saviour. At some point in history, the American Dream decoupled itself from the pursuit and liberty and democracy and attached its star to the accumulation of riches. The Delta City is the city of that dream. The country feels that it is composed, as has been often said, of the rich and the soon to be rich. But, of course, social mobility is ever more difficult for the average citizen to attain, as Thomas Sugrue has noted, “the fate of the city is the consequence of the unequal distribution of power and resources.”²⁵³ Nowhere is this more prevalent in Detroit, where all of the darkest moments of the American Dream have played out in street battles and urban crises, fires, demolitions, and myriad other convulsions. This is the American Dream present in the Delta City, the sublime city of global finance: a city built over a finely grated floor, through which droplets of wealth may fall, to be caught by those lucky enough to have been passing below at just the right time.

In Dutch director Paul Verhoeven's 1987 film, *RoboCop*, a cyborg cop fights a corrupt corporation in a near-future dystopian Detroit. The inner city, called Old Detroit, is to be cleared away by the corporation and rebuilt as the Delta City (The Future has a Silver Lining reads the slogan), a towering mass of skyscrapers clustered over the heart of the city, with a thin wasteland beyond, a Broadacre City devoid of nature. Detroit was

Figure 5.0: (p. 280-281)
Montage.

the obvious choice for the setting of this film, capitalizing as it did on the city's 1980s reputation as the Murder City, where crime was so out of control that the police had to be reimagined as bullet-proof half machines. What was less central to the film, though ultimately provided the impetus for the construction of the eponymous cyborg, was the Delta City itself. The scale model shows up here and there and in many scenes of the crime ridden disabitato, posters advertising the new city appear in the background, but it remains a vague vision articulated by one old, white man. The CEO, speaking of the need to remake the city, could have easily been writing copy for *NBC News* or *The New York Times* in the late 1980s and early 1990s:

...we [soon] begin construction of Delta City where Old Detroit now stands. Old Detroit has a cancer. That cancer is crime, and it must be cut out before we begin to employ the two million workers that will breath life into this city again...I think it's time we gave something back.²⁵⁴

There is no Old Detroit such as envisioned by Verhoeven. Some bad neighbourhoods exist, some violence exists, but as the population shrinks further and further, Detroit has been pacified of its worst tendencies in this regard. Drugs, crime, and violence remain, for it would not be a major city without these things, but it needs no *RoboCop*. What remains to be seen is what type of Delta City will be built on the grounds of the old city, now that Detroit has been bankrupted, foreclosed upon, evicted, its water turned off, and the lights turned out. The Omnicorp of modern Detroit is not a single entity, but rather a corporate hydra, and with a for sale sign on so much of the city, unprecedented opportunities await those with the capital and the duress to reshape it.

Billionaires & Saviours

There is some egregious cheerleading in this town, on the part of people saying we can't cover downtown development or developers in a critical way - I mean that in the sense of critical thinking - without upsetting the apple cart. Detroit has had, I think, a saviour complex for a long time.

Jeff Wattrick²⁵⁵

While not an unfamiliar phenomenon in Detroit, which has been shaped and controlled by the wealthy for most of its history, the city that has emerged from bankruptcy is arguably more than ever, being handed over wholesale to some of its most affluent citizens and influential corporate actors. Earlier magnates had been involved in projects that resulted in large scale developments that changed the face of Detroit, though they would pale in comparison to the ability of the current oligarchy to exert control over the form of the post-metropolis.

The development of the Renaissance Centre was one of the first examples (Lafayette Park notwithstanding) where the ability of a wealthy and influential member of Detroit's elite to rework massive portions of the city became clear. From this starting point, the city has embraced ever more projects that saw previously industrial or residential property now in surplus, transformed, in theory, into a productive state. While many of these projects have been sites of entertainment that have involved modest property clearance, such as the casinos or the Joe Louis Arena, others have been developments on a massive scale, requiring years of land acquisition and government subsidy, and most often executed at the behest of a powerful few. Some of these actors are now historical figures, while others continue to exert their influence over Detroit and its future. Earlier developments were financed largely with private capital, and while some prominent investors of today have continued this trend, a growing number of projects are being financed with public money, funds that seem to have become untethered from the realities and needs of Detroit's struggling neighbourhoods.²⁵⁶

Figure 5.1:

A view of the Delta City from *Robocop*, 1987.



The Mayor

Nobody does something for nothing. No such thing as a free lunch. people come together in coalition because they think it is to their personal advantage, and to the degree that their personal direction and aspiration merge with that of the others in the coalition, they will move forward.

Coleman A. Young²⁵⁷

No single person other than Henry Ford has had so significant an impact on the city of Detroit as Coleman Albert Young, the 66th and longest-serving mayor of Detroit. Born in Alabama, Young migrated with his family to Detroit at a young age and grew up in Black Bottom. He fought in the Second World War as a member of the Tuskegee Airmen, and upon his return was active in the United Automobile Workers, fighting for desegregation amongst its ranks, as well as with the National Negro Congress and the NAACP. This latter activism caused Young to be called before the House Committee on Un-American Activities, Wisconsin Senator Joseph McCarthy's communist witch hunt, where he made headlines denouncing the actions of the committee itself as un-American.²⁵⁸

Two years after the rebellion of 1967, then mayor Jerome Cavanagh declined to seek reelection and was succeeded by Roman Gribbs, a former Wayne County Sheriff. Gribbs declined a second term as well, and the 1974 mayoral election was a choice between two polarizing figures, new to city politics: Coleman Young, the outspoken black civil rights activist and community organizer, and John Nichols, the white commissioner of the Detroit Police Department. The election brought national attention to the city and was hard fought, with Detroiters and other supporters tending to fall in behind candidates along racial lines. When the vote was tallied, Young emerged the winner, but the results pointed to a growing and disturbing trend in Detroit, as Young lost every precinct where whites were in majority, and Nichols followed suit in black voting districts.²⁵⁹ The role and procedures of the police department had been a dominant theme in the mayoral race, with Young vowing to immediately end the enforcement program known as S.T.R.E.S.S. (Stop

Figure 5.2:
Mayor Coleman Albert Young.



the Robberies, Enjoy Safe Streets), which saw undercover white police officers enter some of the more troubled black neighbourhoods as a means of inciting a robbery or mugging, after which the offending participants, nearly always black, would be arrested by police officers lying in wait. Often, this set-up would end with the shooting death of the would-be thief. Young also promised that his first order of business, should he be elected would be to relieve his mayoral opponent of his role as head of the DPD.²⁶⁰

Young's victory speech was a call for unity amongst the city's different ethnic groups, the elucidation of the hope that Detroit could at long last move past its historical prejudices and confront the problems of the late-modern metropolis together. He also spoke to any and all that would seek to destroy the fragile peace that he had fought for:

I issue a warning now to all those pushers, to all rip-off artists, to all muggers: It's time to leave Detroit; hit 8-Mile Road! And I don't give a damn if they are black or white, or if they wear Superfly suits or blue uniforms with silver badges. Hit the road.²⁶¹

Young was true to his word, replacing the chief and commissioner, and instigating an affirmative action program within the police force that saw the DPD hire many black officers over the next fifteen years. By 1990, in a city with a black population numbering nearly eighty-five percent, black officers accounted for over half of the DPD forces.

Young declined to seek a sixth term in office and passed away a few years after leaving the mayoralty in 1994. He had presided over the most difficult chapters of Detroit's history, when population loss and economic disinvestment ravaged the city, seemingly without end, and in spite of the many initiatives that the Mayor launched to slow the bleeding. Young was responsible for or involved in an incredible amount of building projects during his tenure: The Cobo Hall expansion project, the RenCen, Hart Plaza, the Millender Centre, the People Mover, the Brewery Park plaza (which replaced the Stroh's Brewery Complex), Joe Louis Arena, the Victoria Park subdivision, Riverfront Apartments, the GM assembly plant in Detroit and Hamtramck, the I-94 Industrial Park, Chrysler's Conner Creek expansion, and numerous others. The Mayor preferred to build rather than

unbuild, and seemed to be less concerned about blighted neighbourhoods than he was about lobbying Washington for more money to go into downtown projects. Young would argue that it was all about saving existing jobs or creating new ones. To that end, he was often seen as far too liberal with public money, spending over \$195 million to acquire and bank land around the Chrysler Plant alone, as well as condemning 1,000 homes in the area to clear the way for the expansion. The move was expected to save 4,000 jobs, for a cost of about \$50,000 per employee.²⁶²

He is still widely loved in Detroit, though his legacy in the hostile suburbs, as he called them, is more complex. He sought for greater regional cooperation so that the problems that Detroit faced could be mitigated, or at least contained, yet he never shied away from a fight when one was brought to him. He accused the suburbs of willfully ignoring or even exacerbating Detroit's troubles and also saw clear evidence of racism in his dealings with many of his fellow mayors in the Metro. He was a long time Democrat, but would endorse any politician, regardless of their party affiliation, based on his opinions of the quality of their urban policy. He never stopped fighting for the city, and was by far the most outspoken and bellicose mayor the city had ever seen, even as mounting death threats forced police to chauffeur him around Detroit in a bulletproof Cadillac limousine. Prior to the election of Ronald Reagan, whom the Mayor referred to as "President Pruneface,"²⁶³ Young had worked successfully with the administrations of both Gerald Ford and Jimmy Carter, and had lobbied Washington for hundreds of millions of development dollars for the Motor City, without which it may have been totally lost.

Figure 5.3:
Coleman Young in a meeting with President Jimmy Carter.



Hank the Deuce & the Renaissance City²⁶⁴

There was a freshness and charm about Henry Ford II. By the 1950s, he and his purposeful wife were shining examples of the best that inherited wealth can produce: they were dedicated to the production of more wealth, to its enjoyment, but aware and sensitive, never losing sight of their duties to their fellow man.

Robert Lacey²⁶⁵

While Jimmy Carter dollars continued to stream into the city...we also began to reap the benefits of the Renaissance Centre. Within four years of its completion, property value increased by three hundred percent along the riverfront. It was a vital improvement because the riverfront had become a regional disgrace. Unquestionably, the Renaissance Centre was the inspiration that renewed the city.

Coleman A. Young²⁶⁶

Henry Ford II was born in Detroit, the son of Edsel and grandson of Henry Ford, the founder of the automotive giant that had given the Motor City its name. He was chairman of the Ford Motor Company during the last great years of the American automobile industry and no stranger to city building. Following many years of planning for the future of the riverfront, which envisioned a continuous landscaped connection between what is now Hart Plaza in the central waterfront beyond Belle Isle Park to the Grosse Pointes east of the city, the Detroit Renaissance committee was formed to finalize and implement the strategy. The meeting that produced the redevelopment organization was convened between Henry Ford II, investor Max Fisher, developer and philanthropist Alfred Taubman, Mayor Roman Gribbs, and Governor William Milliken, as well as other corporate executives from Detroit based concerns. For years, the shoreline of the city had been losing industries, with little development stepping in to take their place:

Figure 5.4:

Henry Ford II with a model of the Renaissance Centre. The building is under construction in the background.



The exodus from the riverfront eventually left the city with miles of shoreline blighted by dilapidated buildings, rusted tracks, and vacant, littered lots. Front door to the city for two centuries, the Detroit River now staked out Detroit's backyard.²⁶⁷

Detroit Renaissance sought resolve this situation with public infrastructure and private development. Construction of the Renaissance Centre, an office, event, and hotel complex known locally as the RenCen, broke ground in 1973, financed by a group of banks with which the primary partners behind the development had pre-existing corporate ties. The Ford Motor Company itself fronted nearly a third of the proposed project cost for a building architect John Portman described as a “total environment - a mixed-use urban village” in which all the activities of daily life could be accommodated.²⁶⁸ During the mid 1970s, Ford formed a partnership with Mayor Young and Fisher, with the goal of convincing the federal government to invest in the Detroit Renaissance program, with his yet unfinished tower complex as its centrepiece. Towards the end of the highway building explosion in the city, Ford had also been pressing the federal government to provide more funds for public transit, having seen the effect of reckless neighbourhood clearance on the stability of Motown.²⁶⁹

The three were reasonably successful, acquiring money for a number of projects which today comprise the Detroit RiverWalk, as well as \$600 million for a Detroit subway that went unspent. Based on current subway building costs and adjusted for inflation, the federal investment alone would have financed a system ten kilometers in length, double that of the People Mover.²⁷⁰

When the RenCen, at the time also known as the Spirit of Detroit, was finally completed in 1977, Ford had committed more than \$300 million to the hugely over-budget project, relocated nearly 2,000 employees from Dearborn to take up office in the towers, and had brought a consortium of 51 private investors to the table. Coleman Young described the feat as unprecedented.²⁷¹ The early fortunes of the complex were bleak and Ford quickly tried with limited success to rally more investors to buy in to the complex in 1983, which by then had defaulted on its loans twice. The Renaissance Centre had failed to turn a profit from its very opening, which made the prospect unappealing to most.

The foreboding, Brutalist atmosphere and artificial interior environment also kept the public away, and the desire for a thriving retail complex in the tower base failed to materialize. Darden, et al. describe the experience of being pedestrian in the new complex in *Race and Uneven Development*:

...the RenCen says it wants to stand alone. The RenCen poses a barrier to all pedestrian movement except for the people inside, who meander through a mazelike, high-security environment that attempts to emulate elite streets: North Michigan Avenue, Rodeo Drive, Fifth Avenue. But in substituting the suburban enclave for the urban street, the megastructured city actually reduces the amenities offered by public places.²⁷²

A editorial in the *Saturday Review* was even more critical, writing in the year that the RenCen opened that it was a “fortress for whites to work in while the city goes to hell around them.”²⁷³ It also introduced a glut of office space into a market that was already losing tenants, precipitating an exodus from the older buildings of the city core into its modern facilities. With so much space available, an estimated increase of more than twenty-seven percent in the core, even those lured away from other offices could not fill the towers.²⁷⁴ Ford had dreamed that the RenCen would generate a boom in Detroit’s downtown economy and had risked a considerable amount of his company’s resources funding that dream, however the cumulative affects of the city’s hastening population decline were impossible for one building to remedy, no matter how ambitious. The hoped-for corporate relocation to Detroit did not materialize and the building struggled financially throughout the rest of the eighties, despite completion of the second phase of the project and the construction of an adjacent structure, the Millender Centre - a residential, retail, and hotel complex along the People Mover route with an enclosed bridge spanning Jefferson Avenue, connecting the RenCen with the city centre.²⁷⁵ A spokesman for mayor Coleman Young recalled the project favourably, stating:

Figure 5.5:

The recently completed Renaissance Centre as the backdrop for a Lincoln advertisement, 1977.



Give me two million square feet of office space; give me a 73-storey hotel with 1,500 rooms; give me a total of \$400 million of private sector investment in place-and I'll take it any day, complaints, criticisms, and all.²⁷⁶

General Motors purchased the complex in the 1996 for \$626 million and moved their headquarters from what is now Cadillac Place in the New Centre neighbourhood.²⁷⁷ Henry Ford II had died nearly a decade earlier, and the property was then owned by a consortium of many of the initial investors, including the Ford Motor Company's real estate arm. GM proceeded to rework the building, spending another \$500 million on renovations to the stark and largely windowless ground floor, adding a glassy entrance on Jefferson and a large atrium on the south face of the building with a new plaza and promenade along the Detroit Riverwalk.²⁷⁸ The latest developments at the RenCen have been a part of the ongoing resurgence of the downtown core and riverfront, and the complex now has a relatively healthy tenancy base, in addition to operating retail shops, movie theatres, and convention spaces. The new plaza forms a portion of the growing series of continuous public parks, plazas, and pedestrian paths that stretches from the Ambassador Bridge to Gabriel Richard Park, east of the MacArthur Bridge to Belle Isle. The RiverWalk, as it officially known, is a growing attraction for the city, with Hart Plaza as its centrepiece at the foot of Woodward Avenue. Long stretches of the RiverWalk are little more than a wide concrete path running alongside parking lots and empty post-industrial lands, and the system remains discontinuous, ending unceremoniously at the train yards below the Ambassador Bridge. Nevertheless, new developments such as the conversion of the Globe Trading Company/Detroit Dry Docks building into an outdoor adventure centre and the ongoing reclamation of the UniRoyal brownfield site for a public park are providing more ways for Detroiters to access the waterfront across an expanse of land previously available only to industry. The younger Ford's vision for a revitalized water front seems to be moving ever closer to completion, with various residential projects linked to the RiverWalk being realized between Rivertown and Belle Isle. Mariners Park, an established green space on the border with Grosse Point Park, is a suitable eastern terminus for the RiverWalk²⁷⁹, though the western leg is a more difficult proposition. Combined with the fact that the Detroit

border traces inland northwards from the Rouge River, much of the shoreline on the Detroit River west of the Ambassador Bridge are port lands, city infrastructure, and some rather heavy industrial activity. Many of these lands are also the property of corporations or industrialists with a far different vision for the city than its citizens or its leadership.



Figure 5.6: (left)
The Renaissance Centre with the Millender Centre and the People Mover in the foreground, 2012.

Figure 5.7: (opposite left)
East entrance to the Renaissance Centre off Jefferson Avenue, 2011.

Figure 5.8: (opposite right)
The interior show rooms of the Renaissance Centre, 2012.

Figure 5.9: (overleaf)
Work continues east of the RenCen at the Uniroyal brownfield site, part of the Detroit Riverwalk, 2012. The small generators are hung from a crane to prevent theft.







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Poletown

Ford, when I was there, General Motors, Chrysler...we would pit Ohio versus Michigan. We'd pit Canada versus the U.S. We'd get outright grants and subsidies in Spain, in Mexico, in Brazil - all kinds of grants. With my former employer (Ford), one of the last things I did was, on threat of losing 2,000 jobs in Windsor, I got \$73 million outright to convert an engine plant...I've great experience in this. I have played Spain versus France and England so long I'm tired of it, and I have played the states against each other here...you could give a litany of these kinds of things.

Lee Iacocca²⁸⁰

Whether the naysayers will admit it or not, goddamnit, Poletown and Chrysler-Jefferson reinvented Detroit.

Coleman A. Young²⁸¹

Poletown was a neighbourhood on the near east side of Detroit, south of and partially in Hamtramck. As the name suggests, it was an historically Polish immigrant neighbourhood, with settlement beginning in the early 1880s. A dense gridiron neighbourhood with deep, narrow lots and alleys running parallel to the street grid, Poletown was a typical of inner city communities in Detroit during the early twentieth century, and was most famous for its meticulously kept homes and authentic Polish shops. Poletown over the years had experienced the same events and transformations that had traumatized Detroit in the modern period: The southern portion of neighbourhood was condemned and demolished for Interstate 94 and following the riots of 1967, though it was remarkably spared from arson and looting, it experienced a notable decline in population. On this last point, Poletown fared better than most Detroit neighbourhoods, partially because it had maintained its unique cultural identity and partially because the community was close to the Dodge Main, where many residents had worked over the years.²⁸² When Dodge announced in 1980 that the factory would be closing, laying off 3,000, protests were staged

Figure 5.10: (opposite top left)

Poletown and the Dodge Main plant, 1949. The neighbourhood is fully intact.

Figure 5.11: (opposite right)

The intersection of Chene Street and Milwaukee Avenue, 1982. The northwest corner of the GM Hamtramck Assembly plant now occupies this location.

Figure 5.12: (opposite bottom left)

Poletown and the Dodge Main plant, 1956. Neighbourhood clearance for the I-94 is underway.



in Hamtramck. A plan was drawn up to convert the factory into a prison, but that was soon abandoned for a new Cadillac plant, announced 1980 by General Motors CEO Thomas Murphy and Mayor Coleman Young. It was welcome news.

Detroit had lost numerous production facilities in recent years: UniRoyal closed, laying off 5,000; Parke-Davis Pharmaceuticals closed its Detroit plant, laying off 2,000; and Hudson's Department Store and Stroh's Brewery were about to close as well.²⁸³ Reaganomics had abandoned a cohesive federal urban policy, leaving the responsibility to states and municipalities, and had accelerated the process of disinvestment in Detroit which could not match the federal government when it came to funding for urban development, and which was often hampered by political differences between the state and the common council. Reagan much preferred handing away the keys to the city to Wall Street and letting the market sort things out, which put cities like Detroit in an increasingly desperate situation. Over 100,000 jobs were estimated to have been lost in the Metro in just four years beginning in 1979.²⁸⁴

Part of a modernization strategy in which GM built several identical factories that made extensive use of automation technologies, the new Detroit plant was to be located on the site of the Dodge Main and the northern third of Poletown. GM wasted no time forcing the city into acquiescing to its demands for tax abatements and a strict schedule for clearing the site, lest they leave and build the plant in an open field in Indiana. In order to finance the project, Coleman Young froze union wages at the city, issued \$100 million worth of bonds and increased the municipal sales tax to the maximum allowed by state law. It was then that the battle for Poletown began.²⁸⁵ The neighbourhood was about fifty percent black, largely young families living in rental properties, while much of the Polish population were elderly and lived in single detached homes or above shops that they had owned for years. Many were worried about their future in the city, should they be forced to leave. The Poletown Neighbourhood Council was formed and began a letter writing campaign to try to stop the expropriations. As the resistance to GM's plant grew, city councilor Ken Cockrel and then later activist and advocate Ralph Nader joined the cause. Increasingly people felt that stronger action was needed to save the neighbourhood. One resident, Teofino Lucerno, recounted the history of his own people's experience with relocation generations earlier, delivering a dire warning to the PNC:

Figure 5.13: (opposite top left)

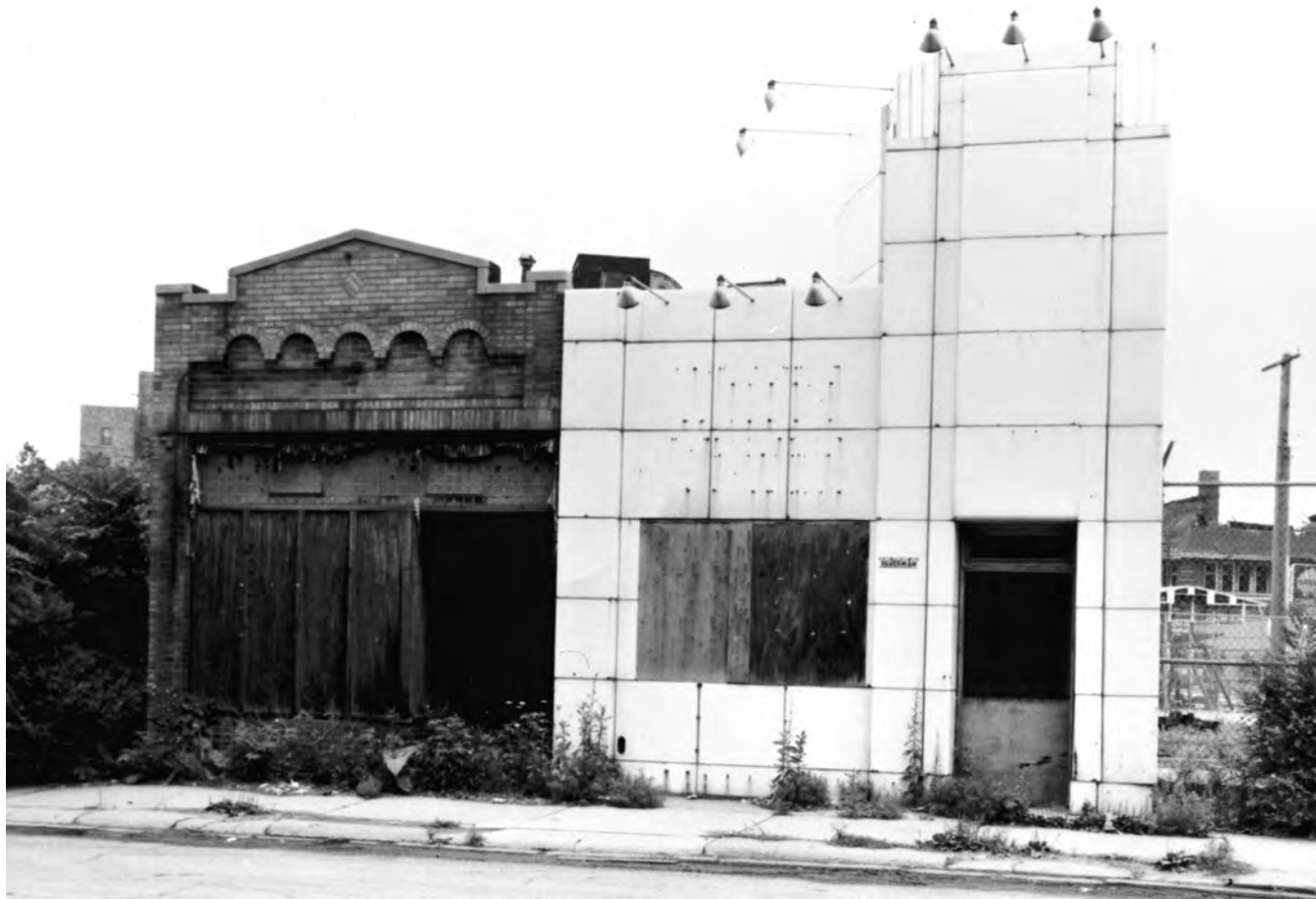
Poletown, 1981. The Dodge Main plant has been demolished and neighbourhood clearance for the new GM plant is underway.

Figure 5.14: (opposite right)

Condemned buildings in Poletown, 1982.

Figure 5.15: (opposite bottom left)

Poletown, 1997. The GM Hamtramck Assembly plant is complete and the community has relocated to the west of the Eastern Market.



People here are facing the same thing that the American Indian faced. We've been relocated ever since the white man came here; our treaties meant nothing to them. And that's just about what our city fathers, GM, the mayor, the lawyers, the judges, and the governor are doing to us now. I said we had to retaliate before they hire the planners, but the residents didn't believe things were going to go through. The old people will never start over again. They'll be put in nursing homes. People here don't want that. They want to live and die here. But what does GM and the city care? Now you know what it's like to be relocated. It's a trail of tears.²⁸⁶

At the same time, GM's plans for the new facility were readied. In an attempt to quell the neighbourhood protests and save the community churches, as well as some of the homes and businesses, the city commissioned architects to propose alternate site plans that would require substantially less land. One church set to be destroyed was Immaculate Conception, the spiritual heart of traditionally Roman Catholic Poletown. Its pastor, Father Joseph Karasiewicz, had been allowing the PNC to meet in the church basement and assisting in efforts to prevent the demolition of the neighbourhood, without the support of his Diocese. GM wouldn't budge though, insisting on a huge surface parking lot rather than a parking garage, nor would they build the testing track off-site, as had been done in urban auto plants since their inception nearly a century earlier. By April of 1981, the churches were to be deconsecrated, to make way for their demolition.²⁸⁷ Meanwhile, at the state legislature, laws were passed to allow municipalities the ability to expeditiously condemn properties through a clause known as the quick take, specifically designed to facilitate the accrual of large parcels of land for industry and redevelopment. Mayor Young quickly announced the demolition of 1,300 houses, 16 churches, 2 schools, a hospital, and 114 small businesses. Thousands of people were to be relocated.²⁸⁸ Resistance continued to grow until the pastor of Immaculate Conception tried to convince the Cardinal Dearden to help him save the church, which was seen as the best line of defense against General Motors' plans. Not only was he refused, he was told he would preach to no further congregations following the demolition of Immaculate Conception. Father Karasiewicz continued in solidarity with the community even after his reprimand, explaining:

Figure 5.16: (opposite top)

Demolition of the Dodge Main automotive plant, 1981.

Figure 5.17: (opposite bottom)

Protestors at the Campus Martius, 1981.



I'm not one to be disobedient. But, every priest will see this: if you're with the people, you are always right. No matter who you go against. No matter what may happen.²⁸⁹

When bulldozers came for the church, people barricaded themselves inside until the DPD SWAT team had to take the building by force. Some residents, including John Saber, the last man to leave Poletown, sued the mayor and guarded their homes with shotguns and rifles as mysterious fires began to occur in the buildings of those who had already accepted the buyout and left.²⁹⁰

In the end, it would not be enough, and by August of 1981, Poletown had been wiped from the map of Detroit. Six months later, the first beams were raised for the giant smart shed that would ultimately be named the GM Hamtramck Assembly Plant. The plant opened in 1985, employing 3,000 people, a full 1,000 less than GM had guaranteed five years before. The early models made in this plant, and General Motors' entire modernization strategy, would form part of what has been described as one of the worst mistakes in U.S. automotive history.

Figure 5.18: (left)

Aerial view of the completed GM Hamtramck Assembly Plant, circa 2013.

Figure 5.19: (opposite top left)

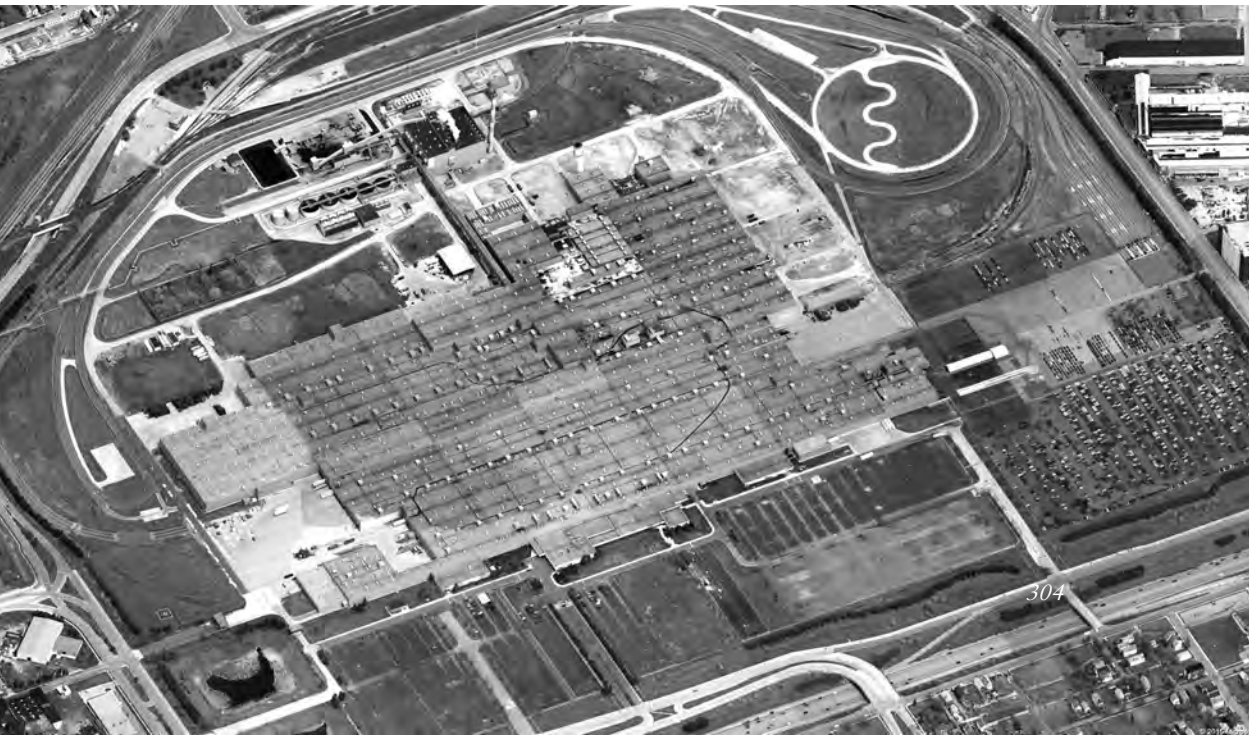
Father Joseph Karasiewicz stands in front of the ruins of Immaculate Conception Church, 1981.

Figure 5.20: (opposite right)

John Saber at of his Kanter Street home, 1981. Saber, who stood armed guard over his property for more than two years, was the last resident to leave Poletown.

Figure 5.21: (opposite bottom left)

Chene Street in Poletown 1982. The neighbourhood has begun to evacuate.





Ilitchville

No two individuals [Ilitch & Gilbert] have made more major investments in the city. The percentage of property in a major urban core owned or controlled by the two is unprecedented in the U.S.

John Mogk²⁹¹

My fear is that all that's going to happen is all the good people who lived through all the bullshit and the crack dealers are going to get kicked out. They talk like it's going to save the city but they did that when Whole Foods opened. It's just a grocery store. This is just going to be a sports stadium and some shops.

Nine²⁹²

Once described by Coleman Young as “dynamic and daring,”²⁹³ Mike Ilitch is the billionaire founder of the Little Caesar’s pizza franchise, as well as the owner of the Detroit Tigers and the Detroit Red Wings, the Motor City Casino, and numerous other properties in the city. After renovating the historic Fox Theatre in the late early 1980s, the pizza chain’s headquarters was moved into the building and the family began to expand their real estate holdings in Detroit. Their properties have been amassed slowly, with existing structures routinely demolished after being allowed to fall into a state of disrepair. In many cases, buildings are torn down at acquisition, as the Ilitch family slowly gather together large swaths of property necessary for construction of new stadia, such as the fields at Comerica Park, the baseball stadium that replaced Corktown’s historic Tiger Stadium.²⁹⁴ It took nearly twenty years and \$50 million to amass their substantial portfolio in the Stadium District, Foxtown, and Midtown neighbourhoods, much of which will now be used as a site for the new new Detroit Red Wings hockey arena.²⁹⁵

The development will occupy forty-five city blocks and is envisioned as far more than simply a sporting megastructure. An entire neighbourhood has been planned around the stadium, which is the central feature of the greater redevelopment of neighbouring

Figure 5.22: (opposite)
Mike Ilitch.

Figure 5.23: (overleaf)
An architectural rendering of the proposed Red Wings arena in Midtown.



Columbia Park and Foxtown, the existing stadium district comprised of Ford Field and Comerica Park, and Cass Park to the west, which, if completed as planned, would link the Motor City Casino to Ilitchville. Containing retail and residential opportunities, and perhaps even the renovation of an existing nineteenth century apartment building, long abandoned, the plan is highly, perhaps foolishly ambitious, and will require massive investment beyond what Ilitch and governments have put forward.

The full realization of the scheme hinges on the success of the stadium, which has already broken ground, and the continued growth of the downtown core. The new LRT line being built down Woodward Avenue will service this district, but there is a staggering amount of work proposed to realize the development. While Detroit currently has very little housing availability in the core, it is more a result of buildings being only partially redeveloped or languishing in disuse to this day because of the refusal of their owners to do anything with them. With people like Dan Gilbert buying up and redeveloping for businesses everything that he can, soon the housing market will have to respond to Detroit's demand for more core-area living. It remains to be seen whether that will take the form of the hockey village envisioned by Ilitch, or whether existing buildings may be redeveloped for residences. Two towers on the Grand Circus, the Whitney Building and the Broderick Tower, were recently renovated and reopened as condominiums with restaurants and retail at ground level. Many more opportunities exist in the downtown to do this type of project, rather than the tabula rasa approach proposed for Ilitchville.

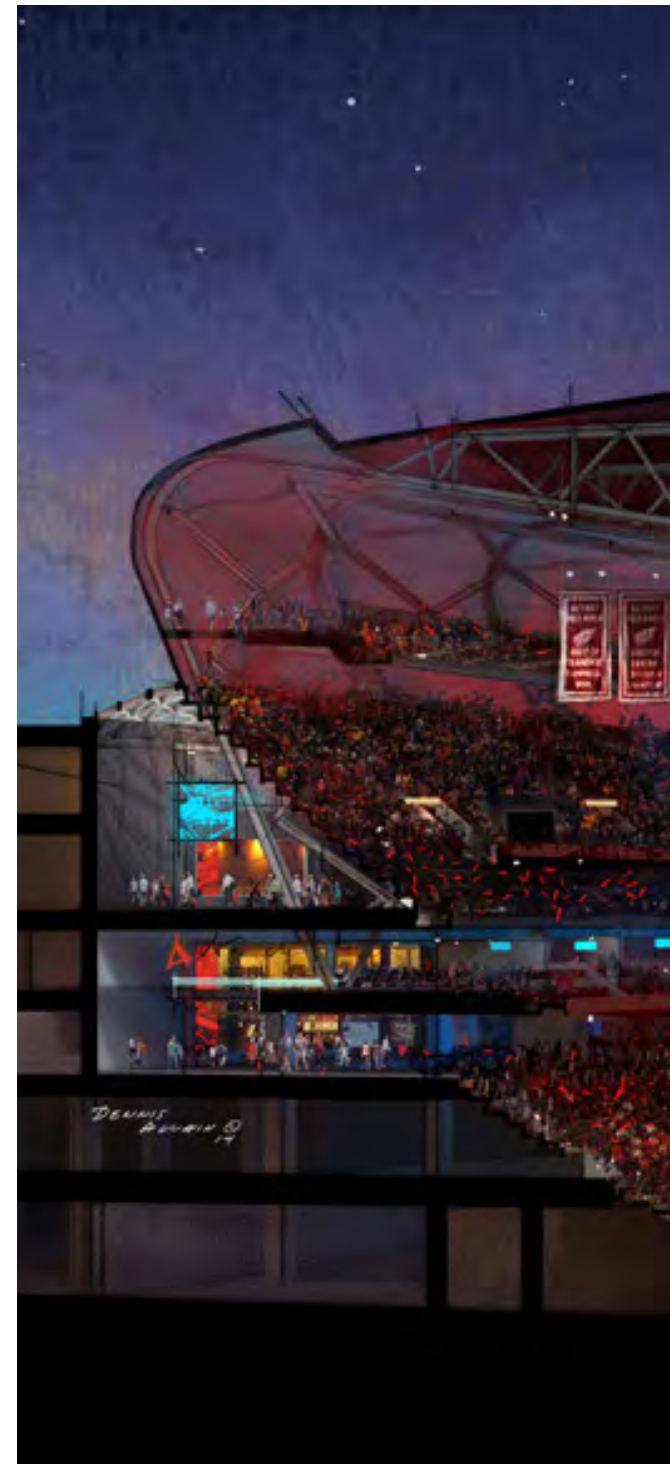
While the plan for everything but the stadium is no more than coloured shapes on a piece of paper and the community envisioned as part of the stadium building looks suspiciously optional, the city has agreed to rezone the affected lands and to forgive the Red Wings close to \$80 million owed in unpaid broadcast payments, and to forego the \$10 million a year that it collects in royalties and taxes for the use of the Joe Louis Arena. In order to finance the stadium and its surrounding parking garage and surface lots, Ilitch demanded numerous concessions and investments from state and municipal governments. Governor Snyder's administration made \$260 million available, and another \$120 million was secured through financial arrangements with the city to fund the \$650 million project.²⁹⁶ Through an excruciatingly complex thirty year bond arrangement, in which the Detroit Downtown Development Authority poaches tax money from school property

taxes, who in turn have it restored to them by the state if they have a budget shortfall, which itself poaches the reimbursement from general property taxes, the public is on the hook for far more than \$380 million in the long term. And not this money is taken not just from citizens in Detroit, but from the entire state. Residents have been assured that their 58% investment in the arena will be paid off in thirty years.²⁹⁷ Michael Ilitch is eighty-five years old and worth almost \$5 billion, so one supposes this is a sort of legacy project for him, if not to be paid for by him, at least owned by him and his family.²⁹⁸ The city will not share in any future royalties, save from any property tax revenue that they generate from the development, once the multi-year tax honeymoon is over.²⁹⁹ As author Neil de Mause describes, this is not uncommon in the realization of modern sporting facilities:

[Stadium revenue] used to be in the '60s, '70s and early '80s more commonly shared with the public partner...but starting with the round of stadiums that were built in the early '90s, it's really been team owners wanting public money and wanting to keep all revenues...It seems like basically the Red Wings said, 'Here is what we want,' and the DEGC said, 'All right, sure, as long as we're getting some development out of it, that works for us.'³⁰⁰

City councilors confirmed that assessment following the vote to approve the deal and expand the area of the Detroit Development Authority, held while the city was only a few months into bankruptcy.³⁰¹ By 2017, the Joe Louis Arena, owned by the city and generating \$10 million per year in rental, tax, and broadcast revenue, and the last of the National Hockey League arenas to be named for a real person, will be closed. It is not even clear whether the city has paid off the debt incurred to build the Joe Louis thirty six years ago. But they will demolish it with \$6 million in state tax dollars and hand the land over to the Financial Guarantee Insurance Corporation as part of the settlement of a billion dollar debt between the creditor and the city.³⁰²

It is far from guaranteed that building this stadium will have any net positive effect on the city of Detroit, as it has been widely pointed out that the dollars spent by the public on entertainment are largely fixed. The casino diverts money from the stadium, which





diverts it from the movie theatre, which diverts it from the restaurant. Cities are left with decades of payments for a stadium that may well be obsolete before the debt is cleared, especially when considering the huge costs of building today's citadels of sport.³⁰³

The urban legacy of the Ilitch family in Detroit is one of erasure. With the exception of the Fox Theatre, and possibly the Loyal Order of Moose building in the Cass Park area, they have been responsible for far more unbuilding than building. Many properties have been demolished or allowed to decay in Midtown: the Madison-Lenox Hotel in Bricktown was demolished under tenuously legal circumstances, and four other historic properties, the United Artists Theatre, the Detroit Life Building, the Eddystone Hotel,³⁰⁴ and the Park Avenue Hotel,³⁰⁵ are unsecured and have been left to rot. The latter two have become home to many of Midtown's substantial homeless population, especially in the wake of demolitions at nearby Brewster-Douglass, and will likely be the next victims of Ilitch's unbuilding spree, located as they are within the project area of the new stadium.

Figure 5.24: (left)

Comerica Park, the home of the Detroit Tigers, 2012

Figure 5.25: (opposite)

The Midtown site where the new arena is to be built, circa 2013.





Dispatch IV: C-Note

This is not combat photography.

Don McKay³⁰⁶

Once you survive the gun, nothing can hurt you.

Terry Marklevitz³⁰⁷

This is a story about my being careless. This is also a story about being lucky, and about being at least partially prepared. Most of this story happened in Midtown (Ilitchville), at least Midtown as it existed two years ago: A blasted-out neighbourhood of vacant lots and ghost towers owned by the little Caesar with a smattering of holdouts - party stores, watering holes, homeowners - either waiting for more money, or truly not going to leave. The homeless population in Detroit has been estimated to be over 20,000 people, many of whom lived in this area, but I had heard that city had been taking away all of the benches and forcing property owners to board up vacant buildings to keep the homeless away. No word on whether a shelter or two was being built nearby. I didn't know it at the time, but this evening would be a part of my Detroit finishing school.

One afternoon following a visit to the DIA, I cabbled to the University of Detroit Mercy area to have lunch with a new friend and some of her classmates. We were at a restaurant on Livernois, a barbecue joint, which was amazing. Lunch went late and when I left on foot for downtown, the sun had already begun to wane in the sky. I must admit that I don't really understand the concept of the mile. I don't know how many meters it contains; I don't know what it means to divide it by time, hours or seconds. It would have been extremely useful to know these things before I started walking, as after more than ninety minutes, I was only half way home. There aren't very many streetlights in Detroit that work, just over fifty percent. Its getting better and brighter, slowly, but this was 2012 and dark was the night. I have always preferred not to walk long distances through the



Figure 5.26:
Itinerary three, February 2012.



8 Mile Wall

10

gated community

JEFFREY FREEWAY

196

I75

Transportation

Kendall Street Market

After road sp.

private island

I96

gated community

Fox Creek & Wall.

I-375 why to remove?

U.S. Customs

Options: broken street grid(?)
 fancy
 bent wire
~~plywood~~

313

plywood
 ruler wire
 gates
 microwaves

darkened disabitato of Detroit, and tonight was no exception. I decided to veer off of Grand River towards Woodward, where more life, and presumably more streetlights, could be found. The party stores are on Woodward, though and every time I walk by, I feel like I am getting sized up for a fight, or I get the look, that old Detroit refrain that says without speaking: “What are you DOING here?”

So I decided to get there by cutting down and across, again and again, until I reached Woodward, or better yet, Brush. The hotel was on Brush. But it was taking a while. While walking Cass Avenue somewhere between Martin Luther King, Jr. Boulevard and Temple Street, a slight man, wearing a hoodie and several inches shorter than myself, emerged from the unlit world beyond the sidewalk. There was a gun in his hand that looked real enough to me. Remembering my university training, I decided to throw money at the problem to see if it would go away.

I keep a one hundred dollar bill in my pocket at all times when I am in Detroit. I do this in a few American cities that I visit often. And I’ve also learned to fear the gun while traveling the land of concealed weaponry.³⁰⁸ In that little change sleeve (or whatever it’s for) in the right front pants pocket, folded up into rectangle, is my mugging money. This was a practice that I had learned a decade earlier when working in New York City. My sous-chef had said to me, “keep a hundred dollars on you, that’s the cost of your life,” should I be held up while walking around at night. I had taken this lesson with me to a few places before, and now with me to Motown. I met a Detroit cop who said that the best way to stay safe on the streets is to always know where you are and walk like you own the place. Knowing the streets was the easy part, I think I probably would have had a hard time convincing anyone of anything else. It was now about eight-thirty in the evening and I was close enough that I could see the modest lights of downtown. I had figured that I was home free, but obviously I was not. He had a semi-automatic pistol, I guess, since it wasn’t a six shooter, and what other kind are there? He probably asked for money, but I don’t remember hearing him. I just kept looking down the barrel of the gun as I reached for my hundred bucks insurance. All I was thinking was: “I wonder if I will be able to see that bullet as it leaves the gun?”

But, the way it worked out, none of that mattered. He was likely so surprised that

I had a Benjamin on me that he didn't bother to think about violence. He was just happy for the payday and whatever bit of satisfaction it was going to buy for him. I can imagine that very few people walk through the imploding neighbourhoods of Midtown after dark with a bunch of money in their pockets, so I must have been well-chosen, an easy target. Maybe I even spared someone else from having to make up the difference. When he was done, the mugger ran off, and so did I. Very quickly at first, then later, more calmly. But still fast. Not like I owned the place, more like I was scared. Getting back to the downtown, where I could find some amount of familiar territory, happened in just a few minutes. I finally stopped running when I crossed paths with a couple leaving a downtown restaurant, beautifully dressed and puzzled at the fool now slowing down in front of them, taking too much of the sidewalk.

'I'm here now,' I thought as I spotted the hotel, still a few minutes walk away.

'I'm safe.'

And so I could relax. I lit a cigarette and sat for a good, long time in the small, nameless triangle of trees and benches where Grand River meets Randolph. And sitting there, smoking, I went over everything that just happened. Once. Twice. Once more, and each time I am more upset, because why didn't I do anything? Why didn't I try to stand up for myself, or protect myself, or try and take the gun? But I guess I did do all of those things, just in a more subtle way. Punch them in the face with money, give them what they asked for. I realized that it was my fault that this had happened. I basically asked to be mugged, or assaulted, or whatever else could have happened. I was where I did not belong when I least belonged there, and I should have known better. I didn't buy or steal that gun, nor load it and take it out on the town. I didn't create the problems that the nowhere man had, but I put myself in a position to experience the consequences of them. This was his world and I was just passing through it. I am lucky to have completed the journey.

Gilbertown³⁰⁹

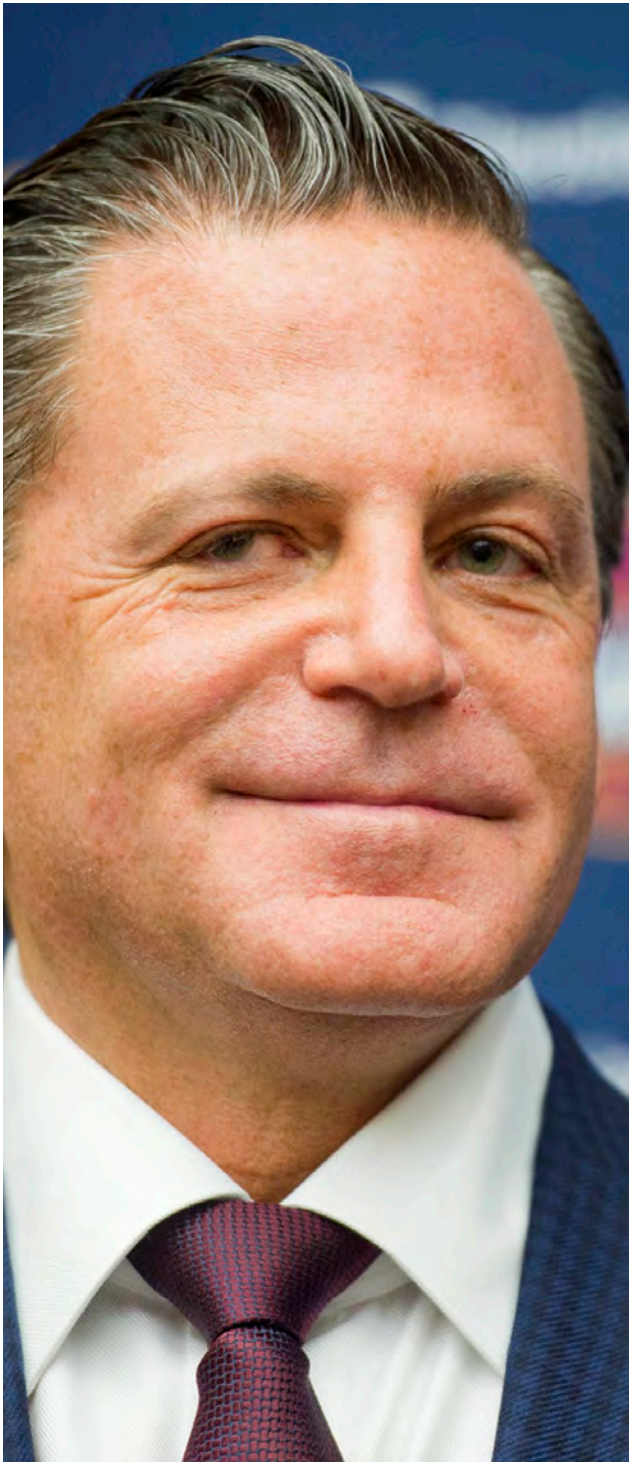
We are either going to get this done, or we are going to die trying. For probably the first time in Western civilization in a major metro area, you're going to have large parcels of vacant pristine land that have paved streets, utilities of all sorts, cable, phone, water, sewer - everything at affordable land prices.

Dan Gilbert³¹⁰

One of the most influential figures in the ongoing reformation of Detroit is the founder and chairman of Quicken Loans, Detroit-native Dan Gilbert. Since moving his company's headquarters to the city in 2010, Gilbert's real estate arms, Rock Ventures and Bedrock Real Estate, have embarked on a buying spree downtown, acquiring upwards of sixty properties and obtaining leases on several more. He has been the driving force behind the renovation of many of these properties, with plans to redevelop the long vacant J.L. Hudson site with a new iconic supermodern structure, financing part of the M1 light rail corridor on Woodward Avenue, for which he has been granted naming rights, and lending political support to the redevelopment of Capital Park.³¹¹ When the Wayne County Jail project was halted mid-construction, Gilbert presented plans to redevelop the site as condominiums, and denounced the very idea of a prison in the city centre:

The prospect of building a brand new 400 million dollar jail as the 'welcoming' structure...into our urban core at the very same time Detroit's center is undergoing an unprecedented positive transformation should outrage every single citizen...Building this jail at this crucial location would be nothing short of an unmitigated disaster that will echo with negative implications for downtown and the city for decades to come... it is time we start learning from some of the senseless and illogical bad decisions of the past by not repeating them.³¹²

Figure 5.27:
Dan Gilbert



Gilbert's architectural preferences tend to favour the ornate office towers of the early twentieth century, taking advantage of a market he called a 'skyscraper sale', though as ever more real estate has become available downtown, his portfolio has expanded to include parking garages, the Greektown Casino, a new Quicken data centre in Corktown, and the company's headquarters north of the Campus Martius Park.³¹³ The latter was built by Compuware founder Peter Karmanos, who himself had moved his company into the downtown only seven years prior to Gilbert. The building was a major part of the redevelopment of the Campus Martius, occupying an entire city block that had sat vacant for years. While the exterior appears somewhat like an experiment in cladding materials and architectural shape making, the interior features an impressive full height atrium and the building footprint honours the historic radial street grid and its irregular lot shapes, finishing the enclosure of the Campus Martius envisioned in the Woodward plan. A massive attached parking garage occupies a portion of the former commons where the 1883 riots began.

When Karmanos' company restructured following declining fortunes, he announced his retirement and Gilbert replaced him as Detroit's new corporate saviour.³¹⁴ Many in Detroit view Gilbert this way, arriving as he did on the heels of the financial meltdown of 2007-2008 with millions of dollars of investment capital and the desire to see the city thrive again. His contributions have not been insignificant, with a total investment that rivals the city's yearly budget and millions of square feet of office space under the control of his property management company. After initially moving only a portion of the Quicken operations to Detroit, his company grew to have more than 12,000 employees in the core, occupying not only the Compuware building, but also part of the nearby Albert Kahn designed National Bank of Detroit Building, inexplicably renamed the Qube. He has also committed to other, somewhat atypical investments, including installing a three hundred camera surveillance system throughout the downtown and employing a private security detail to both monitor the system and patrol the streets, twenty-four hours a day.³¹⁵ These and other developments have been part of resurgence of the downtown as of late, adding to the restoration of several formerly vacant office and hotel buildings, and have encouraged an influx of residents to the area. Housing shortages, Detroit's perpetually unsolvable problem, have now become acute in the core, with an estimated vacancy rate of

just two percent.³¹⁶

The Detroit press have been particularly effusive in their praise of Gilbert, likening his investments in the city to those made by former industrial barons of the Gilded Age who endowed art galleries, museums, universities, and libraries.³¹⁷ With Detroit suffering from so much disinvestment over the past decades, it is reasonable that someone like Gilbert would be welcomed with open arms, but the uncritical nature of the reporting has seen many ignore the greater picture. To begin, the source of much of Gilbert's wealth, Quicken Loans, being one of the largest providers of loans in America, was part of the system of sub-prime lending that saw so many lose their homes to foreclosure after being saddled with a mortgage impossible to pay down. Detroit was especially vulnerable to the recession and it has been estimated by Margaret Dewar of the University of Michigan's Taubman School that almost twenty-five percent of Detroit's inhabitable homes have been subject to foreclosure - totaling 63,000 properties and effecting untold thousands of people.³¹⁸ Independent Michigan state representative for Detroit John Olumba has been especially critical of Gilbert's practices, arguing that his company has hurt the city and stating explicitly that "companies like Quicken Loans come into these areas - where people were ignorant about mortgage practices - and they kept mailing them over and over and calling them. They're harassing these people, getting them to put their houses up for collateral - houses that are paid off. People are being starved of resources and there are clearly resources out there to improve people's livelihood."³¹⁹ Gilbert, for his part, has maintained that Quicken was not party to the types of abusive lending practices that so scandalized the industry, noting that the company "is driven by a special culture...based on trust and empowerment" and whose consultants tailor loans specifically to the needs of debtors, and "go deep into their background[s] and analytically recommend things to them, almost like an artist,"³²⁰ which would seem to be at odds with statements by former consultants brought to testify in various legal proceedings against the company. Employees were instructed to employ tactics ranging from coercing homeowners to refinance under variable interest rates to a strategy called bruising, which one employee described succinctly:

Figure 5.28:
1:1000 scale

Dan Gilbert's holdings in Downtown Detroit.



...find some bad piece of information on [the client's] credit report and use it against them, even things as insignificant as a late credit card payment from several years ago. Quicken's theory behind this was that if the customers can be scared into thinking that they cannot get a loan, then they will be more likely to do business with Quicken.³²¹

It is clear that Gilbert has been an integral part of the rebirth of downtown Detroit, and he has a vision for the city that is refreshingly distinct from past practices that saw the city fabric destroyed for any new project that came along. Downtown Detroit would not have seen the resurgence it has without his investments, and while he has pleased historians and preservationists with his concern for the city's oldest buildings, it would be difficult to call him a benefactor of any kind. His investment is entirely for personal profit, and he seems ill-concerned with the major issues effecting those living in the bereft zone around Gilberttown. He is not philanthropic and has been accused of heading the blight task force solely to guarantee the clearance of large swaths of the impoverished city for corporate interests, rather than to stabilize neighbourhoods.³²² He has deployed a privatized surveillance network to protect his assets, not to make the streets safe. He has his own pseudo police force and he has ideas on how to remake Detroit. And he has \$4.7 billion to make it happen.³²³

Figure 5.29: (opposite bottom left)

Jefferson and Woodward Avenues, 2012. Gilbert owns all of the buildings visible in the middle ground. At front is *The Fist* by Robert Graham, a monument to Detroit boxer Joe Louis.

Figure 5.30: (opposite bottom left)

The Greektown Casino, 2014.

Figure 5.31: (opposite right)

The Metropolitan building on John R. Street, 2012.



Dispatch V: James & Mike

I was born in Detroit. Most of my family is in Detroit...I'm a [former] All-American wrestler at 138 pounds, during my competing days, in 1964. I went to school [in Indianapolis] with people like Oscar Robertson, George McGinnis; people of that nature. You know, I do have my own t-shirts.

James Van Horn³²⁴

We've seen you, Mike
Judges, priest, Pepsi
delivery men,
EMS, DTE.
Solid apparition
Solemn worn visage
Heavy roped dreadlocks
Moving between our
Civic world
Like an urban stream
of consciousness
Limbless in cold winter
Snow-covered and frozen
We gave donations
In pure conscience
A silver dime golden
A divine cup of soup.

Anonymous³²⁵

James Van Horn was a man that I met one afternoon while photographing Brewster-Douglass. It seemed surreal somehow, as just a few days earlier I saw him in a trailer for the short documentary *Brewster-Douglass, You're My Brother*. He was from that neighbourhood and he continued to live there after it had closed until, at some point, the demolitions forced him back out into the street in search of a new home. When I met him, it was a cold day and he was carrying a backpack through the tangles of the former

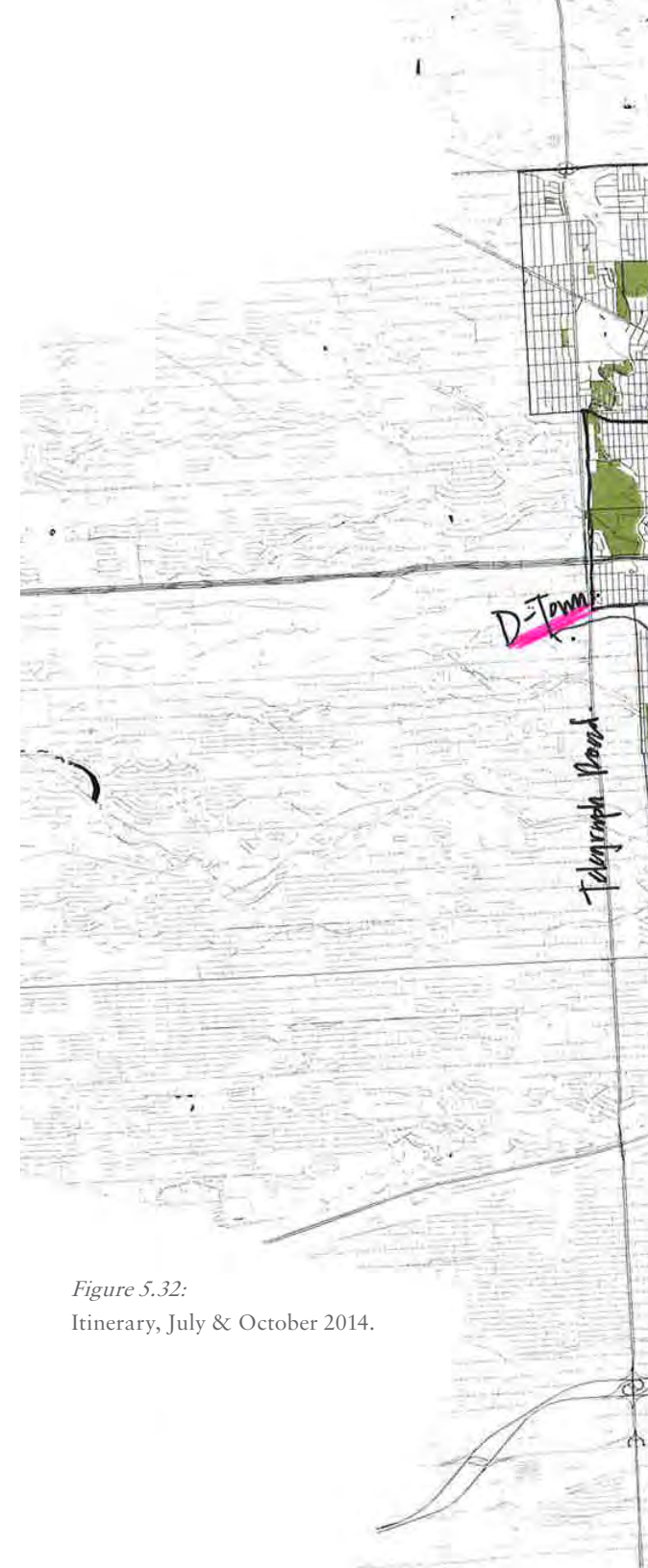


Figure 5.32:
Itinerary, July & October 2014.

Brewster playground.

“How are you this morning?” he asked as we spotted each other. I said I was well, and that I knew who he was, that he was famous.

“Because of the shirt?” he said, pointing to the t-shirt he was wearing under his open hoodie. It had a cartoon of his face on it, ringed with the words ‘Eat ‘em up Tigers, eat ‘em up!’ I laughed and told him about the documentary. He told me he was glad that I knew about it and wished me well in Detroit, and he went on his way.

I never personally met Mike Alston, whom everyone knew as ‘Dreadlock Mike’, but he was a very visible person on the streets of Detroit. Mike was a homeless man with an incredible tangle of dreadlocks and a penetrating green-eyed stare. He used a wheelchair, as he had lost a portion of both of his legs below the knee, and sometimes James would help him around the city, especially when the two of them would join the tailgate parties in the parking lot of Comerica Park. Everyone seemed to know these two; they were as much a part of the downtown as the baseball team, darkened skyscrapers, or the RenCen. Mike would panhandle around the downtown environs, sometimes as far out as the I-75 ramps near Corktown, where I first saw him. I was with a new friend Marcus, a Detroit cop, who was taking me on a drive through his beat.³²⁶ The two knew each other, and Marcus had an obvious affection for Mike, who he told me saw him almost every day that he was working. Mike had something written on a piece of crushed cardboard that he held on his lap, but I couldn’t read what it said.

“I’ll get you next time, okay brother? No cash on me today.” Marcus said. Mike smiled, sort of, and didn’t say anything, but gave a gesture of acknowledgement.

The light changed and we drove off. Marcus started talking about Mike. I learned that he was Vietnam war veteran, and that his amputations were not a result of the war, but from illnesses or injuries suffered as a street person. Marcus couldn’t be sure, but he thought maybe it was frostbite from a miserable winter living in an abandoned midtown hotel, the one in Ilitchville with six foot graffiti letters at the cornice that read ZOMBIELAND.³²⁷

The two were mainstays of the baseball games and James would famously rile up the crowd as they walked towards the baseball stadium, yelling his signature chant while he sold the tee-shirts with his face on them. From time to time, I would see James and Mike

Figure 5.33: (opposite top)

James Van Horn

Figure 5.34: (opposite bottom left)

The park at Brewster-Douglass, 2012.

Figure 5.35: (opposite bottom)

‘Dreadlock’ Mike Alston.

at night, moving through downtown. I would be headed for dinner or to see some jazz, they would be headed to the stadium or to wherever they called home those days. Home was where they were going when they were struck by a small black truck with out of state license plates one July evening in 2013 at Gratiot and Russell.³²⁸ Both men died right there, on the street, in the middle of the night. The subsequent investigation has uncovered no leads on the driver, and little useful information. Apparently police believe that broken street lamps may have been the cause.



Matty Maroun vs. Detroit

Our country, in my book, always came first. In my trucking, in the bridge, in anything that I have, I love my country first. It gives me the opportunities, otherwise I would never have them.

Matty Maroun³²⁹

...he replied: 'I'm in the catbird seat here.' Maroun was so rich and the town so broken, no one was going to make him fix shit as long as he had money for lawyers. And he knew it.

Charlie LeDuff³³⁰

Canada's major trade crossing with the United States is over the Ambassador Bridge linking Detroit with Windsor, with billions of dollars flowing across the border annually. It is an admirable private holding: twenty-five percent of the trade between the two nations crosses at the bridge, and combined with other traffic, it takes in tolls worth over \$60 million per year.³³¹ The Detroit-Windsor tunnel does not permit transport trucks, and thus the sole trade crossing at Detroit is over the Ambassador. Any hazardous goods are still ferried over the river on barges, the primary method of transport prior to the construction of the bridge, but Maroun has a virtual monopoly on the highway market and is willing to fight anyone to keep it.

Having been privately financed and owned from its inception, the Ambassador Bridge has been the sole property of Manuel 'Matty' Maroun for over three decades. A Detroit-born son of Lebanese immigrants, Maroun grew up on the east side. His father owned a couple of gas stations which he parlayed into the ownership of a trucking company, Central Cartage, the same concern that Maroun operates today with his own son, Matthew. In the 1970s, Central Cartage purchased shares in the bridge in a bid to outmaneuver billionaire investor Warren Buffett, who had sought to acquire full ownership of the crossing. While Buffet initially succeed in obtaining a quarter of the shares,

Figure 5.26:
Manuel 'Matty' Maroun.



subsequent deals by Maroun and his associates saw his company purchase the entire bridge in 1979.³³² Since that time, Maroun has amassed considerable land on the lower west side of Detroit through various subsidiaries. It is difficult to ascertain the true amount of his holdings due to complex shells of ownership and the privately-held nature of all of them, though some noted properties include the Michigan Central Station and most of its adjacent lands and former railway lines, the Detroit School Book Depository building (also known as the Roosevelt Warehouse) designed by Albert Kahn, several warehouses, and large swaths of barren land along the waterfront in both Detroit and Windsor. These last parcels formed the beginning of a strategy to leverage both cities into allowing him to build a second bridge span next to the overburdened Ambassador. Perhaps most importantly, he owns the customs plaza on the Detroit side of the bridge, in which are situated both a duty-free retail shop and gas bar, which his trucking concern uses frequently to avoid enormous amounts of gasoline tax and which provides much of the billionaire's supplementary income.

Through various corporations such as the Detroit International Bridge Company, Northern Border Transit LLC, and AMMEX Inc., Maroun owns almost the entirety of the Westside Industrial neighbourhood and large portions of Corktown shores and Hubbard Farms.³³³ Much of his holdings are vacant and blighted parcels of land, especially near the rivers edge where he has recently been storing piles of petroleum coke from the Marathon oil refinery on Detroit's far west side.³³⁴ These black carbonaceous mountains began to appear in early 2013, when it was discovered that the toxic by-product of Canadian tar sands refinement was owned by Koch Industries, the umbrella corporation owned by billionaire petro-industrialists and noted political meddlers, Charles and David Koch. After substantial public outcry and a blistering editorial in *The Detroit Free Press*, the ashen heaps were removed to a ship to be sold overseas as a crude fuel source.³³⁵ Critics of Matty Maroun say that he treats his built properties no differently, intentionally allowing his buildings to become dangers to the public, leaving them unsecured and prone to scrapping, vandalism, & fires.³³⁶ Corktown has been particularly vulnerable to this neglect, with the Michigan Central Station having been completely looted of its interior marble, metal ornamentation, windows, fixtures, and finishes, and even removed of entire sections of structural material and roof cladding.³³⁷ Likewise, the Book Depository may

yet face demolition, as soon as anyone bothers to assess how it is faring after twenty years of neglect.³³⁸ Maroun was content to let his buildings crumble, given the considerable investment that would be required to retrofit such a building and his general ambivalence towards doing so. He did propose an international trade and customs centre at the train station in 2001, but those plans did not materialize. Other plans such as a police station or live-work development likewise evaporated.³³⁹ During the shameful mayoralty of disgraced pseudo-gangster Kwame Kilpatrick, Maroun attempted to donate the train station to the city in exchange for its blocking of a proposal to convert the old Michigan Central train tunnel into a trucking route.³⁴⁰ While the tunnel proposal was successfully quashed, Maroun retained ownership of the train station. The less he did to maintain his buildings, the more likely the neighbourhood around them would become further distressed, leading to property devaluation and eviction, which in turn would allow the acquisition of even more property at increasingly lower prices. This is a familiar process in Detroit and is a slow, deliberate form of expropriation without legislation. In this way the captains of industry are able to amass ever growing swaths of land in order to use them against the best interests of the citizenry free from municipal interference. As Matty Maroun would discover, this approach has its limitations.

For many years, Maroun has been pushing the American and Canadian governments to allow him to build another bridge. Public enthusiasm for Maroun's plan has been uneven, though in the last several years, as his strong-arm tactics increased increased, support to crystalize against him. First his company violated development permits for an expansion to the existing U.S. Customs plaza, building a portion of the trucking off-ramp on Jefferson Avenue and changing its route to run past his duty-free gas station, then he built the initial piers for the Detroit on-ramp of his dreamed of second span without permits. He then refused to alter what he had built in any way. When a judge found Maroun in civil contempt for these actions, he and his son spent an evening in jail, dining or take-out food from the Detroit Athletic Club, and when he was released, he attempted to fashion the whole incident as evidence of his patriotism, stating to the assembled press only, "I love my country."³⁴¹ The offending bridge abutment was demolished in April 2012, just shortly before Maroun sued the state government to block development of the new bridge span, eventually forcing the state legislature to debate

Figure 5.37: (opposite top left)

Petroleum coke on Maroun's property on the shore of the Detroit River, 2013.

Figure 5.38: (opposite top right)

The Detroit School Book Depository/Roosevelt Warehouse, 2012.

Figure 5.39: (opposite bottom)

Roosevelt Park and the Michigan Central Station, 2011.



Proposal 6, which would have amended the state constitution to require a statewide referendum before any international crossing could be built over the Detroit River. He spent \$33 million in support of the proposal and lost. He then used subsidiary companies to try and acquire city owned land in the area where the new customs plaza is to be built. Again, his efforts were rebuffed.^{342 343} Maroun did float the idea of spending \$80 million on Michigan Central over “three years, to secure the building watertight,” according to an aide speaking before the Detroit city council, but that was in the context of a proposal to buy the new bridge plaza lands out from underneath the state government for \$2.5 million.³⁴⁴ Meanwhile, the government of Canada was negotiating funding for the entire construction of the New International Trade Crossing, later christened by Prime Minister Stephen Harper as the Gordie Howe International Bridge. Eventually, Canada agreed to finance everything including construction of the United States Customs plaza and the land acquisition costs on the American side, having already built an expressway spur from the 401 in Windsor to the Detroit River and acquired the Canadian plaza lands in Sandwich. The new trade corridor will run south of the existing trade route in Windsor, where currently a dozen stoplights grind traffic to halt through the core of the nineteenth century city centre and land in Delray, near the Marathon oil refinery and the DWSD treatment plant. Windsor, Detroit, and Michigan oppose his machinations, and with his leverage seemingly running out and all legal appeals exhausted, and with no apparent obstacles to building the new bridge span, the end of Maroun’s monopoly seems certain. He is the first domino to fall.

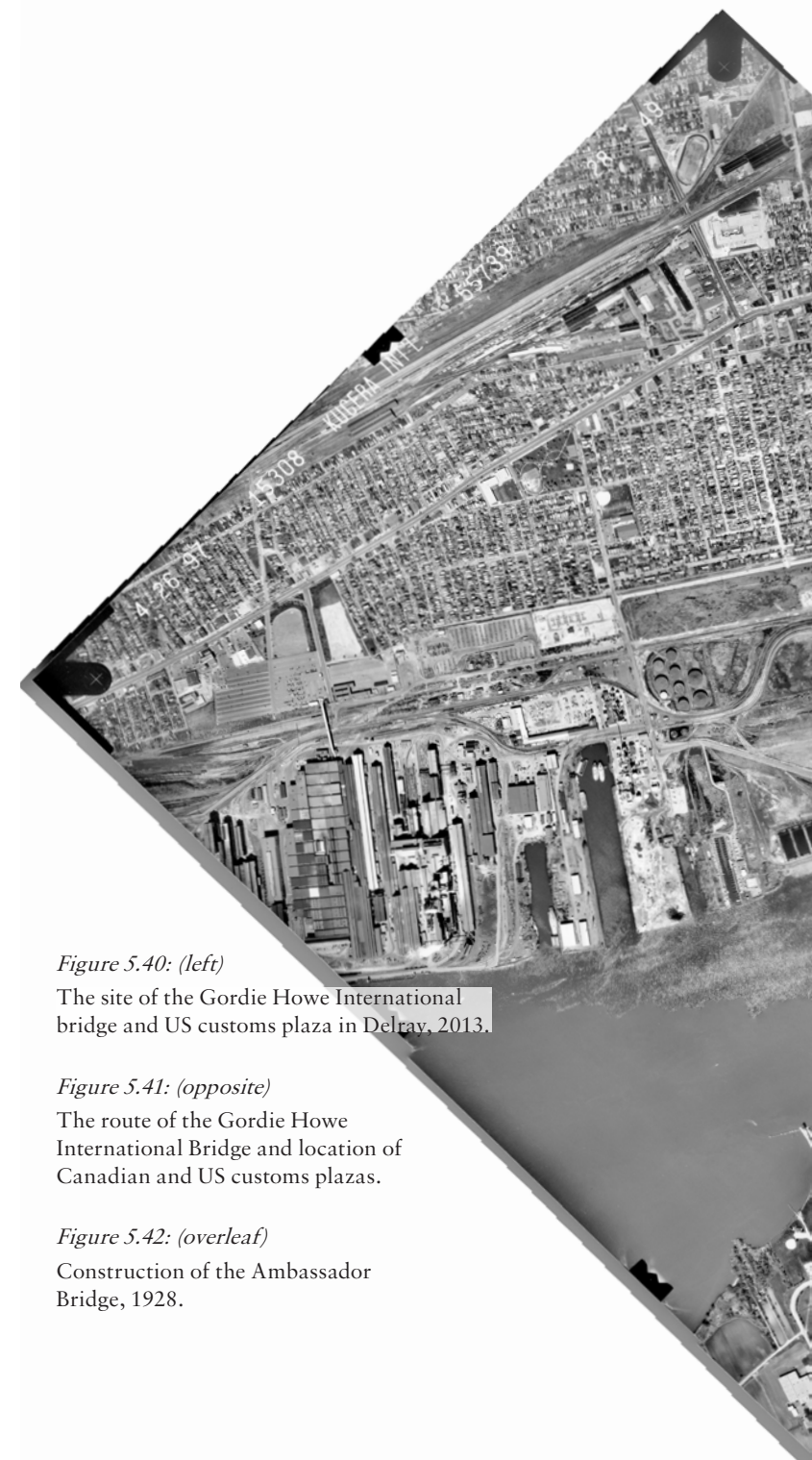
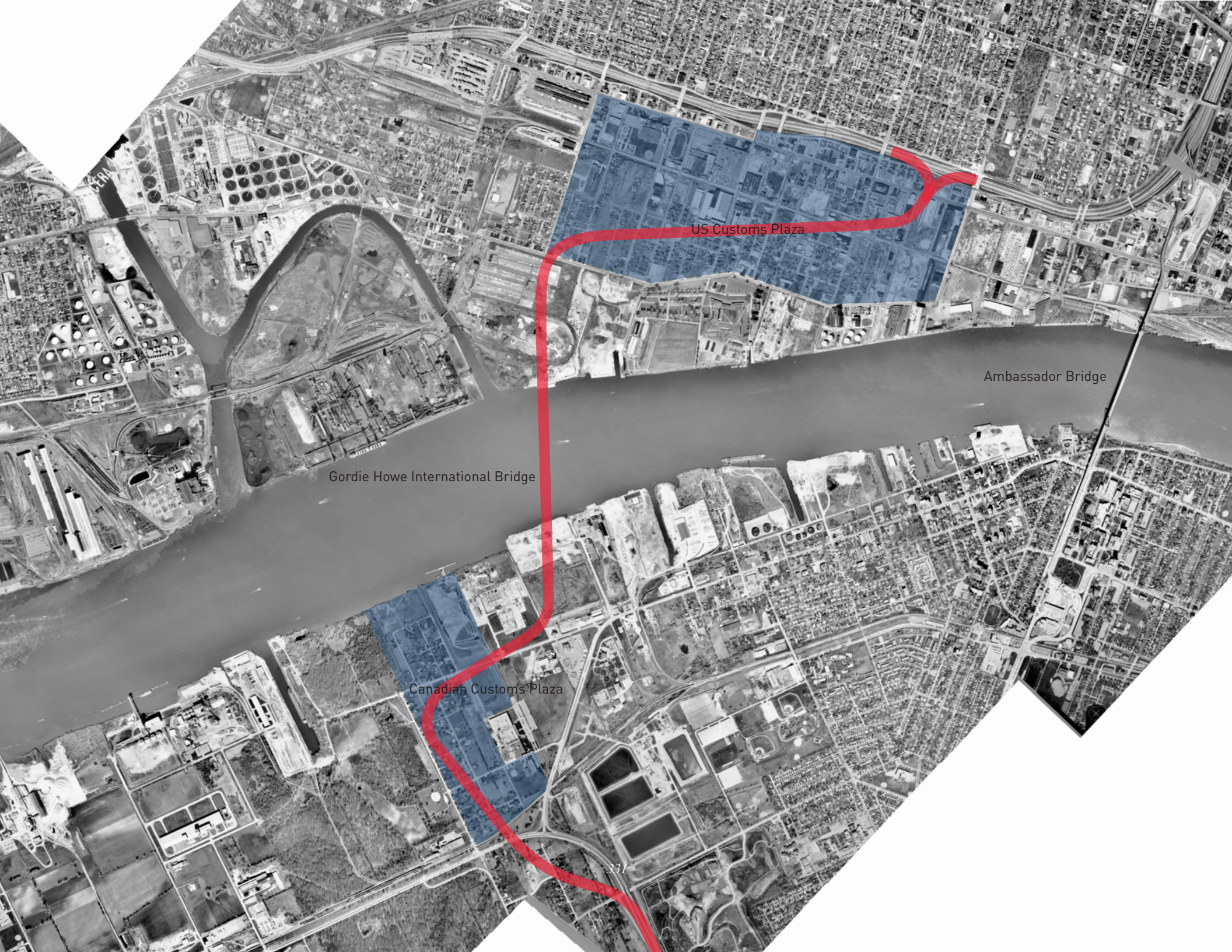


Figure 5.40: (left)
The site of the Gordie Howe International bridge and US customs plaza in Delray, 2013.

Figure 5.41: (opposite)
The route of the Gordie Howe International Bridge and location of Canadian and US customs plazas.

Figure 5.42: (overleaf)
Construction of the Ambassador Bridge, 1928.



US Customs Plaza

Ambassador Bridge

Gordie Howe International Bridge

Canadian Customs Plaza

331





Cityscape V: Marathonland





NO
TRESPASSING





I kept the windows closed because I couldn't breathe. My eyes were burning, my throat was hurting, my stomach was hurting. I was having migraine headaches. The smell, it was like this burning tar, with that benzene and that sulfur. I wanted to scream.

Theresa Shaw³⁴⁵

But no one stopped to think about the babies or how they would survive...when it comes to people's safety, money wins out every time. And we almost lost Detroit this time, this time.

Gil Scott-Heron³⁴⁶

On the far west side of Detroit, near Zug Island, is a maze-like neighbourhood of industrial zones, open and fenced fields, and infrastructural buildings. Once a dense, working class neighbourhood, over time the area has succumbed to the pressures of neighbourhood evacuation and the expansionist dreams of heavy industry. Once a part of Oakwood Heights, Delray, and Boynton, this new neighbourhood is unnamed, and is usually referred to only by its zip code 48217, or occasionally, in cheerleading news stories or in company literature, as the Carbon Works.

Now one of the most evacuated and poorest neighbourhoods in west Detroit, 48217 once boasted stable middle class housing, with the added provision of boating infrastructure at the shoreline and small docks and launches for those with riverfront property on either the Rouge or the Detroit Rivers. Ford's River Rouge plant is nearby, as are the industrial areas of the towns of River Rouge and Ecorse, and the Port of Detroit is adjacent the historic outlet of the Rouge at Zug Island. Automotive manufacturing has always been a part of this neighbourhood, which in the early twentieth century, was one of the last areas annexed by the city. As Detroit struggled through the late modern period, this was also one of the last communities to experience disinvestment, but one that has since felt its effects very acutely. Large portions were hollowed out first for train yards, then heavy industry, then water and sewage treatment plants and power generating stations, and finally for warehousing serving interstate and highway shipping. The neighbourhood today is an equal mix of bombed out residential streets and industrial and infrastructural

Figure 5.43: (p. 334-335)

The main refining facility on Schaefer Road, 2012.

Figure 5.44: (p. 336-337)

A house being dismantled in Marathonland, 2014.

Figure 5.45: (opposite top left)

Map of the Marathon facility and buffer zones in 48217/Oakwood Heights.

Figure 5.46: (opposite top right)

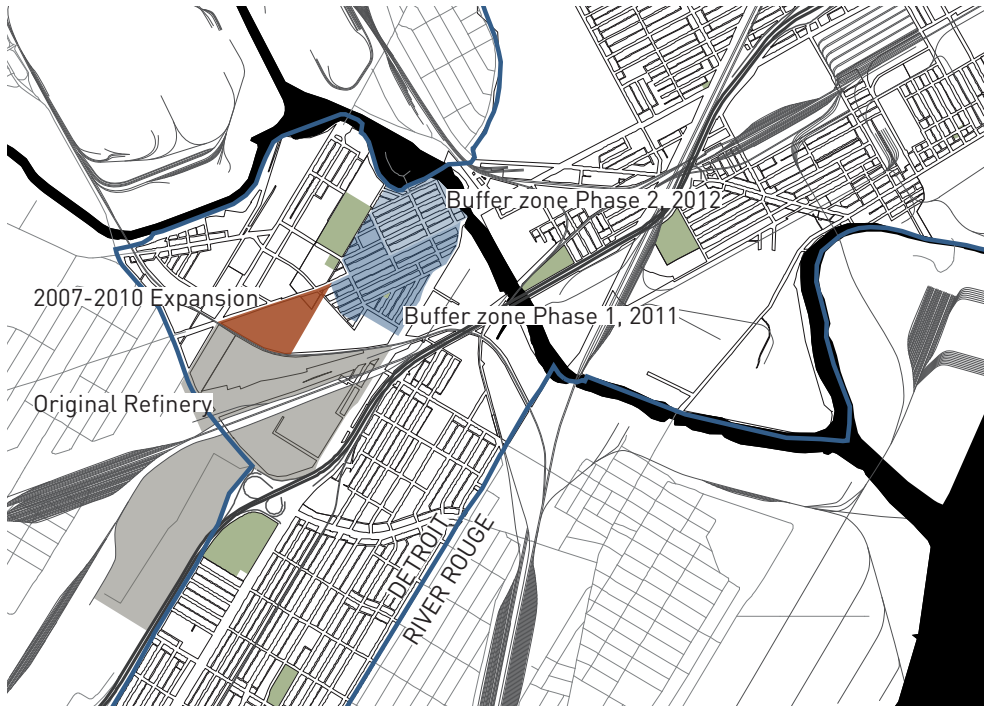
The Marathon refinery power plant, 2014.

Figure 5.47: (opposite bottom left)

Smoke stacks at the main refining facility, 2014.

Figure 5.48: (opposite bottom right)

Security fence at the refinery, 2012.



landscapes. So much of the land has been abandoned or assembled as untended buffers around fenced-off sites, that the overgrowth of trees and invasive plants has spilled out over the roads and enveloped entire buildings. Vacant churches look out over barbed wire fences at swirling pools of sewage and black dusty mountains of slag and coke loom beyond the wild edges of the Rouge.

Enter the Marathon Petroleum Corporation, which in 1930 as the Aurora Gasoline Company, had located a modest sized refinery, Michigan's first and only, on the border between Detroit and River Rouge.³⁴⁷ The late real estate investor and billionaire Max Fisher formed Aurora from his father's industrial lubricant recycling business, the Keystone Oil Company. Before the sale of his Aurora to Marathon (originally the Ohio Oil Company) in 1959, Fisher had transformed Keystone-Aurora into the largest oil company in the American Midwest, refining crude oil into gasoline, kerosene, and heating oil, operating hundreds of service stations, and recycling used lubricants. He also built and maintained pipelines, including one directly from his refinery to the nearby River Rouge superfactory, and was a significant reseller of scrap steel, a product of considerable value in the post-war years.³⁴⁸

Marathon grew rapidly in the late twentieth century, shipping refined light sweet crude to markets via pipeline, transport truck, rail, and barge. With the explosion of oil prices following America's various Middle Eastern wars, the refinery began to handle increasing quantities of Canada's western tar sands as imports of the bitumen to the United States tripled between 2006 and 2011. The company was given permission to expand its facilities in 2007, when the Detroit city council voted to approve twenty years worth of tax breaks totaling \$175 million dollars in exchange for the creation of 135 full time jobs, or almost \$1.3 million per job.³⁴⁹ Marathon had threatened to leave the city for either Robinson, Illinois or St. Paul Park, Minnesota, where they had existing refineries. Detroit won out, apparently, as the Marathon refinery in Minnesota has since closed.

The \$2.2 billion expansion has resulted in the willful destruction of some of the last decent residential streets in 48217, as Marathon undertook a program to purchase properties wholesale from residents in two phases, eventually buying out nearly every property in the area bounded the Rouge River to the north and the crossing of Schaefer Road and the Fisher Freeway. The company has targeted this area as it the only direction in which they can further expand the facility without having to bridge a major traffic

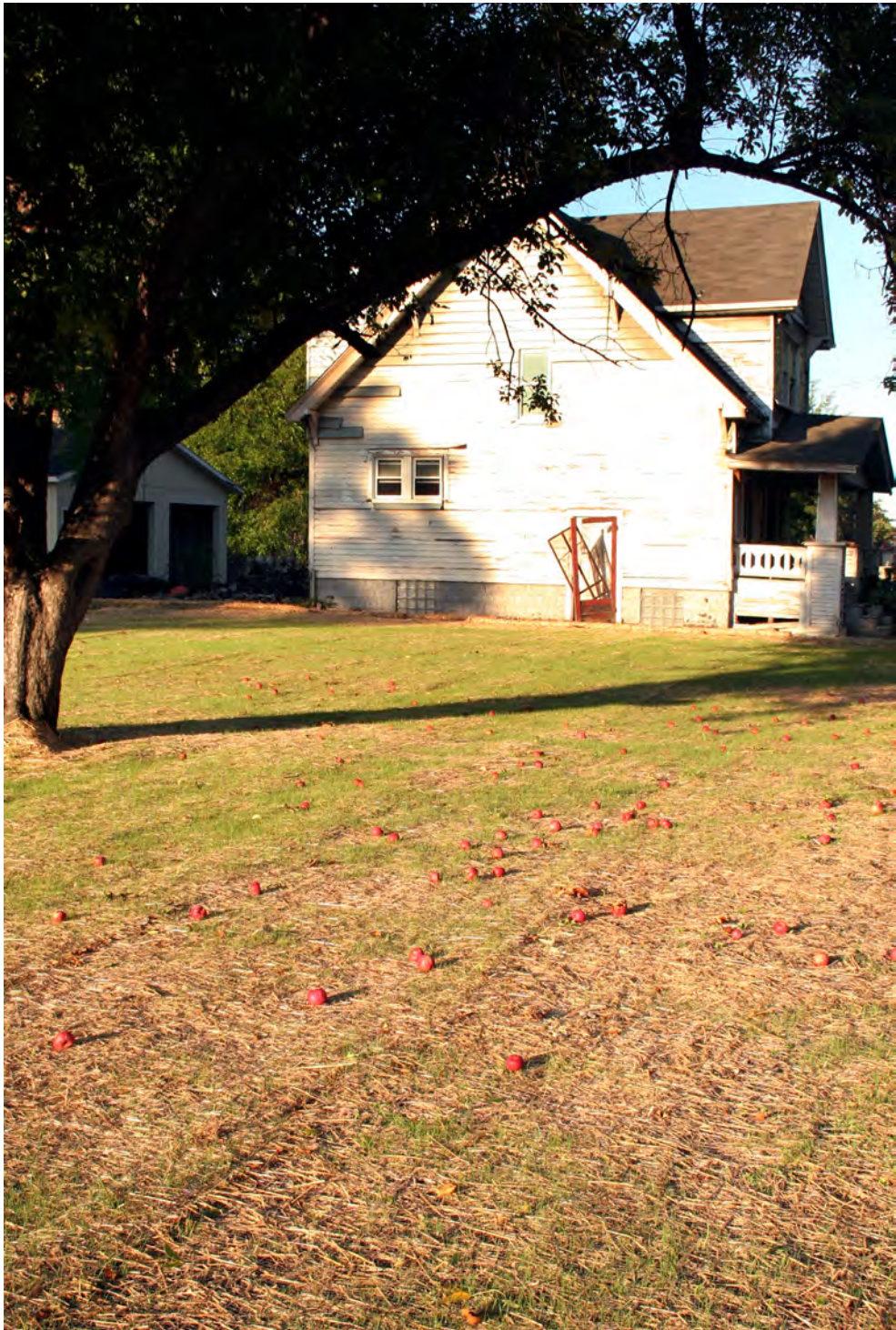


Figure 5.49: (above)
Max Fisher.

Figure 5.50: (opposite top left)
A boarded up house on Bayside Street, 2012.

Figure 5.51: (opposite bottom left)
The Penz Playlot that Marathon built on Greyfriars Street in the neighbourhood they are demolishing, 2014.

Figure 5.52: (opposite right)
A house ready for demolition on Colonial Street in 48217/Oakwood Heights, 2014.



thoroughfare, and residents in neighbourhoods equidistant or closer to the refinery have not been offered a buyout option on their homes and now find themselves in increasingly desperate resale markets. Residents in the sacrifice zone were offered an average of \$65,000, far beyond the city average, but just across the freeway nothing was offered to anyone and given that no one seems to want to move to Detroit and buy a home next to an oil refinery, residents like Theresa Shaw are trapped. It may come to pass that the company will buy these people out as well, but they otherwise seem to have few options for private sale and are being failed by a municipal government largely concerned with handing over revenues to industry. Marathon, meanwhile, is removing all evidence of the urban fabric in the sacrifice zone, beginning with structures and alleyways, followed by all minor vegetation and driveways, before laying out a geotextile fabric and seeding the empty lots with grass. It is unclear whether the street grid will remain, as now that the expansion is complete, the company intends for much of the area to remain as a buffer of green space.³⁵⁰ They have also curiously built a playground in the very neighbourhood they are usurping, as one of the concessions made to citizens and city officials concerned that the company was simply harvesting the city for all it could and giving nothing back.

A few holdouts remain in the neighbourhood, especially those with waterfront property on the Rouge, despite its horrible pollution and the stench in the air, so strong that one can taste it when close enough to the operations. Marathon states that its emissions are in line with EPA regulations and that all necessary state permits have been obtained, despite the increased incidences of bronchial and lung cancers reported in 48217 by the Michigan department of Community Health.³⁵¹ Marathon claims to be a good steward of both the local economy and of the environment. It presses on with these absurd claims despite the fact that it was their petroleum coke that Matty Maroun stored for the Koch brothers on the banks of the Detroit, and despite the fact that in 48217, the refinery's own backyard, it discharges effluent water directly into the city's overtaxed sewer system, in an incredible act of spite for the health and well being of the citizens of Detroit.

Figure 5.53: (opposite)

Aerial view of the Marathon Refinery, circa 2011. The triangular site north of the railroad tracks is the Detroit Salt Company.

Figure 5.54: (p. 344-345)

Colonial Street in 48217/Oakwood Heights, 2014.

Figure 5.55: (p. 346-347)

Mountains of petroleum coke piled on Zug Island on the banks of the Rouge River, 2014.











Dispatch VI: Pinkface

...I collect Caucasians man, I do. I collect white friends. You know why? Because white people say shit like “Sure, you can borrow my car,” or “I’ll get the bill this time,” or “You need a ride to the airport? No problem!” But shit man, I don’t have one of you, I need one of you. You’re like the last Boba Fett action figure of white people.³⁵²

While chatting with some locals at a Foxtown jazz club one evening, I was informed that I was not, in fact, a white person, but rather I was pink.³⁵³

“Does that mean you’re not black, but brown?” I asked to big laughs.

“Now you’re getting it.”

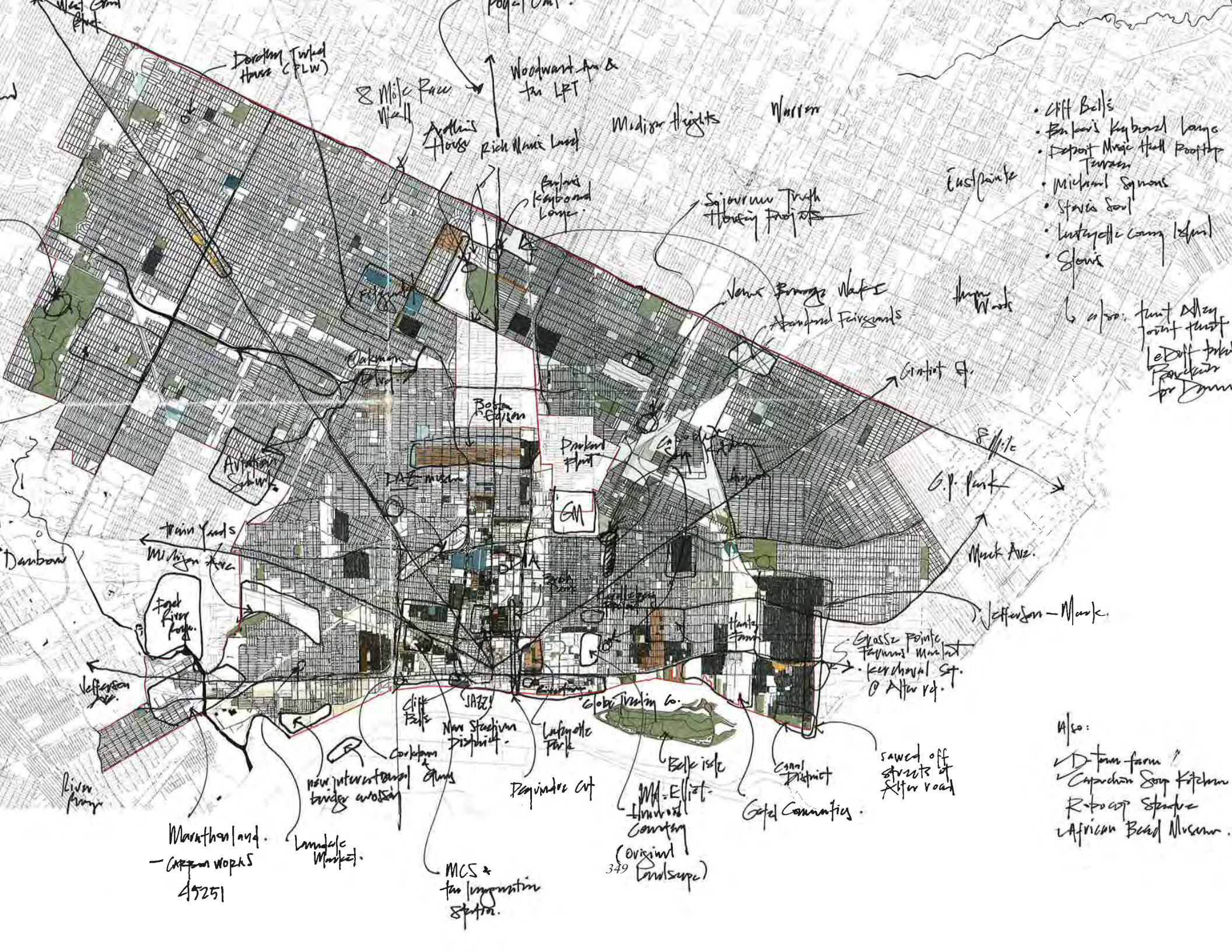
This is the Detroit I have come to know. The one that seems to have at least come to terms with its past, if not moved entirely past it. It’s hard to say that racism is gone in Detroit, but it is no longer a city where black (brown) and white (pink) people live in mutual mistrust and fear. I expected that to have lingered. I expected to feel that I was not wanted in certain places, but that did not happen. Not once.

The band walked onto the stage, a pitted circle of herringbone that seemed to have been stepped on by every musician in the world. Bent wood in deep cherry tones covered the entirety of the club. It felt like being on a cruise ship in the 1920s, were it not for all the beautiful people in modern clothes. People have written about the emergence of two Detroits: the young white professional group who work and play downtown and live in midtown, and the rest of the city, black and largely working class, who live out there somewhere.³⁵⁴ Depending on where you spend the day lounging around coffee shops, this might appear to be true, but it ignores some basic facts, like the those young white professionals aren’t all young, and they are not all white. These are just gentrification horror stories, I suppose, because some people just can’t let things *be* in Detroit. There is always another crisis on the horizon, there has to be.

Another night, another jazz club. This one is Baker’s, the oldest joint in the world still operating. It was comedy night and I was there with a friend from Montréal, we’d been



Figure 5.56:
Itinerary, August/September 2014.



Dorothy Tucker House (FLW)

8 Mile Park
Wall

Woodward Ave & the LRT

Archie's House
Rich Man's Land

Madison Heights

Warren

Earl's Keyboard Lounge

Sajournn Truth Housing Projects

Eastpointe

- Cliff Bell's
- Earl's Keyboard Lounge
- Detroit Music Hall Rooftop Terrace
- Michael Symons
- Steve's Soul
- Luskville Camp (Luskville)
- Steve's

Van's Brings Water
Abandoned Fairgrounds

Harlem Woods

↳ also: Hunt Alley
joint trust
LeDuff park
Parkway
for Down

Bob's Edition

Parkland Plant
GM

Ginnet St.

8 Mile
G.P. Park

Market Ave.

Jefferson - Market

Darabaw

Train Yards
Michigan Ave

Edget River
Ford

Jefferson Ave.

River front

Grass Pointe
Farmers Market
• Kerchner St.
• Alter rd.

Cliff Bell's

SAZZI
New Stadium District

Globe Vending Co.

Perimeter Cut

Belle Isle

MM-Elliott
Linwood
Country
(original
landscape)
349

Canal District

Geel Community

sawed off
streets at
Alter road

Also:
↳ D town farm
↳ Capuchin Soup Kitchen
↳ Robespierre
↳ African Bead Museum

Marathon and
- Capuchin works
45251

Luminate
Market

MCS &
the Immigration
Station

filming a documentary in the city and cruised up to 7-Mile and Livernois after a long day's shoot. We were the first people in the club, so we decided we better have dinner to pass the time. People started to roll in as we ate our fish and chips, and soon the show had begun. It was a showcase, so there were five or six comedians and the host. Standup comedy is basically the best entertainment in the world (according to me), and I was having a great time. Being the only two pink people in the club, and sitting, as it turned out, the closest to the stage, my friend and I were the target of lots of jokes, and I could see him getting angry. He was old enough to have been a part of the civil rights movement in the 1960s and felt that the pink people were getting a bad rap here in the Motor City. I tried to calm him down, told him that this was how you get over. If you can laugh at shit, than you can take away its power. That's the point of comedy, to get us to face ourselves and laugh. He stormed off anyway, just as the guy on stage told the best joke of the night, at my expense.

Figure 5.57: (left)
Self portrait with a friend, Detroit, 2012.

Figure 5.58: (opposite)
Cliff Bells jazz club in Foxtown, 2014.

Figure 5.59: (overleaf)
The Detroit skyline, circa 2013.









VI

AFTER THE CITY





And we have to reach high. Maybe get knocked on our ass. And then get up and reach again.

Coleman A. Young³⁵⁵

Does Detroit have a problem? Absolutely. Did I create it? I don't think so. They made me some promises, and I made them some promises. I kept my promises. They're not going to keep theirs.

William Shine³⁵⁶

[Creditors] have towers of lawyers, and they're going to fight to get every last dime out of the City of Detroit.

Bill Nowling³⁵⁷

On 18 July 2013, the city of Detroit filed for bankruptcy, the largest municipal default in American history, and ostensibly an action designed to shield the city from the worst effects of defaulting on its nearly \$20 billion in debts. It would also trigger an unprecedented handover of city assets to private capital and a restructuring of the role of government in a city now entirely beholden to the interests of capital. Early in the administration of Mayor David Bing, it became clear that the city was functionally broke, with a shortfall of over \$100 million projected for the year of filing. At the time, the city's pension obligations represented over a third of the \$1.12 billion municipal budget, and services were declining rapidly across the city.³⁵⁸

Nearly two months before the bankruptcy filing, the state had appointed an emergency financial manager to audit the city's books and make recommendations to stave off the impending financial collapse. Kevyn Orr, the manager appointed by governor Rick Snyder, was brutal in his assessment of the state of the city, noting that in every area, departments were understaffed and municipal services were in sharp decline, increasing risks to public safety and diminishing the quality of life in the city. The Detroit Fire Department, operating 52 facilities, including 28 fire stations, was found to be operating at eighty percent capacity, with up to twelve facilities closed on a given day due to shortages

Figure 6.0: (p. 354-355)

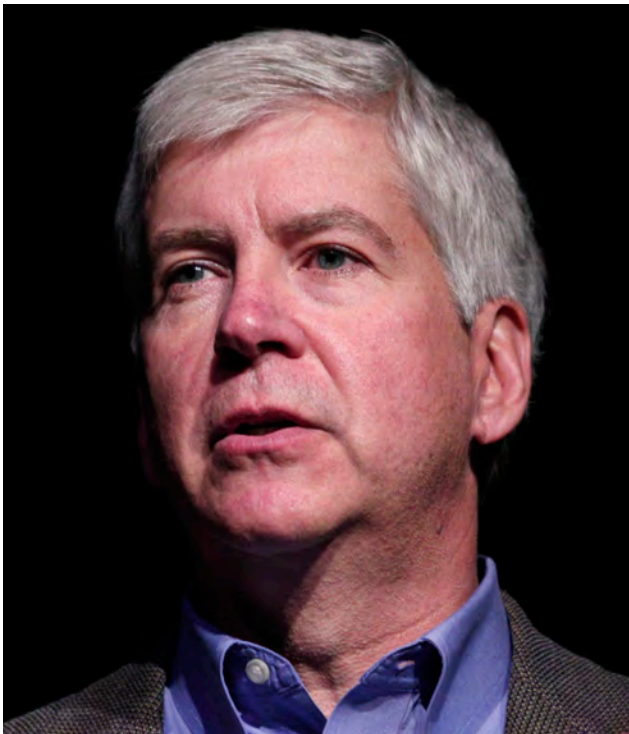
Montage

Figure 6.1: (opposite top)

Emergency financial manager Kevyn Orr.

Figure 6.2: (opposite bottom)

Governor Rick Snyder.



in equipment and staffing. Firefighters purchased their own sanitary and cleaning supplies, and provided their own food at the station houses, while the city sold off the brass fire poles to other municipalities.³⁵⁹ The systems for alerting firefighters to a call consisted of a fax machine with a pop can filled with spare change sitting atop it. When a fax came in to notify the station of a fire, the pop can would fall off the machine and land on the floor, the clanging sound standing in for the computerized alert and alarm systems found in modern fire stations. This and other similar homemade systems were those used to summon the city's 812 firefighters to the estimated twelve thousand calls they receive each year.³⁶⁰ Uniforms had holes burned straight through them and were blackened with carbon.³⁶¹ The police department fared little better. Scandal plagued and having had five chiefs of police in as many years, the DPD, like the DFD, was hindered by obsolete and malfunctioning equipment, low morale, and poor deployment practices, causing response times to rise and negatively affecting closure rates for cases. Detroit, by some estimates, has over eleven thousand unsolved murders dating back to the 1960s.³⁶² Ambulance service saw average wait times of more than fifteen minutes and a third of the vehicles in the EMS service were inoperable. Transit and recreation facilities had been reduced significantly, with millions of dollars in cuts each year stretching back over decades, the number of blighted structures was in the tens of thousands and rising, and street lighting had declined so precipitously that only three in five were functional in 2013. In some neighbourhoods, such as the wealthier Palmer Woods or Indian Village, that meant full street lighting, while in the blasted out inner city, entire streets were devoid of operational lighting standards.³⁶³ The Detroit Water and Sewerage Department (DWSD) was also dangerously out of date, requiring over \$1.5 billion in upgrades to the system by 2020. The final piece of Orr's report detailed the pension obligations and wage agreements between the city and its more than forty worker's unions, noting that nearly half of the city's debt was in the form of unfunded pensions and that collective bargaining agreements were in need of dramatic restructuring.³⁶⁴

In the opinion of many financial commentators, Detroit's fall into bankruptcy was solely the result of unsustainable agreements with unions and pensioners, coupled with failed governance writ large. The city had been supplementing its operating budget with loans for decades, and during the reign of the 'hip-hop mayor' Kwame Kilpatrick,

now in prison for racketeering and corruption, the problem only seemed to get worse.³⁶⁵ Little mention was made of the fact that Detroit had been losing an average of 18,000 residents each year since 1950, almost fifty people per day, and the disastrous effects that decline has had on the tax base in a city with a physical area is larger than San Francisco, Boston, and Manhattan combined.³⁶⁶ In addition, the metal bending economy in Detroit declined significantly in the late eighties and nineties due to the poor market strategies of the Big Three and the global dispersion of automotive and parts manufacturing in the wake of NAFTA and later trade deals with Asia. These arrangements resulted in a loss of more than 120,000 jobs in Michigan's manufacturing sector, the majority of which were lost in the Detroit and Metro region.³⁶⁷ When the mortgage crisis hit in 2008, the tax base was further reduced, and in the following year, insolvency at General Motors and the near bankruptcy of Chrysler finally crushed the automotive sector.

When Orr's report was accepted by the state and emergency management began, many in the city were outraged that the functions of democracy seemed to have been suspended. In one sense, most of a government's responsibilities involve spending money. Politicians are elected to make decisions regarding the services that a population requires and to lay out responsible money management strategies to provide those services. To many, allowing an unelected, state-appointed manager to govern the finances of the city was a violation of this basic principle of government. Lawsuits were filed to reverse the emergency rule, first by concerned Detroit citizens in municipal courts. These early lawsuits were suspended almost immediately by bankruptcy judge Steven Rhodes, who was assigned to oversee the case. Later, at the state level, another lawsuit was brought forward challenging the constitutionality of the law, Public Act 436, by a group of union leaders, school board trustees, religious leaders, and members of the city councils of Detroit, Flint, Pontiac, and Benton Harbour. These other cities and their school boards were then run by emergency managers, in a similar situation to that unfolding in the Motor City.³⁶⁸ One of the eleven lawyers representing the plaintiffs said of the state takeover:

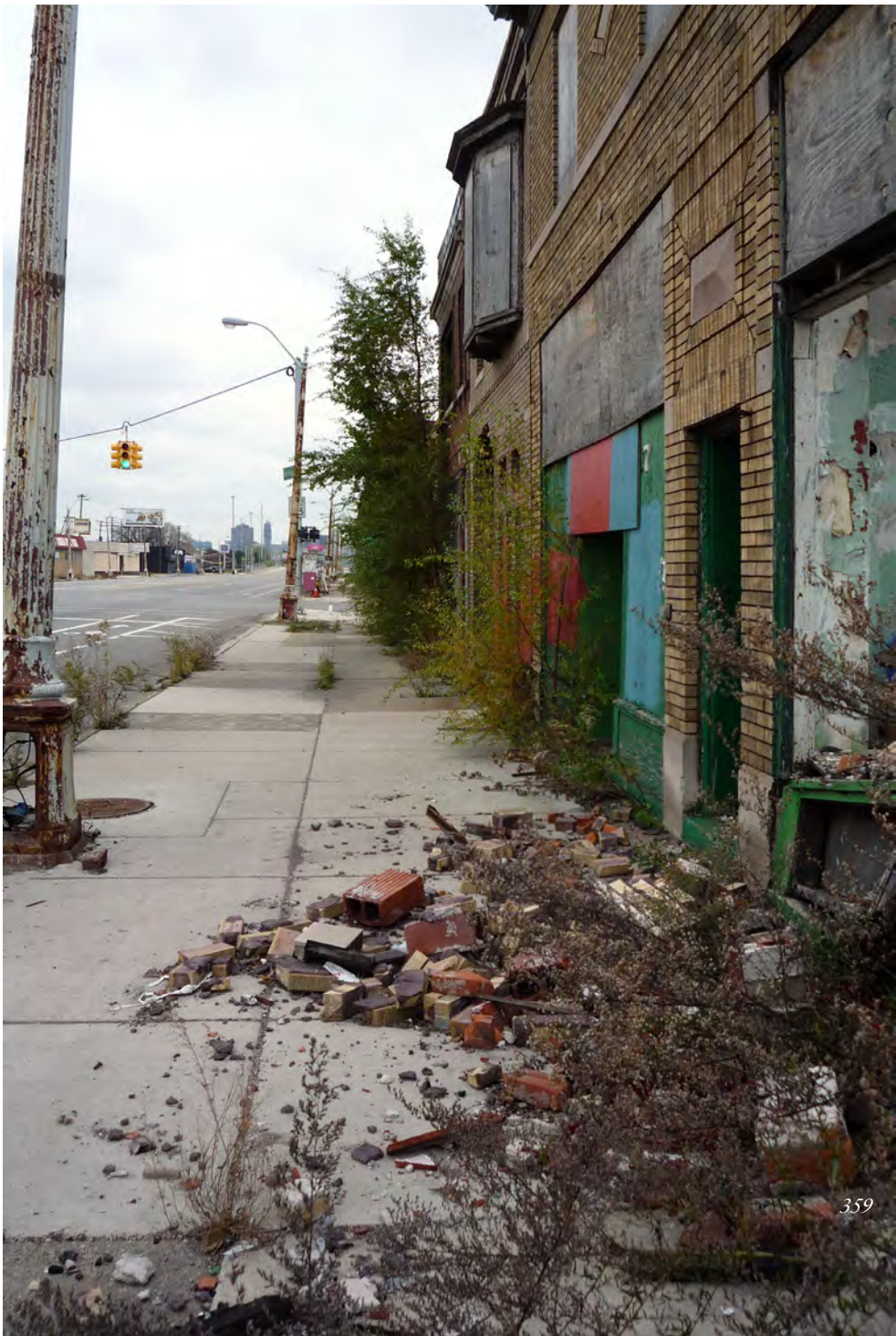
The impact of the decisions in Lansing is saying, those of you who've been abandoned by capital flight, by union busting, by offshoring our manufacturing, by cutting off revenue sharing from the state - we're taking control because you didn't fix the mess we left you³⁶⁹

Figure 6.3: (opposite left)

A sidewalk littered with debris from a collapsed building along Michigan Avenue in Southwest Detroit, 2012.

Figure 6.4: (opposite right)

Broken street lighting, Michigan Avenue in Southwest Detroit, 2012.



The lawsuit was ultimately unsuccessful, Public Act 436 was found not to be in violation of the state constitution, and Detroit entered into a year of tense negotiations with its creditors.

A fire sale of municipal bonds began in earnest as Orr deemed certain loans to be unsecured, but concluded that the \$5.4 billion in bonds issued for the DWSD would be paid in full. Ecstatic investors began buying up the debt, which was trading even below the levels seen after the mortgage crisis of 2008 and subsequent recession. As *Bloomberg Business* noted without irony in the wake of the filing:

The biggest Chapter 9 filing in U.S. history is scaring individuals away from the obligations, creating a chance to profit...Detroit securities guaranteed by water and sewer fees would be refinanced and fully repaid under Emergency Financial Manager Kevyn Orr's pre-bankruptcy proposal.³⁷⁰

While Wall Street was busy trading Detroit's secured misery for profit, unsecured debts such as the two pensions funds run by the city - one for its police and firefighters and one for all other city employees - and the healthcare and life insurance benefits for those pensioners were being positioned for steep reductions. Together, the pension plans amounted to near \$5 billion in unsecured debt,³⁷¹ and the health care and life insurance fund was indebted by more than \$5.7 billion, though some have called the accounting methods used by Orr to reach these figures overinflated, the result of "pension voodoo."³⁷² Over 30,000 current and former municipal employees were part of the city's pension system at the time of the bankruptcy,³⁷³ earning an average of \$19,000 per year, and it was from this group that the largest concessions were to be attained.³⁷⁴ Residents reacted with anger, as noted by judge Rhodes in his final ruling on the matter, which seemed to place at least some of the blame back onto those who had suffered most throughout Detroit's long decline:

Figure 6.5: (opposite top left)

Former mayor Kwame Kilpatrick at his corruption and racketeering trial, 2013.

Figure 6.6: (opposite top right)

Demolition notice in McDougall -Hunt, 2014.

Figure 6.7: (opposite bottom)

Flooding on Jefferson Avenue in Delray, 2014. The building at right is a DWSD station.



...you told me that you were angry that your city was taken away from you and put into bankruptcy. You told me in your statements in court. You told me in your blogs, letters, and protests. I heard you. I urge you now not to forget your anger. Your enduring and collective memory of what happened here...will be exactly what will prevent this from ever happening again. Democracy is not a spectator sport. And so I ask you, for the good of the City's fresh start, to move past your anger. Move past it and join in the work that is necessary to fix this city. Help your city leaders do that. It is your city.³⁷⁵

Bond insurers also went after any city asset they could find. The collection of the Detroit Institute of Arts was appraised by Christie's auction house as creditors sought control over the city owned portion of the collection estimated at nearly \$1 billion. While trimming pensions seemed a fine prospect to those negotiating the bankruptcy, the possibility of selling the incredible collection of art at the DIA incensed many wealthy Michiganders, who had been donating pieces to the museum for years, in many cases, for generations. Those opposed warned that not only would the art be sold off at a fractions of its value, given the glut it would create in the art market, but that the gallery that remained would be irreparably compromised by the loss of so much of its collection.

As the exurban elite rallied to save their philanthropic legacy, a plan known as the Grand Bargain was hatched to help Detroit meet its debt obligations, while staving off the ruin of the city's temple to the arts. It was clear that the DIA would have to contribute something to the Grand Bargain, and over \$100 million was ultimately pledged to it by individual donors and the General Motors Corporation, to be added to grants and state funding totaling nearly \$600 million. These funds will be managed over twenty years by the Foundation for Detroit's Future in order to offset concessions made by pensioners and to ensure the lasting stability of Detroit's obligations to its civil service and the continued operation of the DIA.³⁷⁶

One of the largest and most combative creditors was Syncora, a Bermuda-based bond insurer to whom the city owed \$400 million. Having lost substantial market capital following the 2008 mortgage crisis, the company was relentless in its pursuit of its debts,

Figure 6.8:
Mayor Mike Duggan.



demanding information on all retirees currently collecting pension in Detroit, forcing the Christie's art appraisal of the DIA collection, and pushing the city to offer up the Coleman A. Young International Airport, the parking garage under the Grand Circus Park, the former DPD headquarters in Greektown, 2.7 acres of vacant land in Rivertown, seven acres over three properties in the Chene Park and Jefferson area,³⁷⁷ and the Detroit-Windsor Tunnel as payment.³⁷⁸ Claiming that they stood to lose nearly their entire investment in the city, Syncora stood by its demands for seventy-five percent of what it was owed, stating in its legal filings before the bankruptcy court:

Chapter 9 bankruptcies are a tempting place to break out the torches and pitchforks and pursue the city's lenders through the streets...It is a time-honored and politically-popular approach. But the bankruptcy code deplors - and forbids - a city from favoring one class while showing animus and unfairness to another.³⁷⁹

In a similar deal, the Joe Louis Arena and its associated parking garage was handed over to the Financial Guaranty Insurance Corporation (FGIC), owed debts of nearly \$1 billion, which will demolish the structures with another \$6 million of state funds, opening up nine acres of land next to the Cobo Centre for redevelopment into residences, hotels, or offices.³⁸⁰ FGIC was pushing the city for further compensation, arguing that Detroit's real estate holdings were worth hundreds of millions of dollars more than what was owed to the company, and that at least a half billion dollars in property could be foreclosed upon by the city immediately. Presumably they were referring not to the properties already owned by the city, but rather to those thousands of homes and businesses still occupied, which the city could foreclose upon for delinquent property tax payments.

When Detroit emerged from bankruptcy in December 2014, \$7 billion in municipal debt had been erased and the privatization of the city was nearly complete.³⁸¹ School which only a few years before had been threatened with closure were now offered for sale to charter companies that would offer for-profit education to Detroit's youth.³⁸² Unions had been forced to roll over on collective agreements drawn up in good faith over many years, and pensioners saw moderate cuts to their already low benefits, and even larger cuts to

the health and life insurance policies that complemented their pensions. The municipal authority responsible for street lighting was eliminated and the task turned over to a private corporation, as was the task of removing the tens of thousands of blighted structures that dotted the cityscape. Privatization of garbage collection and the fledging recycling service was completed and the DPD, while avoiding the most punishing of cuts to its pension funds, was forced to accept salary rollbacks.³⁸³ Detroit's decrepit fleet of police cruisers and EMS vehicles was left unaddressed, save for a few donations in kind from General Motors. In addition to the handing over of city assets and pension funds, tax subsidies and grants from the state were thrown at any major corporation that would locate in the city. The statistics are troubling: \$50 million in tax write-offs to Dan Gilbert and Quicken loans, a carry over from the earlier relocation of his company; \$4.2 million in city and state tax breaks for Whole Foods subsidiary Papa Joe's; \$16.9 million in school tax breaks and brownfield redevelopment credits to grocery chain Meijer; \$27 million for an office tower for real estate firm Schostak Brother & Co.;³⁸⁴ in addition to the hundreds of millions being funneled into the new arena for the Detroit Red Wings, including \$3.4 million for DTE Energy to buy a decrepit rooming house appraised at less than \$100,000. The utility intends to demolish the building and build infrastructure to power the new arena on the land.³⁸⁵

Privatization has not yet come to the DWSD, which recently negotiated new distribution contracts in the Metro, much of which is supplied with water and sewerage services by the Detroit based utility. Despite this renewed regional relationship, and with its bond issue being heavily traded on the stock market, the DWSD began to shut off water services to thousands of city residents with delinquent accounts. Because the \$5 billion in debts carried by the DWSD are secured, they were the first to be scooped up by financiers. These liabilities are secured by future payments made to the utility by its customers, in contrast to other municipal debts for which the city had no dedicated revenue stream, and pressure from investors has forced the DWSD to try and collect on the millions of dollars in unpaid water bills throughout the city.³⁸⁶ These accounts represented nearly 150,000 residents, nearly half of the utility's Detroit customers, many of whom already live in precarious and impoverished circumstances, and are part of a strategy to recoup some of the millions of dollars of yearly debt service paid by the DWSD.³⁸⁷ Despite the fact

Figure 6.9: (opposite top left)

The Detroit-Windsor tunnel, now the property of Syncora, 2014.

Figure 6.10: (opposite top right)

The Joe Louis Arena, now the property of FGIC, 2012.

Figure 6.11: (opposite bottom)

The land in Rivertown given to Syncora, 2014.



that Detroit is located within the Great Lakes watershed and should have little difficulty accessing fresh water, the average cost of water service has more than doubled in the past the decade, and now stands at twice the national average for American cities.³⁸⁸ The cutoffs and subsequent discussions of privatizing the service prompted outrage within and without the community, who viewed the move as yet another handover of public wealth in the long disgrace that has been Detroit's bankruptcy, as well as a violation of a basic human right. The Council of Canadians trucked thousands of liters of water over the Ambassador Bridge to City Hall and petitioned the United Nations, which charged that the city has violated the right to water and sanitation adopted by its general assembly only five years previous.³⁸⁹ At the same time, the Detroit Water Brigade was formed to supply bottled water to thousands of city residents, operating out of churches, community centres, and private homes. Newly elected Mayor Mike Duggan has promised to scale back the shut-offs, now that Kevyn Orr is slowly returning democratic powers to the Mayor's office and the city council, but offered no changes to the DWSD policy of shutting off accounts owing \$150 or more that have been delinquent for two months. At best, he promised only to delay water shutoffs for a few weeks in an attempt to give residents time to settle their accounts. This in a city where an estimated forty percent of the population lives below the poverty line.³⁹⁰ Congressman John Conyers has been a vocal opponent of the water shut-offs, which he views as economically shortsighted, a danger to public health, and the first moves in an as-yet revealed plan to privatize the water service. This last facet of the DWSD policy, still under contemplation, has been already been deployed in many American cities and, most notoriously, in developing countries, where obscene profits can be acquired from the most vulnerable communities while the service itself declines markedly, as Conyers has noted:

So why are local authorities even attempting these cutoffs? The clearest answer is that they're a prelude to privatization - a signal to potential investors that the utility is getting tough on those who miss payments.

Figure 6.12: (opposite top left)

Pensioners protest emergency financial management at the Coleman A. Young Municipal Centre, 2013.

Figure 6.13: (opposite top right)

Protestors gather in Midtown in support of the DIA, 2013.

Figure 6.14: (opposite bottom right)

East side resident Kenya Jones fills a water bucket at a vacant home in her neighbourhood after her water was shut off, 2014.

Figure 6.15: (opposite bottom left)

Citizens march in downtown Detroit to protest the DWSD water shut-offs, 2014.

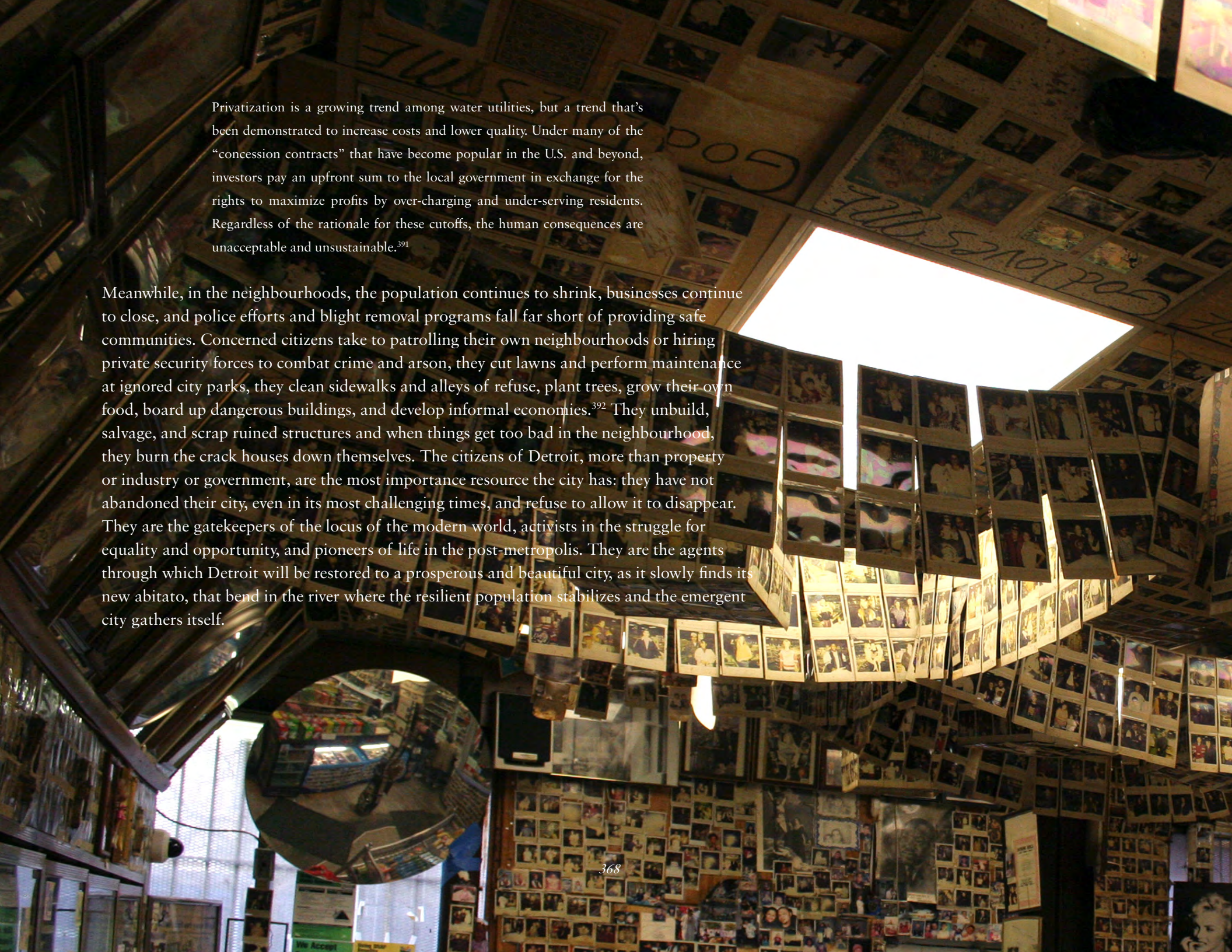
Figure 6.16: (overleaf)

The Lawndale Market, 2012. Also known as the People's Polaroids, owner Amad Samaan has covered his party store with photographs of his customers over three decades of operation.



Privatization is a growing trend among water utilities, but a trend that's been demonstrated to increase costs and lower quality. Under many of the "concession contracts" that have become popular in the U.S. and beyond, investors pay an upfront sum to the local government in exchange for the rights to maximize profits by over-charging and under-serving residents. Regardless of the rationale for these cutoffs, the human consequences are unacceptable and unsustainable.³⁹¹

Meanwhile, in the neighbourhoods, the population continues to shrink, businesses continue to close, and police efforts and blight removal programs fall far short of providing safe communities. Concerned citizens take to patrolling their own neighbourhoods or hiring private security forces to combat crime and arson, they cut lawns and perform maintenance at ignored city parks, they clean sidewalks and alleys of refuse, plant trees, grow their own food, board up dangerous buildings, and develop informal economies.³⁹² They unbuild, salvage, and scrap ruined structures and when things get too bad in the neighbourhood, they burn the crack houses down themselves. The citizens of Detroit, more than property or industry or government, are the most important resource the city has: they have not abandoned their city, even in its most challenging times, and refuse to allow it to disappear. They are the gatekeepers of the locus of the modern world, activists in the struggle for equality and opportunity, and pioneers of life in the post-metropolis. They are the agents through which Detroit will be restored to a prosperous and beautiful city, as it slowly finds its new abitato, that bend in the river where the resilient population stabilizes and the emergent city gathers itself.





Kindergarten Diploma
Doris L. ...
CITIZENSHIP

Kindergarten Diploma
Congratulations
Your ...
has ...
Great ...

ATHLETIC AWARDS
MADE BY ...

EPILOGUE





I see a beautiful city and a brilliant people rising from this abyss, and, in their struggles to be truly free, in their triumphs and defeats, through long years to come, I see the evil of this time and of the previous time of which this is the natural birth, gradually making expiation for itself and wearing out.

Charles Dickens³⁹³

In every age someone, looking at [the city] as it was, imagined a way of making it the ideal city, but while he constructed his miniature model, [the city] was already no longer the same as before, and what had been until yesterday a possible future became only a toy in a glass globe.

Italo Calvino³⁹⁴

Wherever technology reaches its real fulfillment, it transcends into architecture. It is true that architecture depends on facts, but its real field of activity is in the realm of the significance. I hope you will understand that architecture has nothing to do with the inventions of forms. It is not a playground for children, young or old. Architecture is the real battleground of the spirit. Architecture writes the history of the epochs and gave them their names. Architecture depends on time.

Ludwig Mies van der Rohe³⁹⁵

This is the sixth or seventh thesis that I have written on the city of Detroit. It is the product of all of these past endeavours, a summation of the many ways of viewing Detroit that I have discovered so far. As an outsider, as a Canadian, as an architect in training, I am tempted by the low hanging fruit; I will find the problem, I know it is there, its name can be learned and spoken, and then I can design it away. This turned out not to be so.

Detroit offers many opportunities for the designer or the artist to reorder the city, to extract a neighbourhood from the greater milieu and program it with novel interventions, perhaps a mixed use future city, a light rail line or monorail, perhaps a tech incubator, a container city, a new hockey arena, or a casino. All have some validity, and all are well-intentioned, or at least can be presented as such. But all ignore the crucial fact that

Figure 7.0: (p. 370-371)

The skyline of downtown Detroit, 2012.

Figure 7.1: (p. 374-375 underlay)

Self-portrait on the People Mover, 2012.

Figure 7.2: (p. 374)

Children pose with their father and a freshly caught Green Bass at Mariner's Park, 2014.

Figure 7.3: (p. 375 top right)

The Gaelic League Irish American Club on Michigan Avenue in Corktown, 2011.

Figure 7.4: (p. 375 bottom right)

A street performer in Greektown, 2012.

Figure 7.5: (p. 376-377)

Children play during recess at the Chrysler Elementary School in Lafayette Park, 2014.

the problems facing Detroit are non-architectural, and thus do not have solutions that are solely architectural. Architecture, the form of the city and its built things, are the living and dying evidence of Detroit's greater problems, they are the repository of lives and dreams once found, now lost. When a building is destroyed, whether a magnificent tower of the Gilded Age, or mansion on Alfred Street, or a cinderblock machine shop or a shotgun shack, it is not simply an architectural loss, but an erasure of the past: as Jerry Herron as written, it is a humiliation of history.³⁹⁶

Landscape urbanism, so often posited as the agent of positive change in shrinking cities, offers modest solutions to some of Detroit's more aesthetic and environmental urban issues, redeveloping waterfront brownfield sites and repurposing railroad infrastructure. Other proposals seek to bridge the neighbourhood caesura caused by sunken interstate networks, to try to stitch back together what had been intentionally cut apart. These improvements contribute to civic pride and offer recreational amenities, while promoting urban connectivity with and tourism in Detroit's stable city core. The positive impacts of such development may indeed trickle down through the local economy, though many years of such investment have demonstrated only modest gains and have failed to stem the flow of residents out of the city. It is also worth noting that in a city with such an incredible amount of vacancy and open space, further parkland development is unlikely to make a substantive impact on the public perception of the urban realm. Nearly all of Detroit's parks are today little more than grassy fields, partially maintained and devoid most of the amenities and activities typical of city green space.

Large scale manipulation of the city by investors, mayors and their governments, and by states and even other nations has continued nearly unabated since the first shovels cleared the edges of Paradise Valley for the Brewster Homes. Financial chaos has allowed for a fire sale of properties and an unprecedented focus on the removal of blight and on the importance of good governance, the latter of which is the lasting legacy of Detroit's decline. Successive, seemingly desperate attempts to reverse the collapse of the city have left Detroit with many publicly-funded projects of variable success, while huge swaths of assembled, non-productive vacancy are the result of the predictable failure of a municipal government to influence global markets.

Detroit Future City is the perhaps the most important urban plan brought forward in Detroit since the Cobo's Detroit Plan. The product of two consecutive administrations, it envisions a stabilized population of 400,000 - 600,000 living in a city with twice as many jobs available as there are residents. It seeks integrated transportation networks between neighbourhoods in the city and the suburbs beyond, and has focused a considerable amount of attention in neighbourhoods beyond the core, the growth of which are predicted to be self-sustaining beginning in 2030. Considerable focus has been placed on the role of green infrastructure and the improvement of the environment through stormwater retention ponds and the daylighting of buried creeks, particularly on the city's east side. Exhaustive in its scope, the plan covers all areas of life in the city from the economy, provision of city services, and access to education to land use, brownfield remediation, and expansion of the parks system.³⁹⁶ It proposes developing a unique approach for each struggling neighbourhood in the city, depending on its strengths and its needs, and perhaps offers a framework for the type of all-encompassing strategy that will allow the post-metropolis to emerge again as the most modern city in the world.

There turned out to be two Detroit's after all: the failed one, the city of murder and fire that we hear terrible stories about on the news and which serves as cannon fodder for the economic war machine, and the other city: full of experiments and dreams and people who have struggled and endured, beautiful places and sacred ruins. I caught a fleeting glimpse of the first Detroit, but the second was the one I found.









Glossary & Abbreviations

Abitato

1. The portion of Rome within the ancient walls that remained occupied following the Gothic sackings of the sixth century. With the aqueducts severed and drainage infrastructure collapsing, Rome's dwindling population moved into the oldest portion of the city, the Campus Martius where the Tiber River could be more easily accessed.³⁹⁸
2. Detroit at 100 percent occupancy. Making planes, making bombs; winning the War.³⁹⁹
2. The suburbs of Detroit after 1960.

Arsenal (of Democracy)

1. Detroit during the Second World War. Refers to the near-complete halting of automobile production in the city's factories, which were converted with great effect into assembly lines for the machines of war.⁴⁰⁰

Big Three, the

1. The major automakers of Detroit: Ford, Chrysler, and General Motors.
2. The most poignant examples of corporate welfare and the failure of the neoliberal economic model.⁴⁰¹

Blight Tourism

1. A disparaging term for those urban explorers who travel to destroyed parts of America's oldest cities in search of sublime landscapes and modern ruins.⁴⁰²
2. An average walk through any neighbourhood in Detroit other than downtown (camera optional).

Blockbusting

1. A process whereby real estate agents sell a home to a black family in an all-white neighbourhood (or merely spread rumours that they have), first price gouging the black family, then taking advantage of the fire sale when white families decamp.

Broadacreing

1. A process in which excess vacant land is reimagined as a pastoral landscape where the remaining structures of the city neighbourhoods are interspersed with urban farm plots, re-naturalized landscapes, solar panels, and infill. Requires a densely packed economic core area in order to function.⁴⁰³

Copperhead

1. A species of poisonous pit viper, indigenous to parts of North America.
2. An American northerner with sympathy for slave-ownership.⁴⁰⁴

D, the

1. Detroit.⁴⁰⁵

Datascapes

1. Data-driven, map-based urban design strategies that seek to identify hotspots or connections not immediately perceived. Useful in targeted planning, though somewhat devoid of the more nuanced reading required to understand and recuperate Detroit's struggling neighbourhoods.

Decampment

1. Sudden evacuation.
2. A voluntary process whereby a person or group of people leave a destabilized neighbourhood for a more prosperous one, usually outside the city limits. Also visible in industrial relocation practices.

Delta City

1. A new, privatized city, built over the deliberate ruins of the old city; one within which a new social order can be created, with the desired demographics and necessary security. See Robocop.

Détroit

1. Fr. The straits.
2. Detroit.⁴⁰⁶

Detroit Diamonds

1. The small cubes of tempered glass that result from the shattering of a car window. They are usually to be found in piles on the edges of the street. Their presence implies that one should find another place to park the car.
2. The constellation of tiny treasures scattered across the city of Detroit. Can be experiential, scenic, cultural, built, or unbuilt.

Detroitism

1. The process whereby modern industrial logic asserts itself on the form of the city.
2. The process whereby liberal market capital and its effect on urbanism is expressed in physical form.
3. The name given to the urban disinvestments so common in Detroit, when they occur to other cities.

Detroit Renaissance

1. An early 1970s revitalization plan that hinged upon the redevelopment of the riverfront. Partially realized. See RenCen.

Devil's Night

1. The evening before Halloween. In late twentieth century Detroit, it has been characterized by indiscriminate acts of arson throughout the inner city.⁴⁰⁷

Devolutionary Urbanism

1. A largely neoliberal form of urban planning and development unconcerned with the established failures of the modern project and relying heavily upon expropriation, blackmail, and government subsidy for its stable function. Always formal (owned) in its manifestation.
2. Restorative nostalgia expressed in architecture and planning.⁴⁰⁸

DDA

1. The Detroit Development Authority.

DEGC

1. The Detroit Economic Growth Corporation
2. A cheerleading agency for anything that might bring Detroit some money or growth, regardless of the externalities of that growth. Leads to the building of three casinos or a downtown prison in a struggling city, for example.

DHC

1. The Detroit Housing Commission, established by the City in 1933. Operates as a municipal parallel to HUD.⁴⁰⁹

DIA

1. The Detroit Institute of Arts, founded in 1885, and one of the most significant art collections in America. Inscribed above the main entrance is the phrase “dedicated by the people of Detroit to the knowledge and enjoyment of art.”
2. Approximately \$1 billion of assets held in public trust, often encircled by the buzzards feasting upon the city post-bankruptcy.⁴¹⁰

Disabitato

1. The portion of Rome within the ancient walls that was slowly evacuated, beginning in late antiquity, and continuing through regional economic decline in the Mediterranean and the Gothic sieges of the sixth century. This area came to be a mixed landscape of ruinous structures and ancient temples amidst re-wilding landscape. The population during this time dropped from over one million to an estimated 30,000.⁴¹¹ Contrast with Abitato.
2. The ring of neglected and depopulated neighbourhoods surrounding Detroit’s city centre. Not to be confined to the city limits, this area grows outwards from Detroit into the Metro.
3. Inner city Detroit post 1960.

Encampment

1. Hastily built, temporary accommodations for troops or nomads.
2. Informal occupation of vacant, underused buildings and sites.

Exchange Value

1. What something is worth in trade.
2. The name given to the illusory wealth that governments presume to derive from generous tax subsidies or grants given to business, industry, and professional sport. Known to precipitate steep redistributions of the tax burden away from corporate money and onto the backs of citizens.
3. If you build it, they will come.

Expropriation

1. The act of forcing residents, usually low-income, from their homes so that the land may be depopulated or destroyed of value, then cleared and offered to industry, government, or speculators. See Urban Renewal.

Fannie Mae

1. The Federal National Mortgage Association, born of New Deal policies, is a publicly traded company with federal backing that provides affordable mortgage credit to owners. It was highly exposed to the financial crisis of 2008, and was taken over by the federal government, who bailed it out with taxpayer money.⁴¹²

Foreclosure

1. A process whereby a party is deprived of their property after failing to manage mortgage, debt, or tax payments. Typically reserved for the delinquent poor and middle-class, foreclosure tends not to impact millionaire and billionaire landowners, who are given substantial leeway in settling their accounts.⁴¹³
2. A legal means of property theft, following the coercion of the mortgager into a non-repayable debt.
3. A major contributor to unbuilding.

Freddie Mac

1. The Federal Home Loan Mortgage Corporation is a younger counterpart to Fannie Mae, and performs the same functions in the secondary mortgage market, acquiring loans and securities to promote home ownership.⁴¹⁴ As with Fannie Mae, it was subject to Federal conservatorship in the wake of the 2008 crisis.

FHA

1. The Federal Housing Administration, responsible for financing loans to homebuyers and setting criteria for quality of construction. Created in 1934 amidst the great depression.⁴¹⁵

Gridiron, the

1. A method of urban planning where streets run at right angles to each other.
2. The urban fabric of Detroit that arose from the abandonment of the Woodward Plan and the transformation of French farm plots into city streets. Detroit's gridiron is discontinuous and non-parallel in many places.

Horsecar

1. A horse-driven streetcar operating on rail lines, usually set within a dirt road.

HUAC

1. House Committee on Un-American Activities.
2. An anti-communist witch hunt spearhead by the late United States Senator Joseph McCarthy. This type of public denouncement, spying, blacklisting, and intimidation was known as McCarthyism.

HUD

1. The United States Department of Housing and Urban Development, created by President Lyndon B. Johnson in 1965 to oversee the creation of affordable housing across the nation. Predecessor to the 1937 United States Housing Act which began the process of subsidized housing construction.⁴¹⁶

Metal Bending Economy

1. Detroit's economy prior to decentralization of the automobile industry. Consisting of a sole primary export industry, it is joined by the secondary industries of metal production, fabricated metals, and nonelectrical machinery.
2. An economy currently in the final stages of its decline in North America.

Metro Region

1. Detroit, its suburbs and satellites, sometimes including Windsor and parts of Southern Ontario.

Motor City, the

1. Detroit.⁴¹⁷

Motown

1. Detroit.⁴¹⁸
2. Motown Records.

Murder City

1. Detroit.⁴¹⁹

NAACP

1. The National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People.

NAFTA

1. The North American Free Trade Agreement.
2. A neoliberal market policy that caused further decentralization of traditional manufacturing industries and shattered the dominance of Detroit as the world's primary site of automobile production.

National Negro Congress

1. An organization devoted to social justice and racial equality in America.

Neoliberalism

1. An economic model, growing in discredit, which eschews all government market intervention, ultimately removing the public from their role as contributors to the decision making that manages an economy and placing that responsibility in the hands of dominant actors on the global economic stage. Frequently pits participating populations against one another in a race to the bottom capital investment strategy, preferring to bring governments to their knees in search of increased profits and tax abatements rather than to work in the best interest of society at large.
2. A means of destroying a metal bending economy.
3. An economic method for undermining democracy. See Reaganomics.

The New Deal

1. A set of policies enacted by President Franklin D. Roosevelt that altered relationships between federal, state, and municipal governments, and aimed to establish a more equitable society in the wake of the Great Depression. The New Deal has alternately been hailed as a means to empower America's urban population and decried as a form of wealth redistribution, depending on one's politics.⁴²⁰ Compare with Reaganomics.

Palisade

1. Wooden fortifications consisting of stakes driven into the ground.
2. A name often given to gated communities and similar types of devolutionary urbanism, apparently without irony.

Party Store

1. A store where canned or boxed foods and limited fresh staples are sold alongside beer and wine, spirits, lottery tickets, and cigarettes. Typically located at street corners in partially occupied neighbourhoods, they are the dominant mercantile typology of Detroit.

People Mover

1. Five kilometers of elevated monorail linking core locations in Detroit. Stops include the RenCen, Cobo Hall, the Joe Louis Arena, Times Square, the Grand Circus, and the Greektown Casino.
2. A pair of automated ghost cars, silently encircling downtown Detroit.
3. A reasonably successful moving billboard system.

Pinkface

1. A white person or a Caucasian.
2. A more accurate description of the colour of white people's faces.⁴²¹

Post-Metropolis, the

1. A city to have reached and later declined below a population benchmark of one million residents.
2. The end result of the neoliberal project. May or may not require the bankrupting of the city.
3. Detroit.

Reaganomics

1. A neoliberal policy movement in the United States which began under the administration of actor and then later, president, Ronald Reagan. The primary goals were to unfetter markets from government intervention, dramatically reduce income and business taxes, remove all barriers to international trade, and reduce inflation, and the dice were rolled accordingly. The idea seems to have been discredited, though it persists in government policy to this day.⁴²² Can be seen as a counter position to the New Deal in that it fundamentally undermined the social contract that had been established under Roosevelt and returned much of the control of the country to moneyed interests. Today, America is in the late stages of this game.
2. A means of undermining democracy using economic theory. See neoliberalism.
3. An economic experiment, conducted at the scale of a nation, without grounds or popular consent.

Redlining

1. A neighbourhood classification scheme in which a letter grade from A to D is assigned a particular area, indicating its suitability for granting loans and mortgages.
2. A means of starving black neighbourhoods from investment.

RenCen

1. The Renaissance Centre, an over five million square foot complex of office towers, event spaces, restaurants, shops, theaters, and hotel rooms located on the Detroit riverfront. Home to the headquarters of General Motors and one station of the People Mover.⁴²³
2. Detroit's watchtower, beacon, lighthouse, and obelisk.

Revolutionary Urbanism

1. The usually informal process by which native and exurban Detroiters occupy underutilized properties, transforming their use and often confounding the established patterns of urban occupation. May be either formal (owned) or informal (squatted upon).

Robocop

1. A 1987 science fiction film directed by Paul Verhoeven.
2. A dystopian nightmare where only machines and cyborgs are capable of pacifying the population of the city.
3. A late pop-culture icon for Detroit, soon to be immortalized in a nine foot tall bronze, which is, apparently, not a joke.⁴²⁴

Ruin Porn

1. Photography which is principally concerned with documenting blighted landscapes and decaying buildings in Rust Belt cities. Like blight tourism, the concept emerges during the late 1980s, contemporary to the work of Vergara. Though generally looked upon as a form of exploitation, it is significant to note that it is impossible to photograph a city such as Detroit without engaging this practice to some extent.
2. Architectural photography that tells stories people may not wish to hear.

Rust Belt

1. The ring of older cities in the American Midwest, the Great Lakes region, and in the northeast that had been defined by steel production and metal-bending industries. Typically these cities exhibit the effects of economic stagnation and population decline. Examples include Detroit & Flint in Michigan, Youngstown and Cleveland, Ohio; Buffalo, New York; and Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.⁴²⁵
2. A network of cities undergoing neoliberal market reorganization, while also enduring democratic deficit.

Sacrifice Zone(s)

1. Blasted-out neighbourhoods whose residents can be enticed or coerced to relocate. These are usually created privately, for the benefit of an adjacent industry in need of physical expansion, and grow in size and at a pace suitable to the needs of the corporation.
2. Anywhere that capital wants to locate.

Scrappers

1. A confounding group of people operating informally to salvage for profit the physical pieces of Detroit that have been abandoned. They respond to the conditions of the day (too many unused buildings, too few jobs), and are more ravenous than crows to carrion. Often responsible for the complete desecration and destruction of precious historical buildings. As opposed to unbuilders, they covet either the low hanging fruit or the very roots of the tree, but discard all else.
2. People which the neoliberal project have discarded. Generally unsatisfied with the sight of blasted out buildings in their city and unable to find formal work, and are thus employed as entrepreneurs in the unbuilding and harvesting of the surplus city.

Slow Train

1. The ceaseless, plodding process of reform that either revolutionizes or destroys olds forms of the city, of society, of government.⁴²⁶
2. The road back to prosperity for Detroit.

South Detroit

1. Windsor.⁴²⁷

Squatting

1. The act of inhabiting a property which one does not hold title or lease to. A common occurrence in Detroit.
2. The act of inhabiting a property which one previously held title or lease to, but was relieved of following the crisis of 2008. An even more common occurrence in Detroit.

313, the

1. Detroit.⁴²⁸
2. Detroit and its immediate suburbs, ie. those cities which share the area code 313.

UAW

1. The United Automobile Workers

Unbuilding

1. The major architectural preoccupation of Detroit. It is achieved primarily through deconstruction, demolition, scrapping, neglect, and arson, and is largely destructive in nature. A future micro economy may emerge in which the practice inverts itself and the pieces of the unbuilt city are used for its reconstruction.⁴²⁹

Urban Prairie

1. Vacant parcels of land that have been cleared of buildings and are contiguous enough such that they can be seen as a whole. Will have only a few mature trees across many lots, with the majority of the vegetation being pioneer species, grasses, ground cover, and shrubs. May or may not be littered with refuse, usually demonstrates evidence of having once been a cultivated landscape, perhaps a yard, an ornamental garden, or a hedgerow.⁴³⁰

Urban Redevelopment

1. The resultant projects after expropriation. Typically either industrial or residential in typology, but can also refer to stadium, highway, and casino building. Industrial sites are often massive and commanding of prime lands along the waterfront or in former neighbourhoods. Residential urban redevelopment projects typically cause housing shortages and exhibit a proclivity for enclaves of high density marooned within vast expanses of grasslands.

2. An architectural intervention based on the belief that a building, or series thereof, can fix the problems of Detroit. Often involves significant usage of public funds to realize designs that have been conceived in a vacuum, all the while ignoring the larger question(s) as to the nature of the perceived problem.

Zombieland

1. A 2009 comedy-horror film.

2. Detroit.⁴³¹

Endnotes

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- ¹ Unattributed. 1891. *Detroit: The City of the Straits*. Chicago: Knight, Leonard, & Company, 11.
- ² Elmore Leonard. 2011. "Documenting Detroit" in Julia Reyes Taubman. *Detroit: 138 Square Miles*. (pp. 7-8) Detroit: Museum of Contemporary Art Press.
- ³ Calvino, Italo. 1974. *Invisible Cities*. New York: Harcourt Incorporated, 11.
- ⁴ Unattributed. *Detroit: The City of the Straits*, 15.
- ⁵ C.M. Davis. 1964. *Readings in the Geography of Michigan*. Ann Arbor: Ann Arbor Publishers, 1-3. http://geo.msu.edu/extra/geogmich/indian_trails.html (accessed 5 January 2012)
- ⁶ Silas Farmer. 1884. *The History of Detroit & Michigan or the Metropolis Illustrated*. Detroit: Silas Farmer & Co., 6.
- ⁷ Silas Farmer. 1901. *The Michigan Book: A State Encyclopedia*. Detroit: Silas Farmer & Co., 56.
- ⁸ Peter Gavrilovich & Bill McGraw, eds. 2000. *The Detroit Almanac: 300 Years of Life in the Motor City*. Detroit: The Detroit Free Press, 29.
- ⁹ David Lee Poremba. 2001. *Detroit and Its World Setting: A Three Hundred Year Chronology, 1701-2001*. Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 7.
- ¹⁰ Gavrilovich, & McGraw, eds., 32.
- ¹¹ The hospital originally had a grassy lot immediately to its west, which was used for tents and temporary housing during Detroit's mid twentieth century housing crisis. This space became the trailer park, which was cleared some time after 1997 and now sits fallow. Remnants of the foundations and roads of the park can still be seen, and the land is up for sale. The hospital was demolished prior to the park, some time between 1981-1995, and the land is now used for Mariner Park. A promenade at the rivers edge is well-used for fishing. The marina, which was a community institution, closed last year as the economic decline that has touched so much of Detroit made its way through Jefferson-Chalmers. A nearby park, Riverfront-Lakewood East, is untended by the city and is grown over with invasive species and tall grasses. It appears that people use this park as a dirt bike course.
- ¹² Farmer. *The History of Detroit & Michigan or the Metropolis Illustrated*, 8-9.
- ¹³ *Ibid.*, 10.

¹⁴ Francis Parkman. 1898. *The Conspiracy of Pontiac and the Indian War After the Conquests of Canada, Volume II*. Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 72-73.

¹⁵ The cemetery, founded in 1846, was redesigned by Frederick Law Olmstead in 1890, and is the burial site of many prominent Detroit and Michigan citizens including the first territorial governor, Lewis Cass and Detroit's first black mayor, Coleman A. Young. A road that ran alongside the western border of the cemetery, Elmwood Street, was surveyed to follow the creek, though it has been removed, along with the grid-iron buildings west of the cemetery and replaced by a series of towers, mid-rises, and semi-gated cul-de-sac communities. The street grid has also been removed, sometime following the 1967 rebellion. The redevelopment was well underway by 1981. See: <http://www.elmwoodhistoriccemetery.org/cemetery-services/about-us/> (accessed 3 March 2014)

¹⁶ Robert Lacey. 1986. *Ford: The Men and the Machine*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 170-171.

¹⁷ A racetrack, the Detroit Driving Club appears on maps in 1901, located below Jefferson Avenue, between Conner's Creek and the Fox Creek Canal. It disappeared by 1921 when the Jefferson-Chalmers neighbourhood was built to house factory workers from the nearby Continental, Chalmers, and Hudson auto factories.

¹⁸ Max Fisher and Al Taubman were responsible for the development of the Riverfront Apartments during the Young administration. The site had previously been a train yard. Today, Fisher's former company Marathon Oil, is expanding facilities in the far west side of the city in Oakwood Heights/48217.

¹⁹ The Ford Auditorium was demolished in 2011, after sitting empty for over twenty years. The site is currently undeveloped. The future of Joe Louis arena is unclear following the city handing it over to creditors in the wake of the 2013 bankruptcy.

See: Steve Neavling. 9 July 2011. The Fat Lady finally sings for Ford Auditorium. *The Detroit Free Press*. <http://www.freep.com/article/20110708/NEWS01/307080001/The-Fat-Lady-finally-sings-Ford-Auditorium?odyssey=tab%7Ctopnews%7Ctext%7CFRONTPAGE> (accessed 20 January 2012)

²⁰ The city purchased this site in 1981 with the intention of offering it to developers. A total of \$8.6 million was spent by the Young administration to acquire and demolish the properties. No proposals were forthcoming and the site remains undeveloped and partially remediated, as negotiations continue to establish who is responsible for the bill. See: Daniel Duggan. 5 December 2010. UniRoyal site cleanup in sight: Cost-sharing plan in place for a major portion. *Crain's Detroit Business*. <http://www.craigslist.com/article/20101205/FREE/312059958/uniroyal-site-cleanup-in-sight-cost-sharing-plan-in-place-for-major> (accessed 30 November 2014)

²¹ Also Rossi. 1984. *The Architecture of the City*. Cambridge: The MIT Press, 106.

²² Davis, 4.

²³ Philip P. Mason. Early Indian trails traced highways of the future from footpaths to expressways. *Hy-Lighter: The Magazine of the State Highway Department*. August 2008. <http://quod.lib.umich.edu/cgi/i/image/image-idx?id=S-SOS-X-107%5DFOOTPATH> (accessed 25 March 2012)

²⁴ Clarence Monroe Burton. 1896. *Cadillac's Village or Detroit Under Cadillac*. Detroit: C.M. Burton & Co., 24.

²⁵ Campbell was the first British Commander of the fort, writing in 1771 to his superior officers. Quoted in Scott Martelle. 2012. *Detroit: A Biography*. Chicago: Chicago Review Press Incorporated, 9.

²⁶ Burton, 8-12.

²⁷ Detroit's first mayor was Elijah Brush, though in effect the city was run by the courts at that time and mayors were appointed. Williams was mayor in 1824-1825, 1830, 1844-1847, serving five terms. See: Farmer, *The History of Detroit & Michigan or the Metropolis Illustrated*, 140.

²⁸ Poremba. *Detroit and Its World Setting*, 153.

²⁹ Census data obtained from: <http://www.census.gov/population/www/documentation/twps0076/MItab.pdf> (accessed 20 January 2013)

³⁰ Silas Farmer. 1890. *Detroit Past and Present or 1870 vs. 1890*. Detroit: Silas Farmer & Co., 5.

³¹ The motto of the city Detroit, conceived by Father Gabriel Richard following the fire in 1805.

³² There may also have been remnants of the original French fort still within the stockade, though this is unclear. Maps purporting to show the sites of both Fort Detroit and Fort Lernoult typically identify the present day intersection of Fort and Shelby Streets as the location of both.

³³ Farmer. *The History of Detroit & Michigan or the Metropolis Illustrated*, 367-368.

³⁴ There are conflicting versions of this story, but Farmer indicates that several buildings were left standing on the west side of present day Woodward Avenue, however a letter to Governor William Henry Harrison from three days after the fire states that the citadel and storehouses beyond were completely destroyed. See: Poremba. *Detroit: A Motor City History*, 54-55. and Farmer. *The History of Detroit & Michigan or the Metropolis Illustrated*, 490-491.

³⁵ Farmer. *The History of Detroit & Michigan or the Metropolis Illustrated*, 489-490.

³⁶ Poremba. *Detroit and Its World Setting*, 67.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 93.

³⁸ Charles Moore. "Augustus Brevoort Woodward: A Citizen of Two Cities." *Record of the Columbia Historical Society, Washington, D.C.* Vol. 4 (1901): 120.

³⁹ Farmer. *The History of Detroit & Michigan or the Metropolis Illustrated*, 489.

⁴⁰ Robert Conot. 1974. *American Odyssey*. New York: William Morrow & Company Incorporated, 8.

⁴¹ Detroit resident John Gentle, quoted in: Conot, 9.

⁴² Farmer. *The History of Detroit & Michigan or the Metropolis Illustrated*, 70-74.

⁴³ Burton, 127.

⁴⁴ Unattributed. *Detroit: The City of the Straits*, 15.

⁴⁵ From the journal of the author. Quoted in David E. Nye. 2004. *America as Second Creation: Technology and Narratives of New Beginnings*. Cambridge: The MIT Press, 148.

⁴⁶ Poremba. *A Motor City History*, 66.

⁴⁷ Conot, 40-43.

⁴⁸ Conot, 77.

⁴⁹ Poremba. *Motor City History*, 81.

⁵⁰ Population data obtained from: Poremba. *Detroit and Its World Setting*, 241. and <http://www.census.gov/population/www/documentation/twps0076/MItab.pdf> (accessed 20 January 2013) <http://www.census.gov/population/www/documentation/twps0076/MItab.pdf> (accessed 20 January 2013)

⁵¹ Tom Lewis. 1997. *Divided Highways: Building the Interstate Highways, Transforming American Life*. New York: Viking Penguin, 21.

⁵² The Michigan Gazetteer, quoted in Martelle, 55-56.

⁵³ Camilo José Vergara. 1999. *American Ruins*. New York: Monicelli Press Incorporated, 62-64.

⁵⁴ Martelle, 58-59.

⁵⁵ Poremba. *A Motor City History*, 60-61.

⁵⁶ Unattributed. Brush Park Historic District. *Detroit Historical Society*.
<http://detroithistorical.org/learn/encyclopedia-of-detroit/brush-park-historic-district> (accessed 5 November 2013)

⁵⁷ Poremba. *Detroit and Its World Setting*, 123.

⁵⁸ Martelle, 60-62.

⁵⁹ Sondra Smith. Finding aid for William Livingstone papers, 1850-1995. *Bentley Historical Library*. 1996.
<http://quod.lib.umich.edu/b/bhlead/umich-bhl-9653?rgn=main;view=text> (accessed 5 November 2013)

⁶⁰ Martelle, 64.

⁶¹ Jerald A Mitchell. History of the Boston-Edison Neighbourhood. *Boston-Edison Historical Society*.
<http://www.historicbostonedison.org/history.shtml> (accessed 5 November 2013)

⁶² Quoted in Tom Lewis. 1997. *Divided Highways: Building the Interstate Highways, Transforming American Life*. New York: Viking Penguin, 33-34.

⁶³ Charles Kuralt. 1985. *On the Road with Charles Kuralt*. New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons., 17.

⁶⁴ Lewis, 84.

⁶⁵ Quoted in Lewis, 91.

⁶⁶ *Ibid*, 152-153.

⁶⁷ Thomas J. Sugrue. 1996. *The Origins of the Urban Crisis: Race and Inequality in Postwar Detroit*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 47-48.

⁶⁸ Jerry Herron. 2001. "Three mediations on the ruins of Detroit." in Georgia Daskalakis, Charles Waldheim, & Jason Young, eds. 2001. *Stalking Detroit*. (pp. 41) Barcelona: Actar.

⁶⁹ Quoted in Lewis, 193.

⁷⁰ Conot, 436.

⁷¹ Detroit's first millionaire, quoted in: Gavrilovich & McGraw, eds., 55.

⁷² As performed by Albert King on the album *Truckload of Lovin'*. Sir Mack Rice. *Cadillac Assembly Line*. LP Recording. Charly/Utopia Records. 1976.

⁷³ Conot, 77.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 90-93.

⁷⁵ Poremba. *A Motor City History*, 83.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 92-93.

⁷⁷ Patrik Schumacher & Christian Rogner. 2001. After Ford. In Daskalakis, Waldheim, & Young, eds. (pp. 48-50)

⁷⁸ Coleman Albert Young & Lonnie Wheeler. 1994. *Hard Stuff: The Autobiography of Mayor Coleman Young*. New York: Viking Penguin, 148-149.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 51-53.

⁸⁰ Martelle, 65.

⁸¹ Spoken to the author in 2012 by a valet at the Hilton Garden Inn as I was leaving for a day of exploring.

⁸² Chief Pontiac, writing in late 1763 to British Major Gladwin, commander of the fort at Detroit, upon cessation of hostilities during Pontiac's siege of the town. Quoted in: Poremba. *Detroit: A Motor City History*, 37.

⁸³ Nina Simone & Langston Hughes. *Backlash Blues*. LP Recording, RCA Victor Records. 1967.

⁸⁴ Poremba. *Detroit and Its World Setting: A Three Hundred Year Chronology, 1701-2001*, 8.

⁸⁵ Poremba, *Detroit: A Motor City History*, 31-36.

⁸⁶ Peter Gavrilovich & Bill McGraw, eds. 2000. *The Detroit Almanac: 300 Years of Life in the Motor City*. Detroit: The Detroit Free Press, 36-37.

⁸⁷ Afterwards, Fort Lernoult was renamed Fort Shelby for a Kentucky governor. General William Henry Harrison, subsequently the ninth US President, commanded the mission and installed Lewis Cass as governor. See: Poremba. *Detroit and Its World Setting: A Three Hundred Year Chronology, 1701-2001*, 95.

⁸⁸ Quoted in the 1965 Cambridge Union debate between Baldwin and William F. Buckley, Jr. entitled "Has the American Dream Been Achieved at the Expense of the American Negro?"
See: Ta-Nehisi Coates. 12 April 2012. When James Baldwin met Bill Buckley. *The Atlantic*.
<http://www.theatlantic.com/national/archive/2012/04/when-james-baldwin-met-bill-buckley/255787/> (accessed 20 September 2013)
For full video record, see: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oFeoS41xe7w&list=PLcda9HksjQPAoMyS1-501ftVjAod8Veoz&index=21> (accessed 20 September 2013)

⁸⁹ Farmer. *The History of Detroit & Michigan or the Metropolis Illustrated*, 334-335.

⁹⁰ David M. Katzman. 1973. *Before the Ghetto: Black Detroit in the Nineteenth Century*. Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 10-16.

⁹¹ Karolyn Smardz Frost. *I've Got a Home in Glory Land: A Lost Tale of the Underground Railroad*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2007, 179-190.

⁹² The fourth ward was located between Gratiot Avenue to the north, Jefferson Avenue to the south, St. Antoine Street to the west and Rivard Street to the east, roughly comprising the area known years later as Black Bottom.

⁹³ Katzman, 23-25.

⁹⁴ Some disagreement exists as to whether Faulkner was actually black. He himself claimed to be of mixed Spanish and native ancestry, and the *Detroit Free Press* reported that he had "but a trifle of Negro blood in his veins." This, however, did not stop the mob.

See: Matthew Kunding. "Racial Rhetoric: The Detroit Free Press and Its Part in the Detroit Race Riot of 1863," *Michigan Journal of History*. (February 2014): 8-9.
<https://michiganjournalhistory.files.wordpress.com/2014/02/kunding.pdf> (accessed 9 September 2014)

⁹⁵ The first man, Charles Langer, was a white man shot by federal troops seeking to protect the convicted, William Faulkner, from being lynched as he was led from the courthouse to jail. The other man was Joshua Boyd, a black cooper who die from burns suffered during the torching of the shop on Beaubien and Lafayette. See: Katzman, 45-47.

⁹⁶ Ibid. 4-5.

⁹⁷ Gregory Clark. 26 August 2014. The American Dream is an illusion. *Foreign Affairs*.
<http://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/141932/gregory-clark/the-american-dream-is-an-illusion> (accessed 26 January 2015)

⁹⁸ Quoted in Bill McGraw, ed. 2005. *The Quotations of Mayor Coleman A. Young, New Edition*. Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 25.

⁹⁹ Sugrue, 42-45.

¹⁰⁰ Mitch Cope. 2005. Fortification Architecture Detroit. In *Shrinking Cities: Volume 1 - International Research*. (pp. 291) Ostfildern-Ruit: Hatje Cantz Verlag.

¹⁰¹ Sugrue, 36-39.

¹⁰² Ibid., 194-197.

¹⁰³ Russell McLauchlin, *Alfred Street*. (1946), quoted in Daskalakis, Waldheim, & Young, eds. 38.

¹⁰⁴ Quoted in Carl S. Taylor. 1990. *Dangerous Society*. East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 17.

¹⁰⁵ Sugrue, 49.

¹⁰⁶ The paternalistic racism in this statement is typical of the time. Quoted in Paul Abowd, & Oren Goldenberg, dirs. *Brewster-Douglass, You're My Brother*. Cass Corridor Films. 2012. Film.

¹⁰⁷ Joe T. Darden, Richard Child Hill, June Thomas, & Richard Thomas. 1987. *Detroit: Race and Uneven Development*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 154-155.

¹⁰⁸ Conot, 401-402.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., 85.

¹¹⁰ Sugrue, 47-50.

¹¹¹ Unattributed. 31 July 1991. Detroit Journal; When life in the projects was good. *The New York Times*. <http://www.nytimes.com/1991/07/31/us/detroit-journal-when-life-in-the-projects-was-good.html> (accessed 12 August 2014)

¹¹² Martelle, 66.

¹¹³ From the property descriptions on the Detroit Housing Commission website. See: <http://www.dhcmi.org/PublicSiteDetails.aspx?publicsiteid=1> (accessed 5 November 2013)

¹¹⁴ One of the most notorious murders at the Brewster-Douglass project was that of 23-year-old Bilal "Billy" Berreni, a French-Algerian street artist whose handle was Zoo Project. Berreni was shot in the face, and his body thrown from the upper floors of one of the east high-rise towers in July 2013. He was found in the street several days later by an urban explorer. As he had traveled to Detroit from Tunisia and Libya following the 2011 Arab Spring, and had also encircled America since arriving there. His family did not know where he was or when and his new Detroit friends were not worried when he disappeared one day from a shared apartment, as was his custom. After months of laying on a cold slab in the city morgue, his body was identified based on the investigator's suspicions as to the origin of his boots, and four young men were subsequently arrested for armed robbery and murder. All were teenagers at the time of Berreni's murder, the youngest of them was only thirteen. Considerable media coverage exists in the archives of the Detroit Free Press and the Detroit News, among others.

¹¹⁵ Obtained from property ownership data available on the Loveland Technologies website, Detroit: Why Don't We Own This? See: <https://makeloveland.com/us/mi/wayne/detroit/brush-park> (accessed 20 March 2015)

¹¹⁶ Estimated land value based on the tax assessment value of the surrounding neighbourhood. Figures obtained from tax information available on the Loveland Technologies website, Detroit: Why Don't We Own This? See: <https://makeloveland.com/us/mi/wayne/detroit> (accessed 20 March 2015)

¹¹⁷ The conditions of the demolition grant received by Detroit during Mayor David Bing's administration gives the federal government final say over any sale of the property.
See: Anna Clark. 9 September 2013. The Demolition of Brewster-Douglass and our abandonment of the working poor. *Pacific Standard*. <http://www.psmag.com/business-economics/detroit-brewster-douglass-bankruptcy-demolition-housing-projects-65867> (accessed 12 August 2014)

¹¹⁸ Quoted in Abowd & Goldenberg, dirs.

¹¹⁹ John Gallagher. 8 January 2014. Detroit's historic Brush Park may finally see a revival. *The Detroit Free Press*. <http://www.freep.com/apps/pbcs.dll/article?AID=2014301080045> (accessed 16 January 2014)

¹²⁰ The notion of a restorative nostalgia, that which imagines reconstruction of a home or a place that may have never existed comes from the work of Svetlana Boym.
See: Svetlana Boym. 2007. Nostalgia, and its Discontents. In Jeffrey K. Olick, Vered Vintzky-Seroussi, & Daniel Levy, eds. 2011. *The Collective Memory Reader* (pp. 452-453). New York: Oxford University Press.

¹²¹ Kirk Pinho. 1 February 2015. Dan Gilbert, other developers eye city-owned sites in Brush Park, Midtown, riverfront. *Crain's Detroit*. <http://www.crainsdetroit.com/article/20150201/NEWS/302019983/dan-gilbert-other-developers-eye-city-owned-sites-in-brush-park> (accessed 30 March, 2015)

¹²² Sugrue, 55.

¹²³ Young & Wheeler, 47-48.

¹²⁴ Robert Shogan & Tom Craig. 1964. *The Detroit Race Riot: A Study in Violence*. Philadelphia: Chilton Books, 30-31.

¹²⁵ Sugrue, 73-76.

¹²⁶ Conot, 374-375.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, 375.

¹²⁸ Shogan & Craig, 1.

¹²⁹ From a 1942 *Life* Magazine article entitled Detroit is Dynamite, quoted in: Shogan & Craig, 9.

¹³⁰ Cummings was a Detroit resident, Wayne State graduate, World War II veteran, NAACP supporter, and businessman.

Quoted in: Elaine Latzman Moon. 1994. *Untold Tales, Unsung Heroes: An Oral History of Detroit's African American Community, 1918-1967*. Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 35.

¹³¹ John Hartigan, Jr. 1999. *Racial Situations: The Class Predicaments of Whiteness in Detroit*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 62.

¹³² Shogan & Craig, 89.

¹³³ This term, far being derogative, was worn with pride by Detroit residents with Appalachian origins. Many Detroiters who can trace their lineage back to these labour migrants still use the term with pride. For further reading, see Hartigan's unique study on whiteness in Detroit, which describes whiteness and blackness in terms of class relations, and provides crucial insight into how perceptions of difference are typically defined when discussing Detroit.

¹³⁴ August Meir & Elliott Rudwick. 1979. *Black Detroit and the Rise of the UAW*. New York: Oxford University Press, 125.

¹³⁵ Shogan & Craig, 17-33.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, 43.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*, 52-57.

¹³⁸ Speaking at a commencement ceremony at Northwestern High School, one day after the end of the riot. Quoted in Shogan & Craig, 86.

¹³⁹ Mayor Edward Jeffries Jr., quoted in Shogan & Craig, 76.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 89. Adjusted for inflation.

¹⁴¹ Quoted in from the 1965 Cambridge Union debate between Baldwin and William F. Buckley, Jr. entitled "Has the American Dream Been Achieved at the Expense of the American Negro?"

See: Ta-Nehisi Coates. 12 April 2012. When James Baldwin met Bill Buckley. *The Atlantic*.

<http://www.theatlantic.com/national/archive/2012/04/when-james-baldwin-met-bill-buckley/255787/> (accessed 20 September 2013)

For full video record, see: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oFeoS41xe7w&list=PLcda9HksjQPAoMyS1-501ftVjAod8Veoz&index=21> (accessed 20 September 2013)

¹⁴² Jean Baudrillard. 2002. *The Spirit of Terrorism*. London: Verso, 47.

¹⁴³ Poremba. *Detroit and Its World Setting*, 284.

¹⁴⁴ Young & Wheeler, 16.

¹⁴⁵ Robert J. Mowitz & Deil S. Wright. 1962. *Profile of a Metropolis*. Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 12-24.

¹⁴⁶ Sugrue, 56.

¹⁴⁷ Young, & Wheeler, 144.

¹⁴⁸ Mowitz & Wright, 84-96.

¹⁴⁹ The irony of destroying a neighbourhood because it is mixed use is especially rich, given Detroit's desire to realize these types of communities today.

See: Mowitz & Wright, 132-135.

¹⁵⁰ Nancy Kaffer. 28 February 2010. I-94 industrial park: An idea whose time is past? *Crain's Detroit Business*. <http://www.crainsdetroit.com/article/20100228/SUB01/302289961/i-94-industrial-park-an-idea-whose-time-is-past> (accessed 30 August 2014)

¹⁵¹ Quoted in Jerry Herron. 2004. "Real Estate: Buying into Lafayette Park." In Charles Waldheim, ed. *CASE: Hilberseimer/Mies van der Rohe Lafayette Park Detroit*. (pp. 57) Munich: Prestel Verlag.

¹⁵² Hilberseimer, from *The New Regional Pattern*. Quoted in Charles Waldheim, ed. (pp. 19)

¹⁵³ Janine Debanné. 2004. "Claiming Lafayette Park as Public Housing." In Waldheim, ed. (pp. 68)

¹⁵⁴ Jerry Herron. 2004. "Real Estate: Buying into Lafayette Park." In Waldheim, ed. (pp. 57)

¹⁵⁵ Conot, 408-409.

¹⁵⁶ Conot, 444.

¹⁵⁷ Darden, Child Hill, Thomas, & Thomas, 165.

¹⁵⁸ Detlef Mertins. 2004. "Lafayette Park: Collaboration in Order." In Waldheim, ed. (pp. 11-14)

¹⁵⁹ Ibid., 14.

¹⁶⁰ Quoted in Caroline Constant. 2004. "Hilberseimer and Caldwell: Merging Ideologies in the Lafayette Park Landscape." In Waldheim, ed. (pp. 95)

¹⁶¹ Ibid., 96-97.

¹⁶² Janine Debanné. 2004. "Claiming Lafayette Park as Public Housing." In Waldheim, ed. (pp. 67)

¹⁶³ Quoted in from the 1965 Cambridge Union debate between Baldwin and William F. Buckley, Jr. entitled "Has the American Dream Been Achieved at the Expense of the American Negro?"
See: Ta-Nehisi Coates. 12 April 2012. When James Baldwin met Bill Buckley. *The Atlantic*.
<http://www.theatlantic.com/national/archive/2012/04/when-james-baldwin-met-bill-buckley/255787/> (accessed 20 September 2013)
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¹⁶⁴ Al Smith & John Lee Hooker. *The Motor City is Burning*. LP Recording. Bluesway Records, 1967.

¹⁶⁵ Conot, 436.

¹⁶⁶ John Hersey. 1968. *The Algiers Motel Incident*. New York: Alfred E. Knopf Incorporated, 15.

¹⁶⁷ Martelle, 193.

¹⁶⁸ Sugrue, 259.

¹⁶⁹ Martelle, 193.

¹⁷⁰ Young & Wheeler, 179.

¹⁷¹ Quoted in Jerry Herron. 2004. "Real Estate: Buying into Lafayette Park." In Waldheim, ed. (pp. 56)

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- ¹⁷² Dan Hoffman. 2001. "The Best the World Has to Offer." Daskalakis, Waldheim, & Young, eds. (pp. 46-47)
- ¹⁷³ Dan Luria & Jack Russell. 1980. *Rational Reindustrialization: An Economic Development Agenda for Detroit*. Detroit: Widgetripper Press, 1.
- ¹⁷⁴ Population data obtained from: Poremba. *Detroit and Its World Setting*, 284. and <http://quickfacts.census.gov/qfd/states/26/2622000.html> (accessed 10 September 2014)
- ¹⁷⁵ Philipp Oswalt, ed. 2005. *Shrinking Cities: Volume 1 - International Research*. Ostfildern-Ruit: Hatje Cantz Verlag, 226-229.
- ¹⁷⁶ Jerry Herron. 1993. *AfterCulture: Detroit and the Humiliation of History*. Detroit: Wayne State University Press 43.
- ¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 40.
- ¹⁷⁸ Quoted in a 1990 interview with Judd Rhodes. "Detroit's Agony." *Primetime Live*. ABC. Broadcast date: 8 November 1990.
Obtained from: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qbsgLv4o1k&index=29&list=PLcda9HksjQPAoMyS1-501ftVjAod8Veoz&spfreload=10> (accessed 18 December 2013)
- ¹⁷⁹ Census data obtained from:
<http://www.census.gov/popest/data/counties/totals/2012/CO-EST2012-01.html> (accessed 15 September 2013)
http://www.census.gov/popest/data/historical/2010s/vintage_2013/state.html (accessed 15 September 2013)
<http://www.census.gov/popest/data/intercensal/cities/files/SUB-EST00INT.csv> (accessed 15 September 2013)
<http://quickfacts.census.gov/qfd/states/26/2622000.html> (accessed 15 September 2013)
- ¹⁸⁰ Frederick Jackson Turner. 1920. *The Frontier in American History*. New York: Henry Holt & Company, 38.
- ¹⁸¹ Dan Hoffman. 2001. "Erasing Detroit." In Daskalakis, Waldheim, & Young, eds. (pp. 101)
- ¹⁸² Oswalt, ed. *Shrinking Cities: Volume 1 - International Research*, 227.

¹⁸³ Detroit Works Project. 2013. *Detroit Future City: 2012 Strategic Framework Plan*. Detroit: Inland Press, 98.

¹⁸⁴ Jean Baudrillard. 2010. *America*. London: Verso, 122-123.

¹⁸⁵ Quoted in Charles Waldheim & Marili Santos-Munné. 2001. Decamping Detroit. Daskalakis, Waldheim, & Young, eds. (pp. 105)

¹⁸⁶ Population data obtained from: Poremba. *Detroit and Its World Setting*, 284. and <http://quickfacts.census.gov/qfd/states/26/2622000.html> (accessed 10 September 2014)

¹⁸⁷ Steve Neavling. 27 May 2014. 9 Highlights from unprecedented study of Detroit's blighted landscape. *The Motor City Muckraker*. <http://motorcitymuckraker.com/2014/05/27/9-highlights-from-unprecedented-study-of-detroits-blighted-landscape/> (accessed 22 September 2014)

¹⁸⁸ Detroit Works Project Draft: Demonstration Areas 2010.

¹⁸⁹ Detroit Works Project. 2013. *Detroit Future City: 2012 Strategic Framework Plan*. Detroit: Inland Press, 12.

¹⁹⁰ Baudrillard, *The Spirit of Terrorism*, 47.

¹⁹¹ Robin Cristini, now deceased, was the partner of former owner Dominic Cristini. Quoted in Jennifer Dixon. 2 December 2012. Man behind Packard Plant has long said he owns it, but facing lawsuits, now doesn't. *The Detroit Free Press*. <http://archive.freep.com/article/20121202/NEWS01/312020160/Dominic-Cristini-owner-packard-plant> (accessed 20 January 2013)

¹⁹² Quoted in: Alex Atwell. 24 June 104. Uniquely Detroit: the man with the plan for the Packard Plant. *Click on Detroit*. <http://www.clickondetroit.com/news/live-in-the-d/uniquely-detroit-the-man-with-the-plan-for-the-packard-plant/26634042> (accessed 5 October 2014)

¹⁹³ John F. MacArthur. "The Final Days for the Boulevard." *The Packard Cormorant*. 137 (Winter 2009): 28.

¹⁹⁴ Conot, 427.

¹⁹⁵ MacArthur, 29.

¹⁹⁶ Jennifer Dixon. 2 December 2012. Man behind Packard Plant has long said he owns it, but facing lawsuits, now doesn't. *The Detroit Free Press*. <http://archive.freep.com/article/20121202/NEWS01/312020160/Dominic-Cristini-owner-packard-plant> (accessed 20 January 2013)

¹⁹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁹⁸ Christine MacDonald. 15 November 2010. Packard Plant to lose last tenant. *The Detroit News*. <http://detnews.com/article/20101115/METRO01/11150356/Packard-plant-to-lose-last-tenant> (accessed 8 December 2011)

¹⁹⁹ J.C. Reindl. 26 November 2013. Packard Plant bidder says he'll live there, lure auto suppliers, build go-kart track. *The Detroit Free Press*. <http://www.freep.com/article/20131126/BUSINESS06/311260036/> (accessed 5 October 2014)

²⁰⁰ Steve Neavling. 18 September 2014. Works begins on restoring long-neglected Packard Plant, iconic bridge. *The Motor City Muckraker*. <http://motorcitymuckraker.com/2014/09/18/works-begins-on-restoring-long-neglected-packard-plant-iconic-bridge/> (accessed 3 October 2014)

²⁰¹ Associated Press. 17 October 2014. Crews begin demolition of Packard Plant in Detroit. *Crain's Detroit Business*. <http://www.craindetroit.com/article/20141017/NEWS01/141019867/crews-begin-demolition-of-packard-plant-in-detroit> (accessed 20 October 2014)

²⁰² Quoted in: Alex Atwell. 24 June 104. Uniquely Detroit: the man with the plan for the Packard Plant. *Click on Detroit*. <http://www.clickondetroit.com/news/live-in-the-d/uniquely-detroit-the-man-with-the-plan-for-the-packard-plant/26634042> (accessed 5 October 2014)

²⁰³ Charles Waldheim quoted in Oswalt, ed. *Shrinking Cities: Volume 1 - International Research*, 184.

²⁰⁴ Detroit Works Project: Urban and Regional Economic Policy Audit 2011.

²⁰⁵ Historical information obtained from architectural drawings compiled by the United States Library of Congress. See: <http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/mi0680.sheet.00001a/>, <http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/mi0680.sheet.00002a/>, and <http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/mi0680.sheet.00003a/> (accessed 24 November 2014)

²⁰⁶ In his opinion piece, Romney advocates for a neoliberal takeover of the city, restructuring its operations and finances, and reversing collective agreements that have been reached with city employees and the Big Three. See: Mitt Romney. 18 November 2008. Let Detroit go bankrupt. *The New York Times*. <http://www.nytimes.com/2008/11/19/opinion/19romney.html> (accessed 19 April 2014)

²⁰⁷ This has since been accomplished. More than half of the building was demolished and the reminder was retrofitted to become the Outdoor Adventure Centre, a state run facility with simulated outdoor events housed on three levels in the old building. A fair argument could be made that new structure has completely desecrated the original building, though its architects have argued that the demolitions were unavoidable.

See: Kirk Pinho. 11 March 2014. On Detroit River waterfront, Globe building transforms into DNR playground. *Crain's Detroit Business*. <http://www.craigslist.com/article/20140311/BLOG016/140319956/on-detroit-river-waterfront-globe-building-transforms-into-dnr> (accessed 20 March 2014)

²⁰⁸ Camilo José Vergara. 1997. *The New American Ghetto*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 216.

²⁰⁹ Dan Austin. 10 May 2013. Dan Austin: Architectural triage and the Hotel Charlevoix. *The Detroit Free Press*. <http://archive.freep.com/article/20130508/BLOG25/305080097/Detroit-hotel-charlevoix-demolition> (accessed 25 January 2015)

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²¹¹ Associated Press. 11 March 2015. \$500 US Detroit homes may be no bargain due to squatters and unpaid taxes. *CBC News*. <http://www.cbc.ca/news/business/500-us-detroit-homes-may-be-no-bargain-due-to-squatters-and-unpaid-taxes-1.2990753> (accessed 12 March 2015)

²¹² Don Mitchell. 2013. Retrenchment, Revitalization, or the Right to the City?: Four Theses. In *Formerly Urban: Projecting Rust Belt Futures*. (pp. 102) New York: Princeton Architectural Press.

²¹³ McManus is the founder of Little Things Labs, an organization devoted to rethinking the post-industrial city in collaboration with artists and professionals. Quoted in Andrew Herscher. 2012. *The Unreal Estate Guide to Detroit*. (pp. iii) Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press.

²¹⁴ Herron, Jerry. 2007. "Getting to the Heidelberg Project." In Tyree Guyton & Jenenne Whitfield, eds. *Connecting the Dots: Tyree Guyton's Heidelberg Project* (pp. 2-6). Detroit, MI: Wayne State University Press.

²¹⁵ Guyton, Tyree. 2007. "From the Artist." In *Connecting the Dots: Tyree Guyton's Heidelberg Project* (pp. vii). Detroit, MI: Wayne State University Press.

²¹⁶ Herron, Jerry. 2007. "Getting to the Heidelberg Project." In *Connecting the Dots: Tyree Guyton's Heidelberg Project* (pp. 2-6). Detroit, MI: Wayne State University Press.

²¹⁷ Galen, E. 20 August 1998. The last days of the Heidelberg Project. *World Wide Socialist Web*. <http://www.wsws.org/en/articles/1998/08/guy-a20.html> (accessed 4 December 2014)

²¹⁸ McDougall-Hunt resident, quoted in Robert Arens. 2001. "The Heidelberg Project." In Daskalakis, Waldheim, & Young, eds. (pp. 129)

²¹⁹ Unaccredited. Timeline. *The Heidelberg Foundation*. http://www.heidelberg.org/research_resources/timeline.html (accessed 10 September 2014)

²²⁰ Jacobs, Jane. 1992. *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*. New York, NY: Vintage Books, 80-81.

²²¹ Herron, Jerry. 2007. "Getting to the Heidelberg Project." In *Connecting the Dots: Tyree Guyton's Heidelberg Project* (pp. 2-6). Detroit, MI: Wayne State University Press.

²²² Fassinger, James. 14 March 2014. Who is burning down Detroit's world-famous street art? *The Daily Beast*. <http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2014/03/14/who-is-burning-down-detroit-s-world-famous-street-art.html> (accessed 24 March 2014)

²²³ Tucker, Diane. 18 March 2010. Artist Tim Burke recycles Detroit history, and rescues himself. *The Huffington Post*. http://www.huffingtonpost.com/diane-tucker/artist-tim-burke-recycles_b_323990.html? (accessed 10 December 2014)

²²⁴ Jane Jacobs. 1992. *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*. New York: Vintage Books, 372.

²²⁵ Herscher, 238-239.

²²⁶ Pardo, Steve. 18 September 2014. Fire breaks out at house near Heidelberg. *Detroit News*. <http://www.detroitnews.com/story/news/local/wayne-county/2014/09/18/heidelberg-project-fire/15816375/> (accessed 3 October 2014)

²²⁷ Herscher, 287.

²²⁸ Associated Press. 7 March 2014. Fire destroys another Heidelberg house in Detroit. *Crain's Detroit Business*. <http://www.craigslist.com/article/20140307/NEWS01/140309877/fire-destroys-another-heidelberg-house-in-detroit> (accessed 20 March 2014)

²²⁹ Keith Matheny & Tammy Stables Battaglia. 29 December 2013. What now for Heidelberg, as it battles fires and tax problems? *Detroit Free Press*. <http://www.freep.com/apps/pbcs.dll/article?AID=2013312290075> (accessed 25 June 2014)

²³⁰ Vicki Elmer. Heidelberg to launch \$3M capital campaign. *Crain's Detroit Business*. <http://www.craigslist.com/article/20131124/NEWS/311249969> (accessed 20 March 2014)

²³¹ The artist keeps a running count of the days since the event on his website. See: <http://www.detroitindustrialgallery.com>. (accessed 25 November 2014)

²³² Quoted in Chuck Salter. 15 April 2013. How A Young Community of Entrepreneurs is Rebuilding Detroit. *Fast Company*. <http://www.fastcompany.com/3007840/creative-conversations/how-young-community-entrepreneurs-rebuilding-detroit> (accessed 27 November 2014)

²³³ Ibid.

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²³⁵ Quoted in Rebecca Solnit, "Detroit Arcadia," *Harper's*, July 2007, 72.

²³⁶ David Whitford. 29 December 2009. Can farming save Detroit? *Fortune*. http://archive.fortune.com/2009/12/29/news/economy/farming_detroit.fortune/index.htm (accessed 10 March 2015)

²³⁷ Nathan Bomey. 12 August 2014. Detroit discussed vacant land sale with Sam Zell, Blackstone. *The Detroit Free Press*. <http://www.freep.com/apps/pbcs.dll/article?AID=2014308120008> (accessed 22 September 2014)

²³⁸ From the Catherine Ferguson Academy website. See: <http://catherinefergusonacademy.org/about/> (accessed 15 July 2012)

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²⁴² Young & Wheeler, 299.

²⁴³ Associated Press. 5 January 2015. Detroit experiments with shipping container homes to rebuild city's disappearing housing stock. *The National Post*. <http://business.financialpost.com/2015/01/05/detroit-experiments-with-shipping-container-homes-to-rebuild-citys-disappearing-housing-stock/> (accessed 12 March 2015)

²⁴⁴ From the foundation website.
See: <http://www.miufi.org/#!/about/c560> (accessed 12 March 2015)

²⁴⁵ John Gallagher. 2013. *Revolution Detroit*. Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 126.

²⁴⁶ From the foundation website.
See: <http://www.greeningofdetroit.com/what-we-do/job-training/> (accessed 10 March 2015)

²⁴⁷ From the biography of John Hantz.
See: <https://www.northwood.edu/SharedMedia/MEDIA/OBL2012/BIOGRAPHIES/Biography%20-%20John%20Hantz.docx>. (accessed 10 March 2015)

²⁴⁸ Gus Burns. 17 May 2014. 1,000-plus Hantz Farms volunteers plant eventual forest in previously blighted Detroit neighborhood. *MLive*. http://blog.mlive.com/news/detroit_impact/print.html?entry=/2014/05/1000-plus_hantz_farms_voluntee.html (accessed 4 November 2014)

²⁴⁹ Quoted in Priya Mann. 25 July 2014. First Block: Creating an urban farm in Detroit. *Click on Detroit*. <http://www.clickondetroit.com/news/first-block-creating-an-urban-farm-in-detroit/27147260> (accessed 10 March 2015)

²⁵⁰ David Whitford. 29 December 2009. Can farming save Detroit? *Fortune*. http://archive.fortune.com/2009/12/29/news/economy/farming_detroit.fortune/index.htm (accessed 10 March 2015)

²⁵¹ Baudrillard. *America*, 28.

²⁵² Henry Ford, speaking to the *Chicago Tribune* on 25 May 1916, quoted in: Shogan & Craig, 16.

²⁵³ Sugrue, 14.

²⁵⁴ Most commentary on Detroit by the established media was overwhelmingly negative during this period, and the undertones of that impression of the city can be felt throughout Verhoeven's film. Interestingly enough, the chair of Omnicorp is not the antagonist of the film, but rather it is his second in command who fills this role. In the sequel, the CEO has taken his rightful place as an antagonist to RoboCop. See: Paul Verhoeven, dir. *RoboCop*. Orion Pictures. 1987. Film.

²⁵⁵ Wattrick is a former columnist with *MLive* and the managing editor at *Click on Detroit* and has been one of the few dissenting voices in the coverage on Gilbert's downtown takeover. See: Anna Clark. 18 August 2014. Detroit's Dan Gilbert and the 'savior complex'. *Columbia Journalism Review*. http://www.cjr.org/united_states_project/dan_gilbert_detroit.php?page=all (accessed 16 September 2014)

²⁵⁶ While seemingly incongruous with the neoliberal project, the handing over of public wealth to private interest has become an established rule in the modern economy. It is, in fact, an unspoken rule of neoliberalism and one that has been pursued with considerable vigour in Detroit, post-bankruptcy.

²⁵⁷ McGraw, ed., 2.

²⁵⁸ Young & Wheeler, 122.

²⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 200.

²⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 196-199.

²⁶¹ McGraw, ed., 35.

²⁶² Jeanie Wylie. 1989. *Poletown: A Community Betrayed*. Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 202.

²⁶³ McGraw, ed., 12.

²⁶⁴ According to many sources, this was Henry Ford II's nickname.

²⁶⁵ Lacey, 461.

²⁶⁶ Young & Wheeler, 226-227.

²⁶⁷ Darden, Child Hill, Thomas, & Thomas, 45.

²⁶⁸ Darden, Child Hill, Thomas, & Thomas, 49.

²⁶⁹ Lewis, 222.

²⁷⁰ Estimates are based on construction costs per kilometer in Canadian dollars as calculated by Metrolinx, with dollar amounts adjusted for inflation and indexed against the historic value of the US Dollar, which was at par with the Canadian dollar at the time. It is likely the case that the original federal investment would have built even more track in 1975 than is estimated. A considerable wasted opportunity, the cause of which has not been sufficiently explained. See: The Big Move. *Transit Technologies Backgrounder*. 2008.

http://www.metrolinx.com/thebigmove/Docs/big_move/RTP_Backgrounder_Transit_Technologies.pdf (accessed 25 November 2014)

For historic currency data see: Bank of Canada. *Return to a Floating Rate*. <http://www.bankofcanada.ca/wp-content/uploads/2010/07/june1970.pdf> (accessed 25 November 2014)

For inflation data see: <http://www.bankofcanada.ca/rates/related/inflation-calculator/> (accessed 25 November 2014)

²⁷¹ Young & Wheeler, 219.

²⁷² Darden, Child Hill, Thomas, & Thomas, 51.

²⁷³ William Bulkeley. May 1977. Facelift for Detroit. *The Saturday Review*. Quoted in Darden, Child Hill, Thomas, & Thomas, 50.

²⁷⁴ Jon C. Teaford. 1990. *The Rough Road to Renaissance: Urban Revitalization in America, 1940-1985*. Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 271.

²⁷⁵ Darden, Child Hill, Thomas, & Thomas, 187.

²⁷⁶ A spokesman for Coleman Young, speaking in 1985. Quoted in Teaford, 272.

²⁷⁷ The original headquarters, the General Motors Building, was built during the management of founder William C. Durant, when the core city was so congested that a new downtown was envisioned north of Midtown, hence the name New Centre. The building was renamed Cadillac Place after the state government acquired the building. See: David N. Goodman. 9 May 2008. GM buys its Detroit headquarters for \$626 million. *USA Today*. http://usatoday30.usatoday.com/money/autos/2008-05-09-gm-headquarters_n.htm (accessed 10 November 2014)

²⁷⁸ Unattributed. Historical Perspective. *GM RenCen*. <http://automotivemileposts.com/lincoln/versailles/images/vers1977renaissancecenter.jpg> (accessed 20 November 2014)

²⁷⁹ The Grosse Pointes can pay for their own portion of the RiverWalk, should they wish for it to extend further east into their hood. That seems unlikely, as the Grosses, especially the G.P. Park, have done all they can do legally, and some things extra-legally, to separate themselves from Detroit. This includes constructing a farmer's market building in the middle of an historic four lane street connecting the two cities.

²⁸⁰ Quoted in Jeanie Wylie. 1989. *Poletown: A Community Betrayed*. Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 36.

²⁸¹ Young & Wheeler , 252.

²⁸² Wylie, 1-20.

²⁸³ Young & Wheeler, 258.

²⁸⁴ Wylie, 29.

²⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 45-53.

²⁸⁶ Teofilo Lucerno was a seventy year old Poletown resident and an American Indian. He gave this address at a PNC meeting concerning the need to step up their efforts to save the neighbourhood. See: Wylie, 74.

²⁸⁷ *Ibid.* 98-117.

²⁸⁸ Young & Wheeler, 245.

²⁸⁹ In one of the saddest stories to come from the destruction of Poletown, Father Karasiewicz would die of natural causes only a few months after the demolition of his church. Quoted in Wylie, 104.

²⁹⁰ Ibid., 196-197.

²⁹¹ Mogk is a law professor at the University of Michigan. Quoted in John Gallagher. 27 July 2014. One downtown, two empires: Mike Ilitch and Dan Gilbert reshape Detroit. *The Detroit Free Press*. <http://www.freep.com/article/20140727/NEWS01/307270087/Gilbert-Ilitch-Red-Wings-Tigers-Quicken-Detroit> (accessed 22 September 2014)

²⁹² Nine was a bartender at the Comet Bar, which was closed in 2014 to make way for the Ilitch project. Quoted in: Dominic Rushe. 29 March 2014. Detroit: bankrupt city readies for divisive \$450m Red Wings arena. *The Guardian*. <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/mar/29/detroit-bankrupt-red-wings-arena-divides-community> (accessed 17 September 2014)

²⁹³ Young & Wheeler, p. 315.

²⁹⁴ Old Tiger Stadium (formerly Navin Field, then Briggs Stadium) would ultimately be torn down, but the field and the gates remain at the corner of Michigan and Trumbull, soon to be redeveloped as a recreation facility for the Police Athletic Association.

²⁹⁵ Bill Shea & Dustin Walsh. 9 October 2014. Billion-dollar development philosophies: Gilbert quick to the punch; Ilitch opts for slow, hold. *Crain's Detroit Business*. <http://www.crainsdetroit.com/article/20141019/NEWS/310199967/billion-dollar-development-philosophies-gilbert-quick-to-the-punch> (accessed 20 October 2014)

²⁹⁶ Christopher Douglas. 31 August 2014. Detroit, state should have challenged Wings arena plan. *Crain's Detroit Business*. <http://www.crainsdetroit.com/article/20140831/BLOG200/308319991/detroit-state-shouldve-challenged-wings-arena-plan> (accessed 26 January 2015)

²⁹⁷ Joe Guillen & J.C. Reindi. 2 March 2014. Ilitches get all revenues from new publicly financed arena. *The Detroit Free Press*. <http://www.freep.com/article/20140302/NEWS01/303020060/Ilitches-to-get-alles-from-new-publicly-financed-Red-Wings-arena> (accessed 17 August 2014)

²⁹⁸ Estimated net worth, see: <http://www.forbes.com/profile/michael-marian-ilitch/>

²⁹⁹ Ilitch may yet avoid property taxes, as Michigan has classified all vacant urban property as brownfield, in order to facilitate the flow of state and federal tax dollars into the redevelopment of these sites. The Book-Cadillac Hotel, a neoclassical hotel tower built in 1924 was one such recipient of these brownfield redevelopment credits.

³⁰⁰ Quoted in Joe Guillen & J.C. Reindi. 2 March 2014. Ilitches get all revenues from new publicly financed arena. *The Detroit Free Press*. <http://www.freep.com/article/20140302/NEWS01/303020060/Ilitches-to-get-alles-from-new-publicly-financed-Red-Wings-arena> (accessed 17 August 2014)

³⁰¹ Kirk Pinho. 20 December 2013. City Council OKs expanding DDA district for Red Wings arena. *Crain's Detroit Business*. <http://www.craisdetroit.com/article/20131220/NEWS/131229969/city-council-oks-expanding-dda-district-for-new-red-wings-arena> (accessed 16 January 2014)

³⁰² Associated Press. 16 October 2014. Detroit to give Joe Louis Arena land to creditor FGIC for potential hotel, retail, office development. *Crain's Detroit Business*. <http://www.craisdetroit.com/article/20141016/NEWS01/141019896/detroit-to-give-joe-louis-arena-land-to-creditor-fgic-for-potential> (accessed 20 October 2014)

³⁰³ Pat Garafolo & Travis Waldron. 7 September 2012. If you build it, they might not come: The risky economics of sports stadiums. *The Atlantic*. http://www.theatlantic.com/business/archive/2012/09/if-you-build-it-...come-the-risky-economics-of-sports-stadiums/260900/?single_page=true (accessed 17 September 2014)

³⁰⁴ Unaccredited. 3 February 2014. Editorial: Deal for new Detroit hockey arena should come with stipulations. *The Detroit Free Press*. <http://www.freep.com/article/20140203/OPINION01/302030012> (accessed 16 September 2014)

³⁰⁵ At the time of writing, plans are in place to restore the Eddystone Hotel, while the Park Avenue Hotel will be demolished.

See: Joe Guillen. 16 November 2014. Red Wings arena plan raises preservation concerns. *The Detroit Free Press*. <http://www.freep.com/story/news/local/michigan/detroit/2014/11/14/red-wings-historic/19047511/> (accessed 19 November 2014)

³⁰⁶ As spoken to the author, March 2012.

³⁰⁷ As spoken to the author, December 2014.

³⁰⁸ I also shot a handgun for the first time while I was in Detroit, albeit six months after the mugging took place. Notably, the amount of time it takes to fire a semi-automatic handgun until empty is surprisingly low. No more than a few seconds to fire the whole deal, 17 bullets. Handguns are the most terrifying thing I have ever held or had pointed at me. I fired mine into a brick wall.

³⁰⁹ The Detroit press and others prefer to call it Gilbertville, but I digress.

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- ³¹⁰ Kevin Reed. 11 January 2014. Why is Dan Gilbert on the Detroit Blight Removal Task Force? *World Wide Socialist Web*. <http://www.wsws.org/en/articles/2014/01/11/gilb-j11.html> (accessed 11 April 2014)
- ³¹¹ Bill Shea & Dustin Walsh. 9 October 2014. Billion-dollar development philosophies: Gilbert quick to the punch; Ilitch opts for slow, hold. *Crain's Detroit Business*. <http://www.craigslist.com/article/20141019/NEWS/310199967/billion-dollar-development-philosophies-gilbert-quick-to-the-punch> (accessed 20 October 2014)
- ³¹² Unaccredited. 12 September 2014. Dan Gilbert blasts talk about finishing stalled Wayne County jail construction. *WXYZ News*. <http://www.wxyz.com/news/region/detroit/dan-gilbert-blasts-talk-about-finishing-stalled-wayne-county-jail-construction> (accessed 16 September 2014)
- ³¹³ David Segal. 13 April 2013. A missionary's quest to remake the Motor City. *The New York Times*. <http://www.nytimes.com/2013/04/14/business/dan-gilberts-quest-to-remake-downtown-detroit.html?pagewanted=all&r=0> (accessed 19 November 2014)
- ³¹⁴ John Gallagher. 19 November 2014. Compuware HQ sale marks passing of torch. *The Detroit Free Press*. <http://www.freep.com/story/money/business/michigan/2014/11/19/gallagher-gilbert-compuware-quicken/19270897/> (accessed 19 November 2014)
- ³¹⁵ Ben Austen. 11 July 2014. The post-post apocalyptic Detroit. *The New York Times Magazine*. http://www.nytimes.com/2014/07/13/magazine/the-post-post-apoca...mlukp=WT.mc_id&bicmst=1388552400000&bicmet=1420088400000&r=0 (accessed 10 February 2015)
- ³¹⁶ John Gallagher. 26 September 2012. Tight market for downtown Detroit apartment rentals. *The Detroit Free Press*. <http://www.freep.com/article/20120926/BUSINESS06/309260037/Tight-market-for-downtown-Detroit-apartment-rentals> (accessed 30 August 2014)
- ³¹⁷ John Gallagher. 27 July 2014. One downtown, two empires: Mike Ilitch and Dan Gilbert reshape Detroit. *The Detroit Free Press*. <http://www.freep.com/article/20140727/NEWS01/307270087/Gilbert-Ilitch-Red-Wings-Tigers-Quicken-Detroit> (accessed 22 September 2014)
- ³¹⁸ From the website of the Centre for Advancing Research and Solutions for Society at the University of Michigan. See: <http://carss.umich.edu/projects/evolving-projects/detroit-foreclosure-crisis/> (accessed 22 September 2014)

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- ³¹⁹ Ian Dillingham. 13 March 2013. Panel discusses Detroit's housing issues. *The Michigan Daily*. <http://www.michigandaily.com/news/detroit-gentrification-panel-debates-current-issues-0> (accessed 25 March 2013)
- ³²⁰ Michael Hudson. 4 February 2011. Claims of high-pressure sales, fraud at odds with Quicken Loans straight-shooting image. *The Centre for Public Integrity*. <http://www.publicintegrity.org/2011/02/04/2156/claims-high-pressure-sales-fraud-odds-quicken-loans'-straight-shooting-image> (accessed 25 March 2013)
- ³²¹ Ibid.
- ³²² Kevin Reed. 11 January 2014. Why is Dan Gilbert on the Detroit Blight Removal Task Force? *World Wide Socialist Web*. <http://www.wsws.org/en/articles/2014/01/11/gilb-j11.html> (accessed 11 April 2014)
- ³²³ Estimated net worth.
See: <http://www.forbes.com/profile/daniel-gilbert/> (accessed 2 April 2015)
- ³²⁴ The men that Van Horne is referring to are former NBA basketball players. The three all grew up in Indianapolis. Quoted in David Solano. 27 July 2013. Known for 'Eat um up Tigers' shouts, James Van Horne carved out niche, Tigers style. *ABC WXYZ Detroit*. <http://www.wxyz.com/sports/james-van-horn-carved-out-niche-tigers-style> (accessed 20 August 2013)
- ³²⁵ A poem appeared in the *Metro Times* a few days after Mike Alston and James Van Horne's deaths, entitled 'Social Vendor'. It had been mailed to the paper with the attached message 'Metro Times, can you print this for Mike?'
See: <http://www.metrotimes.com/Blogs/archives/2014/04/24/a-poem-for-dreadlock-mike> (accessed 20 February 2015)
- ³²⁶ My friend's name has been altered to protect his identity, at his request.
- ³²⁷ Sometimes it is difficult to ascertain truth from legend when it comes to Detroit. It can make research difficult, but never boring.
- ³²⁸ Unattributed. 29 July 2013. Eat 'em up Tigers guy, Dreadlock Mike confirmed dead. *CBS WWJ Detroit*. <http://detroit.cbslocal.com/2013/07/29/eat-em-up-tigers-guy-dreadlock-mike-confirmed-dead/> (accessed 20 August 2013)
- ³²⁹ Matty Maroun, speaking in interview to Charlie LeDuff on Fox 2 News Detroit. Maroun seemed to choke up when speaking of love of his country, but could find no emotion when asked about the dilapidated structures that he owns on the west side and the tens of millions of dollars he spent misleading taxpayers about the true nature of the new International Bridge Crossing between Windsor and Detroit.

For a transcript of the interview see: Charlie LeDuff. 8 November 2012. Matty Maroun speaks exclusively to FOX 2's Charlie LeDuff. *My Fox Detroit*. <http://www.myfoxdetroit.com/story/20048991/moroun-on-building-public-bridge-i-dont-think-its-possible> (accessed 3 January 2013)

³³⁰ Charlie LeDuff. 2013. *Detroit: An American Autopsy*. New York: Penguin Books, p. 128

³³¹ Susan Berfield. 3 May 2012. Matt Maroun, Detroit's border baron. *Bloomberg Businessweek*. <http://www.businessweek.com/printer/articles/23586-matty-moroun-detroits-border-baron> (accessed 24 September 2014)

³³² S. Voyles. May/June 2009. The man behind the bridge - Matty Maroun talks about Detroit, business, and being sentimental. *Corp! Magazine*. <http://www.corpmagazine.com/features/cover-stories/the-man-behind-th...ge-matty-moroun-talks-about-detroit-business-and-being-sentimental/> (accessed 22 September 2014)

³³³ The neighbourhoods most heavily invested in contain the Ambassador Bridge customs plaza and completely surround the I-96 and I-75 junction north of the plaza. Ownership data obtained from Loveland Technologies website, Detroit: Why Don't We Own This? <https://makeloveland.com/us/mi/wayne/detroit> (accessed 20 March 2015)

³³⁴ David Muller. 26 May 2013. Matty Maroun camp fires back at media as petroleum coke piles up on his property. *MLive*. http://www.mlive.com/business/detroit/index.ssf/2013/05/matty_moroun_camp_fires_back_a.html (accessed 25 January 2014)

³³⁵ Stephen Henderson. 20 May 2013. Like a bad neighbour, the Maroun family is there. *The Detroit Free Press*. <http://www.freep.com/article/20130520/BLOG25/305200091/Petroleum-coke-Moroun-Koch-brothers-Detroit> (accessed 25 January 2014)

³³⁶ The most notorious example of the effects of Maroun's negligent ownership was the 2009 discovery of a dead body, frozen in several feet of ice at the bottom of a flooded out elevator shaft at the Roosevelt Warehouse. The man's corpse sat in the building for days after being discovered, only his legs visible protruding from the ice, before firefighters extracted him. Maroun was handing out toques to the homeless of Corktown on that day. See: LeDuff, 119-130.

³³⁷ Maroun has recently committed to spending about \$20 million to replace windows, repair an elevator, and to further secure the building. Over the past two and a half years since that announcement, expenditures seem to have been limited to security patrols, razor wired fencing, and five new windows. See: Mark Byrnes. 31 May 2013. Detroit's famously decaying old train station has 5 new windows and no one know why. *The Atlantic Cities*.

<http://www.theatlanticcities.com/neighborhoods/2013/05/detroits-fa...ecaying-train-station-has-5-new-windows-and-no-one-knows-why/5766/> (accessed 25 January 2014)

³³⁸ Trees grow from the upper floors through holes in the roof created by collapsed skylights and not a single window remains unbroken. It has caught fire at least once and until recently, the building was filled to the rafters with piles of decaying books, in addition to the occasional corpse.

³³⁹ Dan Austin. 26 December 2013. Time line: Key dates in the life of Michigan Central Station. *The Detroit Free Press*. <http://www.freep.com/article/20131226/NEWS05/312260032/>

³⁴⁰ Joann Muller. 1 December 2012. Why one rich man shouldn't own an international bridge. *Forbes Magazine*. <http://www.forbes.com/sites/joannmuller/2012/01/12/why-one-rich-man-shouldnt-own-an-international-bridge/> (accessed 24 September 2014)

³⁴¹ Susan Berfield. 3 May 2012. Matty Maroun, Detroit's border baron. *Bloomberg Business*. <http://www.businessweek.com/printer/articles/23586-matty-moroun-detroits-border-baron> (accessed 24 September 2014)

³⁴² Nancy Kaffer. 15 September 2014. Maroun low-balls Detroit, council to smart to fall for it. *The Detroit Free Press*. <http://archive.freep.com/article/20140915/COL43/309150007/1001/rss01> (accessed 24 September 2014)

³⁴³ Paul Egan. 25 February 2014. Maroun bids \$1.2M for vacant Southwestern High School in Detroit. *The Detroit free Press*. <http://www.freep.com/article/20140228/NEWS06/302280099/southwestern-high-school-moroun-martin-detroit-public-schools> (accessed 24 September 2014)

³⁴⁴ Of course, Maroun and his aide Dan Stamper denied that the promise was some sort of bribe to sell them the 301 parcels which comprised the majority of the land ultimately bought by the Canadian government for the U.S. plaza. Council remained unconvinced, with one member remarking "That's a pledge I've heard multiple times." See: Joe Guillen. 15 September 2014. \$80-million makeover envisioned for Michigan Central Station. *Lansing State Journal*. <http://www.lansingstatejournal.com/story/news/local/michigan/2014/09/15/million-makeover-envisioned-michigan-central-station/15655335/> (accessed 24 September 2014)

³⁴⁵ Quoted in: Jim Morris & Chris Hambly. 31 October 2012. In Marathon's shadow. *Metro Times*. Vol. 33 No. 3. (pp. 22)

³⁴⁶ Gil Scott-Heron. *We Almost Lost Detroit*. LP Recording. Arista Records, 1977.

³⁴⁷ From the Marathon website.

See:http://www.marathonpetroleum.com/Operations/Refining_and_Marketing/Refining/Michigan_Refining_Division / (accessed 20 February 2015)

³⁴⁸ Darden, Child Hill, Thomas, & Thomas, 56.

³⁴⁹ \$175 million amounts to nearly \$65,000 per job created for each year of the abatement.

See: Jim Morris & Chris Hambly. 31 October 2012. In Marathon's shadow. *Metro Times*. Vol. 33 No. 3. (pp. 24)

³⁵⁰ Official Press Release. 13 December 2012. Oakwood Heights Property Purchase Program Ahead of Schedule.

<http://ir.marathonpetroleum.com/phoenix.zhtml?c=246631&p=irol-newsArticle&ID=1767154> (accessed 30 June 2013)

³⁵¹ \$175 million amounts to nearly \$65,000 per job created for each year of the abatement.

See: Jim Morris & Chris Hambly. 31 October 2012. In Marathon's shadow. *Metro Times*. Vol. 33 No. 3. (pp. 26)

³⁵² I should have written the comic's name down before I left the club, because I forgot it while scribbling the joke down into my notebook as we drove downtown.

³⁵³ This is fine with me, as I have never been a fan of the colour identification thing. White is not even a colour, let alone a race. Let's just say I'm a human. With pink skin.

³⁵⁴ Unattributed. 17 April 2014. Two Detroits? Gentrification. *The Michigan Citizen*. <http://michigancitizen.com/two-detroits-gentrification/> (accessed 22 September 2014) and

Bill McGraw. 15 January 2013. Two points of view on the midtown renaissance. *Deadline Detroit*. http://www.deadlinedetroit.com/articles/3376/two_points_of_view_on_the_midtown_renaissance#.VCDVyEveeCL (accessed 10 September 2014)

³⁵⁵ McGraw, ed., 6.

³⁵⁶ Shine is a retired DPD sergeant.

Quoted in: Steven Yaccino & Michael Cooper. 21 July 2013. Cries of betrayal as detroit plans to cut pensions. *The New York Times*. http://www.nytimes.com/2013/07/22/us/cries-of-betrayal-as-detroit-plans-to-cut-pensions.html?pagewanted=all&_r=0 (accessed 22 September 2014)

³⁵⁷ Nowling is a spokesman for emergency financial manager Kevyn Orr.

Quoted in Matt Helms & Joe Guillen. 13 May 2013. Detroit's 45-day report: Orr calls city 'dysfunctional and wasteful' after years of mismanagement, corruption. *The Detroit Free Press*.
<http://www.freep.com/article/20130512/NEWS01/305120163/detroit-financial-crisis-kevyn-orr-report> (accessed 22 July 2013)

³⁵⁸ Matt Helms & Joe Guillen. 13 May 2013. Detroit's 45-day report: Orr calls city 'dysfunctional and wasteful' after years of mismanagement, corruption. *The Detroit Free Press*.
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³⁵⁹ LeDuff, 53-54.

³⁶⁰ Tresa Baldas. 6 September 2014. Detroit fire department has alert system made of pop cans, doorbells, *The Detroit Free Press*. <http://archive.freep.com/article/20140905/NEWS01/309050185/Detroit-fire-pop-can-fax> (accessed 20 September 2014)

³⁶¹ LeDuff, 55.

³⁶² *Ibid.*, 23.

³⁶³ Unattributed. 18 July 2013. Down and out in Detroit *The Wall Street Journal*.
<http://online.wsj.com/article/SB10001424127887324448104578614290430538094.html> (accessed 22 July 2014)

³⁶⁴ Unattributed. 13 May 2013. 9 highlights from Detroit emergency manager Kevyn Orr's report to the state. *The Detroit Free Press*. <http://www.freep.com/article/20130512/NEWS01/305120168/kevyn-orr-highlights-report-45-day-city-financial-crisis-emergency-manager> (accessed 22 July 2014)

³⁶⁵ Associated Press. 19 July 2013. Detroit in bankruptcy. How did it happen? *Crain's Detroit*.
<http://www.crainsdetroit.com/article/20130719/NEWS01/130719781/detroit-in-bankruptcy-how-did-it-happen> (accessed 22 September 2013)

³⁶⁶ Population information obtained from:
http://www.census.gov/popest/data/historical/2010s/vintage_2013/state.html (accessed 22 July 2014)
<http://www.census.gov/population/www/documentation/twps0076/MItab.pdf> (accessed 22 July 2014)

³⁶⁷ David Sirota. 24 July 2013. Don't buy the right-wing myth about Detroit. *The Institute for New Economic Thinking*. <http://ineteconomics.org/blog/institute/real-story-detroits-collapse> (accessed 22 September 2014)

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- ³⁷⁴ Steven Yaccino & Michael Cooper. 21 July 2013. Cries of betrayal as detroit plans to cut pensions. *The New York Times*. http://www.nytimes.com/2013/07/22/us/cries-of-betrayal-as-detroit-plans-to-cut-pensions.html?pagewanted=all&_r=0 (accessed 22 September 2014)
- ³⁷⁵ Unattributed. 9 November 2014. The best quotes from Detroit's bankruptcy ruling. *The Detroit Free Press*. <http://www.freep.com/story/news/local/detroit-bankruptcy/2014/11/09/judge-steven-rhodes-detroit-bankruptcy-plan-quotes-/18715167/> (accessed 19 November 2014)
- ³⁷⁶ Sherri Welch. 7 November 2014. How Detroit's 'grand bargain' will be managed. *Crain's Detroit Business*. <http://www.craindetroit.com/article/20141107/NEWS/141109884/how-detroits-grand-bargain-will-be-managed> (accessed 7 November 2014)

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- ³⁹⁴ Calvino, 32.
- ³⁹⁵ From a speech given by the architect at the Blackstone Hotel in Chicago in celebration of the expansion of IIT. See: <http://www.miessociety.org/speeches/id-merger-speech/> (accessed 20 January 2015)
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³⁹⁹ Referring to the Second World War and Detroit's role in arming America for the struggle.

⁴⁰⁰ Joel, Stone. Undated. Detroit: The Arsenal of Democracy. *The Detroit Historical Society*.
<https://detroithistorical.org/sites/default/files/pdfs/AoD%20Paperv2.pdf> (accessed 7 July 2014)

⁴⁰¹ While Ford did not technically require a bailout, and rather relied upon the government's negotiated interests rate modifications and debt forgiveness in order to pay back their various loans, the other two did the same thing, with citizens as financiers. GM's bailout was worth \$11 billion.
See: Sam, Frizell. 30 April 2014. General Motors bailout cost taxpayers \$11.2 billion. *Time Magazine*.
<http://time.com/82953/general-motors-bailout-cost-taxpayers-11-2-billion/> (accessed 7 November 2014)

⁴⁰² Numerous sources have evoked this concept in their writing on Detroit over the years, including Mark Binelli, Andrew Herscher, John Gallagher of *The Detroit Free Press*, and Charlie LeDuff, among others. It seems to be a reactionary term that emerged in the wake of Camilo José Vergara's publishing of two volumes of photography illustrating the deteriorating conditions in rust belt cities such as Detroit, Newark, St. Louis, and Philadelphia. Despite the pioneering nature of his work, Vergara was especially callous in his conclusions about Detroit, calling for the establishment of museum of ruins, an American Acropolis within the evacuated core of the city, a set of dead temples of capitalism that could be left to collapse amidst the blight tourism. Despite Vergara's careless attitude, his work has been revelatory, if not controversial. No one wants to hear that things aren't going well, that shit is bad in the Motor City, but it often is, and he was committed to showing that. He has returned to live and work in Detroit many times over two decades, and often revisits to the same sites to document what has happened to them in the interim. One may disagree with his motivations or his conclusions (because he is the godfather of ruin porn), but the breadth of his work is unparalleled, even compared to those who have lately taken to photographing the city with armed guards in tow.

⁴⁰³ I have little use for the notion that Detroit should reassert itself as a stabilized confetti of little suburbias within its present borders.
For the manifesto of the Broadacre City, see: Frank Lloyd Wright. 1932. *The Disappearing City*. New York: William Farquhar Payson.

⁴⁰⁴ This expression emerges during the lead up to the American civil war, when many northern Republicans opposing military, supported detente or appeasement of the Confederate states.
See: William Bunge. 1971. *Fitzgerald: Geography of a Revolution*. Cambridge: Schenkman Publishing Company Incorporated, 11-12.

⁴⁰⁵ Informal, seems to have emerged from the old blues scene in the city, fell into disuse in the late twentieth century. Recently resurrected by suburban white Millennials who have moved to the city in search of the \$500 house. Canadian hipsters also use this at times.

⁴⁰⁶ Pronounced 'day-trwa', only the richest, most clueless suburban girls say this, typically when coming into the city for a Madonna concert or to have their nails done.

⁴⁰⁷ The fires have receded in recent years, for numerous reasons including the decline in both suitable firewood and a decline in population, but also because of increased police presence and the efforts of a group of citizen volunteers who patrol the streets at night. The night is now coming to be known as Angel's Night, due to the effect of police, firefighters, and community volunteers in preventing fires. For a more polemical take on the night, see: Ze'ev Chafets. 1990. *Devil's Night and Other True Tales of Detroit*. New York: Random House Incorporated, 3-15.

⁴⁰⁸ Boym, in Olick, Vintzky-Seroussi, & Levy, eds., 452-453.

⁴⁰⁹ Unattributed. DHC - Who We Are. *Detroit Housing Commission*. <http://www.dhcmi.org/Page.aspx?level=2&id=47> (accessed 7 November 2014)

⁴¹⁰ The true value of the collection at the DIA is far greater, however much of the work has been donated and is protected from sale. The figure refers to pieces actually purchased by the city with public funds, which, unlike gifts from billionaires, can apparently be harvested to satisfy creditors. See: Sherri Welch. 18 December 2013. Christie's finalizes appraisal of DIA art, sets value of city-purchased art at up to \$867M. *Crain's Detroit Business*. <http://www.crainsdetroit.com/article/20131218/NEWS/131219852/christies-finalizes-appraisal-of-dia-art-sets-value-of-city> (accessed 16 January 2014)

⁴¹¹ Kevin Twine. The City in Decline: Rome in Late Antiquity. *Middle States Geographer - Vol. 25*. (1992): 134. http://msaag.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/04/26_Twine.pdf (accessed 20 December 2014)

⁴¹² Don Kopecki. 9 September 2008. Fannie Mae, Freddie 'House of Cards' Prompts Takeover. *Bloomberg News*. <http://www.bloomberg.com/apps/news?pid=newsarchive&sid=a3pTtizqxtcA&refer=home> (accessed 10 October 2014)

⁴¹³ One of the most miserable instances of preferential treatment given to those who need it not is that of the \$65 million in cable broadcast royalties that were forgiven Mike Illitch and his Detroit Red Wings during a strong-arm deal that saw Illitch-owned Olympia Developments receive at least \$285 million in public funds for the construction of a new arena to replace the city-owned Joe Louis. This blatant handover of public money to a billionaire who owns

two professional sports teams, a casino, and an international pizza chain played out against the backdrop of Detroit's 2013 bankruptcy and subsequent emergency management.

See: Bill Bradley. 3 March 2014. Detroit Scam City: How the Red Wings took Detroit for all it had. *Deadspin*. <http://deadspin.com/detroit-scam-city-how-the-red-wings-took-hockeytown-fo-1534228789> (accessed 22 September 2014), among many others.

⁴¹⁴ Unattributed. Company Profile. *Freddie Mac*. http://www.freddiemac.com/corporate/company_profile/ (accessed 10 October 2014)

⁴¹⁵ Unattributed. FHA. *Federal Housing Administration*. http://portal.hud.gov/hudportal/HUD?src=/federal_housing_administration (accessed 10 October 2014)

⁴¹⁶ Unattributed. HUD Mission & History. *U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development*. http://portal.hud.gov/hudportal/HUD?src=/about/hud_history (accessed 10 October 2014)

⁴¹⁷ Detroit's closest to official nickname, continuously in use for decades and arising from Detroit's dominant twentieth century industry. Today, the phrase is mostly used by people who write about Detroit but have never been, nor intend to go there.

⁴¹⁸ This name is a portmanteau of Motor City (town), and its prominence is linked to the rise of Barry Gordy's Motown records label, founded in Detroit in 1959. Today it is used mainly as an historical reference, or by those who have not paid attention to Detroit for quite some time.

⁴¹⁹ This label for the city was born out the bleak crime statistics of the late 1980s and early 1990s. Usually used with derision, this is the most hyperbolic of Detroit's many names and in the media is used as a weapon against the city.

⁴²⁰ Otis L. Graham. 1971. New Deal Historiography: Retrospect and Prospect. In *The New Deal: The Critical Issues*. (pp. 171-179). Boston: Little Brown, & Company.

⁴²¹ This was all explained to me one evening by a stranger at Cliff Bell's jazz club. I was not, as it turned out, a white boy, but in fact I was a pink boy. A pinkface. And I would just have to live with that.

⁴²² William A. Niskanen. 1988. Reaganomics. *The Concise Encyclopedia of Economics*. <http://www.econlib.org/library/Enc1/Reaganomics.html> (accessed 15 October 2014)

⁴²³ The restaurant at the top of the building used to revolve, though not any longer.

⁴²⁴ Sean Posey. 11 December 2013. From 'Old Detroit' to Delta City: Robocop's dystopia in Detroit. *The Hampton Institute*. <http://www.hamptoninstitution.org/robocop-dystopia-detroit.html#.VCDUMkveeCK> (accessed 22 September 2014)

⁴²⁵ Informal, the phrase emerged out of the collapsing manufacturing sector of the early neo-liberal period.

⁴²⁶ Loosely attributed to Bob Dylan, who used the phrase in 1979s *Slow Train Coming*, a sort-of concept album that was critical of American society as it entered the Reagan years.

⁴²⁷ Local slang, not widely used in Windsor itself. Seems to originate with the Boston song "Don't Stop Believing".

⁴²⁸ Local slang, seems to originate in Detroit's rap and hip hop scene. Eminem liked this one, but then...he lived in Warren.

⁴²⁹ This concept was first asserted by Dan Hoffman in the 1990s. See: Dan Hoffman. 2001. "Erasing Detroit." In Daskalakis, Waldheim, & Young, eds. (pp. 101)

⁴³⁰ These prairies can be found throughout Detroit, though are most prevalent in the inner city, east and west of the downtown core. See: Brightmoor, Briggs/Rosa Parks, Jefferson-Mack, Midtown, Eastern Market, Milwaukee Junction, McDougall-Hunt, and the City Airport neighbourhoods, to name a few. That's just a few.

⁴³¹ This particular nickname made the rounds for a year or so, after an intrepid (and brave) graffiti artist painted the word in six foot letters across the cornice of the Park Avenue Hotel. Similar to Murder City, this name doesn't look favourably on Detroit. The hotel is part of Illitchville and may be demolished for his stadium district. Most recently, the graffiti has been removed.

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