THE DEVELOPMENT OF DETROIT 1701 - 1920:
A PLANNING HISTORY

by

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Research Report
Division of International Urban Studies
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Wayne State University
Detroit, Michigan 48202
July, 1970
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INTRODUCTION

This is one of a number of research reports which the foreign fellows of the Center for Urban Studies at Wayne have produced over the last few years. Mr. Base has provided us with a detailed cartographic presentation of the historical development of Detroit. He has sketched the historical legacy which yesterday's physical development has had upon the city's current urban structure. Many of the maps were originally compiled by Mr. Base from primary sources. For either the visitor to the city or the municipal official, I believe this small monograph will provide a convenient overview of Detroit's evolution; it also provides the essential information necessary for our understanding the city's current problems.

Any comments would be welcomed, and should be directed to:

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"What on July 23, 1970 was a wilderness, on the next day was a houseless city of a hundred souls and in eight months' time was a rival of Montreal and Quebec in trade."

C.M. Burton, Cadillac's Village
Detroit was founded in July, 1701, when the area became a fortified French post. It was established by Cadillac to preserve and protect French trading interests as well as to assert France's rights upon the Northwest.

Detroit's location was carefully chosen, and one of the determining factors in the fort's location was the Indian population of the area. There were approximately 15,000 Indians in what is now Michigan, and the bulk were thought to live in the southern part of the state. They were concentrated in the river valleys, where they lived by hunting, fishing, and farming.

The new settlement at Detroit was not completely popular. The Jesuits opposed it, because it destroyed the necessity for their mission at Mackilimackinac, since Detroit drew many Indians southwards. Some French politicians were also hostile to the new fort. More interested in enlarging the fur trade than in the foundation of permanent, agricultural settlements, this group feared the loss of the wilderness. Another argument against Cadillac's fort was that it was far too isolated to be supported if the need arose; even the Governor of New France thought the place "untenable."

To settle the squabbling, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Pontchartrain, ordered the situation evaluated first hand. His agent, De Aigremont, agreed with the Governor of New France, and he "strongly advised the discontinuance of the post as being prejudicial to Canada." However, Cadillac managed to save his settlement (largely because of his friendship with Pontchartrain), but it cost him his fort: he was sent to Louisiana in 1710.
In its first years, Cadillac's village consisted of about 37 acres of settlement. Around it were five groups of Indians -- Ottawas, Hurons, Pottawatomies, Miamis, and Wyandottes. Cadillac had obtained the power to grant land along the river, and soon the characteristic French ribbon farms grew up on both sides of the river. They were measured in "arpents," one arpent equalling 192.25 feet. Ditches were used to mark the farms boundaries, which ran at an angle of 90 degrees from the river. A number of wind and water mills were also constructed outside the stockade.

By the 1750's, the post had grown considerably. There is a map, drawn in 1752, which shows the ribbon farms on both banks of the river, with the "old settlers" on the north, and the "newcomers" on the south bank. The farms were from one to five arpents wide, and from two to three miles in length. Belle Isle was still known as the *Ille aux Cochons*, and it was used primarily as a sheltering area for domestic animals. Three Indian tribes also lived about the village: the Pottawatomies on the north, and the Ottawas and the Hurons to the south.

When the Seven Year's War ended in 1760 and the British took over the fort along with the rest of New France, 2,400 whites were reported living in the area, although this number probably included the population on both sides of the river. Another contemporary account claimed that 80 to 100 families lived in the area.

In 1764, after the end of Pontiac's War, 300 families were reported to be living in Detroit, in 80 houses. The first saw mill had been founded, and lumber houses were being built for the first time. The accounts of travellers and soldiers at this time are full of the beauty of Detroit. It was, they said, full of orchards, game, fur-bearing animals, and fish.

Ten years later Detroit was annexed to Canada with the passage of the Quebec
Act; four years later, in 1778, a new fort was constructed, and Detroit was one of the three most important British posts in Canada.

The Revolution passed Detroit by, but only, as Washington said, because of the lack of men and its great distance from the coast. While the area was awarded to the United States in 1783, American troops did not occupy Detroit until 1796.

There is an anonymous map of Detroit drawn in 1796 which not only shows fort Lernoult and the village within the new stockade, but the first fort Pontchartrain as well. By comparing this map with the one made in 1763, one can see that there were few differences in the settlements. In the last census that the British took at the post in 1782, they found:

- 321 heads of families
- 254 married women
- 72 widows
- 336 young and hired men
- 526 boys
- 503 girls
- 78 male slaves
- 101 female slaves

Altogether, 2,891 people lived in Detroit, not counting the 100 persons in the king's service.

The post had quarries, grist-mills, a large number of wind-mills, and, since 1769, the king's shipyards in the mouth of the Rouge River. Agriculture was reported to be operating on a very low level, and only the wealthy owned horses. The first road had been built by the Moravians, who lived with their Christianized Delaware Indians to the east of the settlement. Detroit was still a "mere adjunct of the fur trade," and was a 26 day trip from New York or Philadelphia.
1755  OUR FORBEARS IN THE BRITISH COLONIES IN NORTH AMERICA SETTLED IN A NARROW BELT OF TERRITORY BORDERING THE ATLANTIC COAST

JUST BEFORE THE WAR OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION THE FRONTIER SPILLED ACROSS THE APPALACHIAN MOUNTAIN BARRIER

SEE: HISTORIC AMERICAN HIGHWAYS, 1983
FORT PONTCHABRAIN DU DÉTROIT, 1701
ATTRIBUTED TO CADILLAC C. 1702

PLAN DU FORT DU DÉTROIT / DE LÉBY - MAP 1764 /

A logement du Commandant
B Corps de Garde
C l'Eglise
D Magazin d'Poudre
E Logement de l'Aumonier

Also: DETROIT IN 1763 - FROM JELLISI'S ATLAS OF 1764

See: C.M. JUXTON: WHEN DETROIT WAS YOUNG.
"The governor and judges have lavished between five and six hundred dollars of our taxes in digging wells and erecting pumps on the commons, near half a mile behind the town of Detroit, where no town, in our opinion, will ever exist and no wells be necessary....Believe us, governor, no town will ever exist in these marshes."

Detroiters' Petition, 1811
Detroit became the capitol of the newly created Michigan Territory in 1805; it then almost immediately burned to the ground.

After the disaster, a new city plan was prepared by Judge Woodward and Territorial Governor Hull. Approved by Congress in April, 1806, the plan was heavily influenced by European models, especially the Wren/Evelyn design for London, and the L'Enfant plan for Washington. But Woodward's thinking was also based upon American practice, and employed the gridiron system rather than the "hierarchy" principle of Baroque European plans.

Here is Woodward's own description of his design: "the basis of the scheme is an equilateral trinangle having sides of four thousand feet each and divided into six sections by a perpendicular line from every angle bisecting the opposite side, with squares, circuses and other open spaces of ground where six avenues intersect with lots of about 5000 square feet, with an alley or lane coming to the rear of every lot, with subordinate streets of sixty feet width, with a fine internal space of ground for education and other purposes, with grand avenues to the four cardinal points of two hundred feet width and other avenues of one hundred twenty feet width. the town shall consist of similar sections to be successively laid out, extending the plan for some miles up the river Detroit, and some miles down by gradual process, without inconvenience, whenever growing city or public interest might require it."

Woodward was using the gridiron system in such a way that it was possible to enlarge the city in all directions without destroying the plan. Moreover, Woodward went beyond the gridiron system in that he appreciated -- and used the whole scale of different widths of streets and sizes of space to enhance his plan.
JUDGE A.B. WOODWORTH'S PLAN FOR DETROIT. PLAN WAS USED FOR A SMALL AREA ONLY (SEE WITHIN DOTTED LINE - AREA)

SEE: BUFORD T. PICKENS: EARLY CITY PLANS FOR DETROIT.
L'Enfant's Plan of the City of Washington, 1791

See: Buford J. Pickens, Early City Plans for Detroit.
ARCH. WREN'S PLAN FOR REBUILDING LONDON AFTER GREAT FIRE OF 1666.

EVELYN'S FIRST PLAN FOR REBUILDING LONDON

SEE: J.UFORD J. PICKENS
     EARLY CITY PLANS FOR DETROIT.
VITRUVIUS:
IDEAL CITY PLAN

SEE: BUFORD J. PICKENS:
EARLY CITY PLANS FOR DET
IMPLEMENTED PART OF JUDGE WOODWARD'S PLAN FOR CITY OF DETROIT

- BLOCKS INSTEAD OF OPEN SPACE (EXAMPLES ONLY)
- OPEN SPACE INSTEAD OF BLOCKS (EXAMPLES ONLY)
In the abstract, Woodward's design is very similar to that of L'Enfant for Washington; in its physical aspects, however, it is far more similar to Wren's idea for London.

Unfortunately for Judge Woodward, his plan was only fractionally implemented. It was very unpopular in Detroit, because it called for the town to expand into the commons, and because many of the town's residents were intensely anti-urban.

In the first decade of the 19th century, only home-based industries existed in Detroit. The total value of manufactures was $25,742 (67% of the total for Michigan but less than 2/100 of one percent of that of the United States as a whole); 120 spinning wheels and 6 looms were operated in the town, and there were 2 tanneries, 1 hat factory, 4 grist-mills, 2 distilleries, and 4 candle and soap factories as well. But the first bank had been established, and the first paper, the *Michigan Essay*, was publishing.
Detroit and its environments, 1812

Mongwaga = Benton City
Brownstown = Gibraltar
Hoc Island = Belle Isle

Drawing of English Engineer, 1812
"Capital was lacking in the West. The withdrawal of laborers from the towns meant the withdrawal of their savings to be invested in lands. Much of the money invested in lands went to the government and was therefore taken from the West. It took many years for the farmers to accumulate the surplus."

A.E. Parkins, *Historical Geography of Detroit*
The development of Detroit was influenced by two outside factors during the decade 1820-30: the construction of the Erie Canal, and the building of the Michigan Road.

The Erie Canal, 363 miles long, "broke" the Appalachian barrier, and connected the relatively industrial east with a vast new source of raw materials in the Great Lakes area. It cut the time required to travel or ship between New York City and Buffalo from 20 days to 6, and shipping charges along the route were 1/20th of their previous level.

The Michigan Road, located in the southwest portion of the territory and named after the Lake, was completed in 1827. 267 miles long with a 100 foot right-of-way, the Road opened Indiana to settlement.

The 1820's also saw settlers penetrating to the interior of the state. Ypsilanti, characteristically enough named by Judge Woodward, was founded in 1823, and the next year saw settlements spring up at Mt. Clemens, Tecumseh, Utica, Adrian, Romeo, Marina City, Newport, and Palmer. By 1829 Port Huron had been founded.

Roads became absolutely necessary in the state, and Congress appropriated $3,000 to fund the survey. While many projected roads were proposed and surveyed, Governor Cass could not raise the money to build them, and he was forced to settle for five military roads instead. Transportation facilities also improved in other areas: in 1827 the first stage-coach line was established between Detroit and Ohio, and steamers between Detroit and Buffalo reduced the travel time between the two towns from five days to 40 hours.
1796 settlers were pouring into the Ohio River Valley.

The Vanguard crossed the Mississippi River.

Reference for highways: H.S. Tanner's Map of the United States, 1832.

American system, north-south axes
French (earlier) system: lots were laid out at ninety-degree angles to the rivers

S.E. Part of Michigan Territory as in 1826.
CITY OF DETROIT: PLAN ENGRAVED AND PUBLISHED BY J.O. LEWIS OF DETROIT, ABOUT 1825.

SEE: SILAS FARMER: HISTORY OF DETROIT, WAYNE COUNTY AND COUNTRY MICHIGAN
Mullet's Map of the Governor and Judges Plan and Military Reservation In 1830

A  Capitol
B  Penitentiary
C  Catholic Church
D  Council House
E  Episcopal Church
F  Old Market
G  New Market
H  Presbyterian Church
I  Public Wharf
J  Bank of Michigan
K  Public Reservation
L  Methodist Church
M  U.S. Arsenal
N  Academy
O  Hay Scale

See: C.M. Burton: When Detroit Was Young
In 1825 Detroit elected its first mayor and city council, and built its first paved street. The city also established four fire districts and its first water supply system in that year. The riverfront was enlarged and, perhaps most importantly, Fort Lernoult -- now known as Fort Shelby -- was given to the city. It was destroyed, and Fort Street built in its place.

There is a map engraved and published by J.O. Lewis in 1825 which probably fairly represents the Detroit of that time. Mullet's map of 1830 is also of real interest.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1830</th>
<th>1840</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Michigan</td>
<td>32,538</td>
<td>212,267</td>
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<tr>
<td>Wayne County</td>
<td>6,700</td>
<td>24,173</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Detroit</td>
<td>2,222</td>
<td>9,102</td>
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"It seldom happens that an American farmer settles for good upon the land which he occupies; especially in districts of the far west he brings land into tillage in order to sell it again and not to farm it."

Alexis de Tocqueville
The decade 1830-40 saw a sharp rise in Michigan's population. In the three year period 1834-37, for example, the state's population increased by approximately 90,000 people. When Michigan became a state in 1837, it had a population of nearly 175,000.

Michigan was not exempt from railway mania, perhaps the distinguishing characteristic of the decade. The Detroit-Pontiac Railroad was chartered in 1834 and, two years later, the first part of the St. Joseph railroad was built. By the end of the 1830's, 25 railroad companies had been chartered in Michigan, while the state continued to build the Clinton and Kalamazoo canals.

Detroit was Michigan's only city with a large population (in 1832, 6,927), but it no longer had a master-plan -- in 1830 Congress passed an act requiring the territorial governor to abandon Judge Woodward's plan. The most acceptable replacement was drawn-up by John Farmer in 1831, but he had serious competition from T. Smith, Aaron Greeley, Abijah Hull, and John Mullet.

However advanced any proposed city plan might be, and in spite of the fact that Detroit now boasted five stage-coach lines -- the city was still very much a frontier town. Harriet Martineau, the English Radical, wrote in her Society in America that:

"... thousands of settlers are pouring in. Many of these are Irish, German and Dutch, working their way into the back country and glad to be employed for a while at Detroit to earn money to carry them further."

Mrs. Mary Clavers was in town in 1835, and she wrote in her A New Home - Who Will Follow It? that:

"... log houses and mansions were standing side by side. Unworthy as the crude, uncomfortable log abode might be from the architectural standpoint, especially as contrasted
THE SALE OF THE PUBLIC LANDS
IN THE DETROIT LAND DISTRICT
1822-1836

AFTER: J. TH. LENDRUM: THE EARLY ARCHITECTURE
OF S.E. MICHIGAN...
TRANS-TERRITORIAL ROUTES OF TRAVEL

— STAGE ROUTES (PROBABLY OF 1834 — AS MAPPED IN THE TOURIST'S POCKET MAP, PHILA., 1835)

— ROUTES ACTUALLY SURVEYED

THE SETTLEMENTS GIVEN ARE THOSE FIRST MADE ALONG ITS ROUTE

ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL BEGINNINGS OF MICHIGAN -
BY G.H. FULLER, 1916
CENSUS OF ORGANISED TOWNSHIPS OF SOUTH-EASTERN MICHIGAN, WHEN THE STATE WAS ADMITTED TO THE UNION.
INDIAN LAND CESSIONS 1795-1837

2 - 1817
3 - 1827
4 - 1827
5 - 1836
6 - 1836
7 - 1836
8 - 1836
9 - 1839, 1848
10 - 1807, 1818

11-25 - OVERLAPPING CESSIONS 1819-1826

26 - 1821
27 - 1821, 1828, 1833
28 - 1821
29 - 1821
30 - 1821, 1833
31 - 1828
32 - 1832
34 - 1836
35 - 1836
36 - 1817

ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL BEGINNINGS OF MICHIGAN - BY C.H. PULLER, 1916
with the trim, white gabled house with its porch the
pronaos of a Greek temple it nevertheless harbored
temporarily the spirit of refinement which would
eventually better itself."

The industrial development of the city was hampered by a lack of workers:
"proletarians" were drawn-off even farther west almost as soon as they arrived
by the lure of cheap land. The value of Detroit's industrial products during
the 1830's totaled $313,000. Flour, grist, and saw mills accounted for nearly
half the total; leather products made up about 25% of the total; metals and
machinery products were worth $66,000. Other local industries of note were hat
factories, quarrying, carriages and wagons, tobacco, hardware, and cutlery.

Detroit continued its slow but steady growth during the period. In 1837 a
Mr. Sutton was hired to make a census of the city, and he found 1008 buildings,
plus 14 schools (which had an enrollment of 600) in the city. 55 of the buildings
were brick stores, 140 were frame stores, 774 were frame dwellings, and 39 were
brick dwellings.

The growth of the city could also be seen in the increased value of its lands.
Governor Cass, for example, had purchased three French farms in 1816 for $16,000;
he sold a small portion of one of them in the 1830's for $100,000. Other residents
joined in, and many became deeply involved in land speculation.

By 1840 Detroit was, according to J.W. Peck, the "commercial and political
metropolis" of Michigan. It was "beautifully situated," and the "principal
buildings" were located on Jefferson Avenue. "The older buildings," he wrote,
were "of wood, but many have been recently built of brick, with basements of stone."
Yet, even in 1840 "the primitive forest approaches near the town."
Reduced fac-simile of the Senator and Judges' Plan, prepared by John Farmer 1831; the Military Reserve lot, although divided at that time, not mapped; the division was prepared by the city-agency.

SEE: SILAS FARMER: HISTORY OF DETROIT AND MICHIGAN, 1890.
To minds thus predisposed, every new method which leads by a shorter road to wealth, every machine which spares labor, every instrument which diminishes the cost of production, seems to be the grandest effort of the human intellect."

Alexis de Tocqueville, 1840

<table>
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<th>Michigan</th>
<th>212,267 - 397,651</th>
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<tr>
<td>Wayne County</td>
<td>24,173 - 42,756</td>
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<tr>
<td>Detroit</td>
<td>9,102 - 21,000</td>
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Railroad construction was a dominant feature of life in Michigan during the 1840's. When the decade began, the state contained 35 miles of operating railroads; by the end of the 1840's, Michigan had 342 miles of working railroads.

In 1849 the railroad reached Lake Michigan, and it now became possible to travel from Detroit to Chicago by train (and steamer, from St. Joseph to Chicago) in the relatively short time of 39 hours, at a cost of $8.50.

Detroit began its first and only subway in 1838, but it was a failure because "no use had been made of it and the apathy manifested by those for whose convenience it was constructed, seems strongly to indicate the fact that as a public thoroughfare it is perfectly useless." The track was taken up in 1844.

The railroad was an important factor in the development of the city during the 1840's. Detroit was chosen as the site of a large new smelting company because it was the nearest city (with both foundaries and good rail transportation) to the copper deposits just discovered in the Upper Peninsula.
<table>
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<th>1860</th>
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<td>397,267</td>
<td>747,113</td>
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<tr>
<td>Wayne County</td>
<td>42,756</td>
<td>75,547</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Detroit</td>
<td>21,000</td>
<td>45,600</td>
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"The railroad tied the North and West into one massive free economy. It did much more. It tied business to politics and both to the life of the individual in a way unknown in America before."

William Miller, *A New History of the United States*
During this decade Michigan's population grew sharply. The census of 1860 also found seven million acres of farm lands and 3,476,000 acres of improved farm lands in the state.

Transportation facilities also continued to improve, and, by 1860, Michigan contained 779 miles of railroad. Both the Michigan Central and the Michigan Southern ran to Chicago, and by 1855 the Michigan Central was carrying over half a million passengers a year through Detroit.

Perhaps more importantly, the Sault St. Marie locks were opened in 1855. The cost of copper was now drastically reduced, and Michigan became a major producer of the metal.

Detroit continued its leisurely rate of growth. It was now the 18th city in the nation, and a major center of copper smelting. The first gas lights were installed in 1851, and the city was divided into eight wards. There were, in 1853, 25 churches in town, along with five banks, five exchange offices, two telegraph offices, three newspapers, and eleven hotels. The commercial center of Detroit was located between Jefferson, Woodward, and Campus Martius.

The city was also showing some first signs of cultural activity. A fine arts exhibition was held, and an attempt was made to beautify Campus Martius with trees. The quality of housing had also improved.*

* One house from this approximate period is still standing at 1026 Division Street.
CITY OF DETROIT, 1853

AS DESCRIBED IN 1853:
25 CHURCHES, 5 BANKS, 5 EXCHANGE OFFICES,
2 TELEGRAPH OFFICES, 3 NEWSPAPER CO., 11 HOTELS.
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<th></th>
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<th>1870</th>
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<tr>
<td>Michigan</td>
<td>747,113</td>
<td>1,184,159</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wayne County</td>
<td>75,547</td>
<td>119,038</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Detroit</td>
<td>45,600</td>
<td>79,603</td>
</tr>
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</table>

"Every detached village community in the State had by 1867 become ambitious for a railroad connection.

G. N. Fuller, Economic and Social Beginnings of Michigan
During the Civil War period Michigan's population grew relatively slowly. 337,000 immigrants, mostly from the eastern United States and northern Europe, came to the state.

Michigan's population, then as now, was concentrated in the southeast corner of the state, which held 30.2% of the population in 1870; Wayne was the largest county, with 120,000 inhabitants. However, perhaps the most important change within the state during this period was in terms of employment: by 1870 non-agricultural workers outnumbered their agricultural counterparts.

According to the census of 1870, there were 9,515 business establishments within the state, with 64,061 employees. Michigan's industrial produce was valued at $124 million.

Detroit's population grew by 34,000 people during the decade. Most of the new people were of Irish or German stock, and these new citizens tended to form inward-looking ethnic communities within the city.

According to a map drawn in 1863, Detroit also maintained a segregated school system in the east central part of the city. The first recorded violence against Detroit blacks occurred that same year.

The first city railway was chartered in 1862, and by 1868 there were three such lines in operation within the city. The cars were in service for 15 hours per day, from April until October. The fare was 5¢.

In 1865 Detroit built a more modern water supply system and created its first police department. It was staffed by 47 patrolmen and four officers.
Public and community activities were still concentrated in the relatively small area around the oldest part of the city, which had now become the area in which most of the immigrants lived. The "best" residential areas were now located in the northern and eastern parts of town.

According to the 9th census, Detroit was the industrial center of the state. The city contained 868 businesses (72% of Wayne County's total), and the city's machine shops and foundries produced goods worth nearly $2,900,000.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>1870</th>
<th>1880</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Michigan</td>
<td>1,184,159</td>
<td>1,636,937</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wayne County</td>
<td>119,038</td>
<td>166,444</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Detroit</td>
<td>79,603</td>
<td>166,340</td>
</tr>
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</table>

"The business epoch that closed with the panic of 1873 was the most productive the world had yet seen. When prosperity returned the new giant firms that had been created during the depression put the unprecedented productivity of the earlier decade altogether to shame. In virtually all industries, moreover, productivity increased more than investment and much more than employment."

William Miller, *A New History of the United States*
By 1880, about 25% of Michigan's population of 1,636,937 were foreign born Caucasians; the state's population increased by nearly half a million people.

Again, by the end of the decade, there were 8,873 business establishments in the state, all producing or marketing more than $500 per year. Michigan now employed over 77,000 persons. Nearly 1/3 worked in lumbering; about 10% worked in foundries, machine shops, and the iron and steel industry; the median annual income equaled $326. There were 3,712 miles of railroad in the state.

In 1880 Detroit was 19th among American cities in terms of manufactures, and 17th in population. There were 919 business establishments in the city, producing a total value of goods worth $30 million. 12,477 men were employed in the city, along with 1,203 women and children.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Industry</th>
<th>Total Value</th>
<th>% of Wayne County Prod.</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Iron and steel</td>
<td>$2,500,000</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tobacco and cigars</td>
<td>2,409,000</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men's clothing</td>
<td>2,056,000</td>
<td>99.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foundry and machine shops</td>
<td>1,808,000</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meat packing</td>
<td>1,721,000</td>
<td>100</td>
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<tr>
<td>Flour and grist mills</td>
<td>1,650,000</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malt liquors</td>
<td>1,144,000</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boots and shoes</td>
<td>1,066,000</td>
<td>100 (nearly)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bread and bakery</td>
<td>986,000</td>
<td>100 (nearly)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ship buildings</td>
<td>739,000</td>
<td>100 (nearly)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
"As cities began to appear in the 19th Century they were largely modeled on an imitation of the state government with a council of two chambers one of which was elected by the city wards. The political activity promoted by this system was enormous for it facilitated avoidance of clear-cut responsibility. James Boyce (American Commonwealth, 1888) insisted that city government in U.S. represented the most conspicuous of all its political failures. The events leading to this judgment were important for America's first urban theory."

Don Martindale, The Theory of the City
In 1890 Michigan had a population of slightly more than two million, and over 25% were immigrants.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nationality</th>
<th>Number of People</th>
<th>% of Total Population</th>
<th>% of Foreign Born Pop.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Canadians</td>
<td>181,000</td>
<td>8.6</td>
<td>33.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germans</td>
<td>135,000</td>
<td>6.4</td>
<td>25.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>55,000</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>10.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Irish</td>
<td>39,000</td>
<td></td>
<td>7.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Holland</td>
<td>29,000</td>
<td></td>
<td>5.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sweden</td>
<td>27,000</td>
<td></td>
<td>4.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poland</td>
<td>15,000</td>
<td></td>
<td>2.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negroes</td>
<td>15,223</td>
<td></td>
<td>2.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Civilized Indians</td>
<td>624</td>
<td></td>
<td>1.03</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

While the degree of urbanization in the state was on the increase, family size was on the decline. In 1870 median family size was 4.91 persons per family, while in 1890 it stood at 4.6.

Michigan now had ten cities with populations of more than 13,000:

- Detroit: 205,876
- Grand Rapids: 60,278
- Saginaw: 46,322
- Bay City: 27,838
- Saginaw: 46,322
- Detroit: 205,876
- Grand Rapids: 60,278
- Saginaw: 46,322
- Bay City: 27,838
- Michigan now had ten cities with populations of more than 13,000:

The total value of products produced in the state in 1890 stood at $277,896,000.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Industry</th>
<th>Value of Products</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>lumber</td>
<td>$75,000,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>flouring and grist mill pr.</td>
<td>22,778,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cars/steam railroads</td>
<td>11,178,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lumber-planing mill prod.</td>
<td>10,009,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>furniture</td>
<td>9,898,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>timber product</td>
<td>9,637,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
RAILROAD
LOT SIZE: 25' x 100'
LOT COVERAGE: 90%
HEIGHT OF BUILDING: 6-7 STORIES
APARTMENTS PER FLOOR: 4 (8)
INTERIOR ROOMS RANGING FROM 8 TO 12, WITHOUT LIGHT OR VENTILATION
TOILET FACILITIES IN THE REAR YARD

DUMBELL
LOT SIZE: 25' x 100'
LOT COVERAGE: 90%
HEIGHT OF BUILDING: 5-6 STORIES
APARTMENTS PER FLOOR: 4
SIDE COURTS WERE INTRODUCED, PROVIDING SOME ADDITIONAL LIGHT AND AIR.
ADDITIONAL TOILET FACILITIES WERE INTRODUCED ON EACH FLOOR, IN THE PUBLIC HALL

MODIFIED DUMBELL

NEW LAW
LOT SIZE: 50' x 100'
LOT COVERAGE: 70%
HEIGHT OF BUILDING: 5-6 STORIES
APARTMENTS PER FLOOR: 7-8
THE WIDTH OF LOT WAS INCREASED, LOT COVERAGE REDUCED.
LARGER COURTS PERMITTED SOME LIGHT AND AIR IN ALL ROOMS.
TOILET FACILITIES WERE INCLUDED IN EACH APARTMENT.
Detroit was prosperous, and its government corrupt. However, in 1899 Hazen S. Pingree, a wealthy shoe manufacturer, was elected Mayor on a reform ticket. Aside from attacking corruption, Pingree began a comparative study of Detroit in relationship to other cities of the same size or larger. He found that most other large cities had electric street railways, as well as more equitable tax programs.

Pingree's espousal of fairer taxes -- business proprietors were assessed at a lower rate than home-owners -- soon cost him many of his wealthier supporters, and he was denounced as "an enemy of private property." Undaunted, Pingree continued to fight for municipal ownership of street railways, gas works, and lighting companies. He managed to cut gas and electric rates, lowered the cost of new streets, and forced through the taxation of railroad property.

The "Radical Mayor" also tried to enlarge Grand Circus Park, and to create a river-front park between the foot of Third Street and Orleans. The latter proposed was savagely denounced as both "fantastic and ruinously extravagant."

In 1880 Detroit had one high school, with an enrollment of 800. There were 40,000 school age children in the city, and over 17,000 actually attended public
school. There were 268 teachers in the city's school system, and classroom size was down to 63 students per teacher by 1881.

The total amount of direct investment in the manufacturing sectors of Detroit's economy stood at $45 million in 1890. The 1,746 industries within the city employed 38,178 people, and the city's "gross industrial product" was worth more than $77 million.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Industry</th>
<th>Value of Products</th>
<th># of Establishments</th>
<th># of Employees</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cars, steam railroad</td>
<td>$10,278,281</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3,615</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foundry/machinery shops</td>
<td>7,633,103</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>4,823</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tobacco-chewing</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>smoking and snuff</td>
<td>4,742,412</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1,352</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chemicals</td>
<td>2,968,778</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>1,281</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slaughtering and meat packing</td>
<td>2,770,178</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>277</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iron and steel</td>
<td>2,432,493</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>699</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lumber, planing mill products, incl. sash, doors and blinds</td>
<td>2,281,102</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>1,227</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tobacco-cigars and cigarettes</td>
<td>1,893,479</td>
<td>158</td>
<td>1,562</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carpentering</td>
<td>1,736,873</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>972</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flouring and grist mills products</td>
<td>1,613,063</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boots and shoes, factory products</td>
<td>1,611,000</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1,027</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Printing and publishing/newspaper and periodicals</td>
<td>1,526,667</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>822</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Printing and publishing-book and job</td>
<td>1,136,000</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>666</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1890</td>
<td>1900</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Michigan</td>
<td>2,093,889</td>
<td>2,420,804</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wayne County</td>
<td>257,114</td>
<td>348,793</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Detroit</td>
<td>205,876</td>
<td>285,704</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

"The application of electricity to transportation was very much part of the age. The horsecar remained the main form of cheap transportation until the 1890's, although the cablecar, first used in San Francisco, nudged it off the main lines."

Christopher Tunnard, *The American Skyline*

"It may be difficult to imagine that there was a time when fireman were the social leaders of the town and that an invitation to the annual firemen's ball was tantamount to admission to the charmed circle of what would now be "The Blue Book."

George W. Stark, *City of Destiny*
In 1900 there were 367 cities and incorporated "urban places" in Michigan. In addition, there were 16 cities in the state with populations of more than 10,000. The ten largest cities were:

- Detroit: 285,704
- Grand Rapids: 87,565
- Saginaw: 42,345
- Bay City: 27,628
- Jackson: 25,180
- Kalamazoo: 24,404
- Muskegon: 20,818
- Port Huron: 19,158
- Battle Creek: 18,500
- Lansing: 16,485

Moreover, during the decade 16 rural counties lost over 25,000 people to more urban areas.

Out of a total population of nearly 2,500,000, 207,000 lived in the Upper Peninsula in 1900. The four tiers of counties in the southeastern portion of the lower peninsula contained 1,342,000 people, or nearly 60% of the state's population.

In 1899, the year in which the state equalized its railway taxes, Michigan railroads were valued at $1,105,100,000. They were taxed at a rate of $3.37 per thousand dollars valuation. The highest amount of rail taxes were collected in Wayne and Kent Counties -- Wayne yielded the state $691,155 and Kent $177,003.

Inter-urban and local railroads continued to expand during the decade, and by 1900 Detroit was linked to most of the cities in the southern half of the Lower Peninsula. The major problem confronting the managers of the inter-urbans was neither demand nor lack of capital -- it was simply too difficult to transmit electricity for more than twenty miles.
The valuation of the state, upon which the taxes were equalized was $1,105,100.00, in the year 1899.

The amount of state taxes apportioned to the several counties of the state — see the picture.

Densities of the structure:
1. > 600,000 $
2. 50,000 - 100,000 $
3. 20,000 - 50,000 $
4. 10,000 - 20,000 $
5. LESS THAN $ 10,000

The rate of taxation for state was $ 33.77 PER THOUSAND DOLLARS' VALUATION.

The railroads as in 1870; the sequence of cities as in 1894.

*See: Cyclopaedia of Michigan, 1900.*
The most significant event of the decade 1890-1900 for Detroit was the beginning of the automobile industry. The city had long been a center of the carriage, wagon, and wheel industry, and it was also a large scale manufacturer of steam and internal combustion engines, metals, and brass and iron castings. Thus, a natural base for the new industry already existed in the city.

In 1894 the first auto maker in Detroit, Charles B. King, began to build cars. By 1899 there were even 79 establishments in the state manufacturing internal combustion engines, but New York was still the center of the new industry: no Detroit automobile was represented at the first New York auto show.
"The chariots shall rage in the streets. They shall jostle one
against another in the broad ways; they shall seem like torches;
they shall run like lightenings."

The Prophet Nahum

"I am going to make a motor car that will be light and strong and
clean, so that women can drive it. And it will have enough power
to do any kind of work called for and it will be sold so that any
man who can own a fairly cheap horse and buggy can afford to own
a car."

Henry Ford
By 1910, Michigan was an urban state. 57.3% of its population (1,613,179 people) lived in urban areas, and the state contained 106 cities with populations of more than 2,500; 24 Michigan cities now had populations in excess of 10,000, and the two largest, Detroit and Grand Rapids, were both well over the 10,000 mark.

But the history of Michigan in this decade is the history of Detroit and the automobile. This can easily be seen in the following table, which shows the industrial development of the state clearly; it is notable that this development is sharply divided between 1900 and 1904 and 1904-1910. The first years show "normal" increases in industrial productivity, and the last very rapid changes in the patterns of production.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Industry</th>
<th>Number of Establishments</th>
<th>Employees /wage earn./</th>
<th>Value of Products</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Automobile incl. bodies and parts</td>
<td>113</td>
<td>25,444</td>
<td>$96,651,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lumber and timber products</td>
<td>1,180</td>
<td>35,627</td>
<td>61,514,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foundry &amp; mach. shops prod.</td>
<td>654</td>
<td>21,649</td>
<td>45,399,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flour mill and grist mill prod.</td>
<td>520</td>
<td>1,520</td>
<td>34,861,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Furniture &amp; refrigerators</td>
<td>202</td>
<td>16,610</td>
<td>28,642,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Printing and publishing</td>
<td>1,045</td>
<td>7,219</td>
<td>17,348,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tobacco</td>
<td>729</td>
<td>7,876</td>
<td>16,179,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
MICHIGAN: DEVELOPMENT OF POPULATION, 1810-1910
DENSITIES
LESS THAN 2 INHABITANTS PER 1 SQ. MILE
2-6 INHABITANTS
6-10 INHABITANTS
10-15 INHABITANTS
45-90 INHABITANTS
90 INHABITANTS AND OVER

Michigan: Increase of Population 1900-1910

Michigan: First-Class Soil

Bulletin of the American Geographical Society, 1913
G.T. Miller: Some Geographical Influences in the Settlement of Michigan and in the Distribution of Its Population
By 1910, Detroit was producing 114,000 automobiles a year. The city had more than doubled its labor force in ten years, and automobile manufacturing employed more than 27,000 people.

By the end of the decade, 21 automobile manufacturers were operating in Michigan, 16 of them in Detroit. The Detroit based firms were the Anderson Electric Car Co. (1895), Packard (1899), Ford (1903), the Lozier Motor Co. (1904), Cadillac (1905), the Krit Motor Car Co. (1906), Maxwell (1906), Regal (1907), Chalmers (1907), Hudson (1908), Hupp (1908), Studebaker (1908), and Universal, Paige-Detroit, Herreshoff, and Commerce (all 1909). The out-state firms were Patterson in Flint, Olds in Lansing, Durant-Dort in Flint, Austin in Grand Rapids, and Jackson in Jackson.

Auto and part production in Detroit was worth $59.5 million in 1910, more than three times the value of the next-most-important product, foundry and machine goods.

By 1909 nearly 40% of all American cars were made in Detroit.

The new prosperity engendered by the automobile industry was reflected in Detroit's satellite villages -- they grew rapidly. There were 14 of them by 1910, and together they had an approximate population of 14,000. The city itself grew by 180,000 during the decade, and Detroit was the second-fastest growing city in the nation during the period.
"Beyond doubt, wealth is the relentless enemy of understanding. The poor man has always a precise view of his problem and its remedy: he has not enough and he needs more. The rich man can assume or imagine a much greater variety of ills and he will be correspondingly less certain of their remedy. Also, until he learns to live with his wealth, he will have a well-observed tendency to put it to the wrong purposes or otherwise to make himself foolish. As with individuals so with individuals so with nations."

John Kenneth Galbraith, *The Affluent Society*
During the period 1910-20 the population of Michigan increases by 858,000, and the marked trend towards urbanization continued. The state now contained nine rather large cities and one very large one. The ten biggest cities in 1920 were:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>City</th>
<th>Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Detroit</td>
<td>993,687</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grand Rapids</td>
<td>137,634</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saginaw</td>
<td>61,903</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lansing</td>
<td>51,327</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hamtramck</td>
<td>48,615</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kalamazoo</td>
<td>48,487</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jackson</td>
<td>48,374</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bay City</td>
<td>47,554</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Highland Park</td>
<td>46,499</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muskegon</td>
<td>36,570</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the last twenty years Detroit's population had increased by over 700,000; Grand Rapids' by nearly 50,000; Lansing by 35,000; and Saginaw, Bay City, Kalamazoo and Muskegon by about 20,000; moreover, two new towns were on the list in 1920, Hamtramck and Highland Park. Significantly, both were "automobile towns." The urban population of Michigan now numbered 2,241,560, while the rural population had declined to 1,426,852.

There were over 725,000 foreign born Caucasians in Michigan by 1920, and these immigrants accounted for nearly 25% of the state's urban population. The nationality groups were:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nationality</th>
<th>Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Canadians</td>
<td>163,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polish</td>
<td>103,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germans</td>
<td>86,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>47,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russian</td>
<td>45,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dutch</td>
<td>33,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italians</td>
<td>30,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finnish</td>
<td>30,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sweden</td>
<td>24,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hungarians</td>
<td>22,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Austrians</td>
<td>22,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The automobile industry was the state's largest employer. It, along with its parts subsidiaries, employed approximately 176,000 workers in 1919, and the value of its products was in excess of $1,500,000,000.* Michigan's other major industries were:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Establishments</th>
<th>Employees</th>
<th>Value of Products</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Foundry and machine shops products</td>
<td>523</td>
<td>39,430</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Furniture</td>
<td>171</td>
<td>18,496</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shipbuilding</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>15,996</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Engines: steam, gas and water</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>14,258</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paper and wood pulp</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>9,561</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brass, bronze and copper</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>10,305</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slaughtering and meat packing</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>1,712</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Detroit's largest automobile manufacturer was the Ford Motor Company. In 1913 it employed over 14,000 men, and by 1910 it was producing well over 12% of all the nation's autos. In 1916 Ford's share of the national market had increased to about 1/3, and by 1922 the company was making more than half the cars sold in the country.

Ford was obviously now a key factor in the economy of Detroit, and the prosperity of the city was boasted even further by the company's policy of high wages and low-cost cars. Ford paid $5 per day to its workers, yet managed to cut the cost of the Model T from $850 (in 1917) to $290 (in 1925).

The other major automobile companies in Detroit were:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Firm</th>
<th>Number of Employees</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Studebaker</td>
<td>6,970</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Packard</td>
<td>4,524</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cadillac</td>
<td>2,892</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chalmers</td>
<td>2,345</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hupp</td>
<td>1,017</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Detroit had 27 auto plants in 1919. Three were in Pontiac, Flint, and Jackson respectively, Jackson and Grand Rapids had two each, and Port Huron and Alma each had one plant.
The impact of the auto industry also began to alter the ownership pattern of Detroit business during this period. The city was becoming a "corporation town."

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Industry</th>
<th>1914</th>
<th>1919</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Individual Ownership</td>
<td>882</td>
<td>772</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corporations</td>
<td>860</td>
<td>1085</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>294</td>
<td>319</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The following table shows Detroit's leading industries in 1919.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Industry</th>
<th>No. of Establishments</th>
<th>Wage-Employees</th>
<th>Total value of Production</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Automobiles</td>
<td>136</td>
<td>65,000</td>
<td>$348,772,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Automobile parts/bodies</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foundries</td>
<td>286</td>
<td>25,563</td>
<td>201,455,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slaughtering &amp; meat packing</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>1,707</td>
<td>57,648,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brass, bronze</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>8,664</td>
<td>49,239,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Engines: steam, water, etc.</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>36,611,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bread, bakery</td>
<td>284</td>
<td>2,338</td>
<td>22,631,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Printing and publishing:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>newspapers and periodicals</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>14,017,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>printing-books and job</td>
<td>281</td>
<td>3,806</td>
<td>11,430,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Electrical machinery</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>1,894</td>
<td>12,970,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tobacco</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>3,421</td>
<td>11,606,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chemicals</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1,708</td>
<td>11,355,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Structural, iron not made in</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>638</td>
<td>11,271,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>work or rolling mills</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Detroit more than doubled its population between 1910 and 1920, and it now contained nearly one million people. Of the more than 500,000 additional people in the city in 1920, 412,000 were immigrants, 109,000 the result of natural increase, and 18,000 came by way of annexation.
Population of Detroit: Age Distribution

1900

1920

1940

After: People of Detroit, 1966
### Nationality group

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th># in Wayne County</th>
<th># in Detroit</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Polish</td>
<td>75,000</td>
<td>56,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canadian</td>
<td>67,000</td>
<td>59,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>German</td>
<td>34,000</td>
<td>30,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russian</td>
<td>32,000</td>
<td>27,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>20,000</td>
<td>17,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italian</td>
<td>17,000</td>
<td>16,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hungarian</td>
<td>15,000</td>
<td>13,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Austrian</td>
<td>13,000</td>
<td>10,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scotch</td>
<td>8,000</td>
<td>7,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belgian</td>
<td></td>
<td>6,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Czechoslovakian</td>
<td></td>
<td>3,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The city was divided into 21 wards by 1920, and the four largest were the 16th, 21st, 9th, and 1st. The 16th contained nearly 73,000 people; the 21st nearly 72,000, the 9th over 61,000 and 1st slightly more than 56,000. Black people were reported living in nearly all of the city's areas, but they tended to be concentrated in five wards:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ward</th>
<th>Black Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5th</td>
<td>10,449</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>9,140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7th</td>
<td>6,545</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9th</td>
<td>3,836</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14th</td>
<td>2,318</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The wards with the lowest black population were the 2nd, 4th, 8th, 10th, 15th, and 20th.

Detroit made a major gain in transportation facilities in 1920-22 when the city finally established a municipal transportation system by buying out the Detroit Urban Railway. A publicly owned transportation system had been a controversial issue for the last 25 years, and Detroit now owned the largest street-railroad system in the world.
Each dot represents a plant, establishment, factory, etc.

Detroit Industries
and Railroads 1918

See: Industrial and Transportation Terminal Map of Greater Detroit.
CONCLUSION
Conclusion

The last pages of this brief report are occupied by twelve maps and charts containing the author's perceptions of the present trends of development in Detroit. The contemporary situation of the city is a logical outcome of past trends, policies, and initiatives, however, this does not necessarily mean that the results are always logical.
DETOIIT - CENTRAL BUSINESS DISTRICT, 1968
ASSESSED VALUE PER FRONTAGE FOOT

☐ LESS THAN $1000
☐ $1000 - 3,000
☐ $3,000 - 5,000
☐ $5,000 - 7,000
☐ $7,000 - 9,000
☐ $9,000 AND OVER
DIFFERENT ORIGIN OF CITY AREA - TRACTS:
f (FRENCH) FARMS ALONG THE RIVERS AND CREEKS
m MARSH ALONG DETROIT RIVER, TO JEFFERSON AVE
c CITY AREA, PART OF FORMER PUBLIC DOMAIN
pl PARK LOTS, BEING SOLD TO OBTAIN MONEY FOR PUBLIC FACILITIES
TTat TEN THOUSAND ACRE TRACT (DONATION TO THE CITY)
as AMERICAN SYSTEM OF TOWNSHIPS (RECTANGULAR GRIDIRON)
o OTHER, SECONDARY SYSTEMS

PARKS, GOLF COURSES, CEMETERIES
DECREASE

MICHIGAN: TOWNSHIPS WHICH DECREASED IN POPULATION, 1980-1990

SEE: J.F. THYDEN: POPULATION TRENDS IN MICHIGAN, 199.
MICHIGAN LABOR FORCE

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