

African American Housing in Inkster, Michigan, 1920-1970



House at 3236 Walnut, Inkster, Michigan. (Kraemer Design Group 2022)

Sponsored by:
Michigan State Historic Preservation Office
Lansing, MI

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SECTION I

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Executive Summary

This is a reconnaissance level historic resource survey of four housing developments in Inkster, Michigan including the Dancy-Ford development, the George Washington Carver Defense Homes, and the LeMoyné Gardens housing project as well as an intensive level historic resource survey of a 1950s housing development roughly bounded by Annapolis Road, Inkster Road, Stanford Road, and John Daly Road (known throughout this survey as the Watsonia Park Subdivision No. 2). The survey project took place over the course of several months from February of 2022 through June of 2023 while the work was comprised of three general categories: archival research; reconnaissance-level and intensive-level field work in Inkster, conducted primarily in May, June, and September of 2022, and the preparation of this survey report. Kraemer Design Group (KDG) worked in conjunction with the local community in Inkster and the State Historic Preservation Office (SHPO) to conduct this survey.

In the 2016 National Park Service African American Civil Rights grant program documenting 20th Century African American Civil Rights sites in Detroit recently completed by the SHPO, Inkster was identified as one of the few places where African Americans could live prior to 1940 due to segregation. As a result of this, the Michigan State Historic Preservation Office was awarded a National Park Service 2020 African American Civil Rights program grant to survey African American housing in Inkster dating from 1920-1970. This survey encompassed 598 properties in four distinct, contiguous and noncontiguous areas in Inkster totaling 110.93 hectares (274.21 acres). The survey was roughly confined to the southwest quadrant of the city of Inkster.

This survey report presents a summary of the findings discovered during the survey and includes a description of the survey area, an overview of the project methodology, a summary of relevant historic contexts, property types, recommendations for future study, maps of the survey areas and a complete list of the properties surveyed.

Purpose and Goals

The National Park Service is working to diversify its historic preservation programs and to reach out to minority communities to identify, document, and register historic properties that are significant at the national, state, and local level. This project is a direct outworking of that goal. The City of Inkster has never had a comprehensive architectural survey despite the fact that it is one of the few places in the metro Detroit area that African Americans could buy a house during the early and middle decades of the twentieth century. Due to racial covenants, redlining, racism in the real estate industry, housing segregation and other issues, African Americans were severely limited as to where they could buy a home.

The primary purpose of this survey is to research and document historic African American housing in Inkster to gain a better understanding of the historic areas of significance, preservation threats and opportunities, and to provide recommendations to the State Historic Preservation Office, City of Inkster officials, community members, and other interested stakeholders. This survey also seeks to identify historic resources in Inkster that are potentially eligible for the National Register of Historic Places, either individually or as a district. The data

from the survey, the survey forms, and the recommendations contained in this report will be a planning and preservation resource for the City of Inkster, the State Historic Preservation Office, and interested community groups.

Summary of Recommendations

The four identified survey areas are comprised of historic-age housing with nearly all buildings surveyed found to be older than forty years of age. The LeMoyne Gardens, Dancy-Ford, and Watsonia Park Subdivision No. 2 developments are all highly intact and showcase a range of architectural styles. Relatively few buildings remain from the original George Washington Carver Homes development but the buildings that do remain retain a high degree of integrity.

The key preservation issues and threats identified for the applicable survey areas include demolition, deferred maintenance, inappropriate modifications, lack of awareness and recognition, and lack of preservation planning or local historic districts in the survey areas. Further elaboration on the issues and threats identified are discussed at length in the section below entitled “Preservation Issues and Threats.”

This survey identified five potential National Register-eligible historic districts as well as 3 sites potentially eligible for individual listing in the National Register of Historic Places. To date, only one building in Inkster is currently listed in the National Register of Historic Places, the Malcolm X House, which was listed in 2022.



Image 1. House at 27054 Lehigh, Inkster, Michigan. (Kraemer Design Group 2022)

Table of Contents

SECTION I	2
Acknowledgements/Funding Credit.....	2
Executive Summary	3
Purpose and Goals	3
Summary of Recommendations.....	4
Table of Contents	5
Credentials.....	6
Project Objectives and Methodology	6
Project Objectives & Goals	7
Field Survey Methodology and Work Plan	8
Verbal Description of Survey Area and Boundaries	10
Sources.....	12
Data Location	13
SECTION II	14
Descriptive Overview of Survey Area	14
Historic and Thematic Contexts.....	16
Community Planning and Development and Ethnic Heritage.....	16
Government/Politics	60
Social History and Commerce.....	63
Education.....	72
Architecture	76
Survey Findings.....	82
Overview of Survey Recommendations	82
Preservation Issues and Threats.....	83
Planning Needs and Recommendations	85
Areas for Future Reconnaissance Level Survey	87
Areas for Future Intensive Level Survey.....	92
Properties with Individual Significance	98
Conclusion.....	99
Bibliography.....	101
SECTION III.....	105
Index of Surveyed Properties	105
Index of Properties Under 40 Years	118
Appendix A: Survey Maps.....	119
Appendix B: Credentials	119
Appendix C: District Inventory Forms.....	119
Appendix D: Individual Property Inventory Forms	119
Appendix E: Survey Photos	119

Credentials

Kraemer Design Group LLC (KDG) was the contract partner selected to carry out this reconnaissance and intensive level survey. Headquartered in Detroit, Michigan, Kraemer Design Group is a full service architectural and historic preservation consulting firm. The survey team from Kraemer Design Group included Cassandra Talley, Lillian Candela, and Katie Cook. Brian Rebaun was the Principal-in-Charge of the project.

Lillian Candela and Cassandra Talley both meet the requirements outlined in 36 CFR Part 61 to qualify as architectural historians. Lillian meets this standard by virtue of a Master of Science degree in Historic Preservation from the University of Pennsylvania and Cassandra meets this standard by virtue of a Master of Science degree in Historic Preservation from Eastern Michigan University. Combined, Cassandra and Lillian have over eight years of experience in historic preservation and architecture. Katie Cook has a bachelor's degree in Geography with a minor in Historic Preservation from Eastern Michigan University and was completing her Master of Science in Historic Preservation (also at Eastern Michigan University) during the course of this survey. Brian was the Principal in Charge of the project and is a 36 CFR Part 61 qualified Historic Architect and has over twenty-three years' experience in preservation-minded architecture. Brian served as Chairperson of the State Historic Preservation Review Board, was a member of the City of Detroit's Tactical Preservation Working Group and is a thought leader in the field of adaptive reuse and innovative historic preservation methods. Complete resumes for each team member are provided in Appendix B.

All work conducted and produced by staff not meeting the Secretary of the Interior's Professional Qualifications Standards has been supervised and edited by Lillian Candela and Cassandra Talley.

Project Objectives and Methodology

The Michigan State Historic Preservation Office (SHPO) of the Michigan Strategic Fund was awarded a grant from the Historic Preservation Fund National Park Service (NPS) African American Civil Rights grant program in 2021. This grant provided the funding to conduct an intensive and reconnaissance level survey of historic African American housing in Inkster, Michigan. Fieldwork for the project began in the spring of 2022 and continued, in stages, throughout the summer and fall of 2022. The first public engagement session was conducted in May of 2022 and was held at the Leanna Hicks Public Library in Inkster.

Because the history of many of the survey areas was not extensively covered in archival databases, KDG staff conducted further outreach beyond just the public engagement meetings. In September of 2022, staff from KDG attended a reunion of Inkster residents at the Cardboard City Reunion party held in Inkster Park. Cardboard City (officially known as LeMoyne Gardens) was a housing development built in the 1940s in southwest Inkster. This reunion allowed KDG to conduct multiple oral history interviews with residents of Cardboard City/LeMoyne Gardens, many of whom moved into the units upon completion in 1942. KDG staff also attended

presentations on the history of the Malcolm X house, which is located within the bounds of the survey area and conducted oral histories with several other residents of Inkster.

There is only one property in Inkster that is listed in the National Register of Historic Places—the Malcolm X House located at 4336 Williams Street. Beyond this property listed in 2022, there are no other historic districts in the city nor is there a history of any extensive historic resource survey work being conducted in Inkster. Because of this, KDG staff hopes the survey of African American Housing in Inkster fills a gap in the documentation of the history of Inkster.

Project Objectives & Goals

The objective of this survey was to identify above-ground historic resources that warrant further investigation or merit inclusion in the National Register of Historic Places; to investigate and document a history that has not yet been fully documented; to assist the State Historic Preservation Office and city officials in Inkster in carrying out their planning and preservation duties; and to help highlight the valuable historic resources in the City. The survey will allow the community, elected officials, and city staff to make informed policy decisions which will enhance city planning decisions. This will, in turn, improve the livability and place-making efforts in Inkster.

This survey will be a vital tool in considering which historic resources warrant potential future local and/or national designation. Historic resource surveys also help stimulate interest in the historic places and spaces that make a community unique. This augmented community awareness—and because community partners are invaluable in the quest to make a city more inclusive, adaptable, and viable—will aid residents and city officials in taking the necessary actions for building upon and expanding the preservation and reuse already occurring in Inkster. Historic resource surveys can also help expedite environmental review processes, which alleviate burdens on city and state planning and preservation staff.



Image 2. Duplex at 4006-4008 Durand Court, Inkster, Michigan. (Kraemer Design Group 2022)

Field Survey Methodology and Work Plan

This survey was conducted in accordance with the guidelines issued by the Michigan State Historic Preservation Office (SHPO) in the updated 2018 *Michigan Above Ground Survey Manual*. The forms were completed with the key terms listed in the Survey Manual and the structure of this report was based upon the Survey Report Components given in the Survey manual although the order of some components has been adjusted slightly. The National Park Service's Bulletin 24 *Guidelines for Local Surveys: A Basis for Preservation Planning* was also consulted for guidance.

Additionally, the project team worked in conjunction with the SHPO to adhere to their survey methodologies to provide a seamless survey product that would work with their ongoing survey efforts. Accordingly, the project team utilized the EpiCollect application on their cell phones and ArcGIS software for the mapping components. All photos were taken from the public right-of-way by car or on foot, as needed. All properties within the survey boundaries were photographed, with all buildings 40 years of age or older inventoried and evaluated for eligibility using the National Park Service's *How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation* and recorded on SHPO Architectural Inventory forms. All buildings less than 40 years old are briefly documented on the spreadsheet in Section III: Index of Properties Under 40 Years.

The Kraemer Design Group field survey team consisted of three KDG team members in one car. The team primarily surveyed by car although some high traffic areas and some residential areas were surveyed on foot. Using smartphones, the survey team verified the address, entered the address into the EpiCollect smartphone application, and then photographed the building with the camera feature inside the EpiCollect application. Most buildings had at least three photographs taken; however, some had more if the property was large and some properties had less due to traffic, visibility issues, or concerns from the occupants of the building. After the field data was collected, the architectural historians, Lillian, Katie, and Cassandra, reviewed and analyzed the data using the city Geographic Information System (GIS) and aerial photographs along with Google Maps and Street View in conjunction with the survey photography. Katie, Cassandra, and Lillian reviewed and analyzed the architectural style, date of construction, roof shape and materials, window types and materials, siding materials, overall condition, outbuildings, and historic integrity. This analysis was used to identify cohesive groupings of historic resources and significant individual resources, which informed the decision on where to recommend historic districts.

The fieldwork data including the photographs and all the information collected for the survey inventory forms was combined with archival research to ensure that significant resources were not overlooked. This reconnaissance and intensive survey evaluated all resources related to residential housing which was the focus of this survey; however, in the course of the fieldwork and research it was discovered that there was a significant and potentially eligible historic commercial district within the bounds of the survey and thus this commercial area was documented as well. The recommendations given here are based on the National Register of Historic Places eligibility criteria. Based upon the results of this survey and upon the accumulated data compiled in this survey report, the project team has identified individual resources and potential historic districts that warrant further research—intensive surveys of areas

surveyed at the reconnaissance level and a National Register nomination is recommended for the intensive survey area, Watsonia Park Subdivision No. 2. These recommendations are discussed further in the Survey Findings section of this report.

A public engagement meeting was conducted in May of 2022 to ensure the public was both aware of the survey and had the opportunity to participate in and contribute to the survey. This meeting acted as an introductory meeting to acquaint the public with the survey team participants and overall project goals. The project team solicited information from the public at this meeting and provided additional context regarding the objectives and goals survey. Further, KDG team members also conducted oral histories with many residents of Inkster to gain valuable insights into the community that are not documented in available archival resources. Residents of the Inkster provided important feedback about particular properties, local history, and areas of potential resources to be considered by the project team.

A second public engagement meeting was held in June of 2023 to update the public on the survey and to acquaint them with the survey results, findings, and recommendations. This meeting was held at the Leanna Hicks Public Library. A final closeout meeting with the State Historic Preservation Office occurred on **September 1, 2023**.

A Note about Surveying the Proposed Dancy-Ford Historic District

A specific methodology was developed to determine which properties to survey within the proposed Dancy-Ford Historic District. Multiple sources were consulted to determine which properties within the proposed district boundaries were either associated with the 1920s development of the area into a settlement for Black residents and, additionally, which properties were associated with the Ford-Inkster Project which operated in the area from 1931-1941. KDG was provided with a list of addresses confirmed to be associated with the Ford-Inkster Project by the Benson Collection at the Henry Ford. The extant properties on this list were surveyed (approximately 150 sites extant out of the list of 400 properties provided by the Benson Collection). In addition, the Wayne County Parcel Viewer was consulted to confirm which properties were constructed between 1920 and 1941. This additional data provided the list of extant properties in the area related to the earlier 1920s settlement and filled in any gaps in the list of properties associated with the Ford-Inkster Project. Together, these sources amounted to 205 properties which were surveyed at the reconnaissance level.



Image 3. Sign for the New Delhi Confectionery at 3575 Harrison, Inkster, Michigan. (Kraemer Design Group 2022)

Verbal Description of Survey Area and Boundaries

There were four distinct areas included in this survey which were centered around four residential housing developments. In addition to the four residential areas, KDG identified a fifth area, contained wholly within the bounds of the Dancy-Ford area, with potential significance due to its association with the history of commerce. This area, the Harrison Street Commercial area, is also given a boundary description, below. The survey areas are described below as each survey boundaries are discreet and non-contiguous with the exception of the Harrison Street Commercial area. Maps of the surveyed areas are provided in Appendix A.

LeMoyne Gardens: The boundary begins at the southeast corner of Andover Street and Henry Ruff Road and runs east along Andover Street and then turns south at the east property line of the LeMoyne Gardens units on Kenwood Avenue. The boundary runs south along the east property line of the LeMoyne Gardens units on Kenwood Avenue then turns east and follows the property line of the LeMoyne Gardens units on Pierce Street before turning south and following Burton Street. The boundary runs south along Burton Street then turns and runs east along Pine Street all the way to Middlebelt. At Middlebelt, the boundary turns south and runs along Middlebelt then turns west at the north property line of the houses on Thomas Court. The boundary runs along the north property line of the houses on Thomas Court and then turns south at the eastern

property line of the LeMoyne Gardens units on Meadow Circle then turns west at Annapolis. The boundary runs west along Annapolis until turning north at Burton Street and runs north on Burton. The boundary runs north along Burton then turns west on Liberty Street. The boundary runs west on Liberty Street until turning north at Henry Ruff Road. The boundary runs north on Henry Ruff Road before terminating at the starting point—the corner of Henry Ruff Road and Andover Street.

George Washington Carver Homes: The boundary consists of two discontinuous areas. The first boundary begins at the corner of Cherry Street and Northland Avenue and runs east along Cherry Street until turning south at the western property line of the houses on the west side of Irene Street. The boundary runs south along this property line and then turns west on Carlisle Street. The boundary runs along Carlisle Street until turning north at Northland Avenue and terminating at the starting point – the corner of Charry Street and Northland Avenue.

The second discrete area begins at the corner of Irene Street and Andover Street and runs west along the northernmost property lines of the properties on Durand Court. The boundary runs along the rear property line boundaries of all of the properties on Durand Court, travelling in a horseshoe shape, until reaching Irene Street once again. The boundary then turns north at Irene Street until terminating at the starting point – the corner of Irene Street and Northland Avenue.

Dancy-Ford: The boundary begins where Inkster Road crosses the Michigan Central Railroad tracks and runs south along Inkster Road until Lehigh Avenue where it turns west. The boundary runs west along Lehigh Avenue and swings north along Henry Street where Lehigh Avenue turns into Henry Street. The boundary continues north along Henry Street then turns west at Pine Street. The boundary continues west along Pine Street then turns south onto Hickory Street and runs south until Annapolis. At Annapolis Avenue, the boundary turns west and runs west along Annapolis Avenue until turning north at Irene Street. The boundary runs north on Irene Street until just after Durand Court where the boundary turns west at the northern property line of the Carver Homes unit located at the northwest corner of Durand Court and Irene Street. The boundary runs west along this property line until turning north at the southeast corner of the property line of the Burger Baylor School. The boundary continues along the east property line of the Burger Baylor School, crosses Carlisle Street, continues along the western property line of the houses on the west side of Irene Street, crosses Beech Street and continues along the west property line of the property located on the west side of Irene Street. The boundary crosses Cherry Street and continues due north across Cherry Street until hitting the Michigan Central Railroad tracks. The boundary then turns east at the railroad tracks and runs east along the tracks until terminating at the starting point—the point where Inkster Road meets the Michigan Central Railroad tracks.

Watsonia Park Subdivision No. 2: The boundary starts at the northeast corner of Inkster Road and Annapolis Street. The boundary runs north along Inkster Road then turns east at midpoint between Stanford Avenue and Colgate Street and runs along the northern property line of the house on the northern side of Stanford Avenue. The boundary continues along the property lines, crosses Sylvia Street, continues along the property lines, crosses Princess Avenue, continues along the property lines until it hits John Daly Street. The boundary then turns south and runs along John Daly Street until hitting Annapolis Street where it turns west. The boundary then runs

west along Annapolis Street until terminating at the starting point—the corner of Inkster Road and Annapolis Street.

Harrison Street Commercial: The boundary begins at the northwest corner of the property at 28430 Cherry Street and runs east along the property line of 28430 Cherry Street until hitting Harrison Street. The boundary then crosses Harrison Street and continues along the northern property line of 2943 Harrison Street then turns south and follows the property line of 2943 Harrison south until crossing Cherry Street and continuing south along the eastern property line of the buildings on the east side of Harrison Street. The boundary continues along the eastern property line of the buildings on the east side of Harrison Street, crosses Chestnut Avenue, continues south along the property lines of the lots/buildings on the east side of Harrison Street, crosses Beech Street, continues south along the property lines of the lots/buildings on the east side of Harrison Street, crosses Carlisle Street, continues south along the property lines of the lots/buildings on the east side of Harrison Street, and then turns west at Andover Street. The boundary continues west along Andover Street and then turns north at the west property line of 3934 Harrison Street and continues north along the property lines of the lots/buildings on the west side of Harrison Street, crosses Carlisle Street, continues north along the western property lines of the lots/buildings on the west side of Harrison Street, crosses Beech Street, continues north along the western property lines of the lots/buildings on the west side of Harrison Street until turning west at the southern property line of 28537 Cherry Street, continue west along the southern property line and turning north at Isabelle Street. The boundary then runs north along Isabelle Street until Cherry Street then turns east at Cherry Street, runs east along Cherry Street until turning north at the southwest corner of the property at 28430 Cherry. The boundary then turns north at this point and runs north until terminating at the beginning point—the northwest corner of the property at 28430 Cherry Street.

Sources

Local archival repositories were consulted including the Leanna Hicks Public Library, the Walter Reuther Archives at Wayne State University, the oral history collection at the Detroit Historical Society, the Benson Ford Archives at The Henry Ford, the Inkster Housing Commission records, the Wayne Historical Museum, and the Bentley Historical Library at the University of Michigan were all important sources of information. Additionally, oral histories, memories, and recollections from local residents were invaluable in documenting the history of Cardboard City/LeMoyne Gardens and the George Washington Carver Homes.

According to a former Inkster City Council member, Inkster’s historical archives were destroyed in a flood of the library basement sometime within the last several years.¹ Thus, important information about the Inkster City Council, the Inkster Historic Commission, and other early civic records appear to be lost. Additionally, the KDG team was unable to access the Burton Historical Collection at the Detroit Public Library which has been closed for nearly two years due to flooding—the only materials accessible from the Burton are those of which are available digitally and thus there may be gaps in the documentation record because of these inaccessible collections. Additional sources consulted included historic maps, city directories, assessor’s records, newspapers and newspaper clippings files, articles, books, published histories, prior

¹ Email from Robert Turley based upon a discussion with Dee Richardson, August 31, 2022.

surveys, National Register of Historic Places nominations, field investigation, historic photographs, and community member's input.

Data Location

This survey report and the survey inventory forms will be kept at the Michigan State Historic Preservation Office. A copy of the survey will also be retained by Kraemer Design Group. All survey inventory forms, and all source materials will also be conveyed to the Michigan State Historic Preservation Office.

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SECTION II

Descriptive Overview of Survey Area

Inkster is a small city in Michigan located in western Wayne County in the southeastern portion of the state. Inkster is located approximately fourteen miles west of downtown Detroit and is bisected east and west by Michigan Avenue and the Michigan Central Railroad which cuts through the city just south of Michigan Avenue. Inkster is situated about halfway between Detroit and Ypsilanti and grew due to its strategic location between these two larger cities. Inkster is surrounded on all sides by neighboring municipalities: Garden City and Dearborn Heights to the north, Dearborn Heights to the east, Westland and Dearborn Heights to the south, and Westland to the west.

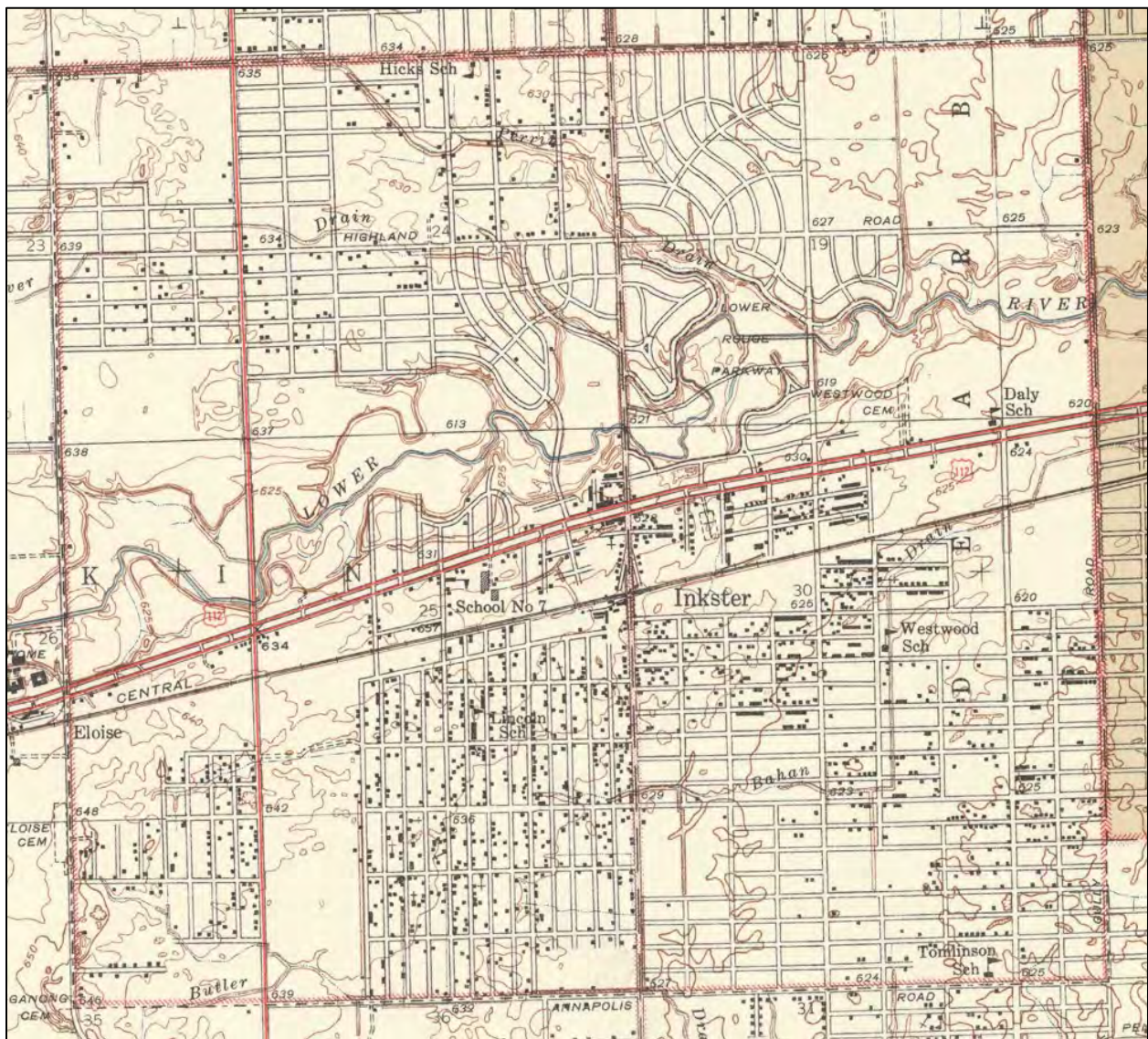


Image 4. 1942 Topographic map of Inkster, Michigan. (United States Geological Survey, *Inkster Quadrangle 7 1/2 Minute Series*, 1942, USGS Topoviewer)

The lower branch of the Rouge River cuts a jagged, meandering path through Inkster just north of Michigan Avenue with each side of the riverbank surrounded by heavy tree cover. The Lower Rouge Parkway covers the area around the Rouge River at the eastern edge of Inkster while a substantial wetland area is located near the middle area of Inkster alongside the banks of the Rouge. Inkster Park is located along the southern banks of the Rouge River just west of John Daly Street. The Inkster Valley Golf Course is located on the western edge of the city, along the Rouge River, with greens located both east and west of Middlebelt Road.

The roads north of Michigan Avenue in Inkster are laid out on a grid pattern at the western end of the City while the roads on the eastern side of the city are curved and undulating to follow the banks of the Rouge River. The roads south of Michigan Avenue are largely laid out on a grid pattern. The general topography of Inkster is largely flat with little noticeable change in elevation.

The City of Inkster is largely residential with clusters of commercial buildings found along the major thoroughfares of Michigan Avenue, Inkster Road, Beech Daly Street, Henry Ruff Road, and Middlebelt Road. The majority of Inkster's manufacturing and industrial facilities, which are relatively small in scale, are located south of Michigan Avenue (but north of the Michigan Central Railroad tracks) spanning from Henry Ruff Road to John Daly Street. Metal processing companies, salvage yards, trucking companies, and automobile repair businesses are located in these areas.

Throughout much of its history the *de facto* color lines in Inkster were Michigan Avenue and Inkster Road—African American citizens lived, overwhelming, in the areas south of Michigan Avenue and west of Inkster Road—with White citizens concentrated above Michigan Avenue. Thus, the survey areas are primarily concentrated in the southwest quadrant of the city with all survey areas being located south of Michigan Avenue. The LeMoyne Gardens complex, the George Washington Carver Homes and the Dancy-Ford neighborhood are all located west of Inkster Road while the Watsonia Park Subdivision No. 2 is located east of Inkster Road.

At the time of this survey, the northern half of the city (north of Michigan Avenue) appears to be more densely populated than the southern half based upon aerial imagery and the density of housing units observed during the fieldwork portion of the survey. Due to demolitions and loss of housing over time, the Dancy-Ford neighborhood, occupying the south-central area of Inkster, today is fairly sparsely populated and vacant lots outnumber buildings in this area. Vacant lots were also common in the George Washington Carver Homes area. LeMoyne Gardens and the Watsonia Park Subdivision No. 2 are both more densely populated, and it appears that little demolition has occurred in these two areas since they were originally constructed.

Today, Inkster has a population just over 26,000 residents as of the 2020 census and the southwest side of the City is primarily comprised of smaller residential buildings that reflect the working-class roots of this bedroom community. Minimal Traditional and Ranch style homes predominate throughout the City with earlier Craftsman, Colonial Revival, and vernacular Prairie style homes also typically found throughout. The Watsonia Park Subdivision No. 2 is comprised of a collection of mid-century-era Modern, Ranch, and Contemporary style homes.

Historic and Thematic Contexts

The text below gives additional details about the historic themes that distinguish Inkster. These themes are intended to give a broad overview of the history of Inkster as it pertains to each historic context. These contexts directly relate to the architectural resources discovered during the course of the survey.

Community Planning and Development and Ethnic Heritage

The planning and development of the surveyed communities in southwest Inkster is so inextricably tied to Black history that the two areas of significance cannot be discussed separately. The history and significance of both community planning and development and ethnic history are outlined below, tracing early Michigan history to the foundation of Inkster to the development of housing communities for the Black residents of Inkster through the twentieth century.

Early History

At the close of the last ice age, Native Americans of the Paleo period traveled through what became Wayne County in order to hunt large game. By about 5,000 BCE Native American peoples in the area were using tools made of granite and, sometimes, copper. The copper presumably made its way to lower Michigan via trade routes from the Native Americans in the Upper Peninsula where copper was plentiful and easily mined. During the Woodlands period, early Native Americans in Michigan included Odawa, Potawatomi, Wyandotte, and Huron with many other tribes traveling through the area.² While gathering oral histories for this report, one man who visited Inkster often as a child, remembers playing on a large hill that he believed was an old Native American burial mound.³ Located somewhere near Inkster Park, north of Michigan Avenue, the location of this hill, and whether it still exist today, could not be confirmed. That being said, mound building tribes were known to be in the Detroit area with several substantial mounds located near where the mouth of the Rouge River empties into the Detroit River.⁴

Despite Detroit's founding in 1701 and continued growth through the latter decades of the 1700s, the first White settlers did not move through Inkster until around 1801 and permanent settlement wouldn't occur in Inkster until the 1820s or 1830s.⁵ Michigan became a territory of the United States in 1805 and, because White settlers were still sparse in the territory, land was advertised at two dollar per acre to increase settlement in this new territory.⁶ Population growth in Inkster was slow due to the dense forests that grew in the area and because of the "low-lying malaria infested wetlands located between the present day cities of Dearborn and Ypsilanti."⁷

² Alice Bostick, *The Roots of Inkster* (Inkster, MI: City of Inkster Library and Historical Commission, 1980), 9.

³ Conversation with Darnell Foreman, Cardboard City Reunion at Inkster Park, September 10, 2022.

⁴ Paul Sewick, "The Mound Builders," *DetroitUrbanism*, accessed October 3, 2022, <http://detroiturbanism.blogspot.com/2015/12/the-mound-builders.html>.

⁵ Howard O'Dell Lindsey, "Fields to Fords, Feds to Franchise: African American Empowerment in Inkster, Michigan" (PhD diss., University of Michigan, 1993), 8.

⁶ Bostick, 17.

⁷ Lindsey, 8.

To more thoroughly inhabit this area, most potential settlers had to wait until advances in road, rail, and other infrastructure were begun in earnest, which began happening in the 1820s. The Erie Canal opened in 1825 which was the impetus for much early migration to Michigan in the late 1820s and 1830s. The Erie Canal provided easier routes for settlers from the east coast to access the abundant vacant available in Ohio, Michigan, and beyond.

Early Michigan roads often followed old Native American trails, and this is true of Michigan Avenue which travels through Inkster just south of the Rouge River—it roughly follows the location of the Old Sauk Trail through southern Michigan.⁸ It was first improved as a military road to connect Detroit to Chicago and served as a wagon road and stagecoach line in the mid-19th Century. With the creation of the Michigan State Highway Department in 1905, the road became a state trunk line and was later named U.S. 12 as part of the federal highway system. Around 1922, communities along the highway agreed to adopt the name “Michigan Avenue” for their main streets as a coordinated auto tourism promotion. U.S. 12 was designated a Michigan Heritage Route by the Michigan Department of Transportation in 2004.⁹

The extension of Michigan Avenue westward from Detroit was begun in the late 1820s and mostly completed in 1833.¹⁰ Also called the Chicago Road, the connection between Detroit and Chicago would provide a valuable thoroughfare for military troops—the primary purpose for which it was initially constructed—and later for goods, commerce, and trade. Small settlements and towns popped up along its route as travelers on the road needed lodging, food, and locations to water and feed their horses as the journey could span several days during this non-mechanized era of travel. A journey along Michigan Avenue by wagon from Detroit to Dearborn for instance would take a full day, necessitating an overnight stay.¹¹ Midpoint stopping locations like Inkster and Wayne broke the journey into manageable distances for these early travelers.

Settlement of Inkster

The first settler in Inkster is disputed but permanent settlement in the area was accomplished by the 1820s or 1830s at the latest. One source notes that the first settlers may have been either Reverend Marcus Swift and Luther Reeves who bought property in 1825 or John Lathers in 1830.¹² Yet another source states the first settler in Inkster was Marenus Harrison who reportedly bought property in Inkster in 1822.¹³ Harrison and his wife Hannah’s graves are still extant in a historic cemetery located next to the location of the old Inkster Post Office just south of

⁸ Bostick, 1.

⁹ LeRoy Barnett, *Drive Down Memory Lane: The Named State and Federal Highways of Michigan*, (Allegan Forest, MI: Priscilla Press, 2004) and Christopher J. Bessert, “Michigan Highways,” accessed April 26, 2023, michiganhighways.org

¹⁰ Aaron Mondry, “Michigan’s Highway: The History of Michigan Avenue, Our State’s Most Important Road,” ModelD, March 6, 2017, accessed August 29, 2022, <https://www.modeldmedia.com/features/michigan-avenue-pt1-030617.aspx>.

¹¹ Paul Sewick, “Radial Avenues Part III: Michigan Avenue,” Detroit Urbanism, September 19, 2016, accessed August 31, 2022, <https://detroiturbanism.blogspot.com/2016/09/radial-avenues-part-iii-michigan-ave.html>.

¹² Lindsey, 9-11.

¹³ Bostick, 24.

Michigan Avenue.¹⁴ Robert Inkster moved to the nascent community in 1855 to “start a steam powered saw mill” known as “the red mill” which he used to cut railroad ties and wooden planks for Michigan Avenue.¹⁵ Inkster was initially called “Moulin Rouge” (which means red mill in French) named, presumably, after Robert Inkster’s mill. The name of the village was changed to

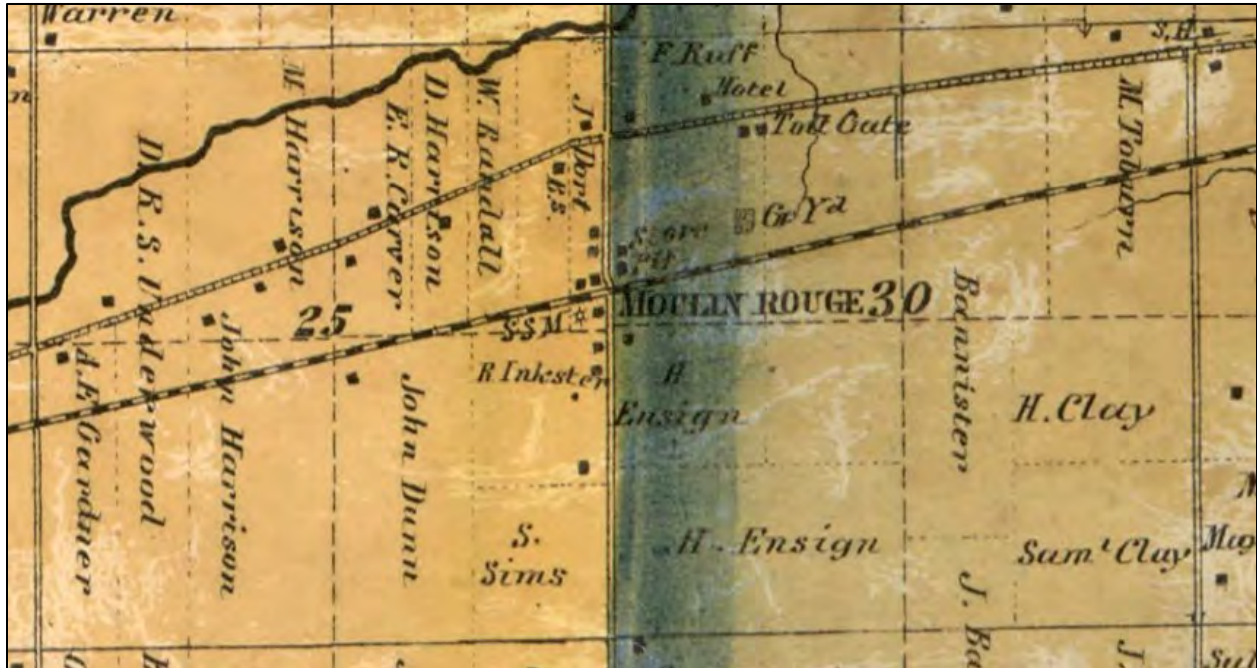


Image 5. 1860 map of Wayne County, Michigan showing Robert Inkster’s property and the location of Moulin Rouge. (Geil, Harley and Siverd, *Map of Wayne Co., Michigan* (Philadelphia: Geil, Harley & Siverd, 1860)

Inkster in 1863.¹⁶ Presumably, the town itself and Inkster Road were both named after Robert Inkster due to his status in the community as a prominent citizen and successful businessowner. Robert Inkster left for Kalamazoo sometime around 1875 and moved to South Burdick Street in that city.¹⁷ He left an imprint on the development patterns of Kalamazoo too: In 1912, the Inkster Park Subdivision was platted by members of the Inkster family.¹⁸ Additionally, Inkster Avenue in Kalamazoo was named after Robert Inkster.

Many of the other roads in Inkster were named after early settlers. Henry Ruff Road is named after Henry Ruff, son of James Ruff, who owned a large farm in Inkster south of the Eloise Asylum. The Ruff family originally settled in Inkster circa 1827 when Francis Ruff moved to the Inkster area and opened a tavern on Michigan Avenue near Inkster Road.¹⁹ Henry Ruff’s sister, Frances Ruff, married John Daly of whom Beech-Daly Road is named after.

When the Village of Inkster was incorporated in 1926, it occupied part of two townships: Dearborn Township to the east and Nankin Township to the west however “Nankin and

¹⁴ Bostick, 24.

¹⁵ Mona Grigg, “This is a Year to Celebrate for Inkster and its Churches,” *Detroit Free Press*, December 6, 1984.

¹⁶ Bostick, 13.

¹⁷ John Lents, “Inkster Road,” December 10, 1970, Roads – General Folder, Wayne Historical Museum.

¹⁸ City of Kalamazoo, Ogle Atlas, Plate 37, 1910, Burton Collection.

¹⁹ Mildred Hanchett, “Ruff Road,” December 10, 1970, Roads – General Folder, Wayne Historical Museum.

Dearborn Townships respectively went through several name changes between 1827-1836.”²⁰ Nankin Township had been called Bucklin Township, which had been organized in 1827, but Bucklin was later divided into two sections and renamed Nankin Township and Peking Township. (Peking Township was later renamed Redford Township).

After the first permanent settlers moved to Inkster, the population growth in this nascent community was initially slow. An early territorial census from 1827 recorded just 491 residents in the whole of Bucklin Township.²¹ An 1893 plat map shows Inkster to be a very sparsely populated area with just 72 houses marked on the map.²² This slow trajectory of population growth continued during the middle and late decades of the nineteenth century—the population at the year 1900 was estimated at 150. It was during the first three decades of the twentieth century that Inkster began to grow substantially: between 1900 and 1930 the population of Inkster grew from 150 to 4,400 residents. Of the 4,400 residents in 1930, 1,195 were Black. The Black and White residents were fully segregated at this time.²³ In 1950, the population in the southwest quadrant (where all four survey areas are located) was estimated at about 9,200 people while the entire north section of the city (northwest and northeast quadrant) was estimated at 4,200.²⁴ Black and White residents were still segregated in 1950 with the majority of non-White residents residing in the southwest quadrant of Inkster per census tract data.²⁵

Because of Michigan’s location on the Detroit River with direct adjacency to the city of Windsor and its surrounding areas, African Americans fleeing slavery made Michigan one of “the largest terminus points for slaves” escaping into Canada.²⁶ In fact, “between 1840 and 1862 it is estimated that 30,000 slaves made their escape into Canada via Michigan. Some of these fugitives passed through Inkster.”²⁷ One of the earliest Black settlers in Inkster about whom much is known is Charles Lawrence. Lawrence bought a home on eight acres in 1918 in the southwest section of Inkster. Another Black family, the DeBaptiste family, moved to a home near Annapolis and Henry Ruff in 1919.²⁸ By the 1920s, Inkster was becoming known as a place where African Americans could buy property and pursue the American Dream denied to them in nearly every other location in metro Detroit.

Inkster’s development as a haven for African American residents likely had its origins in two places, with the main reason being that there was a “desire on the part of powerful civic forces in Detroit during the 1920s, to create a Black housing enclave to house the ‘overflow’ of Black workers coming to the city for jobs” during the Great Migration.²⁹ These civic forces included Detroit’s municipal government, made up of exclusively White individuals, and organizations

²⁰ Lindsey, 8.

²¹ Bostick, 22.

²² William C. Sauer, *General Official Atlas of Wayne County, Michigan* (Detroit, MI: Wm. C. Sauer, 1893), Library of Congress, <https://www.loc.gov/item/map50000701/>.

²³ Elizabeth D. Esch, *The Color Line and the Assembly Line* (Oakland, CA: University of California Press, 2018), 103.

²⁴ “Population Area Adjacent to Detroit 1950,” United Community Services of Metropolitan Detroit, Research & Planning Department, Walter Reuther Collection.

²⁵ “Non-White Population by Census Tract 1950,” United Community Services of Metropolitan Detroit, Research & Planning Department, Walter Reuther Collection.

²⁶ Bostick, 39.

²⁷ Bostick, 39.

²⁸ Bostick, 40.

²⁹ Lindsey, xiv.

lending support to the Black migrants such as the Detroit Urban League (DUL). The DUL in particular sought to develop a plan to alleviate the overcrowding and provide an alternative to the substandard housing relegated to Black Detroiters.³⁰

The Detroit branch of the National Urban League, known as the Detroit Urban League (DUL), was formed in 1916. The DUL was formed and funded by wealthy White Detroit residents with support from the national organization, with the aim of assisting the growing number of rural Black migrants coming to Detroit from the South.³¹ The willingness to extend support to Detroit's growing Black population sprang from the desire to manage Black migration in a manner that maintained the existing racial relations in Detroit through the management of the Black community's housing, healthcare, and employment. Henry G. Stevens, one of the wealthy White philanthropists, was a strong supporter of the DUL's establishment.³² The first Executive Director of the DUL was Forrester B. Washington, an established Black social worker, who held the position until his resignation in 1918 at which time Washington was drafted into the United States Army to fight in World War I.³³ Following Washington's departure, John C. Dancy was offered the position of executive director of the DUL, a position he would excel at and hold for decades.³⁴

John Dancy's tenure as Executive Director of the DUL spanned 42 years, during which time he tirelessly worked to support Detroit's growing Black community.³⁵ Forging connections with White city leaders and prominent employers, throughout Dancy's time at the DUL he sought to provide a sense of stability for recent arrivals to Detroit and address the needs of the Black community. Dancy understood the Black community's need for adequate housing, healthcare, and employment and used his position to influence Detroit's White elite to aid the city's Black population.³⁶ One of Dancy and the DUL's significant achievements was their role in the development of the Eight Mile-Wyoming community, encompassing neighborhoods in northwest Detroit north of Eight Mile in Royal Oak Township.³⁷ Dancy worked with White developers to procure and sell lots to Black families, providing a path to homeownership and an escape from the overcrowded conditions in Detroit's existing Black neighborhoods of Black Bottom and Paradise Valley.³⁸

Southwest Inkster was one of the few outlying areas in the metro Detroit area, like the Eight Mile-Wyoming area in northwest Detroit, that did not have or ignored racially restrictive

³⁰ Herb Boyd, *Black Detroit: A People's History of Self-determination* (New York: HarperCollins, 2017), 93-97.

³¹ Njeru Wa Murage, "Organizational History of the Detroit Urban League, 1916-60 (Volumes I and II)" (PhD diss., Michigan State University, 1993), 90, 96.

³² Murage, 97-98, 115.

³³ Murage, 99, 108, 173; "Forrester B. Washington (1887-1963)," BlackPast, accessed January 16, 2023, <https://www.blackpast.org/african-american-history/washington-forrester-b-1887-1963/>.

³⁴ Murage, 173.

³⁵ "John Campbell Dancy Jr. (1888-1968)," BlackPast, accessed January 16, 2023, <https://www.blackpast.org/african-american-history/dancy-john-campbell-jr-1888-1968/>.

³⁶ Murage, 175-177.

³⁷ Saundra Little, Ruth E. Mills, Megan Zidar, and Lauren Strauss, "Eight Mile-Wyoming Neighborhood Detroit, Michigan," Survey Report, Quinn Evans, 2022, 4.

³⁸ "Congratulations, John Dancy!" editorial, *Detroit Tribune*, January 18, 1936; Charles Wartman, "Story of Progress--The Urban League," *Michigan Chronicle*, February 2, 1946.

covenants.³⁹ The proximity to the railroad and to Henry Ford's River Rouge plant, then under construction, were also contributing factors to its growth. Ford was the first of Detroit's automakers to hire African American workers and following the opening of the River Rouge plant in 1917, relocated most of the company's Black workers to the foundries and glass shop at the Rouge plant. It was during the booming years of the 1920s that Black residents first began moving to Inkster in significant numbers.

The southwest quadrant of Inkster was home to a large Black community, but the majority of the village's population was White. In 1930 Black residents made up 26.7% of the population in Inkster and 36.8% in 1940.⁴⁰ Black residents remained confined to the southwest quadrant of Inkster due to "rigid segregation" and this wouldn't begin to change until the 1960s.⁴¹ Just one example of the type of racism experienced by Black residents in Inkster is Fred Thompson's experience in 1944 when he attempted to order a coffee at Midway Lunch at 27476 Michigan Avenue, located on the northern side of the accepted color line, he was refused service. Thompson called the Inkster police but, later, could not get a warrant for the owner of the restaurant because, according to the prosecutor, it would be "impossible to obtain a conviction in Inkster."⁴² Southwest Inkster remained a haven for better quality housing for Blacks than that which was available in Detroit, but the pervasive problems of being treated as second-class citizens remained.

Early plat maps in Inkster show that many areas were platted years before development actually began. This is true of the Dearborn Acres Subdivision and the Wolverine Tractor Subdivision and the Watsonia Park Subdivision No. 2, with the earliest plats in the former occurring in 1914 and 1917, respectively, while the latter was platted initially in 1925. In the Dearborn Acres and Wolverine Tractor subdivisions, lots began selling and homes were constructed during the mid- to late-1920s, continuing through the post-war period.⁴³ While the Watsonia Park subdivision was platted in 1925, housing was not constructed in earnest until the 1950s and on through the 1970s.⁴⁴

Additionally, several streets located within the survey area were renamed after the subdivisions were platted in the 1910s and 1920s. At some point between the late 1930s and 1950 Maple Street became Andover Street, Oak Street became Carlisle Street, and Butler Avenue became Annapolis Avenue.⁴⁵ It is unclear what prompted the renaming of this small subset of streets within the survey area or when renaming occurred specifically. Alfred Street was temporarily

³⁹ Lindsey, xiv.

⁴⁰ Lindsey, 19, 23.

⁴¹ Lindsey, 18-19, 29.

⁴² "Restaurant Man Loses Case for Refusing Service," *Michigan Chronicle*, December 2, 1944.

⁴³ Wayne County Register of Deeds, "Dearborn Acres Sub #2, part of Sections 25 & 36 T.2S R9E. Nankin Twp. Wayne Co. Mich.," tract index for Dearborn Acres Subdivision No. 2, liber 33 page 79; Wayne County Register of Deeds, "Wolverine Tractor Sub. Of part of E1/2 of Sec. 25 lying S of Mich Central RR. Nankin Twp. T.2S R9E. Wayne County, Michigan," tract index for Wolverine Tractor Subdivision, liber 38 page 34.

⁴⁴ Wayne County Register of Deeds, "Watsonia Park Subdivision #2 of S ½ of NW ¼ and W ½ of SW ¼ of NE ¼ of Sec. 31, T2SR10E," tract index for Watsonia Park Subdivision # 2, liber 55 page 9.

⁴⁵ Division of Research and Statistics Federal Home Loan Bank Board and Appraisal Department Home Owners' Loan Corporation, *Residential Security Map* (Detroit, MI: Hearne Brothers, 1939); Mason L. Brown & Son, *Village of Inkster Michigan* (Detroit, MI: Mason L. Brown & Son, 1950) in Anita Smith Cobb, "The Negro in the Inkster Village Council," seminar paper, Department of History, University of Michigan, 1958, Bentley Historical Library.

renamed Allen Street in 1970, honoring the life and accomplishments of longtime Inkster resident and successful Black Businessman Lafayette Allen.⁴⁶ By 1972, Alfred Street had officially become Allen Street.⁴⁷

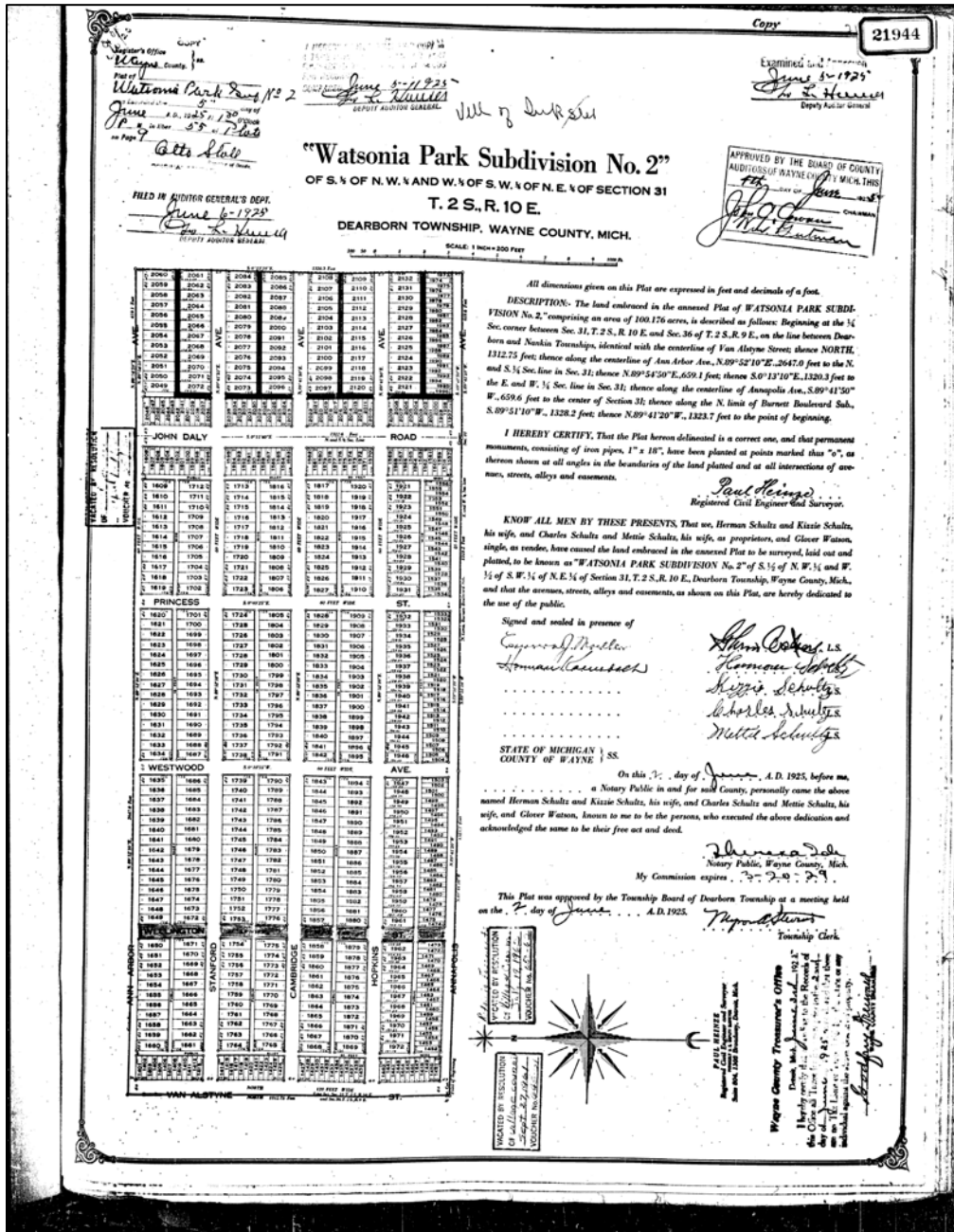


Image 6. Plat map of Watsonia Subdivision No. 2, platted in 1925. Development did not begin in earnest in this subdivision until the 1950s. ("Watsonia Park Subdivision No. 2." Subdivision Plat. 1925. Michigan Department of Licensing and Regulatory Affairs (LARA))

⁴⁶ Howard Kohn, "Inkster Loses Its Chitling Capitalist," *Detroit Free Press*, December 23, 1970.

⁴⁷ Council of the City of Inkster, Resolution 72-8-394, 1972, in "Burns-Van Alstine Sub." Subdivision Plat. 1926. Michigan Department of Licensing and Regulatory Affairs (LARA).

Development of Adjacent Communities

The history of the Black settlement in Inkster is inextricably tied to the explosive growth Detroit experienced in the early decades of the twentieth century. Thousands of Black people from the rural South moved north to cities like Detroit seeking greater economic prospects and to escape the harsh Jim Crow policies in the south. Called the Great Migration, the internal migration of Black Americans moving from the rural south to urban centers in the north dramatically altered the demographic composition of the nation. The migration is often considered in two halves: the first migration occurred between 1910 and 1940 and the second migration occurred between 1940 and 1970. During the first wave of the Great Migration southern migrants primarily moved to the Northeast and Midwest causing enormous growth in Black populations in cities such as Detroit, Chicago, New York, and Philadelphia.⁴⁸

In 1913 Henry Ford revolutionized the automobile industry by introducing the moving, conveyor-based assembly line at the Ford Motor Company plant in Highland Park, Michigan. Cutting the production time for an automobile from twelve hours to just one hour thirty-three minutes, the costs associated with producing a car dropped dramatically which, increasingly, meant that average Americans could afford the end product. To keep pace with demand, Ford and other manufacturers began hiring thousands of employees. The demand for labor was so great that it spurred a population boom in Detroit beginning in the late 1910s.

With its burgeoning automotive industry, relatively well-paying jobs, and nearly unlimited land due to aggressive annexation of neighboring municipalities, Detroit experienced exponential growth during the first five decades of the twentieth century. In 1900 the total population of Detroit was 285,704, while the total African American population was counted at 4,000 individuals.⁴⁹ It increased progressively into 1910 with a total African American population of 5,741 amongst a total population of 465,766. In 1917, it was reported that a thousand southern migrants per month disembarked at Michigan's Central Station with the primary source states being Georgia, Alabama, and Tennessee.⁵⁰ By 1920 the total population of Detroit had skyrocketed to 993,078.⁵¹ African Americans numbered 40,838 that same year. By 1930 Detroit's African American population had almost tripled to 120,066.⁵²

Ford Motor Company's promise of job opportunities and equal pay for African Americans helped draw southern Black families to Detroit. Detroit and the inner ring suburbs saw tremendous population growth following the company's 1917 opening of the River Rouge

⁴⁸ Stewart E. Tolnay, "The African American 'Great Migration' and Beyond," *Annual Review of Sociology* 29, 2003.

⁴⁹ Sheldon Danzinger, Reynolds Farley, and Harry Holzer, *Detroit Divided* (Buffalo, NY: Russell Sage Foundation, 2002), 21; Detroit Historical Society, "Industrial Detroit (1860-1900)," <https://detroithistorical.org/learn/timeline-detroit/industrial-detroit-1860-1900>.

⁵⁰ Victoria W. Wolcott, *Remaking Respectability: African American Women in Interwar Detroit* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2001), 51.

⁵¹ Santa Fe Institute, "Population History of Detroit from 1840-1990," <http://tuvalu.santafe.edu/~redner/projects/population/cities/detroit.html>

⁵² Douglas O. Linder, "The Races in Detroit," Famous Trials, <https://famous-trials.com/sweet/127-races>.

Complex in Dearborn and the Company's decision to hire Black workers in earnest.⁵³ The rapid increase of Detroit's Black population by 1930 placed immense pressure on housing in the city's African American neighborhoods of Black Bottom and Paradise Valley.⁵⁴ Racially restrictive covenants, violence, and discrimination were used by the White community to prevent the expansion of the Black community's boundaries.⁵⁵ Organizations such as the DUL offered assistance to newly arrived Black migrants in adjusting to urban life in Detroit and recognized the lack of adequate housing for newcomers to the city.⁵⁶ Black families aided by the DUL were able to secure housing beyond these overcrowded neighborhoods in areas without racially restrictive covenants such as the Eight Mile-Wyoming community, near Detroit's northern border, and Inkster.⁵⁷ Conant Gardens is another example of a Black neighborhood that developed in the late 1920s as Black families distanced themselves from the overcrowded east side neighborhoods.⁵⁸ Through the 1920s and 1930s Ford Motor Company established itself as the dominant employer of African Americans in the automobile industry, with the vast majority of the company's Black workforce employed at the River Rouge Complex. Inkster's proximity to the plant meant that providing access to housing for Black families near the complex became increasingly important.⁵⁹

Although Ford Motor Company employed Black workers, Henry Ford held onto the notion of White superiority, believing in, "innate black-white differences that led him to support social and residential segregation."⁶⁰ Ford worked to prevent Black families from living in Dearborn, even though Black workers were employed at Ford Motor Company.⁶¹ In the early 1920s, as Detroit's Black population was increasing, Ford initiated an exclusive residential development in Dearborn where Ford Motor Company retained the right to buy out, for any reason, "undesirable" purchasers, insinuating that Black people would not be allowed to live in the development.⁶² Ford's desire for segregation was shared by members of the White communities surrounding Inkster. The *Detroit Free Press* reported in November of 1924 on the "largest meeting of Klansmen," under a "huge flaming cross," in Dearborn Township. It was estimated that 25,000 to 50,000 White people were in attendance.⁶³

This long, well-documented history of racism toward African Americans in Dearborn certainly influenced the development of Inkster as a city in which Black Ford employees could settle without meeting the racist fueled resistance seen in Dearborn. Long-serving Dearborn mayor

⁵³ Beth Tompkins Bates, *The Making of Black Detroit in the Age of Henry Ford* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2012), 41-42; Ralph J. Christian, "Ford River Rouge Complex," Dearborn, Wayne County, Michigan, National Register of Historic Places, National Historic Landmark #78001516.

⁵⁴ Bates, 33, 101.

⁵⁵ Bates, 32-33.

⁵⁶ Boyd, 96-97.

⁵⁷ Little, Mills, Zidar, and Strauss, 10-11; Bates, 101-102.

⁵⁸ Conant Gardens Historic District, *Detroit Historical Society Encyclopedia of Detroit*, accessed January 10, 2023, <https://detroithistorical.org/learn/encyclopedia-of-detroit/conant-gardens-historic-district>.

⁵⁹ Bates, 41-42; Christopher L. Foote, Warren C. Whatley, and Gavin Wright, "Arbitraging a Discriminatory Labor Market: Black Workers at the Ford Motor Company, 1918-1947," *Journal of Labor Economics* 21, no. 3 (2003), 498-499.

⁶⁰ Bates, 51.

⁶¹ Esch, 102; Lindsey, 87-88.

⁶² Bates, 102-103.

⁶³ "Detroit Klansmen Hold Biggest Rally," *Detroit Free Press*, November 3, 1924.

Orville Hubbard continued Dearborn's segregated origins, contributing much to this reputation. Hubbard was mayor of Dearborn from 1942 to 1978 and he was an unabashed racist once telling the Alabama newspaper *Montgomery Advertiser* in 1956 that he was "for complete segregation, one million percent."⁶⁴ In 1965 he was charged with violating a federal Civil Rights statute "for allowing Dearborn police to standby as a resident's home was stoned by other residents. The belief was that the owner of the home had sold his home to a Black family. In the end Hubbard was acquitted by the jury."⁶⁵ Black citizens in the surrounding suburbs were well aware of the racist attitudes in Dearborn. Malcolm X, in a speech given in Detroit in 1965 recalled his time living in Inkster saying, "I know Dearborn; you know, I'm from Detroit, I used to live out here in Inkster. And you had to go through Dearborn to get to Inkster. Just like driving through Mississippi when you got to Dearborn."⁶⁶

During World War II, Inkster and other nearby communities like Ecorse absorbed federal defense housing for Black workers employed at the Ford River Rouge Plant and the Willow Run Bomber plant in Ypsilanti. The City of Detroit Housing Commission had continued to adhere to the segregationist policies of the Federal Housing Administration (FHA), established during the Depression, which did not support changing the racial makeup of existing neighborhoods making it difficult to find suitable, non-controversial locations for defense housing for Black workers. Its construction in Detroit was met with protest and violence, witnessed by the opening of the Sojourner Truth Homes defense housing complex in 1942. The growing need for more defense worker housing in metro Detroit caused federal officials to look at Dearborn for the location of more defense housing. Since so many Black workers commuted through Dearborn to the defense plants at River Rouge and Ypsilanti, federal officials considered it an ideal location. In the summer of 1944 "representatives from the FHPA, the CCPA, and the Detroit Victory Council met with Dearborn officials, whom they found to be "violently opposed to Negro housing."⁶⁷ One Dearborn resident, when asked for their opinion on the possibility of Black residents moving to Dearborn to address the need for defense housing, expressed that the solution was, "a place like Inkster," as Inkster already had a Black community.⁶⁸ At the meeting where Dearborn City Council officially protested the federal government's proposal, the, "overflow audience greeted the action with vigorous applause."⁶⁹ To stymie the effort completely, Dearborn later adopted a resolution disallowing *all* public housing ensuring no Black or White defense worker housing would be built within the city.⁷⁰

⁶⁴ "Hubbard, Orville," Detroit Historical Society Encyclopedia of Detroit, accessed May 9, 2022, <https://detroithistorical.org/learn/encyclopedia-of-detroit/hubbard-orville>.

⁶⁵ "Hubbard, Orville," Detroit Historical Society Encyclopedia of Detroit, accessed May 9, 2022, <https://detroithistorical.org/learn/encyclopedia-of-detroit/hubbard-orville>.

⁶⁶ George Breitman, ed., *Malcolm X Speaks: Selected Speeches and Statements* (New York: Merit Publishers, 1965), 171.

⁶⁷ Sarah Jo Peterson, *Planning the Home Front: Building Bombers and Communities at Willow Run* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2013), 266.

⁶⁸ Lillian Scott, "Dearborn Whites Oppose Negroes Moving To The City," *Michigan Chronicle*, September 23, 1944.

⁶⁹ "Dearborn Hits Negro Project," *Detroit Free Press*, November 18, 1944.

⁷⁰ Peterson, *Planning the Home Front*, 266.

Housing and Employment Racism

Housing was perhaps the most critical need for Black workers who had recently arrived in Detroit. The FHA's implementation of segregationist policies hampered efforts to address the housing needs of Black residents. Residential surveys of urban neighborhoods were completed and the Home Owners' Loan Corporation (HOLC) used surveys to create maps rating and defining areas eligible for FHA-backed low interest mortgages. These maps were used throughout the real estate industry and used the age of the building stock, amenities, infrastructure, and chiefly, race to classify neighborhoods. Diverse neighborhoods, and specifically those where Black residents lived, were given the lowest ratings, whereas White neighborhoods were consistently rated highly. Neighborhoods with low ratings were deemed to carry a higher risk for mortgage lending, thereby stunting the funneling of FHA-backed mortgages and construction of FHA-backed homes into Black neighborhoods. Known as redlining, these actions perpetuated existing segregation and significantly hampered efforts to alleviate the housing crisis facing Black residents in Detroit.⁷¹

Racial tensions in northern cities increased during this time period because there simply was not enough housing to adequately house Black people. The struggle to find adequate housing was compounded in Detroit by the fact that Black families had very few areas that were not already off limits by deed restrictions and redlining. The housing that was available was generally overcrowded and poorly maintained by absentee landlords.⁷² Homes were subdivided again and again to accommodate more people. While indoor toilets were prevalent in Detroit's eastside neighborhoods like Black Bottom and Paradise Valley where most Black families lived, landlords often installed them in the kitchen where water pipes already existed as it was the cheapest option.⁷³ Whole families would rent a single room—these families were desperate for housing and the families who sublet these single rooms could not otherwise pay the exorbitant rents which were charged by their landlord.⁷⁴ Thus, boarding was a necessity to make ends meet. In fact, in 1925 an “investigation of Detroit's Black population found typical a case in which a Ford worker was the head of a family of three with five lodgers. In his home four adults slept in a room measuring seven by nine feet.”⁷⁵

Black families who attempted to move into White neighborhoods, thus competing with White renters for the few available units, faced violent reactions like those seen in the summer of 1925, when Black physicians Alexander Turner and Ossian Sweet both attempted to move into houses located in White neighborhoods but were terrorized by violent White neighbors. Tensions, confrontations, and violent clashes were also the product of southern White people—who had also begun moving north for high paying jobs—who brought their prejudices with them when they moved.

⁷¹ Thomas J. Sugrue, *The Origins of the Urban Crisis: Race and Inequality in Postwar Detroit* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005), 43-44.

⁷² “Blast Landlord in Probe of Detroit's Slum Areas,” *Chicago Defender*, January 18, 1941; “Rentors, Renters Clash At Detroit Hearing,” *Chicago Defender*, January 11, 1941; “Tenants Threaten Rent Strike in Detroit,” *Chicago Defender*, June 21, 1941.

⁷³ Richard W. Thomas, *Life for Us Is What We Make It: Building Black Community in Detroit, 1915-1945* (Bloomington, IN: University of Indiana Press, 1992), 99.

⁷⁴ Thomas, 92-94.

⁷⁵ Esch, 101.

Despite the challenges, there was some housing assistance available including help from the DUL. Its longtime director John Dancy would send DUL delegates to meet trains of new arrivals at Michigan Central Station, ushering them to the DUL's office for help in securing housing and employment. Even with Dancy's assistance however, the extent of the overcrowded and substandard housing conditions could hardly be alleviated.

Regarding employment, many Detroit employers refused to hire minorities, including Black migrants. While manufacturing jobs were plentiful during the 1920s, companies varied wildly in their willingness to hire African Americans. For example, Fisher Body refused to hire Black people outright while Ford Motor Company would send buses down to the Black Bottom neighborhood to recruit factory workers.⁷⁶ When they were hired, racism in the workplace was ubiquitous as Black workers were generally offered the most dangerous, dirty, and lowest paid jobs in the factory. This was true at the Ford Motor Company where the majority of the jobs available to Black workers seeking employment included the foundry, the paint department, and janitorial work, among others.⁷⁷ These were unskilled positions that offered little to no opportunity for acquiring skills that would increase pay and job prospects thus ensuring that the Black men who obtained them would be stuck in positions with no advancement. Despite the menial nature of the positions open to Black workers, Ford Motor Company does stand out for its early adoption of opening their hiring to Black workers while other companies outright refused to hire Black employees. When World War I necessitated that Ford expand its work force, the company hired more Black workers and opened the Ford Trade School in 1916 to provide vocational training to high school males. Though the school was open to Blacks, only a small number were actually hired for skilled labor positions upon completing the course. Ford did begin to make a very limited number of management positions available to Black workers during this period. One example was James Price who became the first Black salaried employee at Ford in 1924. However, over 5,000 Black workers were employed at the River Rouge Plant in 1922⁷⁸ and the vast majority continued to hold the most menial and least desirable jobs at the company where the health and safety hazards were great.⁷⁹ Larry Spencer, who was raised in Inkster first in "Cardboard City" and, later, in LeMoyné Gardens, recalled seeing his father come home from his job at the foundry covered in soot and is sure the air he breathed in at the foundry contributed to his early death.⁸⁰

The majority of the Black workers employed by Ford worked at the River Rouge factory, located about ten miles from Inkster. By 1939, more than 9,800 Black workers were employed at the Rouge while each of Ford's four other plants in the metro-Detroit area, including Highland Park, employed under around 30 Black workers. This differential most likely one of the reasons for Ford's interest in developing Black housing in Inkster. The proximity of Inkster's African American settlement to the River Rouge plant proved convenient when hiring additional Black

⁷⁶ Danzinger, Farley, and Holzer, 31.

⁷⁷ Joyce Shaw Peterson, "Black Automobile Workers in Detroit, 1910-1930," *The Journal of Negro History* 64, no. 3 (Summer 1979), 179.

⁷⁸ Bates, 42.

⁷⁹ Esch, 89.

⁸⁰ Larry Richard Spencer, oral history interview with Cassandra Talley, Cardboard City Reunion, Inkster, Michigan, September 10, 2022.

workers at this location.⁸¹ Additionally, relationships developed between Ford and Inkster's Black community leaders that helped match Black residents with jobs at Ford.⁸²

Opportunity in Inkster

It is within this larger context that Inkster became an option for Black families beginning in the early 1920s. Ford Motor Company's River Rouge plant employed the majority of Ford's Black employees, and employees living in Detroit's east side commuted to the plant. By 1916, Inkster became a stop on Michigan Avenue's inter-urban rail connecting Detroit to Ypsilanti, providing public transportation from Inkster to the Rouge plant.⁸³ In 1920, after a long search, John Dancy and a White real estate developer "Mr. Packard" bought a 140-acre parcel from Milo Butler and Edward Baker.⁸⁴ The land "was located south of the tracks of the Michigan Central Railroad, west of Harrison Avenue, and east of Middle Belt Road, in what would become the southwest quadrant of the village and later the city of Inkster."⁸⁵ They began selling small lots to African Americans. This area has long been associated with Henry Ford and his "Ford-Inkster Homes" development, but Dancy and Packard's efforts predate Ford's intervention in this area.

While Dancy described the general location of the 140-acre parcel selected by him and Mr. Packard, the parcel's development is not clear. Secondary sources indicate that the land was purchased from Milo Butler and Edward Baker. Butler and Baker owned nearby land, but deed records do not indicate that Butler or Baker owned land in the area south of the Michigan Central Railroad, west of Harrison Street, and east of Middlebelt Road.⁸⁶ Moreover, the pair's properties were not adjacent to each other.⁸⁷ Based on Dancy's description of the parcel's location and size, the land was likely that which now comprises Dearborn Acres Subdivision No. 2, which contains around 140 acres.

Dearborn Acres Subdivision No. 2 was platted initially in 1914 but was replatted in 1916. Following the second platting, tract indexes for the subdivision show that two real estate companies—Kent-Wayne Realty Company and Monarch Realty Company—figure prominently in the subdivision's development. At the beginning of 1916, Monarch Realty purchased the entire subdivision—all 1,140 lots—shortly after it was replatted into smaller lots. The vast majority of lots were then sold to Kent-Wayne Realty Company in March of 1917, which then sold lots to individuals. Another individual, a wealthy Grand Rapids lumber dealer named Harlan J. Dudley, provided what appears to be a second mortgage to Kent-Wayne Realty for their lots in the subdivision.⁸⁸ Kent-Wayne Realty did not begin selling lots in the subdivision in earnest until

⁸¹ Esch, 86-88.

⁸² Bates, 8.

⁸³ Lindsey, 33.

⁸⁴ All archival documentation refers to "Mr. Packard" in quotes indicating this name is a nickname. "Mr. Packard's" legal name was not uncovered during this survey process.

⁸⁵ Lindsey, 26.

⁸⁶ Wayne County Register of Deeds, "East Half of North West Quarter of Section 36. Town 2 South, Range 9 East. Township of Nankin," tract index for Section 36, Nankin Township; William C. Sauer, *Map of Wayne County, Michigan* (New York: Sauer Bros., 1915), Library of Congress, <https://www.loc.gov/item/2012593164/>.

⁸⁷ Sauer, *Map of Wayne County, Michigan*.

⁸⁸ Wayne County Register of Deeds, "Dearborn Acres Sub #2.," "Lumber Head's Burial to be at Grand Rapids," *Detroit Free Press*, September 24, 1926.

the early- to mid-1920s with sales continuing through the end of the decade. It was around this time, in 1923, that the Kent-Wayne Realty Company advertised the Dearborn Acres No. 2 subdivision specifically to Black people.⁸⁹ In 1924, the company sought salespeople to work for the company who were willing to sell to Black people.⁹⁰ By 1926, the company published want ads looking for Black salespeople.⁹¹



Image 7. The Dearborn Acres Subdivision No. 2 is indicated on a 1915 cadastral map. The Michigan Central Railroad is north of the subdivision, Annapolis Avenue (in green) is to the south, Harrison Street (in blue) is to the east, and Middlebelt Road (in orange) is to the west. See that Edward Baker Jr. owns property just east of the subdivision, and members of the Butler family own property west of the subdivision. (William C. Sauer, *Map of Wayne County, Michigan* (New York: Sauer Bros., 1915), Library of Congress, <https://www.loc.gov/item/2012593164/>).

⁸⁹ “A Message to Colored People,” advertisement, *Detroit Free Press*, October 24, 1923.

⁹⁰ “Wanted—Salesmen and women,” advertisement, *Detroit Free Press*, March 9, 1924.

⁹¹ “Wanted—Salesman,” advertisement, *Detroit Free Press*, July 18, 1926.

Monarch Realty was headed by Frederick Tanner and Frederick Gates who resided in Toronto, Ontario.⁹² Lots in the Dearborn Acres subdivision were advertised in 1916 and 1917 under the company moniker Tanner & Gates.⁹³ Kent-Wayne Realty was headed by William Tallmadge and Clay H. Hollister, both of Grand Rapids.⁹⁴ Little information is available about Tallmadge, but Hollister belonged to a wealthy family. Hollister and his father, Harvey J. Hollister, were both bankers and industrialists who concerned themselves with civic activities.⁹⁵ Clay Hollister was deeply involved with the YMCA in Grand Rapids and the Red Cross.⁹⁶

The individuals involved in the early development of the Dearborn Acres No. 2 subdivision appear to have at least been familiar with each other prior to their real estate ventures in Inkster and may have been connected. Each company—Tanner & Gates, Kent-Wayne Realty, and Dudley Lumber Company—had offices in the same office building in Grand Rapids. Moreover, the offices of Tanner & Gates and Kent-Wayne Realty were adjacent to each other.⁹⁷ It may be that one of the men associated with either Monarch Realty or Kent-Wayne Realty, or Harlan Dudley, was the man Dancy referred to as Mr. Packard. Involvement in civic oriented activities may have provided the connection between the wealthy businessmen and Dancy, as Dancy likewise participated in civic oriented activities.⁹⁸ Dancy was adept at using his position as Executive Director of the Detroit Urban League to influence wealthy White businessmen and government officials to aid the Black Community.⁹⁹

Much like the situation in the Eight Mile-Wyoming community, the African Americans who bought lots from Dancy and Packard often could not secure mortgage loans because of the FHA's racially prejudiced lending system. Additionally, due to the lower socioeconomic status of these buyers, they were unable to afford high quality building materials or professional builders. Thus, many people took it upon themselves to build houses with whatever materials they could find, buy incrementally, or salvage from other sources. This meant that much of the early housing stock in this area of Inkster was not up to code.¹⁰⁰ Houses in the area were made with whatever materials could be found and lacked running water or electricity.

The availability of employment and transportation, and the ability to purchase land and a home, made Inkster an attractive alternative to living in Detroit. Many Black families populating Inkster came from Detroit, but others may have learned of Inkster from Ford's labor agents, who

⁹² "Monarch Realty Company," corporate card, August 25, 1915, Michigan Department of Licensing and Regulatory Affairs, Corporations Online Filing System.

⁹³ "Dearborn Acres Subdivision," advertisement, *Detroit Free Press*, February 26, 1916; "Dearborn Acres.....Out Michigan Avenue.....," advertisement, *Detroit Free Press*, October 17, 1917.

⁹⁴ "Kent-Wayne Realty Company," corporate card, November 9, 1916, Michigan Department of Licensing and Regulatory Affairs, Corporations Online Filing System.

⁹⁵ "Pioneer Banker of Grand Rapids Dead," *Detroit Free Press*, September 26, 1909; "Banker-Industrialist Dies in Mesa Hospital," *Detroit Free Press*, February 19, 1940.

⁹⁶ "The New Secretary," *Grand Rapids Herald*, September 4, 1890; "Letter from State Capitol," *Saline Observer*, July 1, 1915.

⁹⁷ Grand Rapids Directory Company, *R.L. Polk & Co.'s 1917 Grand Rapids City Directory* (Grand Rapids, MI: Grand Rapids Directory Company, 1917), 1268.

⁹⁸ Murage, 172-173, 179-180; "John C. Dancy On Red Cross Trustee Board," *Michigan Chronicle*, March 10, 1945.

⁹⁹ Murage, 176-178.

¹⁰⁰ Bates, 53.

reportedly promoted Inkster as a place for prospective Black workers to settle.¹⁰¹ Charles Lawrence of Nashville, Tennessee, may have been the first Black settler in Inkster. In 1918, Lawrence purchased a house and acreage in the southwest portion of Inkster.¹⁰² Earlier, in the 1910 census, a Black family from Canada with the surname Simons lived nearby on Michigan Avenue. However, it is unclear if the Simons lived within Inkster's boundary.¹⁰³

Inkster During the Great Depression

With the stock market crash of 1929, the United States began a slow descent into one of the longest and deepest recessions in its history. The Great Depression had a massive effect on Inkster and its development. Almost immediately the Village faced monetary challenges. In October 1930, the village asked Edison Electric to extend it a promissory note because it could not pay its municipal street lighting bill. Edison turned off the streetlights in May 1931 when the village was \$8,000 in debt to the company. Garbage collection was suspended, and the village sold its lone police car to raise funds. To combat street crime, the volunteer police chief



Image 8. Image of a man driving a wagon filled with scrap metal in Depression-era Inkster. (Benson Collection at the Henry Ford)

¹⁰¹ Lindsey, 21, 38, 93.

¹⁰² Bates, 102.

¹⁰³ US Census Bureau, *Thirteenth Census of the United States*, US Federal Census, population schedule, district 0298, Nankin Township, Wayne County, Michigan, 1910, Ancestry.com.

campaigned for local businesses to string up Christmas lights each evening. Of the 700 unemployed Black men in Inkster in 1931, 500 of them were former Ford employees with ninety percent of them buying their homes via land contract.¹⁰⁴ In fact, before the Great Depression hit, there were many Black residents in Inkster in the process of buying or building their own homes on parcels of land in the southwestern section of the Village. In an oral history Willis Franklyn Ward, supervisor of integration at Ford Motor Company in the 1930s, stated that:

“At one time prior to the depression there was an attempt to make a Negro subdivision out of a portion of Inkster. Many of them people bought these plots and built on them. It was a promotion by real estate brokers, and that caused the colored people to become conscious of the area where they could build these homes. Some bought houses put up by the subdividers and some bought plots and attempted to put up their own homes. When the depression hit, many of the people who attempted to put up their own homes were caught short and as a result were living in incomplete homes....Many of them were ex-Ford employees laid off.”¹⁰⁵

Many residents in Inkster’s southwest quadrant suffered during this time period. In addition to the civic issues with inadequate lighting and garbage collection, the citizens of Inkster were struggling too. With so many men out of work, conditions in the nascent community deteriorated with families going hungry and living without basic necessities. It was during this time of struggle and deprivation that Henry Ford became involved in Inkster.

Ford-Inkster Project Houses (1931-1941)

Inkster is located eight miles west of the massive Ford River Rouge Complex, which is situated just west of the City of Detroit’s border with Dearborn. The Ford Motor Company was the largest employer of African Americans in Detroit in the 1920s and 1930s.¹⁰⁶ Because of its location near Ford Motor Company, Inkster became a magnet for families who worked at the massive River Rouge Complex. The seminal 1926 report *The Negro in Detroit*, the Mayor’s Interracial Committee concluded that the “Inkster Subdivision...west of Detroit on the Michigan Central Railroad...has an estimated population of 2000 and is bounded on the east by Alfred and Bruce, and on the south by Butler, on the west by Irene and on the north by Cherry. It is a development of the past three years.”¹⁰⁷

There are contrasting reports of how Henry Ford came to learn about the dire conditions in Inkster during the Great Depression. Because there were inadequate school facilities in Inkster, many of the children went to Dearborn schools for their education—one source claims Ford reportedly learned of the dire conditions in Inkster because the children who attended Fordson school in Dearborn were reportedly “very poorly dressed, poorly fed, and it was a social problem that was beyond the ability of Fordson and state authorities to cope with.”¹⁰⁸ While Willis Ward,

¹⁰⁴ Esch, 104.

¹⁰⁵ “The Reminiscences of Mr. Willis F. Ward,” from the Owen W. Bombard interviews series, 1951-1961, Benson Collection at The Henry Ford, interview conducted May 1955, 41.

¹⁰⁶ Lindsey, 93.

¹⁰⁷ Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research, *The Negro in Detroit* (Detroit, MI: Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research, 1926), report prepared for the Mayor’s Interracial Committee, 12.

¹⁰⁸ “The Reminiscences of Mr. Willis F. Ward,” 40.

a Ford Motor Company employee overseeing racial integration at the company, recalls Black families living in poor conditions in rural areas of Wayne County and how “Mr. Ford saw them,” it became Ward and the Ford Motor Company’s Sociological Department’s responsibility to assist these families.¹⁰⁹ Ward stated that the Sociological Department purchased houses for sale in Inkster and added them to the Inkster Sociological account.¹¹⁰ A third account, documented in Benson Collection records, purports that the Supervisor of Nankin Township contacted the American Red Cross for assistance in October 1931 as the Township was not able to provide for its residents. The Red Cross then apparently appealed to Ford Motor Company for a donation of vegetables for the residents of Inkster and Nankin Township. Soon after, Ford Motor Company took over for the Red Cross in providing for the village.¹¹¹

The Ford-Inkster Project was a small project within the larger Ford Sociological Department. The Ford Sociological Department was founded in 1914, the same year Ford debuted the \$5 a day wage. The Sociological Department was founded to monitor Ford employees and ensure they met the required system of rules and behaviors to earn the \$5 a day wage.¹¹² The department was headed by John R. Lee, head of personnel at Ford Motor Company. The department’s responsibilities included unannounced visits to employee’s homes and lessons in homemaking and hygiene for employee’s wives.¹¹³ Monitoring employees and tying their pay to assessments of their personal lives allowed the Ford Motor Company to mold recent immigrants and Black migrants into compliant industrial workers, in an attempt to alleviate the critical issues the company was experiencing with high rates of turnover.¹¹⁴ At the turn of the 20th Century, Ford, as well as other employers, associated the cleanliness and order of an employee’s home with a “clean mind,” and adequate morals, which, “provided the sound foundation for the construction of good work habits.”¹¹⁵ Industrialists like Ford turned to sociological programs to better their employees, but only so far as they became better workers.¹¹⁶ Originally developed to help European immigrant workers adapt to an “American” lifestyle, when immigration slowed during World War I, Ford looked to African Americans to fill jobs and shifted the purview of the Sociological Department to molding Black people into ideal industrial workers.¹¹⁷

The primary goal of the Sociological Department was to educate and “Americanize” Ford’s immigrant employees for these employees to qualify for the \$5 a day profit sharing wage. This included operating the Ford English School to teach English to non-English speaking employees. The Ford English School opened in May 1914 with classes offered at the end of each shift

¹⁰⁹ “The Reminiscences of Mr. Willis F. Ward,” 48; “Finding Aid for Willis Franklyn Ward Papers, 1941-1955,” Benson Collection at The Henry Ford, 2017, <https://www.thehenryford.org/collections-and-research/digital-collections/ar-chival-collections/434769/>.

¹¹⁰ “The Reminiscences of Mr. Willis F. Ward,” 48.

¹¹¹ “Inkster Commissary.” Accession 285, Box 1903, Benson Collection at The Henry Ford.

¹¹² Stephen Meyer, “Adapting the Immigrant to the Line: Americanization in the Ford Factory, 1914-1921,” *Journal of Social History* 14, no. 1 (1980), 69-70.

¹¹³ “Ford Motor Company Sociological Department & English School,” Benson Collection at The Henry Ford, accessed October 24, 2022, <https://www.thehenryford.org/collections-and-research/digital-resources/popular-topics/sociological-department>.

¹¹⁴ Meyer, 67-69; Bates, 22.

¹¹⁵ Meyer, 71.

¹¹⁶ Meyer, 68-70, 77-78; Bates, 27.

¹¹⁷ Bates, 30.

consisting of 72 lessons completed in 36 weeks.¹¹⁸ The school began with only 20 students and in 1916 peaked with 2,200 students.¹¹⁹ The school additionally taught the value of opening an American bank account, the value of saving for home ownership, and the value of earning American citizenship through naturalization. The Ford English School closed in 1922 at which point the majority of Ford's employees spoke and understood English sufficiently. The Sociological Department continued operating after the closure of the Ford English School, continuing to encourage the Americanization of its workforce and the betterment of housing standards for its workers.

As a part of the Sociological Department's responsibilities, the department sponsored a number of welfare projects – one of which was the Ford-Inkster Project. According to ledgers from the Sociological Department, welfare projects existed in Inkster and Garden City, Dearborn Township, and St. Clair Shores in 1936. Inkster was by far the most heavily funded and assisted. One ledger from May 11, 1936, shows a total expenditure of \$67,749.07 for the three welfare project locations with \$63,995.48 being allocated to the Inkster and Garden City location.¹²⁰ The large expenditure is likely evidence of the scale of the need in Inkster and the sheer number of Ford Motor Company employees living in Inkster as financial assistance was first extended to employees of the company.

Regardless of the various origin accounts, in 1931 “Henry Ford took over the village of Inkster, adjacent to Dearborn. Ford's rescue of Inkster was in many respects a brilliant move, for he gained much needed positive publicity, locally and nationally.”¹²¹ At this time in the early 1930s, Ford was facing immense backlash regarding the plight of the throngs of unemployed former Ford employees. Before Ford's intervention, Inkster's village government was destitute and could no longer provide residents with basic amenities such as functioning streetlights, trash pickup, or police protection.¹²² Few, if any, businesses remained in the village and malnourishment was rampant among the residents. Once Ford became involved in the village's affairs, village services were restored, and families were given clothing.¹²³ By the end of 1931, a commissary providing food and goods was opened on Harrison Street and financing was made available for residents for home maintenance.¹²⁴

The Ford-Inkster Project was not a philanthropic undertaking, though all expenses were initially underwritten by the Ford Motor Company.¹²⁵ On its surface, it was an exercise in how to solve the social problems brought on by the Depression through a “by your own bootstraps” approach—the same “rugged individualism” philosophy then being promoted by President Herbert Hoover. Ford's experiment in Inkster was meant to serve as a blueprint for addressing

¹¹⁸ Georgios Paris Loizides, ““Making Men” At Ford: Ethnicity, Race and Americanization During the Progressive Period”, *Michigan Sociological Review*, Fall 2007, Vol. 21, 127.

¹¹⁹ “Ford English School at Highland Park Plant, 1914-1915,” The Henry Ford, accessed April 26, 2023, <https://www.thehenryford.org/collections-and-research/digital-collections/artifact/151364/>

¹²⁰ “Departmental Communication: Summary of Ledger Postings, Welfare Projects,” E.D. Brown, Accession 285, Box 1903, Benson Collection at The Henry Ford.

¹²¹ Bates, 144.

¹²² Esch, 104, 107-108; Bates, 144.

¹²³ Bates, 144.

¹²⁴ Bates, 149; Esch, 106.

¹²⁵ Esch, 106-107; Bates, 144.

the nation's economic crisis through alternatives to the social welfare programs proposed by Roosevelt's New Deal. This is evidenced in a quote by Ford published in *The Burlington Daily News*,

There is no charity in this, except the old-fashioned charity of helpful human co-operation...such a plan as this will have to be adopted by larger communities as the depression continues . . .we shall have to prove that our communities are self-contained and self-supporting by using the human and natural resources already at hand.¹²⁶

Undoubtedly Ford intervened in Inkster at a time when the assistance was desperately needed, and the residents benefited from it. Media coverage of the project during the years it operated was largely positive, with newspaper outlets praising Ford for the assistance given to this disadvantaged minority community. However, the Ford-Inkster Project was based on a I.O.U. system which indebted the residents to the Ford Motor Company and turned the southwest quadrant of Inkster into a company town.¹²⁷ Inkster's Black residents were subjected to home inspections and invasive inquiries into their spending habits.¹²⁸ Recognition of the inherent racism in the project and the troubling practices of the Sociological Department were not fully recognized until late in the twentieth century.

Upon launching the Ford-Inkster Project in 1931, the Sociological Department undertook an investigation of each Ford Motor Company employee's house in Inkster. While some documentation claims that Ford encouraged leniency when evaluating the existing house conditions, internal documents located at the Benson Collection reveal some of the harsh judgements made during the initial house inspections. In order to assist these families, "Samuel S. Marquis, Ford's director of the Education (formerly Sociological) Department, [said] he was forced to soften his disapproval of undesirable housing, realizing that it would be better to let his black workers stay in condemned housing than have them be out on the street."¹²⁹ Yet, internal documents judge each family's ability to manage their money and include critical assessments such as, "the family would be housed in a flimsy unpainted shack put together with used lumber with little consideration given for sanitation, ventilation or lighting facilities. Yet listed as a liability would be a large expensive automobile or player piano or radio costing hundreds of dollars."¹³⁰ Employees of the Sociological Department concluded that a "gross mismanagement existed in the handling of the family pocketbook" stemming from the "lack of control in many excessive purchases," when families living in a "flimsy unpainted shack" also had possession of an automobile, piano, or radio.¹³¹ The accounts Ford kept to monitor their investments include other language which presupposes that Ford employees were judging and weighing each family and their worthiness for company credit and company assistance: one account indicates that the recipients are "a very good family" while another account indicates the recipient "has big ideas

¹²⁶ "No Depression in Inkster?" *Burlington Daily News* (Vermont). January 2, 1932:4.

¹²⁷ "Wheels of Industry Started and Unemployment Banished While 'Money Factor' Ignored." *Great Falls Tribune*. (Montana) December 27, 1931:4.

¹²⁸ Bates, 148; Esch, 108.

¹²⁹ Bates, 97-98.

¹³⁰ "Inkster Commissary," Accession 285, Box 1903, Benson Collection at The Henry Ford.

¹³¹ "Inkster Commissary," Accession 285, Box 1903, Benson Collection at The Henry Ford.

for his home' but it is financially impossible for him to carry out his program without assistance."¹³²

Beyond assisting individual homeowners, the Sociological Department was also involved in efforts to improve Inkster as a whole, not just the southwest quadrant. Initial efforts by the Sociological Department including a village cleanup to dispose of material waste, grade the roads, and salvage reusable materials at the Rouge Plant.¹³³ Finances for the whole village continued to be an issue during this time period and Ford assisted with other village improvement efforts including road repairs because, according to



Image 9. Young children working in a garden plot, likely one of the plots created through the Ford-Inkster Project. ([Image 7472], Accession 188, Box 36, Prints 7351-7600, Benson Collection at The Henry Ford)

¹³² Accession 285, Box 1903, Folder 363-111, Benson Collection at The Henry Ford.

¹³³ "Inkster Commissary," Accession 285, Box 1903, Benson Collection at The Henry Ford.



Image 10. Vegetables and fruit canned by Inkster residents, for sale at the Ford Commissary. ([Image 8157], Accession 188, Box 40, Prints 8107-8270, Benson Collection at The Henry Ford)

one account, “aside from the main roads, you couldn’t drive down them. Harrison Avenue, which is a stretch of at least a mile and a quarter, was laid by the same gang that laid the road around the Rouge plant. It was maintained by a crew charged to the Sociological account.”¹³⁴

The Sociological Department also assisted the village in a number of other ways including the founding of a commissary, the preparation of 400 garden plots, the construction of several schools, road maintenance, garbage collection, and the production of social functions.¹³⁵ Initially the Red Cross assisted by opening an emergency soup kitchen in November of 1931 and supplied families with soup, bread, and apples. A week later Ford Motor Company took over the feeding program and cooked vegetables and stew were served instead of soup.¹³⁶ Later, Ford opened the commissary on December 24, 1931, and it supplied basic food items to the community along with housing a shoe repair shop and, later, a cooking school which taught women how to prepare balanced meals from items available in the commissary store.¹³⁷ School improvements made by Ford and Ford-sponsored social events in Inkster are covered in more detail in the Education and Social History sections, below.

¹³⁴ “The Reminiscences of Mr. Willis F. Ward,” 46.

¹³⁵ “Village of Inkster – Welfare,” Report on the Ford Motor Company Inkster Rehabilitation Project, 1931-1941, Benson Collection at The Henry Ford, accessed 5/9/22, <https://www.thehenryford.org/collections-and-research/digital-collections/artifact/429477#slide=gs-391190>.

¹³⁶ “Inkster Commissary,” Accession 285, Box 1903, Benson Collection at The Henry Ford.

¹³⁷ “Inkster Commissary,” Accession 285, Box 1903, Benson Collection at The Henry Ford.

The Ford-Inkster Project operated from 1931 until 1941 and during such time the Sociological Department funded the improvement of over 150 houses, most of which were located in the area bounded by Cherry Road, Inkster Road, Annapolis Road, and Irene Street.¹³⁸ While financing was provided by the Sociological Department on an IOU basis, the actual rehabilitation work was undertaken by homeowners themselves. There is some evidence that carpenters were made available by the Ford Construction Department, but the work was planned and orchestrated by homeowners.¹³⁹ All who agreed to accept aid from the company also had to accept the terms of the company’s repayment policy and each worker was required to sign an IOU.¹⁴⁰ The Department conducted visits to the houses and kept photographic and written records of the progress made on rehabilitating each of the houses funded by the project. The records from the inspections made by the department in 1939 exist at the Benson Collection at The Henry Ford. The records also include ledgers which document what the financing was used toward and how the homeowner was reimbursing Ford Motor Company. For example, 1939 documentation for the house at 3215 Alfred Street (now Allen Street), indicate that \$1,322.20 was expended on carpenter labor, building material, paint, decorator, and an electrician. The report indicates the homeowner is paying \$25 monthly on the account.¹⁴¹

The Ford-Inkster Project ended in 1941 when unionization efforts in Ford’s plants reached a critical mass. Scholar Howard O’Dell Lindsey speculates the unionization efforts, which were supported by many African American workers, may have been the reason the Ford-Inkster

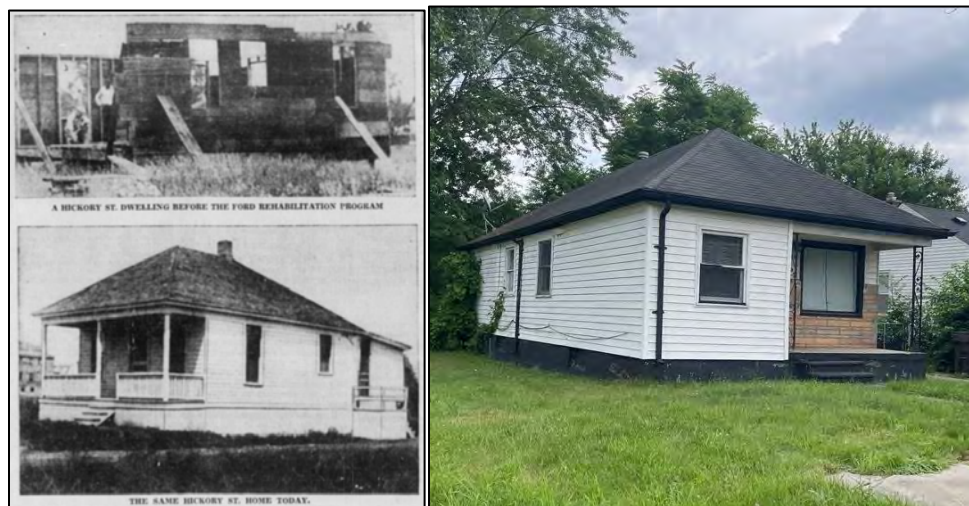


Image 11. All of the images above are of the house at 3517 Hickory Street. The image on the upper left is of the house before the owner’s participation in the Ford-Inkster Project and the image on the lower left shows the rehabilitated house. The image at right is the house today. (left, Kenneth F. McCormick, “Auto Magnate’s Chance Visit Proving a Boon to Inkster,” *Detroit Free Press*, February 27, 1938; right, Kraemer Design Group 2022)

¹³⁸ Approximately 150 houses associated with the Ford Inkster Project have been identified by the Benson Collection at The Henry Ford. Additional houses in the area may have been constructed or improved as a part of the Ford Inkster project.

¹³⁹ “The Reminiscences of Mr. Willis F. Ward,” 41.

¹⁴⁰ Wulf D. Hund, Jeremy Krikler, and David R. Roediger, *Wages of Whiteness & Racist Symbolic Capital* (Berlin: Lit Verlag, 2010), 206.

¹⁴¹ “3215 Alfred Street – Account 333,” Accession 55, Box 120, Benson Collection at The Henry Ford.



Image 12. Typical streetscape in the area where the Ford-Inkster houses were built and improved. (Kraemer Design Group 2023)

Project was shuttered as Henry Ford may have felt betrayed by Black workers throwing their support behind the United Auto Workers. While Henry Ford's project in Southwest Inkster may have ended, his assistance during the tough years of the Great Depression meant that Southwest Inkster's Black community started the 1940s in a better position than many others in the area.

The Effects of Ford's Social Experiment in Inkster

Interpretations of Ford's impact on Inkster's Black community are multifaceted and at times, contradictory.¹⁴² Ford's involvement in the community was a double-edged sword. When other employers shunned employing Black people, Ford provided employment, and when Inkster's Black community experienced extreme hardship during the Great Depression, Ford stepped in to assist. The company's involvement provided assistance to residents in constructing and purchasing their own homes, obtaining food and municipal services, all during the Great Depression when few others were willing to aid the Black community. However, characterizing Ford's assistance as simply philanthropic glosses over the inherent paternalist, discriminatory, and ultimately self-serving motives driving the company's work. While primary source material indicates that many Black residents in Inkster and Detroit at large were thankful to Ford for the opportunity of employment and for financial assistance, it is through a contemporary lens that the underlying racism in Ford's actions can be discerned.

¹⁴² Lindsey, 65.

The *Pittsburgh Courier* praised Ford's efforts in Inkster in 1932 arguing that Ford's giving of opportunities to Black workers may gain traction in other industrial cities where Black workers are often the last to receive unemployment aid. Ford's involvement in Inkster garnered nationwide praise, but the reality was that the money Ford put into Inkster came back to the company through the repayment of IOUs essentially creating a cycle of indebtedness for residents that made Black Inkster. Ford Motor Company withheld wages of Black Inksterites prior to 1933 before the National Industrial Recovery Act (NIRA) forbade the practice.¹⁴³ NIRA was the Roosevelt administration's attempt to create minimum wage standards to bolster the economy, but the legislation was ruled unconstitutional by the US Supreme Court in 1935.¹⁴⁴ Out of the \$5-\$6 daily wage, Black employees in Inkster only received \$1. The difference was allocated to a general Inkster fund which paid for the village's services. Additionally, relatives of individuals who established credit with Ford were on the hook if the family member could not repay the loan.¹⁴⁵

The relationship between the Ford Motor Company and its Black workers is a complicated one. Ford did provide Black people with employment opportunities when few other companies would, making Ford the earliest and largest employer of Black workers in the metro Detroit area. This led to the creation of a Black middle class in Detroit that was able to exercise economic and political power to obtain their civil rights. However, Black Ford workers nonetheless experienced racism in employment at Ford. Black workers labored in the company's most difficult and dangerous departments, such as the foundry and rolling mill. The health implications for working in these departments were serious, with Black workers succumbing to pneumonia and tuberculosis at higher rates than other workers in different departments.¹⁴⁶ Regarding education, Ford constructed schools in Inkster during the Ford-Inkster project for children within the community. However, education was limited to teaching students to observe authority and develop skills necessary for work on assembly lines, characteristics that Ford believed would mold students into ideal industrial workers.¹⁴⁷ See the Education section, below, for additional detail and oral history testimony on the type of vocational training Black students received in school.

¹⁴³ Esch, 85, 108.

¹⁴⁴ "National Industrial Recovery Act (1933)," National Archives, accessed January 15, 2023, <https://www.archives.gov/milestone-documents/national-industrial-recovery-act#transcript>.

¹⁴⁵ Esch, 104-106.

¹⁴⁶ Christopher C. Alston, "Henry Ford and the Negro People" ([Detroit, MI?]: [Michigan Negro Congress?], [1940?]), 5-6.

¹⁴⁷ Esch, 113.



Image 30. A photograph of the Inkster High School senior banquet in May of 1940. The portraits of Henry Ford (left), likely Thomas Edison, Ford's close friend (middle), and Abraham Lincoln (right) hang at the front of the room. ("Inkster High School Senior Banquet [5-2-1940]," Benson Collection at The Henry Ford, Accession 1660, Box 145)

Through the Ford-Inkster Project, the Black community secured new housing, improved existing housing and created an active community. Ford Motor Company essentially functioned as a bank for Inkster's Black residents providing financing for the construction and improvement of resident's homes at a time when most financial institutions would not. While Ford provided employment opportunities for Black workers in Inkster and financing for the improvement of homes, viewed through a modern lens, Ford's motives appear racist and paternalistic. The "men-making" project in Inkster sought to "civilize" Black employees by inspecting their families before credit was extended, educating them as Ford saw fit, and priming prospective employees for work in Ford's factories—bringing the employee's work and home life under the control of the company.¹⁴⁸ Sociological practices such as these were used by other industrialists of the era to create a reliable workforce and were not unique to the Ford Motor Company.¹⁴⁹ The space for Ford to step into Inkster's affairs stemmed, in part, from the racial discrimination practiced by Ford.¹⁵⁰ As the "last to hire and first to fire," the onset of the Depression meant Black Ford employees were the first to be laid off, thereby setting the stage for Inkster's municipal troubles

¹⁴⁸ Esch, 104-106; Georgios Paris Loizides, "'Making Men' at Ford: Ethnicity, Race, and Americanization During the Progressive Period," *Michigan Sociological Review* 21 (2007), 109-110.

¹⁴⁹ Loizides, "'Making Men'," 123-124.

¹⁵⁰ Esch, 104-106.

in the 1930s.¹⁵¹ Despite the Ford Motor Company's problematic policies, Inkster's Black residents ultimately used the available financing to their advantage.

The Ford-Inkster Project came to a close in 1941 as efforts to unionize Ford's workforce accelerated, with many Black Ford employees backing the United Auto Workers. Ford's financial assistance and relationship with Inkster's Black community from 1931-1941 significantly improved the conditions of the village, particularly the housing conditions and services for the Black community. The relationship established between Black Inkster residents and Ford meant that the much-needed services for the village became available, such as street lighting and garbage pickup, and residents were able to improve their standard of living. Former Ford employees went on to open commercial businesses along Harrison Street, the commercial corridor of Black-owned businesses in the village's southwest quadrant. The community's use of Ford's financing likely provided the foundation for the development of a Black middle class in Inkster. Additionally, the community became adept at fighting for and acquiring resources for the community. The Inkster Housing Commission (IHC), with former Ford employee Louis J. Demby at the helm, led Inkster's successful urban renewal projects and the construction of new public housing in the late 1950s and early 1960s.

Inkster During World War II

As the United States entered World War II in 1941, the need for arms and munitions caused a mass influx of war workers into cities with large industrial sectors like Detroit. With Ford's Rouge Plant just a few miles east and the Willow Run Bomber Plant just a few miles west, Inkster was positioned directly between two areas of intense arms manufacturing. Southwest Inkster was one of the few areas near these war work factories with housing for Black war workers. Inkster swelled with new inhabitants seeking work in nearby defense factories. Between 1940 and 1950 the population in Inkster doubled as the competition for dwellings and the crowded housing conditions experienced in places like Detroit continued unabated.¹⁵² It was suburban communities like Inkster that faced the largest growth in their populations during this time period:

“From April 1940 to June 1944, Detroit added only 30,000 new residents but the four suburban counties around Detroit and Willow Run added 200,000. This suburban migration included many black families that staked claims in African American communities in Ypsilanti, Inkster, Ecorse Township, and Royal Oak Township. Rapid expansion also meant that infrastructure and public services failed to match population growth, through eventually the public services and agencies that came to be established ultimately reshaped metropolitan Detroit.”¹⁵³

¹⁵¹ “The Reminiscences of Mr. Willis F. Ward.”

¹⁵² “Percent Change in Population, Detroit by Subcommunity and Area Adjacent to Detroit by Civil Division: 1940 to 1950,” United Community Services of Metropolitan Detroit Research Department, Walter Reuther Collection.

¹⁵³ Ryan Reft, “The Motor City at War: Mobilization, Wartime Housing, and Reshaping Metropolitan Detroit,” Tropics of Meta, accessed August 4, 2022, <https://tropicsofmeta.com/2013/12/04/the-motor-city-at-war-mobilization-wartime-housing-and-reshaping-metropolitan-detroit/>.

To accommodate the growing swell of defense workers, more housing was desperately needed. Thus, temporary and permanent war worker housing was built in Inkster including the first iteration of LeMoyné Gardens and the George Washington Carver Homes—both of these developments are covered in detail, below.

World War II and Federal Government Programs for Defense Worker Housing

With so much war-time production, and with thousands seeking housing in the immediate vicinity of these factories, the federal government set up defense and public housing offices to help alleviate the housing shortages. These programs relied upon a system of public housing entities that the Roosevelt administration had set up in the late 1930s to address housing needs during the Great Depression. The United States Housing Act of 1937 passed in November of 1937 and with it the United States Housing Authority (USHA) was formed. USHA initially sat within the Department of the Interior, just as the Federal Emergency Administration of Public Works (PWA) did. Nathan Straus was chosen as the USHA administrator. In 1939 the five main New Deal agencies (Public Works Administration, United States Housing Authority, Works Progress Administration, Public Buildings Administration, and Public Roads Administration) were consolidated through the Reorganization Act of 1939. At this point, the agencies were consolidated into the Federal Works Agency (FWA). USHA was under FWA supervision from 1939 to 1942. During this period Clark Foreman was the Director of the FWA. USHA retained less control than PWA had over public housing projects. USHA could not directly build or manage public housing; local public housing authorities (PHA) were given this responsibility.

It was during this three-year period of USHA operating under FWA supervision that the George Washington Carver Homes were designed and constructed. Unfortunately, USHA and PHA records relating to the Carver Homes have since been lost or destroyed, making the details of the development of the Carver Homes difficult to obtain. USHA also was held to much more stringent cost guidelines than PWA had been. With these cost guidelines, public housing projects post-1937 for both Black and White residents tended to be much simpler in design and much more standardized than PWA projects had been.¹⁵⁴ As federal public housing projects used different architects, style and material varied quite a bit between projects. Some permanent complexes used higher quality materials than those intended to be temporary. But by and large, the projects constructed under USHA were more simple and economical than those under the purview of PWA pre-1937. This is evident in the physical appearance of the remaining Carver Homes which are simple in form and material.

The Federal Public Housing Authority (FPHA) was established in 1942 and replaced USHA while also consolidating functions from several other federal entities.¹⁵⁵ The FPHA had ten regional offices and two metropolitan area offices. Michigan was part of Region 5 while Detroit was one of the two metropolitan offices. It was the Metropolitan Area Office in Detroit that was responsible for FPHA activities in Detroit and the surrounding suburbs.¹⁵⁶

¹⁵⁴ Paul Lusignan, Judith Robinson, Laura Bobeczko, and Jeffrey Shrimpton, “Public Housing in the United States, 1933-1949,” National Register of Historic Places Multiple Property Documentation Form, 2004.

¹⁵⁵ “Records of the Public Housing Administration [PHA],” National Archives, accessed October 13, 2022, <https://www.archives.gov/research/guide-fed-records/groups/196.html>.

¹⁵⁶ “Records of the Public Housing Administration [PHA].”

It was the FPHA that embarked upon the pressing work to help alleviate the severe lack of housing for workers of the Willow Run Bomber Plant. Due to the shortage of war worker housing, many were living in tents and trailers in orchards near the plant. And, with no other options available, families in these camps would also resort to sleeping in their car. In 1942, the Michigan State Police notified bomber plant workers squatting in the orchards that they had to move out.¹⁵⁷ The housing shortage was so acute that in June of 1942 the *Inkster Journal* put out a call for individual homeowners to contact a local governmental entity, the Homes Registration Office, to notify them of any rooms or dwelling units they may have for rent.¹⁵⁸

Metropolitan Detroit was no exception to the nationwide practice of federal agencies assigning predominantly temporary housing to Black workers. Temporary housing was usually modular in construction and not intended for long-term occupancy. Individual components would be fabricated offsite and assembled into the housing unit onsite. Whereas permanent housing developments such as the Carver Homes had furnaces, a gas range, and an electric refrigerator, temporary developments might only be equipped with a coal stove to heat the unit and cook and an icebox instead of a refrigerator.¹⁵⁹ Maintenance of the coal stove and iceboxes were cumbersome and party walls between units were flimsy with sound easily travelling through from the neighboring unit.¹⁶⁰

The Parkridge public housing complex in Ypsilanti, designed by African American architect Hilyard Robinson, was constructed as temporary housing for Black workers at the Willow Run Bomber Assembly Plant.¹⁶¹ Likewise, the “Cardboard City” development at Middlebelt and Annapolis in Inkster was also temporary housing designated for Black workers—this development is discussed in more detail, below. Oakdale Gardens in Royal Oak Township, another complex built for Black war workers, was also composed almost entirely of temporary housing units. The practice of assigning temporary housing to Black residents did not end in postwar years as evidenced by the Algonquin Homes, a complex of temporary homes for Black war veterans built in Algonquin Park in Detroit in 1947, despite outcry from the surrounding neighborhood.¹⁶²

From the onset, race was a highly contested issue in the realm of public housing and, specifically, defense housing. Even prior to the war, in 1937, the NAACP had vowed to protest racial discrimination in public housing projects that were publicly funded.¹⁶³ Open occupancy of

¹⁵⁷ Peterson, *Planning the Home Front*, 147-148.

¹⁵⁸ “Attention, Home Owners!” *Inkster Journal*, June 12, 1942.

¹⁵⁹ Sarah Jo Peterson, “The Politics of Land Use and Housing in World War II Michigan: Building Bombers and Communities” (PhD diss., Yale University, 2002), 296-297.

¹⁶⁰ Peterson, “The Politics of Land Use,” 298-299.

¹⁶¹ “Our Communities,” Ypsilanti Housing Commission, accessed January 10, 2023, <https://www.ypsilantihc.org/communities>.

¹⁶² Rebecca Savage, “Norwayne Historic District,” National Park Service, National Register Nomination, 2013.

¹⁶³ Matthew D. Lassiter, and Susan Cianci Salvatore, “Civil Rights in America: A National Historic Landmarks Theme Study,” The National Historic Landmarks Program, 2021.

public housing projects was never achieved, however, and the decisions regarding the location and racial makeup of public housing projects were left to local governments.¹⁶⁴

In the realm of defense worker housing, local jurisdictions often avoided any attempt at integration by situating Black and White defense workers in almost entirely segregated usually separate complexes. At the onset of PWA's work in defense housing, an intent was to integrate Black and White families in defense housing complexes. However, the PWA's intentions for integration were folded to avoid confronting the racist and segregationist sentiments held by White government officials and the White public. Thus, in the late 1930s the "neighborhood composition rule" was conceived and authorized for PWA public housing projects for defense workers.¹⁶⁵ This rule stipulated that no public housing project could alter the racial composition of the neighborhood where it was built. Thus, Black defense worker housing was constructed in Black neighborhoods or on the outskirts of towns, while White defense worker housing was typically constructed in White neighborhoods. This is likely why Cardboard City and the George Washington Carver Homes were constructed in Inkster while the White workers at the Willow Run Bomber Plant were able to secure defense worker housing in Ypsilanti, significantly closer to their place of work.

George Washington Carver Defense Housing Project

In August 1942, the National Housing Agency announced additional public housing to be constructed for Willow Run Bomber Plant workers. The housing would be constructed by the Federal Public Housing Authority and included predominately dormitory style housing in Ypsilanti but also another 2,000 housing units in Wayne and Inkster. The Inkster site was devoted explicitly to housing African American families and is what became the Carver Homes. This project was initially called "Michigan Project 20049" but was later named after George Washington Carver. The selection of Inkster's southwest quadrant as the location for African American defense housing was calculated—, there was already an established community of African Americans in the area and public transportation to the Willow Run Bomber plant was available on Michigan Avenue. Therefore, the construction of defense housing would conform to the "neighborhood composition rule," and not alter the racial makeup of the surrounding neighborhoods.¹⁶⁶

The Carver Homes were constructed by New York City based contractors M. Shapiro & Sons as a combination of single-story ranch style units and two-story townhouse style units.¹⁶⁷ Based on the reconnaissance level survey, the exterior finishes varied on the units when constructed, with some buildings having a brick veneer exterior while others being finished with wood siding. The two-story nature of many of the units appears to have been attractive to local residents. The project was described upon opening as "the most attractive and complete in the entire area."¹⁶⁸

¹⁶⁴ Betsey Martens, Elizabeth Glenn, and Tiffany Magnum, "Race, Equity and Housing: The Early Years," *Journal of Housing & Community Development*, NAHRO, October 9, 2020, https://www.nahro.org/journal_article/race-equity-and-housing-the-early-years/.

¹⁶⁵ Martens, Glenn, and Magnum, "Race, Equity and Housing."

¹⁶⁶ Lindsey, 191; Martens, Glenn, and Magnum, "Race, Equity and Housing."

¹⁶⁷ "Middlebelt Project on Housing Starts," *Detroit Free Press*, October 30, 1942.

¹⁶⁸ "Willow Run Housing Task Now Half Done," *Detroit News*, August 30, 1943.

Former residents of nearby Cardboard City, a temporary defense worker housing complex located across Middlebelt from the Carver Homes, indicated in oral history interviews that the Carver Homes units were considered superior units. Former Cardboard City resident Florine Bond stated that the units “looked better, they were two stories” and she remembered feeling that people “thought they were better over there.”¹⁶⁹ This perception of the Carver Homes units possibly contributed to the intense demand for units, which did not alleviate even after the war ended.

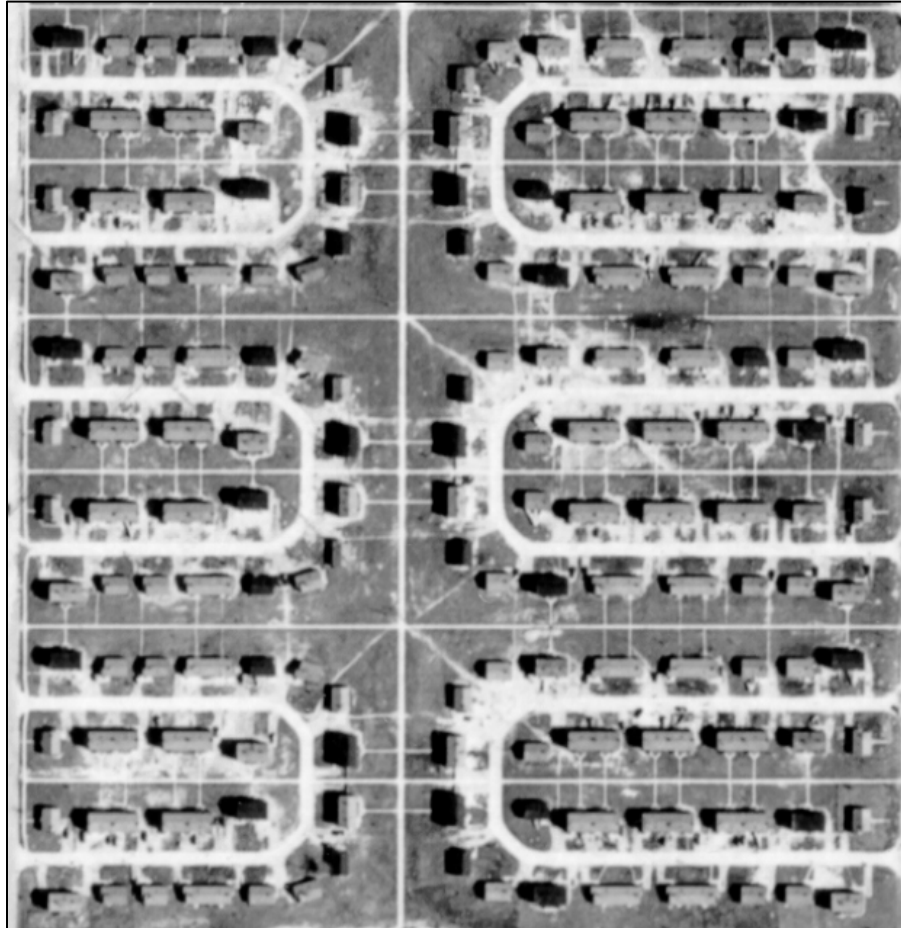


Image 13. The horseshoe street pattern of the southern portion of the Carver Homes. (Wayne State University, “DTE Aerial Photo Collection,” Detroit Edison, 1949)

The construction of public housing for Black defense workers was not sufficient to decrease the demand for additional housing units in Detroit and the metro area. Both in Detroit, Brewster Homes offered nearly 1,000 units and Sojourner Truth homes offered only 200 units.¹⁷⁰ A study conducted in January 1944 determined that while the White housing complexes like Norwayne and Willow Village were only 60 and 75 percent occupied, the housing complexes for Black war workers such as Carver Homes were fully occupied. Even with the available public housing,

¹⁶⁹ Florine Bond, oral history interview with Cassandra Talley, Cardboard City Reunion, Inkster, Michigan, September 10, 2022.

¹⁷⁰ Lillian Candela and Cassandra Talley, “Sojourner Truth Homes,” National Park Service, National Register Nomination, 2022.

there was a waiting list of 11,000 Black war workers waiting for housing with the Detroit War Housing Center.¹⁷¹

Due to the overwhelming demand for Black defense worker housing, the Carver Annex, 198 units of temporary housing for Black defense workers, was constructed in 1944. The survey team was unable to definitively locate where the Carver Annex was constructed, but newspaper articles described it as sitting “directly opposite the permanent Carver Homes project.”¹⁷²

The Carver Homes project was further expanded in the late 1940s with the addition of single-family houses south of Annapolis Road. Four plats, the original Carver Subdivision and Carver Subdivisions 2, 3, and 4, were platted from 1945 through 1950 to provide additional housing for Black veterans in the immediate post war years. These houses were marketed and considered an extension of the Carver Homes defense housing project. Developed by the Elsea Realty Company, a Detroit-based, White-owned real estate company, the houses were small bungalows in a vernacular Cape Cod style.¹⁷³

After the war, the newly created Inkster Housing Commission petitioned the federal government to transfer “200 temporary units at Carver Homes to the Village of Inkster. The commission is also considering plans for leasing the 500 permanent units in the project from the Government until such time as they are disposed of to individual purchasers under the terms of the 1950 Housing Act.”¹⁷⁴ Inkster’s Housing Commission was established towards the end of 1950 to receive the Carver Homes from the federal government and subsequently transfer them to private ownership.¹⁷⁵ Indeed, the Carver Homes were eventually sold to individuals for a cost of \$4,000 per unit in the early 1950s.¹⁷⁶

Newspaper articles indicate that the majority of the Carver Homes were demolished in the early 1970s. The complex had fallen into disrepair and was over half vacant. A 1973 news article states that “more than 200 of the 500 subsidized low-cost housing units are in total disrepair and uninhabited.”¹⁷⁷ In 1972, Inkster was awarded a \$288,000 community development block grant from the US Department of Housing and Urban Development. This grant was intended for the City to acquire and demolish “dilapidated housing in the suburb’s Carver Homes area.”¹⁷⁸ This reconnaissance level survey identified 41 remaining buildings still extant on the site of the 280 original buildings.¹⁷⁹ These units appear to still be owner occupied. In 2002, Inkster received a statewide grant through the Michigan Department of Environmental Quality to abate asbestos in

¹⁷¹ Peterson, *Planning the Home Front*, 262.

¹⁷² “Homes in Carver Annex Are Ready; 26 Units Now Leased to War Workers,” *Inkster Journal*, September 29, 1944.

¹⁷³ “Part of Inkster Project Exclusively for Negroes,” *Detroit News*, November 18, 1949; R.L. Polk, *Polk’s Detroit (Wayne County, Mich.) City Directory* (Detroit, MI: R.L. Polk, 1935), 670; US Census Bureau, *Fifteenth Census of the United States*, US Federal Census, population schedule, Detroit, Wayne, Michigan, enumeration district 0414, 1930, Ancestry.com.

¹⁷⁴ “Louis J. Demby To Manage Inkster Housing Commission,” *Michigan Chronicle*, December 9, 1950.

¹⁷⁵ “Louis J. Demby To Manage Inkster Housing Commission,” *Michigan Chronicle*, December 9, 1950.

¹⁷⁶ “Tenants Get Offers of Sale of Norwayne,” *Detroit News*, March 16, 1954.

¹⁷⁷ Robert Wells, “Wartime Housing Mars Inkster’s Image,” *Detroit News*, March 22, 1973.

¹⁷⁸ “Federal Funds for Inkster,” *Detroit News*, February 3, 1972.

¹⁷⁹ “Willow Run Housing Projects Near Completion,” *Detroit Free Press*, September 26, 1943. Note: This article identifies the complex as consisting of 280 buildings.

public housing complexes. The majority of the funding was used on the extant Carver Homes buildings.

In 2004, Novi-based Crosswinds Communities Inc. began work on the proposed Annapolis Pointe project which would construct 160 new single-family homes on the sites of former Carver Homes units. The project would be partially funded through a US Department of Housing and Urban Development HOME grant through the Wayne County Community Development division.¹⁸⁰ The intent was for Carver Homes residents to be relocated to the new houses in Annapolis Pointe although it appears the project was never completed. At present, Bridgeport Court is the only street in the former Carver Homes subdivision which contains recently constructed single-family houses for a total of nineteen houses. It is possible that the 2008 recession affected the developer's ability to complete the Annapolis Pointe project.



Image 14. Compare the 2015 satellite imagery above, showing the empty lots surrounding the horseshoe streets of the Carver Homes, to the 1949 aerial imagery in Image 11. Most of the original Carver Homes have been demolished and their sites are now vacant. Recently constructed homes are visible on Bridgeport Court, the horseshoe in the lower right corner of the image and are likely related to the Annapolis Pointe project. (Wayne County aerial imagery, 2015)

¹⁸⁰ Robert Ankeny, "Inkster gets \$810,000 from HUD," *Crain's Detroit Business*, February 13, 2004, <https://www.craindetroit.com/article/20040213/SUB/402130855/inkster-gets-810000-from-hud>.

LeMoyne Gardens Temporary Public Defense Housing Complex (Cardboard City)

Whereas the Carver Homes in Inkster were built as permanent housing units to meet the needs of Black defense workers, a temporary housing development was also constructed in Inkster at the corner of Middlebelt and Annapolis Roads. Built by the Federal Public Housing Authority (FPHA), approval was granted in 1942 to construct 400 units of demountable housing intended for Black war workers. The temporary and modular nature of demountable housing allows it to be deconstructed, moved, and reassembled if necessary. The federal government used project numbers to describe housing projects that were in process but, without access to resources from the National Archives, which have not been digitized, the project team has been unable to confirm the project number. However, the development was later officially named LeMoyne Gardens¹⁸¹ and was affectionately called Cardboard City by its residents. This complex was comprised of modular-built homes that were built in sections off-site and then quickly assembled on-site after the individual components were delivered. Cardboard City is the name still used by former residents today and the frequent reunions and close-knit relationships between former residents speaks to the profound impact this place had on its residents. Because of the nearly uniformly positive memories associated with Cardboard City and because that is the name exclusively used by former residents, throughout this report, the name Cardboard City is used for the first iteration of LeMoyne Gardens.¹⁸²



Image 15. Workers building components of temporary defense housing. Although not for Cardboard City specifically, the methods and materials used were likely the same or similar to those used to construct the Cardboard City units. (Accession 435, Box 41 of 59, Benson Collection at The Henry Ford)

¹⁸¹ National Housing Agency, “Locality Construction Table,” 1942, 54, HathiTrust, accessed October 13, 2022, <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=uc1.b5359053&view=1up&seq=69&q1=20050>.

¹⁸² The name Cardboard City is so ubiquitously used that when I asked residents about the official name of the housing development several former residents had to confer and corroborate each other’s memories before informing me that it was officially called LeMoyne Gardens.



Image 16. Cardboard City, just west of Middlebelt. (Wayne State University, "DTE Aerial Photo Collection," Detroit Edison, 1949)

Cardboard City was a temporary housing development purpose-built to house Black defense workers who could not live in housing developments like Willow Run due to segregationist federal policies. The name "Cardboard City" was earned due to the quality of the construction. By all accounts the community was remarkably tight knit. Martha Spencer Weber was raised there and remembers that everybody knew everybody, and it had a "southern atmosphere" because so many residents were newly arrived in Michigan. Barbara Dixon fondly recalled the close-knit community and her role as the unofficial Cardboard City babysitter. Larry Spencer recalled that the women of Cardboard City all pitched in to raise all the children, ensuring no one was getting into trouble—and if someone stepped out of line the sole phone on Meadow Circle—where the Spencer family lived—would ring to alert the offender's parents of the infraction.

Goodwyn Long lived in Cardboard City from 1943 to 1951 and he recalled the layout and architecture of the units: he indicated each building was a single story with four units per building. Looking at aerial photographs, it appears most buildings contained four units but there were several buildings that were much smaller and may have contained only two units. Mr. Long indicated that the units were heated with coal stoves, and he recalled that you could buy five packs of coal for one dollar. Sometimes, if a family didn't have the money, the house was cold that day. There was no air conditioning in the units and the kitchens had ice boxes, not electric refrigerators, though the units did have electricity. The bathrooms did not have a bathtub, rather they had a shower only. Mr. Long and another resident, Florine Bond, both remember bathing in a tin tub because the shower in their units didn't function properly. Mrs. Bond also remembers how crowded her family's unit was at Cardboard City: there were thirteen children in her family

and two brothers slept in a bunk bed in one room, two more brothers slept on a pull-out bed in the living room, several sisters slept in a bunk bed in her parent's room, and there was, potentially, another sibling in the utility room, too, but she was unsure on that detail.¹⁸³ Even with the crowded conditions, the houses in Cardboard City were likely better than what the family could have secured in Detroit. Earlene Tye, who lived in Cardboard City from 1944 to the early 1950s confirmed that the units were crowded and space for household tasks was lacking—she remembers her family doing household chores like peeling potatoes outside. Many of the residents who gave oral histories recalled playing outside all day due, in part, to the small size of the units.

By 1950, there were rumors in the community that the housing units at Cardboard City would be sold: “Village Attorney Jesse Bolinger is now investigating the legal steps and will be taken up by the council at the regular meeting. Lemoyne Gardens is located at Annapolis and Middlebelt Roads.”¹⁸⁴ Despite this, it seems clear the units at Cardboard City were needed because although the “Lemoyne units were intended for early postwar clearance...[they] continued to accommodate 192 families during a period of housing shortage. Although well maintained, these units were inadequately constructed. This project's maximum “mileage” ...[was] nearing an end and...[was] programmed for clearance in 1958.”¹⁸⁵

LeMoyne Gardens Urban Renewal Project

The temporary housing units at Cardboard City remained standing until 1959 when the development was cleared after the new LeMoyne Gardens urban renewal project opened just to the west. Lemoyne Gardens was platted in 1959. Lemoyne Gardens Subdivision No. 2 was platted in 1963. A 1962 *Detroit Free Press* article profiled the “southwest redevelopment project” in Inkster by stating that nearly all of the residents displaced by the demolition of Cardboard City were reabsorbed into the new LeMoyne Gardens or other new housing units. By the time Cardboard City was demolished in 1959 the units were reportedly excessively deteriorated:

As if by magic, what officials called one of the worst slums in the Detroit area is being turned into a beautiful new residential development. The 164-acre sector west of Middle Belt and south of Michigan in Inkster has been known for years as one of the least desirable living sections in the county. On 21 acres the federal government during World War II built temporary housing for war plant workers. These poorly built and ill kept homes served a purpose for about five years and then deteriorated quickly as workers moved in and out. The homes on the other 143 acres were built during years when there was no building code or zoning ordinances. Village and county health authorities described most of them as ‘shacks.’”¹⁸⁶

¹⁸³ Florine Bond, oral history by Cassandra Talley, Cardboard City Reunion, Inkster, Michigan, September 10, 2022.

¹⁸⁴ Leanna Hicks, “Inkster Hi-Lites,” *Michigan Chronicle*, June 3, 1950.

¹⁸⁵ Village Planning Commission, “General Development Plan, Village of Inkster, Michigan,” Geer Associates, 1957, HathiTrust, accessed March 9, 2022, <https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/000648761>.

¹⁸⁶ Don Tschirhart, “From Blight to Beauty in Inkster,” *Detroit News*, January 23, 1961

By all accounts the new LeMoyne Gardens development was a model community. Florine Bond recalls that the units were “very nice” with brick cladding and grass in the yard—her family had a four-bedroom unit.¹⁸⁷ Iris Long remembers moving into her new unit at LeMoyne Gardens in 1959 and saying it was “absolutely beautiful.” She initially had a three-bedroom unit and, later, moved into a four-bedroom unit to accommodate her large family of seven children. The new unit had an open kitchen and dining room with a big living room. There was one bedroom downstairs and three bedrooms upstairs. It had hardwood floors and a half bathroom by the laundry room on the first floor. The housing company maintained the lawn, and everything was neat and well kept. The management of the complex gave out flowers for people to plant and many of the kids living in LeMoyne Gardens got summer jobs mowing the lawn or helping seniors who lived in the complex.¹⁸⁸

From Blight to Beauty in Inkster




TAKEN AT SAME LOCATION, These Photos Show How Inkster's Wartime Housing Area (Left) Was Transformed Into a Development of Modern Homes

'Shack Town' Is Vanishing

By DON TSCHIRHART
Of Our Suburban Bureau

As if by magic, what officials called one of the worst slums in the Detroit area is being turned into a beautiful new residential development.

The 164-acre sector west of Middle Belt and south of Michigan in Inkster has been known for years as one of the least desirable living sections in the county.

On 21 acres the federal government during World War II built temporary housing for war plant workers. These poorly built and ill kept homes served a purpose for about five years and then deteriorated quickly as workers moved in and out.

The homes on the other 143 acres were built during years there was no building code or zoning ordinances. Village and county health authorities described most of them as “shacks.”

In 1957, Inkster officials decided to put an end to the slum conditions and asked the federal government for help under the Federal Urban Renewal Act.

Directs Project

Appointed as director of the project was Elton Mickels, who lives with his wife, Mildred, and daughters, Cheryl, 5, Crescendo, 4, and Gina, 8 months, at 26720 Carlyle, Inkster.

The first part of the project—tearing down the worst of the federal war project homes—was started in September, 1957. The first of a model, low rent housing project, known as LeMoyne Gardens, was erected two years later, and the rest of the temporary war housing units afterwards were torn down.

A few days ago the pilot section of homes, built by a private contractor, was opened. These homes were for people displaced from the urban renewal area with incomes allowing them to purchase houses in the \$11,500 class.

When most of this subdivision is built, the homes in another section of the 164-acre area will be torn down and new ones put up in their place.

Advanced planning for the



Architect's Sketch of Inkster's Urban Renewal Project

The rest of the money—\$1,615,000—can be used by the village on a matching basis to tear down old homes, build sewers and water lines, pave streets, put up overhead lights and build other public projects.

Mickels noted that before the urban renewal project was started, the area paid only \$7,600 in taxes to the village. When completed the same area will pay \$16,800 in village taxes if the same tax rate prevails.

The 31-year-old director, who also is the Inkster village planner, received his bachelor's degree in landscape architecture and horticulture at Alabama A & M College and his master's degree in city planning at Michigan State University.

“Within a few years people driving along Middle Belt in Inkster won't recognize an area that used to be a real eyesore,” he said.

“Instead, they will marvel how we have swept blight from this part of Wayne County.”

DAY BY DAY

Sherry Brightens 'Guys and Dolls'

By JANE SCHERMERHORN

When Sherry Sroggi, an enormously pretty 19-year-old brunet, sighs and says: “I really shouldn't even be dancing...” She's remembering her doctor's advice to stay off her twinkie toes for a whole year—and there still are a few weeks to go.

But Sherry is the graceful head hooper in a bouncy version of “Guys and Dolls” due to delight folks in the South Oakland County area Feb. 17, 18, 24 and 25 when it comes to the stage of Norup Junior High School.

She's recovering from a foot operation in which bones were removed from the sides of both feet—and because of improper toe work, bones developed on the sides of my feet—bones as big as golf balls.

“Well, these were removed and I spent a week in the hospital. I was off my feet for two months and then told I should wait a full year before dancing again.”

“But I couldn't resist—I love to dance too much and besides, I'm careful. If I get tired I take a rest.”

Sherry has joined the Beckley PTA Council.



JANE SCHERMERHORN




Mainstays of the project to erase blight in Inkster are William C. Meadcroft (left), urban manager; and Elton Mickels, Inkster's urban renewal director.

Image 17. Detroit Free Press article describing the development plans for the new LeMoyne Gardens. (Don Tschirhart, “From Blight to Beauty in Inkster,” Detroit News, January 23, 1961)

¹⁸⁷ Florine Bond, oral history by Cassandra Talley, Cardboard City Reunion, Inkster, Michigan, September 10, 2022.

¹⁸⁸ Iris Long, oral history by Cassandra Talley, Cardboard City Reunion, Inkster, Michigan, September 10, 2022.

Secession and Annexation Attempts in Inkster

In the early 1940s, the tremendous population growth of industrial cities such as Detroit strained housing in the city and surrounding suburbs. This strain was felt most acutely by Black residents, as they were prevented from expanding outward from existing neighborhoods due to the discrimination they faced. White residents fought to segregate Black people and prevent them from moving into their neighborhoods. The anger of White residents boiled over into violent action, trying to stop Black residents from moving into Sojourner Truth Homes and culminating in the Detroit's race riots in the summer of 1943.¹⁸⁹

There were two notable annexation or secession attempts in Inkster's history. The first occurred within the aforementioned context, when in August of 1943 a group of White citizens in Inkster attempted to organize in order secede from the village to create a highly segregated White community. The proposed new municipality was to be known as "Westwood City" and "would have incorporated 75 percent of Inkster's area and 80 percent of Inkster's White population into a new city that would have taken all of Inkster's taxable businesses, civic buildings and facilities, parks, and many schools, while abandoning the Inkster remnant with significant bonded indebtedness for new sewers and water mains."¹⁹⁰ A \$600,000 bonded debt would be left for the remaining portion of "Inkster" which would include only the section of the village occupied by Black residents and businesses.¹⁹¹ The boundaries of the proposed new city included the entirety of Inkster excepting the southwest area of the Village which was where the vast majority of African Americans lived. This proposed "Westwood City" would have left Inkster's Black residents with no police or fire protection and limited educational facilities.¹⁹² The National Association for the Advance of Colored People (NAACP), the Ford Local 600, and the Civil Rights Federation all got involved to assist in thwarting the secession attempt.¹⁹³ The Wayne County Board of Supervisors voted the proposed secession down in November of 1943.¹⁹⁴

In 1960 a two-and-a-quarter mile long and a one-quarter wide parcel on the east side of Inkster was annexed to Dearborn Heights. This was a parcel containing some of Inkster's most valuable real estate and most wealthy citizens—there were no Black residents in this section and local Inkster citizens called out the injustice of this annexation in local news reports.¹⁹⁵ Black citizens in Inkster "entered a suit in the Wayne County Circuit Court to block the annexation" alleging that the annexation would exacerbate segregation by making Dearborn Heights more White and Inkster almost wholly Black.¹⁹⁶ The petitioners in the suit were ordinary yet determined citizens including Mrs. Thomasina Taylor from 3335 John Daly Street; Lloyd Holt at 26121 Penn Street;

¹⁸⁹ Lillian Candela and Cassandra Talley, "Sojourner Truth Homes," National Park Service, National Register Nomination, 2022.

¹⁹⁰ Peterson, *Planning the Home Front*, 252.

¹⁹¹ Hassie L. Colquit, "Inkster Jottings," *Detroit Tribune*, August 21, 1943.

¹⁹² "Westwood Has Filed to Drop Race Members," *Michigan Chronicle*, August 7, 1943.

¹⁹³ "NAACP Starts Legal Battles Against Bias," *Michigan Chronicle*, November 27, 1943; "Says Politics Backs Inkster Secessionists," *Michigan Chronicle*, December 4, 1943.

¹⁹⁴ "Supervisors Review Inkster Plot: Vote Measure Down by Five Point Margin," *Michigan Chronicle*, November 13, 1943.

¹⁹⁵ "Inkster Citizens Fighting," *Pittsburgh Courier*, August 12, 1961; "Inkster Citizens Sue to Block "Corridor", *Michigan Chronicle*, July 29, 1961.

¹⁹⁶ "Inkster Citizens Fighting," *Pittsburgh Courier*, August 12, 1961.



Image 18. *Detroit Tribune* article reporting on the annexation attempt in Inkster in 1961. (Chester Higgins, "Inkster Group to Appeal," *Detroit Tribune*, May 13, 1961)

Mrs. Lillie Ammons from 27327 Colgate Street; and Aaron Neal from 28625 Kitch Street. Taylor and the other petitioning parties alleged the annexation of a section of land bounded by Beech Daly Street to Gully Road, and Cherry Hill Road to Annapolis Street would create an 11 square mile city with no Black residents. Inkster village officials supported the suit by Taylor to block this annexation as it would take away some of the most desirable land away from Inkster and would constrict the tax revenue for the remainder of the village. Other residents argued that the annexation was an attempt to create a buffer to keep Black residents out of Dearborn Heights.¹⁹⁷

Despite a protracted legal battle, ultimately, the Inkster citizens were unsuccessful in preventing the annexation as this area became part of neighboring Dearborn Heights when the Michigan Supreme Court held the annexation was legal. The Village of Inkster lost significant revenue (estimated to be between \$105,000 to \$150,000 in annual revenue) when this parcel was annexed. At the time, Village Manager William E. Meadowcroft noted the impact it would have: "This loss could mean a tax increase of \$1.50 for our citizens. It's a shame, too, we were just getting on our feet. We had no deficit in the General Fund. This will hurt."¹⁹⁸ Even with this setback, Inkster citizens found ways to gain advantages for their community in the middle decades of the century including spearheading new middle class housing developments.

Mid-Twentieth Century Inkster Housing: Watsonia Park Subdivision No. 2, 1950-1970

¹⁹⁷ Chester Higgins, "Inkster Group to Appeal, Will Fight for Seized Strip," *Detroit Tribune*, May 13, 1961.

¹⁹⁸ "Inkster Citizens Fighting," *Pittsburgh Courier*, August 12, 1961; Chester Higgins, "Inkster Group to Appeal, Will Fight for Seized Strip," *Detroit Tribune*, May 13, 1961.

Following the end of World War II, Inkster's Black population continued to grow and expand outward from its historical concentration in the southwest quadrant of Inkster. With Inkster Road and Michigan Avenue functioning as *de facto* color lines, it was not until the 1940s when Black families were able to break through the color barrier of Inkster Road and begin living east of the southwest quadrant.¹⁹⁹ Space in the southwest quadrant was becoming limited and Black families had the means to purchase housing and real estate in areas previously out of reach.²⁰⁰ The Watsonia Park Subdivision No. 2, roughly bounded by Inkster Road, Annapolis Street, John Daly Street, and Stanford Street, became a desirable neighborhood for Black families. Originally platted in 1925, the subdivision was largely empty except for a few small houses until the 1950s.

In the late 1940s into the early 1950s, a series of family-owned companies operated by the Perlman family and connected to the building and real estate industry began constructing small houses in the Minimal Traditional style in the neighborhood. Some deed records indicate that these homes were purchased with Federal Housing Administration (FHA) mortgages and GI Bill mortgages. The Perlmans were a Jewish family living in Detroit that included Sol and Minnie and their sons Jack and Sanford. Sol's brother Harry and his wife Rose also participated in the family businesses.²⁰¹ Their Inkster-based businesses, with addresses at 27540 and 27371 Michigan Avenue near Inkster Road, included Carver Building Company, Crown Building Company, Inkster Lumber and Supply Company, Richard Building Company, Sanford Building Company, and Sunshine Land Company.²⁰² In addition to constructing houses, the Perlmans also bought and sold property in the neighborhood. The Perlman family companies were the most prevalent builders and developers in the Watsonia Park Subdivision No. 2 Residential Historic District in the early 1950s.

Historic connections exist between Jewish and Black communities concerning real estate. Restrictive covenants used by White property owners to keep Black families from purchasing homes in certain neighborhoods were also commonly used to restrict the rights of Jewish people. Therefore, Jewish residents were more often willing to sell real estate to Black people because their neighborhoods did not have restrictive covenants, and they had also experienced discrimination. Neighborhoods in Detroit such as Russell Woods and Boston Edison transformed from Jewish neighborhoods to Black neighborhoods throughout the 1920s to the 1960s due to this relationship.²⁰³ Many of the homes constructed by Perlman-related companies in Watsonia Park Subdivision No. 2 were sold to Black families, some of whom moved to the subdivision from other areas in the southwest quadrant of Inkster. David Baum was another Jewish Detroiter

¹⁹⁹ Lindsey, 126-127.

²⁰⁰ Lindsey, 236.

²⁰¹ "Perlman—Sol," obituary, *Detroit Free Press*, November 30, 1953.

²⁰² "Carver Building Company," corporate card, October 5, 1949, Michigan Department of Licensing and Regulatory Affairs, Corporations Online Filing System, <https://cofs.lara.state.mi.us/corpweb/CardSearch/CardSearch.aspx>; "Crown Building Company," corporate card, June 13, 1946, Michigan Department of Licensing and Regulatory Affairs, Corporations Online Filing System; "Inkster Lumber and Supply Company," corporate card, August 10, 1942, Michigan Department of Licensing and Regulatory Affairs, Corporations Online Filing System; "Richard Building Company," corporate card, November 29, 1949, Michigan Department of Licensing and Regulatory Affairs, Corporations Online Filing System; "Sanford Building Company," corporate card, May 3, 1950, Michigan Department of Licensing and Regulatory Affairs, Corporations Online Filing System.

²⁰³ Ruth Mills and Sandra Little, "The Civil Rights Movement and the African American Experience in 20th Century Detroit," National Park Service, National Register of Historic Places Multiple Property Documentation Form, 2020.

involved in Inkster's real estate business. David and his wife Eva are referenced throughout Watsonia Park's deed records from the early 1950s. Deed records also indicate that transactions took place between the Baums and the Perlman.²⁰⁴ The two families were neighbors in the 1950s, only living four houses apart on Northlawn Avenue, in Detroit's Bagley neighborhood.²⁰⁵ A *Michigan Chronicle* article from 1957 describes David and Eva Baum as the "well-known parents" of Dr. Pearl Baum Hauser, an optometrist in Hamtramck and member of the NAACP.²⁰⁶ Pearl Baum's association with the NAACP, the mention of her "well-known" parents in the *Michigan Chronicle* article, and the Baum's connection to the Perlman may explain how the two families became involved in the development of Inkster's Black community east of the Inkster Road color line.



Image 19. The house at 27321 Stanford was constructed by Sanford Building Company, one of the many Inkster-based companies operated by members of the Perlman family. The first occupants were Milton and Susie Barns, a Black couple from Mississippi and North Carolina, respectively. Milton worked as a truck loader at a local brickyard. The Barns' use of the GI Bill to secure their mortgage is evidenced in deed records.²⁰⁷ (Kraemer Design Group 2022)

²⁰⁴ Wayne County Register of Deeds, "Watsonia Park Subdivision #2."

²⁰⁵ "For Plot: City Finds It's In Debt To Citizen," *Detroit Free Press*, January 23, 1954; "Perlman—Sol," obituary, *Detroit Free Press*, November 30, 1953.

²⁰⁶ "Dr. Pearl B. Hauser: Can't See For Looking," *Michigan Chronicle*, October 19, 1957.

²⁰⁷ Wayne County Register of Deeds, "Watsonia Park Subdivision #2."; US Census Bureau, *Seventeenth Census of the United States*, US Federal Census, population schedule, Inkster, Wayne, Michigan, enumeration district 82-25, 1950, Ancestry.com.

Expansion of the Black community into the neighborhood in the 1950s paved the way for continued incremental growth throughout the decade and accelerated growth throughout the 1960s, with new home construction reaching a peak from 1965 to 1966. The integrated Inkster Housing Commission (IHC) sought to provide space for the development of a neighborhood accessible to the Black middle class. For additional information regarding the IHC please see the section below titled “Government/Politics.” Lots in Watsonia Park were originally intended for small houses, therefore, the lots were long and narrow. In the 1960s, the IHC fostered the sale of multiple lots for a single house, thereby providing impetus for the construction of larger houses.²⁰⁸ The IHC came to own various parcels throughout the subdivision at different points in time, but this only occurred when property taxes for a lot went unpaid.

Although the builder of every house in Watsonia Park could not be identified, deed records make clear that multiple local builders were responsible for new housing construction, with the most popular builders being Hi-Fashion Homes, Inc., Macomb Corporation, and Edward M. Burke Homes, Inc. Together, these companies constructed over half of the homes built in the subdivision in the 1960s. Housing constructed by Hi-Fashion, Burke, and Macomb differed from earlier construction in the 1950s through a comparatively larger footprint, often occupying multiple parcels, and the incorporation of fashionable Ranch and Contemporary styles. Development in the 1960s also differed because it was largely Black builders and Black architects developing the neighborhood, building homes geared towards the Black middle class in fashionable styles of the 1960s. Two of the most prolific building companies in Watsonia Park during this time, Hi-Fashion, Inc., and Edward M. Burke Homes, Inc., were Black-owned and operated. Because discriminatory practices in mortgage lending made it difficult for prospective Black homeowners to secure adequate financing for the purchase of a new home, Black builders and organizations stepped in to secure access to financing for their buyers.²⁰⁹

Black architect John W. Bingham was president of Hi-Fashion Homes, a successful and well-known firm designing and constructing stylish homes throughout Watsonia Park, Detroit, and the metro-Detroit area.²¹⁰ Bingham began his career in home construction in 1956 as an employee of the Detroit-based architectural firm, Giffels & Rossetti, and would later establish his own firm designing homes for the Black middle class.²¹¹ *Michigan Chronicle* articles and advertisements feature Bingham designed homes throughout the 1960s.²¹² Bingham was also deeply involved in fighting for equality for Black contractors and builders, working to secure access to financing and the hiring of minority workers in the construction trades.²¹³ Black contractors faced discrimination in hiring practices and access to financing, making it especially difficult for them

²⁰⁸ Lindsey, 164, 178.

²⁰⁹ Edward M. Burke, “Race Bias Limiting Market Expansion,” *Michigan Chronicle*, April 22, 1961.

²¹⁰ “Black Contractor’s Innovative Ideas Paying Heavy Dividends,” *Michigan Chronicle*, November 23, 1974.

²¹¹ “Black Contractor’s Innovative Ideas Paying Heavy Dividends,” *Michigan Chronicle*, November 23, 1974.

²¹² “Custom Builders – Designers: Of Gracious Living Homes – Lots Available,” advertisement, *Michigan Chronicle*, August 3, 1963; Isola Graham, “Let’s Live It Up Now Electrically,” *Michigan Chronicle*, November 27, 1965; Myrtle Gaskill, “On The Run? Time It Electrically As Do The Spencer Carpenters,” *Michigan Chronicle*, January 13, 1962.

²¹³ Ed Boyer, “Suit Asks U.S. To Set Goals For Minority Workers,” *Detroit Free Press*, December 21, 1973; Brian Flanigan, “For Minority Businesses: Local Black Contractor Issues ‘Survival Plan,’” *Michigan Chronicle*, April 5, 1975.



Image 20. One of the homes designed and built by Hi-Fashion Homes, 27022 Lehigh, Inkster, Michigan. (Kraemer Design Group 2022)

to secure projects.²¹⁴ In 1964 Bingham founded the Metropolitan Builders and Home Improvement Association, which later became the Metropolitan Contractors Association of Detroit (MCA). The organization provided a space for minority contractors to discuss and address the issues they faced in the building industry. An outgrowth of the MCA was the Metropolitan Contractors Credit Corporation (MC3), which helped address one of the key issues faced by minority contractors—access to financing. Bingham’s organizations garnered national prominence as models for the successful advancement of minority contractors. In 1970, following a national conference of minority builders in Detroit, the Metropolitan Builders and Home Improvement organized a protest and called for a boycott of Detroit’s banks “if black firms are not given more opportunities to arrange loans.”²¹⁵ Evelyn Bingham, John’s wife, likewise contributed to the success of the MCA with her work as the president of the women’s auxiliary of the MCA, formed in 1970. Both John and Evelyn contributed to the publication of the *Minority Builder* magazine.²¹⁶ Bingham served as the MCA’s Executive Director for many years, participated in numerous committees throughout Detroit, and in 1973 was elected president of the National Association of Minority Contractors.²¹⁷ In 1974, Bingham received the “Mark of Distinction” award from the Cotillion Club for his contributions to the Black community.²¹⁸

Edward M. Burke was another successful Black contractor building homes in Watsonia Park and elsewhere in Detroit, with advertisements in the *Michigan Chronicle*. Burke got his start working in home modernization before branching out and forming his own company, Edward M. Burke Homes, Inc. Burke strove to make home ownership accessible to the average Black family,

²¹⁴ “Demand ‘Fair Share’ In Rebuilding Of Inner City,” *Michigan Chronicle*, February 8, 1969.

²¹⁵ “Black Contractor Unit Meets,” *Detroit Free Press*, May 2, 1970:7.

²¹⁶ “Black Contractor’s Innovative Ideas Paying Heavy Dividends,” *Michigan Chronicle*, November 23, 1974.

²¹⁷ “Michigan Business,” *Detroit Free Press*, July 9, 1973; “Black Contractor’s Innovative Ideas Paying Heavy Dividends,” *Michigan Chronicle*, November 23, 1974.

²¹⁸ Larry Plump, “Cotillion Citations To 8 Outstanding Blacks,” *Michigan Chronicle*, December 14, 1974.

securing mortgages for buyers and building small, yet customizable and affordable houses.²¹⁹ Modern appliances, spacious living and dining areas, and multiple bedrooms made Burke's

EDWARD M. BURKE HOMES
 "Detroit's Leading Builder of Distinctive Houses"
 Salutes The Michigan Chronicle with these Six Exciting New
ANNIVERSARY HOMES

THE TOWN AND COUNTRY
 Distinctive and contemporary, this home commands the respect of every home owner. A true split-level, it is delightful in every detail from its spacious sun deck to its sunken living room.

THE METROPOLITAN
 The city dwelling family will love this home. Designed for a typical 55 foot city lot, it features a bi-level room arrangement, plus an attached two-car garage. It has everything, including a large patio off the family room.

THE ECONOMY KING
 — \$70 per month — Less than rent

THE ROYAL RANCH
 Is a home designed for the family desiring a ranch home of traditional design and architectural theme. A family that enjoys outdoor living will delight in the large patio area. The comfort and warmth of the rustic fireplace, the roomy country style kitchen and spacious family room add to the appeal of this truly American home.

THE CONTEMPORARY COLONIAL
 This home will appeal to the family who likes the privacy of a two-story home but yet the architectural theme of contemporary design. This home is complete with large spacious rooms and has the interior charm and warmth of a conventional colonial home.

Custom Designs to suit your personal taste incorporating the Following Fabulous features and MORE!!!

- Attached Garages (Plastered Walls and Electronic doors optional)
- Large Family Rooms
- 3 or 4 large bedrooms
- Fireplaces
- Panoramic Picture Windows
- Built-In TV Aerials
- Stone and Brick Planters
- Custom Kitchens Featuring
 - Built-in Ovens and Ranges
 - Dishwashers
 - Formica Counter Tops
 - Refrigerators
 - Contemporary Cabinets
 - Food Centers
 - Carbage Disposals

Image 21. Advertisement for Edward M. Burke Homes. ("Edward M. Burke Homes," *Michigan Chronicle*, April 22, 1961)

homes desirable to families looking for a modern and affordable home.²²⁰ In the 1960s Burke's work evolved to include custom homes with larger footprints, such as those built in Watsonia Park.²²¹ Like Bingham of Hi-Fashion Homes, Burke sought to ensure Black families had equal access to ownership of modern homes.

Macomb Corporation, a family-run building company operated by Samuel Brody and his son Richard, was another popular builder in Watsonia Park.²²² Carrying on the historic connection between the Jewish and Black community concerning real estate, the Brody's headed multiple real estate and building companies based in Detroit and Florida that did business with the Black community.²²³ Homes constructed or remodeled by the Brodys were featured in *Michigan*

²¹⁹ Joe Strickland, "Home Builder: Burke Bids For Success In New Field," *Michigan Chronicle*, December 4, 1954.

²²⁰ "With Built-In Features: Burke Homes Add To Beauty Of Marion Park Subdivision," *Michigan Chronicle*, September 8, 1956.

²²¹ "In Various Areas: Custom Designed Homes Now Offered By Edward M. Burke," *Michigan Chronicle*, March 4, 1961; "Edward M. Burke Homes," advertisement, *Michigan Chronicle*, April 22, 1961.

²²² "Samuel Brody," obituary, *Detroit Free Press*, October 28, 1960.

²²³ "Marlborough Realty Company," corporate card, October 31, 1952, Michigan Department of Licensing and Regulatory Affairs, Corporations Online Filing System; "Macomb Corporation," corporate card, July 28, 1959, Michigan Department of Licensing and Regulatory Affairs, Corporations Online Filing System.

Chronicle articles in the 1960s, and the Brodys participated in the *Michigan Chronicle* 1965 Home Products and Services Show.²²⁴

Housing has continued to develop in the Watsonia Park neighborhood. There is at least one example of a house built in the early 1950s that was demolished to build a new home in 1981, and a handful of houses were constructed in the 1990s and early 2000s.²²⁵ The homes in Watsonia Park continue to express the history of the neighborhood's development from the 1950s to the 1970s.

Government/Politics

The village of Inkster's charter was written in 1926 and was adopted in 1927. Rather than elect council members using the ward system, whereby the village would be divided into wards and a council member elected from each ward, the village's charter called for at-large elections. At-large elections placed Black electoral prospects at a severe disadvantage, especially since the Black population was not the majority. In a ward-based system, a ward with a majority Black constituency could elect a council member aligned with their interests, with competition amongst candidates vying for the ward's vote. Since Black residents were in the minority, at-large elections meant the Black community would have to coalesce around one candidate in hopes of securing enough votes for the candidate to be elected to the council. Detroit adopted the at-large election system in 1916 in the name of reform, but the adoption can also be understood as a means to suppress the growing power of the Black vote.²²⁶

There was a building boom throughout Inkster in the 1920s and 1930s, not just in the southwest section of the village. In northern Inkster, Dearborn Hills Manor subdivision—located in Inkster at the southwest corner of Harrison Avenue and Avondale Avenue—was platted in 1925 and the news announcement accompanying its development gives a general description of the village at this time: “Inkster is an established community, the nucleus of a small city, in which two new banks and several stores and merchandising establishments have been opened in the last year...” giving the impression that while Inkster was growing it was still probably fairly sparsely populated.²²⁷ Corresponding to this growth and with few municipal services upon founding, in 1927, the village borrowed \$10,000 from the newly formed People's State Bank of Inkster to help fund improvements in the village.²²⁸ Of course, the borrowed funds were not enough to sustain the necessary improvements needed in Inkster and in 1931 the American Red Cross called upon the Ford Motor Company to provide additional assistance for the village, essentially taking over for the municipality.

After World War II ended in 1945, Inkster officials turned their attention to pressing civic concerns. As a part of this post-war activity, the Inkster Housing Commission was created in

²²⁴ “House Design Wins Award From Council,” *Michigan Chronicle*, July 4, 1964; “Displays Galore: List Of Chronicle Home Products and Services Show Exhibitors Still Growing,” *Michigan Chronicle*, October 2, 1965.

²²⁵ US Census Bureau, *Seventeenth Census of the United States*, US Federal Census, population schedule, Inkster, Wayne, Michigan, 1950, Ancestry.com; “27320 Hopkins,” BS&A Online, accessed October 20, 2022.

²²⁶ Lindsey, 129-136.

²²⁷ “Improvements Help Hannan Sub Building,” *Detroit Free Press*, June 27, 1926.

²²⁸ Lindsey, 139.

1950 to create safe and affordable housing for Inkster citizens and to help facilitate the transfer of governmental housing units (notably those in the Carver Homes development) into private hands. The Inkster Housing Commission (IHC) was integrated upon its founding with Black resident Louis J. Demby serving as one of the five commissioners. The other four commissioners were Arthur O. Wangbichler, Lester M. Chensue, Martin M. Van Strien, and Donald Olson. Although not a member of the commission, Gustavus G. Taylor was elected as the commission's first director-secretary. Taylor was only the third Black man in the US to hold this position.²²⁹ Likewise, City Council at this time had two Black members, John R. Stinson and Robert Simmons.²³⁰

By the late 1940s the IHC was primarily composed of Black members.²³¹ Throughout the mid-century the commission was successful in addressing housing-related issues faced by residents. Upon its creation, the IHC managed the transference of units in the Carver Homes to Inkster residents.²³² The IHC also participated in the construction of the second iteration of LeMoyne Gardens. Known as the Southwest Redevelopment Project, Cardboard City was demolished, and new public housing was constructed in its place. The subdivision of single-family homes north and east of the LeMoyne Gardens complex was also part of the IHC project.²³³ Some sources indicate that the IHC promoted the development of the middle-class neighborhood of Watsonia Park by increasing the lot sizes in the neighborhood. However, Watsonia Park was platted prior to the IHC's formation and was not replatted into larger lots and primary sources confirming the IHC's involvement were not located.²³⁴

Thus, in 1952, with Black residents gaining representation on governing bodies and, recognizing that the at-large system of government institution upon the founding of the village in 1926 was hindering equal representation for Inkster's Black citizens, the Village "decided ...that all people would have fair representation in our government," said Samuel I. Schaflander, the village attorney, "so we wrote a new charter which set the community up into six wards or districts. Each district is entitled to one councilman and the village president is elected at large. Inkster is seven square miles in area, and so, with six districts, everyone lives near his representative."²³⁵

In 1955, the Village of Inkster hired a planning firm by the name of David Greer Associates to create a master plan. With Greer's input, the civic center was placed on Inkster Road near Michigan Avenue and a fire station was built on the parcel with future plans to add a municipal building on the site.²³⁶ A Modern style administrative building, at 2121 Inkster Road, and a round library, at 2005 Inkster Road, were later built next to each other along the Rouge River. Completed by September of 1960, the library building is still extant though the library moved to

²²⁹ "Louis J. Demby To Manage Inkster Housing Commission," *Michigan Chronicle*, December 9, 1950.

²³⁰ Earl B. Dowdy, "Inkster Finds Solutions to 2 Problems," *Detroit News*, March 29, 1955.

²³¹ Lindsey, 145-146, 164.

²³² "Louis J. Demby To Manage Inkster Housing Commission," *Michigan Chronicle*, December 9, 1950.

²³³ Inkster Urban Renewal Administration, "The Human Element in Urban Renewal," Southwest Redevelopment Project, Inkster, Michigan, [1962?].

²³⁴ Lindsey, 164-165, 265.

²³⁵ Earl B. Dowdy, "Inkster Finds Solutions to 2 Problems," *Detroit News*, March 29, 1955.

²³⁶ Earl B. Dowdy, "Inkster Finds Solutions to 2 Problems," *Detroit News*, March 29, 1955.

a new building in 1955.²³⁷ The distinctive round shaped library was designed by Karl Nelson and he apparently considered it his finest design.²³⁸ Nelson was a noted local architect who designed the Inkster Administrative Building along with the Inkster Police and Fire Stations, the Michigan State Police Post in Northville, Michigan, and the Northville Downs raceway.²³⁹ Zoning ordinances were changed in the 1950s to disallow developers to build the same house side by side and setbacks were required to be staggered, varying from 25 feet to 32 to create some differentiation.²⁴⁰ By 1955 the average Inkster citizen paid \$194 per year in “village, Dearborn Township, county, and school taxes on the average assessment of \$3,700 per home.”²⁴¹ That same year the Village of Inkster’s annual budget was around \$800,000.²⁴² In 1955, with a population of 30,000 total residents, 9,000 were African American.²⁴³



Image 22. Photograph of the interior of Inkster’s Modern style, round library. (“What’s Been Happening to Libraries?” *Detroit Free Press*, October 18, 1962)

²³⁷ “Rockefeller Plugging for Votes in State,” *Detroit Free Press*, September 24, 1960; Robert Turley communication on InkTown Family message board, Facebook.

²³⁸ Robert Turley communication on InkTown Family message board, Facebook; “Karl Nelson,” Legacy.com, accessed October 18, 2022, <https://www.legacy.com/us/obituaries/naplesnews/name/karl-nelson-obituary?id=8616067>.

²³⁹ Robert Turley communication on InkTown Family message board, Facebook; “Karl Nelson,” Legacy.com, accessed October 18, 2022, <https://www.legacy.com/us/obituaries/naplesnews/name/karl-nelson-obituary?id=8616067>.

²⁴⁰ Earl B. Dowdy, “Inkster Finds Solutions to 2 Problems,” *Detroit News*, March 29, 1955.

²⁴¹ Earl B. Dowdy, “Inkster Finds Solutions to 2 Problems,” *Detroit News*, March 29, 1955.

²⁴² Earl B. Dowdy, “Inkster Finds Solutions to 2 Problems,” *Detroit News*, March 29, 1955.

²⁴³ Earl B. Dowdy, “Inkster Finds Solutions to 2 Problems,” *Detroit News*, March 29, 1955.

By the late 1950s Inkster's administrative bodies were increasingly integrated likely due to changing attitudes toward enfranchisement of African Americans but possibly also due to increased vacancies on local bodies due to White flight.²⁴⁴ In addition to those already mentioned there were several other prominent Black city administrators who contributed to the post-World War II developments in the Village. Larry Spencer, who was raised in Cardboard City and, later, LeMoyné Gardens, recalled that Charles Thompson was a powerful advocate for Inkster.²⁴⁵ Thompson was the director of the Inkster Housing Commission and was responsible for securing money to improve housing in Inkster during the late 1950s through the 1970s.²⁴⁶ Additionally, longtime village councilmember, Louis J. Demby, and city planner Elon Mickels were both responsible for propelling the urban renewal efforts in Inkster including the LeMoyné Gardens development in the late 1950s.²⁴⁷ By 1960 the total population in Inkster reportedly grew to 39,000 with a corresponding growth in the African American population to 16,000. This enfranchisement of Black city administrators and the rapid growth in the Black population may have contributed to the annexation efforts that plagued Inkster in the early 1960s.

Social History and Commerce

Although Black people could purchase land and housing in the southwest quadrant of Inkster from the 1920s onward, the Black community was still subjected to racism. The experiences described below regarding Inkster's government, the threat of Dearborn annexations, the "color lines" of Michigan Avenue and Inkster Road are rendered in greater detail in the Community Planning and Development context. During the racial riots that occurred in Detroit in 1943, Inkster did not escape the turmoil. A race riot broke out in June of 1943 where it was reported that 150 soldiers from the Romulus Air Force base and 300 Inkster citizens clashed near Inkster Road and Michigan Avenue.²⁴⁸

Commercial Development in Southwest Inkster

In spite of the racism faced by Inkster's Black community, the community nonetheless thrived. Harrison Street, within the proposed Dancy-Ford Residential Historic District, developed into a commercial corridor within Inkster's Black community. Harrison Street is the east dividing line in Sections 25 and 36 and is wider than adjacent residential streets, at 66 feet wide versus 50 feet wide, likely in anticipation of the development of a commercial corridor.²⁴⁹

²⁴⁴ "Success and Achievement—That's the Inkster Story," *Michigan Chronicle*, March 7, 1959.

²⁴⁵ Larry Richard Spencer, oral history interview with Cassandra Talley, Cardboard City Reunion, September 10, 2022, Inkster, Michigan.

²⁴⁶ Leanna Hicks, "Inkster Hi-Lites," *Michigan Chronicle*, October 12, 1957; "Honor Inkster Housing Chief At Thompson Tower Dedication," *Michigan Chronicle*, July 24, 1976.

²⁴⁷ "Success and Achievement—That's the Inkster Story," *Michigan Chronicle*, March 7, 1959.

²⁴⁸ "Police Quell Race Riot in Inkster, Mich.," *Michigan Chronicle*, June 19, 1943.

²⁴⁹ "Dearborn Acres Subdivision No 2." Subdivision Plat. 1916. Michigan Department of Licensing and Regulatory Affairs (LARA); "Inkster Gardens Subdivision." Subdivision Plat. 1924. Michigan Department of Licensing and Regulatory Affairs (LARA); "Westwood Heights Sub. No. 1." Subdivision Plat. 1929. Michigan Department of Licensing and Regulatory Affairs (LARA); "Westwood Heights Sub." Subdivision Plat. 1928. Michigan Department of Licensing and Regulatory Affairs (LARA); "Wolverine Tractor Subdivision." Subdivision Plat. 1917. Michigan Department of Licensing and Regulatory Affairs (LARA).



Image 23. 1949 aerial photo showing commercial buildings along Harrison, between Carlisle and Beech. Carlisle is the street at the right of the image and Beech is the street at the left. (Wayne State University, “DTE Aerial Photo Collection,” Detroit Edison, 1949)

The Ford Motor Company-built commissary was initially located on the west side of Harrison Street, south of the intersection with Andover Street, and Ford’s Lincoln School was located one block east of Harrison Street on the northeast corner of the intersection of Beech Street and Walnut Street.²⁵⁰ The central location of these early-twentieth century amenities within the southwest quadrant of Inkster likely provided the foundation for development of the commercial corridor in the mid-twentieth century.

In the mid-1950s, a plethora of Black-owned businesses lined Harrison Street between Cherry Street and Andover Street, including drug stores, grocery stores, a hatter, a physician’s office, a hotel, restaurants, and barber shops.²⁵¹ Many of the business owners lived nearby in the Ford-Inkster Project area. For example, local proprietor George Williams owned Paradise Tavern, an entertainment venue in the Harrison corridor. In the 1940s, Paradise Tavern was located at 28232 Carlisle Street, between Walnut Street and Ash Street, just one block away from Harrison Street.²⁵² By 1951, the venue moved to 3639 Harrison Street, between Carlisle Street and Beech Street.²⁵³ Williams lived only a few blocks away from his establishment at 3770 Spruce Street.²⁵⁴ In another example, Quincy Laney, former Ford employee and owner of New Delhi Confectionery at 3575 Harrison Street, lived with his family above his establishment.²⁵⁵ An advertisement in the *Michigan Tribune* states the store had soda fountain service, McDonald ice cream, newspapers, magazines, and notions.²⁵⁶ Prior to the construction of the commercial building in 1944, Laney lived on the property in a small, hipped roof house that was moved to the site from North Detroit.²⁵⁷

²⁵⁰ Lindsey, 66; Wayne State University, “DTE Aerial Photo Collection,” Detroit Edison, 1949.

²⁵¹ Lindsey, 155.

²⁵² “Stop At Paradise Tavern—Inkster, Mich.,” advertisement, *Detroit Tribune*, September 20, 1941.

²⁵³ “For An Evening of Entertainment Visit Paradise Tavern,” advertisement, *Detroit Tribune*, October 13, 1951.

²⁵⁴ US Census Bureau, *Sixteenth Census of the United States*, US Federal Census, population schedule, Inkster, Wayne County, Michigan, 1940, Ancestry.com.

²⁵⁵ US Census Bureau, *Seventeenth Census of the United States*, US Federal Census, population schedule, Inkster, Wayne, Michigan, 1950, Ancestry.com.

²⁵⁶ “Announcing Opening of the New Delhi Confectionery,” advertisement, *Michigan Tribune*, February 16, 1946.

²⁵⁷ “3575 Harrison,” Accession 55, Box 123, Benson Collection at The Henry Ford.



Image 24. *Detroit Tribune* advertisement for George Williams' Paradise Tavern. ("For an Evening of Entertainment Visit Paradise Tavern," *Detroit Tribune*, October 13, 1951)



Image 25. The image at left is Quincy Laney's small, hipped roof house that was moved to the site from North Detroit. By 1944, the house was demolished, and the present commercial building, at right, was constructed. ("3575 Harrison," Accession 55, Box 123, Benson Collection at The Henry Ford; 3575 Harrison, Kraemer Design Group, 2022)

Recreation for Black Residents of Inkster

Ford Motor Company sponsored a fair amount of social and celebratory events in Inkster during the Ford-Inkster Project. In May 1936, a “grand parade” was organized consisting of hundreds of Ford cars which drove from the commissary on Harrison Street to the Lincoln School on Walnut Street.²⁵⁸ The parade included music performed by the Fordson High School band. Fordson, now part of Dearborn Public Schools, was constructed in 1928 in what was then the village of Fordson. Ex-Governor Wilbur also provided a keynote speech.

Based on photographs located at the Benson Ford Research Center at The Henry Ford, it also appears there was an annual Fourth of July celebration in Inkster sponsored by Ford during the years of the Ford-Inkster project. Photos from the 1940 event depict it being a ‘field day’ celebration including baseball, tight rope walkers, picnic food, dancing, and other outdoor activities.²⁵⁹ Students were also able to enjoy academic related field trips and activities sponsored by Ford during the years of the Ford-Inkster project. Ford arranged tours for the students of Inkster High School, including a ‘sightseeing trip’ through Ford’s Museum and Menlo Park Laboratory in 1935.²⁶⁰

In the years following the Ford-Inkster Project and during World War II, residents banded together to continue their own social and recreation activities. During the post-war years, Inkster had two recreation programs – one servicing the White portion of the village and the other, located on Harrison Street, catering to the Black population. The recreation facility is said to be a part of the Carver Homes although was not located within the bounds of the Carver Homes site. There was very little communication between the two recreation programs, which were both technically run by the Village’s Recreation Commission, leading to a waste of resources and duplication of services.²⁶¹ The recreation program for the Black residents of Inkster developed into a much more robust program than that for the White residents due to the sheer interest and effort of the citizens. Black residents raised money to purchase additional athletic equipment and secured a donation from the Willow Run (Defense) Plant Council for additional supplies.²⁶² During the war years, the Black recreation program operated on Sundays and Mondays with volunteer residents managing activities. In contrast, the White recreation center located in the Westwood Building near John Daly and Avondale Avenues, north of Michigan Avenue, had no clear recreation leader. Many participants lived in neighboring cities and were not always present to volunteer to run the programs. This paints a picture of a very active and lively Black population in the southwest portion of Inkster at this time, while the White population of Inkster failed to match their level of organized social involvements.

Not only did Inkster residents participate in hometown recreation and social activities, many vacationed to resort towns and other destinations. Many members of Inkster’s Black community owned property in Idlewild, a premier Black resort town in northern Michigan. Idlewild is located in Lake County, on the upper west side of Michigan’s lower peninsula. It was founded in

²⁵⁸ “Ex-Governor Brucker To Speak,” *Detroit Tribune*, May 9, 1936.

²⁵⁹ July 4, 1940 Celebration Photographs, Benson Collection at The Henry Ford, Accession 833, Box 380.

²⁶⁰ Willie Danley Binion, “Inkster, Mich. News,” *Tribune Independent*, June 29, 1935.

²⁶¹ Lindsey, 155-57.

²⁶² Lindsey, 158.



Image 26. Photographs from the Benson Ford Research Center of the July 4, 1940 celebration in Inkster. (July 4, 1940 Celebration Photographs, Benson Collection at The Henry Ford, Accession 833, Box 380)

1915 to cater to a newly formed Black middle class who were racially restricted from visiting White resorts. Idlewild's location approximately 220 miles northwest of Inkster made it an ideal weekend vacation location for Inkster residents. Black middle-class families were able to purchase lots in the resort town at varying price points, ensuring the broadest possible inclusion. There were lots available for more affluent families on the lakes or near the resort's amenities as well as lots at the fringe of the resort for less affluent families. The resort offered recreation activities, nightlife, and hosted popular rhythm-and-blues artists to perform at the Paradise Club which was constructed at the resort in 1923.²⁶³ Idlewild's attendance peaked in 1959 and slowly declined until the resort was all but extinct by 1970. It is possible Black Inkster residents belonged to other local resorts catering to the Black community, such as Woodland Park, although scant documentation exists to confirm this.

Multiple residents within the bounds of the survey areas were property owners at Idlewild, including Velma Richardson at 26630 Andover, Marie Jackson at 3658 Springhill, and Freddie G. Bishop at 2780 Springhill. Additional Inkster residents with houses outside of the survey bounds also owned property in Idlewild including Robert R. Sims at 27095 Colgate and Alfred and Bertha Everett at 26669 Kitch. The Everetts owned three entire properties at the resort.²⁶⁴

The Sounds, Sights, and Media of Black Inkster

Inkster's Black community was connected to nearby Black communities in southeast Michigan through social gatherings, radio, and newspapers. From approximately 1936 through 1958, assorted Inkster residents contributed writing to a column variously entitled "Inkster Jottings" or "Inkster Happenings" for the Saturday edition of the *Detroit Tribune*.²⁶⁵ Willie Mary Binion was a longtime writer of Inkster's column and lived within the community at 3282 Isabelle.²⁶⁶ The column described notable visitors to Inkster where they were from and social events of the previous week, often reciting those in attendance and the meals enjoyed by attendees.²⁶⁷ Other Black communities in southeast Michigan such as Ecorse, Detroit's Conant Gardens, Roseville, and Saginaw, contributed a weekly column as well.²⁶⁸ Journalist Leanna Hicks wrote a long-running column "Inkster Hi-Lites" in the *Michigan Chronicle* which also provided news from Inkster to a wider Michigan audience. Hicks' "Inkster Hi-Lites" column ran from the late 1940s to the early 1960s. The *Detroit Tribune* was an African American newspaper based in Detroit featuring news concerning Inkster. For a brief period, there was a Black-owned newspaper titled *The Inkster Voice*, owned by Frank Seymore. It is unclear when Seymore's newspaper began operating and how long it was in operation.²⁶⁹

²⁶³ Lawrence Finfer, "Idlewild Historic District," National Park Service, National Register of Historic Places, 1978.

²⁶⁴ Finfer, "Idlewild Historic District."

²⁶⁵ Willie Mary Binion, "Inkster, Michigan," *Detroit Tribune*, May 23, 1936; Brenda Joyce, "Inkster Happenings," *Detroit Tribune*, May 10, 1958.

²⁶⁶ US Census Bureau, *Sixteenth Census of the United States*, US Federal Census, population schedule, Inkster, Wayne County, Michigan, 1940, Ancestry.com.

²⁶⁷ "Inkster News," *Detroit Tribune*, March 21, 1936; Willie Mary Binion, "Inkster Jottings," *Detroit Tribune*, November 23, 1940.

²⁶⁸ Willie Mary Binion, "Inkster Jottings," *Detroit Tribune*, August 19, 1939.

²⁶⁹ Lindsey, 225.

Inkster was also home to the first African American owned radio stations built from the ground up in the United States— station WCHB-AM located on Henry Ruff Road and founded in 1956.²⁷⁰ The station was located in Inkster as the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) denied the initial request for a Detroit-based broadcast license as there were already a number of stations located there. The station was owned by **Wendell Cox** and **Haley Bell** (hence the call initials WCHB) and anchored by two Black disc jockeys, **Larry Dean** and **Joe Howard**.²⁷¹ By 1958, the station offered a kid’s program titled “Teeny Weeny Time” – the only radio program in metro Detroit catering to children at that time.²⁷² According to Reverend Willie Cooper—Cooper is the host of “The Gospel Experience” show on WMKM 1440 AM on Sundays—WCHB has a rich history of promoting Black musicians in Detroit and southeast Michigan. Reverend Cooper indicated that WCHB was partially responsible for Motown’s success as they played Motown artists along with other R&B and Blues artists.²⁷³

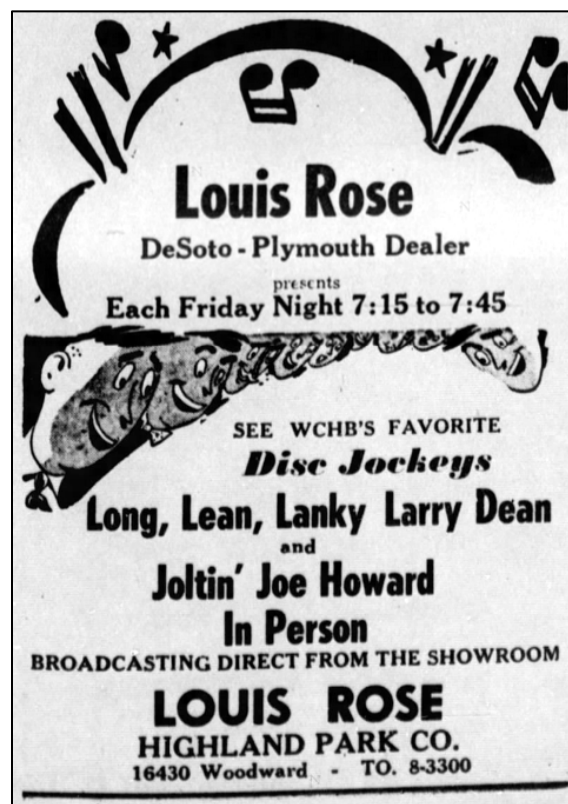


Image 27. Advertisement for WCHB’s disc jockeys, who broadcast from Louis Rose in Highland Park on Friday nights. (“Louis Rose: DeSoto – Plymouth Dealer,” advertisement, *Detroit Tribune*, May 25, 1957)

²⁷⁰ Lindsey, 221-22; Kristy Case, “Q&A with Allison Salcido — Preserving the Legacy of the First Black-owned Radio Station Built from the Ground Up,” June 6, 2022, accessed December 23, 2022; [https://gradschool.wayne.edu/news/qa-with-alum-allison-salcido-preserving-the-legacy-of-the-first-black-owned-radio-station-built-from-the-ground-up-47944#:~:text=I%20want%20to%20point%20out,station%20in%20the%20United%20States.&text=The%20station%20WCHB%20DAM%20\(1440,Wendell%20Cox%20and%20Haley%20Bell](https://gradschool.wayne.edu/news/qa-with-alum-allison-salcido-preserving-the-legacy-of-the-first-black-owned-radio-station-built-from-the-ground-up-47944#:~:text=I%20want%20to%20point%20out,station%20in%20the%20United%20States.&text=The%20station%20WCHB%20DAM%20(1440,Wendell%20Cox%20and%20Haley%20Bell).

²⁷¹ “For And About the Family,” *Detroit Tribune*, June 1, 1957; Kristy Case, “Q&A with Allison Salcido — Preserving the Legacy of the First Black-owned Radio Station Built from the Ground Up,” June 6, 2022, accessed December 23, 2022.

²⁷² “WCHB’s Trudy Haynes Tops with Tots,” *Detroit Tribune*, February 15, 1958.

²⁷³ Reverend Willie Cooper, oral history by Cassandra Talley, Cardboard City Reunion, Inkster, Michigan, September 10, 2022.

Inkster also had several well-known lounges and clubs that hosted musicians and other entertainers. The Capri Lounge opened in 1954 at 3736 Inkster Road.²⁷⁴ It boasted an “Island Room” and hosted music and dancing. The popular lounge was owned by William H. Taylor, known by his friends as “Dub,” who was a commissioner on the Inkster Housing Commission in the late 1950s.²⁷⁵ In 1965, Taylor opened the Caprice Motel next door to the lounge at 3748 Inkster.²⁷⁶ Club Vogue, located at 4042 Middlebelt, was another popular establishment in southwest Inkster. The *Wayne County Review* reported that Duke Ellington played at the club in February of 1946.²⁷⁷



Image 28. May 7, 1949, advertisement for Club Vogue in the *Michigan Chronicle*. (“Club Vogue,” advertisement, *Michigan Chronicle*, May 7, 1949)

²⁷⁴ “For Night-lifers Only...” *Michigan Chronicle*, January 30, 1954.

²⁷⁵ “Capri Lounge Setting for Four Hundred Study Club,” *Michigan Chronicle*, November 21, 1959; “Success and Achievement—That’s The Inkster Story!” *Michigan Chronicle*, March 7, 1959; “Businessman ‘Dub’ Taylor Is Mourned,” *Michigan Chronicle*, December 16, 1967.

²⁷⁶ “Caprice Motel Grand Opening Attracts Throng,” *Michigan Chronicle*, January 23, 1965.

²⁷⁷ “Southwest Inkster,” *Wayne County Review*, March 1, 1946.

Social Life at the Carver Homes

The large Carver Homes project appears to have been the center of much of the social activity for the southwest quadrant of Inkster, particularly during the war years. Upon opening, the Carver Homes offered a clinic, library, recreational and religious facilities, and an administration building located on Middlebelt Road. The Carver Homes project had its own school, the Carver School, which hosted children from both the Carver Homes and the surrounding residential area. Additionally, the housing complex featured a Co-op supermarket, The Carver Consumer Cooperative Super Market. The Co-op opened in 1945 and was advertised as the largest cooperative market in the area.²⁷⁸ Beyond the cooperative market, the Carver Homes featured a shopping center. Although the survey team has been unable to determine where the shopping center was located, it included a drug store among other offerings.²⁷⁹ Given the large size of the complex, it seems that smaller social groups developed for individual streets and courts within the housing complex. For example, the *Michigan Chronicle* published a weekly column entitled “Durand Court News” which shared the social happenings of the Carver Homes residents who lived on Durand Court.²⁸⁰



Image 29. The former Carver Homes administration building, now the Floyd B. Simmons Multi-Purpose Center at 29150 Carlisle. (Kraemer Design Group 2023)

²⁷⁸ “Announcement: The Carver Consumer Cooperative,” *Detroit Tribune*, February 3, 1945.

²⁷⁹ “New Venture Launched,” *Michigan Chronicle*, February 24, 1945.

²⁸⁰ “Durand Court News,” *Michigan Chronicle*, April 21, 1945.

The primary recreation facility for Black residents in Inkster was associated with the Carver Homes. The facility sat on Harrison Street and offered a variety of activities to both Carver Homes residents and other Black residents of the area. These activities included dances, bridge, Sunday school, volunteer protective patrol, movies, and study programs for adults.²⁸¹ While the program thrived in the early 1940s and proved more successful than the White counterpart, the Westwood recreation facility, its success did not last long. By the late 1940s the complex had fallen into disrepair as the federal government, anticipating the transferring ownership of the complex to local authorities and private individuals, decreased funding for the complex.²⁸² Further, the playfield and the housing units in general were described as unkempt and in poor condition – with one article stating children had to “dodge weeds almost as tall as themselves” in the play.²⁸³

Education

Although there are no extant schools located in the targeted survey areas, there are multiple former schools which serviced the children living in the houses and housing developments surveyed. Inkster Public Schools were formally dissolved in 2013 and students living in the survey area now attend adjacent school districts – Westwood, Taylor, Romulus, or Wayne-Westland.²⁸⁴ The Inkster school district closed due to a large financial deficit, something the schools had been struggling with for nearly half a century. A 1967 editorial from the Superintendent of Schools in Inkster noted that the public schools were “near financial collapse” with public funding for each pupil in Inkster amounting to \$5,215 per child while nearby Dearborn had \$34,702 per child and Ecorse had \$31,776.²⁸⁵ Any of the historic school buildings in the survey bounds still extant in 2013 have since been demolished.

During the years of the Ford-Inkster Project, Ford built several schools in Inkster. Ernest Liebold, Henry Ford’s business representative and personal secretary, was responsible for the building of the schools. Regarding the location of these Ford-funded Inkster schools, Liebold stated “we wanted to confine these Negroes to the area in which they lived.”²⁸⁶ Unfortunately, this type of *de facto* segregation was the common practice in the metro Detroit area during the first half of the 20th Century though segregation in Michigan schools had been outlawed as a result of the lawsuit *Workman v. Detroit Board of Education* in 1869. The Inkster schools were all constructed by Ford in the in the southwest quadrant of the city, the area south of Michigan Avenue and west of Inkster Road where the majority Black population lived.

One of the schools constructed under Ford was Lincoln Elementary School. The school was a long, low, one-story wood frame building located at Walnut and Beech streets. Based on a 1935

²⁸¹ “Willow Run Housing Project Nears Completion,” *Detroit Free Press*, September 26, 1943.

²⁸² Roy W. Stephens, “Carver Homes---A Paradox of Beauty, Littered Rods and Something Called Disposition,” *Michigan Chronicle*, October 8, 1949.

²⁸³ “Carver Homes – A Paradox of Beauty, Littered Roads and Something Called Disposition,” *Michigan Chronicle*, October 8, 1949.

²⁸⁴ Brian Smith, “Inkster Schools First to be Dissolved; Students Split Across 4 Districts,” *MLive*, July 26, 2013.

²⁸⁵ “Inkster Schools “Near Collapse,” *Michigan Chronicle*, October 7, 1967.

²⁸⁶ Hund, Krikler, and Roediger, 207-08.

photograph of the school, each school room appeared to have a door to access the exterior of the building and the classrooms were lined with wood frame 6-over-6 single hung windows.²⁸⁷ The



Image 31. Lincoln Elementary School. (“Inkster Grade School,” Benson Collection at The Henry Ford, Accession 55, Box 125)

school had wood siding with an asphalt roof. In 1936, a tree was planted on the school yards and dedicated to Henry Ford for his work with the Black residents of Inkster.²⁸⁸ The tree was planted as a symbol of the City’s appreciation for Ford’s generosity in funding improvements and schools. Based on aerial photographs, the school it was demolished sometime between 1952 and 1956. The site of the former Lincoln School is currently a grass covered vacant lot, and a large tree still stands near the sidewalk fronting Walnut Street. It is possible, although without any archival evidence at present, that this is the tree which was dedicated to Ford.

In 1934, one of the schools built by Henry Ford was destroyed in a fire. The school, known as District No. 7 School, was located on Walnut Street and had been constructed in October 1933. The fire appeared to be arson as gasoline cans, clothes saturated in gasoline, and paper were found in the building.²⁸⁹ The exact name and location of this school has not been determined.

²⁸⁷ “Lincoln School – at Noon” photograph, September 1935, Benson Collection at The Henry Ford, Accession 285, Box 1903, Folder 363-111.

²⁸⁸ “Ex-Governor Bruckner to Speak,” *Detroit Tribune*, May 9, 1936.

²⁸⁹ “School Set Ablaze; Was Gift of Ford,” *Detroit Free Press*, August 11, 1934.

Growth in Inkster's schools during the 1940s was marked: students numbered 607 students in 1943 to 2,000 by 1946.²⁹⁰ Conditions in the Inkster schools during the early 1940s prompted 1,000 students to stage a strike to protest the high teacher turnover and lack of adequate facilities and classes.²⁹¹ The academic training that Black students received in the Inkster school system was not geared toward academic work but rather was vocational in nature, a common complaint by Black students in Detroit city schools as well. Larry Spencer, who grew up in Cardboard City, recounted that as a young student he would arrive at school every day to find six or seven objects sitting on the desk. Students were required to put the objects in a particular order. This type of systems training, Mr. Spencer recounts, had been devised by the Ford Motor Company for implementation in Inkster's elementary schools in order to prepare students to work on the assembly line.²⁹²

In January of 1944, Carver School opened to serve children living in the George Washington Carver Defense Homes project. The school was oriented north-south along Irene Street bounded by Carlisle Street and Durand Court. A school for the children of Black war workers, the building was named for Dr. George Washington Carver, the Black inventor who was working with Ford on the creation of new products from agricultural resources, and was dedicated during National Negro History Week in February 1944.²⁹³ Around 720 students were enrolled when the school opened, servicing students through the eighth grade. An *Inkster Journal* article describes the school as being "constructed of cinder blocks, gray on the outside and finished in many different colors and beautifully blended shades on the inside. The ceilings are of insulated tile and the floors are of mastic tile. Globe type lighting illuminates the building. An immense playground with enclosures was provided for the smaller children."²⁹⁴ It appears the new and attractive building drew students away from the Lincoln School – over two hundred sixty-three students transferred from the Lincoln School to Carver upon its opening.²⁹⁵ Formerly overburdened teachers at the Lincoln School were able to begin 1944 with more manageable class sizes due to the decreased student population.²⁹⁶ The Carver School offered a combination auditorium and gymnasium which was open to the public in the evening beyond being in use by the students during the school day. The school also had a preschool and daycare center run by a team of 7 nurses to assist war worker parents.²⁹⁷

The Carver School was demolished in the late 1980s or early 1990s and subsequently replaced by Baylor-Woodson Elementary School located at 28865 Carlisle Street, adjacent to where the Carver School once sat. The present school building was constructed circa 1997 and redesignated

²⁹⁰ "Inkster School System Is Accommodating Three Times The Student Load of 1943," *Michigan Chronicle*, December 28, 1946.

²⁹¹ John Wood, "The Inside Story of the Inkster High School Strike," *Michigan Chronicle*, February 6, 1943.

²⁹² Larry Richard Spencer, oral history by Cassandra Talley, Cardboard City Reunion, Inkster, Michigan, September 10, 2022.

²⁹³ "School Dedicated," *Inkster Journal*, February 25, 1944.

²⁹⁴ "New Carver School Opens Next Month," *Inkster Journal*, January 7, 1944.

²⁹⁵ "Carver School Opens," *Inkster Journal*, January 21, 1944.

²⁹⁶ "Lincoln School Losses," *Inkster Journal*, January 21, 1944.

²⁹⁷ "Carver Program Sunday," *Inkster Journal*, February 18, 1944.

as the Burger Baylor School for Students with Autism and is technically situated in the Garden City School District.²⁹⁸

The children who lived in the Lemoyne Gardens public housing complex attended Woodson Elementary School and Fellrath Middle School. Woodson Elementary was located at 29665 Pine Street and was constructed in 1950. The building was a long, low, one-story school building with a flat roof and is built of cinder blocks.²⁹⁹ The school operated until 2012 when it closed, and the students were relocated to the newly constructed Baylor-Woodson Elementary School. Woodson Elementary School was demolished in circa 2018 and the land is currently vacant.

Baylor-Woodson Elementary School received nation-wide attention as one of four schools to win the “Dispelling the Myth” award from the Education Trust in 2012. The school had a 98% African American student population and 86% of students were on the free or reduced-price lunch program yet the students performed above average on the Michigan Educational Assessment Tests (MEAP), performing in many subject areas just as well as the predominately White and affluent students at the nearby Northville school district.³⁰⁰ Baylor-Woodson Elementary operated until 2014 when it became Burger Baylor School for Students with Autism.

Fellrath Middle School, later named Inkster Vocational Academy, was located at 39193 Beech Street and was demolished in 2015. The school sat at the corner of Northland Avenue and Beech Streets, in the area of the George Washington Carver Defense Homes and just north of the former Carver School.

Inkster High School was located on Middlebelt Road just south of Michigan Avenue. Built in 1952, aerial photos from the mid-century show that it was a substantially sized building and had a large running track beside it.³⁰¹ In the early 2000s, Inkster Public Schools faced a debt crisis, and was eventually dissolved by the State of Michigan in 2013.³⁰² The school was majority Black students with 99% of the student body being non-White prior to the school’s closing.³⁰³ As the high school was no longer in use, the building was demolished shortly thereafter. Inkster High School was prized by Inksterites and nearly every oral history interviewee remembered it fondly. Even today, residents of Inkster spoke passionately about their school district and the importance of Inkster High School to their sense of community.

²⁹⁸ “History of Woodson Elementary School in Inkster, Michigan Explored,” Mixerr Reviews, December 31, 2018, <http://mixerrreviews.blogspot.com/2018/12/history-of-woodson-elementary-school-in.html?m=1>; Wayne State University, “DTE Aerial Photo Collection,” Detroit Edison, 1997; “28865 Carlisle,” Historic Aerials, 1983, accessed October 19, 2022, <https://www.historicaerials.com/viewer>.

²⁹⁹ “29665 Pine Street,” Google Street View, August 2018.

³⁰⁰ Amy Kuras, “Baylor-Woodson: Dispelling the Myth that Public Schools Can’t Improve,” *Michigan Night Light*, May 8, 2012.

³⁰¹ Wayne State University, “DTE Aerial Photo Collection,” Detroit Edison, 1952.

³⁰² Lori Higgins, “Inkster Alumni Seek to Turn Loss of District into Pride,” *Detroit Free Press*, April 11, 2015.

³⁰³ “Inkster High School,” Public School Review, Accessed April 27, 2023, <https://www.publicschoolreview.com/inkster-high-school-profile>



Image 32. Inkster High School. (Photograph of Inkster High School, from the collection of DeArtriss Richardson, *Detroit Free Press*, April 11, 2015)

Architecture

Non-Residential

While the southwest quadrant of Inkster is predominately residential there is a commercial corridor along Harrison Street, between Andover and Cherry, and multiple churches within the neighborhood. Commercial structures along Harrison generally adhere to a few specific forms, as the buildings surveyed are predominately one or two stories. The commercial structures largely date from the early- to mid-twentieth century and are clad in brick veneer and constructed of concrete block. Large expanses of the façade are (or were) dedicated to windows and nearly all examples have flat roofs surrounded by parapets.

Many of the religious buildings in the survey area date to the mid-twentieth century and exhibit Modern features. Congregations largely formed in the 1920s and 1930s, and often worshipped in the homes of members, and in one instance, worshipped in Inkster High School. It was not until the mid-twentieth century as the Black population in the neighborhood expanded and congregations matured that new churches were constructed. Most church buildings in the survey area date to 1950-1970.

Commercial

The majority of commercial buildings along Harrison were built in the mid-1940s through the early 1950s, after the period that the Ford Motor Company had provided financial support to the community. Commercial architecture identification is largely based on façade patterns, such as distinguishing between one-part and two-part commercial blocks, which are the forms most

prevalent in the Harrison commercial corridor. A commercial building's façade is usually the most detailed elevation, as it is what prospective customers first see. On Harrison Street, the façades are often clad in brick veneer over concrete block, which is visible on the side elevations. The commercial buildings once had expansive windows which allowed customers to see into the commercial space, and although most have been infilled, their size and arrangement on the façade are still visible.



Image 33. At left is the commercial building at 3829 Harrison, at right is the commercial buildings at 3621-3625 Harrison. (Kraemer Design Group 2022)

Modern Movement

Modern architecture is characterized by an emphasis on form and a lack of ornament. There is debate about the precise start and end dates of the Modern Movement but in America it can be agreed it was at its peak popularity from about 1925-1970. There were no high style Modern churches identified in the survey, but multiple churches evoke Modern characteristics. One example is Climbing Jacob's Ladder International Ministries at 3844 Harrison. The overall form of the church is a simple, yet large, front gable with a subtle prow shape and eaves with variable overhangs. Vertical strips of stained-glass windows are arranged on the façade.



Image 34. At left is Climbing Jacob's Ladder International Ministries at 3844 Harrison. At right is Faithway Ministries at 3100 Harrison. (Kraemer Design Group 2022)

Residential

Folk National

Folk style is one of the earliest architecture styles and has multiple subtypes including Native American, Pre-Railroad, and National. Unlike other architectural styles which were the product of changing taste and fashion, Folk houses exhibit little architectural decoration and are often simple dwellings devoid of stylistic ornament, built with little regard to popular fashions or taste. Folk style architecture often uses locally sourced materials, particularly in the Native American and Pre-Railroad subtypes where sourcing materials from a distance was often not feasible.

Folk National houses proliferated in the railroad era, beginning in the 1850s, when mass-produced material required for balloon framing and wood clapboard became easily transported nationally. Folk National houses lack ornament, are often clad in wood siding, and are front gabled, upright and wing, or I-house in form. Examples of Folk National style are found throughout the survey area, especially the front gable type, and are generally characterized by their small footprint, lack of ornamentation, and adherence to simple vernacular forms.



Image 41. At left is the house located at 3768 Isabelle. At right is the house located at 3324 Springhill. (Kraemer Design Group 2022)

Tudor Revival

Tudor Revival style was popularized from 1890-1940 and is characterized by steeply pitched gable roofs, often with a front facing gable on the primary façade, and by the use of decorative half-timbering, archways, limestone trim and sills, and tall, narrow windows. Decorative Tudor Revival buildings may also have chimneys featuring decorative brickwork and chimney pots, eaves with sweeping curves, leaded glass windows, and decorative vergeboards. The few examples of Tudor Revival style architecture on residential houses in the southwest quadrant of Inkster tend to be rather vernacular with minimal ornament.



Image 39. At left is the house at 3586 Allen. At right is the house at 3239 Walnut. (Kraemer Design Group 2022)

Colonial Revival

Colonial Revival was inspired by the 1876 Philadelphia Centennial event celebrating the centennial of America’s independence. There are few examples of Colonial Revival style houses in the survey areas and those which exist are mid-twentieth century interpretations of the style. This revival style represented to some a romanticized look back to the colonial period and a renewed patriotism in the nation.³⁰⁴ The Colonial Revival style is often applied to I-plan or rectangular footprint houses with hipped or side gabled roofs. The entryways are often centered on the primary façade of the house and accentuated with pilasters and broken triangular and segmental pediments and fanlights or sidelights. Some more elaborate Colonial Revival houses also feature denticulated cornices. There are few examples of Colonial Revival style houses in the proposed Dancy-Ford Residential Historic District. Most are vernacular interpretations of the style with minimal decoration.



Image 38. At left is the house at 4006-4008 Durand Court. At right is the house at 27061 Stanford. (Kraemer Design Group 2022)

³⁰⁴ Tom Paradis, “Architectural Styles of America and Europe,” [ArchitectureStyles.org](https://architecturestyles.org/colonial-revival/), accessed November 11, 2021, <https://architecturestyles.org/colonial-revival/>.

Craftsman

There are a significant number of Craftsman style houses in the proposed Dancy-Ford Residential Historic District, likely due to the popularity of the style when many of these houses were rehabilitated or constructed between 1910 and 1930. In Inkster, most Craftsman style houses are small, one-and-a-half story bungalows with pyramid or low, gabled roofs. They often have a centered dormer on the front façade. Clad in various materials such as brick veneer, stone veneer, or clapboard, distinctive features of the style are exposed rafter tails, decorative false beams, and or brackets under the gables. Craftsman style houses typically have deep covered porches supported by battered piers or simple square columns, resting on masonry bases. Ribbon windows are commonly used and tend to be double hung with divided lites in a 6-over-1 or 3-over-1 configurations. Many of the porches on the Craftsman style houses found in Inkster have been enclosed.



Image 36. At left is the house at 3230 Spruce. At right is the house at 3752 Harrison. (Kraemer Design Group 2022)

Minimal Traditional

The Minimal Traditional style originated in the midst of the Great Depression and the popularity of the style soared through World War II and the post-war era as more and more Americans desired to become homeowners to satisfy the “American Dream.” The Minimal Traditional style was most popular between 1935-1950 and its qualities and characteristics are largely shaped by material released by the Federal Housing Administration (FHA) during that time. Constructed of mass-produced materials by developers following establishment of the FHA, Minimal Traditional houses have small footprints and are often one-story. Stylistic details are kept to a minimum. The house is often side gabled and occasionally has a front facing gable detail on the primary façade. Many are constructed atop concrete block foundations and are clad in aluminum siding or brick veneer. Some of the houses in the bounds of the Dancy-Ford Residential Historic District are Minimal Traditional in style with simple forms and small footprints.

The qualities and characteristics of this style were largely shaped by the need to reduce construction costs during the Depression. The style was also commonly used for defense housing to meet the restrictions placed on building materials during World War II. After the war, the continued construction of these small houses was encouraged by the FHA to meet the post-war housing shortage.



Image 37. At left is the house at 3620 Allen. At right is the house at 27011 Lehigh. (Kraemer Design Group 2022)

Ranch

Use of the Ranch style in the metro Detroit, emerged in the midst of the Great Depression and gained immense popularity during World War II and the postwar years. By the 1960s, Ranch houses with larger footprints on bigger lots were popular and remained so through the 1970s. The Ranch style is characterized by its long, low forms often with side gabled or cross gabled roofs. They often have moderate eave overhangs and may feature large, fixed picture windows or windows designed for maximizing cross ventilation such as jalousie, awning, or hopper windows. Early Ranch houses found in southeast Michigan were typically smaller, two or three bedrooms, and clad in brick. Postwar Ranch style houses often have multiple cladding styles such as siding, brick, and stone and may incorporate garages into the core block of the house or connect to a garage via a breezeway. Most commonly they have details or features related to the Colonial Revival or California Contemporary styles. Ranch houses are found in the proposed Watsonia Park Subdivision No. 2 Residential Historic District. The houses in this proposed district tend to be sprawling brick ranches and many also take on Modern style characteristics and details.



Image 35. At left is the house at 26743 Stanford. At right is the house at 26775 Lehigh. (Kraemer Design Group 2022)

Modern Movement and Contemporary

Modern and Contemporary architecture are characterized by an emphasis on form and a lack of ornament. There is debate about the precise start and end dates of the Modern Movement but in America it can be agreed it was at its peak popularity from about 1925-1970. A few of the public housing complexes in the survey area are a vernacular interpretation of the Modern style. One example of a Modern style housing complex in the survey area is the Canterbury Estates, located on Harriet Street between Pine Street and Annapolis Avenue, and designed by Nathan Johnson.³⁰⁵ This complex has formalist roots and takes on a repetitive diamond shaped building footprint. Many of the ranch houses in the proposed Watsonia Park Subdivision No. 2 Residential Historic District also take on Contemporary style details including the use of widely overhanging eaves and tall, narrow windows arranged in unique fenestration patterns.



Image 40. At left is a Contemporary style house at 27155 Hopkins. At right is a Modern Movement style multi-family building in LeMoyne Gardens. (Kraemer Design Group 2022)

Survey Findings

Inkster has a substantial history that warrants further study and targeted preservation related recommendations. This section outlines both the issues that threatened some of Inkster’s historic places as well as recommendations that would help alleviate some of these threats.

Overview of Survey Recommendations

In conducting these reconnaissance level and intensive level surveys, the project team found several proposed areas within the southwest quadrant of Inkster that appear to contain cohesive sets of intact and potentially significant buildings. This section outlines major recommendations related to the project team’s findings. These areas were identified as likely meeting the eligibility criteria for the National Register of Historic Places and warrant further, reconnaissance and

³⁰⁵ Katie Kolokithas, email message to authors, October 26, 2022 and Sandra Little (Principal at Quinn Evans Architect), email message to authors, April 27, 2023.

intensive level study. The survey team recommends selecting areas and periods of significance for these districts that include broad patterns of history and a full variety of historic context areas to capture the layered history in these areas.

It is recommended that the proposed historic districts and the individual sites listed below be further studied at the intensive level as they appear to meet the eligibility criteria for inclusion in the National Register of Historic Places. There are five proposed districts and 3 buildings identified as potentially individually eligible for the National Register of Historic Places. The three potentially individually eligible properties were not surveyed as a part of this survey but further research is recommended to evaluate their eligibility. The recommendations section below discusses each proposed district in detail by providing a description, statement of significance, and a boundary rationale. Properties recommended individually eligible are described below along with a statement of significance for each property.

Preservation Issues and Threats

There are several notable preservation issues and threats the survey team observed during the course of the survey. These issues are included below with a section describing each targeted threat.

Inappropriate Modifications

Historically incompatible renovations are a preservation threat, and there are many homes in the neighborhood that have lost significant integrity due to substantial renovations that utilize incompatible materials or make incompatible exterior changes. Removal of windows, the enclosure of porches, and application of asbestos and vinyl siding are prevalent throughout the neighborhood. In the proposed Harrison Street Commercial District, the infill of historic window openings is widespread. Because natural materials like wood are common on these houses and because these natural materials require more care and attention than synthetic materials like vinyl siding, these homes are vulnerable to loss of integrity due to inappropriate modifications that either remove or cover historic material for their installation of “maintenance free” materials like vinyl and other plastics. The National Park Service has identified seven aspects of integrity and removing historic materials contributes to a loss of integrity in the categories of materials and workmanship. Historic materials give a glimpse into historic construction methods and practices of building—many of these materials and work methods are no longer available or are now prohibitively expensive making them worthy of preservation.

While products made of materials such as vinyl promise minimal upkeep, the reality is that the short lifespan and the “unfixable” nature of these synthetic materials all but ensure a cycle of replacement of these synthetic items will simply replace a cycle of maintenance that the natural materials required. Educating homeowners on the costs and benefits of replacing the historic materials found on their homes may help mitigate some of the waste (both material and monetary) associated with inappropriate modifications.

Deferred Maintenance and Demolition

Lack of maintenance and/or demolition by neglect is an issue, especially considering that the natural materials used to construct buildings in southwest Inkster (wood siding and wood windows, generally) do require a cyclical maintenance program. There were many examples of buildings in the neighborhood that were vacant, unoccupied, or appeared uninhabitable due to serious neglect issues. Common deferred maintenance issues seen in the neighborhood include broken windowpanes, peeling paint, roof and cladding material deterioration, and brick, stone, and siding damage.

Although historic resources remain in each of the proposed districts, numerous demolitions have occurred in the Dancy-Ford, Carver Homes, and Harrison Street districts. Vacant lots pepper each district, with some streets largely devoid of the housing that once existed. In Carver Homes, the distinctive horseshoe-shaped streets historically held thirty single and multi-family dwellings. Today, most of the horseshoe-shaped streets are either empty or contain a small fraction of the number of dwellings they contained historically. Harrison Street was once home to several Black-owned businesses, but many commercial buildings, especially between Carlisle and Beech, have been demolished. Notable losses include the demolition of Club 411, a beer garden, numerous locally owned restaurants and markets, and a hotel. A significant portion of homes in the Ford-Dancy district tied to Ford's involvement in the neighborhood have likewise been demolished. The Benson Library provided a list of 454 houses within the district that were documented by the Ford-Inkster Project and 152 of the houses are extant.



Image 42. On the left is a 1949 aerial photo of the southern portion of the Carver Homes. On the right is aerial imagery from 2020. (Wayne State University, "DTE Aerial Photo Collection," Detroit Edison, 1949; Wayne County, "2020 Orthoimagery," 2020)

Recognition

The significance of the neighborhoods in the southwest quadrant of Inkster largely stems from their association with the history of the Black community. The Black community navigated through the discrimination they experienced to secure housing, develop a commercial area full of locally owned businesses, and an architecturally significant middle-class neighborhood. Recognizing patterns of community development and trends in history forms a historic context

by which individual properties can better be evaluated and allows the history of Inkster to be celebrated. The significance of a historic resource can only be evaluated or judged when placed in a larger historic context or framework.

In part compounded by the issues identified above, there could be a lack of recognition that neighborhoods in Inkster are historic at all. Enhancing and promoting the unique history of the city may help combat some of the other preservation issues identified here. Considering this, the survey team has presented multiple, smaller proposed districts rather than proposing one large district to assist the city in capitalizing on the tremendous physical and historical assets present in Inkster's neighborhoods on a scale that might be more manageable.

Planning Needs and Recommendations

Local Historic Districts and Preservation Planning

The history of the southwest quadrant of Inkster is significant, and many vestiges of important eras in the city's history remain, but there are no recognized local historic districts in the city. This may stem from a lack of knowledge of the preservation programs that are available. The survey team therefore makes the recommendations described below.

Continue the surveying of the southwest quadrant or complete intensive surveys in areas that warrant such a survey, as identified in this report. To accomplish this, the city or a non-profit organization within the city can apply for grant funding through the National Park Service (NPS) to hire qualified consultants. Another option is the formation of a city sponsored committee or the organization of a group of volunteers to continue surveying and identifying buildings and sites related to Inkster's Black community. The survey will be a useful planning tool that identifies potential historic districts or properties individually eligible for the National Register of Historic Places.

The City of Inkster can adopt a local historic district ordinance and appoint a local historic district commission (HDC), thus enabling the city to apply for Certified Local Government (CLG) status. The CLG program is a NPS program administered through the State Historic Preservation Office (SHPO). Upon becoming a CLG, the city can apply for historic preservation grants that can be used to fund surveys and other preservation activities, and members of the HDC can participate in SHPO and NPS sponsored training programs. Training programs cover local preservation topics such as local historic district designation processes, preservation practices, and design reviews of proposed alterations to historic buildings. As Inkster's HDC

becomes established, members can assist in educating property owners about the importance and benefits of historic preservation. A knowledgeable HDC can advise the city on the formation of historic districts within Inkster. There are two types of historic districts—those listed in the National Register of Historic Places and those designated locally, as local historic districts. Different designations may be appropriate for different resources. Each type of designation has its own requirements and associated incentives.

Historic districts listed in the National Register of Historic Places place no restrictions on what a property owner can do to their property. It is an honorary designation. Listing in the National Register enables owners of income-producing properties within the designated district to apply for a 20% federal tax credit on rehabilitation work on the property if specific requirements are met. For instance, the rehabilitation must be considered substantial, and the work must comply with the Secretary of the Interior's *Standards for Rehabilitation*. The websites provided below can be consulted for additional information.

Federal Tax Incentives for Preserving Historic Properties, available on the National Park Service's website:

<https://www.nps.gov/subjects/taxincentives/index.htm>

Local historic districts are the second type of districts that the city can establish. The creation of local historic districts provides the city with its most powerful tool for providing legal protection to historic resources and preserving the historic character of an area against irrevocable loss. For buildings, sites, or objects within a local district, exterior work is reviewed by the HDC, which either approves or denies proposed the work based on the Secretary of Interior's *Standards for Rehabilitation* and any design guidelines guide adopted by the city. Protection and promotion of the city's architectural assets are two of the most important functions of the local HDC. Many studies have found that creating a local historic district can help to stabilize an area and as a result leads to increased property values. A 2016 study conducted by the Michigan Historic Preservation Network found that homes located in local historic districts added 12.6% to the property value as compared to non-designated properties.³⁰⁶

Local History Collection and Curation

Perhaps one of the most important and pressing recommendations identified in this survey is a recommendation to establish an organization to collect, organize, and eventually display materials related to Inkster's remarkable history. So much of the history researched for this survey report came by way of non-archived sources (conversations, oral histories, advertisements, and booklets not archived in libraries, etc.). In order to ensure the history of this community is collected and retained, it is our recommendation that steps be taken to gather these firsthand accounts and ephemeral sources before more history is lost. Inkster has no museum, historical archive, or publicly available archival materials that tell the story of this city's rich history. The Leanna Hicks Public Library does have several framed historic photos along the walls of their reading room, but, currently, this is the only tangible link to some of the history of Inkster that is now gone. In 2015 an effort was established to put together a museum to house

³⁰⁶ Edward Coulson, "Local Historic Districts and Property Values in Michigan Neighborhoods," Michigan Historic Preservation Network (2016): 23.

materials related to the Inkster School District and while this would be a good start, a museum that focuses not only on Inkster Schools but also the broader history of the community is warranted.³⁰⁷ It is recommended that a committee be formed to investigate how to begin to collect materials in order to preserve. Talking with archivists at the Library of Michigan about potential options might be a good start.

In addition to archival material held by private citizens, there are Inkster-specific resources held at the Wayne Historical Museum, the Walter Reuther Archives the Burton Collection at the Detroit Public Library, and at the Benson Archive Collection at the Henry Ford Museum. These should be identified, and a finding aid created so that information on the location of Inkster related resources is in one place. Inkster community members who hold archival material related to Inkster's history could contact these local repositories to see if they would like to hold it in an Inkster collection. It will help researchers working to tell the story of Inkster for information and archives to be collated and cohesive.

Areas for Future Reconnaissance Level Survey

Six areas were identified by the survey team during fieldwork as being potential locations for future reconnaissance level surveys. These areas, outlined below, contain religious buildings, civic buildings, and additional housing communities developed in the mid-twentieth century in southwest Inkster and may be of significance to the ethnic history of Inkster as well as the community's development patterns, pending further research and survey.

Louis Demby Terraces

The Louis Demby Terraces is a 200-unit low-income housing complex bounded by Pine Street to the north, Inkster Road to the east, Annapolis Avenue to the south, and Hickory Street to the west. The complex is currently owned and operated by the Inkster Housing Commission. The complex consists of both ranch and two-story brick townhouse style units. The primary administration building for the Inkster Housing Commission sits within the bounds of the complex at 4500 Inkster Road. Louis Demby Terraces appear to be roughly contemporaneous with the development of Lemoyne Gardens and may reveal additional context about the development of public housing in this area of Inkster should it be surveyed.

³⁰⁷ Lori Higgins, "Inkster Alumni Seek To Turn Loss Of District Into Pride," *Detroit Free Press*, April 10, 2015.



Image 43. One of the housing units in Demby Terrace. (Kraemer Design Group 2022)

Southwest Redevelopment Project

LeMoyne Gardens was constructed as a part of the broader Southwest Redevelopment Project as a part of Inkster's mid-century urban renewal efforts. The project gained approval in spring of 1958 and was praised by the Chicago office of the Urban Renewal Administration for being "one of the finest in the Midwest."³⁰⁸ The area redeveloped as a part of the project was bounded by Annapolis Road to the south, the Michigan Central Railroad to the north, Henry Ruff Road to the west, and Middlebelt Road to the east. As a part of the project, a single-family neighborhood consisting of predominantly African American residents was demolished and new single-family housing was constructed in this area. The Inkster Urban Renewal Administration described the area as being "a small city slum" and consisting of "200 families [living in] 168 run-down structures of every description."³⁰⁹ Over 200 families were displaced in this process and 30% of those families were relocated to LeMoyne Gardens while the rest were forced to move out of the area or move into one of the new, single-family houses that were constructed atop their former homes. This area of single-family, brick ranch homes in the redevelopment project area, north of LeMoyne Gardens, appears to retain a high degree of integrity and is connected to the development history of the broader neighborhood and to the history of LeMoyne Gardens. Given this, it is recommended a reconnaissance survey of this area is conducted.

³⁰⁸ "Cardboard City Gone: Ambitious Renewal Project Pays Dividends," *Detroit Free Press*, October 28, 1962.

³⁰⁹ Inkster Urban Renewal Administration, "The Human Element in Urban Renewal," Southwest Redevelopment Project, [1962?].



Image 44. The Southwest Redevelopment Project included the entire neighborhood west of Middlebelt and east and north of LeMoyne Gardens. (Inkster Urban Renewal Administration, “The Human Element in Urban Renewal,” Southwest Redevelopment Project, [1962?])

Carver Subdivisions Nos. 1-4

Additional housing associated with the George Washington Carver Defense Homes were constructed in the postwar years. This includes four plats: The Carver Subdivision, platted in 1945, Carver Subdivision No. 2 platted in 1945, Carver Subdivision No. 3 platted in 1947, and Carver Subdivision No. 4 platted in 1950. These four plats collectively are bounded by Annapolis Road to the north, Middlebelt Road to the west, Irene Avenue to the east, and Hanover Boulevard to the south. This area appears to have been developed exclusively for Black veterans and consists of single-family Minimal Traditional style bungalows. The houses were developed by Elsea Realty & Investment Company. Black veterans could purchase a house in this area for \$300 down and a monthly payment of \$47 including taxes and insurance.³¹⁰ The houses were described as “bungalow and Cape Cod types with two bedrooms on the first floor and two unfinished bedrooms on the second floor. Tile baths, oil heat and plastered walls are features.”³¹¹ In a November 1949 *Detroit News* article, 4705 Middlebelt Road is advertised as the model home and in March 1950, 29080 Powers is advertised as the model home.³¹² Many of these houses are still extant and appear to be in good condition. Because these houses were developed as a continuation of the George Washington Carver Defense Homes and are a continuation of the story of Black defense workers in Inkster, it is recommended that a reconnaissance level survey be conducted of this area.

³¹⁰ “Part of Inkster Project Exclusively for Negroes,” *Detroit News*, November 18, 1949.

³¹¹ “Part of Inkster Project Exclusively for Negroes,” *Detroit News*, November 18, 1949.

³¹² “Inkster,” *Detroit News*, November 18, 1949 and “Inkster,” *Detroit News*, March 19 1950.

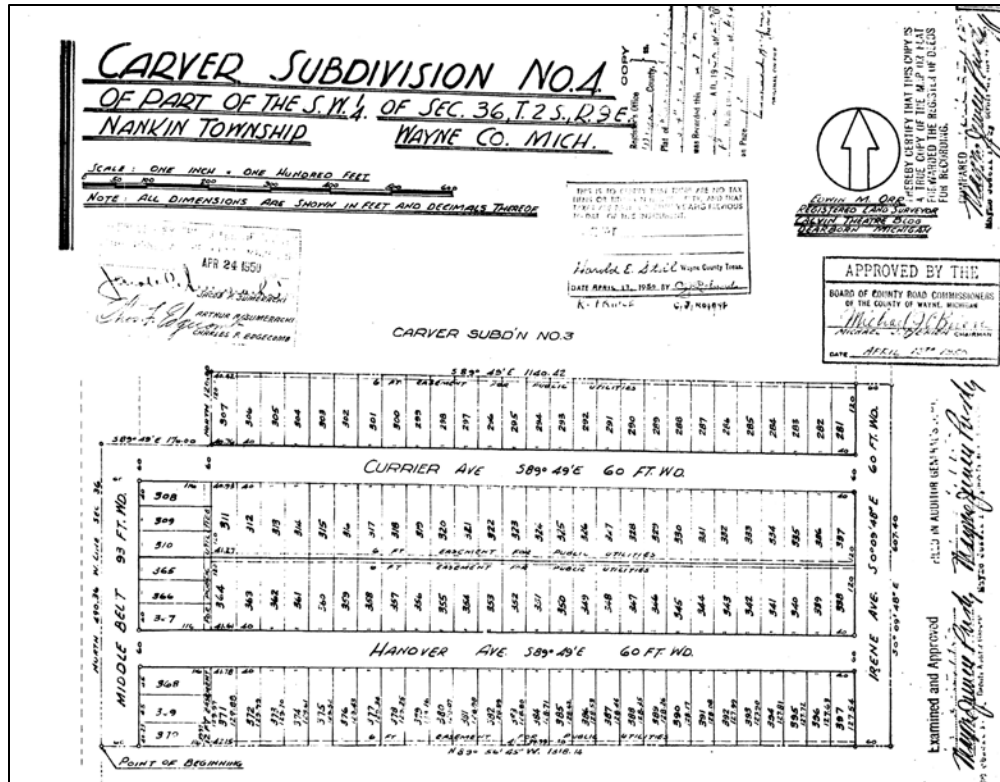


Image 45. Subdivision plat for Carver Subdivision No. 4. (“Carver Subdivision No. 4.” Subdivision Plat. 1950. Michigan Department of Licensing and Regulatory Affairs (LARA)

Carver Annex

The Carver Annex was constructed in 1944 to provide additional housing for Black defense workers in Inkster. As described in news articles, the Carver Annex consisted of 198 housing units and was built of temporary construction in a well landscaped site with gravel roads. The Annex was described as being located “on the west side of Merriman Road, directly opposite the permanent Carver Homes project.”³¹³ This description is a bit unclear as the Carver Homes project sits on Middlebelt Road and not Merriman. A reconnaissance survey should be conducted to determine the exact location of the Carver Annex and if any of the 1944 housing units are still extant.

Modern Architecture Resources

The survey team identified a number of mid-century Modern style historic resources in Inkster. Many of these are civic or institutional buildings, and one apartment building, and most are vacant or underutilized. Examples of these resources include the apartments at 4301 Harriet, designed by renowned Black architect Nathan Johnson, the educational building at the site of the First Missionary Baptist Church at 4083 Isabelle, the former Inkster City Manager’s Office at 2121 Inkster Road, and the former Inkster Public Library at 2005 Inkster Road—all striking

³¹³ “Homes in Carver Annex Are Ready; 26 Units Now Leased to War Workers,” *Inkster Journal*, September 29, 1944.

examples of Modern style buildings.³¹⁴ It is recommended that these Modern style resources in Inkster, which now meet the age requirement for listing in the National Register of Historic Places, be surveyed and documented. Preservation efforts should be made to ensure the condition of these vacant resources are upkept and that buildings can be reused in the future.



Image 46. Educational building for the Greater First Baptist Church at 4083 Isabelle (Left) and Stylus Beauty Salon at 3804 Inkster Road (Right). (Kraemer Design Group 2022)

Religious Buildings

Many churches are interspersed throughout the Dancy-Ford Residential Historic District, bounded by the Michigan Central Railroad, Inkster Road, Annapolis Road, and Irene, and most appear to be actively used. Inkster’s churches stand out architecturally and may be eligible for listing in the National Register of Historic Places under multiple criteria. St. Clement’s Episcopal Church at 4300 Harrison is one such example. The church was designed by Nathan Johnson, a renowned Black architect who designed multiple buildings throughout the Detroit area. The Prevailing Church at 27800 Annapolis is another architectural standout religious building identified while surveying. The architect is currently unknown. Churches often hold special significance to the Black community, therefore, their significance to Inkster’s Black community should be investigated through a reconnaissance level survey.



Image 47. St. Clement’s Church at 4300 Harrison, designed by Nathan Johnson. (Kraemer Design Group 2022)

³¹⁴ Katie Kolokithas, email message to authors, October 26, 2022; Nelis J. Saunders, “On 1st Anniversary: First Missionary Baptist Honors Rev. Aaron Butler,” *Michigan Chronicle*, January 7, 1967; Sandra Little (Principal at Quinn Evans Architects), email message to authors, April 27, 2023.

Areas for Future Intensive Level Survey

This reconnaissance level survey identified four potential districts eligible for the National Register. The following proposed historic districts merit further intensive level study, and their boundaries and significance are detailed below. Maps of the proposed districts may be found in Appendix A and Michigan SHPO Architectural District Identification Forms for each proposed district may be found in Appendix C. The proposed districts identified below are an attempt to distinguish the most significant areas within the southwest quadrant of Inkster but should in no way be considered the only significant areas within the city.

George Washington Carver Homes Historic District

Description

The proposed George Washington Carver Homes Historic District consists of two discrete portions of the former Carver Homes complex. This includes the area bounded by Cherry Avenue, Northland Avenue, Irene Street, and Carlisle Street as well as the properties on Durand Court. The district contains single- and multi-family defense housing, the former activity building, and a large, wooded area.

Resource Count

- 37 Total Resources
- 34 Contributing Resources
- 3 Non-Contributing Resources

Significance

Based on the information available during this reconnaissance level survey, this proposed district is recommended as eligible for listing on the National Register under Criterion A for its association with Politics/Government and Ethnic Heritage due to its origin as defense worker housing for Black employees of the Willow Run Bomber Plant during World War II. The proposed district is also eligible under Criterion C for Architecture as the buildings are illustrative of defense worker housing built during World War II. The proposed George Washington Carver Homes Historic District was built for Black employees who were denied housing at nearby white-only defense housing complexes. Relatively few buildings remain from the original George Washington Carver development, but many of the extant buildings retain a high degree of integrity, exist in dense clusters, and are still readily identifiable by their unaltered form and massing. Another defense worker housing complex, Parkridge Homes, built around the same time for Black workers at Willow Run was demolished in 2017, this is one of the few remaining defense worker housing complexes in the area. Further, the proposed district retains integrity of design and setting with the extant horseshoe shaped drives at the southern end of the district and the undulating streets at the northern end of the district. Due to a loss of integrity in portions of the historic housing complex, the boundary is proposed to include the most intact and dense areas of extant buildings related to the complex. This includes the undulating north-south oriented streets and a single horseshoe street. Additional research will be necessary to fully

understand the district’s eligibility, confirm the proposed boundary, and to determine the appropriate criterion and areas of significance for the proposed historic district. Although the proposed district no longer retains integrity in all seven aspects, it is recommended as eligible because of its vital significance to the history of Black housing in Inkster.

Boundary Rationale

The boundary of the George Washington Carver Homes Historic District is based on the observable differences between the district’s plan and housing types compared to the surrounding developments. The horseshoe shaped drives and undulating street pattern contrasts with the gridiron of neighboring development. Moreover, housing within the district is illustrative of World War II defense worker housing, which stands out from the single-family homes in the surrounding neighborhood. The portions of the historic housing complex not included in the proposed district are largely vacant and lack sufficient integrity to adequately represent the significance of the complex.

While portions of the historic housing complex lack the integrity to be considered part of the proposed historic district, the site as a whole can still be remembered and celebrated through other programs such as the Michigan State Historic Marker program.

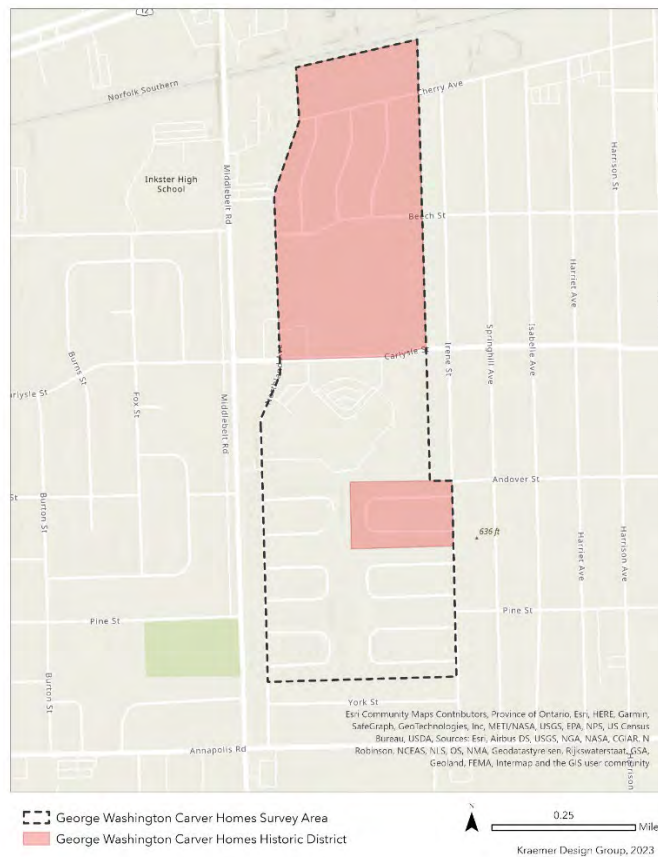


Image 48. Diagram of the proposed George Washington Carver Homes Historic District within the bounds of the former housing complex.

LeMoyne Gardens Historic District

Description

The proposed LeMoyne Gardens Historic District is irregularly shaped, and roughly bounded by Andover Street, Burton Street, Liberty Street, and Henry Ruff Road. Another section of the complex is roughly bounded by Burton Street, Meadow Circle, and Annapolis Road. The boundary of the proposed district as a whole includes LeMoyne Park—the location of the original LeMoyne Gardens buildings—and the 1959-1963 development.

Resource Count

135 Total Resources
135 Contributing Resources
0 Non-Contributing Resources

Significance

Based on the information available in this reconnaissance level survey, this district is recommended as eligible for listing on the National Register under Criterion A for its association with Community Planning and Development and Criterion C for Architecture. There have been two housing complexes formally named LeMoyne Gardens. The first LeMoyne Gardens was built in the early 1940s as a temporary defense worker housing development for African Americans. Local residents referred to the complex as Cardboard City due to the low-quality construction of the buildings. During urban renewal efforts in the 1950s all but one of the original LeMoyne Gardens buildings were demolished and the present-day complex was constructed in two sections, the first in 1959 and the second in 1963, both in the Modern style. One original building from the first LeMoyne Gardens complex is still extant and is located at the southwest corner of Pine Street and Middlebelt Road. The 1959-1963 complex is still extant and is irregularly shaped but roughly bounded by Andover Street to the north, Burton Street to the east, Annapolis Road to the south, and Henry Ruff Road to the west. The boundary of the proposed district as a whole includes LeMoyne Park—the location of the original LeMoyne Gardens buildings—and the 1959 and 1963 development. The district's significance stems from its initial use as defense worker housing for Black residents and, later, as a public housing complex for displaced residents of Inkster's urban renewal efforts. Additional research will be necessary to fully understand the district's eligibility and to determine the appropriate criterion and areas of significance for the proposed historic district.

Boundary Rationale

This boundary was devised to include all resources related to the contemporary iteration of LeMoyne Gardens and the original development. Therefore, the boundary terminates at the extent of the public housing complex, which corresponds to the description of the proposed district given above. Additional multi-family developments are located just outside the LeMoyne Gardens boundary, as are privately-owned single-family homes.

Dancy-Ford Residential Historic District

Description

The recommended Dancy-Ford Residential Historic District comprises of residential buildings within the area north of Annapolis Road, south of the Michigan Central Railroad, east of Irene Street, and west of Inkster Road. The residences are scattered throughout this area and, thus, were surveyed as a discrete list rather than all properties in the bounds being surveyed. For more information on how the sites surveyed were selected see the “Field Survey Methodology and Work Plan” section in Section I of the survey report. The houses date to the early-twentieth century.

Resource Count

205 Total Resources
185 Contributing Resources
20 Non-Contributing Resources

Significance

Based on this reconnaissance level survey, this district is recommended as significant under Criterion A for its association with Community Planning and Development and Ethnic Heritage. Secondary sources seem to indicate that in 1920, John Dancy, Executive Director of the Detroit Urban League, facilitated the development of a parcel of land south of Michigan Avenue, west of Harrison Street, and east of Middlebelt Road. These lots were subsequently marketed to African American families. As one of the few places in southeast Michigan where African Americans could buy property, this available land kickstarted a migration of Black residents to Inkster. Further intensive level research is warranted to clarify Dancy’s specific involvement in the development of this land.

Additionally, prior to World War II, the Ford Motor Company supported the construction and improvement of houses for Black families within the bounds of the proposed historic district through their Sociological Department. The Ford-Inkster project concluded in 1941 as unionization efforts expanded in Ford’s plants.

Based on this history, the proposed period of significance is 1920-1941. Additional intensive level research will be necessary to confirm Dancy’s involvement and to fully document the district’s eligibility to determine the appropriate criterion and areas of significance for a proposed historic district. The district’s integrity remains intact as housing illustrating the design, materials, and workmanship from the period of significance is still intact, the street plan and neighborhood remain as they did when the district achieved significance.

Boundary Rationale

This boundary of the proposed district was drawn to include parcels identified by the Benson Ford Collection at The Henry Ford as being built or improved with assistance by the Ford Motor Company or identified by the Wayne County GIS parcel data as being constructed between 1920-1941. The boundary was drawn to include all properties bounded by the major roads of Inkster Road and Annapolis Road as well as to terminate at significant changes in land use type including the Michigan Central Railroad to the north and Irene Street at the west which divides the residential neighborhood from the Carver Homes development.

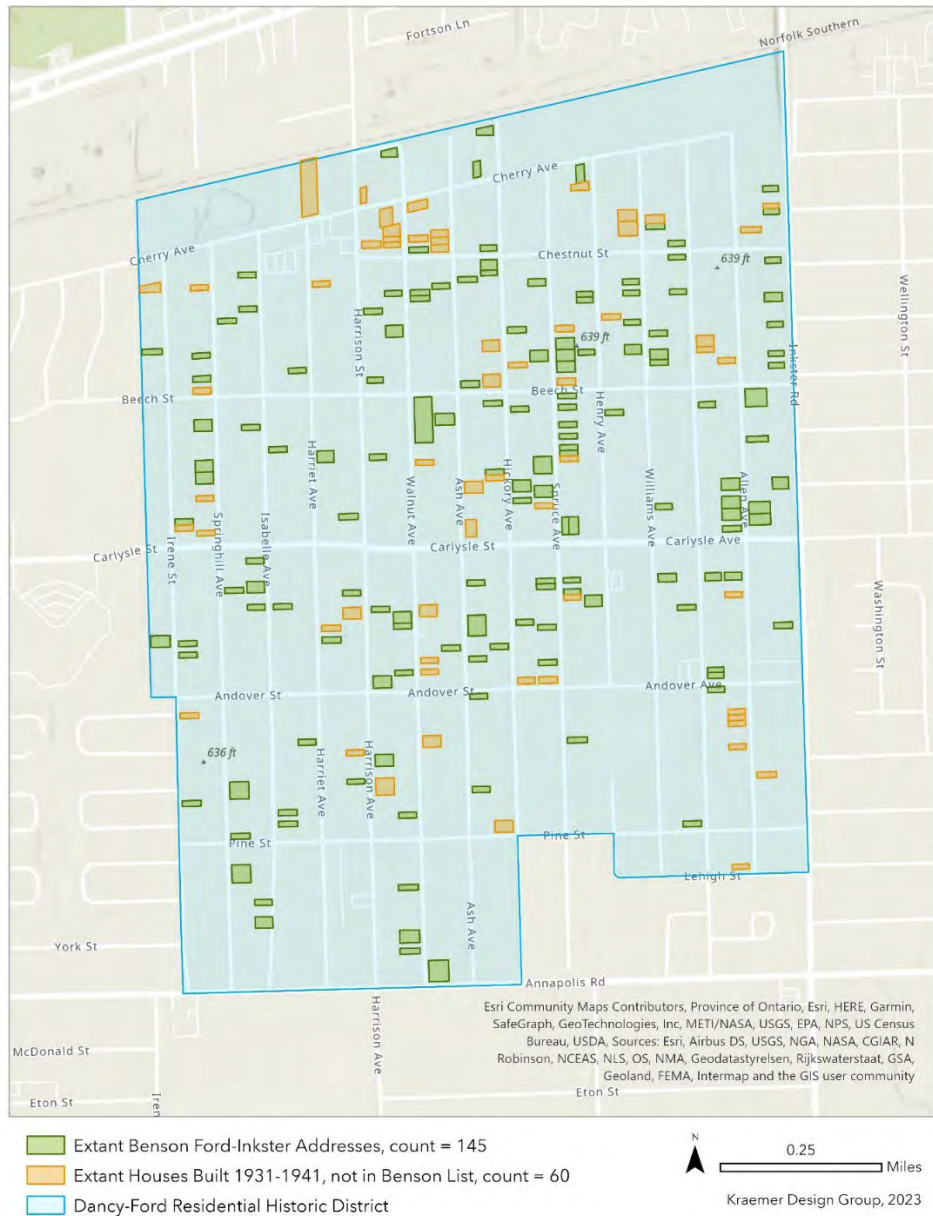


Image 49. Diagrammatic map illustrating the specific properties surveyed related to the proposed Dancy-Ford Residential Historic District.

Harrison Street Commercial District

Description

The recommended Harrison Street Commercial Historic District comprises approximately three blocks along Harrison Street from Andover Street north to Cherry Street. The commercial buildings that make up this potential district are located on both sides of Harrison Street and are predominantly small, one- and two-story buildings. There are also several important churches located in this potential district and these buildings contributed to the vibrant district that once existed on Harrison Street.

Resource Count

37 Total Resources
20 Contributing Resources
17 Non-Contributing Resources

Significance

Based on the information available in this reconnaissance level survey, this district is eligible for listing on the National Register under Criterion A for its association with Commerce and Ethnic Heritage and Criterion C for Architecture. Harrison Street, south of the Michigan Central Railroad and north of Andover Street, was a commercial thoroughfare of Black-owned businesses and churches within the proposed Dancy-Ford Residential Historic District. Business owners were oftentimes residents of the surrounding neighborhood. The placement of Ford's Depression-era commissary on Harrison near Andover Street likely provided the impetus for the development of a commercial district along Harrison in the mid-twentieth century. Restaurants, clubs, markets, barber shops, and a hotel are just some of the Black-owned businesses that were once present along Harrison. There were also several prominent Black churches on Harrison, most of which are still active and conducting services today. Additional research will be necessary to fully understand the district's eligibility and to determine the appropriate criterion and areas of significance for the proposed historic district. Although the proposed district no longer retains integrity in all seven aspects, it is recommended as eligible because of its vital significance to the history of commerce within Inkster's African American community and the intact examples of small-scale commercial and religious architecture still extant in the proposed district.

Boundary Rationale

This boundary was devised to include historic commercial and religious buildings which supported those living in this area. The boundary was drawn to capture the most structures along Harrison Street which appear to be concentrated from Andover Street north to Cherry Street. The boundary for the proposed district runs along Harrison Street, on both sides of Harrison, from Andover Street and terminates just north of Cherry Street.

Properties with Individual Significance

The thematic nature of this survey—housing—meant that many substantial architectural buildings including stores and churches were not a part of the survey. That being said, in the course of the survey work three standout buildings were discovered that appear to be both significant in terms of their architecture and because of the architect who designed them. All of these buildings are identified as potentially eligible for the National Register of Historic Places on an individual basis and merit further intensive level research. These sites generally fall into a few categories (religious buildings and Modern and Contemporary style buildings) and two of the three are confirmed to be the work of prominent African American architect Nathan Johnson.

27800 Annapolis Avenue – The Prevailing Church

The Prevailing Church is a beautifully designed mid-century Modern style church. The south and much of the east façade of the church is dominated by segmental colored glass curtain walls of windows. The long, thin windows have staggered mullions over which is laid an aluminum storm window paneling system. There is a bell tower near the north end of the church. The architect of this Modern style church is currently unknown.

4300 Harrison Street – St. Clements Episcopal Church

The St. Clements Episcopal Church is a Modern style church with a mansard roof nave with a long wing at the back which has large format aluminum windows. There is a stylized Modern style bell tower next to the covered portico over the main entrance. There is a large abstract statute of Jesus on the cross at the north side of the church. This church appears significant not only for its Modern style architecture but also because it was designed by prominent African American architect Nathan Johnson.³¹⁵

4301 Harriet Street – Canterbury West Condominiums

This unusual Contemporary style condominium building is designed around a double diamond shape which is overlaid on two hexagonal base structures which creates a covered courtyard in the center. The sharp angles of the building distinguish it from any other building in the surrounding area. This building appears significant both for its innovative Contemporary style architecture (of which there is little in Inkster) and because it was designed by prominent African American architect Nathan Johnson.³¹⁶

³¹⁵ Sandra Little (Principal at Quinn Evans Architects), email to authors, April 27, 2023. Email states Little confirmed St. Clements Episcopal Church was Johnson’s work with Johnson himself prior to his passing.

³¹⁶ Sandra Little (Principal at Quinn Evans Architects), email to authors, April 27, 2023.



Image 50. Canterbury West Condominiums at 4301 Harriet, designed by Nathan Johnson. The complex’s distinctive diamond pattern is readily identifiable from aerial imagery. (Kraemer Design Group 2022; Wayne County, “2020 Orthoimagery,” 2020)

Conclusion

The survey report and the survey inventory forms for this reconnaissance survey are intended to provide a baseline of historic analysis of African American housing in Inkster in the four discreet survey areas. The survey spanned from **March of 2022 to June of 2023** with the final deliverable delivered to the State Historic Preservation office in **July of 2023**. This survey report is not definitive but rather it is a starting point for analysis and future planning and research. The survey report, the survey inventory forms, survey photographs, archival resources, historic photographs, and the GIS shape files have been provided to the State Historic Preservation Office as a primary deliverable of this project.

As a city with a rich (and perhaps underreported) history that has made an indelible impact on the lives of thousands of residents, Inkster contains several housing developments which are both highly intact and ripe for future study and preservation planning. Further research is important as historic preservation planning efforts that are based on sound data can have significant positive economic and cultural benefits for the recipient communities. Moreover, historic preservation efforts can help build a positive local identity by recognizing the cultural heritage that makes Inkster unique. Recognizing and revitalizing historic neighborhoods which have a long history of importance to African Americans and to Inkster as a whole create a sense of place that can be a catalyst for further planning and preservation efforts. Historic preservation creates construction jobs and studies show that properties in historic districts appreciate faster than those outside of designated districts—in fact, rent data released by PlaceEconomics indicates that density is higher in historic district versus other areas of the studied cities.³¹⁷ Heritage tourism, while

³¹⁷ “Population Density in Historic Districts vs Rest of City,” PlaceEconomics, accessed February 4, 2022, <https://www.placeeconomics.com/>.

relatively new, is a burgeoning area to explore especially since Inkster's social history and architectural legacy is so rich. As the housing shortage continues, extolling the virtues of historic housing and how these buildings can help alleviate the shortage is also an area worth exploring.

With a goal of researching and documenting these four African American housing developments in Inkster the project progressed from initial research, to fieldwork, to survey analysis, to, finally, drawing conclusions from the data found and writing the survey report. This report attempts to integrate all of this information and is intended to provide a basis upon which the City of Inkster, interested citizens, and the State of Michigan can continue to build as planning progresses. It is the intent of this survey to provide recommendations for additional research and to identify areas of Inkster that would most benefit from intensive level study and future preservation planning activities, whether a National Register nomination, creation of a local historic district, or other preservation mechanisms.

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SECTION III

Index of Surveyed Properties

Street Number	Street	City	County	Year Built	Function	Style	District	Contributing/Non-contributing
3135	Allen	Inkster	Wayne	1940	Residential	Minimal Traditional	Dancy-Ford	Contributing
3342	Allen	Inkster	Wayne	1935	Residential	Minimal Traditional	Dancy-Ford	Contributing
3511	Allen	Inkster	Wayne	1922	Residential	Craftsman	Dancy-Ford	Non-contributing
3561	Allen	Inkster	Wayne	1940	Residential	Craftsman	Dancy-Ford	Contributing
3620	Allen	Inkster	Wayne	1926	Residential	Minimal Traditional	Dancy-Ford	Contributing
3634	Allen	Inkster	Wayne	1936	Residential	Craftsman	Dancy-Ford	Contributing
3647	Allen	Inkster	Wayne	1925	Residential	Craftsman	Dancy-Ford	Contributing
3656	Allen	Inkster	Wayne	1970	Residential	Ranch	Dancy-Ford	Non-contributing
3661	Allen	Inkster	Wayne	1922	Residential	Craftsman	Dancy-Ford	Contributing
3668	Allen	Inkster	Wayne	1922	Residential	Craftsman	Dancy-Ford	Contributing
3742	Allen	Inkster	Wayne	1934	Residential	Tudor Revival	Dancy-Ford	Contributing
3800	Allen	Inkster	Wayne	1940	Residential	None	Dancy-Ford	Contributing
4030	Allen	Inkster	Wayne	1940	Residential	Minimal Traditional	Dancy-Ford	Contributing
4036	Allen	Inkster	Wayne	1940	Residential	Minimal Traditional	Dancy-Ford	Contributing
4044	Allen	Inkster	Wayne	1940	Residential	Minimal Traditional	Dancy-Ford	Contributing
4066	Allen	Inkster	Wayne	1940	Residential	Minimal Traditional	Dancy-Ford	Contributing
4135	Allen	Inkster	Wayne	1941	Residential	Folk National	Dancy-Ford	Contributing
4346	Allen	Inkster	Wayne	1941	Residential	Minimal Traditional	Dancy-Ford	Contributing
30155	Andover	Inkster	Wayne	1959	Residential	Modern Movement	LeMoyne Gardens	Contributing
30281	Andover	Inkster	Wayne	1959	Residential	Modern Movement	LeMoyne Gardens	Contributing
30165-30175	Andover	Inkster	Wayne	1959	Residential	Modern Movement	LeMoyne Gardens	Contributing
30201-30231	Andover	Inkster	Wayne	1959	Residential	Modern Movement	LeMoyne Gardens	Contributing
30241-30251	Andover	Inkster	Wayne	1959	Residential	Modern Movement	LeMoyne Gardens	Contributing
30261-30271	Andover	Inkster	Wayne	1959	Residential	Modern Movement	LeMoyne Gardens	Contributing
26736	Annapolis	Inkster	Wayne	1970	Residential	Ranch	Watsonia Sub. No. 2	Contributing
26746	Annapolis	Inkster	Wayne	1957	Residential	Minimal Traditional	Watsonia Sub. No. 2	Contributing
26762	Annapolis	Inkster	Wayne	1953	Residential	Minimal Traditional	Watsonia Sub. No. 2	Contributing
26906	Annapolis	Inkster	Wayne	1971	Residential	Ranch	Watsonia Sub. No. 2	Contributing
27058	Annapolis	Inkster	Wayne	1970	Residential	Ranch	Watsonia Sub. No. 2	Contributing
27090	Annapolis	Inkster	Wayne	1972	Residential	Ranch	Watsonia Sub. No. 2	Contributing
27104	Annapolis	Inkster	Wayne	1971	Residential	Ranch	Watsonia Sub. No. 2	Contributing
28242	Annapolis	Inkster	Wayne	1929	Residential	None	Dancy-Ford	Non-contributing
3138	Ash	Inkster	Wayne	1941	Residential	Folk National	Dancy-Ford	Contributing
3148	Ash	Inkster	Wayne	1941	Residential	Folk National	Dancy-Ford	Contributing
3160	Ash	Inkster	Wayne	1941	Residential	Minimal Traditional	Dancy-Ford	Contributing
3225	Ash	Inkster	Wayne	1927	Residential	Craftsman	Dancy-Ford	Contributing
3232	Ash	Inkster	Wayne	1929	Residential	Craftsman	Dancy-Ford	Contributing
3435	Ash	Inkster	Wayne	1936	Residential	Craftsman	Dancy-Ford	Contributing
3536	Ash	Inkster	Wayne	1937	Residential	Colonial Revival	Dancy-Ford	Contributing
3605	Ash	Inkster	Wayne	1940	Residential	Folk National	Dancy-Ford	Contributing
3739	Ash	Inkster	Wayne	1938	Residential	Craftsman	Dancy-Ford	Contributing

Street Number	Street	City	County	Year Built	Function	Style	District	Contributing/Non-contributing
3817	Ash	Inkster	Wayne	1928	Residential	None	Dancy-Ford	Non-contributing
3844	Ash	Inkster	Wayne	1925	Residential	Craftsman	Dancy-Ford	Contributing
3907	Ash	Inkster	Wayne	1926	Residential	Craftsman	Dancy-Ford	Contributing
4005	Ash	Inkster	Wayne	1938	Residential	Tudor Revival	Dancy-Ford	Contributing
4129	Ash	Inkster	Wayne	1928	Residential	Craftsman	Dancy-Ford	Contributing
28862-28864	Beech	Inkster	Wayne	1943	Residential	Colonial Revival	Carver Homes	Contributing
4120	Burton	Inkster	Wayne	1959	Residential	Modern Movement	LeMoyne Gardens	Contributing
4144	Burton	Inkster	Wayne	1959	Residential	Modern Movement	LeMoyne Gardens	Contributing
4156	Burton	Inkster	Wayne	1959	Residential	Modern Movement	LeMoyne Gardens	Contributing
4176	Burton	Inkster	Wayne	1959	Residential	Modern Movement	LeMoyne Gardens	Contributing
4322	Burton	Inkster	Wayne	1959	Residential	Modern Movement	LeMoyne Gardens	Contributing
4342	Burton	Inkster	Wayne	1963	Residential	Modern Movement	LeMoyne Gardens	Contributing
4356	Burton	Inkster	Wayne	1963	Residential	Modern Movement	LeMoyne Gardens	Contributing
4509	Burton	Inkster	Wayne	1963	Residential	Modern Movement	LeMoyne Gardens	Contributing
4563	Burton	Inkster	Wayne	1963	Residential	Modern Movement	LeMoyne Gardens	Contributing
4525-4531	Burton	Inkster	Wayne	1963	Residential	Modern Movement	LeMoyne Gardens	Contributing
4543-4549	Burton	Inkster	Wayne	1963	Residential	Modern Movement	LeMoyne Gardens	Contributing
27836	Carlysle	Inkster	Wayne	1939	Residential	Prairie	Dancy-Ford	Contributing
27842	Carlysle	Inkster	Wayne	1938	Residential	Craftsman	Dancy-Ford	Contributing
28142	Carlysle	Inkster	Wayne	1940	Residential	Folk National	Dancy-Ford	Contributing
28805	Carlysle	Inkster	Wayne	1946	Commercial	None	Carver Homes	Non-contributing
29150	Carlysle	Inkster	Wayne	c.1945	Civic	Modern Movement	Carver Homes	Non-contributing
27809	Cherry	Inkster	Wayne	1935	Residential	Craftsman	Dancy-Ford	Contributing
28315	Cherry	Inkster	Wayne	1941	Residential	Minimal Traditional	Dancy-Ford	Contributing
28430	Cherry	Inkster	Wayne	c.1947	Religious	Art Deco	Harrison Commercial	Contributing
28442	Cherry	Inkster	Wayne	1939	Residential	Ranch	Dancy-Ford	Contributing
28445	Cherry	Inkster	Wayne	c.1945-1949	Religious	Tudor Revival	Harrison Commercial	Contributing
28537	Cherry	Inkster	Wayne	c.1967-1973	Religious	Modern Movement	Harrison Commercial	Contributing
28116-28122	Cherry	Inkster	Wayne	1953	Residential	None	Dancy-Ford	Contributing
28839-28843	Cherry	Inkster	Wayne	1943	Residential	Colonial Revival	Carver Homes	Contributing
4144	Crystal Court	Inkster	Wayne	1943	Residential	Ranch	None	N/A
4193	Crystal Court	Inkster	Wayne	1943	Residential	Ranch	None	N/A
4005	Durand Court	Inkster	Wayne	1943	Residential	Ranch	Carver Homes	Contributing
4054	Durand Court	Inkster	Wayne	1943	Residential	Ranch	Carver Homes	Contributing
4056	Durand Court	Inkster	Wayne	1943	Residential	Ranch	Carver Homes	Contributing
4057	Durand Court	Inkster	Wayne	1943	Residential	Ranch	Carver Homes	Contributing
4086	Durand Court	Inkster	Wayne	1943	Residential	Ranch	Carver Homes	Contributing
4093	Durand Court	Inkster	Wayne	1943	Residential	Ranch	Carver Homes	Contributing
4006-4008	Durand Court	Inkster	Wayne	1943	Residential	Colonial Revival	Carver Homes	Contributing

Street Number	Street	City	County	Year Built	Function	Style	District	Contributing/Non-contributing
4013-4019	Durand Court	Inkster	Wayne	1943	Residential	Colonial Revival	Carver Homes	Contributing
4050-4052	Durand Court	Inkster	Wayne	1943	Residential	Colonial Revival	Carver Homes	Contributing
4058-4060	Durand Court	Inkster	Wayne	1943	Residential	Colonial Revival	Carver Homes	Contributing
4066-4068	Durand Court	Inkster	Wayne	1943	Residential	Ranch	Carver Homes	Contributing
4076-4078	Durand Court	Inkster	Wayne	1943	Residential	Ranch	Carver Homes	Contributing
4090-4092	Durand Court	Inkster	Wayne	1943	Residential	Colonial Revival	Carver Homes	Contributing
3217	Harriet	Inkster	Wayne	1937	Residential	Minimal Traditional	Dancy-Ford	Contributing
3225	Harriet	Inkster	Wayne	1937	Residential	Tudor Revival	Dancy-Ford	Contributing
3406	Harriet	Inkster	Wayne	1928	Residential	Craftsman	Dancy-Ford	Contributing
3567	Harriet	Inkster	Wayne	1941	Residential	Ranch	Dancy-Ford	Contributing
3823	Harriet	Inkster	Wayne	1940	Residential	Folk National	Dancy-Ford	Contributing
3835	Harriet	Inkster	Wayne	1925	Residential	Craftsman	Dancy-Ford	Contributing
4054	Harriet	Inkster	Wayne	1927	Residential	Craftsman	Dancy-Ford	Contributing
2930	Harrison	Inkster	Wayne	1943	Residential	Folk National	Harrison Commercial	Non-contributing
2943	Harrison	Inkster	Wayne	1940	Residential	Art Deco	Dancy-Ford	Contributing
2943	Harrison	Inkster	Wayne	1940	Residential	Art Deco	Harrison Commercial	Non-contributing
3090	Harrison	Inkster	Wayne	1957	Residential	Modern Movement	Harrison Commercial	Non-contributing
3100	Harrison	Inkster	Wayne	c.1970	Religious	Modern Movement	Harrison Commercial	Contributing
3135	Harrison	Inkster	Wayne	1930	Residential	Folk National	Harrison Commercial	Non-contributing
3137	Harrison	Inkster	Wayne	1940	Residential	Tudor Revival	Dancy-Ford	Contributing
3137	Harrison	Inkster	Wayne	1940	Residential	Tudor Revival	Harrison Commercial	Non-contributing
3235	Harrison	Inkster	Wayne	1946	Commercial	Commercial	Harrison Commercial	Contributing
3240	Harrison	Inkster	Wayne	1928	Residential	Folk National	Harrison Commercial	Non-contributing
3257	Harrison	Inkster	Wayne	1940	Residential	Tudor Revival	Dancy-Ford	Contributing
3257	Harrison	Inkster	Wayne	1940	Residential	Tudor Revival	Harrison Commercial	Non-contributing
3283	Harrison	Inkster	Wayne	1944	Commercial	Art Deco	Harrison Commercial	Contributing
3289	Harrison	Inkster	Wayne	1970	Residential	Ranch	Harrison Commercial	Non-contributing
3419	Harrison	Inkster	Wayne	1930	Residential	Craftsman	Dancy-Ford	Contributing
3419	Harrison	Inkster	Wayne	1930	Commercial	Craftsman	Harrison Commercial	Contributing
3508	Harrison	Inkster	Wayne	1945	Commercial	Commercial	Harrison Commercial	Contributing
3509	Harrison	Inkster	Wayne	1967	Commercial	Modern Movement	Harrison Commercial	Contributing
3565	Harrison	Inkster	Wayne	1944	Commercial	Commercial	Harrison Commercial	Contributing
3575	Harrison	Inkster	Wayne	1944	Commercial	Commercial	Dancy-Ford	Non-contributing
3575	Harrison	Inkster	Wayne	1944	Commercial	Commercial	Harrison Commercial	Contributing
3621	Harrison	Inkster	Wayne	1951	Commercial	Commercial	Harrison Commercial	Contributing
3625	Harrison	Inkster	Wayne	c.1949	Commercial	Commercial	Harrison Commercial	Contributing
3635	Harrison	Inkster	Wayne	c.1949	Commercial	Commercial	Harrison Commercial	Contributing
3646	Harrison	Inkster	Wayne	1953	Commercial	None	Dancy-Ford	Non-contributing
3646	Harrison	Inkster	Wayne	1953	Commercial	None	Harrison Commercial	Contributing
3683	Harrison	Inkster	Wayne	1947	Commercial	Streamline Moderne	Harrison Commercial	Contributing
3710	Harrison	Inkster	Wayne	1957	Commercial	Commercial	Harrison Commercial	Non-contributing
3718	Harrison	Inkster	Wayne	1952	Commercial	Commercial	Harrison Commercial	Contributing
3752	Harrison	Inkster	Wayne	1928	Residential	Craftsman	Dancy-Ford	Contributing
3752	Harrison	Inkster	Wayne	1928	Residential	Craftsman	Harrison Commercial	Non-contributing

Street Number	Street	City	County	Year Built	Function	Style	District	Contributing/Non-contributing
3764	Harrison	Inkster	Wayne	1970	Residential	Ranch	Harrison Commercial	Non-contributing
3803	Harrison	Inkster	Wayne	1920	Residential	Craftsman	Dancy-Ford	Contributing
3803	Harrison	Inkster	Wayne	1920	Residential	Craftsman	Harrison Commercial	Non-contributing
3808	Harrison	Inkster	Wayne	1940	Residential	Craftsman	Dancy-Ford	Contributing
3808	Harrison	Inkster	Wayne	1940	Residential	Craftsman	Harrison Commercial	Non-contributing
3811	Harrison	Inkster	Wayne	1944	Residential	Tudor Revival	Harrison Commercial	Non-contributing
3829	Harrison	Inkster	Wayne	1945	Commercial	Commercial	Harrison Commercial	Contributing
3844	Harrison	Inkster	Wayne	c.1970	Religious	Modern Movement	Harrison Commercial	Contributing
3934	Harrison	Inkster	Wayne	1945	Commercial	Commercial	Harrison Commercial	Contributing
3935	Harrison	Inkster	Wayne	1924	Residential	None	Dancy-Ford	Contributing
3935	Harrison	Inkster	Wayne	1924	Residential	Folk National	Harrison Commercial	Non-contributing
4064	Harrison	Inkster	Wayne	1939	Residential	None	Dancy-Ford	Contributing
4083	Harrison	Inkster	Wayne	1970	Residential	Ranch	Dancy-Ford	Non-contributing
4110	Harrison	Inkster	Wayne	1929	Residential	Tudor Revival	Dancy-Ford	Contributing
4121	Harrison	Inkster	Wayne	1932	Residential	Craftsman	Dancy-Ford	Contributing
3103-3105	Harrison	Inkster	Wayne	1944	Residential	Colonial Revival	Harrison Commercial	Non-contributing
3117-3119	Harrison	Inkster	Wayne	1944	Residential	Colonial Revival	Harrison Commercial	Non-contributing
3026	Henry	Inkster	Wayne	1939	Residential	Colonial Revival	Dancy-Ford	Contributing
3246	Henry	Inkster	Wayne	1928	Residential	Craftsman	Dancy-Ford	Contributing
3252	Henry	Inkster	Wayne	1935	Residential	Craftsman	Dancy-Ford	Contributing
3267	Henry	Inkster	Wayne	1940	Residential	Colonial Revival	Dancy-Ford	Contributing
3336	Henry	Inkster	Wayne	1927	Residential	Craftsman	Dancy-Ford	Contributing
3525	Henry	Inkster	Wayne	1925	Residential	Craftsman	Dancy-Ford	Contributing
3746	Henry	Inkster	Wayne	1925	Residential	Folk National	Dancy-Ford	Contributing
4107	Henry Ruff	Inkster	Wayne	1959	Residential	Modern Movement	LeMoyne Gardens	Contributing
4201	Henry Ruff	Inkster	Wayne	1959	Residential	Modern Movement	LeMoyne Gardens	Contributing
4249	Henry Ruff	Inkster	Wayne	1963	Residential	Modern Movement	LeMoyne Gardens	Contributing
4263	Henry Ruff	Inkster	Wayne	1963	Residential	Modern Movement	LeMoyne Gardens	Contributing
4277	Henry Ruff	Inkster	Wayne	1963	Residential	Modern Movement	LeMoyne Gardens	Contributing
4291	Henry Ruff	Inkster	Wayne	1963	Residential	Modern Movement	LeMoyne Gardens	Contributing
4305	Henry Ruff	Inkster	Wayne	1963	Residential	Modern Movement	LeMoyne Gardens	Contributing
4349	Henry Ruff	Inkster	Wayne	1963	Residential	Modern Movement	LeMoyne Gardens	Contributing
4117-4137	Henry Ruff	Inkster	Wayne	1959	Residential	Modern Movement	LeMoyne Gardens	Contributing
4143-4159	Henry Ruff	Inkster	Wayne	1959	Residential	Modern Movement	LeMoyne Gardens	Contributing
4165-4171	Henry Ruff	Inkster	Wayne	1959	Residential	Modern Movement	LeMoyne Gardens	Contributing
4177-4185	Henry Ruff	Inkster	Wayne	1959	Residential	Modern Movement	LeMoyne Gardens	Contributing
4319-4337	Henry Ruff	Inkster	Wayne	1963	Residential	Modern Movement	LeMoyne Gardens	Contributing
2914	Hickory	Inkster	Wayne	1924	Residential	Tudor Revival	Dancy-Ford	Contributing
3180	Hickory	Inkster	Wayne	1923	Residential	None	Dancy-Ford	Non-contributing
3208	Hickory	Inkster	Wayne	1933	Residential	Minimal Traditional	Dancy-Ford	Contributing
3216	Hickory	Inkster	Wayne	1925	Residential	None	Dancy-Ford	Non-contributing
3287	Hickory	Inkster	Wayne	1946	Residential	Ranch	Dancy-Ford	Non-contributing
3404	Hickory	Inkster	Wayne	1939	Residential	Craftsman	Dancy-Ford	Contributing
3421	Hickory	Inkster	Wayne	1940	Residential	Folk National	Dancy-Ford	Contributing
3434	Hickory	Inkster	Wayne	1940	Residential	Craftsman	Dancy-Ford	Contributing
3512	Hickory	Inkster	Wayne	1930	Residential	Craftsman	Dancy-Ford	Contributing
3517	Hickory	Inkster	Wayne	1926	Residential	Craftsman	Dancy-Ford	Contributing
3590	Hickory	Inkster	Wayne	1939	Residential	Colonial Revival	Dancy-Ford	Contributing

Street Number	Street	City	County	Year Built	Function	Style	District	Contributing/Non-contributing
3600	Hickory	Inkster	Wayne	1941	Residential	Minimal Traditional	Dancy-Ford	Contributing
3617	Hickory	Inkster	Wayne	1938	Residential	None	Dancy-Ford	Non-contributing
3621	Hickory	Inkster	Wayne	1927	Residential	Colonial Revival	Dancy-Ford	Contributing
3811	Hickory	Inkster	Wayne	1930	Residential	Craftsman	Dancy-Ford	Contributing
3846	Hickory	Inkster	Wayne	1939	Residential	Craftsman	Dancy-Ford	Contributing
3935	Hickory	Inkster	Wayne	1939	Residential	Tudor Revival	Dancy-Ford	Contributing
4180	Hickory	Inkster	Wayne	1939	Residential	Tudor Revival	Dancy-Ford	Contributing
26629	Hopkins	Inkster	Wayne	1956	Residential	Ranch	Watsonia Sub. No. 2	Contributing
26640	Hopkins	Inkster	Wayne	1950	Residential	Minimal Traditional	Watsonia Sub. No. 2	Contributing
26700	Hopkins	Inkster	Wayne	1952	Residential	Ranch	Watsonia Sub. No. 2	Contributing
26701	Hopkins	Inkster	Wayne	1950	Residential	Minimal Traditional	Watsonia Sub. No. 2	Contributing
26737	Hopkins	Inkster	Wayne	1960	Residential	Ranch	Watsonia Sub. No. 2	Contributing
26742	Hopkins	Inkster	Wayne	1965	Residential	Colonial Revival	Watsonia Sub. No. 2	Contributing
26818	Hopkins	Inkster	Wayne	1962	Residential	Contemporary	Watsonia Sub. No. 2	Contributing
26825	Hopkins	Inkster	Wayne	1969	Residential	Ranch	Watsonia Sub. No. 2	Contributing
26842	Hopkins	Inkster	Wayne	1964	Residential	Ranch	Watsonia Sub. No. 2	Contributing
26855	Hopkins	Inkster	Wayne	1966	Residential	Ranch	Watsonia Sub. No. 2	Contributing
26866	Hopkins	Inkster	Wayne	1955	Residential	Ranch	Watsonia Sub. No. 2	Contributing
26897	Hopkins	Inkster	Wayne	1962	Residential	Ranch	Watsonia Sub. No. 2	Contributing
26900	Hopkins	Inkster	Wayne	1973	Residential	Contemporary	Watsonia Sub. No. 2	Contributing
26929	Hopkins	Inkster	Wayne	1975	Residential	Ranch	Watsonia Sub. No. 2	Contributing
26932	Hopkins	Inkster	Wayne	1949	Residential	Mansard	Watsonia Sub. No. 2	Contributing
26950	Hopkins	Inkster	Wayne	1963	Residential	Ranch	Watsonia Sub. No. 2	Contributing
26957	Hopkins	Inkster	Wayne	1942	Residential	Minimal Traditional	Watsonia Sub. No. 2	Contributing
26974	Hopkins	Inkster	Wayne	1970	Residential	Colonial Revival	Watsonia Sub. No. 2	Contributing
27017	Hopkins	Inkster	Wayne	c.1970	Residential	Contemporary	Watsonia Sub. No. 2	Contributing
27039	Hopkins	Inkster	Wayne	1972	Residential	Ranch	Watsonia Sub. No. 2	Contributing
27071	Hopkins	Inkster	Wayne	1950	Residential	Minimal Traditional	Watsonia Sub. No. 2	Contributing
27076	Hopkins	Inkster	Wayne	1965	Residential	Colonial Revival	Watsonia Sub. No. 2	Contributing
27106	Hopkins	Inkster	Wayne	1974	Residential	Contemporary	Watsonia Sub. No. 2	Contributing
27142	Hopkins	Inkster	Wayne	1967	Residential	Contemporary	Watsonia Sub. No. 2	Contributing
27155	Hopkins	Inkster	Wayne	1971	Residential	Contemporary	Watsonia Sub. No. 2	Contributing
27172	Hopkins	Inkster	Wayne	1966	Residential	Ranch	Watsonia Sub. No. 2	Contributing
27173	Hopkins	Inkster	Wayne	1964	Residential	Ranch	Watsonia Sub. No. 2	Contributing
27213	Hopkins	Inkster	Wayne	1950	Residential	Minimal Traditional	Watsonia Sub. No. 2	Contributing
27225	Hopkins	Inkster	Wayne	1950	Residential	Minimal Traditional	Watsonia Sub. No. 2	Contributing
27234	Hopkins	Inkster	Wayne	1973	Residential	Colonial Revival	Watsonia Sub. No. 2	Contributing
27237	Hopkins	Inkster	Wayne	1950	Residential	Minimal Traditional	Watsonia Sub. No. 2	Contributing
27272	Hopkins	Inkster	Wayne	1966	Residential	Contemporary	Watsonia Sub. No. 2	Contributing
27273	Hopkins	Inkster	Wayne	1949	Residential	Minimal Traditional	Watsonia Sub. No. 2	Contributing
27309	Hopkins	Inkster	Wayne	1950	Residential	Minimal Traditional	Watsonia Sub. No. 2	Contributing
27321	Hopkins	Inkster	Wayne	1950	Residential	Minimal Traditional	Watsonia Sub. No. 2	Contributing
27333	Hopkins	Inkster	Wayne	1950	Residential	Minimal Traditional	Watsonia Sub. No. 2	Contributing
3030	Inkster	Inkster	Wayne	1930	Residential	Craftsman	Dancy-Ford	Contributing
3054	Inkster	Inkster	Wayne	1938	Residential	Tudor Revival	Dancy-Ford	Contributing
3100	Inkster	Inkster	Wayne	1937	Residential	Tudor Revival	Dancy-Ford	Contributing
3218	Inkster	Inkster	Wayne	1928	Residential	Craftsman	Dancy-Ford	Contributing
3256	Inkster	Inkster	Wayne	1971	Residential	Ranch	Dancy-Ford	Non-contributing

Street Number	Street	City	County	Year Built	Function	Style	District	Contributing/Non-contributing
3288	Inkster	Inkster	Wayne	1926	Residential	Craftsman	Dancy-Ford	Contributing
3334	Inkster	Inkster	Wayne	1924	Residential	Craftsman	Dancy-Ford	Contributing
3402	Inkster	Inkster	Wayne	1925	Residential	Folk National	Dancy-Ford	Contributing
3618	Inkster	Inkster	Wayne	1936	Residential	Craftsman	Dancy-Ford	Contributing
3810	Inkster	Inkster	Wayne	1927	Residential	Tudor Revival	Dancy-Ford	Contributing
4135	Inkster	Inkster	Wayne	1955	Residential	Ranch	Watsonia Sub. No. 2	Contributing
4409	Inkster	Inkster	Wayne	1950	Residential	Minimal Traditional	Watsonia Sub. No. 2	Contributing
4413	Inkster	Inkster	Wayne	1950	Residential	Minimal Traditional	Watsonia Sub. No. 2	Non-contributing
4427	Inkster	Inkster	Wayne	1964	Residential	Mansard	Watsonia Sub. No. 2	Non-contributing
4519	Inkster	Inkster	Wayne	1914	Residential	Folk National	Watsonia Sub. No. 2	Non-contributing
4431-4437	Inkster	Inkster	Wayne	1973	Residential	Mansard	Watsonia Sub. No. 2	Non-contributing
3220	Irene	Inkster	Wayne	1941	Residential	Minimal Traditional	Dancy-Ford	Contributing
3316	Irene	Inkster	Wayne	1929	Residential	Colonial Revival	Dancy-Ford	Non-contributing
3645	Irene	Inkster	Wayne	1929	Residential	Craftsman	Dancy-Ford	Contributing
3653	Irene	Inkster	Wayne	1932	Residential	Minimal Traditional	Dancy-Ford	Contributing
3822	Irene	Inkster	Wayne	1939	Residential	Tudor Revival	Dancy-Ford	Contributing
3829	Irene	Inkster	Wayne	1930	Residential	Craftsman	Dancy-Ford	Contributing
3845	Irene	Inkster	Wayne	1930	Residential	Tudor Revival	Dancy-Ford	Contributing
4021	Irene	Inkster	Wayne	1939	Residential	Folk National	Dancy-Ford	Contributing
4133	Irene	Inkster	Wayne	1932	Residential	Craftsman	Dancy-Ford	Non-contributing
3214	Isabelle	Inkster	Wayne	1927	Residential	Craftsman	Dancy-Ford	Contributing
3252	Isabelle	Inkster	Wayne	1927	Residential	Craftsman	Dancy-Ford	Contributing
3526	Isabelle	Inkster	Wayne	1937	Residential	Tudor Revival	Dancy-Ford	Contributing
3561	Isabelle	Inkster	Wayne	1928	Residential	Craftsman	Dancy-Ford	Non-contributing
3712	Isabelle	Inkster	Wayne	1924	Residential	Prairie	Dancy-Ford	Contributing
3746	Isabelle	Inkster	Wayne	1929	Residential	Tudor Revival	Dancy-Ford	Contributing
3767	Isabelle	Inkster	Wayne	1928	Residential	None	Dancy-Ford	Non-contributing
3768	Isabelle	Inkster	Wayne	1938	Residential	Folk National	Dancy-Ford	Contributing
4147	Isabelle	Inkster	Wayne	1926	Residential	Craftsman	Dancy-Ford	Contributing
4167	Isabelle	Inkster	Wayne	1925	Residential	Craftsman	Dancy-Ford	Contributing
4402	Isabelle	Inkster	Wayne	1925	Residential	Craftsman	Dancy-Ford	Contributing
4430	Isabelle	Inkster	Wayne	1925	Residential	Craftsman	Dancy-Ford	Contributing
4140	John Daly	Inkster	Wayne	1949	Residential	Minimal Traditional	Watsonia Sub. No. 2	Contributing
4152	John Daly	Inkster	Wayne	1957	Residential	Ranch	Watsonia Sub. No. 2	Contributing
4212	John Daly	Inkster	Wayne	1951	Residential	Ranch	Watsonia Sub. No. 2	Contributing
4224	John Daly	Inkster	Wayne	1961	Residential	Ranch	Watsonia Sub. No. 2	Contributing
4410	John Daly	Inkster	Wayne	1955	Residential	Ranch	Watsonia Sub. No. 2	Contributing
4434	John Daly	Inkster	Wayne	1970	Residential	Ranch	Watsonia Sub. No. 2	Contributing
4074	Kenwood	Inkster	Wayne	1959	Residential	Modern Movement	LeMoyne Gardens	Contributing
4120	Kenwood	Inkster	Wayne	1959	Residential	Modern Movement	LeMoyne Gardens	Contributing
4123	Kenwood	Inkster	Wayne	1959	Residential	Modern Movement	LeMoyne Gardens	Contributing
4130	Kenwood	Inkster	Wayne	1959	Residential	Modern Movement	LeMoyne Gardens	Contributing
4141	Kenwood	Inkster	Wayne	1959	Residential	Modern Movement	LeMoyne Gardens	Contributing
4160	Kenwood	Inkster	Wayne	1959	Residential	Modern Movement	LeMoyne Gardens	Contributing
4161	Kenwood	Inkster	Wayne	1959	Residential	Modern Movement	LeMoyne Gardens	Contributing
4176	Kenwood	Inkster	Wayne	1959	Residential	Modern Movement	LeMoyne Gardens	Contributing
4184	Kenwood	Inkster	Wayne	1959	Residential	Modern Movement	LeMoyne Gardens	Contributing
4185	Kenwood	Inkster	Wayne	1959	Residential	Modern Movement	LeMoyne Gardens	Contributing

Street Number	Street	City	County	Year Built	Function	Style	District	Contributing/Non-contributing
4027-4045	Kenwood	Inkster	Wayne	1959	Residential	Modern Movement	LeMoyne Gardens	Contributing
4055-4071	Kenwood	Inkster	Wayne	1959	Residential	Modern Movement	LeMoyne Gardens	Contributing
4086-4096	Kenwood	Inkster	Wayne	1959	Residential	Modern Movement	LeMoyne Gardens	Contributing
4100-4110	Kenwood	Inkster	Wayne	1959	Residential	Modern Movement	LeMoyne Gardens	Contributing
4140-4150	Kenwood	Inkster	Wayne	1959	Residential	Modern Movement	LeMoyne Gardens	Contributing
4151-4155	Kenwood	Inkster	Wayne	1959	Residential	Modern Movement	LeMoyne Gardens	Contributing
4169-4175	Kenwood	Inkster	Wayne	1959	Residential	Modern Movement	LeMoyne Gardens	Contributing
4085-30090	Kenwood-Pierce	Inkster	Wayne	1959	Residential	Modern Movement	LeMoyne Gardens	Contributing
3269	Kewadin	Inkster	Wayne	1943	Residential	Ranch	Carver Homes	Contributing
3285	Kewadin	Inkster	Wayne	1943	Residential	Ranch	Carver Homes	Contributing
3294	Kewadin	Inkster	Wayne	1943	Residential	Ranch	Carver Homes	Contributing
3297	Kewadin	Inkster	Wayne	1943	Residential	Ranch	Carver Homes	Contributing
3306	Kewadin	Inkster	Wayne	1943	Residential	Ranch	Carver Homes	Contributing
3316	Kewadin	Inkster	Wayne	1943	Residential	Ranch	Carver Homes	Contributing
3358-3362	Kewadin	Inkster	Wayne	1943	Residential	Colonial Revival	Carver Homes	Contributing
4105	Klink	Inkster	Wayne	1959	Residential	Modern Movement	LeMoyne Gardens	Contributing
4106	Klink	Inkster	Wayne	1959	Residential	Modern Movement	LeMoyne Gardens	Contributing
4155	Klink	Inkster	Wayne	1959	Residential	Modern Movement	LeMoyne Gardens	Contributing
4195	Klink	Inkster	Wayne	1959	Residential	Modern Movement	LeMoyne Gardens	Contributing
4215	Klink	Inkster	Wayne	1959	Residential	Modern Movement	LeMoyne Gardens	Contributing
4225	Klink	Inkster	Wayne	1959	Residential	Modern Movement	LeMoyne Gardens	Contributing
4235	Klink	Inkster	Wayne	1959	Residential	Modern Movement	LeMoyne Gardens	Contributing
4240	Klink	Inkster	Wayne	1963	Residential	Modern Movement	LeMoyne Gardens	Contributing
4254	Klink	Inkster	Wayne	1963	Residential	Modern Movement	LeMoyne Gardens	Contributing
4266	Klink	Inkster	Wayne	1963	Residential	Modern Movement	LeMoyne Gardens	Contributing
4308	Klink	Inkster	Wayne	1963	Residential	Modern Movement	LeMoyne Gardens	Contributing
4322	Klink	Inkster	Wayne	1963	Residential	Modern Movement	LeMoyne Gardens	Contributing
4364	Klink	Inkster	Wayne	1963	Residential	Modern Movement	LeMoyne Gardens	Contributing
4115-4125	Klink	Inkster	Wayne	1959	Residential	Modern Movement	LeMoyne Gardens	Contributing
4142-4162	Klink	Inkster	Wayne	1959	Residential	Modern Movement	LeMoyne Gardens	Contributing
4170-4180	Klink	Inkster	Wayne	1959	Residential	Modern Movement	LeMoyne Gardens	Contributing
4181-4187	Klink	Inkster	Wayne	1959	Residential	Modern Movement	LeMoyne Gardens	Contributing
4188-4194	Klink	Inkster	Wayne	1959	Residential	Modern Movement	LeMoyne Gardens	Contributing
4200-4210	Klink	Inkster	Wayne	1959	Residential	Modern Movement	LeMoyne Gardens	Contributing
4334-4352	Klink	Inkster	Wayne	1963	Residential	Modern Movement	LeMoyne Gardens	Contributing
4343-4351	Klink	Inkster	Wayne	1963	Residential	Modern Movement	LeMoyne Gardens	Contributing
26640	Lehigh	Inkster	Wayne	1955	Residential	Minimal Traditional	Watsonia Sub. No. 2	Contributing
26645	Lehigh	Inkster	Wayne	1959	Residential	Ranch	Watsonia Sub. No. 2	Contributing
26666	Lehigh	Inkster	Wayne	1970	Residential	Contemporary	Watsonia Sub. No. 2	Contributing
26671	Lehigh	Inkster	Wayne	1967	Residential	Contemporary	Watsonia Sub. No. 2	Contributing
26695	Lehigh	Inkster	Wayne	1960	Residential	Ranch	Watsonia Sub. No. 2	Contributing
26719	Lehigh	Inkster	Wayne	1966	Residential	Ranch	Watsonia Sub. No. 2	Contributing
26726	Lehigh	Inkster	Wayne	1962	Residential	Ranch	Watsonia Sub. No. 2	Contributing
26739	Lehigh	Inkster	Wayne	1953	Residential	Ranch	Watsonia Sub. No. 2	Contributing
26742	Lehigh	Inkster	Wayne	1966	Residential	Ranch	Watsonia Sub. No. 2	Contributing
26824	Lehigh	Inkster	Wayne	1960	Residential	Ranch	Watsonia Sub. No. 2	Contributing
26825	Lehigh	Inkster	Wayne	1960	Residential	Contemporary	Watsonia Sub. No. 2	Contributing

Street Number	Street	City	County	Year Built	Function	Style	District	Contributing/Non-contributing
26853	Lehigh	Inkster	Wayne	1968	Residential	Contemporary	Watsonia Sub. No. 2	Contributing
26885	Lehigh	Inkster	Wayne	1962	Residential	Ranch	Watsonia Sub. No. 2	Contributing
26916	Lehigh	Inkster	Wayne	1964	Residential	Ranch	Watsonia Sub. No. 2	Contributing
26921	Lehigh	Inkster	Wayne	1963	Residential	Ranch	Watsonia Sub. No. 2	Contributing
26944	Lehigh	Inkster	Wayne	1971	Residential	Ranch	Watsonia Sub. No. 2	Contributing
26975	Lehigh	Inkster	Wayne	1965	Residential	Ranch	Watsonia Sub. No. 2	Contributing
27011	Lehigh	Inkster	Wayne	1950	Residential	Minimal Traditional	Watsonia Sub. No. 2	Contributing
27022	Lehigh	Inkster	Wayne	1965	Residential	Ranch	Watsonia Sub. No. 2	Contributing
27023	Lehigh	Inkster	Wayne	1950	Residential	Minimal Traditional	Watsonia Sub. No. 2	Contributing
27039	Lehigh	Inkster	Wayne	1968	Residential	Ranch	Watsonia Sub. No. 2	Contributing
27049	Lehigh	Inkster	Wayne	1950	Residential	Minimal Traditional	Watsonia Sub. No. 2	Contributing
27054	Lehigh	Inkster	Wayne	1969	Residential	Ranch	Watsonia Sub. No. 2	Contributing
27078	Lehigh	Inkster	Wayne	1967	Residential	Contemporary	Watsonia Sub. No. 2	Contributing
27079	Lehigh	Inkster	Wayne	1966	Residential	Colonial Revival	Watsonia Sub. No. 2	Contributing
27115	Lehigh	Inkster	Wayne	1962	Residential	Ranch	Watsonia Sub. No. 2	Contributing
27120	Lehigh	Inkster	Wayne	1967	Residential	Ranch	Watsonia Sub. No. 2	Contributing
27139	Lehigh	Inkster	Wayne	1964	Residential	Ranch	Watsonia Sub. No. 2	Contributing
27150	Lehigh	Inkster	Wayne	1965	Residential	Minimal Traditional	Watsonia Sub. No. 2	Contributing
27157	Lehigh	Inkster	Wayne	1950	Residential	Minimal Traditional	Watsonia Sub. No. 2	Contributing
27174	Lehigh	Inkster	Wayne	1965	Residential	Minimal Traditional	Watsonia Sub. No. 2	Contributing
27175	Lehigh	Inkster	Wayne	1968	Residential	Ranch	Watsonia Sub. No. 2	Contributing
27218	Lehigh	Inkster	Wayne	1970	Residential	Contemporary	Watsonia Sub. No. 2	Contributing
27219	Lehigh	Inkster	Wayne	1964	Residential	Contemporary	Watsonia Sub. No. 2	Contributing
27248	Lehigh	Inkster	Wayne	1967	Residential	Contemporary	Watsonia Sub. No. 2	Contributing
27267	Lehigh	Inkster	Wayne	1966	Residential	Minimal Traditional	Watsonia Sub. No. 2	Contributing
27279	Lehigh	Inkster	Wayne	1967	Residential	Ranch	Watsonia Sub. No. 2	Contributing
27304	Lehigh	Inkster	Wayne	1950	Residential	Minimal Traditional	Watsonia Sub. No. 2	Contributing
27313	Lehigh	Inkster	Wayne	1966	Residential	Ranch	Watsonia Sub. No. 2	Contributing
30150	Liberty	Inkster	Wayne	1963	Residential	Modern Movement	LeMoyne Gardens	Contributing
30168	Liberty	Inkster	Wayne	1963	Residential	Modern Movement	LeMoyne Gardens	Contributing
29914-29932	Liberty	Inkster	Wayne	1963	Residential	Modern Movement	LeMoyne Gardens	Contributing
29964-29946	Liberty	Inkster	Wayne	1963	Residential	Modern Movement	LeMoyne Gardens	Contributing
29978-29996	Liberty	Inkster	Wayne	1963	Residential	Modern Movement	LeMoyne Gardens	Contributing
30110-30128	Liberty	Inkster	Wayne	1963	Residential	Modern Movement	LeMoyne Gardens	Contributing
30218-30236	Liberty	Inkster	Wayne	1963	Residential	Modern Movement	LeMoyne Gardens	Contributing
30252-30270	Liberty	Inkster	Wayne	1963	Residential	Modern Movement	LeMoyne Gardens	Contributing
30006-30018	Liberty Court	Inkster	Wayne	1963	Residential	Modern Movement	LeMoyne Gardens	Contributing
30042-30054	Liberty Court	Inkster	Wayne	1963	Residential	Modern Movement	LeMoyne Gardens	Contributing
30078-30090	Liberty Court	Inkster	Wayne	1963	Residential	Modern Movement	LeMoyne Gardens	Contributing
4125	Lovett	Inkster	Wayne	1959	Residential	Modern Movement	LeMoyne Gardens	Contributing
4130	Lovett	Inkster	Wayne	1959	Residential	Modern Movement	LeMoyne Gardens	Contributing
4155	Lovett	Inkster	Wayne	1959	Residential	Modern Movement	LeMoyne Gardens	Contributing
4160	Lovett	Inkster	Wayne	1959	Residential	Modern Movement	LeMoyne Gardens	Contributing

Street Number	Street	City	County	Year Built	Function	Style	District	Contributing/Non-contributing
4165	Lovett	Inkster	Wayne	1959	Residential	Modern Movement	LeMoyne Gardens	Contributing
4110-4120	Lovett	Inkster	Wayne	1959	Residential	Modern Movement	LeMoyne Gardens	Contributing
4140-4150	Lovett	Inkster	Wayne	1959	Residential	Modern Movement	LeMoyne Gardens	Contributing
4170-4180	Lovett	Inkster	Wayne	1959	Residential	Modern Movement	LeMoyne Gardens	Contributing
3247	Ludington	Inkster	Wayne	1943	Residential	Ranch	Carver Homes	Contributing
3265	Ludington	Inkster	Wayne	1943	Residential	Ranch	Carver Homes	Contributing
3280	Ludington	Inkster	Wayne	1943	Residential	Ranch	Carver Homes	Contributing
3227-3233	Ludington	Inkster	Wayne	1943	Residential	Ranch	Carver Homes	Contributing
3234-3240	Ludington	Inkster	Wayne	1943	Residential	Ranch	Carver Homes	Contributing
3260	Manning	Inkster	Wayne	1943	Residential	Ranch	Carver Homes	Contributing
3300	Manning	Inkster	Wayne	1943	Residential	Ranch	Carver Homes	Contributing
3310	Manning	Inkster	Wayne	1943	Residential	Ranch	Carver Homes	Contributing
3363	Manning	Inkster	Wayne	1943	Residential	Ranch	Carver Homes	Contributing
3364	Manning	Inkster	Wayne	1943	Residential	Ranch	Carver Homes	Contributing
3209-3213	Manning	Inkster	Wayne	1943	Residential	Colonial Revival	Carver Homes	Contributing
3227-3231	Manning	Inkster	Wayne	1943	Residential	Ranch	Carver Homes	Contributing
3337-3345	Manning	Inkster	Wayne	1943	Residential	Colonial Revival	Carver Homes	Non-contributing
4433	Meadow Circle	Inkster	Wayne	1963	Residential	Modern Movement	LeMoyne Gardens	Contributing
4518	Meadow Circle	Inkster	Wayne	1963	Residential	Modern Movement	LeMoyne Gardens	Contributing
4575	Meadow Circle	Inkster	Wayne	1963	Residential	Modern Movement	LeMoyne Gardens	Contributing
4576	Meadow Circle	Inkster	Wayne	1963	Residential	Modern Movement	LeMoyne Gardens	Contributing
4445-4451	Meadow Circle	Inkster	Wayne	1963	Residential	Modern Movement	LeMoyne Gardens	Contributing
4463-4469	Meadow Circle	Inkster	Wayne	1963	Residential	Modern Movement	LeMoyne Gardens	Contributing
4481-4487	Meadow Circle	Inkster	Wayne	1963	Residential	Modern Movement	LeMoyne Gardens	Contributing
4503-4509	Meadow Circle	Inkster	Wayne	1963	Residential	Modern Movement	LeMoyne Gardens	Contributing
4521-4527	Meadow Circle	Inkster	Wayne	1963	Residential	Modern Movement	LeMoyne Gardens	Contributing
4536-4542	Meadow Circle	Inkster	Wayne	1963	Residential	Modern Movement	LeMoyne Gardens	Contributing
4539-4545	Meadow Circle	Inkster	Wayne	1963	Residential	Modern Movement	LeMoyne Gardens	Contributing
4554-4560	Meadow Circle	Inkster	Wayne	1963	Residential	Modern Movement	LeMoyne Gardens	Contributing
4557-4563	Meadow Circle	Inkster	Wayne	1963	Residential	Modern Movement	LeMoyne Gardens	Contributing
3140	Moore	Inkster	Wayne	1925	Residential	Colonial Revival	Dancy-Ford	Contributing
3202	Moore	Inkster	Wayne	1939	Residential	Minimal Traditional	Dancy-Ford	Contributing
3246	Moore	Inkster	Wayne	1925	Residential	Tudor Revival	Dancy-Ford	Contributing
3355	Moore	Inkster	Wayne	1941	Residential	Minimal Traditional	Dancy-Ford	Contributing
3363	Moore	Inkster	Wayne	1941	Residential	Folk National	Dancy-Ford	Contributing
3517	Moore	Inkster	Wayne	1925	Residential	Craftsman	Dancy-Ford	Contributing
3743	Moore	Inkster	Wayne	1958	Residential	Ranch	Dancy-Ford	Contributing
3812	Moore	Inkster	Wayne	1928	Residential	Craftsman	Dancy-Ford	Contributing
3893	Moore	Inkster	Wayne	1935	Residential	Craftsman	Dancy-Ford	Contributing
3899	Moore	Inkster	Wayne	1937	Residential	Craftsman	Dancy-Ford	Contributing

Street Number	Street	City	County	Year Built	Function	Style	District	Contributing/Non-contributing
4005	Moore	Inkster	Wayne	1936	Residential	Craftsman	Dancy-Ford	Contributing
4180	Moore	Inkster	Wayne	1928	Residential	Craftsman	Dancy-Ford	Contributing
30110	Pierce	Inkster	Wayne	1959	Residential	Modern Movement	LeMoyne Gardens	Contributing
30220	Pierce	Inkster	Wayne	1959	Residential	Modern Movement	LeMoyne Gardens	Contributing
29909-29937	Pierce	Inkster	Wayne	1959	Residential	Modern Movement	LeMoyne Gardens	Contributing
29942-29950	Pierce	Inkster	Wayne	1959	Residential	Modern Movement	LeMoyne Gardens	Contributing
29945-29971	Pierce	Inkster	Wayne	1959	Residential	Modern Movement	LeMoyne Gardens	Contributing
29966-29980	Pierce	Inkster	Wayne	1959	Residential	Modern Movement	LeMoyne Gardens	Contributing
30000-30118	Pierce	Inkster	Wayne	1959	Residential	Modern Movement	LeMoyne Gardens	Contributing
30022-30038	Pierce	Inkster	Wayne	1959	Residential	Modern Movement	LeMoyne Gardens	Contributing
30027-30035	Pierce	Inkster	Wayne	1959	Residential	Modern Movement	LeMoyne Gardens	Contributing
30043-30051	Pierce	Inkster	Wayne	1959	Residential	Modern Movement	LeMoyne Gardens	Contributing
30044-30060	Pierce	Inkster	Wayne	1959	Residential	Modern Movement	LeMoyne Gardens	Contributing
30057-30065	Pierce	Inkster	Wayne	1959	Residential	Modern Movement	LeMoyne Gardens	Contributing
30064-30084	Pierce	Inkster	Wayne	1959	Residential	Modern Movement	LeMoyne Gardens	Contributing
30071-30081	Pierce	Inkster	Wayne	1959	Residential	Modern Movement	LeMoyne Gardens	Contributing
30120-30130	Pierce	Inkster	Wayne	1959	Residential	Modern Movement	LeMoyne Gardens	Contributing
30140-30170	Pierce	Inkster	Wayne	1959	Residential	Modern Movement	LeMoyne Gardens	Contributing
30180-30190	Pierce	Inkster	Wayne	1959	Residential	Modern Movement	LeMoyne Gardens	Contributing
30200-30210	Pierce	Inkster	Wayne	1959	Residential	Modern Movement	LeMoyne Gardens	Contributing
30001	Pine	Inkster	Wayne	1959	Residential	Modern Movement	LeMoyne Gardens	Contributing
29910-29944	Pine	Inkster	Wayne	1959	Residential	Modern Movement	LeMoyne Gardens	Contributing
29911-29941	Pine	Inkster	Wayne	1959	Residential	Modern Movement	LeMoyne Gardens	Contributing
29950-29980	Pine	Inkster	Wayne	1959	Residential	Modern Movement	LeMoyne Gardens	Contributing
30015-30027	Pine	Inkster	Wayne	1959	Residential	Modern Movement	LeMoyne Gardens	Contributing
30085-30091	Pine	Inkster	Wayne	1959	Residential	Modern Movement	LeMoyne Gardens	Contributing
30093-30099	Pine	Inkster	Wayne	1959	Residential	Modern Movement	LeMoyne Gardens	Contributing
30101-30131	Pine	Inkster	Wayne	1959	Residential	Modern Movement	LeMoyne Gardens	Contributing
30141-30171	Pine	Inkster	Wayne	1959	Residential	Modern Movement	LeMoyne Gardens	Contributing
30030-30034	Pine Court	Inkster	Wayne	1959	Residential	Modern Movement	LeMoyne Gardens	Contributing
30036-30040	Pine Court	Inkster	Wayne	1959	Residential	Modern Movement	LeMoyne Gardens	Contributing
30044-30048	Pine Court	Inkster	Wayne	1959	Residential	Modern Movement	LeMoyne Gardens	Contributing

Street Number	Street	City	County	Year Built	Function	Style	District	Contributing/Non-contributing
30052-30056	Pine Court	Inkster	Wayne	1959	Residential	Modern Movement	LeMoyne Gardens	Contributing
30068-30072	Pine Court	Inkster	Wayne	1959	Residential	Modern Movement	LeMoyne Gardens	Contributing
30076-30080	Pine Court	Inkster	Wayne	1959	Residential	Modern Movement	LeMoyne Gardens	Contributing
4554	Princess	Inkster	Wayne	1969	Residential	Ranch	Watsonia Sub. No. 2	Contributing
Southwest corner of Pine and Middlebelt	Southwest corner of Pine and Middlebelt	Inkster	Wayne	1942	Residential	Colonial Revival	LeMoyne Gardens	Contributing
3228	Springhill	Inkster	Wayne	1935	Residential	None	Dancy-Ford	Non-contributing
3267	Springhill	Inkster	Wayne	1927	Residential	Craftsman	Dancy-Ford	Contributing
3324	Springhill	Inkster	Wayne	1927	Residential	Folk National	Dancy-Ford	Contributing
3412	Springhill	Inkster	Wayne	1930	Residential	Craftsman	Dancy-Ford	Contributing
3430	Springhill	Inkster	Wayne	1938	Residential	Minimal Traditional	Dancy-Ford	Contributing
3532	Springhill	Inkster	Wayne	1928	Residential	Craftsman	Dancy-Ford	Contributing
3574	Springhill	Inkster	Wayne	1924	Residential	Craftsman	Dancy-Ford	Contributing
3586	Springhill	Inkster	Wayne	1929	Residential	Craftsman	Dancy-Ford	Contributing
3616	Springhill	Inkster	Wayne	1939	Residential	Folk National	Dancy-Ford	Contributing
3658	Springhill	Inkster	Wayne	1937	Residential	Minimal Traditional	Dancy-Ford	Contributing
3725	Springhill	Inkster	Wayne	1927	Residential	Craftsman	Dancy-Ford	Contributing
4111	Springhill	Inkster	Wayne	1936	Residential	Craftsman	Dancy-Ford	Contributing
4179	Springhill	Inkster	Wayne	1925	Residential	Craftsman	Dancy-Ford	Contributing
4331	Springhill	Inkster	Wayne	1921	Residential	Colonial Revival	Dancy-Ford	Contributing
3230	Spruce	Inkster	Wayne	1927	Residential	Craftsman	Dancy-Ford	Contributing
3291	Spruce	Inkster	Wayne	1936	Residential	Dutch Colonial Revival	Dancy-Ford	Contributing
3407	Spruce	Inkster	Wayne	1936	Residential	Tudor Revival	Dancy-Ford	Contributing
3411	Spruce	Inkster	Wayne	1925	Residential	Colonial Revival	Dancy-Ford	Contributing
3412	Spruce	Inkster	Wayne	1950	Residential	Tudor Revival	Dancy-Ford	Contributing
3421	Spruce	Inkster	Wayne	1936	Residential	Prairie	Dancy-Ford	Contributing
3435	Spruce	Inkster	Wayne	1936	Residential	Colonial Revival	Dancy-Ford	Contributing
3505	Spruce	Inkster	Wayne	1935	Residential	Tudor Revival	Dancy-Ford	Contributing
3517	Spruce	Inkster	Wayne	1936	Residential	Minimal Traditional	Dancy-Ford	Contributing
3541	Spruce	Inkster	Wayne	1935	Residential	Minimal Traditional	Dancy-Ford	Contributing
3555	Spruce	Inkster	Wayne	1925	Residential	Tudor Revival	Dancy-Ford	Contributing
3567	Spruce	Inkster	Wayne	1935	Residential	Tudor Revival	Dancy-Ford	Contributing
3575	Spruce	Inkster	Wayne	1935	Residential	Craftsman	Dancy-Ford	Contributing
3579	Spruce	Inkster	Wayne	1941	Residential	Folk National	Dancy-Ford	Contributing
3584	Spruce	Inkster	Wayne	1938	Residential	Craftsman	Dancy-Ford	Contributing
3616	Spruce	Inkster	Wayne	1927	Residential	Folk National	Dancy-Ford	Contributing
3638	Spruce	Inkster	Wayne	1938	Residential	Minimal Traditional	Dancy-Ford	Non-contributing
3732	Spruce	Inkster	Wayne	1936	Residential	Minimal Traditional	Dancy-Ford	Contributing
3733	Spruce	Inkster	Wayne	1927	Residential	Craftsman	Dancy-Ford	Contributing
3740	Spruce	Inkster	Wayne	1938	Residential	Craftsman	Dancy-Ford	Contributing
3747	Spruce	Inkster	Wayne	1939	Residential	Colonial Revival	Dancy-Ford	Contributing
3753	Spruce	Inkster	Wayne	1939	Residential	Folk National	Dancy-Ford	Contributing
3816	Spruce	Inkster	Wayne	1927	Residential	Craftsman	Dancy-Ford	Contributing
3920	Spruce	Inkster	Wayne	1939	Residential	Tudor Revival	Dancy-Ford	Contributing

Street Number	Street	City	County	Year Built	Function	Style	District	Contributing/Non-contributing
3948	Spruce	Inkster	Wayne	1939	Residential	Folk National	Dancy-Ford	Contributing
4061	Spruce	Inkster	Wayne	1929	Residential	Tudor Revival	Dancy-Ford	Contributing
26640	Stanford	Inkster	Wayne	1942	Residential	Minimal Traditional	Watsonia Sub. No. 2	Non-contributing
26641	Stanford	Inkster	Wayne	1955	Residential	Ranch	Watsonia Sub. No. 2	Contributing
26715	Stanford	Inkster	Wayne	1962	Residential	Ranch	Watsonia Sub. No. 2	Contributing
26718	Stanford	Inkster	Wayne	1939	Residential	Folk National	Watsonia Sub. No. 2	Non-contributing
26743	Stanford	Inkster	Wayne	1959	Residential	Ranch	Watsonia Sub. No. 2	Contributing
26766	Stanford	Inkster	Wayne	1950	Residential	Minimal Traditional	Watsonia Sub. No. 2	Contributing
26775	Stanford	Inkster	Wayne	1959	Residential	Ranch	Watsonia Sub. No. 2	Contributing
26778	Stanford	Inkster	Wayne	1950	Residential	Minimal Traditional	Watsonia Sub. No. 2	Contributing
26790	Stanford	Inkster	Wayne	1950	Residential	Minimal Traditional	Watsonia Sub. No. 2	Contributing
26824	Stanford	Inkster	Wayne	1962	Residential	Minimal Traditional	Watsonia Sub. No. 2	Contributing
26831	Stanford	Inkster	Wayne	1960	Residential	Ranch	Watsonia Sub. No. 2	Contributing
26854	Stanford	Inkster	Wayne	c.1970	Residential	Ranch	Watsonia Sub. No. 2	Contributing
26861	Stanford	Inkster	Wayne	1967	Residential	Ranch	Watsonia Sub. No. 2	Contributing
26870	Stanford	Inkster	Wayne	1965	Residential	Ranch	Watsonia Sub. No. 2	Contributing
26908	Stanford	Inkster	Wayne	1965	Residential	Ranch	Watsonia Sub. No. 2	Contributing
26945	Stanford	Inkster	Wayne	1966	Residential	Ranch	Watsonia Sub. No. 2	Contributing
26950	Stanford	Inkster	Wayne	1965	Residential	Ranch	Watsonia Sub. No. 2	Contributing
26974	Stanford	Inkster	Wayne	1951	Residential	Colonial Revival	Watsonia Sub. No. 2	Contributing
27023	Stanford	Inkster	Wayne	1963	Residential	Ranch	Watsonia Sub. No. 2	Contributing
27036	Stanford	Inkster	Wayne	1964	Residential	Ranch	Watsonia Sub. No. 2	Contributing
27061	Stanford	Inkster	Wayne	1965	Residential	Colonial Revival	Watsonia Sub. No. 2	Contributing
27087	Stanford	Inkster	Wayne	1973	Residential	Ranch	Watsonia Sub. No. 2	Contributing
27102	Stanford	Inkster	Wayne	1964	Residential	Ranch	Watsonia Sub. No. 2	Contributing
27107	Stanford	Inkster	Wayne	1967	Residential	Ranch	Watsonia Sub. No. 2	Contributing
27126	Stanford	Inkster	Wayne	1963	Residential	Contemporary	Watsonia Sub. No. 2	Contributing
27129	Stanford	Inkster	Wayne	1963	Residential	Ranch	Watsonia Sub. No. 2	Contributing
27139	Stanford	Inkster	Wayne	1965	Residential	Ranch	Watsonia Sub. No. 2	Contributing
27148	Stanford	Inkster	Wayne	1960	Residential	Ranch	Watsonia Sub. No. 2	Contributing
27153	Stanford	Inkster	Wayne	1965	Residential	Ranch	Watsonia Sub. No. 2	Contributing
27224	Stanford	Inkster	Wayne	1960	Residential	Contemporary	Watsonia Sub. No. 2	Contributing
27225	Stanford	Inkster	Wayne	1962	Residential	Ranch	Watsonia Sub. No. 2	Contributing
27236	Stanford	Inkster	Wayne	1964	Residential	Ranch	Watsonia Sub. No. 2	Contributing
27260	Stanford	Inkster	Wayne	1961	Residential	Ranch	Watsonia Sub. No. 2	Contributing
27267	Stanford	Inkster	Wayne	1966	Residential	Ranch	Watsonia Sub. No. 2	Contributing
27287	Stanford	Inkster	Wayne	1965	Residential	Ranch	Watsonia Sub. No. 2	Contributing
27296	Stanford	Inkster	Wayne	1961	Residential	Ranch	Watsonia Sub. No. 2	Contributing
27309	Stanford	Inkster	Wayne	1950	Residential	Minimal Traditional	Watsonia Sub. No. 2	Contributing
27320	Stanford	Inkster	Wayne	1961	Residential	Ranch	Watsonia Sub. No. 2	Contributing
27321	Stanford	Inkster	Wayne	1950	Residential	Minimal Traditional	Watsonia Sub. No. 2	Contributing
4515	Sylvia	Inkster	Wayne	1972	Residential	Ranch	Watsonia Sub. No. 2	Contributing
2912	Walnut	Inkster	Wayne	1921	Residential	Craftsman	Dancy-Ford	Contributing
3105	Walnut	Inkster	Wayne	1941	Residential	Minimal Traditional	Dancy-Ford	Contributing
3130	Walnut	Inkster	Wayne	1941	Residential	Minimal Traditional	Dancy-Ford	Contributing
3139	Walnut	Inkster	Wayne	1941	Residential	Folk National	Dancy-Ford	Contributing
3140	Walnut	Inkster	Wayne	1940	Residential	Folk National	Dancy-Ford	Contributing
3146	Walnut	Inkster	Wayne	1940	Residential	Minimal Traditional	Dancy-Ford	Contributing

Street Number	Street	City	County	Year Built	Function	Style	District	Contributing/Non-contributing
3155	Walnut	Inkster	Wayne	1924	Residential	Craftsman	Dancy-Ford	Contributing
3236	Walnut	Inkster	Wayne	1926	Residential	Tudor Revival	Dancy-Ford	Contributing
3239	Walnut	Inkster	Wayne	1939	Residential	Tudor Revival	Dancy-Ford	Contributing
3245	Walnut	Inkster	Wayne	1923	Residential	Craftsman	Dancy-Ford	Contributing
3270	Walnut	Inkster	Wayne	1937	Residential	Folk National	Dancy-Ford	Contributing
3505	Walnut	Inkster	Wayne	c.1936-1949; c.1968-1973	Religious	Gothic Revival; Modern Movement	Dancy-Ford	Non-contributing
3583	Walnut	Inkster	Wayne	1941	Residential	Minimal Traditional	Dancy-Ford	Contributing
3803	Walnut	Inkster	Wayne	1940	Residential	Minimal Traditional	Dancy-Ford	Contributing
3810	Walnut	Inkster	Wayne	1928	Residential	Craftsman	Dancy-Ford	Contributing
3818	Walnut	Inkster	Wayne	1932	Residential	Craftsman	Dancy-Ford	Contributing
3857	Walnut	Inkster	Wayne	1939	Residential	Folk National	Dancy-Ford	Contributing
3902	Walnut	Inkster	Wayne	1930	Residential	Craftsman	Dancy-Ford	Contributing
3903	Walnut	Inkster	Wayne	1939	Residential	Minimal Traditional	Dancy-Ford	Contributing
4059	Walnut	Inkster	Wayne	1939	Residential	Folk National	Dancy-Ford	Contributing
4158	Walnut	Inkster	Wayne	1926	Residential	Craftsman	Dancy-Ford	Contributing
4352	Walnut	Inkster	Wayne	1928	Residential	None	Dancy-Ford	Contributing
4562	Walnut	Inkster	Wayne	1938	Residential	Craftsman	Dancy-Ford	Contributing
4115	Wayland Court	Inkster	Wayne	1943	Residential	Ranch	None	N/A
4133	Wayland Court	Inkster	Wayne	1943	Residential	Ranch	None	N/A
4141	Wayland Court	Inkster	Wayne	1943	Residential	Ranch	None	N/A
4165	Wayland Court	Inkster	Wayne	1943	Residential	Ranch	None	N/A
4183	Wayland Court	Inkster	Wayne	1943	Residential	Ranch	None	N/A
3108	Williams	Inkster	Wayne	1941	Residential	Minimal Traditional	Dancy-Ford	Contributing
3111	Williams	Inkster	Wayne	1941	Residential	Tudor Revival	Dancy-Ford	Contributing
3120	Williams	Inkster	Wayne	1941	Residential	Tudor Revival	Dancy-Ford	Contributing
3121	Williams	Inkster	Wayne	1932	Residential	Craftsman	Dancy-Ford	Contributing
3232	Williams	Inkster	Wayne	1925	Residential	Craftsman	Dancy-Ford	Contributing
3244	Williams	Inkster	Wayne	1927	Residential	Craftsman	Dancy-Ford	Contributing
3300	Williams	Inkster	Wayne	1946	Residential	None	Dancy-Ford	Contributing
3309	Williams	Inkster	Wayne	1926	Residential	Craftsman	Dancy-Ford	Contributing
3330	Williams	Inkster	Wayne	1969	Residential	Ranch	Dancy-Ford	Non-contributing
3403	Williams	Inkster	Wayne	1925	Residential	None	Dancy-Ford	Contributing
3415	Williams	Inkster	Wayne	1925	Residential	Craftsman	Dancy-Ford	Contributing
3639	Williams	Inkster	Wayne	1928	Residential	Craftsman	Dancy-Ford	Contributing
3735	Williams	Inkster	Wayne	1932	Residential	Prairie	Dancy-Ford	Contributing

Index of Properties Under 40 Years

Street Number	Street	City	County	Year Built	Function	District	Under 40 years
26600	Annapolis	Inkster	Wayne	1996	Residential	Watsonia Sub. No. 2	Under 40 years
26604	Annapolis	Inkster	Wayne	1982	Residential	Watsonia Sub. No. 2	Under 40 years
26974	Annapolis	Inkster	Wayne	1989	Residential	Watsonia Sub. No. 2	Under 40 years
27140	Annapolis	Inkster	Wayne	1982	Residential	Watsonia Sub. No. 2	Under 40 years
27170	Annapolis	Inkster	Wayne	1999	Residential	Watsonia Sub. No. 2	Under 40 years
4307	Bridgeport Court	Inkster	Wayne	2007	Residential	Carver Homes	Under 40 years
4311	Bridgeport Court	Inkster	Wayne	2008	Residential	Carver Homes	Under 40 years
4320	Bridgeport Court	Inkster	Wayne	2007	Residential	Carver Homes	Under 40 years
4328	Bridgeport Court	Inkster	Wayne	2007	Residential	Carver Homes	Under 40 years
4336	Bridgeport Court	Inkster	Wayne	2007	Residential	Carver Homes	Under 40 years
4340	Bridgeport Court	Inkster	Wayne	2006	Residential	Carver Homes	Under 40 years
4344	Bridgeport Court	Inkster	Wayne	2008	Residential	Carver Homes	Under 40 years
4347	Bridgeport Court	Inkster	Wayne	2007	Residential	Carver Homes	Under 40 years
4348	Bridgeport Court	Inkster	Wayne	2007	Residential	Carver Homes	Under 40 years
4352	Bridgeport Court	Inkster	Wayne	2006	Residential	Carver Homes	Under 40 years
4356	Bridgeport Court	Inkster	Wayne	2008	Residential	Carver Homes	Under 40 years
4359	Bridgeport Court	Inkster	Wayne	2007	Residential	Carver Homes	Under 40 years
4360	Bridgeport Court	Inkster	Wayne	2007	Residential	Carver Homes	Under 40 years
4363	Bridgeport Court	Inkster	Wayne	2007	Residential	Carver Homes	Under 40 years
4367	Bridgeport Court	Inkster	Wayne	2008	Residential	Carver Homes	Under 40 years
4368	Bridgeport Court	Inkster	Wayne	2007	Residential	Carver Homes	Under 40 years
4371	Bridgeport Court	Inkster	Wayne	2008	Residential	Carver Homes	Under 40 years
4375	Bridgeport Court	Inkster	Wayne	2006	Residential	Carver Homes	Under 40 years
4388	Bridgeport Court	Inkster	Wayne	2007	Residential	Carver Homes	Under 40 years
28865-29115	Carlisle	Inkster	Wayne	c.1997	School	Carver Homes	Under 40 years
26609	Hopkins	Inkster	Wayne	2000	Residential	Watsonia Sub. No. 2	Under 40 years
26670	Hopkins	Inkster	Wayne	2000	Residential	Watsonia Sub. No. 2	Under 40 years
27038	Hopkins	Inkster	Wayne	1987	Residential	Watsonia Sub. No. 2	Under 40 years
27101	Hopkins	Inkster	Wayne	1989	Residential	Watsonia Sub. No. 2	Under 40 years
27250	Hopkins	Inkster	Wayne	2002	Residential	Watsonia Sub. No. 2	Under 40 years
27320	Hopkins	Inkster	Wayne	1982	Residential	Watsonia Sub. No. 2	Under 40 years
4580	John Daly	Inkster	Wayne	2001	Residential	Watsonia Sub. No. 2	Under 40 years
26880	Lehigh	Inkster	Wayne	2006	Residential	Watsonia Sub. No. 2	Under 40 years
26945	Lehigh	Inkster	Wayne	2000	Residential	Watsonia Sub. No. 2	Under 40 years
4009	Northland	Inkster	Wayne	1992	Residential	Carver Homes	Under 40 years
26891	Stanford	Inkster	Wayne	1988	Residential	Watsonia Sub. No. 2	Under 40 years
26917	Stanford	Inkster	Wayne	1993	Residential	Watsonia Sub. No. 2	Under 40 years
26985	Stanford	Inkster	Wayne	2004	Residential	Watsonia Sub. No. 2	Under 40 years
27010	Stanford	Inkster	Wayne	1982	Residential	Watsonia Sub. No. 2	Under 40 years
27060	Stanford	Inkster	Wayne	1996	Residential	Watsonia Sub. No. 2	Under 40 years
4251	Sylvia	Inkster	Wayne	2001	Residential	Watsonia Sub. No. 2	Under 40 years
4550	Walnut	Inkster	Wayne	2001	Residential	Dancy-Ford	Under 40 years

Appendix A: Survey Maps

See Appendix A for survey maps.

Appendix B: Credentials

See Appendix B for additional credentials.

Appendix C: District Inventory Forms

See Appendix C for district inventory forms.

Appendix D: Individual Property Inventory Forms

See Appendix D for individual property inventory forms.

Appendix E: Survey Photos

See Appendix E for photographs of surveyed properties.