Survey of Detroit's Latinx Communities, 1915-1980

Photo credit: Walter P. Reuther Library, Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, Wayne State University

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SECTION I

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Executive Summary

The Detroit City Council's Historic Designation Advisory Board (HDAB) has developed a broad, multi-year initiative to document and highlight the histories of underrepresented communities in Detroit. Accordingly, HDAB applied for and won an Underrepresented Communities grant from the Historic Preservation Fund administered by the National Park Service. This survey project aims to explore the rich Latinx history within Detroit by surveying historic resources, writing historic contexts, and writing a National Register of Historic Places (NRHP) nomination.

The main goals of this project are to: (1) Identify historic sites throughout Detroit that are eligible for listing in the National Register; (2) Develop a historic context statement that tells the story of the Latinx community in Detroit; and (3) Nominate a significant property to the NRHP that exhibits a strong connection to Latinx history in Detroit.

This is a thematic survey of Latinx sites identified as significant to Detroit's Latinx communities. The sites surveyed were carefully selected by the Latinx community members themselves in coordination with the City of Detroit's Historic Designation Advisory Board. Sites with important significance to the community were prioritized. Two notable clusters of sites were identified in the course of this survey.

The survey is both reconnaissance and intensive level – of the 48 sites surveyed 10 were surveyed at the intensive level. The survey project took place over the course of several months from April of 2023 through October of 2023. The work was comprised of three general categories: archival research and community engagement; reconnaissance-level and intensive-level field work in Detroit; and the preparation of this survey report. Kraemer Design Group (KDG) worked in conjunction with the local community in Southwest Detroit and the City of Detroit Historic Designation Advisory Board (HDAB) to conduct this survey.

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.

Summary of Recommendations

The survey team identified four major types of recommendations: conducting additional surveys, starting community-based preservation and history building activities, establishing local historic districts, and nominating properties to the National Register of Historic Places. A full discussion of these recommendations can be found below in the Survey Findings section.

The first recommendation is to conduct a reconnaissance survey of the entire Southwest Detroit area. Because this survey was targeted on 48 specific sites identified by the community there are large areas of Southwest Detroit that have not been surveyed. Additionally, the survey team also recommends conducting an intensive level survey of the two proposed historic districts: the Bagley Street Historic District and the West Vernor Highway Historic District.

The next set of recommendations revolves around the community's desire to better preserve and analyze their shared history. This was an outworking of the community engagement activities that the survey team performed during the course of this project. Three major recommendations stem from this: establishing a community museum or archive, conducting community workshops on gathering and funding community-driven history projects, and starting a community oral history project.

The next set of recommendations is to establish two local historic districts to better preserve and plan the areas around the proposed Bagley Street Historic District and the West Vernor Highway Historic District. Establishing both of these areas as local historic districts will ensure valuable history and historic fabric in these areas are properly considered and preserved. This becomes increasingly important as developmental pressures begin increasing in these areas.

Finally, the last recommendation involves nominating several important sites to the National Register of Historic Places. A total of 14 sites were identified in the course of this survey as being recommended as individually eligible for the National Register which includes two sites—Basilica of Ste. Anne de Detroit Church and Most Holy Trinity Church—which are already listed. Additionally, two potential historic districts are also recommended as eligible for further study. Upon further study at the intensive level and, potentially, with a nomination to the National Register of Historic Places, these two proposed historic districts will provide increased awareness and will help solidify Southwest Detroit as a hub of culture and history in Detroit.

Figure 1. A mural located on the north elevation of a garage at 3501 24th Street. (Kraemer Design Group, 2023)

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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 Rebain was the Principal-in-Charge of the project.

Lillian Candela, Cassandra Talley, and Katie Cook 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 while Cassandra and Katie meet this standard as each possesses a Master of Science degree in Historic Preservation from Eastern Michigan University. Combined, Cassandra, Lillian, and Katie have over ten years of experience in historic preservation and architecture. Brian was the Principal in Charge of the project and is a 36 CFR Part 61 qualified Historic Architect with 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.

Project Objectives and Methodology

The City of Detroit Historic Designation Advisory Board (HDAB) was awarded a grant from the National Park Service (NPS) Underrepresented Communities grant program in 2021 and funded through the Historic Preservation Fund. This grant provided the funding to write a National Register Multiple Property Documentation Form (MPDF) to identify historic contexts associated with Detroit's Latinx communities, conduct a reconnaissance and intensive-level historic resource survey of up to 48 sites associated with Detroit's Latinx communities, and to nominate one site to the National Register of Historic Places. Kraemer Design Group was contracted by the City of Detroit HDAB to write the MPDF and complete the survey. The National Register of Historic Places nomination is being completed by HDAB staff. The project kicked off in January of 2023 with the first public engagement session occurring in April of 2023 at the Mexicantown Community Development Corporation in Detroit. Fieldwork for the survey occurred in the summer of 2023.

Project Objectives & Goals

The National Park Service is working to diversify its historic preservation programs and to reach out to underrepresented 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. This survey is funded by a National Park Service Underrepresented Communities Grant through the Historic Preservation Fund. According to the U.S. Census Bureau, 7.7% of Detroit's population identifies as Hispanic or Latino. This makes this population the third largest ethnic group, after African American (78.3%) and White (14.7%). Despite this, none of the existing documentation of Detroit's Latinx communities provides a historic context for Latinx

communities as it relates to historic preservation efforts. This survey was produced as an outworking of a simultaneously developed Multiple Property Documentation Form which is the first attempt to establish a historic context and National Register criteria for the historic resources associated with Latinx communities.

The purpose of this thematic survey is to identify above-ground historic resources that warrant further investigation or merit inclusion in the National Register of Historic Places. Additionally, a goal of the survey is to investigate and document the history of Latinx peoples in Detroit and to highlight and celebrate these valuable (and historically under-documented) historic resources in the City. As a project contracted through the City of Detroit's Historic Designation Advisory Board, this project also aims to inform local designation, Section 106 review, and preservation planning efforts. This includes strengthening partnerships between City government and community organizations and institutions as well as increasing public awareness of what historic preservation is and how it can both benefit and recognize historically underrepresented and underserved communities.

Introduction to Detroit's Latinx Communities

The term "Latinx" is a relatively modern, panethnic term identifying various groups of people whose ethnic heritage connects to Central and South America and the Caribbean. Panethnicity relates to the maintenance of subgroup labels—such as Mexican, Mexican American, Puerto Rican, and so on—while simultaneously identifying with a broader group of people—such as through the use of the terms Latinx, Latine, Latino, or Latina.[1] "Latinx" first appeared in Google searches in 2004 and began appearing in printed, mostly academic, publications in 2015.[2] Scholars of ethnoracial labels and community identity write that, "individuals collect a range of labels, which they use in different settings."[3] Therefore, the Latinx term is a broad, high-level label that encompasses many groups of people that may choose to adopt the Latinx label, reject it, or use it with or without additional labels as they see fit.[4] Additional terminology used to describe Latinx communities may include Chicano and Chicana, which refer to Americans of Mexican descent.[5]

Significant and passionate discourse has surrounded the term since the inception of its use. Supporters of the term argue that the "x" is inclusive as it removes connotations of gender and sexuality implied through the use of Latino or Latina.[6] Those criticizing the term point out that the use of the letter "x" makes the term incomprehensible to Spanish speakers without experience with the English language, as the letter "x" is not part of the Spanish language. Another criticism is the notion that use of the term is a form of linguistic imperialism, whereby

[1] Dina Okamoto and G. Cristina Mora, "Panethnicity," *Annual Review of Sociology* 40 (2014), 219.
[2] G. Cristina Mora, Reuben Perez, and Nicholas Vargas, "Who Identifies as 'Latinx'? The Generational Politics of Ethnoracial Labels," *Social Forces* 100, no. 3 (2022), 1176.
[3] Mora, Perez, and Vargas, "Who Identifies as 'Latinx'?" 1176.
[4] Mora, Perez, and Vargas, "Who Identifies as 'Latinx'?" 1176.
[5] Antonio Campos, "What's the Difference Between Hispanic, Latino, and Latinx?" University of California, October 6, 2021, https://www.universityofcalifornia.edu/news/choosing-the-right-word-hispanic-latino-and-latinx.
[6] Mora, Perez, and Vargas, "Who Identifies as 'Latinx'?" 1177.

use of the term becomes ingrained from the top down, rather than from widespread, everyday usage.[7]

In Detroit, ethnic identities beneath the Latinx umbrella include Mexicans, Mexican Americans, Puerto Ricans, and Cubans, and many additional ethnic identities.[8] In light of the varied opinions regarding use of the Latinx term, the term will be used throughout the following report when broadly referring to the Mexican, Mexican American, Puerto Rican, and additional communities in Detroit composed of ethnic identities associated with Central America and the Caribbean. The term's usage is not intended to imply that ethnic diversity and varied histories do not exist within Detroit's Latinx communities. Throughout the text, specific terminology relating to ethnicity will be used to illustrate the diverse histories of the Latinx communities in Detroit.

Figure 2. A mural located on the north elevation of the garage at 1326 18th Street, which was one of the properties surveyed. (Kraemer Design Group, 2023)

[7] Mora, Perez, and Vargas, "Who Identifies as 'Latinx'?" 1176-1177.
[8] James Harper, "Can They Gain Political Power? 90,000 Latins: Our Forgotten Minority," *Detroit Free Press*, February 7, 1972; John Cruz, "Metro Detroit's Foreign-Born Population," Global Detroit, 45, accessed March 20, 2023, https://globaldetroitmi.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/02/Global_Detroit_MetoDetroitForeignbornmar2014full.pdf.

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 City of Detroit's HDAB to provide a seamless survey product that would work with their ongoing historic preservation efforts. The project team utilized their cell phones and ArcGIS software for the mapping components. All photos were taken from public right-of-way by car or on foot, as needed. All surveyed properties were photographed 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.

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 and then photographed the building with the camera feature on their phones. 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 further intensive level study.

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. 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. These recommendations are discussed further in the Survey Findings section of this report.

A public engagement meeting was conducted in April of 2023 at the Mexicantown Community Development Corporation 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

Figure 3. The streetscape of Bagley Street, looking east from 24th Street. The buildings along this stretch of Bagley were surveyed as part of this project. (Kraemer Design Group, 2023)

context regarding the objectives and goals of the survey. The initial public engagement meeting was interactive with poster boards on the wall allowing members of the public to identify with post-it notes significant places, people, and themes for the survey team to research and survey.

Further, the City of Detroit HDAB formed a Community Advisory Group of key stakeholders in the community in May of 2023. This group helped to finalize the 48 sites which were surveyed as a part of this project and to determine which 10 sites would be surveyed at the intensive level. The Community Advisory Group has been an essential resource during the project as they have provided insight and guided the City and survey team as to the specific locations and areas of significance important to the Latinx community.

Additionally, the KDG team members also conducted oral histories with longtime residents of Southwest Detroit and Detroit's Latinx communities. These oral history interviewees provided invaluable insights about the communities that are not documented in available archival resources. Residents of the communities provided insight into their everyday lives in Southwest Detroit including information about community activism, schools, popular businesses, and church life.

From the outset, continued and sustained public outreach has been a primary goal of this project. In addition to the initial public engagement meeting mentioned above, the survey team also periodically met with the Community Advisory Group to ensure all survey sites and project deliverables were adequately reviewed and discussed. Finally, at the end of the project, a second

public engagement meeting was held in September of 2023 to update the public on the survey and to acquaint them with the survey results, findings, and recommendations.

Verbal Description of Survey Area and Boundaries

The survey was conducted throughout the City of Detroit and thus the boundaries for the survey area are the parcel lines for each site surveyed. That being said, there were two pronounced clusters where many survey sites were located. These clusters became the basis for the two historic districts recommended as potentially eligible—see the Survey Findings section for additional details on the recommendations.

Verbal Boundaries of Clustered Sites

West Vernor Highway Survey Area: This survey area is roughly located west of the I-75 freeway, north of I-75 Freeway, east of Calvary Street, and south of the Michigan Central Railroad tracks. The sites are clustered around W. Vernor Highway and Scotten and Clark Streets. For a detailed boundary description of this area (identified as a proposed historic district recommended as potentially eligible) please see the Planning Needs and Recommendations section, below.

Bagley Street Survey Area Boundary: This survey area is roughly located east of the I-75 freeway, south of the Michigan Central Railroad tracks, west of 16th Street, and north of W. Fort Street. The sites are clustered around the Bagley Street and 18th Street intersection. For a detailed boundary description of this area (identified as a proposed historic district recommended as potentially eligible), please see the Planning Needs and Recommendations section, below.

Verbal Boundaries of Scattered Sites

Because of the scattered site nature of this thematic survey there were many other sites surveyed that are discontiguous. The sites were largely located in Southwest Detroit but there was one site on Detroit's east side and several more that were located along Michigan Avenue and two sites located along Sixth Street. The boundaries for each of the sites not located within the two clusters noted above are the lot lines for each of the surveyed properties.

1000 St. Anne Street—Basilica of Ste. Anne de Detroit Church:

> Located at 1000 St. Anne Street, the boundary for this survey site are the lot lines for this parcel.

1750 W. Vernor—LASED Youth Center:

> Located at 1750 W. Vernor, the boundary for this survey site are the lot lines for this parcel.

7714 W. Vernor—Rio Theater:

Located at 7714 W. Vernor, the boundary for this survey site are the lot lines for this parcel.

1500 Trumbull—Casa Maria:

Located at 1500 Trumbull, the boundary for this survey site are the lot lines for this parcel.

1326 18th Street—Lozano family house:

Located at 1326 18th Street, the boundary for this survey site are the lot lines for this parcel.

1450 25th Street—Webster Elementary:

Located at 1450 25th Street, the boundary for this survey site are the lot lines for this parcel.

1744 Michigan Avenue—Garcia's Market:

Located at 1744 Michigan Avenue, the boundary for this survey site are the lot lines for this parcel.

2125 Michigan Avenue—Borrinquen Market:

Located at 2125 Michigan Avenue, the boundary for this survey site are the lot lines for this parcel.

1229 Labrosse and 1050 Porter—Most Holy Trinity Church and School:

Located at 1229 Labrosse and 1050 Porter, the boundary for this survey site are the lot lines for these parcels.

2200 W. Grand Boulevard—Northwestern High School:

Located at 2200 W. Grand Boulevard, the boundary for this survey site are the lot lines for this parcel.

2525 Clark—Ideal Steel and Builder's Supplies:

Located at 2525 Clark, the boundary for this survey site are the lot lines for this parcel.

10235 Gratiot Avenue—Tom Philips Post No. 184 American Legion:

> Located at 10235 Gratiot Avenue, the boundary for this survey site are the lot lines for this parcel.

1801 Howard—Mexican Industries:

> Located at 1801 Howard, the boundary for this survey site are the lot lines for this parcel.

1946 Webb—Visitation Church Parish House:

> Located at 1946 Webb, the boundary for this survey site are the lot lines for this parcel.

Sources

Local archival repositories were consulted including the Walter Reuther Archives at Wayne State University, the oral history collection at the Detroit Historical Society, the Center for Latino/a and Latin American Studies at Wayne State University, the Bentley Historical Library at the University of Michigan, and the Burton Historical Collection at the Detroit Public Library. Additionally, oral histories, memories, and recollections from local residents were invaluable in documenting the diverse history of Latinx communities in Detroit.

Additional sources consulted included historic maps, city directories, assessor's records, newspapers and newspaper clippings files, articles, books, published histories, prior 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 by the Historic Designation Advisory Board (HDAB). 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 HDAB.

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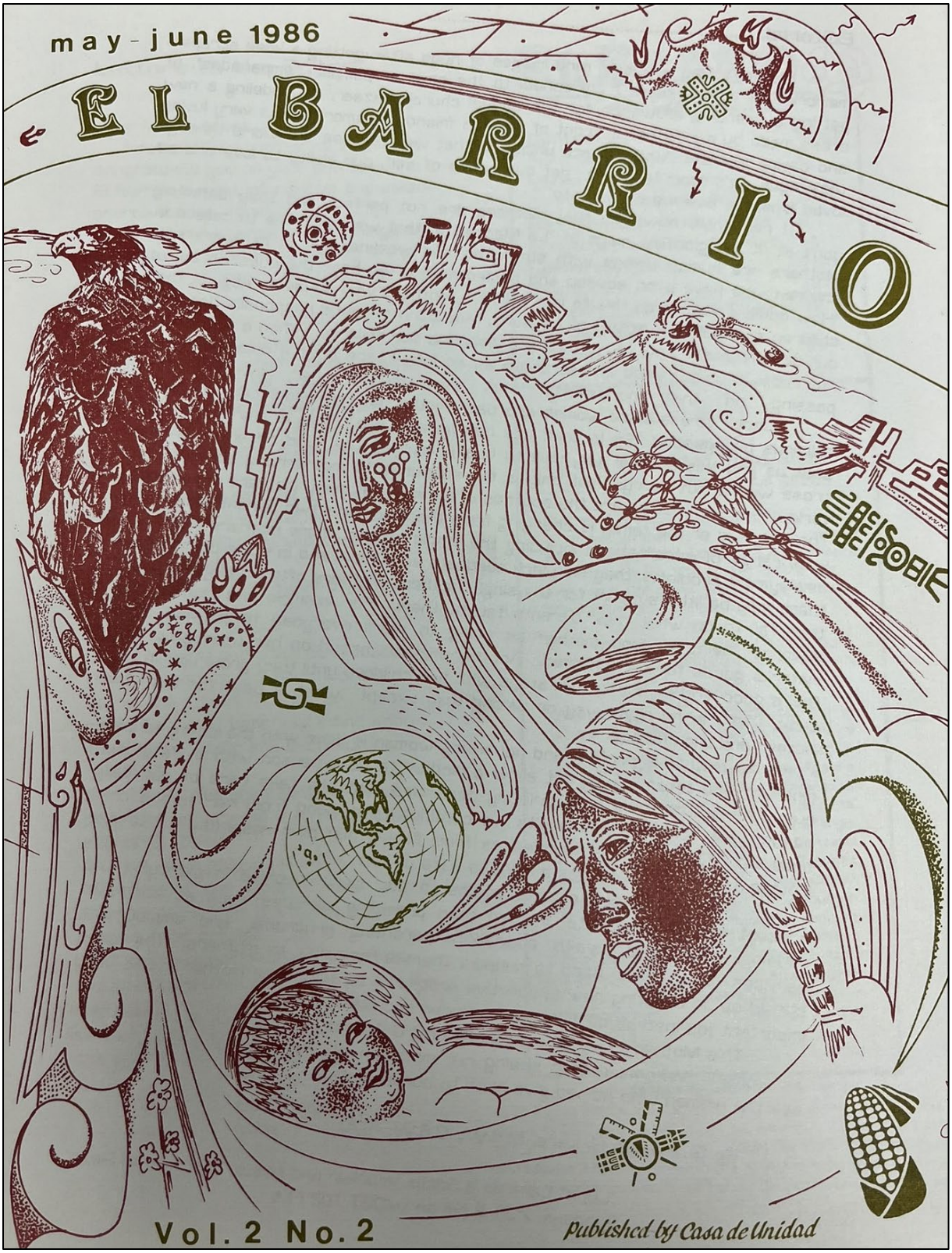

Figure 4. Copies of *El Barrio*, a local newsletter published by Casa de Unidad beginning in the 1980s, were reviewed at the Bentley Historical Library in Ann Arbor, Michigan. (*El Barrio*, May-June 1986, *El Barrio*, 1984-1986, Bentley Historical Library, Ann Arbor, MI)

SECTION II

Descriptive Overview of Survey Area

The survey is thematic in nature and confined by the boundaries of the City of Detroit at large. The sites surveyed were determined to be significant to Detroit's Latinx communities through archival research and public engagement with the community. The sites surveyed are dispersed throughout the boundaries of the City of Detroit with a concentration of sites in Southwest Detroit.

The City of Detroit is a large, urban city located on the Detroit River in southeast Michigan. The city encompasses 142 square miles with an urban core located between the Interstate 75, 375, and Michigan 10 interstates. As of 2021, the United States Census Bureau estimates Detroit's population to be 632,464 people with 7.8% of the population identifying as Hispanic or Latino. The city can be generally categorized as one of the largest cities in the Midwest and is urban in nature.

The bulk of the sites surveyed are located near the Southwest area of Detroit, in an area roughly bounded by M-10 Lodge Freeway to the east, Fort Street to the south, Springwells Street to the west and Dix Avenue, the Michigan Central railroad tracks, and the Fisher Freeway to the north. Southwest Detroit is one of Detroit's many neighborhoods, but it does not have defined boundaries and many residents and local historians would define it differently. That being said, Southwest Detroit is generally centered around Clark Park and areas along Vernor and Bagley, directly east of Clark Park. Additionally, this general boundary is not meant to dictate what and where "Southwest Detroit" is located but rather it is used as a general boundary to describe an area with the largest concentration of sites surveyed. The survey area includes areas that used to be a part of Springwells Township—annexed to the City in varying sections between 1849-1916—along with portions of local neighborhoods including Mexicantown, Central Southwest, Hubbard Richard, Hubbard Farms, and West Corktown. While the bulk of survey sites are in and around Southwest Detroit, additional sites are located outside of these general boundaries, such as the property on Webb Street near M-10 and the property on Gratiot Avenue near Harper Avenue.

The city and the survey area has predominantly flat topography and consists of mostly residential neighborhoods with local commercial corridors outside of the urban core. The land in the survey area is organized in grids with bisecting commercial streets. Major commercial thoroughfares in the survey area include Bagley Street and West Vernor Highway. Other major thoroughfares include Interstate 75, Livernois Avenue, and Dix and Dragoon Streets. Woodmere Cemetery is located just west of the survey area and the Rouge River empties into the Detroit River southwest of the survey area. Directly south of the survey area, industrial sites primarily make up the land which front on the Detroit River along with the Delray neighborhood and Historic Fort Wayne.

The survey area is moderately tree covered in the residential areas with less foliage and tree cover in the commercial corridors. Clark Park is located roughly in the center of the survey area and has heavy tree cover at the northern end. Other parks include Stanton Park and the Boyer Playfield. There are no rivers or lakes in the survey area although the Detroit River is located just

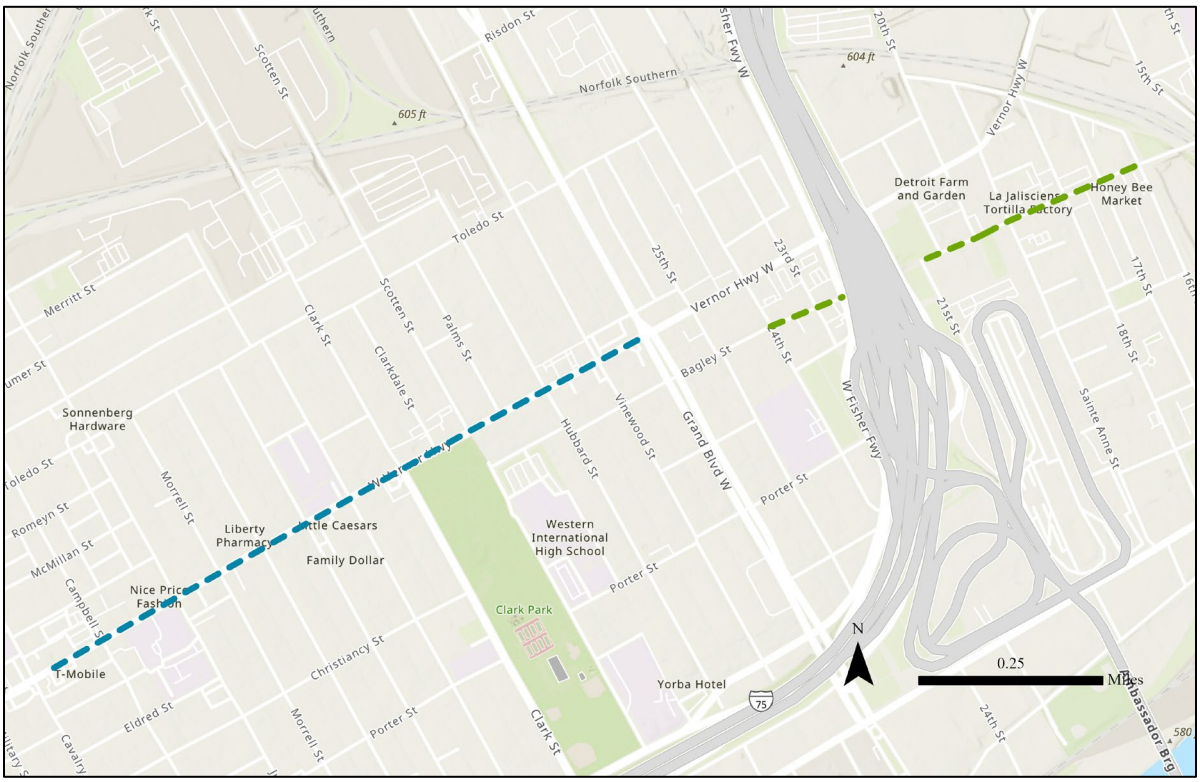

Figure 5. The surveyed properties were primarily concentrated along West Vernor and Bagley in neighborhoods known as Southwest Detroit and Mexicantown. (Kraemer Design Group, 2023)

south and the Rouge River is located just west of the survey area. Baby Creek, infilled in 1967, was located just west of the survey area roughly in the present-day location of Riverside Drive.

Southwest Detroit is a diverse neighborhood. As of 2010, the neighborhood had a population of 43,902 residents with 57.2% Latino, 23.6% Black, and 16.9% White with the remaining percentage identifying as mixed race or other.[9] The owner-occupied housing rate in the neighborhood is 49.5%. Over the past ten years Data Drive Detroit reported that Southwest Detroit lost 5.4% of its available housing due to vacancies in the neighborhood. Architecturally, the commercial areas of the neighborhood are predominately comprised of Art Deco, Spanish Revival, and Commercial style buildings. Only one residential building was surveyed as a part of the project but residential buildings surrounding the surveyed commercial buildings were primarily Folk Victorian, Folk National, Prairie, and Craftsman style houses.

Historic and Thematic Contexts

The text below gives additional details about the historic themes that distinguish Southwest Detroit and the survey area. These themes are intended to give a broad overview of the history of

[9] Data Driven Detroit, "Southwest Detroit Neighborhoods Profile," accessed September 10, 2023, https://datadriven detroit.org/files/SGN/SW_Detroit_Neighborhoods_Profile_2013_081913.pdf.

Southwest Detroit, its people, and its places and how 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

Early History of Detroit

At the close of the last ice age, Native Americans of the Paleo period traveled through what became known as southeast Michigan 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.[10] Mound building tribes were known to be in the Detroit area with several substantial mounds located near the mouth of the Rouge River as well as in the Springwells area in Southwest Detroit including inside Historic Fort Wayne. [11] The earthwork mounds date to the Hopewell civilization of the American Midwest with objects found inside dating to as early as 1000-2000 BCE.

The city that would become known as Detroit was founded in 1701 by a French trader by the name of Antoine Laumet de la Mothe, Sieur de Cadillac, who built a fort on the banks of the river. Fort Detroit was built by Cadillac to help control the lucrative French fur trade but as the settlement grew, the French settlers began farming the land near the banks of the Detroit River. Fur trading and, later, timber fueled the early settlement of Michigan—fur being one of the earliest commodities traded in Detroit. Michigan became a territory of the United States in 1805 and land was advertised at two dollar per acre to entice settlers to the new territory.[12] Population growth was initially slow due to the dense forests that grew in the area and because of the malaria infested wetlands located southwest of Detroit.[13] The Erie Canal opened in 1825 and the population of Michigan increased dramatically from about 8,000 in 1820 to 32,000 by 1830.[14]

Early manufacturing industries in Detroit included railroad car manufacturing, tobacco and cigar production, stove manufacturing, and foundries. These early successful industries also contributed to the increase in migration to the area as new settlers began pursuing the jobs afforded by the industries. Successive waves of immigration included the first substantial German arrivals in 1825 with ensuing waves of the Irish in 1830, Scandinavians in 1849, Italians in 1855 and Poles in 1857.[15] Mexican and Mexican American immigrants began arriving in significant numbers in the 1910s and 1920s.

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[10] Alice Bostick, *The Roots of Inkster* (Inkster, MI: City of Inkster Library and Historical Commission, 1980), 9.
[11] Paul Sewick, "The Mound Builders," DetroitUrbanism, accessed October 3, 2022, http://detroiturbanism.blogspot.com/2015/12/the-mound-builders.html.
[12] Bostick, *Roots of Inkster*, 17.
[13] Howard O'Dell Lindsey, "Fields to Fords, Feds to Franchise: African American Empowerment in Inkster, Michigan" (PhD diss., University of Michigan, 1993), 8.
[14] "Boomtown Detroit (1820-1860), Detroit Historical Society, accessed July 17, 2023, https://detroithistorical.org/learn/timeline-detroit/boomtown-detroit-1820-1860.
[15] "Boomtown Detroit (1820-1860), Detroit Historical Society, accessed July 17, 2023, https://detroithistorical.o

As Detroit grew, areas directly adjacent to the fledgling town were prime targets for expansion and advances in road, rail, and other infrastructure, which began happening in the mid-1800s, fueled this growth. Early Michigan roads often followed old Native American trails, and this is true of Michigan Avenue which travels just north of the Southwest Detroit area and roughly follows the location of the Old Sauk Trail through southern Michigan.[16] Michigan Avenue 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.

The extension of Michigan Avenue westward from Detroit was begun in the late 1820s and mostly completed in 1833.[17] 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. As the commercial activity around Michigan Avenue developed and expanded, Southwest Detroit likewise experienced growth due to its position just south of that thoroughfare.

Industrial Development in Detroit

The industrial history and heritage of Detroit and Southwest Detroit is an important component of the development of both the city as a whole and the survey area in particular. In his 1890 edition of *History of Detroit and Michigan* historian Silas Farmer recognized that Springwells Township was already a burgeoning industrial area given the fact that the Rouge River cut through the Township on its way to emptying in the Detroit River. Farmer wrote, "The region about the mouth of the Rouge is destined to be a great manufacturing center. A canal has been cut from the bend about a mile from the mouth to the Detroit River, with the purpose of dykeing [sic] and draining a large tract, and in order to give increased opportunity for dockage."[18]

Another substantial factor in the growth of Southwest Detroit was the prevalence of the railroads in this area. The Michigan Central Railroad yards were located just west of present-day Southwest Detroit and both the Michigan Central Railroad and the Lake Shore & Michigan Southern Railroad lines ran through the vicinity. The Michigan Central Railroad Car Works was located just west of where these two railroad lines crossed. These railroads were situated in this area to transport goods to the industrial sites spread out along the Detroit River—including Great Lakes Steel Corporation and the Great Lakes Engine Works—and to the nearby Ford Rouge Plant. The easy accessibility of these industrial sites prompted residential settlement in this area as employees of these firms sought living accommodations close to their work locations.

rg/learn/timeline-detroit/boomtown-detroit-1820-1860.
[16] Bostick, *Roots of Inkster*, 1.
[17] 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.
[18] Silas Farmer, *History of Detroit and Michigan* (Detroit, MI: Silas Farmer & Co., 1890), 1369.

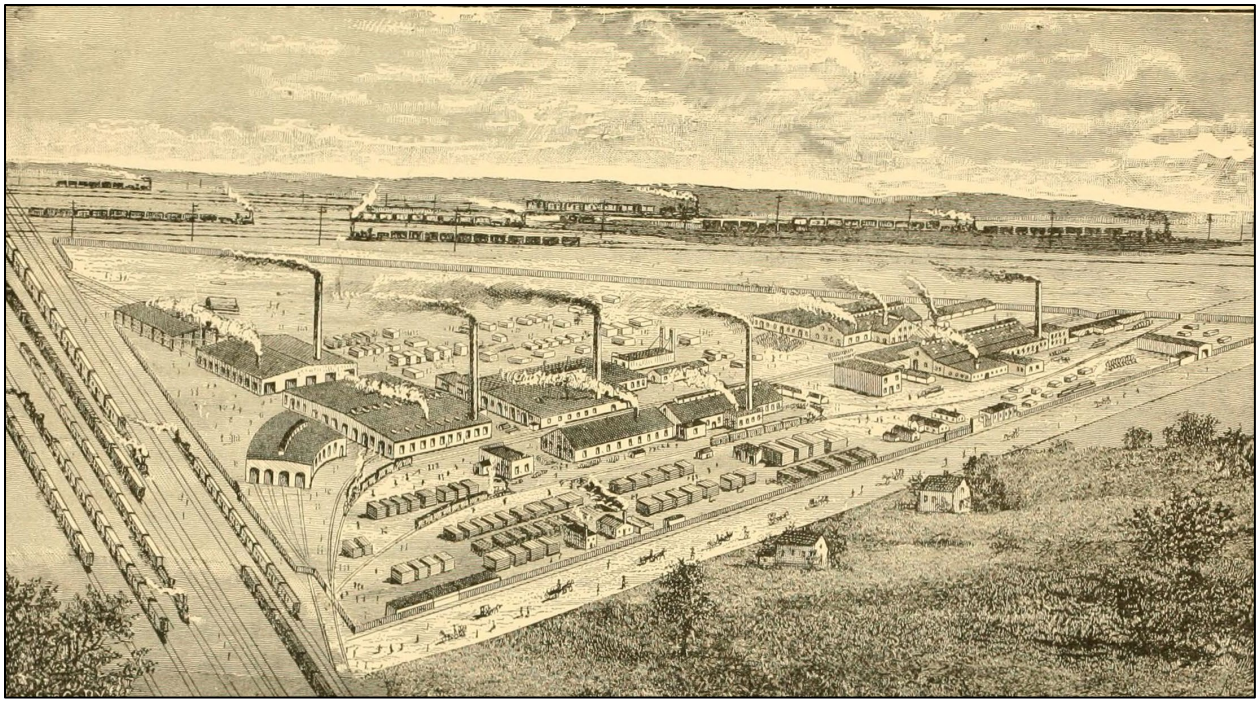

Figure 6. An engraving illustrating the Michigan Car Company's Works with the junction of the Michigan Central Railroad and the Lake Shore & Michigan Southern Railroad lines in the background. Access to railroads, water and road transportation facilitated the industrial development of Southwest Detroit. ("Michigan Car Company's Works," in Silas Farmer, *The History of Detroit and Michigan* (Detroit, MI: S. Farmer and Co., 1884), 803)

By the early 1900s Springwells and the area around Southwest Detroit were filled with manufacturing and industrial companies which further spurred growth in this area. Great Lakes Steel Corporation built their mill along the Detroit River in 1929 in Ecorse, Michigan which is just across the Rouge River from Detroit. This firm would become a major employer of Latinx men in the ensuing decades and would later become known as National Steel. In 2003 National Steel merged with U.S. Steel. Additionally, Great Lakes Engine Works was also located in Ecorse just across the Rouge River from Southwest Detroit. Because of these large employers, Ecorse also developed a large and thriving Latinx population.[19] And located just west of the survey area in Dearborn, construction began on the massive Ford Motor Company Rouge River Plant in 1917 and was completed in 1928. Ford Motor Company also employed relatively large numbers of Latinx people and the proximity to the Ford plant likely increased Latinx settlement in Southwest Detroit. Other industrial employers close to Southwest Detroit included the Hanna Furnace Company and many other smaller industrial companies.

Springwells Township

The development history of Springwells Township provides the foundation for the development of the Latinx communities in Southwest in the twentieth century; therefore, it is briefly discussed

[19] David A. Badillo, *Latinos in Michigan* (East Lansing, MI: Michigan State University Press, 2003), 13.

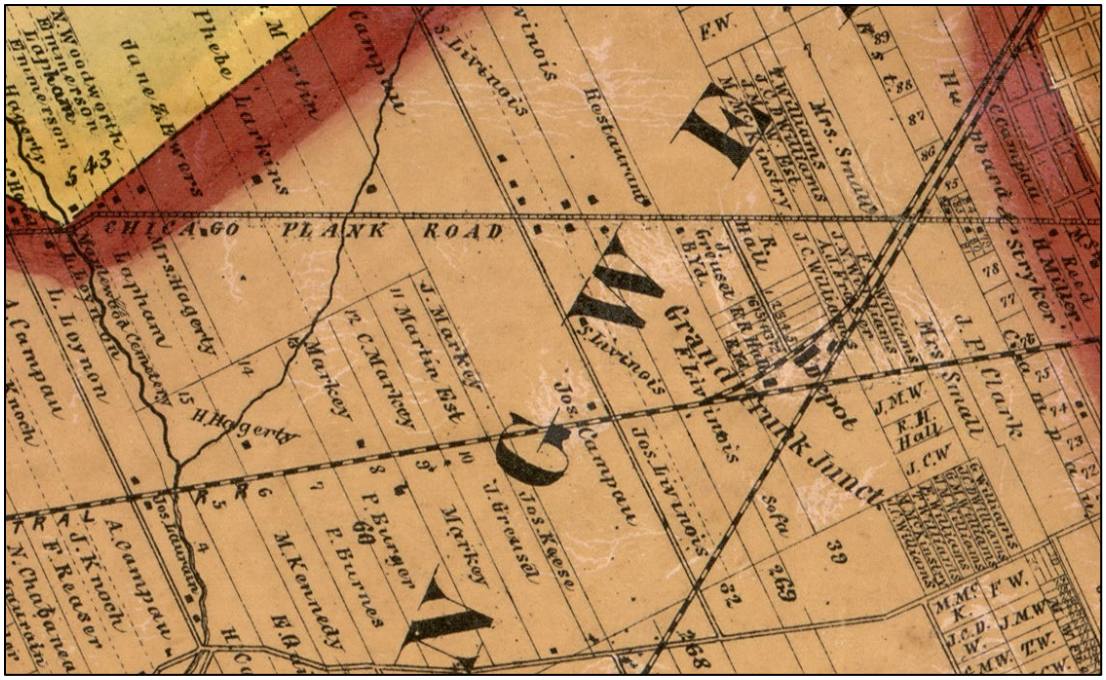

Figure 7. This 1860 map shows the portion of Springwells Township crossed by the Chicago Plank Road (today known as Michigan Avenue) and the road's proximity to the railroad junction. Notice that land nearby was owned by the Clark, Hubbard, and Livernois families. (Geil, Harley & Siverd, *Map of Wayne Co., Michigan* (Philadelphia: Geil, Harley & Siverd, 1860), Library of Congress)

Figure 8. The J. Grouset and R. R. Hall brickyards located in Springwells Township near the railroad junction. (Geil, Harley & Siverd, *Map of Wayne Co., Michigan* (Philadelphia: Geil, Harley & Siverd, 1860), Library of Congress)

here. As mentioned above, industrial enterprises in this area spurred further growth as Detroit's manufacturing industries proliferated in the early decades of the twentieth century.[20] Springwells Township was one of the areas where Detroit's industrial enterprises coalesced. Becoming part of Wayne County in 1827, the boundary of the township roughly aligned with the present-day roads of McGraw Avenue to the north, the Detroit River to the south, 25th street and the Grand Trunk Railroad to the east, and Miller Road to the west.[21] Throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries the City of Detroit annexed areas of the townships to the east resulting in Springwells Township being subsumed into Detroit's boundary, in pieces, from the 1880s to 1928. Since 1928 Springwells has been a neighborhood within the city.[22] Springwells Township was rural farmland for much of the nineteenth century and was known for its abundance of natural springs. The abundance of water and the makeup of the township's soil facilitated the development of brick and tile manufacturing facilities in the 1870s. Likewise supporting the development of industry was the proximity of the Detroit River for water transportation and the Michigan Central and Grand Trunk Railroads that crisscrossed the township, meeting at a junction near present-day Junction Avenue. During the latter half of the nineteenth century, the continued development of large-scale manufacturing facilities in the historic location of Springwells Township encouraged the construction of residential and commercial districts. By the twentieth century, manufacturing facilities transitioned into automobile suppliers as the automobile industry expanded, which influenced Henry Ford's placement of the Ford Motor Company's River Rouge Complex in nearby Dearborn.[23]

Southwest Detroit

In the early 1920s, the Mexican community began to establish itself along West Vernor Highway and the surrounding area. Continuing the pattern previously established in the Mexican and Mexican American community's general westward movement into Corktown, Latinx people continued their westward movement as automotive and related industries expanded along Detroit's western edge. By 1929, a distinct congregation of Mexican and Mexican American residents coalesced on Detroit's west side near present-day Mexicantown which became home to the majority of Detroit's Mexican and Mexican American population.[24] Similar to the east side neighborhood, the neighborhood that became Mexicantown was previously home to German and other European immigrants.[25] However, the neighborhood's transition between the ethnic communities did not occur overnight, with people of Mexican and Mexican American ancestry living amongst German, Hungarian, Polish, and Romanian immigrants throughout the twentieth

[20] "Industrial Detroit (1860-1900)," Detroit Historical Society, accessed March 9, 2023, https://detroithistorical.org/learn/timeline-detroit/industrial-detroit-1860-1900.
[21] Geil, Harley and Siverd, *Map of Wayne Co. Michigan* (Philadelphia: Geil, Harley & Siverd, 1860), Library of Congress, https://www.loc.gov/item/2012593159/; Marilyn Florek, *West Vernor Highway Survey Area, Detroit, Michigan*, Multiple Property Documentation Form, National Register of Historic Places, National Park Service, 2002, E1.
[22] National Lithograph Co., *City of Detroit: Indicating Growth by Annexation 1806 to 1926* ([Detroit, MI?]: National Lithograph Co., 1926).
[23] Florek, *West Vernor Highway Survey*, E1-E3.
[24] Zaragosa Vargas, *Proletariats of the North: A History of Mexican Industrial Workers in Detroit and the Midwest, 1917-1933* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1993), 64-65, 126-127.
[25] Florek *West Vernor Highway Survey*, E16; Vargas, *Proletariats*, 126-127.

century.[26] As such, members of the ethnic groups intermarried contributing to an increasingly diverse population.[27] German residents were predominately clustered along Vernor Highway while Hungarian residents were clustered in the Delray neighborhood. West Michigan Avenue had a diverse population of German, Polish, Romanian and Armenian residents, among others, so much so that it was known colloquially as "International Avenue" by area residents.[28] As further evidence of this evolution of the neighborhood, Lithuanian Hall, a fraternal organization for Detroiters of Lithuanian descent, and located at 3564 W. Vernor Highway (extant), was bought by Latinx advocacy group Hispanos Unidos in 1944 and the Sons of Malta Club located at 1500 Trumbull (extant) later became the home of Casa Maria, a social services organization serving Latinx community members.

Figure 9. Hispanos Unidos Hall in 1952. Originally the Lithuanian Hall, throughout the entieth century Hispanos Unidos Hall was a center for Latinx celebrations, events, and activities. ("Hispanos Unidos Building," 1952, image shared by Wayne State University Archives on Twitter)

[26] Vargas, *Proletariats*, 126-127; Carlos Vasquez, "Carlos Vasquez video interview and biography," Digital Collections, Grand Valley State University, July 18, 2012, accessed April 20, 2023, https://digitalcollections.library.gvsu.edu/document/24633.
[27] Maria Elena Rodriguez, *Detroit's Mexicantown* (Charleston, SC: Arcadia Publishing, 2011), 44.
[28] Vargas, *Proletariats*, 126.

As the Latinx residents began migrating to Detroit in search of industrial jobs, housing became a priority and temporary housing was often a necessity until more permanent dwellings could be obtained. Mexican and Mexican American employees of the Michigan Central Railroad lived in bunk cars near railroad interchanges in Southwest. Employees lived in camps of bunk cars, also known as camp cars, near Michigan Central Station and the nearby railyards. Living space and privacy within the bunk cars was minimal and utilitarian at best.[29] The 1920 census recorded sixty-eight people born in Mexico or children born to Mexican parents living in bunk cars located near the Michigan Central Railroad tracks near Livernois Avenue. A total of 206 people were recorded in the camp, meaning Mexican people made up thirty-three percent of the camp. Mexican men were employed as laborers for the railroad and Mexican women who were employed were listed as housekeepers, presumably for the bunk car camp.[30]

Figure 10. An example of the interior of a bunk car where railroad laborers were housed. (John Nopel, "Bunk Car," photograph, March 18, 1922, John Nopel Photograph Collection, Meriam Library, California State University, Chico)

[29] Vargas, *Proletariats*, 65, 68.
[30] U.S. Census Bureau, *Fourteenth Census of the United States 1920*, U.S. Federal Census, population schedule, sheets 21B-23B, enumeration district 0418, ward 14, Detroit, Wayne County, Michigan, Ancestry.com.

Detroit's Mexican and Mexican American community grew throughout the 1920s but was stunted by the Great Depression and the forced migration out of Detroit due to repatriation efforts in 1932. (Repatriation will be discussed in detail in the *Detroit's Mexican Repatriation Campaign of 1932* section, below). Following the decline of the community throughout the 1930s, Mexicans and Mexican Americans again returned to Detroit, cementing the earlier Mexicantown settlement near Bagley Street between 14th and West Grand Boulevard.[31]

Development of Detroit's defense industry and the plethora of employment opportunities that went hand in hand with its development again made Detroit an attractive destination. Throughout the 1940s the Mexican and Mexican American community continued to expand, moving westward to Southwest Detroit—a previous enclave of European immigrants.[32] Mexican restaurants and businesses also developed westward along Vernor Highway.[33] Puerto Ricans and Cuban immigrants that moved to Detroit in the 1950s settled in the predominantly Mexican and Mexican American neighborhoods that were developing in Southwest Detroit.

Other factors influenced the westward expansion of Latinx communities to Southwest Detroit. Freeway construction and urban renewal projects in the 1950s forced Latinx communities westward, as the construction of Interstates 96 and 75 and the Ambassador Bridge bisected the commercial corridor along Bagley Street. These projects resulted in the demolition of significant swaths of the surrounding neighborhood. Latinx businesses on Bagley Street, east of the freeways, became separated from the neighborhoods they served west of the freeways.[34] Neighborhood churches east of the freeways were likewise affected with dwindling attendance as their congregations were forced to shift westward.[35]

Latinx Immigrant Neighborhoods in the Twentieth Century

Other areas besides Southwest Detroit have been home to significant numbers of Latinx immigrants at different periods in time. In each of the neighborhoods that became home to Latinx immigrants, Latinx people resided in single-family homes, multi-family homes, attics, boarding houses, apartments, and basement apartments with family members or other immigrants. The most popular boarding houses for members of the Mexican community were those that were operated by Spanish speakers.[36] Known as *casas de asistencia*, these boarding houses provided space for working men to rest, socialize, and receive homemade Mexican food. While working and living at the *casa de asistencia*, the young men often sent money back to Mexico for their families until they married. Two of the most popular in Detroit were *Casa Paloma* and *Casa Española*, with several others also identified: one located at East Columbia Avenue and one on East Congress Street. *Casas de asistencia* were occasionally named after the

[31] Florek, *West Vernor Highway Survey*, E16.
[32] Florek, *West Vernor Highway Survey*, E16; Louis Christopher Murillo, "The Detroit Mexican Colonia from 1920 to 1932: Implications for Social and Educational Policy," (PhD diss., Michigan State University, 1981), 82.
[33] Florek, *West Vernor Highway Survey*, E16.
[34] Florek, *West Vernor Highway Survey*, E16; Murillo, "The Detroit Mexican Colonia," 82; Badillo, *Latinos in Michigan*, 47; Rudolph Valier Alvarado, and Sonya Yvette Alvarado, *Mexicans and Mexican Americans in Michigan* (East Lansing, MI: Michigan State University Press, 2003), 40; Rodriguez, *Detroit's Mexicantown,* 8.
[35] Alvarado and Alvarado, *Mexicans and Mexican Americans in Michigan*, 40.
[36] Norman D. Humphrey, "The Housing and Household Practices of Detroit Mexicans," *Social Forces* 24, no. 4 (1946), 434; Murillo, "The Detroit Mexican Colonia," 50, 107-108.

Figure 11. A 1961 aerial photograph showing the commercial and residential buildings near Bagley Street between 23rd and 21st Streets. (Wayne State University, "DTE Aerial Photo Collection," Detroit Edison, 1961)

Figure 12. A 1981 aerial photograph showing the same section of Bagley Street, bisected by Interstates 75 and 96. (Wayne State University, "DTE Aerial Photo Collection," Detroit Edison, 1981)

place of origin of the proprietors, who were often female. Operating a *casa de asistencia* was one way that the wives and daughters of Mexican industrial workers supplemented the family income. The women procured and cooked food for men coming and going on different factory shifts, laundered their clothing, and cleaned for them.[37]

[37] Vargas, *Proletariats*, 128, 134; Murillo, "The Detroit Mexican Colonia," 50, 54, 107-108.

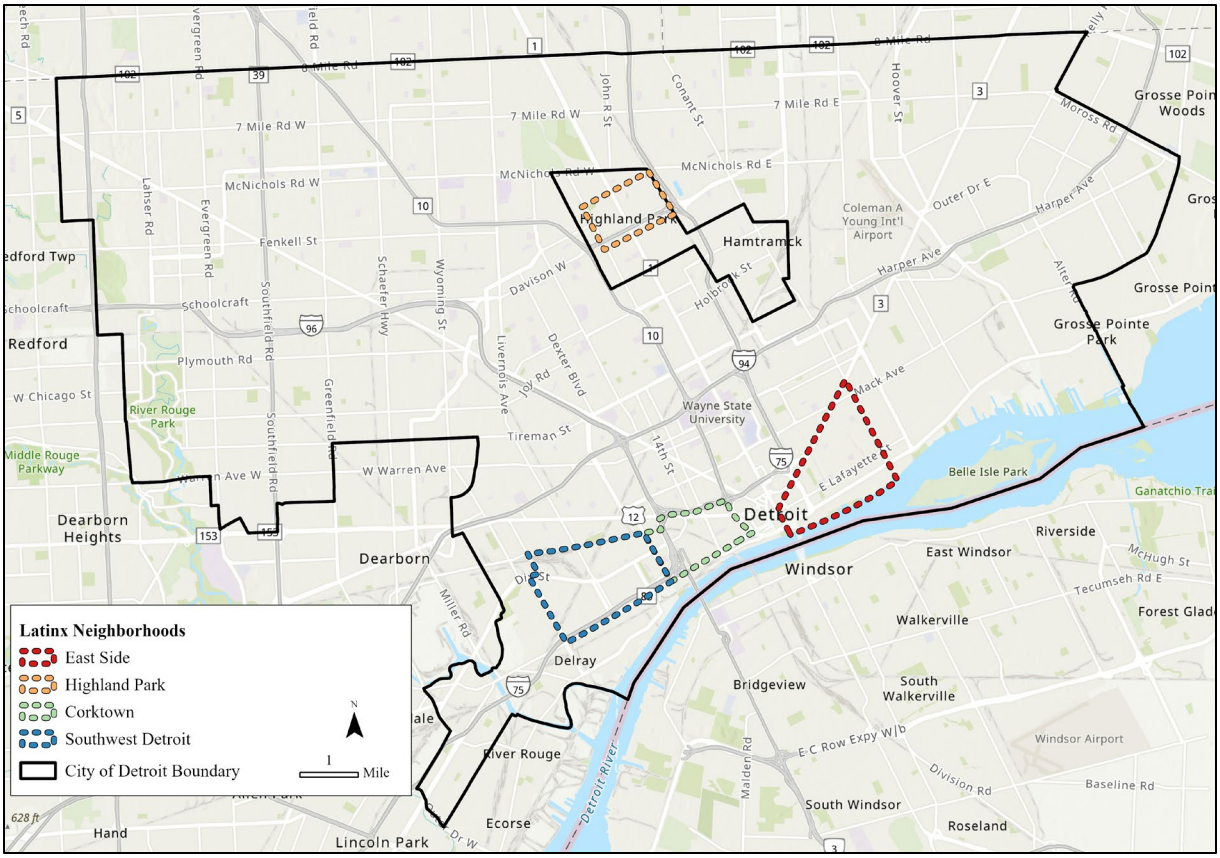

Figure 13. The above map shows the general location of Latinx neighborhoods in Detroit. The map is for general reference only and is not intended to serve as an illustration of the definitive boundary of any of the neighborhoods. (Kraemer Design Group, 2023)

Detroit's East Side, 1915-1930s

Detroit's east side neighborhood was located near the intersection of Congress and Hastings Streets, south of Gratiot Avenue, and east of Woodward Avenue.[38] Known as Detroit's "port of entry" due to the area's large immigrant population, the neighborhood was often the first stop for Mexican immigrants and Mexican Americans in Detroit. They congregated here as the older German population was moving out of the area, and the older buildings they left behind became available to immigrants. Rented houses, apartments, hotels, and boarding houses composed the typical dwellings of Mexican and Mexican American newcomers to the city.[39]

Highland Park and Vicinity, 1915-1920s

At just 2.9 square miles, Highland Park is a city located north of downtown Detroit and is wholly surrounded by the City of Detroit. It is roughly located east of the Lodge Freeway (M-10) and west of I-75, north of Webb and Woodland Streets, and south of McNichols. In the late 1910s

[38] Due to freeway construction this intersection no longer exists. Today it is roughly located at the intersection of Congress and the I-375 freeway.
[39] Vargas, *Proletariats*, 64-65, 125-127; Florek, *West Vernor Highway Survey*, E15-E16.

through the mid-1920s, small groups of Mexican and Mexican American employees of the Ford Highland Park plant rented living spaces near the plant along West Davison Avenue and around downtown Detroit. The workforce of young, single men rented flats and stayed in apartment hotels. The Brunswick Hotel, which was located at Grand River and Cass Avenues, served as another living space for factory workers.[40]

Corktown, 1915-1950s

By 1925, Detroit's Mexican community had already begun congregating in the Corktown neighborhood along Bagley Street, roughly bounded on the north by Grand River Avenue, Fort Street and the Detroit River at the south, 14th Street at west, and Cass Avenue at east. Many Mexicans and Mexican Americans were employed at Ford Motor Company and automotive related industries and as Ford Motor Company's plants moved westward towards Dearborn, Mexicans and Mexican Americans moved out of the east side to Corktown.[41] Most Holy Trinity Church in the Corktown neighborhood became a center of Latinx worship by the 1930s.[42]

Migration to the neighborhood continued throughout the 1950s as *Tejanos*, Puerto Ricans, and Cubans, moved to Detroit. The role of the neighborhood as a home for people of the Latinx communities was altered as urban renewal projects of the 1960s destroyed large portions of the residential and commercial fabric within the neighborhood. The demolition of housing and commercial spaces hastened the movement of people further westward, into Southwest Detroit.[43]

Commercial Development in Detroit's Latinx Communities

Development of commercial corridors devoted to serving the Latinx communities reflects the presence and purchasing power of the surrounding Latinx population.[44] Situated amongst Latinx residential neighborhoods, Latinx businesses opened to meet the growing needs of Latinx people within the surrounding neighborhood. Detroit's Mexican, Mexican American, Puerto Rican, Cuban, and other communities beneath the Latinx umbrella developed commercial establishments in similar fashions. Family-owned grocery stores, eateries, food manufacturing facilities, and social and entertainment venues provided space for members of each community to connect to their ethnic culture while providing income to the business owners. Thus, the increase of Puerto Rican and Cuban migration to Detroit during the 1950s prompted the establishment of businesses catering to these groups. Many of these establishments still operate today, while others have come and gone as members of each community left Detroit or moved throughout the city. As such, the prevalence of family-owned and small-scale commercial establishments is a significant characteristic of Detroit's Latinx communities that is worthy of research and preservation.

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[40] Vargas, *Proletariats*, 67-68, 125.
[41] Vargas, *Proletariats*, 65, 125-126; Alvarado and Alvarado, *Mexicans and Mexican Americans in Michigan*, 22.
[42] Florek, *West Vernor Highway Survey*, E16.
[43] Laurie Kay Sommers and Casa de Unidad Cultural Arts and Media Center, *Fiesta, Fe, y Cultura* (Detroit, MI: Casa de Unidad Cultural Arts and Media Center, 1995), 22-23.
[44] Jesus J. Lara, "Patterns and Forms of Latino Cultural Landscapes: Southwest Detroit, a Case of Incremental Re-adaptive Use," *Journal of Urbanism: International Research on Placemaking and Urban Sustainability* 5, no. 2-3 (2012), 141, 144.

A wide range of Spanish-speaking businesses catered to the Mexican population in the 1920s, serving the Mexican and other Latinx groups in the city.[45] Establishment of ethnic grocers allowed the community to preserve food-related aspects of Mexican culture in Detroit.[46] Surtidora Grocery advertised "over 190 different medicinal herbs for home use in addition to many varieties of dry chili, metates, stone mortars and pestles, sugar cane, pork rinds, black beans, and many other food items from Latin America."[47] Financing for commercial endeavors largely sourced from family and friends, as traditional lenders such as local banks often turned away immigrants.[48] Latinx-oriented commercial districts mirrored the movement of each community, generally moving westward trend towards the River Rouge Plant.[49] Today, Latinx people operate eighty five percent of the businesses in the corridor, and the majority are small, owner-operated businesses that employ two to four people from the local community.[50]

Bagley Street in Mexicantown

The earliest commercial corridor with a distinct association with Detroit's Mexican and Mexican American residents was Mexicantown, located along Bagley Street west of the Michigan Central Railroad tracks to 24th Street.[51] Originally called Baker Street, the section of Bagley Street between 7th and 24th Streets was part of the Baker Street Line of the Detroit's crosstown streetcar system.[52] Mexican and Mexican American businesses were housed in commercial spaces initially occupied by European immigrants, reflecting the general movement of European immigrants out of the area and the arrival of Mexicans and Mexican Americans. Mexicantown became home to grocery stores, bakeries, restaurants, bars and a theater.[53] The theater, called the Bagley Theater and later known as the Alamo Theater (addressed at 3327 Bagley), was located just east of La Gloria Bakery and was torn down when I-75 was built. Advertisements in the 1950s in the *Detroit Free Press* proclaimed that the Alamo was the only Detroit theater showing Spanish language movies.[54] The success of Mexicantown facilitated the congregation of Latinx people in the surrounding neighborhoods and the spillover of the communities westward along Vernor Highway.[55]

In 1970, Southwest Detroit was cut off from much of what is currently known as Mexicantown by the construction of the Fisher Freeway (Interstate 75), creating a gulf between Mexicantown, the old commercial corridor, and the majority of Latinx neighborhoods of Southwest Detroit, west of the Fisher Freeway.[56] Moreover, construction of the expressway displaced hundreds of people as homes were demolished to make way for the expressway.[57] Detrimental effects of

[45] Murillo, "The Detroit Mexican Colonia," 39-40; Lara, "Patterns and Forms of Latino Cultural Landscapes: Southwest Detroit," 142.
[46] Murillo, "The Detroit Mexican Colonia," 103.
[47] Murillo, "The Detroit Mexican Colonia," 39.
[48] Lara, "Patterns and Forms of Latino Cultural Landscapes: Southwest Detroit," 142.
[49] Vargas, *Proletariats*, 140.
[50] Lara, "Patterns and Forms of Latino Cultural Landscapes: Southwest Detroit," 142-143.
[51] Florek, *West Vernor Highway Survey*, E16.
[52] Florek, *West Vernor Highway Survey*, E5.
[53] Florek, *West Vernor Highway Survey*, E16.
[54] "Mexican Melodrama Opens Here," *Detroit Free Press*, January 1, 1959.
[55] Florek, *West Vernor Highway Survey*, E10.
[56] Peter Brown, "Latin Entrepreneurs Hope to Emulate Greektown Success," *Detroit Free Press*, March 4, 1984.
[57] Louis Cook, "Street-Closing Is No Easy Decision," *Detroit Free Press*, June 15, 1977.

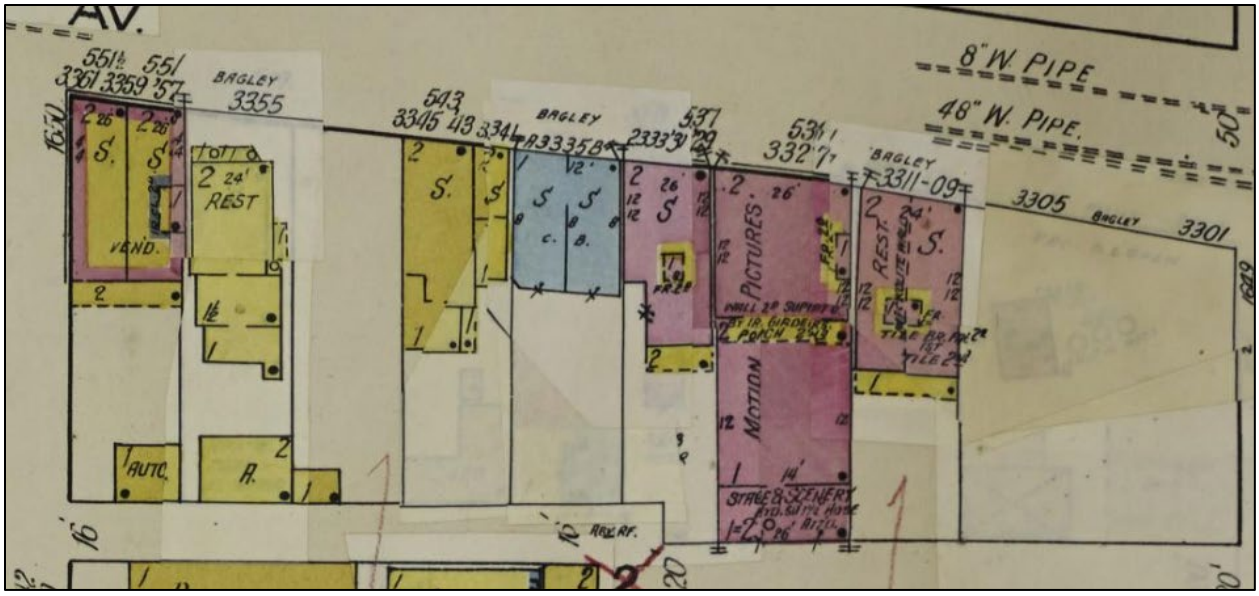

Figure 14. Commercial buildings on the south side of Bagley Street east of 23rd Street, including the Alama Theater at 3327 Bagley, are illustrated on a Sanborn map from 1950. (Sanborn Map Company, *Sanborn Fire Insurance Map from Detroit, Wayne County, Michigan* vol. 1 (New York: Sanborn Map and Publishing Company, 1950), sheet 57)

significant construction projects did not end, as almost one-hundred more homes in the area were demolished for facilities supporting the Ambassador Bridge.[58] Demolition of large swaths of the neighborhood made it difficult for business owners to maintain their once profitable businesses.[59]

Vernor Highway in Southwest Detroit

Commercial districts in Southwest Detroit were initially established by German immigrants in the 1880s, when the area was known as Springwells Township.[60] German and other European immigrants, such as the Irish and English, worked at the local brickyards and manufacturing facilities.[61] Dix Road historically functioned as the commercial corridor in Springwells Township.[62] By 1873, the section of Dix Road between 24th Street and Detroit's west boundary was part of Detroit's crosstown streetcar line - the Baker Street Line.[63] Ford Motor Company constructed the River Rouge Complex in 1918, drawing thousands of workers through Southwest Detroit from the company's Highland Park plant to the Rouge Plant.[64] By the 1920s, Detroit had

[58] Nancy Costello, "Area Hopes To Be Safe Investment," *Detroit Free Press*, March 21, 1994.
[59] Nancy Ann Jeffrey, "Mexican Town Hopes To Cash In On Festival," *Detroit Free Press*, June 24, 1991.
[60] Florek E3-E4.
[61] Florek E8.
[62] Florek E3-E4.
[63] Florek E5.
[64] Ralph J. Christian, "Ford River Rouge Complex," Dearborn, Wayne County, Michigan, National Register of Historic Places, National Historic Landmark #78001516.

grown so large in terms of population and sheer size that a crosstown thoroughfare was needed to efficiently transport people across the city and relieve traffic congestion. [65]

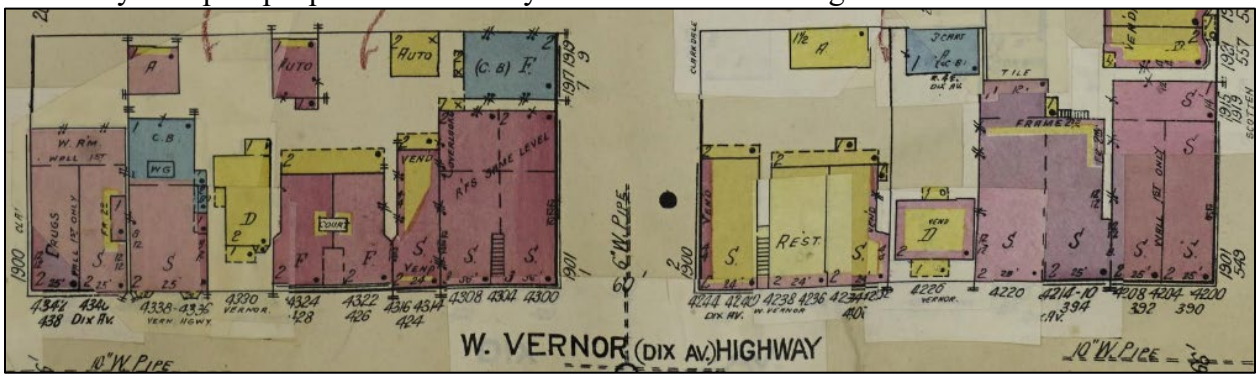

Figure 15. Commercial buildings on the north side of West Vernor Highway, directly north of Clark Park, depicted on a 1950 Sanborn map. (Sanborn Map Company, *Sanborn Fire Insurance Map from Detroit, Wayne County, Michigan* vol. 1 (New York: Sanborn Map and Publishing Company, 1950), sheet 80)

In 1919 Detroit's City Plan Commission recommended the construction of a crosstown transportation route to alleviate congestion in the downtown business district and connect industrial facilities along the east boundary of the city, Ford Motor Company's River Rouge Plant on the west boundary, and the Michigan Central Station.[66] Originally known as the Dix-High-Waterloo Highway before it was renamed to Vernor Highway in 1926, construction of the thoroughfare involved the widening of existing streets and the condemnation of approximately four hundred properties throughout the late 1920s.[67] Through Southwest Detroit, Ferndale and Dix Avenues were widened and the thoroughfare cut diagonally to the northeast across existing streets to reach Roosevelt Park and the Michigan Central Station.[68] From Michigan Central Station, High Street was widened until its intersection with Gratiot Avenue on Detroit's east side at which point Cleveland Street was widened to accommodate the thoroughfare.[69]

Following the completion of Vernor Highway, property owners along the highway complained that the tax assessments imposed on properties adjacent to the highway were prohibitively expensive. The *Detroit Free Press* describes how some Detroiters consider the highway a "back alley" that did not alleviate the crosstown traffic as intended and resulted in decreased rental opportunities for building owners along the highway.[70] Construction of the highway may have provided the impetus for European property owners to move from the area because of the

[65] Florek E7.
[66] Florek E4-E5; "Commission Plans East, West Street," *Detroit Free Press*, September 28, 1919.
[67] Florek E7; "Crosstown Route Named for Vernor," *Detroit Free Press*, July 1, 1925; "Condemned Houses Ordered Torn Down," *Detroit Free Press*, July 28, 1926.
[68] "4 Routes of 47 Miles Initial Links In Chain," *Detroit Free Press*, August 22, 1926.
[69] "4 Routes of 47 Miles Initial Links In Chain," *Detroit Free Press*, August 22, 1926; William C. Sauer, *Map of the City of Detroit, Michigan* ([Detroit, MI?]: William Sauer, 1915) Michigan State University Map Library, https://lib.msu.edu/branches/map/MSU-Scanned/Michigan/843-d-1915-Detroit300/; National Lithograph Company, *New National Authentic Map of Detroit and Environs* (Detroit, MI: National Lithograph Company, 1930) Michiganology, https://michiganology.org/uncategorized/IO_a8a7781d-c5b9-4277-ac39-f894ce7f0173.
[70] Clifford A. Prevost, "Will Settle Widening Proposal on Tuesday," *Detroit Free Press*, December 28, 1930.

highway's disruption to business, providing Mexicans, Mexican Americans, and other Latinx groups the opportunity to acquire commercial buildings in the area, serving as the foundation for the development of a Latinx-oriented neighborhood later in the twentieth century.
Today, Latinx commercial establishments are clustered in Southwest Detroit, the heart of Detroit's Latinx communities. Vernor Highway serves as one of the major commercial corridors in Southwest Detroit as it crosses the neighborhood from 16th Street to Woodmere Street.[71] The construction of Vernor Highway and the thousands of employees taking the Baker Streetcar line to the River Rouge Complex spurred commercial development along Bagley Street, Dix Avenue, and Vernor Highway.[72] Commercial development along the highway occurred from east to west in clusters, generally beginning at the intersection of Vernor Highway and 24th Street and continuing in clusters west to Woodmere Street. The first cluster began along Vernor Highway between Hubbard and Scotten Streets, then moved westward along Vernor between Clark Avenue and McKinstry Street, continuing the westward movement to the area between Morrell Street and Junction Avenue.[73] Further west, additional commercial clusters developed along Vernor Highway between Beard and Lawndale Streets.[74] Over time, boundary distinctions between the clusters diminished such that two districts are present today—one between Interstates 75/96 and Livernois Avenue and the other between Waterman Street and Woodmere Street.

Ethnic Heritage

Members of Detroit's Latinx population have been an integral part of Detroit's history since the first years of the twentieth century. The history and significance of the Latinx's ethnic heritage is outlined below, tracing early migration histories to the repatriation movement of 1932. The Government/Politics section then continues, outlining the history of Latinx peoples in Detroit.

Latinx Migration

Early migration of Mexican and Mexican Americans began occurring just after the turn of the century—the 1900 census reported just 56 Mexicans living in Michigan.[75] However, towards the middle and end of the 1910s, Mexican people began immigrating to the U.S. in larger numbers.[76]

The Concept of Transnationalism

The concept of transnationalism illustrates the migration process that was commonplace among members of Detroit's Mexican community. Rather than migrating to a singular destination and remaining there permanently, transnationalism describes the how, for most Mexican immigrants coming to Detroit in the twentieth century, migration "involves various links between two or more settings rather than a discrete event constituted by a permanent move from one nation to

[71] Florek E4; Lara 139.
[72] Florek E5-E6.
[73] Florek, E8, E17.
[74] Florek E10.
[75] Rudolph Valier Alvarado and Sonya Yvette Alvarado, *Mexicans and Mexican Americans in Michigan* (East Lansing, MI: Michigan State University Press, 2003), 13.
[76] Florek E15; Humphrey, "Migration and Settlement," 358.

another."[77] Connections and communication between individuals and their family and community is preserved in both Detroit and Mexico, thereby maintaining their cultural identities in both locations.[78]

Migration to the U.S.

Conditions in their home countries prompted many Latinx individuals to move elsewhere. In the early-twentieth century, a system of peonage in Mexico precluded the advancement of Mexican agricultural workers and members of the working class.[79] The opportunity to earn higher wages working in the U.S. drew Mexican workers over the southern border.[80] Political instability in Mexico stemming from the Mexican Revolution of the 1910s made the notion of life in the U.S. increasingly attractive.[81] Various political factions were fighting for power, harming the Mexican economy, and leaving the working class and peasant population vulnerable to attacks by revolutionary groups.[82] Thus Mexican immigrants, particularly in Detroit, tended to be members of Mexico's working class or rural peasants. Members of the upper classes in Mexican society also migrated to Detroit, but not to the extent that the working class did.[83]

Providing additional motivation for Mexican migration to the U.S. was the Cristero Revolution of the late 1920s. The Cristero Revolution was a counter-revolution to the secularization that occurred following the Mexican Revolution, resulting in the Catholic church and its supporters losing much of their power and influence.[84] Cristeros were devout Catholics holding politically conservative beliefs, and ideological differences between Cristeros and less-ardent supporters of the Catholic church fueled the 1927-1929 revolution.[85]

U.S. restrictions placed on European and Asian immigration likewise influenced migration. Immigration acts in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries paved the way for nearly unrestricted immigration from Mexico by establishing quotas capping the number of European and Asian immigrants into the country.[86] These quotas created gaps in the bottom rungs of the industrial and agricultural labor markets, allowing Mexican immigrants to fill the largely unskilled positions that were left open as immigration restrictions were tightened on other groups of people.[87] The majority of Mexican immigrants were young men who worked as laborers, coming from the central-west Mexican states of Michoacan, Guanajuato, Jalisco, and

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[77] Gabriela Sáenz, "Transnational Life Histories: Mexican Origin Elderly in Southwest Detroit, Michigan" (master's thesis, Michigan State University, 2009), 1.
[78] Sáenz, "Transnational Life Histories," 34; Louis Christopher Murillo, "The Detroit Mexican Colonia from 1920 to 1932: Implications for Social and Educational Policy" (PhD diss., Michigan State University, 1981), 48-49.
[79] Humphrey, "Migration and Settlement," 358.
[80] Brian Gratton and Emily Klancher Merchant, "An Immigrant's Tale: The Mexican American Southwest 1850 to 1950," *Social Science History* 39 (2015), 528.
[81] Florek E15; Humphrey, "Migration and Settlement," 358; Vargas, "Armies in the Fields," 49; Murillo 23, 89-90, 94; Laurie Kay Sommers and Casa de Unidad Cultural Arts and Media Center, *Fiesta, Fe, y Cultura* (Detroit, MI: Casa de Unidad Cultural Arts and Media Center, 1995), 3.
[82] Murillo 94-95.
[83] Miner 649.
[84] Humphrey, "Migration and Settlement," 358; Murillo 38; Miner 656.
[85] Vargas, *Proletariats*, 143.
[86] Vargas, "Armies in the Fields," 52; Murillo 18-20.
[87] Vargas, "Armies in the Fields," 48-49; Murillo 18-20.

Zacatecas.[88] It was typical practice for Mexican immigrants to then marry and have their first child in the U.S.[89] Although Mexican immigrants filled unskilled positions in the U.S., they held a vast variety of skills in agriculture and industry that they drew upon while employed in the U.S.[90] It was common for Mexican immigrants to cross and recross the U.S.'s southern border throughout the early-twentieth century depending on the prevailing economic conditions in the U.S. and Mexico.[91]

Migration to Rural Michigan

Prior to the marked migration of Mexican people to Detroit in the 1920s, many Mexican immigrant workers were already familiar with the Midwest. Following the restriction on European immigration during the early-twentieth century leading up to and during World War I, sugar beet farmers in Michigan, Minnesota, Wisconsin, Ohio, and Iowa turned to Mexican immigrant contract labor.[92] The role of sugar beet farming in introducing Mexican immigrants to the Midwest is significant. The Dingley Tariff Act of 1897 placed a significant duty on the importation of sugar, which stimulated growth of the sugar beet agricultural industry in the U.S. Due to the desire to maximize profits and the intense labor required for sugar beet farming, companies turned to Mexican, Filipino, and Japanese immigrant labor, as American laborers shunned the work.[93] As effects of Asian immigration restrictions were felt in the early-twentieth century, companies primarily turned to Mexican immigrant labor.[94]

Michigan sugar beet farms operated by sugar companies first brought Mexican immigrants to Michigan in 1915. Recruited by *enganchistas*, company recruiters who advertised work on sugar beet farms, Mexican immigrants made up seventy-five percent of Michigan's sugar beet workers by 1927.[95] Companies recruited Mexican men and Mexican families to work on their farms, providing transportation for them on railroad lines coming from Texas and heading towards the Midwest.[96] Michigan's sugar beet farms were heavily concentrated near Saginaw, in the thumb region of the state.[97] Workers were often skilled in agriculture as they usually came from agricultural backgrounds in Mexico.[98] Sugar companies were not concerned with the legal status of Mexican employees and actively recruited both documented and undocumented workers, nor were they concerned with the exploitive nature of their relationship to employees.[99] Typically, travel costs, housing, and food were deducted from employee's paychecks and the threat of discharge before the end of the harvest season weighed heavily on employees.[100] Employees did not earn enough money to repay costs paid by the company, which resulted in sugar companies

[88] Humphrey, "Migration and Settlement," 358; Murillo 95.
[89] Humphrey, "Migration and Settlement," 358.
[90] Vargas, "Armies in the Fields," 49.
[91] Murillo 139.
[92] Vargas, "Armies in the Fields," 52-53.
[93] Murillo 12.
[94] Vargas, "Armies in the Fields," 48-49; Murillo 18-20.
[95] Vargas, "Armies in the Fields," 54; Murillo 13-14.
[96] Vargas, "Armies in the Fields," 52.
[97] Brett T. Olmsted, "Mexican Fiestas in Central Michigan: Celebrations and Identity Formation, 1920-1930," *Michigan Historical Review* 41, no. 2 (2015), 37.
[98] Murillo 27.
[99] Murillo 13.
[100] Vargas, "Armies in the Fields," 53, 55.

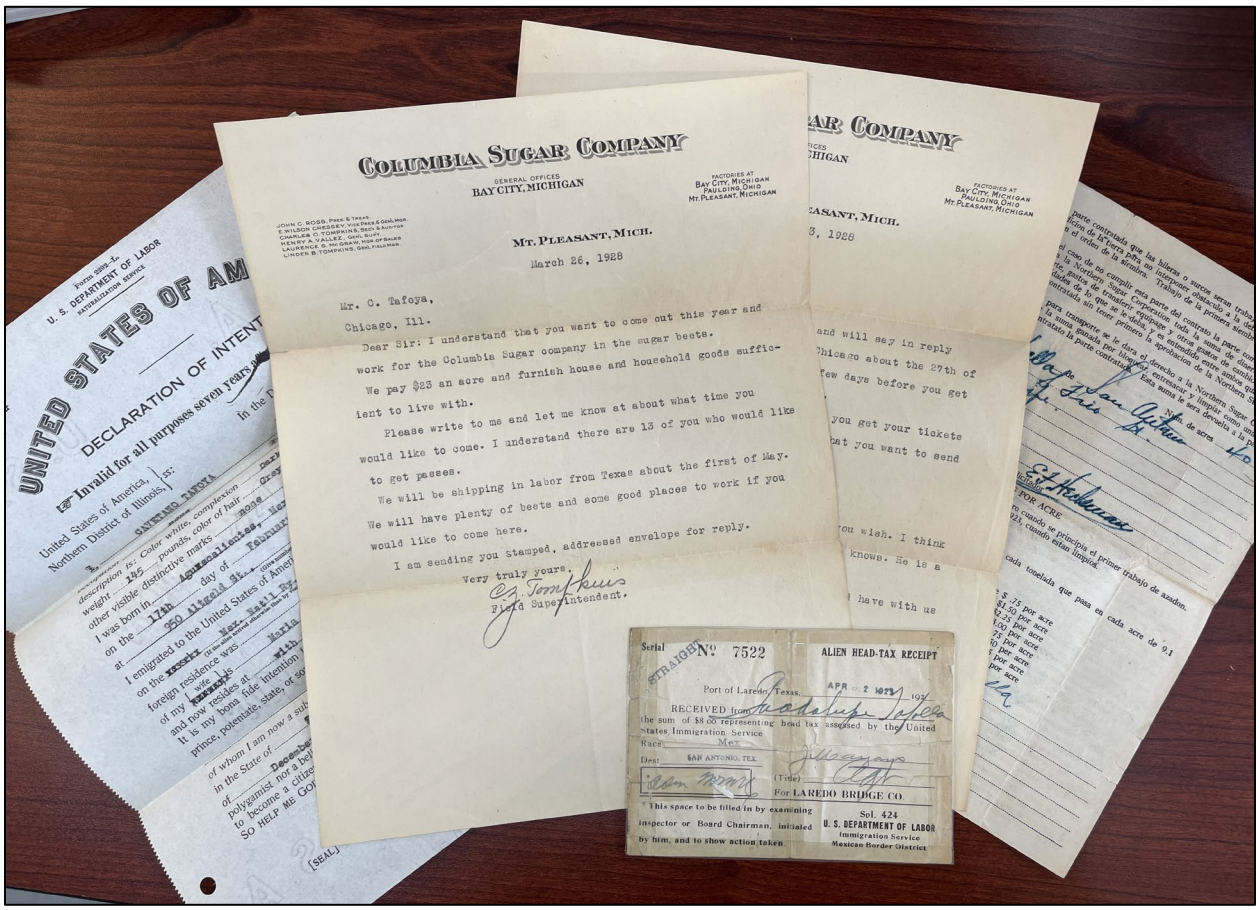

Figure 16. Papers from the late 1920s received by members of the Tafoya family regarding the family's work on Michigan's sugar beet farms. (Image courtesy of Raymond Lozano)

holding workers beyond their contract period.[101] Despite the unbalanced relationship, Mexican workers utilized their employment to provide for their families.[102]

Railroad work was another Michigan industry that utilized Mexican labor. The Pennsylvania Railroad recruited Mexican laborers for work on the railroad in Michigan, settling workers in small labor camps near where railroad work was stationed.[103] Once in Detroit, Latinx men obtained jobs laying track and performing "shovel labor" for entities like the Michigan Central Railroad. Public works and construction companies also hired Latinx men, but these jobs tended to be physically demanding and short in duration.[104]

[101] Vargas, "Armies in the Fields," 55.
[102] Murillo 13.
[103] Murillo 17.
[104] Humphrey, 916-918.

Figure 17. Members of the Tafoya family during their employment on a sugar beet farm in northern Michigan. (Images courtesy of Raymond Lozano)

Migration Patterns to and from Detroit

The concept of transnationalism is apparent in the migration histories of Mexicans and Mexican Americans who resided in Detroit throughout the twentieth century. Mexican immigrants did not have to travel across an ocean to make their way to Detroit and prior to their arrival in Detroit, many Mexican immigrants already had experiences as laborers on sugar beet farms in Michigan. Moreover, as the following descriptions of migration patterns will illustrate, economic prospects and cultural ties influenced the movement of Mexican people back and forth across the southern U.S. border.[105] Immigration records from the late 1920s indicate that Mexican immigrants were one of the least likely of immigrant groups to apply for citizenship once in Detroit, and that "most were reluctant to relinquish their ties to Mexico."[106] These realities of Mexican immigration to Detroit facilitated the maintenance of cultural and familial ties in both Detroit and Mexico.[107]

During the 1950s and 1960s, several thousand Cuban refugees came to the U.S. fleeing the Cuban Revolution. Supported through resettlement programs operated by the federal government, Cubans from largely white-collar backgrounds were resettled throughout the U.S. and generally maintained their dislike of Fidel Castro. However, Detroit's Cuban community

[105] Sáenz 12.
[106] Sáenz 11; Murillo 47.
[107] Murillo 11.

held varied beliefs in that a celebration of around three hundred people celebrated Castro's defeat of Fulgencio Batista at Hispanos Unidos Hall at 1920 25th Street alongside representatives of the 26th of July Movement, the revolutionary organization associated with Castro's political party.[108]

Latinx Movement Within Detroit

The earliest working-class neighborhoods home to Detroit's Latinx residents were located near automobile manufacturing, steel facilities, and Detroit's east side neighborhood east of Woodward Avenue and south of Gratiot Avenue. In the early twentieth century, Mexicans and Mexican Americans made up the vast majority of Latinx immigrants within the east side neighborhood, and they lived in this area while they contemplated where to settle more permanently in the city.[109] The movement of immigrants within Detroit was common, sometimes occurring multiple times a year, as people moved to follow their jobs and sought more desirable areas of the city.[110] Limited Mexican residents in the formative years of Detroit's Latinx communities purchased property as many intended to move back to Mexico and open a business or purchase property in Mexico with their earnings from work in the U.S.[111] However, the assimilation of their children into American society often precluded returning to Mexico, prompting them to stay.[112]

Repatriation Movement in Detroit

Repatriation is defined as the return of someone to their home country. Latinx residents in Detroit were subjected to two repatriation efforts: one in 1921 and the more major campaign of 1932. Both are discussed in detail, below.

The 1920-1921 Depression and Origins of the First Repatriation Movement

The first repatriation movement of Detroiters of Mexican heritage occurred as early as 1921, as Catholic churches promoted the return to Mexico due to the "pitiable conditions, both spiritually and material, prevailing in the Mexican colony in Detroit."[113] The 1920-1921 Depression occurred as the Federal Reserve attempted to stymie inflation at the close of World War I by increasing interest rates.[114]

Sugar beet farmers in Michigan could not afford to plant beets in the spring of 1920, dismissing agricultural workers, the majority of which were Mexicans and Mexican Americans. Sugar companies did not pay for travel for workers to return home, prompting agricultural workers to migrate to Midwestern cities searching for employment. There they encountered unemployed

[108] John Mueller, "Detroit Cubans Rejoice At Rally," *Detroit Free Press*, January 12, 1959.
[109] Vargas, *Proletariats*, 64.
[110] Humphrey, "Migration and Settlement," 361; Vargas, *Proletariats*, 125-126.
[111] Murillo, "The Detroit Mexican Colonia," 102.
[112] Murillo, "The Detroit Mexican Colonia," 102-103.
[113] Miner, 658.
[114] Anderson and Chang 1-2.

and angry immigrants and American factory workers who believed immigrants took their positions.[115]

In Detroit, the recession was further compounded by the overproduction of automobiles and the reluctance to reduce prices. Capital investments and industrial expansion diminished as government contracts concluded at the end of World War I.[116] By the end of 1920 over eighty percent of the automobile industry's workforce was laid off. The reliance on the automobile industry for employment made the effects of the depression more acute in Detroit.[117] The depression created mass unemployment and poverty in Detroit's Mexican and Mexican American communities, as Mexican and Black workers were the first to be dismissed due to racist policies at area companies.[118]

Public assistance programs for the unemployed were wildly underfunded, and nativist sentiments fueled the reporting of immigrants who applied for public assistance to the Immigration Bureau.[119] The development of deportation programs occurred at the municipal level in coordination with Mexican consulates.[120] Rather than expend money to assist immigrants in staying in Detroit, officials reasoned that deporting Mexican immigrants and those believed to be Mexican immigrants—some of whom were actually Mexican Americans—was a better solution that bent to the nativist sentiments espoused by American residents. [121] Immigrants, including Mexicans and Mexican Americans who were presumed to be immigrants, dealt with harassment by agents of the Immigration Bureau of the Department of Labor. Agents sought to apprehend immigrants believed to be in violation of their labor contracts and thus in the U.S. illegally. Workers who were unable to prove their legal entry into the U.S. prior to 1921 were subject to arrest and deportation.[122]

Father Alanis, the priest who would soon establish Our Lady of Guadalupe, financially aided repatriations during this time for Mexican people in Detroit, with support from the Catholic church, the Society of St. Vincent de Paul, and the Mexican Consul Francisco Vera.[123] In 1921, 514 Mexican Detroiters were repatriated. They were transported to the southern border of the U.S. where the Mexican government transported them further into the interior of Mexico.[124] Following the short-lived depression, Mexican and Mexican American migration to Detroit resumed.[125]

[115] Vargas, *Proletariats*, 79, 81-83.
[116] Vargas, *Proletariats*, 81.
[117] Vargas, *Proletariats*, 81.
[118] Vargas, *Proletariats*, 79.
[119] Vargas, *Proletariats*, 81-82.
[120] Vargas, *Proletariats*, 83.
[121] Vargas, *Proletariats*, 79.
[122] Vargas, *Proletariats*, 83.
[123] Vargas, *Proletariats*, 84.
[124] Vargas, *Proletariats*, 84.
[125] Vargas, *Proletariats*, 86.

The 1929-1940 Great Depression and Origins of the Second Repatriation Movement

The success and size of the automobile industry in the 1920s meant that the impact of the Great Depression on Detroit was immense. Production of automobiles fell, affecting Detroit in a profound way as suppliers and associated industries slashed production and laid off employees. One estimation suggests that two-thirds of the thousands employed in Detroit's automobile industry were without a job by 1932, and small business owners felt the effects.[126] A little over one hundred thousand workers were employed at Ford Motor Company by the end of 1929. By the fall of 1931 only thirty-seven thousand workers remained.[127]

The effects of the Great Depression were often felt most quickly and intensely by the working class and immigrants.[128] Many Mexican and Mexican American people in Detroit lost their jobs following the stock market crash in 1929. Familial and social networks became important avenues for securing assistance with food, employment, and housing.[129] Yet, the instability and uncertainty brought on by the Great Depression prompted a number of Mexican immigrants to return to Mexico, even before the new repatriation program began.[130]

Mexican workers devised creative strategies for maintaining employment at Ford. For example, if a family member experienced a hospital stay at Henry Ford Hospital the family would delay payment of the medical bills as long as possible. The employee knew that Ford would wait until the hospital debt was paid before terminating them.[131] Male children of unemployed Ford employees sometimes qualified for training at Ford Trade School, which provided a small stipend that could be used to support the family.[132]

Like the earlier depression in 1920-1921, the Great Depression fanned the flames of discrimination espoused by members of the White working class against immigrants and minorities who were perceived to be taking much needed jobs away from American citizens.[133] Mexican and Mexican American laborers often had to perform intensive labor for less money than their White, American counterparts.[134]

Public officials faced pressure to remove the competition for jobs for American citizens.[135] Frank Steel, a member of the Board of Supervisors of Wayne County, proposed a resolution that supplies used in public contracts had to be produced by American citizens, and that immigrant labor performed by undocumented individuals should not be utilized for work on public contracts.[136] Immigration officials reasoned that the removal of five thousand Mexican

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[126] Murillo 112.
[127] Vargas, *Proletariats*, 169-170, 172.
[128] Murillo 113.
[129] Vargas, *Proletariats*, 192.
[130] Murillo 108-109.
[131] Vargas, *Proletariats*, 190.
[132] Vargas, *Proletariats*, 190-191.
[133] Murillo 122-126, 169; Vargas, *Proletariats*, 169; Florek E15.
[134] Murillo 123.
[135] Murillo 120.
[136] Murillo 120-121.

immigrants would greatly reduce welfare costs and competition for coveted jobs.[137] One local automobile company pledged that if Mexican employees left Detroit during the repatriation movement, American citizens would be given preferential treatment in rehiring for the job.[138]

At the national level, the Hoover administration avoided the establishment of a quota for Mexican migration, as it sought to maintain the Latin American Good Neighbor Policy which promoted the development of American business in Mexico and Latin America.[139] Instead, Hoover implemented increased border control and instructed the American Consulate in Mexico to deny visas.[140] State and local governments, especially in the Southwest, implemented measures to reduce Mexican immigration.[141] Part of the approach to reduce immigration to Detroit included the publication of announcements attempting to dissuade job seekers from migrating to Michigan searching for work.[142] Raids on Mexican communities in Michigan by the Bureau of Immigration further instilled the notion that Mexican immigrants were not welcome.[143]

In addition to reducing immigration, government officials at the city, state, and national levels formed groups to develop tactics to assist the unemployed throughout the country. In Detroit, the relief effort was no different.[144] Detroit's debt exploded as the city tried to keep up with the ever-increasing welfare costs.[145] Relief committees viewed immigrants as unnecessary draws on welfare, and lent government support to Mexican repatriation efforts as a means to reduce welfare costs.[146]

In 1929 mayor Frank Murphy created the Mayor's Unemployment Committee.[147] The city program matched unemployed residents with municipal and private sector jobs. Demand for employment greatly exceeded available jobs, and the city's soaring debt made employers wary of hiring people through the program as employers feared they would not be reimbursed for hiring the program's workers.[148] The Department of Public Welfare (DPW) was another municipal department providing aid top unemployed residents, but due to Detroit's debt and fiscal crisis during the Depression, the DPW made multiple cuts to the assistance it provided to families.[149] The Reconstruction Finance Agency was proposed by the Hoover administration in December 1931. Managed at the national level, funds were distributed to states and territories for use in

[137] Murillo 147.
[138] Murillo 121.
[139] Murillo 126-127.
[140] Murillo 127.
[141] Murillo 127-128.
[142] Vargas, *Proletariats*, 173-174.
[143] Miner 657; Alex Wagner, "America's Forgotten History of Illegal Deportations," *The Atlantic*, March 6, 2017, https://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2017/03/americas-brutal-forgotten-history-of-illegal-deportations/517971/.
[144] Murillo 112-120.
[145] Vargas, *Proletariats*, 174.
[146] Vargas, *Proletariats*, 189.
[147] Murillo 114-116; Vargas, *Proletariats*, 174; "Unemployment Stabilization and Relief," *Monthly Labor Review* 30, No. 3 (March 1930), 47.
[148] Vargas, *Proletariats*, 174.
[149] Vargas, *Proletariats*, 174-175.

providing relief and employment opportunities for the throngs of the unemployed.[150] The City of Detroit applied for money, and some relief was received in the fall of 1932. This prompted an uptick in employment availability and intense competition for jobs, and further engrained the notion that Mexican repatriation would alleviate some of the city's issues.[151] The pressure to reduce competition and the perception that illegal immigrants were taking advantage of welfare programs instead of American citizens created a conducive atmosphere for a coordinated Mexican repatriation campaign.[152]

By fall of 1932, the Los Angeles Mexican repatriation campaign, *Comite Mexicano de Beneficio*, was implemented by the Mexican government and the Los Angeles County Welfare Department.[153] Mexican Consul Ignacio L. Batiza tried to develop programs for Detroit's unemployed Mexican residents, but these programs soon coalesced into a repatriation program.[154] Batiza became Consul in July 1929 and had already faced criticism for his mismanagement of the planning for the proposed *Casa del Mexicano*. The *Casa* was supposed to be a community center, but Batiza's mismanagement drained the small amount of funds set aside for the center before elements of the plan were approved.[155]

Detroit's Mexican Repatriation Campaign of 1932

Detroit's Mexican Repatriation Campaign began in the summer of 1932 and was developed and carried out by multiple parties, which included city and state government agencies, Mexican community leaders, the Mexican government, and the famed Mexican artist Diego Rivera.[156] The goal of the campaign was to repatriate to Mexico five thousand Mexican immigrants living in Detroit.[157] By October 1932 repatriated Mexican residents were already being transported to the international border at Laredo, Texas.[158] Repatriation occurred in other Michigan cities with Mexican and Mexican American populations, such as Saginaw and Pontiac.[159]

The Mexican government was involved in the repatriation campaign, acting through Batiza, the Mexican Consul stationed in Detroit. In Mexico, the Mexican government attempted to establish resettlement camps for repatriated people through the National Repatriation Committee. [160] The colonies for the *repatriados* may ultimately have been self-serving for the Mexican government. The colonies would concentrate *repatriados* with valuable skills in dedicated areas in Mexico's interior, hampering efforts of *repatriados* of returning to the U.S. Additionally, the isolation of the colonies would prevent skilled workers from taking jobs from other Mexicans, as employment opportunities were limited in Mexico as well.[161]

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[150] Murillo 118-120.
[151] Murillo 120-121.
[152] Murillo 47, 121.
[153] Murillo 121.
[154] Vargas, *Proletariats*, 175-176; Humphrey, "Migration and Settlement," 360.
[155] Murillo 35-36.
[156] Murillo 110; Humphrey, "Migration and Settlement," 360; Vargas, *Proletariats*, 180.
[157] Murillo 159.
[158] Murillo 62, 108-109, 121.
[159] Murillo 156-158.
[160] Murillo 165-166; Miner 657.
[161] Murillo 166.

The Detroit office of the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Services Agency, led by John L. Zubrick, played another critical role in repatriation.[162] Zubrick was particularly interested in Mexican repatriation campaign because its success could be used statewide to repatriate Mexicans and other members of immigrant groups deemed to be illegal aliens.[163] Zubrick and the agency subscribed to the belief that illegal immigrants were taking jobs from Americans.[164]

The Detroit Public Welfare Department (DPW) established a special office to handle the Mexican repatriation campaign. The office became known as the Mexican Bureau and was located at 1422 1st Street. [165] The department utilized social workers to promote, and force, the repatriation of Mexican immigrants and Mexican Americans back to Mexico. [166]

Diego Rivera and Frida Kahlo, the world-renowned Mexican artists, were in Detroit in April 1932 while Rivera painted the *Detroit Industry* murals at the Detroit Institute of Arts. [167] During his time in Detroit he developed a complex connection to the repatriation campaign.[168] While ideologically supporting labor activism, Rivera viewed repatriation as part of a broader ideology of land and class reform in Mexico, whereby peasants and the working class had the opportunity to obtain land from the Mexican government.[169] He also believed that repatriation offered Mexican residents an escape from the discrimination they faced in Detroit, that it would ease the unemployment situation faced by Mexicans and Mexican Americans, and that it would provide Mexico with a knowledgeable and skilled labor force.[170] Thus, Rivera held rallies intended to inspire members of Detroit's Mexican and Mexican American communities to return to Mexico.[171] He also donated the proceeds of the *Detroit Industry* murals to the repatriation program, coordinating with Detroit's Mexican Consul and the Detroit office of the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Services Agency to help support *repatriados* in Mexico. However, the funding was not enough to provide adequate support.[172]

Rivera also had his hand in the formation of the *Liga de Obrero U Campasinos Mexicanos* (League of Mexican Workers and Peasants).[173] The *Liga de Obrero U Campasinos Mexicanos* is discussed in the 'Labor Movement in Latinx Detroit, 1915-1980' section. Serving as a liaison between the government groups promoting repatriation and Detroit's Mexican and Mexican American communities, the organization assisted community members that chose to return to Mexico and those that chose to stay in Detroit. [174] Following the establishment of the

[162] Murillo 140; Vargas, *Proletariats*, 180.
[163] Vargas, *Proletariats*, 181.
[164] Vargas, *Proletariats*, 181.
[165] Murillo 140, 160-161.
[166] Florek E16.
[167] Murillo 141; Vargas, *Proletariats*, 178.
[168] Miner 658.
[169] Miner 656-658; Benjamin T. Smith, "Cárdenas and Cardenismo," Oxford Bibliographies, last reviewed May 5, 2017, accessed December 23, 2022, https://www.oxfordbibliographies.com/display/document/obo-9780199766581/obo-9780199766581-0058.xml.
[170] Murillo 143.
[171] Murillo 109, 141; Miner 658.
[172] Florek E16; Murillo 110.
[173] Murillo 143; Florek E16.
[174] Florek E16; Murillo 143; Vargas, *Proletariats*, 181.

organization, approximately 850 Mexicans from Detroit and elsewhere in the state registered to return to Mexico.[175]

On October 14, 1932, representatives from the *Liga de Obrero U Campasinos Mexicanos*, employees of the departments of public welfare for the state of Michigan and Detroit, Detroit's Mexican Consul Batiza, and lawyer Charles C. Benjamin gathered to discuss plans for repatriation.[176] Charles Benjamin was born in Panama and became one of the first local, Spanish-speaking lawyers representing Latinx residents in Detroit.[177] Following the meeting, the repatriation program developed.[178]

Figure 18. An image printed in the October 15, 1932 edition of the *Detroit Free Press* showing Luis Gasca, a member of the *Liga de Obrero U Campasinos Mexicanos*, Mexican Consul Ignacio Batiza (both pictured near the upper right corner), the State Welfare Director, and the Detroit Welfare Director formulating plans for the repatriation campaign.

[175] Murillo 145.
[176] Murillo 144.
[177] R. L. Polk and Co., *Polk's Detroit (Michigan) City Directory 1931-32* (Detroit, MI: R. L. Polk and Co., 1931), 329, Legal C; World War II Draft Registration Card, "Charles Clement Benjamin," Michigan, U.S., World War II Draft Registration Cards, 1942, Ancestry.com; Patricia Edmonds, "Ex-Attorney Guarded Rights of Hispanics," *Detroit Free Press*, April 16, 1985.
[178] Murillo 146.

Governmental Policy for Repatriation

The first step in the repatriation process involved caseworkers from the Detroit Department of Public Welfare identifying the heads of Mexican families and referring them to the Mexican Bureau at the DPW. This step was to be completed by November 15, 1932.[179] At the Mexican Bureau, the head of the household had to declare whether the family was returning to Mexico.[180] If the head of household wished to return, return to Mexico was arranged via train to the border. An additional train was arranged by the Mexican government to take passengers to "colonies" in the interior of Mexico.[181]

The first group of *repatriados* left Detroit on November 15, 1932, from the Wabash Railroad Station at the Union Depot, located at Fort Street and Third Avenue, which has since been demolished. Members of the organizations conducting the campaign were present for the initial departure.[182] People were moving their entire lives back to Mexico and packed items important to them, but mismanagement of travel for the initial group of *repatriados* resulted in missed meals and the need to discard their belongings.[183] The second group departed from Saginaw on November 22, 1932, the third group left Detroit December 6, 1932, and the fourth and final group left Detroit on December 20, 1932.[184] It is estimated that the entire campaign repatriated between twelve and fourteen hundred people, the majority of whom were living in Detroit.[185]

Figure 19. Photographs published in the *Detroit Free Press* in November 1932, depicted Mexican and Mexican American residents boarding trains during the 1932 repatriation campaign. ("Adios, Detroit," *Detroit Free Press,* November 16, 1932)

[179] Murillo 161.
[180] Murillo 164.
[181] Murillo 147-148, 166; Vargas, *Proletariats*, 181.
[182] Murillo 148; Vargas, *Proletariats*, 177, 182-183.
[183] Murillo 150-155.
[184] Murillo 156-159.
[185] Murillo 159-160; Vargas, *Proletariats*, 189.

Figure 20. Union Depot (not extant), located at the corner of Fort Street and Third Avenue, is where *repatriados* left Detroit for Mexico during the 1932 repatriation campaign. ("Front and side view of Union Depot," bh002790, c.1910, Burton Historical Collection, Detroit Public Library)

Some members of Detroit's Mexican community found repatriation a relatively attractive option given the extreme difficulty in securing work during the Great Depression, enticement by the Mexican government, and the discrimination faced by Mexican workers in Detroit.[186] Mexican Consul Batiza estimated that forty-two thousand of the estimated fifty thousand Mexican people in Detroit had already left the city by 1932.[187] The Mexican population in Detroit in the 1920s and 1930s is unclear. Some sources estimate a community of only fifteen thousand people, while others, such as Batiza, estimate fifty thousand people.[188] The circular migration pattern followed by numerous Mexicans and Mexican Americans between industrial work and agricultural work made obtaining accurate census figures difficult.

Realities of the Repatriation Campaign

Ultimately, the repatriation campaign failed to meet the goal of repatriating five thousand individuals.[189] Many Mexican and Mexican American families wished to remain in Detroit, as

[186] Humphrey, "Migration and Settlement," 360-361.
[187] Humphrey, "Migration and Settlement," 360.
[188] Murillo 159-160; Humphrey, "Migration and Settlement," 360.
[189] Murillo 160.

they had become accustomed to an urban lifestyle.[190] Only one month's time was between the repatriation program's establishment on October 14 and the deadline for Mexican heads of households to report to the Mexican Bureau, which is woefully inadequate time for a family to contemplate their return to Mexico. Additionally, Detroit's Mexican and Mexican Americans recognized the false promises offered by the repatriation movement and learned of the failure of the Mexican government to make good on promises of land and opportunity for repatriated people.[191] The Communist Party International Labor Defense (ILD) was in opposition to repatriation campaign. The ILD issued circulars describing the failures of Rivera and the Mexican government's attempts to repatriate Mexican people.[192]

Figure 21. Just before Detroit's 1932 Mexican repatriation campaign was underway, members of Detroit's Mexican and Mexican American communities created a parade float and participated in the city's Fourth of July Parade. ("Senoritas Lend Charm To Parade," *Detroit Free Press*, July 5, 1932)

[190] Murillo 171.
[191] Murillo 160; Vargas, *Proletariats*, 185.
[192] Vargas, *Proletariats*, 186.

Rumors circulated within Detroit that the return to Mexico did not live up to what was advertised.[193] The International Labor Defense (ILD), the legal arm of the Communist party in the U.S., distributed flyers in Detroit's Mexican and Mexican American neighborhoods decrying the realities faced by *repatriados* in Mexico.[194] People wrote letters from Mexico to Detroit detailing the hardships they faced, such as the fear of being drafted into the war against the Cristeros, the difficulty in securing employment and education for their children, the lack of money to begin a new life, and the lack of equipment to farm land that was supposed to be available through government land grants.[195] Some members of Detroit's Mexican and Mexican American communities were sent to *El Coloso*, a colony near Acapulco that was deemed a failure only a year after it was established.[196] People within *El Coloso* did not receive adequate tools and seeds to successfully farm the agricultural land, prompting most *repatriados* to return to the towns and villages they came from or return to Detroit.[197]

Although officials stressed the voluntary nature of the program and some Mexican families and individuals left Detroit under their own volition, coercion was utilized to push people to repatriate. Eventually, Mexican heads of households began refusing to go to the Mexican Bureau.[198] Coercion tactics utilized by caseworkers were numerous. Applications for relief made by Mexican and Mexican American families were intensely scrutinized, making obtaining relief more difficult than it already was and thereby making repatriation appear more attractive.[199] Caseworkers referred people to the Mexican Bureau even though they expressed that they did not want to repatriate.[200] Members of the communities who were naturalized or born in the U.S. were also prompted to take part in the campaign.[201] Once residents arrived at the Mexican Bureau, they were coerced into repatriating.[202] Instances of physical intimidation, and physical attempts to force Mexican people to repatriate were reported.[203] Part of the welfare program was aid for rent payments, which were denied in some cases because the individuals refused to return to Mexico.[204] Another coercive method stemmed from the process by which Mexican and Mexican American people received food assistance. For food assistance, applicants were given either grocery orders which they could fulfill at the local grocery store or were told to eat at designated cafeteria sites throughout the city. The grocery orders were preferred as they made the family's hardship less public. To coerce families into repatriating, caseworkers would instruct families to obtain food at cafeterias, where they had to eat publicly.[205]

Following the failure of the repatriation campaign and the disillusionment of Detroit's Mexican and Mexican American population, Consul Batiza and Rivera halted their support for the

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[193] Murillo 162.
[194] Miner 656.
[195] Miner 659; Murillo 162-165; Vargas, *Proletariats*, 184-185.
[196] Murillo 166-167; Miner 658.
[197] Miner 658-659; Murillo 167.
[198] Murillo 111, 146, 160, 164, 173; Humphrey, "Migration and Settlement," 360; Vargas, *Proletariats*, 171, 186-187.
[199] Vargas, *Proletariats*, 187-188.
[200] Murillo 161-162; Balderrama and Rodriguez 84.
[201] Murillo 164; Balderrama and Rodriguez 84.
[202] Murillo 164.
[203] Vargas, *Proletariats*, 188.
[204] Murillo 162.
[205] Murillo 163-164; Vargas, *Proletariats*, 189.

program.[206] The city of Detroit's population in 1930 was over 1.5 million people, and the Mexican and Mexican American communities was estimated to contain only fifteen to fifty thousand individuals.[207] Therefore, the Mexican and Mexican American communities made up approximately one to three percent of the population, suggesting that the city and state's rhetoric regarding the drain on government welfare by the Mexican and Mexican American communities was likely overstated and that a deportation movement was portrayed instead as a repatriation movement.[208] Mexican and Mexican American community members that decided to stay in Detroit during the Depression worked odd jobs to make ends meet until employment prospects improved.[209]

As such, although some members of the communities did wish to return to Mexico and did so voluntarily through the repatriation campaign, the divergent motives of the campaign's organizers resulted in a shared goal of moving people of Mexican heritage to Mexico. Government officials sought to remove Mexican people due to nativist sentiments and the Mexican people's perceived threat to American employment, whereas River and *Liga de Obrero U Campasinos Mexicanos* envisioned the beginning of idyllic worker's collectives in Mexico.[210]

Politics/Government

Latinx political history in Detroit is intertwined with the broader history of Latinx migration and community development in the city. The community's political involvement and activism have evolved over the years, reflecting their unique challenges and contributions to the city. By the 1930s, Latinx workers played a crucial role in Detroit's workforce, joining labor unions and staging strikes and protests for better working conditions.

Politics of Latinx Detroit, 1915-1980

Class-based, political, and religious groups existed, and exist, within Detroit's Latinx communities. The communities are not a singular entity but are composed of distinct yet related groups that support various viewpoints on issues related to the broader community.[211] Yet subgroups within Detroit's Latinx communities organize to advance the broader interests of Latinx communities.[212] As Latinx communities grew in Detroit throughout the twentieth century and participated in the Latino/a Civil Rights movement, community leaders acknowledged the importance of political action. As such, political organizations promoting the needs of Detroit's Latinx communities have developed to promote political involvement, awareness, and education.

From the Latinx community's beginnings in the early twentieth century people within the communities have held opposing viewpoints. Diego Rivera's work in Detroit's Mexican and Mexican American community in 1932 and the socialist ideology he espoused made those who

[206] Vargas, *Proletariats*, 185.
[207] US Department of Commerce 534; Murillo 159-160; Humphrey, "Migration and Settlement," 360.
[208] Miner 654-655.
[209] Murillo 111.
[210] Miner 655.
[211] Miner 655.
[212] Murillo 37.

were devoted to the Catholic church uncomfortable with the "communist activity" related to Rivera.[213] During the 1950s and 1960s, several thousand Cuban refugees came to the U.S. fleeing the Cuban Revolution. Supported through resettlement programs operated by the federal government, Cubans from largely white-collar backgrounds were resettled throughout the U.S. and generally maintained their dislike of Fidel Castro. However, Detroit's Cuban community was discordant about Castro's defeat—see the Ethnic Heritage section, above, for more detail.

An influential organization in Detroit's Mexican American community was Mexican American Legion Post #505 located at 3600 Cicotte Street (no longer extant). The post was founded in 1946 by Mexican American veterans of World War II in response to discrimination they faced upon returning to civilian life after the war. Originally meeting in a building at Porter and 4th Streets, the post became the first Mexican American organization to purchase its own hall when it moved to the building at 3600 Cicotte Street. Throughout the organization's history, the post sponsored numerous cultural events connecting Detroit's Mexican and Mexican American residents to their cultural history. In 1966, Seglares en Accíon (Laymen in Action) organized a protest on Easter Sunday through Mexicantown in support of securing livable wages for Michigan's migrant farm workers. Around two hundred residents and members of the Mexican American Post #505 took part in the protest.

National organizations concerned with Latinx issues, particularly those of Mexicans and Mexican Americans as they composed the majority of Detroit's Latinx population, established local Detroit offices. These included the American G.I. Forum and the League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC).[214] Another politically oriented group, La Raza Unida, was a "coalition of Mexican American groups in Michigan" who sought, through political action and activism, to address issues faced by Mexican Americans in Michigan including increased hiring of Mexican Americans in government positions, farmworkers issues, and inadequate housing.[215] Several other groups formed at the local level through the efforts of Latinx citizens using experience gained through unionization and with assistance from local churches. In 1969, the social service agency Latin Americans for Social and Economic Development (LASED) was formed through the work of Latin Americans United for Political Action (LAUPA) and federal funding. LASED's original office was located at 1922 Junction Street (extant) before they bought their permanent location at 4138 W. Vernor (extant).[216] Several other smaller agencies were developed targeting the needs of distinct ethnic groups beneath the Latinx umbrella.[217]

Latino/a Civil Rights Movement, 1968-1980

The nationwide Latino/a civil rights movement developed in the 1960s and was born from the combined efforts of Mexican immigrants and Mexican Americans to end discrimination against people of Mexican heritage and secure fair access to employment, housing, and political

[213] Vargas, *Proletariats*, 180.
[214] Badillo, *Latinos in Michigan*, 46.
[215] "Mexican-American Workers Seek Talks With Milliken," *Detroit Free Press*, August 23, 1969.
[216] "Latin Americans For Social and Economic Development," Latin Americans for Social and Economic Development Records, 1969-1997, University of Michigan Bentley Archive, Box 1, Call No. 9816-Bd-2.
[217] Badillo, *Latinos in Michigan*, 46-47.

representation.[218] The term "Chicano" is also sometimes used in speaking of the Latino/a Civil Rights Movement. The term "Chicano" is thought to have originated in the 1920s and may have been used by Mexican immigrant laborers. Beginning in the 1940s, the term gained usage from young, second-generation Mexican Americans, particularly those aligned with countercultural movements.[219] While the Chicano/a Civil Rights movement is largely associated with Mexican Americans, as they made up the majority of Latinx people in the U.S., the movement was nonetheless perpetuated by members of additional communities beneath the Latinx umbrella.[220]

Inspired by the Black Civil Rights movement in the 1960s and Detroit's 1967 rebellion, activists in the Latino/a Civil Rights movement, many of whom were young adults and students, called attention to the neglect, mistreatment, and discrimination faced by Mexicans and Mexican Americans and additional Latinx residents. Key issues included the need for bilingual education programs in area schools the need for representation of Latinx people in local and state government.

A direct outcome and one of the greatest achievements of the Latino/a Civil Rights movement was a renewed sense of pride in Latinx cultures and the establishment of Chicano/a studies programs at universities throughout the U.S.[221] Silvestre Acosta Labrado and Isabel Salas were two key figures in helping to develop Wayne State University's (WSU) Center for Chicano-Boricua studies in 1971. This department directly reflects the actions of Detroit's Mexican and Puerto Rican communities as supporters from the two communities worked together to develop the program. In 2011, WSU's department name was changed to the Center for Latino/a and Latin American Studies in an effort to reflect the multifaceted Latinx communities within Detroit.[222] Other organizations including New Detroit and LASED also aided in the creation of the program. New Detroit was created following the 1967 uprising, while LASED was formed in 1969 and based in Southwest Detroit.[223]

Other achievements of the Latino/a movement include the creation of bilingual educational programs and addressing inequalities in housing.[224] Organizations within Detroit's Latinx communities had to fight for the development of bilingual education programs for their children and access to bilingual officials in government offices.[225] Gloria Lopez McKnight, a social worker and activist associated with the Latin American Coordinating Council of Detroit and other organizations in Detroit, testified to a US Senate subcommittee on the prevalence of

[218] Soward, 22.
[219] Mario T. García, "Introduction: The Chicano Movement, Chicano History, and the New American Narrative," in *Rewriting the Chicano Movement: New Histories of Mexican American Activism in the Civil Rights Era*, ed. Mario T. García and Ellen McCracken (Bielefeld, AZ: University of Arizona Press, 2021), 3.
[220] García, "Introduction: The Chicano Movement," 6.
[221] García, "Introduction: The Chicano Movement," 5-6; Sommers and Casa de Unidad, *Fiesta, Fe, y Cultura,* 24-25.
[222] "About," Latino/a and Latin American Studies," Wayne State University, accessed March 31, 2023, https://las.wayne.edu/about.
[223] Ozzie Rivera, "Pensamientos y Recuerdos: The Center for Latino and Latin American Studies Celebrates 50 Years in October!" *El Central*, April 22, 2021.
[224] García, "Introduction: The Chicano Movement," 5-6.
[225] Judy Sarasohn, "City's Latins Seek Reforms," *Detroit Free Press*, August 3, 1971.

Figure 22. Community-organized celebrations of Latinx culture flourished following the Latino/a Civil Rights Movement. ("Festivals and Performances, 1985, undated," photograph, box 2, Julio Perazza Visual Materials, 1934-2004, Bentley Historical Library, Ann Arbor, MI)

substandard Federal Housing Administration (FHA) homes available to the poor and working class in Spanish-speaking areas of Detroit.[226]

Following the Latino/a Civil Rights movement, pride in Mexican, Mexican American, Puerto Rican, Cuban, and additional Latinx heritages was celebrated publicly and on larger scales. While ethnic pride was always within the Latinx communities, cultural festivals that were once celebrated in family homes and halls were now celebrated in large outdoor spaces like Clark,

[226] "Angry Poor Ask Housing Reform," *Detroit Free Press*, May 2, 1972; John Flynn, "Hispanic Meet Gets Off To Slow Start In Detroit," *Detroit Free Press*, June 30, 1983.

Patton, and Riverside Parks.[227] Parades were also common and celebrated significant events such as Mexican Independence and Cinco de Mayo.[228]

Established in 1970, La Raza Unida was a political party that focused on Latino/a nationalism, primarily in Texas, as young Mexican Americans there were frustrated with the Democratic Party. La Raza Unida ran campaigns for local elections, and they experienced some success in Texas. In Michigan the steering committee included individuals from Lansing, Saginaw, Carrollton, Detroit, Flint, and Jackson.[229] By September of 1968 there were two hundred and fifty (250) paid members in the state. In December of 1970 there were one thousand sixty (1,060) paid members."[230] In Michigan, rather than running campaigns for prospective elected officials, the group was primarily concerned with encouraging local Latinx individuals to get involved in their causes and building support within the local community.[231]

Other Political Activism

The Young Lords and the Brown Berets were two progressive groups formed alongside the Latino/a Civil Rights movement. These groups were largely driven by younger people who sought to address issues faced by Latinx people in urban areas throughout the U.S. Founded in the 1950s and 1960s, respectively, these two groups did much to advance progressive ideals important to the Latinx community.

The Young Lords was a group that originated in the Oldtown neighborhood of Chicago in the late 1950s. The group developed in order to address the needs of Chicago's Puerto Rican residents with issues such as access to education, political power, and equal opportunity. The Young Lords expanded throughout the 1960s and some Puerto Rican Detroiters were affiliated with the organization.

The Brown Berets formed and grew in the 1960s and were modeled after Black organizations like the Black Panther Party. A Los Angeles-based organization the Brown Berets sought to gain equality in housing, education, employment for Mexican and Mexican American people. Platforms primarily included advocating for worker's rights and educational reform—concerning inadequate facilities and materials and lack of representation on local school boards—and against police brutality and the Vietnam War. By 1969 the Brown Berets had groups established across the country, including in Detroit. The Detroit branch was involved in various activities such as picketing the headquarters of the Detroit Police Department, supporting the UFWOC grape boycotts, and calling attention to substandard housing. The Brown Berets participated in a 1969 protest rally at Wayne State University to support the High School Student Strike which was advocating for an end to the Vietnam War.

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[227] Alvarado and Alvarado, *Mexicans and Mexican Americans in Michigan,* 50; Rodriguez, *Detroit's Mexicantown*, 73.
[228] Rodriguez, *Detroit's Mexicantown*, 96-97.
[229] https://chicanapormiraza.org/sites/default/files/La%20Raza%20Unida--MI%20Chicanas%20_JJG2.56_.pdf
[230] https://chicanapormiraza.org/sites/default/files/La%20Raza%20Unida--MI%20Chicanas%20_JJG2.56_.pdf
[231] Badillo, 47.

Figure 23. Members of the Brown Berets participated in a 1970 protest against the eviction of a Latinx family in Detroit. (George Cantor, "Tenants Blast Prefabs As 'Shoddy' Housing," *Detroit Free Press*, August 7, 1970)

Other advocacy groups included The Committee of Concerned Spanish Speaking Americans (CCSSA), formed in 1968, and composed of Mexican, Mexican American, Puerto Rican, and Cuban activists tackling issues in education by working to increase the number of Latinx teachers in Detroit's public schools and incorporate Latinx history into the curriculum.[232] During the 1980s, the Mexican American Legal Defense and Educational Fund (MALDEF) and the Puerto Rican Legal Defense and Educational Fund (PRLDEF) and additional Latinx groups fought for redistricting to allow Latinx residents to have political representation. Today, there are numerous political and social advocacy groups operating in the survey area including the Congress of Communities, founded in Southwest Detroit in 2010, and the Southwest Detroit Community Benefits Coalition which focuses on environmental issues, community development, and policy development.

[232] Alvarado and Alvarado, *Mexicans and Mexican Americans in Michigan,* 44-45.

Labor Movement in Detroit

As briefly discussed above, the automobile industry employed the majority of Mexican and Mexican American people in Detroit and many Latinx people sought employment at Ford Motor Company because of the competitive wages and availability of work.[233] In the automobile industry off-season, Mexican and Mexican American workers sought employment in other industries. These included employment on sugar beet farms, on construction projects, utilities construction and maintenance, and track work for the Detroit Streetcar Company and the Detroit Union Railway.[234]

Promulgated through local churches, Americanization programs promoted Christian ideals as a means to assimilate immigrants into American culture and steer them away from pro-union causes.[235] Participation in Americanization programs were also often required for keeping or obtaining employment. These programs also attempted to mold immigrant employees into the ideal industrial worker.[236] Companies frowned on workers maintaining ethnic and cultural traditions and refrained from providing time off for observance of ethnic holidays.[237] Employers were also uneasy with the development of mutual aid, fraternal, and social organizations as they were believed to facilitate the organization of unions.[238]

As early as 1927 Detroit's Mexican and Mexican American communities were involved in labor organizing and the creation of worker societies, which continued through the 1930s.[239] Securing an adequate standard of living and ending discrimination drove workers of Mexican heritage to join the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO).[240] CIO members working at Ford Motor Company met at lunch, discussing union membership in secret. Those that attended pro-union activities wore masks to conceal their identity from the company's "stooges."[241]

Labor organization in Detroit was limited in membership and influence prior to the Depression.[242] But during the Great Depression, the battered economy, mass unemployment, dismal working conditions, and labor unrest stemming from these realities gave rise to the formation of worker's unions. As the Depression dragged on through the 1930s, workers were subjected to reduced pay rates and work schedules, irregular employment, and speed-ups.[243] Workers of Mexican heritage also faced discrimination at work, often employed in the most dangerous jobs, and believed union membership would alleviate discriminatory practices.[244] In the automobile parts factory, work conditions were dangerous with employees routinely exposed to poisonous gases, burned, experienced bouts of pneumonia, and were injured by flying

[233] Vargas, *Proletariats*, 94-95.
[234] Vargas, *Proletariats*, 95.
[235] Vargas, *Proletariats*, 70-71.
[236] Vargas, *Proletariats*, 73.
[237] Vargas, *Proletariats*, 78.
[238] Vargas, *Proletariats*, 155.
[239] Vargas, *Proletariats*, 157, 194-199.
[240] Vargas, *Proletariats*, 207.
[241] Vargas, *Proletariats*, 196-197.
[242] Smith 157.
[243] Vargas, *Proletariats*, 172-173.
[244] Vargas, *Proletariats*, 196; Vargas, "Armies in the Fields," 69.

metal.[245] Overbearing methods of control and discipline were implemented at Ford Motor Company requiring workers to complete their jobs with "complete obedience and silence."[246]

In the 1930s Mexican factory workers became increasingly involved in union organizing.[247] They were active in pro-union marches, demonstrations, and strikes and promoted union membership.[248] As people from Puerto Rico and Cuba made their way to Detroit during the mid-twentieth century and became enmeshed in the industrial workforce, they followed similar paths to their Mexican and Mexican American neighbors in Detroit by taking part in union organizing and membership.[249]

Labor Organizations

Labor organizations in the early 1900s were often based upon ethnicity and the industry within which those members were employed. Mexican labor organizations were composed of people of Mexican heritage who often came from the same areas of Mexico.[250] *El Circulo Progresista Tlaltenanguense* (Tlaltenango Progressionist Circle) was formed in the 1920s and composed of Mexican autoworkers from the village of Tlaltenango, in Michoacán.[251] *Los Obreros Unidos Mexicanos* (United Mexican Workers), also known as *Sociedad Obreros Libres* (Society of Free Workers) was organized by approximately 40-50 Mexican automotive and steelworkers who organized in secret in an attempt to keep out company spies.[252] The organization developed English and Spanish classes for members, and aided other Mexicans looking for employment. A café was in Southwest Detroit that members intended to operate as a cooperative.[253] Diego Rivera donated to the group while he was in Detroit for his work on the *Detroit Industry* murals.[254]

The *Liga de Obreros y Campesinos* (League of Mexican Workers and Peasants) was a class and ethnic-based organization created in the 1930s with the assistance of Diego Rivera, and was modeled after a Communist organization Rivera was a member of in Mexico.[255] The majority of the league's members were laid off industrial employees.[256] Headquartered at 4326 Toledo Street (no longer extant), members included Luis G. Gasca, Martin Rosas, and Pedro Mariscal.[257] Although headquartered on Toledo Street, the *Liga* managed the repatriation effort from the organization's meeting location at the Hispano Unidos building on Vernor Avenue.[258] Gasca

[245] Vargas, "Armies in the Fields," 69-70.
[246] Vargas, *Proletariats*, 115-116.
[247] Vargas, *Proletariats*, 196.
[248] Vargas, *Proletariats*, 196-199.
[249] Ravuri, 203; Badillo, *Latinos in Michigan*, 26-28; John Mueller, "Detroit Cubans Rejoice At Rally," *Detroit Free Press*, January 12, 1959.
[250] Vargas, *Proletariats*, 155-156.
[251] Vargas, *Proletariats*, note 95.
[252] Vargas, *Proletariats*, 157; Sommers and Casa de Unidad, *Fiesta, Fe, y Cultura*, 17.
[253] Vargas, *Proletariats*, 157.
[254] Vargas, *Proletariats*, 157.
[255] Murillo 143; Miner 653; Vargas, *Proletariats*, 178.
[256] Vargas, *Proletariats*, 178.
[257] Murillo 145.
[258] Vargas, *Proletariats*, 178; "Chips," *Detroit Free Press*, November 19, 1944.

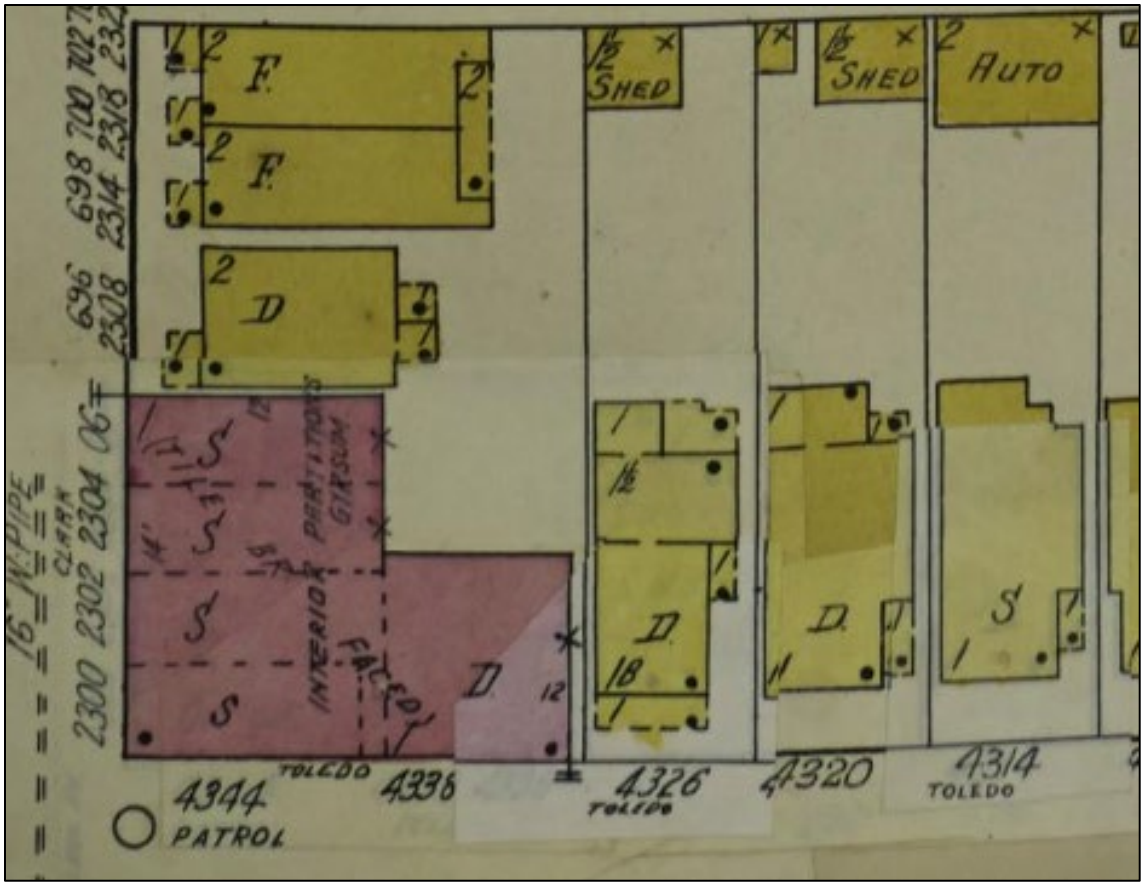

Figure 24. The house at 4326 Toledo, which is no longer extant, served as the headquarters for *Liga de Obreros y Campesinos* and a local socialist newspaper, *La Prensa Libre*. (Sanborn Map Company, *Sanborn Fire Insurance Map from Detroit, Wayne County, Michigan* vol. 1 (New York: Sanborn Map and Publishing Company, 1950), sheet 80)

collaborated with Rivera to establish a local socialist newspaper, *La Prensa Libre*, which was also headquartered at 4326 Toledo Avenue.[259] While Rivera was in Detroit, the society held weekly meetings that were attended by approximately fifty to one hundred individuals where Rivera lectured about the ideals of the organization and the faults of capitalism.[260]

Roy Flores was a local activist who organized for the United Autoworkers Union Latin American Council in the 1930s. Flores went on to work with the Latin American Labor Council of Michigan which was established in Detroit in 1956. Amado Gonzalez was the president of the organization and worked alongside Flores to provide support to Michigan's Latinx migrant agricultural workers. The council would send representatives to farms across the state to ensure migrant workers knew about the services that were available to them through the organization. Both Gonzalez and Flores were longtime employees of the Ford Motor Company and were deeply involved in their community. The council met above La Paloma market at 2620 Bagley Street (extant) and established a welcome center at 3423 Bagley Street (not extant).

[259] Miner 655; Murillo 36, 38.
[260] Vargas, *Proletariats*, 179.

Figure 25. The space above La Paloma Market was used as a meeting space by the Latin American Labor Council of Michigan in the 1950s. (McClellan, "Ethnic Communities: Mexican-Americans, Tour of the Latin Quarter, Beginning at 4138 W. Vernor," May 5, 1977, photograph, Walter P. Reuther Library, Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, Wayne State University)

Labor activities of the 1960s included the creation in 1962 of the Farm Workers Association (FWA), organized by César Chávez and Dolores Huerta.[261] Following the end of the Bracero program and a successful partnership between the FWA and the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL-CIO) during a 1965 strike by agricultural laborers who harvested grapes in California, the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee (UFWOC) was formed as part of the AFL-CIO in 1966.[262] Known as *la huelga,* strikers demanded fair compensation, access to affordable and adequate housing, and the right to unionize for collective bargaining, which was not afforded to agricultural laborers under the 1935 National Labor Relations Act (NLRA).[263] The UFWOC advanced the strike by implementing consumer boycotts of California-grown grapes in major U.S. cities, Detroit

[261] Stacey K. Sowards, *Si, Ella Puede!: The Rhetorical Legacy of Dolores Huerta and the United Farm Workers* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2019), 20, 23.
[262] Sowards, 22, 25; Gordillo, 11.
[263] Jaclyn Reilly, "Agricultural Laborers: Their Inability to Unionize Under the National Labor Relations Act," Penn State Law, 1; "Are You Covered?" National Labor Relations Board, accessed March 15, 2023, https://www.nlrb.gov/about-nlrb/rights-we-protect/the-law/employees/are-you-covered.

Figure 26. Cesar Chavez made multiple appearances in Detroit in support of UFW movements. ("California Organizer Visits," *Detroit Free Press*, April 13, 1967)

included, throughout 1968 and 1969.[264] Chávez understood the importance of nurturing support for the UFWOC in Detroit because the city was a significant consumer of California produce and has a long history of unionization.[265] Father Clement Kern of Most Holy Trinity Church was an early supporter of Chávez's work in Detroit.[266] Largely led by Mexicans and Mexican Americans who previously worked in agriculture, the UFW developed strong connections with Mexican and Mexican American communities throughout the country.[267] By 1972 the organization dropped the "OC" from its name, becoming the United Farm Workers (UFW).[268] Through the early 1970s, the UFW organized a series of boycotts of grapes and iceberg lettuce,

[264] Sowards, 25; William S. Welt, "Cesar Chavez in the City of Unions: Of UAWs, UFWs, Teamsters and Exceedingly Sour Grapes," *Detroit Free Press*, June 9, 1974.
[265] William S. Welt, "Cesar Chavez in the City of Unions: Of UAWs, UFWs, Teamsters and Exceedingly Sour Grapes," *Detroit Free Press*, June 9, 1974.
[266] Badillo, *Latinos in Detroit*, 20.
[267] Sowards, 26.
[268] Sowards, 27.

across the country pressuring grocers to halt the sale on non-union grapes and lettuce.[269] The UFW struggled to maintain labor contracts with produce growers as the Teamsters union, one of the largest in the U.S., began competing with the UFW for union membership.[270]

Labor Activities

Early labor activities occurred at several manufacturing sites including the Briggs Manufacturing Company. Briggs was a major supplier of car bodies to Ford Motor Company in the 1920s-1930s and employed hundreds of Mexicans and Mexican Americans, likely men and women, in its factories.[271] In January 1933 five hundred workers at the company's Vernor Highway plant organized a strike protesting against dismal working conditions and a twenty percent wage reduction.[272] It forced Ford Motor Company to halt production at its facilities in Detroit and across the country as the Briggs was unable to supply Ford with automobile bodies. The strike grew to encompass six thousand Briggs workers at all of the company's plants in Detroit and lasted through March, when the strike was broken through the use of strikebreakers and the local police. [273]

UFWOC Grape and Lettuce Boycotts

Lupe Anguiano came to Detroit from California in June 1968 with the UFWOC to facilitate a grape boycott in Detroit.[274] From the UFWOC's Detroit office at 2500 Howard Street Anguiano and others, like the Friends of the Farm Workers, assisted in the implementation of successful boycotts. Organizational meetings were held at Most Holy Trinity School, located at 1229 Labrosse Street, which was affiliated with Most Holy Trinity Church.[275] After Anguiano's arrival a grape boycott was organized that halted the sale of grapes in four of Detroit's largest grocery store chains—Kroger, A&P, Wrigley, and Chatham. Boycotters showed their support through picketing stores and refusing to purchase grapes.[276] Anguiano garnered support from local unions, religious leaders, and municipal leaders.[277]

Hijino Rangel was another former farm worker that came to Detroit to provide support for the UFWOC grape boycott.[278] While living at 747 West Grand Boulevard, Rangel and eighteen others, largely from the Latinx communities, were arrested in October 1969 for retaliation against a Kroger store at Fenkell and Grand River Avenues that was accused of breaking the

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[269] Whitney Young, "To Be Equal," *Michigan Chronicle*, December 26, 1970; "Solons Supporting Lettuce Boycott," *Michigan Chronicle*, October 14, 1972.
[270] Maryanne Conheim, "Stores Put On Spot By Unions' Grape War," *Detroit Free Press*, December 7, 1973.
[271] Vargas, *Proletariats*, 197; "Briggs Strikers in Biggest Picket Demonstration of 15,000," *The Daily Worker*, January 31, 1933; Selden Rodman, "Mr. Ford's Detroit," *Midwest Free Press*, August 17, 1933.
[272] Vargas, *Proletariats*, 172, 197; "Auto Workers Revolt Against Low Wages and Unbearable Conditions," *The Daily Worker,* February 11, 1933; "The Lessons of the Briggs Auto Strike—How it Was Organized," *The Daily Worker*, January 30, 1933.
[273] "Body Firm Strikes Close Ford Plants," *Detroit Free Press*, January 27, 1933; Vargas, *Proletariats*, 197.
[274] Patrick J. Owens, "Faith Keeps 'Living Saint' Fighting for Grape Boycott," *Detroit Free Press*, September 27, 1968; "Action Line," *Detroit Free Press*, November 5, 1968.
[275] "Action Line," *Detroit Free Press*, November 5, 1968.
[276] "4 Food Chains OK California Grape Ban," *Detroit Free Press*, November 22, 1968.
[277] Clark Hoyt, "'Jim Jim' Unhappy Over Grape Ban," *Detroit Free Press*, August 10, 1968.
[278] Tom DeLisle, "Senator Vows Hunger Strike," *Detroit Free Press*, May 11, 1969.

Figure 27. The UFW organized boycotts and picket lines to protest the sale of non-union grapes and lettuce in the 1960s and 1970s. The people pictured are departing to attend demonstrations in Washington, DC. ("UFW, Boycotts, Michigan, Demonstrations," photograph, [1960s?], The United Farm Workers Collection, Walter P. Reuther Library, Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, Wayne State University)

grape boycott.[279] In September 1969, Rangel participated in a contentious debate before one hundred and fifty people, including twenty-five members of the Brown Berets, an organization promoting Latino/a civil rights, with State Senator Lorraine N. Beebe regarding the boycotts.[280] Rangel was one of sixteen Detroit-area individuals and organizations to receive an award for his commitment to human rights through his work with the UFWOC.[281] Rangel aided in securing a collective bargaining agreement for migrant agricultural working on a cucumber farm in Crosswell, Michigan in 1970.[282]

[279] Julie Morris, "18 Seized in Grape Protest," *Detroit Free Press*, July 13, 1969.
[280] "Grape Boycotters, Opponents Stage Debate in Church," *Detroit Free Press*, September 22, 1969.
[281] "16 Award Winners Selected For Work In Human Rights," *Detroit Free Press,* October 31, 1969.
[282] Julie Morris, "Migrants Get First Union Talks," *Detroit Free Press*, August 6, 1970.

On May 10, 1969, a rally was held in downtown Detroit's Kennedy Square for International Grape Boycott Day as part of a national effort to gain support for grape strikers.[283] Students from Ann Arbor marched from Ann Arbor City Hall, down Michigan Avenue, to Kennedy Square.[284] Rangel spoke at the rally alongside State Senator Roger Craig.[285] Rangel, Craig, and Reverend Robert Baldwin, executive director of the Churches on the East Side for Social Action, all participated in an eleven-day hunger strike following the rally to coax local A&P stores to make a pledge to stop selling California grapes.[286] During a press conference with Chávez and Mayor Jerome Cavanagh Rangel stated he would begin another hunger strike, "to use every non-violent means available to us to convince A&P of its moral responsibility to struggling farm workers and concerned consumers."[287]

As part of a national campaign in 1973, protestors in support of UFW lettuce and grape boycott picketed the A&P market at 5858 West Vernor.[288] Chavez spoke at United Automobile Workers (UAW) Local 212 at 12101 Mack Avenue to gather support for a lettuce boycott and the UFW as it faced hardship following the establishment of a relationship between the Teamsters union and California produce growers.[289] Chavez's family members—his brother Richard, daughters Linda and Sylvia—all spent time in Detroit in 1973 to support the UFW's efforts.[290] While living at the parish house of Visitation Catholic Church at 1946 Webb Street, Chavez's family participated in pickets throughout the metro Detroit area. Richard, Linda, Sylvia, and additional family members were arrested following pickets in Macomb and Oakland Counties in 1973.[291] It may be one of these pickets in December 1973 where an A&P store manager attempted to stop the protesters by spraying water on Linda and Sylvia.[292] The UFW was successful in getting local Farmer Jack grocery stores to stop selling California grapes harvested by non-union agricultural workers.[293]

Social History

The Latinx community in Detroit has maintained its rich social and cultural heritage through promoting the history and advancement of their community. The social history enriches the neighborhood and has created a distinct cultural milieu in Southwest Detroit. The Latinx

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[283] "Grape Boycott Rally," *Michigan Chronicle*, May 10, 1969; Tom DeLisle, "Senator Vows Hunger Strike," *Detroit Free Press*, May 11, 1969.
[284] "Hike Backs Grape Boycott," *Detroit Free Press*, May 7, 1969.
[285] "Hike Backs Grape Boycott," *Detroit Free Press*, May 7, 1969.
[286] "Craig Eats," *Detroit Free Press*, May 22, 1969.
[287] Susan Holmes, "Chavez Supports Store Picketing," *Detroit Free Press*, November 8, 1969.
[288] "A&P Picketed," *Detroit Free Press*, March 11, 1973.
[289] William S. Welt, "Cesar Chavez in the City of Unions: Of UAWs, UFWs, Teamsters and Exceedingly Sour Grapes," *Detroit Free Press*, June 9, 1974.
[290] William S. Welt, "Cesar Chavez in the City of Unions: Of UAWs, UFWs, Teamsters and Exceedingly Sour Grapes," *Detroit Free Press*, June 9, 1974; "UFW Backers Protest Arrest," *Detroit Free Press*, December 3, 1973.
[291] Jane Briggs, "81 Farm Union Pickets Arrested at 3 A&Ps," *Detroit Free Press*, December 2, 1973; William S. Welt, "Cesar Chavez in the City of Unions: Of UAWs, UFWs, Teamsters and Exceedingly Sour Grapes," *Detroit Free Press*, June 9, 1974.
[292] "Passing of Linda Chavez-Rodriguez—Daughter of Cesar Chavez, Wife of Current UFW President," United Farm Workers, accessed March 15, 2023, https://ufw.org/Passing-of-Linda-Chavez-Rodriguez-daughter-of-Cesar-Chavez-wife-of-current-UFW-president/.
[293] Maryanne Conheim, "Non-Union Grapes Are Out," *Detroit Free Press*, December 6, 1973.

community has contributed to the broader social fabric of the City by promoting their cultural heritage.

Women in Detroit's Latinx Communities, 1915-1980

Latinx women occupy a central role in Detroit's Latinx communities and historically their role in the community's histories has been overlooked. Contributions ranged from participating in the industrial workforce, establishing businesses, child rearing, and household management. Women were also the driving force behind holiday festivities, dedicating their time to organizing activities, creating costumes, cooking food, and decorating altars.[294]

Women were integral to the founding and operation of *mutualistas* which were organizations put together to provide food, medical care, educational services, and immigration issues to the community. Due to gender role constraints in the 1950s and 1960s Latinx women were discouraged from overtly participating in political demonstrations. Thus, with *mutualistas*, women provided these much-needed services to their friends and neighbors in an environment that enabled them to be "politically and socially" active while still largely operating in a "behind-the-scenes" role.[295]

Women established their own businesses and supported family businesses with their labor. Moreover, they tapped into the shared network of family and friends within their communities for support and access to employment opportunities.[296] As mentioned in the Mexican Immigrant Neighborhoods in the Early-Twentieth Century section, the management of *casas de asistencia* was primarily done by women.[297] Operating the *casa* involved cooking food for boarders on shifts mirroring shifts at the worker's place of employment, laundering clothing, and cleaning.[298]

Women occupied a critical role in the establishment of businesses in Detroit's Latinx communities. Commercial establishments were often managed solely by women or by a husband and wife team.[299] Olivia Galan, part of the ownership of El Patio and Las Vegas bars during the 1950s and 1960s, also hosted a Latin radio show on local Detroit radio station WMZK.[300] In the late 1950s, Maria Villarreal supported her family by making and selling tamales when her husband went on strike from Great Lakes Steel.[301] Her business flourished and she eventually expanded from her family's home to a dedicated commercial space in 1963. The tamaleria she started, known as Tamaleria Nuevo Leon, is still in business today and is operated

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[294] Sommers and Casa de Unidad, *Fiesta, Fe, y Cultura*, 88-89, 128.
[295] Stacey Soward, *Si Ella Puede! The Rhetorical Legacy of Dolores Huerta and the United Farm Workers* (Austin, TX: University of Texas, 2020), 12.
[296] Vargas, "Life and Community," 54.
[297] Sommers and Casa de Unidad, *Fiesta, Fe, y Cultura*, 12.
[298] Vargas, "Life and Community," 55; Gordillo, *Mexican Women and the Other Side of Immigration*, 39.
[299] Gordillo, *Mexican Women and the Other Side of Immigration*, 40; Jeremy Iggers, "The Food Is Exotic And So Is The Journey," *Detroit Free Press*, July 8, 1981; "Galan, Olivia," obituary, *Detroit Free Press,* March 8, 2002.
[300] "Galan, Olivia," obituary, *Detroit Free Press,* March 8, 2002.
[301] John Tanasychuk, "Tamales Heat Up December's Cold," *Detroit Free Press*, December 7, 1988; Tom Nicholson, "Great Lakes Steel Corp. And Union Schedule Talks Sunday," *Detroit Free Press*, December 23, 1959; David Rodriguez Muñoz, "Detroit's Tamaleria Nuevo Leon Has Been Serving Tamales For Over 60 Years," *Detroit Free Press*, March 24, 2023.

Figure 28. Susana Villarreal-Garza in front of Tamaleria Nuevo Leon which is still in business today. (Detroit Historic Designation Advisory Board, 2023)

by her daughter Susana Villarreal-Garza.[302] Puerto Rican immigrant Idi Colon operated the El Punto Alegre Social Club with her husband in the 1980s. Idi helped manage the club and cooked traditional Puerto Rican food for visitors.[303] At the time of this report, on Sundays, Mexican and Mexican American women gather in Patton Park to socialize and set up food carts selling Mexican food and goods while soccer games and other activities are ongoing in the park.[304]

Beyond working as proprietors of local businesses, Mexican and Mexican American women were employed in service industry positions such as maids, waitresses, cooks, and bakers. Mexican and Mexican American women also found employment in Detroit's factories.[305] Women were among the strikers of the 1933 Briggs strike, and were described as, "the most militant fighters" for better working conditions.[306] Although not explicitly referenced, Mexican

[302] David Rodriguez Muñoz, "Detroit's Tamaleria Nuevo Leon Has Been Serving Tamales For Over 60 Years," *Detroit Free Press*, March 24, 2023.
[303] Jeremy Iggers, "The Food Is Exotic And So Is The Journey," *Detroit Free Press*, July 8, 1981.
[304] Gordillo, *Mexican Women and the Other Side of Immigration*, 7.
[305] Vargas, "Life and Community," 55.
[306] "Briggs Strikers in Biggest Picket Demonstration of 15,000," *The Daily Worker*, January 31, 1933.

and Mexican American women, and those from additional Latinx communities, likely participated in these strikes. Likewise, women participated in the grape and lettuce boycotts in support of the UFWOC in the 1970s.[307]

LGBTIQA+ Culture in Detroit's Latinx Communities, 1915-1980

LGBTIQA+ is an evolving acronym standing for lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, intersex, queer and/or questioning, asexual, and additional identities.[308] LGBTIQA+ people have always been a part of Detroit's history, even if archival sources related to their histories are scant, and assuredly members of Detroit's Latinx communities have identified, and identify, as LGBTIQA+. Archival documentation that documents Latinx people's involvement in AIDS/HIV activism has been sought out by the survey team, but nothing has yet been found—this is an avenue ripe for intensive level research.

Voguing and Ballroom Culture in Detroit

Detroit's decades-old ballroom scene provides a safe space for local LGBTIQA+ people to express themselves and their identities. While Detroit's scene is largely composed of Black people, a small number of Detroit's voguers identify as Latinx.[309] Many members of the ballroom culture have experienced ostracization from their birth families because of their identities and turn to the ballroom scene for a support system.[310]

Voguing describes an expressive art form conveyed through movement, a highly stylized dance originating in the Black and Latinx LGBTIQA+ communities in Harlem in New York City beginning in the 1960s. Voguing became part of an active underground Ballroom scene where "balls" were held and "houses," comprised of Black and Latinx voguers, engaged in voguing competitions. The balls provided a space for LGBTIQA+ Black and Latinx peoples to express themselves and become part of a broader community accepting of their identities.[311]

The American Legion Tom Philip Post No. 184, located at 10235 Gratiot Avenue (extant), was the "iconic" site of many major ballroom gatherings in the early 2000s including a ball for the

[307] Jane Briggs, "81 Farm Union Pickets Arrested at 3 A&Ps," *Detroit Free Press*, December 2, 1973; William S. Welt, "Cesar Chavez in the City of Unions: Of UAWs, UFWs, Teamsters and Exceedingly Sour Grapes," *Detroit Free Press*, June 9, 1974.
[308] "What does LGBTIA+ mean?" La Trobe University, accessed March 30, 2023, https://www.latrobe.edu.au/students/support/wellbeing/resource-hub/lgbtiqa/what-lgbtiqa-means.
[309] Marlon M. Bailey, "Performance as Intravention: Ballroom Culture and the Politics of HIV-AIDS in Detroit," *Souls* 11, no. 3 (2009), 273 n31.
[310] Sachin Bhola, "Meeting the Inspiring LGBTQ+ Youth Behind Detroit's Ballroom Vogue Scene," Highsnobiety, accessed March 30, 2023, https://www.highsnobiety.com/p/adidas-forum-detroit/; Ellen Shanna Knoppow, "How Two Detroit Ballroom Godmothers Made Sure VICE Got the Whole Story About Murdered Trans Woman Kelly Stough," Pride Source, July 26, 2021, accessed March 30, 2023, https://pridesource.com/article/detroit-ballroom-godmothers/; The Neighborhoods, "Vogue in Detroit: Leaving it all on the Floor," video, 2019, Facebook, accessed March 31, 2023, https://www.facebook.com/storiesfromdet/videos/669077333506018/?locale=ur_PK.
[311] "A Brief History of Voguing," National Museum of African American History and Culture, Smithsonian, accessed March 30, 2023, https://nmaahc.si.edu/explore/stories/brief-history-voguing.

Prestige Ballroom team's thirteenth anniversary, held in 2003.[312] In 2006 the Tom Philip Post also hosted a national ball called the Spring Bling Explosion which was one of fourteen balls held around the country in the spring of that same year.[313] The Woodward, located at 6426 Woodward Avenue, was another location for voguing and ballroom, but a severe fire burned the longstanding bar in June 2022.[314] The Woodward opened in 1954 and soon became a space frequented by Wayne State University's LGBTIQA+ communities.[315] The Ruth Ellis Center, located at 77 Victor Street in Highland Park, is a LGBTIQA+ community center where members of Detroit's LGBTIQA+ gather, and where many members of Detroit's Ballroom and Vogue scene congregate.[316] The center opened in 2000 and also serves as an event and practice space for balls.[317]

Figure 29. The American Legion Tom Philip Post No. 184, located on Gratiot Avenue near Harper Avenue. (Kraemer Design Group, 2023)

[312] Sachin Bhola, "Meeting the Inspiring LGBTQ+ Youth Behind Detroit's Ballroom Vogue Scene," Highsnobiety, accessed March 30, 2023, https://www.highsnobiety.com/p/adidas-forum-detroit/; Marlon M. Bailey, *Butch Queens Up in Pumps* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 2013), 77-78.
[313] Frank Leon Roberts, "Ballroom Spring Review," *Flavalife* March/April 2006, 6-8.
[314] Sachin Bhola, "Meeting the Inspiring LGBTQ+ Youth Behind Detroit's Ballroom Vogue Scene," Highsnobiety, accessed March 30, 2023, https://www.highsnobiety.com/p/adidas-forum-detroit/; Serena Maria Daniels, "Historic LGBTQ Spot Woodward Bar & Grill Destroyed in Fire," Eater Detroit, June 15, 2022, accessed March 30, 2023, https://detroit.eater.com/2022/6/15/23169587/lgbtq-woodward-bar-grill-destroyed-in-fire.
[315] Serena Maria Daniels, "Historic LGBTQ Spot Woodward Bar & Grill Destroyed in Fire," Eater Detroit, June 15, 2022, accessed March 30, 2023, https://detroit.eater.com/2022/6/15/23169587/lgbtq-woodward-bar-grill-destroyed-in-fire.
[316] "Ruth Ellis Center," Ruth Ellis Center, accessed March 30, 2023, https://www.ruthelliscenter.org/.
[317] Alexa Capeloto, "Ruth Ellis: Set Example For The Gay Community," *Detroit Free Press*, October 6, 2000; Gus Burns, "Underground Dance Trend Unites Homeless Detroit-area LGBT Youth," MLive, August 21, 2013, accessed March 30, 2023, https://www.mlive.com/news/detroit/2013/08/vogue_underground_lgbt_dance_c.html.

Sights, Sounds, and Cultural Activities in Latinx Detroit, 1915-1980

Cultural activities and artistic outlets have deep importance to Detroit's Latinx communities, with several ethnic and community organizations holding a long history of maintaining and celebrating cultural traditions. These activities fostered the preservation of each community's culture in Detroit throughout the twentieth century, even as local Latinx populations fluctuated due to migratory work patterns, economic downturns, and influence of Michigan's winter. Providing this cultural support are the countless businesses, organizations, and people who have used music, radio, newspapers, art, and other outlets for maintaining the unique cultures of Detroit's Latinx communities. For instance, celebrations hosted by the Mexican American Post 505 included historical pageants highlighting Indigenous clothing and presentations discussing Mexico's cultural history.[318]

Celebrations and Festivals

Culturally significant holidays are numerous and highlight the varied histories of the Latinx communities. Cultural celebrations are the result of individual people, groups, and businesses within the Latinx communities dedicating time, energy, and money to celebrations that typically include specialty foods, songs, and activities.[319] Puerto Rico's and Mexico's fight for independence are celebrated in mid-September and have often been sponsored by local ethnic organizations.[320]

El Dia de los Tres Reyes, a holiday stretching from December 16th to January 6th, is celebrated more widely amongst the Latinx communities to commemorate the gifts given to Jesus by the Three Wise Men.[321] *Las Posadas* is a celebration spanning several days, from December 16th through December 24th, where the Biblical story of Mary and Joseph's search for lodging on their way to Bethlehem is reenacted through candlelight processions, music, and celebrations.[322] Since the 1960s Las Posadas has become an increasingly community-oriented holiday, especially as changes in the Catholic church allowed the use of ethnic elements in mass.[323] In the early twentieth century, the holiday was largely celebrated at home amongst family members.[324]

Fiestas Guadalupanas occurs on December 12th and includes a feast in honor of the Virgin of Guadalupe.[325] With organizing guidance of Father Kern from Most Holy Trinity Church in the mid-twentieth century, *Fiestas Guadalupanas* celebrations were widely attended and involved

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[318] "Mexico's Past Honored," *Detroit Free Press*, May 10, 1971; "Pageant Traces Mexican History," *Detroit Free Press*, April 17, 1969.
[319] Sommers and Casa de Unidad, *Fiesta, Fe, y Cultura*, 88.
[320] "Joint Hispanic Celebration," *Detroit Free Press*, September 20, 1981.
[321] Stanley Brandes, "Sugar, Colonialism, and Death: On the Origins of Mexico's Day of the Dead," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 39, no. 2 (1997), 274; Stanley Brandes, "Iconography in Mexico's Day of the Dead: Origins and Meanings," *Ethnohistory* 45, no. 2 (1998), 189; Cassandra Spratling, "Christmas' Crowning Glory," *Detroit Free Press*, January 5, 1997.
[322] Sommers and Casa de Unidad, *Fiesta, Fe, y Cultura*, 4.
[323] Sommers and Casa de Unidad, *Fiesta, Fe, y Cultura*, 115; Badillo, *Latinos in Michigan*, 22.
[324] Sommers and Casa de Unidad, *Fiesta, Fe, y Cultura*, 115.
[325] Sommers and Casa de Unidad, *Fiesta, Fe, y Cultura*, 4.

the closure of Bagley Street, allowing processions to fill the street.[326] Guadalupe is a widely revered iconographic figure in Mexican and Mexican American communities, particularly communities composed of working class laborers or those with rural peasant backgrounds. Guadalupe symbolizes the connections between, "family, politics, and religion; colonial past and independent present; Indian and Mexican."[327] Michigan's winters prompted alterations to traditions, as the people moved activities that normally occurred outdoors inside.[328]

Día de los Muertos is a primarily Mexican and Mexican American celebration occurring from November 1st through 2nd where people create altars to loved ones who are deceased and visit, clean, and decorate graves. Compared to other ethnic celebrations, *Día de los Muertos* is not practiced as widely as other holidays.[329] Holiday celebrations and festivals typically include parades, music, song, dance, gatherings, and speeches, and help to strengthen social bonds throughout the communities.[330]

Figure 30. *Fiestas Guadalupanas* celebrated in 1988, at Ste. Anne's. (Margarita Valdez, ed., *Tradiciones del Pueblo: Traditions of Three Mexican Feast Days in Southwest Detroit* (Detroit, MI: Casa de Unidad, 1990)

[326] Sommers and Casa de Unidad, *Fiesta, Fe, y Cultura*, 84-85.
[327] Sommers and Casa de Unidad, *Fiesta, Fe, y Cultura*, 68.
[328] Sommers and Casa de Unidad, *Fiesta, Fe, y Cultura*, 120-121.
[329] Sommers and Casa de Unidad, *Fiesta, Fe, y Cultura*, 4.
[330] Murillo 33; Vargas, *Proletariats*, 155.

Efforts to Preserve Latinx Culture

Casa de Unidad Cultural Arts and Media Center was founded in 1980 with the goal of identifying and preserving Latinx cultural heritage throughout Michigan. Casa de Unidad development several community outreach programs and events to bring Latinx communities together, acknowledging their histories and unique culture.[331]

Figure 31. Casa de Unidad was instrumental in spearheading efforts to preserve Latinx history. This announcement describes the collection of oral histories regarding traditional Latinx holiday celebrations. ("Announcing," *El Barrio*, Fall 1988, 1987-1989, Bentley Historical Library, Ann Arbor, MI)

Social Clubs and Organizations

People of Mexican heritage in Detroit developed numerous mutual aid organizations in the early twentieth century which were intended to socially and financially assist members of the community and preserve Mexican culture.[332] The majority of members belonging to social clubs and mutual aid organizations were considered elite members of the Mexican community, as working class Mexicans and Mexican Americans had little free time to participate in such activities.[333] Yet as the Mexican and Mexican American population expanded, so did the creation of religious, fraternal, and social clubs.[334]

[331] Sommers and Casa de Unidad, *Fiesta, Fe, y Cultura*, xiv-xv.
[332] Lara 145; Vargas, *Proletariats*, 151.
[333] Sommers and Casa de Unidad, *Fiesta, Fe, y Cultura*, 16-17.
[334] Murillo 32.

Local organizations held festivals to raise money for the organization and its members which allowed the organization to provide a form of insurance for members against disease and death, and to celebrate Mexican holidays.[335] Cruz Azul was a charity operated by women that focused on providing care to the sick within the Mexican and Mexican American communities.[336] As other Latinx communities formed in the city, social clubs and aid organizations were formed to address the needs of each community.

The 1967 uprising in Detroit sparked the creation of another generation of organizations dedicated to addressing urban issues faced by Latinx communities. Latin Americans for Social and Economic Development (LASED) was organized in 1969 to address the varied needs of Detroit's Latinx residents and that same year the Committee for Concerned Spanish Americans (CCSA) was also formed, serving as a liaison between Latinx residents and Detroit and Michigan's educational system [337] Organizations have continued to develop to address community needs such as Mana de Metro Detroit, the local branch of the national Mexican American Women's National Association (MANA) which was organized in 1974.[338]

Communications

Radio

Detroit's Latinx community operated radio stations and created several radio programs. Local radio station WJLB broadcast a radio program geared toward Detroit's Latinx communities by the 1940s.[339] On WDET, the *El Grito de mi Raza* radio program was broadcast from the early 1970s through at least the late 1980s and was a popular bilingual radio show that discussed current events, history, and played ethnic music It was controversially cancelled and Latinx

[335] Murillo 33; Vargas, *Proletariats*, 149.
[336] Sommers and Casa de Unidad, *Fiesta, Fe, y Cultura*, 17.
[337] Lara 145; Sommers and Casa de Unidad, *Fiesta, Fe, y Cultura*, 25-26; "About Us," Latin Americans for Social and Economic Development," accessed April 17, 2023, https://www.lasedinc.com/about-us; Sharon Popp, Merlin Steider, Julie Wheeler, Monica Wichorek, and Donna Young, "Exploratory Study of the Mexican-American Community in Detroit, Michigan" (Master's thesis, Wayne State University, 1970), 26.
[338] "About," MANA, accessed April 17, 2023, https://www.hermana.org/about; "MANA de Metro Detroit," MANA, accessed April 17, 2023, https://www.manademetrodetroit.com/.
[339] Sommers and Casa de Unidad, *Fiesta, Fe, y Cultura*, 14.

Figure 32. Members of the group behind the WDET *El Grito de mi Raza* radio program. (Carmen Garcia, "The Barrio's 'Shout' Gets Stronger," *El Barrio*, November-December 1982, *El Barrio,* 1982-1983, Bentley Historical Library, Ann Arbor, MI)

listeners protested against its ending as a radio program that had lent a voice to their communities.[340] Radio station WMZK, Detroit's "station of the nations" that dedicated airtime to Detroit's ethnic communities, broadcast numerous Spanish-language programs six days a week throughout the 1970s from the Las Vegas Bar on Bagley Street.[341]

Newspapers

Several community newspapers have circulated amongst Detroit's Latinx residents through the twentieth century. Newspapers dating to the 1920s, when Latinx communities first began forming in Detroit, were often short-lived due to the transitory nature of a significant portion of Detroit's Latinx populations. *Prenza Libre* was Detroit's first Mexican newspaper established in 1929. Printed at the headquarters of the *Liga de Obreros y Campesinos* (League of Mexican Workers and Peasants) at 4326 Toledo Avenue (not extant), the newspaper covered local and international issues and included an editorial page and gossip column. Following the Great

[340] "'Radio Free Detroit' Needs Listeners To Pay Some Dues," *Detroit Free Press*, September 24, 1972; "FM Radio Highlights," *Detroit Free Press*, October 17, 1973.
[341] Michigan Historical Commission, "Tejano Music," Michigan Historical Marker Program, 2023; Sandra Bunnell, "Latino Detroit: Despite Problems There Is Pleasure And *Gran Historia* For Non-Turistas," *Detroit Free Press*, January 4, 1976; Bob Talbert, "Tired of Humdrum? Get Out, Get With It," *Detroit Free Press*, January 23, 1974; Peter C. Gavrilovich, "On The Station Of The Nations, The World's At Peace, But Not Without The Help Of Some Audio Watchdogs," *Detroit Free Press*, November 9, 1975.

Depression, the paper collapsed as Mexicans and Mexican Americans decided, or were forced through repatriation, to leave Detroit.[342]

Another early newspaper was *El Eco de la Patria* which was a monthly publication that was "written and published by factory workers during breaks in their work shifts."[343] As mentioned above, the Great Depression and the transient nature of the Latinx population in the 1930s contributed to short lived nature of many of these local newspapers. Latinx community members also read national publications such as *La Prensa* from San Antonio, Texas and *La Opinion* from Los Angeles. In later years, as the Latinx population became more firmly rooted in Detroit, several newspapers including *El Central Hispanic News*, formed in 1988, and *Latino Press* began operating in Detroit.[344]

Performing Arts

Arts and Cultural Entertainment

Through art, music, dance, and film, individual members and organizations in Detroit's Latinx communities have been instrumental in maintaining their cultural traditions while in Detroit. Performing and listening to ethnic music forms a significant connection between Latinx communities in Detroit and their traditional cultural practices. Numerous local bands played ethnic music at neighborhood bars and clubs and for community celebrations. Pepe Villa and Lucho Garcia were popular acts in the 1950s while La Combinacion was popular in the 1970s.[345] Tejano music, a synthesis of Mexican and European musical styles, was popular in Detroit and prominent local act Los Primos was one group that gained local and nationwide recognition.[346] In addition to playing Tejanos music, musical groups likewise played traditional music for gatherings such as quinceañeras, funerals, and festivals.

Traditional Dances

Club Artístico Femenino was founded by María Hernández Alcalá. Carmen Cortina founded another dance group, Corktown Dancers.[347] Cortina was actively involved in traditional Latinx dancing as she directed another group, the Mexican Folk Dancers, during their performance at the State Fair in 1969.[348] Dance groups such as these were often composed of young girls dressed in traditional, ethnic clothing that was usually homemade. The groups commonly

[342] Murillo 36, 38.
[343] Zaragosa Vargas, "Life and Community in the "Wonderful City of the Magic Motor": Mexican Immigrants in the 1920s Detroit," *Michigan Historical Review* 15, no. 1 (1989), 63.
[344] "WSU Now Home To 3-Year Run Of Influential El Central Newspaper," Today@Wayne, May 16, 2019, https://today.wayne.edu/news/2019/05/16/wsu-now-home-to-30-year-run-of-influential-el-central-newspaper-32090; "Latino Press," New Michigan Media, accessed April 17, 2023, https://newmichiganmedia.com/latino-press/.
[345] Mike Duffy, "Coming Up on the U.S. Like Crazy!" *Detroit Free Press*, March 4, 1977; Evelyn S. Stewart and Dorian Hyshka, "Food is Exotic, Delicious in Detroit," *Detroit Free Press*, September 22, 1957.
[346] Michigan Historical Commission, "Tejano Music," Michigan Historical Marker Program, 2023; Michigan Historical Commission, "Mexican Detroit," Michigan Historical Marker Program, 2023.
[347] Sommers and Casa de Unidad, *Fiesta, Fe, y Cultura*, 17, 87.
[348] "State Fair Will Spotlight International Show Today," *Detroit Free Press*, August 31, 1969.

Figure 33. An advertisement for Panchito and His Orchestra, a local, Latinx band headed by Frank "Panchito" Lozano. (Image courtesy of Raymond Lozano)

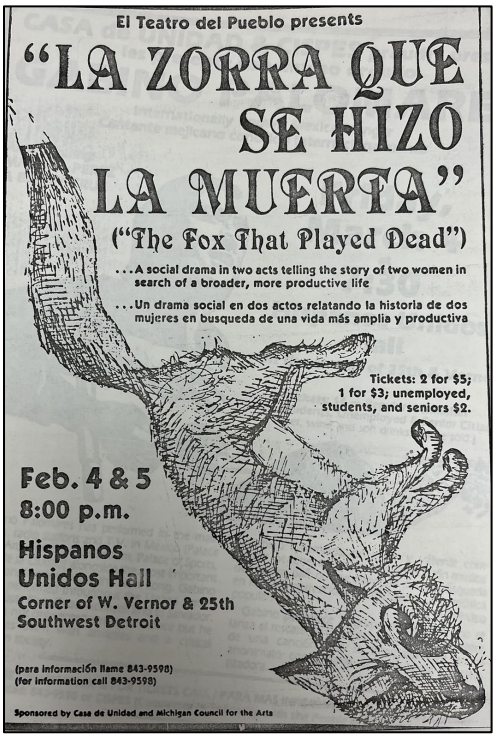

Figure 34. An advertisement, likely from the 1980s, for a play at Hispanos Unidos Hall, sponsored by Casa de Unidad. ("La Zorra Que Se Hizo La Muerta," advertisement, box 2, George Vargas Papers, 1973-2003, Bentley Historical Library, Ann Arbor, MI)

Figure 35. Traditional dancing and dress were often part of Latinx cultural celebrations. ("Brooklyn Youth Center Photography Class, 1990," photograph, box 2, Julio Perazza Visual Materials, 1934-2004, Bentley Historical Library, Ann Arbor, MI)

performed at fiestas celebrating major holidays and other cultural events.[349] Additionally, Puerto Rican immigrants performed salsa dancing and salsa dancing in Southwest Detroit was an area attraction for dancers all over southeast Michigan.[350]

Public Art and Murals

Art and murals feature prominently in the survey area and Southwest Detroit is known for its beautiful and colorful murals and art installations. There are many murals on buildings in the commercial corridors of Bagley Avenue and Vernor Highway. Examples include the mural on the Tamaleria Nuevo Leon by Elton Monroy Duran, the mural on Plaza del Norte Welcome Center also by Elton Monroy Duran, the mural on El Asador Steakhouse by Victor "Marka27"

[349] Sommers and Casa de Unidad, *Fiesta, Fe, y Cultura*, 87-88.
[350] Badillo, *Latinos in Michigan*, 27; Mike Duffy, "Coming Up on the U.S. Like Crazy!" *Detroit Free Press*, March 4, 1977

Quiñonez, and the mural at 2701 Bagley Street by Nicole MacDonald and Stephanie Sucaet-Felczak, among many others. The place-making and place-keeping murals highlight Latinx culture by featuring agricultural workers, Mexican cinema stars, musicians, activists, prominent community members, and food and produce. Businesses, residents, and homeowners use public art, murals, flags, and graffiti to "assert their identities and claim ownership of the area" and the vibrant art on display in Southwest Detroit adds cultural vibrancy to the neighborhood.[351] Flags of various countries are on prominent display in Southwest Detroit which both speaks to the cultural pride in the neighborhood and helps customers find products from specific from Mexico, El Salvador, Guatemala and others.[352]

Entertainment/Recreation

In addition to the theaters and dances mentioned above in the Performing Arts section, Latinx community members also watched and participated in organized sports like boxing, soccer, and baseball.[353] Recreational dancing was also popular and in the 1920s, dance halls became popular places for social interaction between Mexican and Mexican American factory workers and

Figure 36. The mural on the west elevation of the building at 2661-2669 Bagley Street. (Image Kraemer Design Group, 2023)

[351] Lara, 151.
[352] Lara, 151.
[353] Gordillo, 11.

members of Detroit's European immigrant communities.[354]Another popular pastime of local Latinx residents was listening to records of ethnic music. Roy's Record Shop, once located at 5432 West Vernor Highway and 2628 Bagley Street, was a storied record shop stocking instruments and Mexican records throughout the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s.[355] Today, there is a record store called Discoteca La Rancherita, located at 2039-2045 Springwells, which focuses on selling Spanish language music.

Theaters

Theaters along West Vernor Highway were located within neighborhoods where Latinx communities congregated and catered to the communities by showing Spanish-language films. Attending the Theater was a relatively affordable activity and served as a relaxing pastime. Films involving Latinx themes and featuring Latinx actresses and actors were particularly popular.[356] The Stratford Theater at 4751 West Vernor Highway and the Rio Theater at 7700 West Vernor Highway are just two of the several Theaters that were once located in Southwest Detroit. Only the Stratford and the Rio Theaters remain, but other Theaters such as the Clark Park (454-456 Dix, no longer extant), the Courtesy (6041 W. Vernor Highway, no longer extant), the Ferndale (location unknown), and the Dix (4035 W. Vernor Highway, no longer extant) were also present in Southwest Detroit.[357]

Parks

Parks are an important place for leisure, socialization, and recreation for the Latinx community. Spending time at Belle Isle or having a picnic at other nearby parks was an inexpensive way for Latinx community members to relax and socialize.[358] There are several substantial municipal parks located in the survey area including Clark Park, Stanton Park, and Boyer playfield. Only Clark Park was identified by the community as a significant resource for this project.
The land for Clark Park was given to the city in 1888 upon the death of businessman and real estate developer John P. Clark. The City purchased an adjacent parcel from the Clark estate to enhance the size of the park. Thus in 1900 Clark Park was opened and featured wide gravel walkways and large, mature trees including oak, elm, hickory and ash.[359] Later renovations included adding a softball field, playgrounds, and a skating rink. Today the park is heavily utilized, and a wide variety of activities are routinely scheduled including music festivals, concerts, carnivals and sporting events.

[354] Vargas, *Proletariats*, 162-163.
[355] Eric Guzman, "Tejano Music Legend Martin Solis To Receive Mexicantown's First Historic Marker," El Central, March 9, 2023; Sandra Bunnell, "Latino Detroit: Despite Problems There Is Pleasure And *Gran Historia* For Non-Turistas," *Detroit Free Press*, January 4, 1976; "Conversations: Angelo Figueroa, Magazine Editor: A People Person," *Detroit Free Press*, May 10, 1998.
[356] Vargas, *Proletariats*, 163-164.
[357] Florek E13.
[358] Vargas, *Proletariats,* 162.
[359] Hubbard Farms Historic District Report, HDC Detroit.

Figure 37. An advertisement for Spanish-language films at the Stratford Theater in 1975. ("Stratford," advertisement, *Detroit Free Press*, June 6, 1975)

Figure 38. The Azteca Theater, once located at the corner of Michigan Ave. and Brooklyn St., played Spanish-language films in mid-twentieth century. ("View of pedestrians walking in front of the Azteca Theater," bh028283, 1952, Burton Historical Collection, Detroit Public Library)

Religion

Detroit's Latinx communities largely identified as Roman Catholic and worshipped at local Roman Catholic churches, and the church is viewed as having a strong influence over the community.[360] Comparatively smaller Baptist, Pentecostal, and Episcopal congregations are, and were, also present in Detroit's Latinx communities.[361] These Judeo-Christian religions were often intermingled with pre-Hispanic Indigenous traditions.

Prior to establishment of churches dedicated to the Mexican and Mexican American community, Mexican and Mexican Americans worshipped at existing churches that had been established by earlier European immigrants to Detroit, like St. Boniface Church and St. Vincent de Paul Church.[362] Additionally, Mexican immigrants and Mexican Americans utilized one of the halls in St. Mary's School, part of the St. Mary's Church complex in Greektown, as a church.[363] Holy Family Catholic Church between Hastings and Fort Streets on Detroit's east side was another home to some of Detroit's Mexican and Mexican American Catholic residents.[364]

When single Mexican and Mexican American men first arrived in Detroit in the 1920s to take advantage of job opportunities, the church held little sway over them. Regular attendance to church was sparse but punctuated by attendance during culturally significant holidays like *Día de la Virgen de Guadalupe* and Mexico's Independence Day.[365] Moreover, religious practices of Detroit's Latinx residents also stem from a complex synthesis among major religions and Indigenous belief systems. The Virgin of Guadalupe, for instance, is a cultural symbol imbued with Indigenous and Spanish histories.[366] Regarded as Folk Catholicism, folk practices unique to the various Latinx ethnic groups, such as the dedication of altars and yard shrines, are often practiced alongside orthodox practices of the Catholic Church.[367] Puerto Rican, and likely additional Latinx residents, often relied on local healers practicing *curanderismo*, which describes a diverse Indigenous system of holistic spiritual and medicinal healing practices.[368]

While Mexican and Mexican American residents made up the majority of Detroit's Latinx religious community, other nationalities such as Puerto Ricans, Cubans, and additional groups also worshipped alongside Mexicans and Mexican Americans, and Detroit's existing European immigrant populations.[369] There was a sizable Hungarian population in the Delray

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[360] Florek E16-E17; Murillo 63; Laurie Kay Sommers and Casa de Unidad Cultural Arts and Media Center, *Fiesta, Fe, y Cultura* (Detroit, MI: Casa de Unidad Cultural Arts and Media Center, 1995), 9.
[361] Vargas, *Proletariats*, 147-148.
[362] Murillo 71-72.
[363] Murillo 64; Florek E15-E16; Vargas, *Proletariats*, 71.
[364] Vargas, *Proletariats*, 71.
[365] Laurie Kay Sommers and Casa de Unidad Cultural Arts and Media Center, *Fiesta, Fe, y Cultura* (Detroit, MI: Casa de Unidad Cultural Arts and Media Center, 1995), 11-12.
[366] Elain A. Peña, *Performing Piety: Making Space Sacred With the Virgin of Guadalupe* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2011), 6-7.
[367] Laurie Kay Sommers and Casa de Unidad Cultural Arts and Media Center, *Fiesta, Fe, y Cultura* (Detroit, MI: Casa de Unidad Cultural Arts and Media Center, 1995), 7.
[368] Osvaldo (Ozzie) Rivera, interview by Katie Cook, Kraemer Design Group, June 7, 2023; Renaldo Maduro, PhD, "*Curanderismo* and Latino Views of Disease and Curing," *The Western Journal of Medicine* 139, no. 6 (1983), 868-869.
[369] Vargas, *Proletariats*, 145-146.

neighborhood, located adjacent to Southwest Detroit and thus the Holy Cross Hungarian Church was also attended by some Latinx people.

Mexican and Mexican American parishioners faced discrimination by White church members, spurning the creation of Mexican and Mexican American churches.[370] At St. Mary's Parochial School, where Catholic members of the Mexican and Mexican American communities had worshipped since their arrival in Detroit the late 1910s, the majority White congregation pushed out the Mexican parishioners in August of 1923, as they no longer wanted to share their facilities.[371] At St. Leo's Catholic Church at 4860 15th Street, White members of the congregation shunned Mexican and Mexican American members.[372] Detroit's Catholic churches, particularly those with significant numbers of immigrants in their congregation, had ties to the Detroit Americanization Committee whose goal was to establish an association between factory employment and good citizenship.[373]

In the 1920s as the Mexican and Mexican American communities established themselves, social and cultural activities largely centered around religious practices.[374] In Southwest Detroit, the congregations of area churches that had initially served the local European populations changed as the area became predominantly Latinx and Latinx residents worked to establish their own churches.[375]

Practicing religion was an integral component of many community member's lives, especially women.[376] For Latinx women in the early decades of the twentieth century, church attendance and participation was one of the few culturally acceptable social outlets.[377] Latinx women were able to participate in "community building" at their churches and "their presence at and participation in church functions were notable."[378]

Catholic Churches

Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe (Our Lady of Guadalupe)

The first Mexican Catholic priest in Detroit was Reverend Juan Pablo Alanis y Gomeź, from Santiago, Nuevo Leon, Mexico.[379] Revered Alanis helped establish Detroit's first Latinx Catholic church in 1923, Our Lady of Guadalupe at 5321 Roosevelt Street.[380] Although officially opened on October 12, 1923, the church had been recording baptisms and births since 1920.[381] Detroit's Latinx communities were establishing themselves by the early 1920s, meaning that a

[370] Vargas, *Proletariats*, 71, 145.
[371] Vargas, *Proletariats*, 145.
[372] Vargas, *Proletariats*, 145.
[373] Vargas, *Proletariats*, 74.
[374] Murillo 102.
[375] Lara 145.
[376] Vargas, *Proletariats*, 144.
[377] Vargas, *Proletariats*, 144.
[378] Vargas, *Proletariat*s, 144
[379] Murillo 63.
[380] Murillo 63-69.
[381] Humphrey, "Migration and Settlement," 360; Murillo 70-71; Vargas, *Proletariats*, 145.

Figure 39. A c.1928 image of Our Lady of Guadalupe. (Zaragosa Vargas, *Proletariats of the North: A History of Mexican Industrial Workers in Detroit and the Midwest, 1917-1933* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1993))

dedicated church for members of the communities was warranted.[382] It is estimated that between four and five hundred members of the Latinx communities worshipped at the church and it became the focal point of the community through the sponsorship of social and communal activities.[383] The importance to the Latinx communities is evidenced by the attendees of the Feast of Our Lady of Guadalupe, a large, twelve-day celebration held by the church in December 1926. Reportedly the Latinx communities that took part in the celebration included, "Spaniards, Puerto Ricans, Cubans, Central and South Americans."[384]

The vacant lot at 5321 Roosevelt Street that came to house the church was transformed through the labor and dedication of its congregation. Funding for the purchase of the lot and construction of the church was acquired through community fundraisers and organizations like the Catholic Church Extension Society of the United States of America.[385] A small, white frame church was constructed on the lot.[386] Male parishioners dedicated their labor to construction of the church.[387]

[382] Murillo 31.
[383] Miner 650; Vargas, *Proletariats*, 145; Murillo 68.
[384] Vargas, *Proletariats*, 145-146.
[385] Murillo 64-65.
[386] Murillo 65.
[387] Vargas, *Proletariats*, 145.

In 1924 the church expanded through the construction of an additional frame building to house church and group activities.[388]

The church's congregants began to dwindle during the 1927 recession, and drastically dwindled following the Great Depression and Detroit's Mexican repatriation movement.[389] The decline was precipitated by the church's location outside of Southwest Detroit and Corktown, where the majority of Detroit's Latinx communities lived. The location at 5321 Roosevelt Street had been selected by Bishop Gallagher, anticipating that the Catholic community would quickly expand to envelop the church. However, Latinx communities largely remained stationed in Southwest Detroit, therefore the church was outside of the neighborhood where its congregants lived.[390]

Most Holy Trinity Church in Corktown

Most Holy Trinity Church, located at 1050 Porter Street in Detroit's Corktown neighborhood, took in Mexican and Mexican American parishioners who had experienced discrimination at St. Mary's Church in Greektown and St. Leo's Church at 4860 15th Street.[391] It also became the home of Mexican and Mexican American parishioners as they moved into Southwest Detroit and no longer attended Our Lady of Guadalupe.[392] By 1933 Most Holy Trinity Church sponsored Feast of the Virgin of Guadalupe and secured a Mexican priest to perform the mass.[393]

Father Clement Kern was a key figure amongst Latinx communities during his time as priest of Most Holy Trinity Church from 1943 through 1977.[394] Father Kern organized English language classes at the church, sought to prevent exploitation of temporary and migrant workers, and worked with the League of Catholic Women to organize Casa María.[395] Casa María was established in 1944 as a social work agency that lent assistance to the Latinx and Maltese communities in Corktown. Located at 1500 Trumbull Avenue, the celebratory opening of the agency occurred on Mexican Independence Day.[396] Throughout Casa Maria's existence, the community center provided educational programs for children, recreational activities, events highlighting Mexican cultural traditions, and all-around support for primarily Mexican and Mexican American children.[397] Father Kern supported parishioners in reviving traditional Mexican celebrations and feasts and acknowledged the importance of fostering cultural

[388] Murillo 66.
[389] Murillo 72-74; Vargas, *Proletariats*, 146.
[390] Vargas, *Proletariats*, 146.
[391] Vargas, *Proletariats*, 145.
[392] Vargas, *Proletariats*, 149.
[393] Sáenz 29.
[394] Badillo, *Latinos in Michigan*, 20.
[395] Sommers and Casa de Unidad, *Fiesta, Fe, y Cultura*, x; Badillo, *Latinos in Michigan*, 20.
[396] Badillo, *Latinos in Michigan*, 20; "Casa Maria Opens," *Detroit Free Press*, September 14, 1944; "Community House Is One Year Old," *Detroit Free Press*, September 23, 1945.
[397] Sally Smith, "Community Fears Center's Loss," *Detroit Free Press*, April 18, 2023; Zachare Bell, "Casa Maria Center Helps Community," *Detroit Free Press*, October 27, 1986; "Open House Set Saturday," *Detroit Free Press*, May 15, 1952; Pauline Sterling, "They Built Their Building But It Took Lots Of $5 Bricks," *Detroit Free Press*, November 30, 1956.

Figure 40. Father Clement Kern, widely known and highly regarded amongst members of Detroit's Latinx communities, standing in front of Most Holy Trinity Church. ("Kern, Msgr. Clement H.: Detroit Priest Pastor Most Holy Trinity Church in Corktown," photograph, n.d., Walter P. Reuther Library, Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, Wayne State University)

traditions.[398] Throughout the 1950s Most Holy Trinity Church organized local Catholic churches with Mexican and Mexican American parishioners to jointly celebrate *Fiestas Guadalupanas*, resulting in popular and well-attended festivities honoring the Virgin of Guadalupe.[399]

St. Mary's Catholic Church

Located at the southeast corner of St. Antoine and Monroe Streets, St. Mary's Church allowed, for a time, Mexican and Mexican American Detroiters to worship in one of the church's school

[398] Sommers and Casa de Unidad, *Fiesta, Fe, y Cultura*, 80-83.
[399] Sommers and Casa de Unidad, *Fiesta, Fe, y Cultura*, 84-85.

rooms.[400] On Sundays after Spanish mass, people remained at the church to partake in social activities such as playing cards, singing, and discussions of current events.[401] Mexican and Mexican American women especially enjoyed the social events after church as they were able to socialize and discuss happenings in Mexico.[402] Children attended classes geared towards assimilation, with classes in English and American history.[403] In 1923, before the opening of Our Lady of Guadalupe, the White administration staff of St. Mary's Church rescinded the ability for the Mexican and Mexican American congregants to utilize space in the church's school on Sundays, thus prompting Mexican and Mexican American members of the congregation to depart from the church.[404]

Ste. Anne de Detroit Church

At the northwest corner of St. Anne Street and West Lafayette Boulevard, Ste. Anne's Catholic Church became an integral component of Mexican and Mexican American religious life as parishioners moved from the east side to Southwest Detroit.[405] In 1933, the church secured a Mexican priest to perform the mass for the church's Feast of the Virgin of Guadalupe celebration.[406] By 1940, Ste. Anne's Church offered a weekly Spanish-language mass.[407] The priest in the 1940s, Father James Barrett, was the priest at three area churches that became interwoven into Detroit's Latinx communities—Ste. Anne's, Holy Redeemer, and Holy Trinity. Father Barret was also appointed director of the Mexican Apostolate and travelled back and forth to Mexico.[408] When the residential neighborhoods surrounding Most Holy Trinity Church were demolished to make way for the Lodge Freeway, the Latinx communities shifted westward and the number of Ste. Anne's Latinx parishioners increased. When Puerto Ricans began migrating to Detroit in the 1950s, many attended Ste. Anne's.[409]

Most Holy Redeemer Church

Most Holy Redeemer Church and School at 1721 Junction Avenue originated as a church for Irish and German immigrants. By the mid-twentieth century Mexican and Mexican American families were moving into Southwest Detroit and were attending the church following the demolition of residential neighborhoods surrounding Most Holy Trinity Church.[410] By the 1960s, the church provided Spanish-language masses and approximately twenty percent of the school's student population was Mexican.[411] In 1965, a celebration of Mexican independence was held in the church's auditorium.[412]

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[400] Vargas, *Proletariats*, 71.
[401] Vargas, *Proletariats*, 72-73.
[402] Vargas, *Proletariats*, 72.
[403] Vargas, *Proletariats*, 73.
[404] Vargas, *Proletariats*, 145.
[405] Vargas, *Proletariats*, 149.
[406] Sáenz 29.
[407] Sáenz 29.
[408] Florek E18; Sáenz 29.
[409] Badillo, *Latinos in Michigan*, 22.
[410] Badillo, *Latinos in Michigan*, 22; Florek E17.
[411] Florek E17.
[412] "Mexican Fete Scheduled," *Detroit Free Press*, September 13, 1965.

Baptist Churches

A small segment of Detroit's Mexican and Mexican American population was drawn to the Baptist faith as the church focused on developing the individual's faith rather than Americanization.[413] While other Mexican Baptist churches existed, the Primera Misión Bautista Mexicana (First Mexican Baptist Mission) has a storied history within the city. Primera Misión Bautista Mexicana opened at 3606 25th Street, at the southeast corner of the intersection with Magnolia Street, in 1930.[414] The church remained at this location until 1957, when it moved to 6205 West Fort Street. Construction related to the Gordie Howe bridge prompted the church's second move, in 2017, to 2020 Scotten Street.[415] By 1971 the church was renamed to the First Latin American Baptist Church.[416]

Through Primera Misión Bautista Mexicana's history, its pastors and congregants have provided Spanish-language religious service for members of Detroit's Latinx communities. The church welcomed guest pastors from around the Latin American world like Cuba, Argentina and the Southwestern U.S., promoted the needs of Detroit's Latinx communities, and consistently participated in and hosted conferences of Latinx Baptist churches.[417] In 1936, the church hosted, "the fifth yearly peace service of Detroit's foreign-speaking Baptists." Baptists from "eight racial groups" from Baptist churches throughout the city were expected to attend.[418] Reverend Florenzio M. Santiago, one of the church's longest serving pastors, was Puerto Rican and began his work at the church in 1935.[419] Reverend Santiago remained at Primera Misión Bautista until 1956, during which time he grew the congregation. In 1935 when Reverend Santiago started, the church counted forty members but by 1945, the church had 110 members.[420] In 1956, El Salvadoran Reverend Francisco Lemus became pastor.[421]

Other Mexican and Mexican American Baptist churches included La Misión Bautista Mexicana (Mexican Baptist Church) which opened in approximately 1926 on Jones Street near the intersection of Michigan Avenue and Bagley Street. The church later relocated to Bagley Street to be nearer to the factory workers that were members of the congregation. La Misión sought to

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[413] Vargas, *Proletariats*, 147.
[414] Sanborn Map Company, *Sanborn Fire Insurance Map from Detroit, Wayne County, Michigan* vol. 2 (New York: Sanborn Map and Publishing Company, 1950), sheet 52; "Mexican Baptist Rites," *Detroit Evening Times,* January 24, 1942.
[415] Keith Matheny, "Displaced Church Opens 113-Year Old Time Capsule," *Detroit Free Press*, November 19, 2017.
[416] Keith Matheny, "Displaced Church Opens 113-Year Old Time Capsule," *Detroit Free Press*, November 19, 2017; "First Latin-American Baptist Church," advertisement, *Detroit Free Press*, January 23, 1971.
[417] "Baptists Petition For The Oppressed," *Detroit Free Press*, April 28, 1935; "The Rev. Enrique Pina," *Detroit Free Press*, June 4, 1938; "Guests To Talk In City Pulpits," *Detroit Free Press*, December 14, 1940; "A Series Of Special Meetings," *Detroit Free Press*, July 24, 1937; "Fifteenth Convention," *Detroit Evening Times*, May 24, 1941; Niraj Warikoo and Kathleen Gray, "Life In America Now 'In Danger'," *Detroit Free Press*, September 6, 2017.
[418] "City To March In Celebration," *Detroit Free Press*, November 11, 1936.
[419] U.S. Census Bureau, *Seventeenth Census of the United States 1950*, U.S. Federal Census, population schedule, sheet 10, enumeration district 85-1031, Detroit, Wayne County, Michigan, Ancestry.com; "New Mexican Pastor Is Here," *Detroit Free Press*, July 13, 1935; Vargas, *Proletariats*, 148.
[420] "Pastor's Fete Set," *Detroit Evening Times*, July 7, 1945.
[421] "New Pastor And Family," *Detroit Free Press*, March 31, 1956.

Figure 41. The First Latin American Baptist Church, located at 2020 Scotten Street. (Kraemer Design Group, 2023)

attract parishioners by coordinating masses and events around factory schedules. La Luz Iglesia Bautista Mexicana (Holy Light Mexican Baptist Church) was another Mexican Baptist church providing religious space to Detroit's Mexican and Mexican American community. The church opened in 1929 on Bagley Street and sermons were headed by a Mexican preacher.[422]

Other Faith Communities

While large numbers of Latinx residents identify as Roman Catholic (with smaller segments worshipping in Baptist churches) there are also Episcopal, Pentecostal, and other faith communities in Southwest Detroit.[423] One example was the Iglesia de Dios Pentecostal Church which was located at 2728 Bagley Street (extant and now known as the Matrix Theater) located

[422] Vargas, *Proletariats*, 148.
[423] Florek *West Vernor Highway Survey*, E16-E17; Murillo, "The Detroit Mexican Colonia," 63; Sommers and Casa de Unidad, *Fiesta, Fe, y Cultura*, 229; Vargas, *Proletariats*, 147-148.

Figure 42. In the 1970s, the building that houses the Matrix Theater was the location of Iglesia de Dios Pentecostal Church. It is not uncommon for Pentecostal congregations and other religious groups to hold services in buildings previously used as commercial spaces. (Kraemer Design Group, 2023)

in the proposed Bagley Street Historic District.[424] The presence of the small, intimate churches, often of the Pentecostal denomination, reflect Latinx resident's reinvestment in commercial areas of the city. They also indicate the diverse religious beliefs and communities that exist within the Latinx communities.[425] As mentioned above, Latinx community members also mixed and blended Judeo-Christian practices with Indigenous beliefs, motifs, and medicinal practices, which resulted in unique worship habits often utilizing traditional healers, yard shrines, and culturally enhanced religious holidays.

Commerce

Southwest Detroit and the survey area has a long history of commercial activity with multiple historic commercial corridors existing throughout the neighborhood. Main thoroughfares include Bagley Street, Vernor Highway, Junction and Dix Roads with Bagley and Vernor Highway

[424] Hiley H. Ward, "Spanish-Speaking Boy, 10, Picks Up Marjoe's Trail Here," *Detroit Free Press*, October 21, 1972.
[425] "Let the Church Say Amen," PBS, accessed August 23, 2023, https://www.pbs.org/independentlens/documentaries/letthechurchsayamen/; Asha Kutty, "Sanctuaries Along Streets: Security, Social Intimacy and Identity in the Space of the Storefront Church," *Interior Design Educators Council, Journal of Interior Design* 45, no. 1 (2020), 54-55.

identified as two of the busiest and densest commercial corridors in the survey area. The commercial buildings surveyed were primarily constructed in the late 19th century and early 20th century with some of the earliest buildings located on Bagley to the east side of the survey area.

Commercial Establishments serving Detroit's Latinx Communities

Eateries and ethnic grocers were two integral components of commercial districts serving Detroit's Latinx communities. These businesses have often served as places where members of Detroit's Latinx communities can, "meet, find their favorite Latin foods and feel like a part of the community."[426] Near Ford Motor Company's Highland Park plant, El Buen Gusto Restaurant and Everybody's Pool Hall served Mexican and Mexican American automobile workers.[427] On Detroit's east side during the 1910s through the 1930s, restaurants, bakeries, barbershops, pool halls, tailoring businesses, and boardinghouses serving the Mexican and Mexican American population were located along East Congress Street. These small businesses often operated out of apartments, flats, and boardinghouses.[428] Commercial establishments reflected the demographics of the Latinx communities, with pool halls, restaurants, barber shops, and rooming houses suggesting the presence of young, single men.[429] In the 1920s, most commercial establishments only lasted for a short period of time, due to the seasonal fluctuations in the Mexican population in Detroit.[430] Regardless of the time period when businesses were established, a common thread amongst businesses serving Latinx communities in Detroit is their deep connection to the local community and establishment by immigrant entrepreneurs.

Grocery Stores, Eateries, and Bakeries

Numerous grocery stores, eateries, and bakeries serve Detroit's Latinx communities. As Mexicans and Mexican Americans make up the majority of Detroit's Latinx population, the majority of stores, eateries, and bakeries are owned, operated, and cater to residents of Mexican heritage. Similar establishments operated by Puerto Rican, Cuban, and additional Latinx ethnicities are likewise present albeit in smaller numbers. Yet a common thread amongst Latinx grocery stores, eateries, and bakeries is their establishment and operation by local immigrants and their specialization in the procurement and sale of ethnic foods and preparation of dishes and baked goods that connect fellow immigrants to where they came from. Therefore, the importance of ethnic businesses to the maintenance of cultural practices surrounding food is significant. Grocery stores, restaurants, and bakeries are typically family-owned and operated and employ people of the same ethnic heritage from the surrounding community. The location of these types of businesses indicates areas of Detroit that have comparatively high concentrations of residents of Latinx heritage.

As businesses in Detroit's Latinx communities largely cater to locals from the surrounding neighborhoods, the presence of Mexican, Puerto Rican, and Cuban stores, eateries, and bakeries

[426] Alejandro Bodipo-Memba, "Bakeries Thrive, As Does Community," *Detroit Free Press*, October 1, 2002; Alejandro Bodipo-Memba, "Rising Fortunes," *Detroit Free Press*, October 1, 2002.
[427] Vargas, *Proletariats*, 142.
[428] Vargas, *Proletariats*, 140.
[429] Vargas, *Proletariats*, 140.
[430] Vargas, *Proletariats*, 139.

indicates a concentration of Latinx individuals in these areas. Additionally, the location of food-related businesses indicates when members of various Latinx groups came to Detroit. As discussed above, during the late 1910s Mexicans and Mexican Americans composed the vast majority of early Latinx immigrants who settled in Detroit's east side immigrant neighborhood, near Highland Park, and in the Corktown neighborhood. As more Mexicans and Mexican Americans came to Detroit, as urban renewal projects removed large swathes of residential areas just west of downtown, and as employment opportunities concentrated in industrial enterprises on Detroit's west side, people of Mexican heritage began a westward movement from Corktown along Bagley Street and West Vernor Highway such that Southwest Detroit became home to the majority of Mexicans and Mexican Americans by the mid-twentieth century. As comparatively large numbers of Puerto Rican and Cuban immigrants came to Detroit in the 1950s, they settled in Mexican and Mexican American neighborhoods that were being established in Southwest Detroit.

Due to the different timeframes within which Latinx people operated their stores, eateries, and bakeries, Latinx entrepreneurs experienced different business-related difficulties. When Mexican and Mexican American businesses first sprouted in Detroit in the 1920s, business owners were subject to population fluctuations as residents oscillated between agricultural employment during the spring and summer months and industrial employment during the winter. Likewise, the series of depressions during the 1920s, the Great Depression of the 1930s, and Detroit's repatriation movement in 1932 made it difficult to operate stores, eateries, and bakeries that were dependent on the continued presence of Mexican and Mexican American residents.

In the early years of Detroit's Mexican neighborhood, grocery stores like Mexican Universal and Surtidora Grocery served the communities.[431] Surtidora Grocery advertised "over 190 different medicinal herbs for home use in addition to many varieties of dry chili, metates, stone mortars and pestles, sugar cane, pork rinds, black beans, and many other food items from Latin America."[432]

La Michoacana Grocery was one ethnic grocer located at 2047 6th Street in 1949.[433] La Colmena, (now known as Honey Bee Market La Colmena), a family-owned grocery store established by Geraldo Alfaro, began in 1956 and provides access to Mexican and Latinx foods. The store initially operated out of the Alfaro family home.[434] Upon moving to a dedicated commercial space along the southside of Bagley Street between 16th and 17th Streets, La Colmena has repeatedly expanded.[435] Generations of the Alfaro family have owned and operated the store.[436] The store also celebrates Cinco de Mayo with a mariachi band playing in the store.[437] A Cuban

[431] Vargas, *Proletariats*, 152, 164; Murillo 39.
[432] Murillo 39.
[433] "Four $50 Fines Were Set," *Detroit Free Press*, August 6, 1949.
[434] Francis X. Donnelly, "Mexican Food Industry's Hot," *Detroit Free Press*, June 16, 2002; Jennifer Dixon, "Honey Bee's New Hive," *Detroit Free Press*, January 22, 1998.
[435] Francis X. Donnelly, "Mexican Food Industry's Hot," *Detroit Free Press*, June 16, 2002.
[436] "The Spice Of Life," *Detroit Free Press*, October 18, 1981; Nancy Costello, "Area Hopes To Be Safe Investment," *Detroit Free Press*, March 21, 1994; Jennifer Dixon, "Honey Bee's New Hive," *Detroit Free Press*, January 22, 1998.
[437] "Ay, Ay, Ay, Ay, Cinco De Mayo," *Detroit Free Press*, May 6, 2017.

Figure 43. La Colmena, now known as Honey Bee Market La Colmena, is a longstanding, locally owned business providing access to Mexican and Latinx foods. (Sue Marx, "Cutaways: New Center MOS and Awards, Blue Pigs," film, 1985, Detroit Historical Society)

husband and wife team owned a grocery store near Clark Park in the mid-twentieth century.[438] Algo Especial Super Mercado, located at 2628 Bagley Street, was established by Raul and Martha Hernandez in 1980 and is still in operation. Roy's Record Shop, a small, family-owned record store specializing in Spanish and Tejano music, occupied the building before the Hernandez family opened their market.[439] Algo Especial Super Mercado offers a wide range of products to cater to the varied regions of Mexico, each with its traditional ingredients and methods of cooking.[440]

La Gloria bakery is located in Mexicantown at 3345 Bagley Street. Opened by Ruben Gonzalez in 1980 and employing local people, La Gloria sells traditional Mexican baked goods and

[438] Gordillo, *Mexican Women and the Other Side of Immigration*, 40.
[439] Eric Guzman, "Tejano Music Legend Martin Solis To Receive Mexicantown's First Historic Marker," *El Central*, March 9, 2023.
[440] Susan M. Selasky, "Fit For A Fiesta," *Detroit Free Press*, May 3, 2012; Darrell Hughes, "If You're Stuck Without Cactus, Try Mexicantown Market," *Detroit Free Press*, August 12, 2007.

specialty baked goods for Mexican celebrations such as *El Dia de los Tres Reyes* (Festival of the Three Kings) and *Dia de los Muertos* (Day of the Dead).[441]

Detroit was likewise home to markets dedicated to Detroit's Puerto Rican residents. Garcia's Market was located at 1744 Michigan Avenue, at the northeast corner of Harrison Street and Michigan Avenue, and provided specialty foods for Detroit's Cuban, Puerto Rican, Jamaican, and Mexican communities.[442] Owned by Modesto Davila, born in Puerto Rico, Garcia's Market was located in the building from 1949 to at least 1981.[443] Borrinquen Market was another market catering to Detroit's Puerto Rican residents.[444] Located at 2125 Michigan Avenue between Wabash Street and 14th Street, the market opened prior to 1977 and appears to have remained in business until at least 1990.[445]

Eateries

Latinx eateries encompass brick and mortar restaurants in addition to pop-up eateries like food carts. On Sundays, Mexicans and Mexican Americans gather in Patton Park to play soccer and socialize. Men participate in the soccer game, while women set up food carts selling Mexican food and goods.[446] In this manner, mobile food trucks and carts have become a staple in Latinx communities in recent decades with popular locations being parking lots on West Vernor Highway and Junction Avenue, among other locations. Financing for commercial endeavors was largely sourced from family and friends, as traditional lenders often turned away immigrants.[447] Thus, some businesses carry on relatively informally without a brick-and-mortar component and may consist of a food cart that is brought to social events, parked at key commercial corridors to capture more business.[448] Food carts and mobile restaurants began to grow in popularity in the 2000s and are now, in 2023, a frequent feature found in the survey area.

Many of the restaurants owned and operated by Latinx people got their start in the 1960s and 1970s, as Latinx peoples migrated northward to Detroit. Armando's Mexican Cuisine, located at 4242 West Vernor Highway, was established in 1968 by Armando Galan. Galan, like many other Mexicans and Mexican Americans, came north to Detroit from Texas in 1958 because of the relatively high wages of factory employment. Similarly, Rudy Morales came to Detroit from Texas in the 1940s and opened a grocery store in Southwest in 1961. By 1980, Morales had ended his operation of the grocery store and turned his attention to Xochimilco, which at the time was a small corner restaurant. Xochimilco has since grown to be a staple of Detroit's

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[441] "The Day Of The Dead: El Dia De Los Muertos," *Detroit Free Press*, November 1, 1994; Cassandra Spratling, "Christmas' Crowning Glory," *Detroit Free Press*, January 5, 1997; Kathleen O'Gorman, "Five Questions: Luis Agunia Baker At La Gloria Bakery An Detroit," *Detroit Free Press*, November 1, 2007; Jeremy Iggers, "Goodies from Mexico are a Well-baked Idea," *Detroit Free Press*, May 5, 1982.
[442] "South Of The Border The Shrimp Is Great," *Detroit Free Press*, April 30, 1980.
[443] "Do Matadors Drink Strohs?" *Detroit Free Press*, August 31, 1975; Jeremy Iggers, "The Food Is Exotic And So Is The Journey," *Detroit Free Press*, July 8, 1981; Mary Flachsenhaar, "Ethnic Grocers Have Something Special," *Detroit Free Press*, September 13, 1978.
[444] Jeremy Iggers, "The Food Is Exotic And So Is The Journey," *Detroit Free Press*, July 8, 1981.
[445] "Play Michigan's New Daily Game," advertisement, *Detroit Free Press*, September 20, 1977; Jeanne Sarna, "A Peach Of A Cake For Company," *Detroit Free Press*, May 30, 1990.
[446] Gordillo, *Mexican Women and the Other Side of Immigration*, 7.
[447] Lara, "Patterns and Forms of Latino Cultural Landscapes: Southwest Detroit," 142.
[448] Gordillo, *Mexican Women and the Other Side of Immigration*, 7.

Mexicantown, located at 3409 Bagley St.[449] Mexican Village at 2600 Bagley Street is another established restaurant in Mexicantown. What originally started as a small restaurant churning out homemade tortillas and tamales has since become a large restaurant following Fernando Gutierrez's purchase of the business in 1959. Gutierrez was also responsible for the establishment of La Michoacana tortilla factory.[450] Now the restaurant spans multiple buildings with the capacity to seat four hundred and fifty people.[451] Numerous other restaurants also opened including Acapulco, Cadena's, Hidalgo, and La Tropical, among others.[452]

There are many other prominent and long running restaurants in Southwest Detroit. Just a few are mentioned here. Texas Restaurant served "the meal of your life" to patrons at 1310 6th Street between Abbott and Porter Streets.[453] Proprietor Al Villa served enchiladas, chili, tamales, and other traditional foods between 1941 and 1946, and perhaps for longer.[454] In the 1940 census Villa, who was born in Texas, lived with his family and two boarders at 1200 Porter Street, just one block away from Texas Restaurant. The two boarders, both of whom were born in Mexico, were employed as cooks at the Texas.[455] Tamaleria Nuevo Leon is small tamale restaurant owned and operated by Maria Villarreal and her family. Villarreal helped support her family by making and selling tamales from the family home when her husband went on strike from Great Lakes Steel in the late 1950s.[456] Villarreal's tamaleria expanded from the home and moved into the storefront at 2661 Bagley Street in 1963, then moved to its present location on Vernor Highway in 1978.[457] The tamaleria is now owned and operated by Maria's daughter, Susana Villarreal-Garza.[458] El Punto Alegre Social Club at 4049 West Vernor was operated by husband and wife Fermi and Idi Colon. Both Puerto Rican immigrants, Idi cooked and served traditional Puerto Rican food to visitors.[459]

Detroit's Cuban immigrants also opened and operated Cuban-oriented businesses. El Sol Restaurant was a Cuban restaurant located at 2640 West Vernor Highway and was owned by Cuban immigrant Angel Chacon who had immigrated to the US in 1952.[460] Chacon operated the restaurant until the late 1970s when the Mexican musician and entrepreneur Salvador Torres

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[449] Peter Brown, "Latin Entrepreneurs Hope to Emulate Greektown Success," *Detroit Free Press*, March 4, 1984.
[450] "Gutierrez," obituary, *Detroit Free Press*, June 4, 2006; Peter Brown, "Latin Entrepreneurs Hope to Emulate Greektown Success," *Detroit Free Press*, March 4, 1984.
[451] Peter Brown, "Latin Entrepreneurs Hope to Emulate Greektown Success," *Detroit Free Press*, March 4, 1984.
[452] Martin Fischoff, Detroit Guide, 1973.
[453] "Visit The Texas Restaurant," *Detroit Free Press*, January 25, 1942.
[454] "Texas Restaurant," advertisement, *Detroit Free Press*, April 4, 1946; "Texas Restaurant," advertisement, *Detroit Free Press*, December 19, 1937; "Café Wall Pierced By A Flying Tank," *Detroit Free Press*, May 6, 1939.
[455] U.S. Census Bureau, *Sixteenth Census of the United States 1940*, U.S. Federal Census, population schedule, sheet 12A, enumeration district 84-235, Detroit, Wayne County, Michigan, Ancestry.com.
[456] John Tanasychuk, "Tamales Heat Up December's Cold," *Detroit Free Press*, December 7, 1988; Tom Nicholson, "Great Lakes Steel Corp. And Union Schedule Talks Sunday," *Detroit Free Press*, December 23, 1959; David Rodriguez Muñoz, "Detroit's Tamaleria Nuevo Leon Has Been Serving Tamales For Over 60 Years," *Detroit Free Press*, March 24, 2023.
[457] David Rodriguez Muñoz, "Detroit's Tamaleria Nuevo Leon Has Been Serving Tamales For Over 60 Years," *Detroit Free Press*, March 24, 2023; "On Location: Southwest Detroit," *Detroit Free Press*, December 31, 2006.
[458] David Rodriguez Muñoz, "Detroit's Tamaleria Nuevo Leon Has Been Serving Tamales For Over 60 Years," *Detroit Free Press*, March 24, 2023.
[459] Jeremy Iggers, "The Food Is Exotic And So Is The Journey," *Detroit Free Press*, July 8, 1981.
[460] Bob Talbert, "Our World Is Sure Full Of Food," *Detroit Free Press*, June 30, 1977; Mike Duffy, "That's Salsa, The Latin Soul Music," *Detroit Free Press*, March 4, 1977.

Figure 44. The Texas Restaurant, once located at 1310 6th Street, was a popular, locally owned and operated restaurant. The owner, Al Villa, lived just one block away. Most Holy Trinity Church is shown in the background. ("View at angle of front and side of one-story concrete block building," bh003864, 1956, Burton Historical Collection, Detroit Public Library)

purchased the restaurant.[461] El Sol drew people from throughout Detroit and Windsor, Canada to not only enjoy food but also be entertained by live bands and dance to salsa music.[462]

Tortilla Factories

Detroit's tortilla factories were some of the earliest Mexican food-related establishments developed in Detroit. Comprising the largest segment of Detroit's Mexican food industry, five tortilla factories once operated in Southwest Detroit.[463] La Michoacana, a tortilla factory located at 2650 and 3428 Bagley Street, opened in 1942 and was established by Fernando Gutierrez, a

[461] Chuck Thurston, "Torres Play Trumpet And Keeps Prices Low," *Detroit Free Press*, April 30, 1980.
[462] Mike Duffy, "That's Salsa, The Latin Soul Music," *Detroit Free Press*, March 4, 1977; Sheldon Annis, "The Art Of Living In Detroit," *Detroit Free Press,* November 8, 1970.
[463] Francis X. Donnelly, "Mexican Food Industry's Hot," *Detroit Free Press*, June 16, 2002.

Figure 45. Signage for La Michoacana Tortilla Factory, located at 3428-3432 Bagley Street. (Image courtesy of Southwest Detroit Business Association)

Mexican immigrant from Monterrey, Mexico.[464] Gutierrez hand-delivered tortillas to customers during the 1950s, and the Gutierrez family lived above the tortilla factory on Bagley Street.[465] Gutierrez also purchased the popular Mexican Village restaurant in 1959.[466] People from the Southwest neighborhood made daily trips to La Michoacana for fresh tortillas, even after the construction of the Fisher Freeway in 1970.[467] La Michoacana is still in business and their tortillas can be found throughout Detroit and Michigan.[468] La Jalisciense Tortilleria was established by Ray Abundis in 1946 and was also located at 2650 Bagley.[469] Sometime after 2014 La Michoacana bought out La Jalisciense Tortilleria and today the facility at 2650 Bagley is operated by La Michoacana.

[464] Peter Brown, "Latin Entrepreneurs Hope to Emulate Greektown Success," *Detroit Free Press*, March 4, 1984.
[465] Courtenay Thompson, "Flat-out American," *Detroit Free Press*, August 25, 1993; Santiago Esparza, "Tortilla Bakers Making A Lot Of Bread," *Detroit Free Press*, September 12, 1993; Francis X. Donnelly, "Mexican Food Industry's Hot," *Detroit Free Press*, June 16, 2002.
[466] Peter Brown, "Latin Entrepreneurs Hope to Emulate Greektown Success," *Detroit Free Press*, March 4, 1984.
[467] Louis Cook, "Street-Closing Is No Easy Decision," *Detroit Free Press*, June 15, 1977.
[468] Ellen Hume, "Business is Anything but Flat: Caramba! A Tortilla Factory in Detroit," *Detroit Free Press*, September 8, 1974.
[469] Evelyn S. Stewart and Dorian Hyshka, "Food is Exotic, Delicious in Detroit," *Detroit Free Press*, September 22, 1957; Francis X. Donnelly, "Mexican Food Industry's Hot," *Detroit Free Press*, June 16, 2002; Susan M. Selasky, "It's A Wrap," *Detroit Free Press*, April 30, 2009.

Nightclubs and Bars

At least two Mexican bars were operated by husband and wife team Basilio and Olivia Galan. Basilio was born in Texas and Olivia was born in Mexico.[470] During the 1950s, the Galans operated the El Patio Bar at 3331 Bagley Street and lived above the bar.[471] The Galans were also involved in El Tenampa at 3400 Bagley Street.[472] In 1957, El Tenampa was billed as "Detroit's only Latin-American nightclub."[473] The bar served tequila among other alcoholic beverages while Latinx musical groups played dance music.[474] By 1961, the Galans opened the Las Vegas Bar at the same location, where Olivia's hospitality and vocal talents were well-known.[475] Olivia was also a radio broadcaster for over forty years and had a Latin radio show on WQRS-FM that broadcasted on Sundays from the Las Vegas Bar.[476] The Galans operated the bar until at least 1976.[477]

Education

There were three public schools, Western International High School, Webster Elementary, and Northwestern High School, and two parochial schools—Most Holy Redeemer School at 1721 Junction Street and Most Holy Trinity School at 1050 Porter—surveyed as a part of this project.

During the early years of Latinx immigration, there were several barriers to increased educational attainment by Latinx migrants. The increase in educational opportunities available in the U.S. were esteemed by most Latinx migrants but obtaining more education "became a rarely achieved goal by many Mexican adults. The unfavorable attitude that many Mexicans had toward naturalization was carried over to include education, which they viewed as an expected prerequisite for United States citizenship." Language barriers in the public-school system was also often an issue as Latinx parents exclusively spoke Spanish or other dialects at home.[478] To help alleviate the language barrier, education programs in the local schools and the community were set up. In 1929 the International Institute facilitated the opening of special rooms at Houghton Elementary and Pitcher Elementary in order to teach English to non-native speaking

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[470] "Galan, Olivia," obituary, *Detroit Free Press,* March 8, 2002.
[471] "Bartender Has Hunch But He Can't Play It," *Detroit Free Press*, February 17, 1956; "LCC Penalizes 22 Licensees," *Detroit Free Press*, December 5, 1954.
[472] "El Tenampa Club," postcard, Ebay, accessed September 19, 2023, https://www.ebay.com/itm/295143614623.
[473] "El Tenampa," advertisement, *Detroit Free Press*, July 31, 1957.
[474] Evelyn S. Stewart and Dorian Hyshka, "Food is Exotic, Delicious in Detroit," *Detroit Free Press*, September 22, 1957; "New Year's Shows Lining Up," *Detroit Free Press*, December 28, 1956; "El Tenampa," advertisement, *Detroit Free Press*, December 6, 1956; "El Tenampa," advertisement, *Detroit Free Press*, December 7, 1956.
[475] "Las Vegas Club," advertisement, *Detroit Free Press*, August 5, 1961; "Gun Victims Hint Faction War Brews," *Detroit Free Press*, November 26, 1967; Bob Talbert, "Tired of Humdrum? Get Out, Get With It," *Detroit Free Press*, January 23, 1974; "'The Peace Forever' And 'The Hard Hat': What Gives?" *Detroit Free Press*, January 27, 1974.
[476] "Galan, Olivia," obituary, *Detroit Free Press,* March 8, 2002; Bob Talbert, "Tired of Humdrum? Get Out, Get With It," *Detroit Free Press*, January 23, 1974; "'The Peace Forever' And 'The Hard Hat': What Gives?" *Detroit Free Press*, January 27, 1974.
[477] Tom Schram, "Touring Detroit's Joyfully Inharmonious Unmelting Pot Of Ethnic Music," *Detroit Free Press*, June 20, 1976.
[478] Murillo 45.

Figure 46. A postcard from the 1950s showing the interior of El Tenampa, located at 3400 Bagley. El Tenampa was just one of the nightclubs operated by the Galans during the mid-twentieth century. ("El Tenampa Club," postcard, Ebay, accessed September 19, 2023)

children.[479] Further, the International Institute offered English lessons and other coursework to adults as well.[480] The City of Detroit also sponsored night school classes at Highland Park High School.[481]

Ford Motor Company Student Trainees

Although many Latinx people had migrated to Detroit from agricultural work in more rural areas of Michigan, there were some Latinx migrants who came to Detroit as student trainees. Ford Motor Company had set up the Ford Trade School in order to train Mexican workers in the skills needed for assembly line work. The students who came to the Ford Trade School were at least

[479] Humphrey, 541.
[480] Vargas, *Proletariats*, 155.
[481] Vargas, *Proletariats*, 155.

high school graduates with many more coming from the National University of Mexico.[482] Students worked part time in the factory and then spent the other half of their work week at the school learning new skills. This educational conduit into Detroit satisfied the Ford Motor Company's need for skilled employees at their international locations but it also created a cadre of educationally minded Latinx immigrants in Detroit. Many of these student trainees later returned to Mexico in order to staff Ford's factories.

Detroit Public Schools

By the time Latinx people began moving into Detroit in significant numbers the Detroit Public School system had a large and successful series of elementary, middle, and high schools spread across the city. Integration into these public schools was initially difficult due to language barriers and because many Mexican and Mexican American immigrants coming to Detroit often had little formal education as opportunities were limited in many areas of Mexico.[483] The schools where most Latinx children attended were predominately located in the southwest area of the City with Franklin, Barstow, Houghton, Kraft, Lyster, Logan, and Webster having notable populations of Mexican and Mexican American students.[484]

A common theme in the early 1900s were educational institutions that sought to focus on "Americanizing" Latinx immigrants. This phenomenon was widespread, happening not just in Detroit but in other Midwest in cities like East Chicago as well.[485] Assimilation was the end goal at the Ford Motor Company's English School and attendance was compulsory for non-native born Ford workers who wanted to keep their job.[486] Applying for citizenship was also required for employees applying to work at Ford Motor Company.[487] To combat these indoctrination efforts, some Latinx community groups organized classes to teach children about their heritage, language, and history.[488] By 1941, the principal of Northeastern High School, which had a sizable Mexican and Mexican American population, spoke about encouraging students to embrace their heritage.[489]

Although programs by organizations like the International Institute were helpful, the sporadic application of bi-lingual education inside the public school system was an ongoing issue. By the midcentury Latinx community members, who, increasingly, had more organizational and political capital with which to protest the educational deficiencies, began campaigning for better schooling facilities, bilingual educational programs, and more Latinx representation within the schools. In 1971 there were just 45 Hispanic faulty members on staff in the Detroit Public School

[482] Murillo, 26.
[483] Norman Daymond Humphrey, "The Education and Language of Detroit Mexicans," *The Journal of Educational Sociology* 17 (May, 1944), 534.
[484] Humphrey, 541.
[485] Juan R. Garcia, *Mexicans in the Midwest 1900-1932* (University of Arizona Press: Tucson, AZ, 1996) 168.
[486] Vargas, "Mexican Autoworkers at Ford Motor Company 1918-1933," University of Michigan PhD diss., 1984, 69-70.
[487] Juan R. Garcia, *Mexicans in the Midwest 1900-1932*, 212.
[488] Juan R. Garcia, *Mexicans in the Midwest 1900-1932*, 168; "International Y Comes of Age," *Detroit Free Press*, October 6, 1940.
[489] Paul M. Deac, "Center is Hub of 40 Nations," *Detroit Free Press*, January 19, 1941.

Figure 47. Western International High School is located in Southwest Detroit and is deeply engrained into the Latinx communities. (Image courtesy of Southwest Detroit Business Association)

system despite the fact that there were approximately 3,766 Hispanic students.[490] By 1977 that number had grown to 60 Hispanic faculty members on staff with approximately 3,846 Hispanic students. This increase in Hispanic faculty members were a part of a concerted effort by local activists. As Laura Chavez Wazeerud-Din remembers, any student who came into the school system who didn't speak English was automatically placed in special education classes.[491] Because of this, oral history interviewee Ray Lozano further elaborated that, in 1975, due in large part to the practice of placing Spanish speaking children into special education classes, LASED filed a lawsuit against the Board of Education. The lawsuit sought to stop the practice by diverting these students into language classes where their needs could be more adequately addressed.[492]

[490] "Desegregation of the Nation's Public Schools: A Status Report, U.S. Department of Health Education and Welfare, National Institute of Education, February 1979, accessed 8/28/23, https://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext ED167688.pdf.
[491] Laura Chavez Wazeerud-Din, interview by Katie Cook, Kraemer Design Group, August 25, 2023.
[492] Ray Lozano, interview by Katie Cook, Kraemer Design Group, August 24, 2023; William Grant, "Latino Group Sues Schools," *Detroit Free Press*, August 14, 1975.

This work was part of sustained efforts by dedicated community members including Latino activist Silvestre Acosta Labrado (discussed above). Acosta Labrado was a teacher at Detroit Public School locations in Mexicantown and Southwest, who worked to create bilingual education programs throughout Detroit's public school system and pushed Michigan's state government to require bilingual educational offerings. In 1970, Isabel Salas, another Latina activist (discussed above), was named as a faculty member of an advisory committee on Equality of Access to Higher Education in Michigan which was established by the State Board of Education.[493] She was also the chairman of Michigan's Commission on Spanish Speaking Affairs advocating for the Latinx community.[494] Further, Salas also promoted the issue of Latino/a Civil Rights through her work as a counselor at Western High School (extant, 1500 Scotten Street), employment as a Spanish teacher and mentor at Northwestern High School at 2200 West Grand Boulevard (extant but altered), and use of the media. Activists like Acosta Labrado and Salas were important advocates pushing for more equitable educational facilities, courses, and programs for Latinx youth. It was also in the 1970s when the Bowen branch of the Detroit Public Library also began offering bilingual services and content to better reach the Latinx community members.

Significant public schools in the survey area include Western International High School, Northwestern High School, and Webster Elementary School. Western International High School, located at 1500 Scotten, was first opened by the Detroit Public School district in 1898 as Western High School. The original school building burned down in 1935 and the extant structure was completed in 1937 with funds and support from the Works Progress Administration.[495] Successive additions were added to the school in the 1960s and 1990s. Located just south of Vernor Highway and just across Scotten from Clark Park, Western International High School is a local hub of education in the neighborhood especially as it is the last high school in the area, servicing most of Southwest Detroit including the Vernor and Bagley areas that were a focus of this survey as well as Delay, Springwells, and the Boynton-Oakwood Heights neighborhoods. Today Western International High School is one of the most diverse in Detroit with 72% of the student body identifying as Latinx, 20% African American, and 5% Caucasian and 2% as identifying as 'other'. Western International High School is fondly remembered by members of the Latinx community for its history of activist staff and its importance as a host site for community events.

The extant Webster Elementary building, located at 1450 25th Street, is the second school so named. An earlier Webster School, located a block away at 1280 21st Street, along with the Hubbard School, located at 1464 25th Street, were both slated to be demolished in 1954 as the new Webster School was being planned.[496] Later renamed Riverside Elementary School the old Webster School wasn't actually demolished until sometime after 1963.[497] The earlier school building was constructed in approximately 1874.[498] At the time it was demolished, the old

[493] "Education Advisors Named," *Lansing State Journal*, July 29, 1970.
[494] Cynthia Jordan-Linn, "Bilingual Statement Attacked," *Detroit Free Press*, February 18, 1982.
[495] "Western International High School," Living New Deal, accessed 8/25/23, https://livingnewdeal.org/projects/western-international-high-school-detroit-mi/.
[496] "Let Contract to Replace Oldest School," *Detroit Free Press*, August 25, 1954.
[497] Jean Sharley, "Million Ghosts Will Sob When Oldest School Dies," *Detroit Free Press*, May 26, 1963.
[498] Warren Stromberg, "Millions Spent on New School," *Detroit Free Press*, March 8, 1954; Jean Sharley, "Million Ghosts Will Sob When Oldest School Dies," *Detroit Free Press*, May 26, 1963.

Webster Elementary was 78 years old and was called the oldest school building still in use by the *Detroit Free Press*.[499] The new Webster Elementary cost $1,070,000 and was completed sometime after 1954. In 1964 the new Webster Elementary was utilized as a mass polio vaccination site, where health department staff handed out sugar cubes laced with one drop of candy flavored the vaccine liquid.[500]

Northwestern High School (now known as Detroit Preparatory Academy at Northwestern) was identified by the community as being significant, but the historic school was demolished in 1980 when the current building, located just east of the old structure, opened that same year. Because the survey is focusing on Latinx history to 1980 the new Northwestern High School is not identified as significant to the Latinx community; however, it may be significant for its architecture.

Parochial Schools

Being that Detroit was founded by French Catholic settlers, the history of Detroit is intertwined with the history of Catholicism in the area. From its founding in 1701 the city of Detroit was under the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the archdiocese in Quebec until well into the 1790s. Ste. Anne's parish was founded in 1701 and is "generally recognized as the oldest Catholic congregation in Michigan." Additionally, it is believed that Ste. Anne's was home to the first formalized Catholic school when, in 1760, a French born schoolmaster was recruited to begin instruction at the church. Through the 1800s until the mid-1900s Detroit experienced a significant influx in Catholic immigrants, including Latinx immigrants beginning in the early 1900s. These immigrants often brought their Catholic faith and religious customs to Detroit when they settled in the city. Because of the tremendous population growth of Catholic residents to the city, there was a tremendous need for and importance of places of Catholic-centered education in the city. In the late 1800s, Catholic secondary education became popularized in Detroit under Bishop Borgess and some high schools were founded in the mid- to late-1800s. Borgess's dedication to growing the number of parochial schools in Detroit laid the foundation for the growth of additional Catholic schools in the 1900s.

Latinx families often preferred sending their children to Catholic schools since their faith was an important part of their cultural and identity. Because of this, Catholic schools in Southwest Detroit and the survey area were well attended. The parochial schools at Most Holy Redeemer and Most Holy Trinity had large student populations through the 1900s. Other Catholic parish schools were also frequently attended by Latinx community members. Oral history interviewee Osvaldo (Ozzie) Riveria attended grade school at the Most Holy Trinity School (1229 Labrosse Street, extant) and later went to St. Vicent de Paul High School (2020 14th Street, extant) while interviewee Maria Elena Rodriguez attended school at the Holy Cross Hungarian Church's parochial school (8423 South Street, extant) in the Delray neighborhood.[501] These parochial schools were important components of the educational landscape with Most Holy Trinity School at one point responsible for educating nearly one thousand students in years Kindergarten

[499] Warren Stromberg, "Millions Spent on New School," *Detroit Free Press*, March 8, 1954.
[500] "Sunday is Polio Sugar Cube Day," *Detroit Free Press*, June 12, 1964.
[501] Osvaldo (Ozzie) Rivera, interview by Katie Cook, Kraemer Design Group, June 13, 2023; Maria Elena Rodriguez, interview by Lillian Candela, Kraemer Design Group, June 27, 2023.

Figure 48. Most Holy Trinity School, located at 1229 Labrosse. (Kraemer Design Group, 2023)

through twelfth grade. However, by the 1960s and 1970s Catholic parishes, struggling with declining enrollment, began closing some of these schools including the Holy Cross Hungarian grade school which closed in the mid-1960s and St. Vincent de Paul High School which graduated its last class in 1971.[502]

Architecture

The areas surveyed included several large commercial corridors including those along Bagley Avenue and Vernor Highway. These areas included many Commercial style buildings along with some in the Art Deco and Spanish Revival style. Religious buildings and several larger civic buildings, including a branch library of the Detroit Public Library and two Detroit Public Schools Community District high schools were also surveyed. Only one residential resource was surveyed during this project.

Non-Residential

Commercial structures along Bagley Avenue and Vernor Highway generally adhere to a few specific forms, as the buildings surveyed are predominately one to three stories. The commercial structures largely date from the early- to mid-twentieth century and are clad in brick veneer often

[502] Marla O. Cullum, Barbara E. Krueger, Dorothy Kostuch, ed., *Detroit's Historic Places of Worship* (Detroit, MI: Wayne State University Press, 2012), 177; Osvaldo (Ozzie) Rivera, interview by Katie Cook, Kraemer Design Group, June 13, 2023.

with more modern cladding materials partially covering the brick. Many of the original storefronts have been altered and reduced in size by infill materials but there are still examples of large glass storefront windows. Nearly all the commercial buildings on Bagley have flat roofs surrounded by parapets. The majority of buildings are in the Commercial, Art Deco, and Spanish Revival style.

The religious buildings in the survey area date to the early-twentieth century and exhibit Romanesque, Gothic Revival, and Spanish Revival features. Most Holy Trinity Catholic Church is a red brick building built in a simple Gothic Revival style while Holy Redeemer Catholic Church is Romanesque in style with Spanish Revival influences. Several smaller churches historically occupied buildings not purpose built for worship. These include the Iglesia de Dios Pentecostal Church which was located at 2728 Bagley Street (now Matrix Theater) and 2535-2547 Bagley (now Goblin Sushi) also used to house a church based on permit records.
There was also a prevalence of mixed-use buildings with commercial space on the first floor and living space above. These mixed-use structures were seen throughout the commercial corridors surveyed during this project.

Commercial

The majority of commercial buildings surveyed during the course of the project were built in the late 1800s and early 1900s. 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 two proposed historic districts. A commercial building's façade is usually the most detailed elevation, as it is what prospective customers first see. On both Bagley and W. Vernor Highway the façades of these buildings have typically been heavily modified. Many of the commercial buildings found in these two areas 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 often still visible. In the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s many of these historic commercial buildings had alterations to their facades to make them read visually as more Spanish or Spanish Revival in style. These alterations include coating masonry surfaces with stucco, adding clay tile roofs and accents to buildings, and installing wrought iron to buildings and outdoor patios.

Civic

The civic buildings surveyed as a part of this project include three public school buildings and one Detroit Public Library branch. The styles of these buildings vary. Northwestern High School is a Modern style building with distinct Brutalist influences with large concrete massing, a concrete plaza in front of the school, a recessed entrance found in a deeply recessed first floor, irregularly placed windows, and projecting boxes on the core block of the building. The Webster Elementary displays Modern movement stylistic influences with its long form and orange brick

Figure 49. The building at 2728 Bagley Street, the present location of the Matrix Theater, is an example of the Commercial style which is typical of the buildings along Bagley and West Vernor. (Kraemer Design Group, 2023)

Figure 50. The Bowen Branch of the Detroit Public Library is an example of the English Collegiate style. (Kraemer Design Group, 2023)

cladding and it also features long rows of ribbon windows set within fiberglass spandrel panels. Western High School is a Colonial Revival style school with a cupola on the roof, brick quoins, and stone surrounds at each entrance. The Bowen Branch of the Detroit Public Library is more classical with an English Collegiate style which features limestone base and door surrounds and multipaned wood sash windows.

Religious

The churches surveyed as a part of this project display high style design. There were three Gothic Revival style churches (Basilica of Ste. Anne de Detroit Catholic Church, Most Holy Trinity Church, and the First Latin American Baptist Church) and one Romanesque (Most Holy Redeemer) style church. Ste. Anne's and Most Holy Trinity are both clad in red brick and feature Gothic arched windows while Most Holy Redeemer features rounded arches and contrasting light and dark masonry, both indicative of the Romanesque style.

Figure 51. Most Holy Redeemer, located at 1721 Junction, is an elaborate Romanesque style church. (Kraemer Design Group, 2023)

Residential

The survey only included one residential building, but the survey team observed several unique architectural trends in the residential neighborhoods that surround the commercial and civic properties surveyed. Religious statutes and shrines in residential yards are fairly common and fencing in the front yard, often made of decorative wrought iron or stone or wood were frequent features in the residential neighborhoods. These decorative iron fences were likely installed by local companies: a 1984 advertisement from the El Barrio Directory listed a "Disenos Ornamental Iron" company that "specialized in Spanish design" for porch rails, gates, fences, balconies, and other architectural features.[503] Disenos Ornamental Iron company was located at 2701 Bagley (extant) which is located within the proposed Bagley Street Historic District.[504] Moreover, many residential buildings have been altered to reflect the ethnic heritage and culture of the Latinx communities. This is best exemplified by flags and decorations added to homes, stucco cladding, brick and tile clad features like porches and fence posts, the addition of iron gates and railings as mentioned above and the prevalence of paved front yards/courtyards.

Figure 52. The Lozano House, at 1326 18th Street, was the only residence surveyed. Work is being completed on the house which includes new siding, new windows, and a new roof. (Kraemer Design Group, 2023)

[503] El Barrio Directory, 1984, Bentley Archive.
[504] "Ornamental Metal Workers," *Detroit Free Press*, August 1, 1999.

Figure 53. Wrought iron fencing that encircles the building's lot is a common feature of residences near the survey area. (Kraemer Design Group, 2023)

Figure 54. Religious statuary and yard shrines were observed throughout residential areas during the surveying process. (Kraemer Design Group, 2023)

Survey Findings

Southwest Detroit has substantial history that warrants further study and targeted preservation related recommendations. In addition to the historic contexts described above in each thematic section, this survey also identified preservation-related findings which are discussed in detail here. In conducting this reconnaissance level and intensive level survey, the project team found several proposed areas within the survey areas 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 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 two proposed districts and eleven buildings identified as potentially individually eligible for the National Register of Historic Places. For the potentially individually eligible properties 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, resource count, and a boundary rationale. Properties recommended individually eligible are described below along with a statement of significance for each property. This section also outlines both the preservation issues and threats as well as the recommendations that would help alleviate some of these threats.

Preservation Issues and Threats

There are several notable preservation issues and deterioration threats the survey team observed during the course of the survey. These issues are included below with a section describing each targeted threat. Identifying these threats and proactively addressing them will help ensure the historic fabric in Detroit's Latinx community are preserved.

Building Alterations and Modifications

There are many resources in the survey area that have been altered and substantially had renovations over time, reflecting ownership and usage changes. Removal of windows, removal of historic façade components, and the application of faux stone, asbestos and vinyl siding are prevalent throughout the survey area. In the proposed West Vernor Highway Historic District, the infill of historic window openings is widespread and storefronts have been bricked over in both this proposed district and in the proposed Bagley Street Historic District. Because natural materials like wood are common and because these natural materials require more care and attention than synthetic materials like vinyl siding, some buildings are vulnerable to loss of historic material or deterioration due to the installation of "maintenance free" materials like vinyl and other plastics. The National Park Service has identified seven aspects of "integrity" and removing historic materials can contribute to a loss of integrity in the categories of materials and

Figure 55. Example of infill of first-floor windows and the covering of an original storefront to a commercial building in a proposed district. (Kraemer Design Group, 2023)

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 ensures the need for their future replacement. Educating community members on the costs and benefits of replacing and/or repairing the historic materials found on their buildings may help mitigate some of the waste (both material and monetary) associated with alterations and 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 Detroit (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. There have also been instances of demolitions as evidenced by the vacant lots found throughout the survey areas. This was evident in both of the proposed historic districts.

Figure 56. Boarded up windows, peeling paint, brick degradation observed on this vacant, historic commercial building are indications that deferred maintenance is a serious threat. (Kraemer Design Group, 2023)

Development Pressure

Due to the ongoing development in preparation for the new Gordie Howe International Bridge which is located directly adjacent to Southwest Detroit in the Delray neighborhood, there is likely going to be increased development pressure on the surveyed communities. Because of this, preservation planning activities mentioned above (e.g., creating local historic districts to protect historic fabric) become increasingly important to preserve these neighborhoods. Other efforts like maintaining home affordability and creating safe pedestrian and bike lanes are also key ways to combat the threat that the bridge (with its increased traffic and commercial activity) entails and should be addressed as this area develops.

Maintaining the Connection on Bagley Avenue

Community members also identified the disjointed nature of Bagley Avenue which was severed into two halves when the I-75 freeway was built. This action disconnected what was once a cohesive commercial district. Because of this, the community is keen to reinstate the connection (currently accomplished via a foot bridge over the freeway) on Bagley Avenue. This is a priority for the neighborhood and actions that could diminish this connection are identified by the community as a potential preservation threat. Finding any additional ways to join these two sections of Bagley Avenue is also recommended. Additionally, any loss of historic fabric on either side of the footbridge should be avoided as it would irreparably harm the already tenuous connection the footbridge provides.

Planning Needs and Recommendations

The survey team identified four major types of recommendations: conducting additional surveys, starting community-based preservation and history building activities, establishing local historic districts, and nominating properties to the National Register of Historic Places.

Areas for Future Reconnaissance Level Survey

The first recommendation is to conduct a reconnaissance survey of the entire Southwest Detroit area. Because this survey was focused on 48 sites selected by the community (located across Southwest Detroit and, indeed, across the city in some cases) it is recommended that a reconnaissance survey of the entire Southwest Detroit area is performed. This area of Detroit is steeped in history and significance, inextricably tied to the Latinx community and a more thorough review of a bounded area centered on the Bagley and W. Vernor corridors is recommended. Once a comprehensive, widely bounded reconnaissance survey is conducted more clustered commercial areas may be discovered and residential areas could also be analyzed for potential significance.

Figure 57. View of the streetscape along West Vernor, looking east toward Morrell Street. It is recommended that the entire West Vernor corridor and surrounding neighborhoods be surveyed. (Kraemer Design Group, 2023)

Areas for Future Intensive Level Survey

Two areas were identified by the survey team during fieldwork as being potential locations for future intensive level surveys. These areas, outlined below, primarily contain commercial buildings developed in the late nineteenth and early-twentieth century and may be of significance to the ethnic heritage of the Latinx community pending further research. The proposed boundaries and statements of significance are detailed below, however, note that the boundaries were drawn based upon a limited, scattered site survey. Thus, the proposed boundaries for each proposed district should be re-evaluated once a comprehensive survey of Southwest Detroit is performed. 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 amongst the sites surveyed but should in no way be considered the only significant areas within Southwest Detroit.

Bagley Street Historic District

Note that, although most of the buildings located within the boundaries of the proposed Bagley Street Historic District were surveyed at the intensive level, not all buildings were, as this project focused solely on buildings identified by the community as significant. Thus, some of the buildings located within the bounds of this proposed district were not surveyed at all. The entire proposed Bagley Street Historic District should be surveyed at the intensive level. Additionally, due to this same fact, the wider area around the proposed Bagley Street Historic District should also be surveyed at the intensive level to determine whether areas directly adjacent (which, again, were not surveyed) should be included in the proposed district as well.

Boundary: The boundary starts at the corner of Bagley Street and 18th Street and runs east until turning south at the lot line of Honey Bee Market La Colmena and running south until turning west at the southern lot line of Honey Bee Market La Colmena, then turning and running north along 17th Street until turning west at the southern lot line of the lot that fronts on Bagley Street then turning south at the alley to the east of 2535-2547 Bagley then following the lot line of 2535-2547 Bagley west, running across 18th Street and along the northern lot line of 1527 18th Street then turning south at the alley behind 1527 18th Street, running south until turning west at Wing Place then running west along Wing Place until turning north at Sainte Anne Street and running north on Sainte Anne Street until turning west at the southern lot line of 2701 Bagley and running west along the southern lot line until turning north at the western lot line of 2701 Bagley and running north along the western lot line until turning west at Bagley Street running west on Bagley Street until turning north at the western lot line of 2728 Bagley and running north along the western lot line of 2728 Bagley until turning north onto Sainte Anne Street and running north until turning east onto the northern lot line of the park located at 1723 Sainte Anne Street and running east along the northern lot line until turning north onto Sainte Anne Street and running north along Ste. Anne Street until turning northeast onto W. Vernor Highway and running northeast along W. Vernor Highway until turning east onto Newark Street and running east until turning south onto 18th Street and then running south along 18th Street until terminating at the origin point at the corner of Bagley and 18th Street.

Boundary Rationale: The boundary of the Bagley Street Historic District is based on the cluster of sites in this area that were surveyed for this project. Once mapped, a boundary was drawn along Bagley and the adjacent areas that encompassed the cluster of sites. The boundary for this proposed district should be re-evaluated once Southwest Detroit is surveyed comprehensively.

Resource Count: 8 contributing sites, 1 non-contributing site, and an unknown number of sites not surveyed are located within the bounds of the proposed district as this project only surveyed specific sites.

Significance: Based on the information available during this reconnaissance and intensive level survey, this proposed district is recommended as eligible for listing on the National Register under Criterion A for its association with Ethnic Heritage, Commerce, and Community Planning & Development. Bagley Street west of the Michigan Central Railroad track to 24th Street was the earliest corridor that developed a distinct association with Detroit's Latinx residents. In 1970, the Bagley Street corridor was bisected by the construction of Interstate 75, creating a gulf between the Bagley corridor and growing Latinx neighborhoods of Southwest Detroit, west of the Fisher Freeway. 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 Detroit's Latinx communities and the intact examples of small-scale commercial architecture still extant in the proposed district.

W. Vernor Highway Historic District

Note, the proposed W. Vernor Highway Historic District should be surveyed at the intensive level for the same reasons as the proposed Bagley Street Historic District. Namely, only scattered sites, identified by the community as significant, were surveyed. This creates larges gaps in the documentation record in this proposed district.

Boundary: The boundary starts at the corner of the W. Fisher Freeway Service Drive and W. Vernor Highway and runs south along the W. Fisher Freeway Service Drive until turning east at the alley located just behind 3345 Bagley and running along the alley until turning north at 24th Street and running north along 24th Street until turning west at Bagley Street and running west along Bagley Street until turning north at the eastern lot line of 3506 Bagley and running north along the eastern lot line of 3506 Bagley and continuing to run north along the eastern lot line of 1717 24th Street until turning west at the alley behind the lots that front on W. Vernor Highway and running west along the alley, crossing 25th Street and running west along the alley, crossing W. Grand Boulevard, and running west along the alley, crossing Hubbard Street, and running west along the alley until turning south at Scotten Street and running south along Scotten Street until turning east at Bagley Street and running east on Bagley Street until turning south at the western lot line of 4037 Bagley and running south along the lot line and continuing to run south along the alley behind Western International High School until turning west at Porter Street and running west along Porter Street until turning south at Scotten and running south along Scotten until turning west at the W. Fisher Freeway Service Drive and running west along the W. Fisher

Freeway Service Drive until turning north on Clark Street and running north along Clark Street until turning west at the southern lot line of the YMCA at 1601 Clark and running west along the lot line until turning north at the western lot line of the YMCA and running north until turning east at the northern lot line of the YMCA and running east until turning north at Clark Street and running north along Clark Street until turning west at the alley behind 4415 W. Vernor Highway and running west along the alley, crossing McKinstry Street, and continuing west along the alley behind 4607 W. Vernor Highway until turning south at the eastern lot line of the strip mall that fronts on Lansing Street and running south along the alley until turning west at the southern lot line of the strip mall and running west until turning north at Lansing Street and running north along Lansing Street until turning west at the alley behind 4711 W. Vernor Highway and running west along the alley, crossing Ferdinand Street, and continuing west along the alley, crossing Morrell Street, and continuing west along the alley until turning south at Junction Street and running south along Junction Street until turning west at Eldred Street and running west along Eldred Street until turning north at the alley behind 1602 Campbell and running north along the alley until turning west at the alley behind 5695 W. Vernor Highway and running west along the alle, crossing Campbell Street, and running west along the alley until turning north at the western lot line of 5859 W. Vernor Highway and running north along the lot line, crossing W. Vernor Highway until turning east at the alley behind 5858 W. Vernor and running east along the alley, crossing Campbell Street, and continuing east along the alley, and crossing Junction Street, and continuing east along the alley, crossing Morrell Street, and running east along the alley, crossing Ferdinand Street, and running east along the alley, crossing Lansing Street, and running east along the alley, jogging slightly to continue running east along the alley, crossing McKinstry Street, running east along the alley, crossing Clark Street, continuing to run east along the alley until turning north at Scotten Street, running north along Scotten Street until turning east at Wolff Street, running east along Wolff Street until turning south at the eastern lot line of the church at 2020 Scotten, running south along the eastern lot line, continuing south along the alley until turning east at the alley behind 4114 W. Vernor Highway and running east along the alley until turning south at Palms Street and running south along Palms Street until turning east at W. Vernor Highway and running east along W. Vernor Highway until turning north at W. Grand Boulevard and running north along W. Grand Boulevard until turning east at the alley behind 3648 W. Vernor Highway and running east along the alley, crossing 25th Street and jogging slightly to continue running along the alley behind 3564 W. Vernor Highway until turning south at the eastern lot line of 3564 W. Vernor Highway, running south along the lot line until turning east at W. Vernor Highway and running east along W. Vernor Highway until terminating at the starting point at the intersection of W. Vernor Highway and the W. Fisher Freeway Service Drive.

Boundary Rationale: The boundary of the W. Vernor Highway Historic District is based on the scattering of sites surveyed for this project. Once mapped, a boundary was drawn along W. Vernor Highway that encompasses the largest cluster of these sites. The boundary for this proposed district should be re-evaluated once Southwest Detroit is surveyed comprehensively.

Resource Count: 24 contributing resources, 1 non-contributing resource and an unknown number of sites not surveyed are located within the bounds of the proposed district as this project only surveyed specific sites.

Significance: Based on the information available during this reconnaissance and intensive level survey, this proposed district is recommended as eligible for listing on the National Register under Criterion A for its association with Ethnic Heritage, Commerce, Community Planning & Development, and Social History. West Vernor Highway, particularly west of the Fisher Freeway, developed as an active commercial thoroughfare of Latinx-owned and operated businesses, churches, and centers for social activism throughout the twentieth century and into present day. The West Vernor highway commercial corridor developed as an outworking of the construction of the Fisher Freeway which created a barrier to access to the already thriving commercial corridor on Bagley Street. Additional research will be necessary to fully understand the district's eligibility and to determine the appropriate district boundary, areas of significance, and criterion.

Community-Based Preservation and History Gathering

During the community outreach and in working closely with the Community Advisory Group it was apparent that there is a strong desire within the community to engage in additional history-gathering efforts. Thus, one of the major recommendations of this survey is to plan and engage with the community on preservation and history related goals. As an outworking of this, there are three main components recommended here: conducting and in-depth oral history project or a standing oral history project (once per year, etc.); establishing a community museum or archive including a process by which community members can deposit items into the archive; and hosting and conducting community workshops educating community members on how to gather and fund community-driven history projects including potential funding sources, how to set up a non-profit, how to collect oral histories, basic preservation principles, etc. These activities would help provide the resources necessary for the community to harness their own history to better preserve the Latinx legacy in Detroit. This is especially important for areas of the survey that proved hard to document because they were not contained in typical archives: LGBTQIA+ history, AIDS/HIV activism, food trucks and carts, and more in-depth history of Cuban, Puerto Rican, and other non-Mexican residents.

Local Historic Districts

The history of Southwest Detroit is significant, and many vestiges of the important people, places, and spaces remain. This survey identified two potentially eligible historic districts: The Bagley Street Historic District and the W. Vernor Highway Historic District. Both proposed districts are commercial districts. The two districts identified here have significant history related to the community planning and development, commercial, ethnic heritage, and social history of the neighborhood and should be preserved. Creating both of the two proposed local historic districts will ensure alterations are thoughtfully considered, taking into account the Secretary of the Interior's Standards.

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 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.[505]

National Register of Historic Places Nominations

Due to the intensive and reconnaissance level surveying that occurred as a part of this project, two potentially eligible historic districts and 11 potentially individually eligible sites were identified. Only two of the eleven potentially individually eligible sites were surveyed intensively and, thus, it is recommended the remaining sites are surveyed at the intensive level prior to commencing listing in the National Register. The two potentially eligible historic districts were not surveyed comprehensively as the survey was thematic rather than bounded. Due to this lack of comprehensive surveying, it is recommended to complete an intensive level survey of the area to determine the historic district boundaries prior to listing the districts in the National Register.

Properties with Individual Significance

The thematic nature of this survey—sites significant to the Latinx community—meant that many substantial architectural buildings in the general survey area including stores and churches were not a part of the survey. That being said, in the course of the survey work eleven standout buildings were discovered that appear to be individually significant for their strong association and importance to the Latinx community. All 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 (commercial, civic, and institutional buildings) although there is also one public park.

2437-2443 Bagley: La Colmena Honey Bee Market

> The earliest sections of the building are likely located at the northwest corner, where aerial photographs from 1949 and the 1950 Sanborn map depict two buildings similar to the buildings in this location now. A concrete block addition was added between 1981 and 1997 to the east of the earlier buildings, roughly doubling the size of the building. Between 2005 and 2009, a large addition was added to the south. The building is currently occupied by Honey Bee Market La Colmena (originally established as La Colmena) and is a specialty grocery store providing access to Mexican and Latinx foods. The grocery store was established by Geraldo Alfaro in 1956 and initially operated out of the Alfaro family home until settling at the building at 2443 Bagley. Generations of the Alfaro family have owned and operated the store. This property is recommended as individually eligible for listing on the National Register under Criterion A for its association with Ethnic Heritage and Commerce. The family-owned and operated

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

business has been a long-standing pillar of Detroit's Latinx communities by providing access to ethnic foods and groceries.

Figure 58. Honey Bee Market, 2437-2443 Bagley. (Kraemer Design Group, 2023)

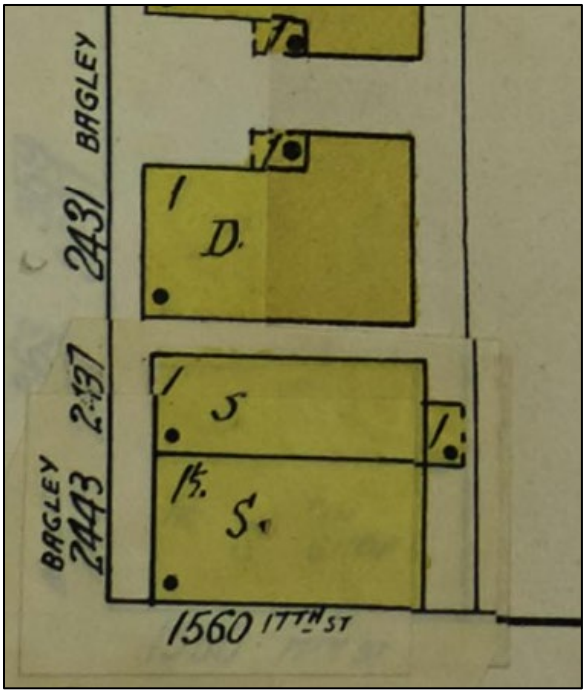

Figure 59. This 1950 Sanborn map illustrates two buildings at the corner of Bagley and 17th Streets, shown in yellow, that correspond to the location and size of the buildings that are still part of Honey Bee Market. (Sanborn Map Company, *Sanborn Fire Insurance Map from Detroit, Wayne County, Michigan* vol. 1 (New York: Sanborn Map and Publishing Company, 1950), sheet 43)

2600-2620 Bagley: Mexican Village Restaurant

The western section of the building dates to 1879 and was constructed as Bolio's Hall. The central section of the building was constructed between 1884 and 1897 and replaced an earlier frame building. The eastern section dates to 1884. The Spanish Revival style alterations likely took place in early- to mid-twentieth century as the surrounding Latinx neighborhood developed. In the 1950s, the Latin American Labor Council met on the second floor of the building, above La Paloma Market, for regular meetings. this property is recommended as individually eligible for listing on the National Register under Criterion A for its association with Ethnic Heritage, Commerce, and Social History. The 3 buildings that compose the present building have significant ties to Detroit's Latinx communities as commercial spaces owned by Latinx proprietors that provided ethnic foods and goods, and meeting spaces of Latinx labor organizers.

Figure 60. Mexican Village Restaurant, 2600-2620 Bagley. (Kraemer Design Group, 2023)

1229 Labrosse and 1050 Porter: Most Holy Trinity Church and School (already listed)

The Most Holy Trinity Church, rectory, and school are contributing buildings in the Corktown Historic District. This district was listed in the National Register of Historic Places in 1978. The Most Holy Trinity Church, rectory, and school are also recommended as individually eligible due to the long history of use by and advocacy for the Latinx community.

Figure 61. Most Holy Trinity Church and School, 1229 Labrosse and 1050 Porter. (Kraemer Design Group, 2023)

4138 W. Vernor Highway: LASED

The building at 4138 West Vernor was constructed as a bank branch circa 1925. Ford Federal Employees Credit Union and Service Savings and Loan Association are known to have occupied the building. In 1962 the building was listed for sale, and by 1971 LASED had purchased the building. This property is also recommended as individually eligible under Criterion A for Ethnic Heritage and Social History and Criterion C for Architecture. The building is an intact example of an early twentieth century Beaux Arts style commercial building. Additionally, the building was the home of the social service agency Latin Americans for Social and Economic Development (LASED) from beginning in 1971. LASED was a significant agency which formed through the work of local Latinx citizens using experience gained through unionization and with assistance from local churches.

Figure 62. LASED, 4138 West Vernor. (Kraemer Design Group, 2023)

1721 Junction: Most Holy Redeemer Church

The Most Holy Redeemer Church is recommended as eligible under Criterion A for its association with the Latinx community for its significant in the contexts of Ethnic Heritage, Religion, and Education. The church began providing Spanish-language masses in the 1960s and hosted religious and cultural celebrations for the community. Additionally, the church is recommended as eligible under Criterion B for its association with Cardinal Joseph Tobin, a significant activist in the Latinx community who was hired as a Spanish speaking priest at Holy Redeemer in 1979 due to the community's growing Latinx population. The church is also significant for its association with Father Clement Kern who was a priest at the church from 1943 through 1977 and organized English language classes in the church and was a key activist in helping organize Casa Maria, the social work agency providing assistance to Latinx and Maltese communities in Corktown. The Most Holy Redeemer Church is an impressive and monumental example of Romanesque architecture designed by the locally renowned architecture firm Donaldson and Meier and is recommended under Criterion C for Architecture.

Figure 63. Most Holy Redeemer Church, 1721 Junction. (Kraemer Design Group, 2023)

3648 W. Vernor Highway: Bowen Branch of the Detroit Public Library

The Bowen Branch of the Detroit Public Library was constructed from 1911 to 1912, opening in December 1912. Construction was funded through an approximately $40,000 gift from Andrew Carnegie. This property is recommended individually eligible under Criterion A for Ethnic Heritage and Social History and under Criterion C for Architecture. The library building is a fine example of an early twentieth century institutional building constructed in the Georgian Revival style. The library was one of several Carnegie branch libraries constructed in Detroit funded by Andrew Carnegie. By the 1970s, a community driven movement led to the Detroit Public Library developing a bilingual services and content center at the branch which has developed into the branch library becoming a central hub for social and cultural activities for Latinx residents in the neighborhood.

Figure 64. Bowen Branch of the Detroit Public Library, 3648 West Vernor. (Kraemer Design Group, 2023)

1130 Clark: Clark Park

Clark Park was purchased by the City of Detroit c.1890 from the estate of John P. Clark. This property is recommended as individually eligible for listing on the National Register under Criterion A for its association with Ethnic Heritage, Social History, and Recreation. Clark Park is a significant gathering place for members of Detroit's Latinx communities to take part in rallies, festivals, celebrations, and community events. Additional research will be necessary to fully understand the property's eligibility and to determine the appropriate criterion and areas of significance.

Figure 65. Clark Park, 1130 Clark. (Kraemer Design Group, 2023)

1601 Clark: YMCA Western Branch

The YMCA Western Branch was constructed in 1925 and was an important local meeting place for generations. This property is recommended as individually eligible for listing on the National Register under Criterion A for its association with Ethnic Heritage, Social History, and Recreation. The building provided space for local Latinx residents to enjoy recreational activities, socialize, and attend locally organized activities. The building is also an intact example of Romanesque style architecture.

Figure 66. YMCA Western Branch, 1601 Clark. (Kraemer Design Group, 2023)

3564 W. Vernor Highway: Hispanos Unidos

The building at 3564 West Vernor Highway was constructed in c.1921 as the Lithuanian Hall and functioned as a community space holding dances, celebrations, and political activities. Hispanos Unidos, a social organization, moved into the building in 1944 and continued holding dances, celebrations, and political activities. This property is recommended as individually eligible for listing on the National Register under Criterion A for its association with Ethnic Heritage, Commerce, and Social History. The building was home to Hispanos Unidos, a social organization that moved into the building in 1944 and provided key spaces for ethnic dances, cultural celebrations, and political activities related to Detroit's Latinx communities. The building is also an intact example of Colonial Revival style architecture.

Figure 67. Hispanos Unidos, 3564 West Vernor. (Kraemer Design Group, 2023)

1500 Scotten: Western International High School

The Western International High School building replaced an earlier school, constructed c.1898, that was lost in a fire in 1935. Between the 1960s and 1990s, the school expanded by adding additions and a parking lot. This building is recommended as individually eligible under Criterion A for Ethnic Heritage and Education and under Criterion C for Architecture. Western High School is an example of Colonial Revival style school architecture constructed in the early twentieth century and exemplifies the type and style of schools constructed in that era. Additionally, the school has historically housed the largest population of Latinx students in the City of Detroit and was a center for education and social organizing in the Latinx community through the twentieth century to present day. Western High School has housed significant events and cultural celebrations for the Latinx community.

Figure 68. Western International High School, 1500 Scotten. (Kraemer Design Group, 2023)

1000 St. Anne: Basilica of Ste. Anne de Detroit Roman Catholic Church (already listed)

The Ste. Anne's Church complex was individually listed on the National Register of Historic Places on June 3, 1976. The building was listed under Criterion A for its association with Education and Religion and under Criterion C for Architecture. Based on this reconnaissance level survey, the complex retains the requisite characteristics to retain eligibility under Criteria A and C.

Figure 69. Basilica of Ste. Anne de Detroit, 1000 St. Anne. (Kraemer Design Group, 2023)

1450 25th Street: Webster Elementary School

Webster Elementary School was constructed in circa 1954 and replaced an earlier school also known as Webster. The earlier school building was constructed in approximately 1874. At the time it was demolished, the old Webster Elementary was 78 years old and was called the oldest school building still in use by the Detroit Free Press. The new Webster Elementary cost $1,070,000 and was completed sometime after 1954. This building is recommended as individually eligible under Criterion C for Architecture as it is an intact example of Modern style architecture.

Figure 70. Webster Elementary, 1450 25th St. (Kraemer Design Group, 2023)

1500 Trumbull: Casa Maria

This building was constructed in 1927 as a branch bank of the Wayne County and Home Savings Bank. By 1940 it served as the home to the Sons of Malta fraternal organization. By 1944, the building was operated by the League of Catholic Women and used as a community center for nearby Mexican and Maltese residents. Throughout Casa Maria's existence, the community center provided educational programs for children, recreational activities, events highlighting Mexican cultural traditions, and all-around support for primarily Mexican and Mexican American children. This building is recommended as individually eligible under Criterion C for Architecture due to its intact Italian Renaissance style and under Criterion A for Ethnic Heritage for its association with the Mexican and Maltese citizens who utilized this building.

Figure 71. Casa Maria, 1500 Trumbull. (Kraemer Design Group, 2023)

7714 W. Vernor Highway: Rio Theater

The Rio Theater building was designed by Cyril Edward Schley, an apprentice of C. Howard Crane, in 1935. The Theater was one of the Cohen Brothers Detroit Theatrical Enterprise Theaters. The Theater operated until 1960 and was later a furniture store and other retail establishments. The building is currently vacant. This building is recommended as individually eligible under Criterion C for Architecture as it is an example of Spanish Colonial Revival style architecture and meets the threshold of individual eligibility under Criterion C.

Figure 72. Rio Theater, 7714 West Vernor. (Detroit Historic Designation Advisory Board, 2023)

Conclusion

The survey report and the survey inventory forms for this reconnaissance and intensive survey are intended to provide a baseline of historic analysis of the Latinx community in Detroit, Michigan. The survey spanned from March of 2023 to October of 2023 with the final deliverable tendered to the City of Detroit's Historic Designation Advisory Board's (HDAB) office on October 4, 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 HDAB as a primary deliverable of this project.

As a significant constituent population of Detroit, the Latinx community has made an indelible impact on the history of the City which are 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 the studies sites unique. Recognizing and revitalizing historic sites and neighborhoods which have a long history of importance to the Latinx community can 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.[506] Heritage tourism, while relatively new, is a burgeoning area to explore especially since the Latinx community's social, cultural, and architectural legacy is so rich.

With a goal of researching and documenting sites of importance to the Latinx community the project progressed from initial research to fieldwork, to survey analysis, to, finally, drawing conclusions from the data found and writing this survey report. This report attempts to integrate all of this information and is intended to provide a basis upon which the City of Detroit, 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 that would most benefit from intensive level study and/or future preservation planning activities, whether a National Register nomination, creation of a local historic district, or other preservation mechanisms.

Figure 73. A mural in the interior hallway of the Mexicantown Plaza del Norte Welcome Center, 2835 Bagley Street. (Kraemer Design Group, 2023)

[506] "Population Density in Historic Districts vs Rest of City," PlaceEconomics, accessed February 4, 2022, https://www.placeeconomics.com/.

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Bentley Historical Library, Ann Arbor, MI.
Burton Historical Collection at the Detroit Public Library, Detroit, MI.
Detroit Public Library Collections, Detroit, MI.
Michigan Historical Collections available through HathiTrust.
Wayne State University Collections, Detroit, MI.
Walter P. Reuther Library at Wayne State University, Detroit, MI.

SECTION III

Index of Surveyed Properties

Street Number	Street	City	County	Year Built	Function	Style	District	Contributing/ Non-contributing
1326	18th	Detroit	Wayne	1900	Residential	Folk Victorian	Not in a proposed district	Not in a proposed district
1717	24th	Detroit	Wayne	1924	Commercial	None	West Vernor Historic District	Non-contributing
1450	25th	Detroit	Wayne	1954	Other	Modern Movement	Not in a proposed district	Not in a proposed district
2628	Bagley	Detroit	Wayne	c.1884-1897	Commercial	Spanish Revival	Bagley Street Historic District	Contributing
2701	Bagley	Detroit	Wayne	1925; 1960	Commercial	Art Deco	Bagley Street Historic District	Contributing
2728	Bagley	Detroit	Wayne	1881	Commercial	Victorian	Bagley Street Historic District	Contributing
3345	Bagley	Detroit	Wayne	c.1980-1997	Commercial	Commercial	West Vernor Historic District	Contributing
3400	Bagley	Detroit	Wayne	1911	Commercial	Neoclassical	West Vernor Historic District	Contributing
3458	Bagley	Detroit	Wayne	1910	Commercial	Classical Revival	West Vernor Historic District	Contributing
3506	Bagley	Detroit	Wayne	1924	Commercial	Art Deco	West Vernor Historic District	Contributing
2437-2443	Bagley	Detroit	Wayne	c.1947; c.1957; c.1980; c.2005	Commercial	Commercial	Bagley Street Historic District	Contributing
2535-2547	Bagley	Detroit	Wayne	1955	Commercial	None	Bagley Street Historic District	Non-contributing
2600-2620	Bagley	Detroit	Wayne	1879; c.1884-1897	Commercial	Italianate, Spanish Revival	Bagley Street Historic District	Contributing
2634-2650	Bagley	Detroit	Wayne	c.1977	Commercial	None	Bagley Street Historic District	Contributing
2661-2669	Bagley	Detroit	Wayne	1922	Commercial	Commercial	Bagley Street Historic District	Contributing
3353-3361	Bagley	Detroit	Wayne	c.1897-1921; c.1981-1997	Commercial	Commercial	West Vernor Historic District	Contributing
3401-3409	Bagley	Detroit	Wayne	c.1884; c.1897-1921	Commercial	Commercial	West Vernor Historic District	Contributing
3428-3432	Bagley	Detroit	Wayne	c. 1910; c.1971	Commercial	Commercial	West Vernor Historic District	Contributing
3434-3456	Bagley	Detroit	Wayne	1886	Commercial	Victorian	West Vernor Historic District	Contributing
3437-3443	Bagley	Detroit	Wayne	1900	Commercial	Romanesque Revival	West Vernor Historic District	Contributing
3453-3457	Bagley	Detroit	Wayne	1905	Commercial	Mission Revival	West Vernor Historic District	Contributing
1130	Clark	Detroit	Wayne	c.1890	Other	n/a	West Vernor Historic District	Contributing

Street Number	Street	City	County	Year Built	Function	Style	District	Contributing/ Non-contributing
1601	Clark	Detroit	Wayne	1927	Other	Romanesque	West Vernor Historic District	Contributing
2525	Clark	Detroit	Wayne	1999	Industrial	None	Not in a proposed district	Not in a proposed district
10235	Gratiot	Detroit	Wayne	1953	Other	Mission Revival	Not in a proposed district	Not in a proposed district
1801	Howard	Detroit	Wayne	1979	Industrial	None	Not in a proposed district	Not in a proposed district
1721	Junction	Detroit	Wayne	1880; 1910; 1923	Other	Romanesque	West Vernor Historic District	Contributing
1744	Michigan	Detroit	Wayne	1890	Commercial	Mission Revival	Not in a proposed district	Not in a proposed district
2125	Michigan	Detroit	Wayne	1950	Commercial	None	Not in a proposed district	Not in a proposed district
1050; 1229	Porter; Labrosse	Detroit	Wayne	c.1866; 1965	Other	Gothic Revival	Already listed in Corktown NRHP district	Already listed
1500	Scotten	Detroit	Wayne	c.1937	Other	Colonial Revival	West Vernor Historic District	Contributing
2020	Scotten	Detroit	Wayne	1910	Other	Gothic Revival	West Vernor Historic District	Contributing
1000	St. Anne	Detroit	Wayne	1887	Other	Gothic Revival	Already listed on NRHP	Already listed
1500	Trumbull	Detroit	Wayne	1927	Other	Italian Renaissance	Not in a proposed district	Not in a proposed district
1946	Webb	Detroit	Wayne	1921	Residential	Tudor Revival	Not in a proposed district	Not in a proposed district
2200	West Grand Blvd.	Detroit	Wayne	1980	Other	Modern Movement	Not in a proposed district	Not in a proposed district
2669	West Vernor	Detroit	Wayne	1957	Commercial	Spanish Eclectic	Bagley Street Historic District	Contributing
3564	West Vernor	Detroit	Wayne	1921	Other	Commercial	West Vernor Historic District	Contributing
3648	West Vernor	Detroit	Wayne	1912	Other	English Collegiate	West Vernor Historic District	Contributing
4138	West Vernor	Detroit	Wayne	1925	Other	Beaux Arts	West Vernor Historic District	Contributing
4242	West Vernor	Detroit	Wayne	1900	Commercial	None	West Vernor Historic District	Contributing
4751	West Vernor	Detroit	Wayne	1916	Other	Art Deco	West Vernor Historic District	Contributing
5426	West Vernor	Detroit	Wayne	1895	Commercial	Commercial	West Vernor Historic District	Contributing
5449	West Vernor	Detroit	Wayne	1917	Commercial	Commercial	West Vernor Historic District	Contributing
5695	West Vernor	Detroit	Wayne	1917	Commercial	Prairie	West Vernor Historic District	Contributing
5858	West Vernor	Detroit	Wayne	1963	Commercial	Commercial	West Vernor Historic District	Contributing

Street Number	Street	City	County	Year Built	Function	Style	District	Contributing/ Non-contributing
7150	West Vernor	Detroit	Wayne	c.1915; c.1940s; c.1981	Other	Commercial	Not in a proposed district	Not in a proposed district
7714	West Vernor	Detroit	Wayne	c.1935	Other	Spanish Colonial Revival	Not in a proposed district	Not in a proposed district

Index of Properties Under 40 Years

Street Number	Street	City	County	Year Built	Function	Style	District	Contributing/Non-contributing
2525	Clark	Detroit	Wayne	1999	Industrial	None	Not in a proposed district	Not in a proposed district

Appendix A: Survey Maps

See Appendix A for survey maps.

Appendix B: Credentials

See Appendix B for 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.