# THE CITY OF TOMORROW . . . . TODAY: THE DEVELOPMENT OF TROY, MICHIGAN 1955-1980

by

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# Dedication

To the men and women who have lived in and worked for the City of Troy

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# Table of Contents

Dedication	ii
Acknowledgments	iii
Introduction	1
Troy Township	7
Home Rule City: A Strategy to Preserve a Community	15
Exodus From Detroit	24
Zoning and Master Plan for the City of Tomorrow	34
Two Elbow Curves on I-75	50
Water, The Essential Ingredient	64
A Downtown Alternative	71
The New Community	76
Conclusion	87
Appendix 1: City of Troy in Oakland County	93
Appendix 2: Population of Detroit	94
Appendix 3: Population of Troy Township and the City of Troy	95
Appendix 4: Industrial Corridors in Troy and Area Cities	96
Appendix 5:Retail Shopping Centers in Troy and Neighboring	
Communities	97
Appendix 6: Proposed Alignment of Interstate 75 Prior to 1957	98

Appendix 7: Proposed Interstate 75 Routes One, Two and Three99
Appendix 8: Proposed Northern and Southern Routes, Interstate 75 10
Appendix 9: Sanitary Sewer Districts in Troy10
Appendix 10: Proposed Sites for the Troy Civic Center102
Abbreviations103
Endnotes10-
Bibliography11
Abstract12
Autobiographical Statement

#### Introduction

Between 1955 and 1980 the City of Troy sprouted from the cornfields and cow pastures of Troy Township in southeastern Oakland County, Michigan (Appendix 1). Within its first 25 years, this rural community without a downtown business district metamorphosed into a regional commercial hub boasting a Golden Corridor of corporate offices, Fortune 500 companies, and upscale shopping, all conveniently accessed from Interstate Highway I-75.<sup>1</sup> Troy's population jumped from 13,217 in 1955 to 67,102 in 1980. The tax base skyrocketed. By 1980 the City of Troy was ranked the second largest city in the state based on taxable values that exceeded 2.248 billion dollars. The trend has continued but has moderated. In 2003 Troy's residential population was 85,000, with a workday population of 125,000. The taxable value of Troy had increased to 4.861 billion dollars. Among Michigan cities, only Detroit continues to have a larger tax base.<sup>2</sup>

What triggered the meteoric growth in Troy? What made this spot on the State map more desirable than another? Were the new values assigned to the open land solely a factor of distance from or travel time to Detroit? Were freeway exit ramps as significant to the twentieth-century city as railroad whistle stops were in communities of the previous century? How much of Troy's history was determined by the people who settled the land and attended meetings in the Town Hall? How much of the local story

resulted from regional or national politics and prevailing economic policies? How important was local planning? What factors combined to prompt the transformation of Troy Township from a rural backwater into a leading commercial center and Michigan Edge City?<sup>3</sup>

While Troy's growth is representative of the well-studied phenomenon of suburban expansion in European and American cities, deeper examination reveals specific factors that contributed to its successful growth and development. National and regional economic factors, federal programs, determined local political leadership, effective master planning that embraced a progressive vision, and a strategic geographic location all contributed to the prosperous suburban center. Each component was essential. However, this study shows that the local leadership that adhered to its progressive development plan was pivotal in creating the dynamic community that called itself "City of Tomorrow . . . Today".

Troy's growth following World War II was linked to changes in Detroit. Sociologists have historically identified aspects of urban life that prompted emigration out of cities as well as those opportunities that lured people into suburban communities. David Riesman suggested that suburban growth reflected the flight from negative forces in cities balanced by the search for something attractive and appealing in the suburbs. The industrial machines that powered urban centers operated on hard work, thrift, and productivity. The gritty reality of the urban environment included

racial and ethnic tensions, crime, violence, and congestion. Suburbia promised more pastoral surroundings in smaller communities where workers found rewards for their hard work in new values. Suburban life offered improved educational opportunities for children, expanded recreational and leisure-time amenities, and created a comfortable, nurturing environment for families. Troy was one of a number of destinations of the post-World War II exodus by Detroiters concerned about the quality of life for their families.

Laborers needed convenient, affordable access to their jobs. In the oldest urban cores, workers found housing built in the shadows of factories. They walked to work or commuted using bicycles, municipal streetcars, and trolleys. Henry Ford revolutionized American life when he paid qualified employees \$5.00 per day. This substantially higher wage instituted in 1913 provided blue-collar workers the means to purchase the very cars they built. "The most important aspect of the automobile is that it shifted the balance of power from centralized modes of organization toward the individual." Privately owned cars freed the American public from the constraints of mass transit and the control of corporations that dictated where, when, and how people lived. Between 1925 and 1950 automobile registrations increased 250 percent. By 1950 there were 49 million automobiles and 8.6 million trucks registered in the United States. The development of new roads, culminating with the Interstate Highway

System in 1956, made long-distance commuting possible by linking suburban communities, office plazas, and factories.

Interstate highway routes had a tremendous impact on communities. Entire neighborhoods located in highway right-of-ways were eliminated, displacing ethnic and racial populations. Towns located along old state routes declined when these new, limited-access freeways bypassed them. Conversely, towns along the interstates prospered. While the freeways provided pathways to the cities, they were also convenient exodus routes to new residential and commercial suburban communities. The development of urban expressways, in part, contributed to the industrial and population declines in Detroit in favor of suburban expansion. The City of Troy, approximately twenty miles north of downtown Detroit along I-75, was a popular destination.<sup>8</sup>

The availability of large quantities of inexpensive rural land further enticed residential developers who were frustrated by high land costs, zoning restrictions, and the lack of suitable sites in aging cities. So they purchased inexpensive acreage beyond the city limits and built new homes that could be readily financed through the Federal Housing Administration (FHA) and veterans benefits (GI Bill). Thus veterans and young families found desirable, accessible housing. Through these New Deal programs the federal government sanctioned and made affordable suburban developments.<sup>9</sup>

It was also more cost effective for large manufacturing plants to relocate to the suburbs than to remodel or refit existing buildings. Older, urban factories were downsized or even closed as facilities implemented technologies developed during and following World War II. Relocation was cost-efficient in suburban areas where land prices and taxes were lower.

The creation and development of the City of Troy between 1955 and 1980 occurred during a period of significant population decline in Detroit (Appendix 2). During this span of twenty-five years Oakland County, Troy Township, and the City of Troy census figures showed significant increases (Appendix 3). While Detroiters migrated to new destinations throughout the region, the population of Oakland County increased by 300,000 during the 1950s. This was the greatest population increase experienced by any Michigan county during the decade. By 1967, twenty-five percent of Oakland County was designated as home sites, and fifteen new municipalities, including Troy, were established. Only twelve other counties in the nation experienced greater growth during the 1960s. 10

Growth in the City of Troy reflected the general pattern of regional and national development. However, Troy's development surpassed the growth observed in other Michigan municipalities, including those in the Detroit Metropolitan area. While many of these southeast Michigan communities evolved from previously established towns with significant commercial and industrial development and greater access to

transportation arteries, their residential and business success never equaled that experienced in Troy.

This thesis will examine the specific factors that contributed to Troy's development, including geographic and historic circumstances as well as political and planning decisions between 1955 and 1980. Together, these created a charged environment that attracted yet controlled exceptional development in the premier suburban city. Documentation of these factors was obtained through City and County records, planning documents, reports, personal papers, and clipping files of the Troy Museum & Historic Village. Personal interviews with former municipal employees and city planners employed during Troy's "boom," plus the reflections of older residents, clarified and reinforced information found in the written records.

## Troy Township

In accordance with the federal Land Ordinance of 1785, the

Michigan Territory was surveyed beginning in 1815. Pioneers from the

State of New York first settled the Troy region in 1819 when the federal
government sold the first parcels of township land to speculators. Between
1820 and 1822, more speculators and settlers purchased the densely
forested land and cleared it for agriculture. In 1827 Troy Township was
officially separated from Bloomfield Township and established as an
independent governing unit. <sup>11</sup>

The eastern farmers with pioneer spirit were lured to Michigan by the prospect of owning and working fresh, fertile soil for a small cash investment and hard work. Federal legislation passed in 1820 provided that individuals could purchase an eighty-acre farm for the sum of \$100, or \$1.25 per acre. Affordable land increased the interest of New York State farmers in the Michigan Territory.

The Erie Canal, opened in 1825, and travel aboard Great Lakes schooners and steam ships offered a second, new incentive. The canal provided a less arduous route to Michigan for pioneers by reducing travel time to the frontier from months to weeks.

Johnson Niles, a resident of Otsego County, New York, purchased 160 acres in Section 9 of Troy Township in 1821. He built a cabin, brought

his family, established a trading post and later a tavern where Livernois and Square Lake Roads intersect today. Mr. Niles is generally referred to as the founder of Troy. While he was not the first or only resident of the area, his property, located centrally in the Township, developed into the largest unincorporated community in Troy Township. Niles platted a village on his property and called it Hastings in honor of his friend, E. P. Hastings, the president of the Michigan Bank. When he learned that a community named Hastings already existed in the Michigan Territory, Niles re-named the settlement Troy Corners, although some early maps also refer to it as Niles Corners.

The settlers who migrated from New York to Oakland County commonly named their new settlements after the established towns in New York. Thus, in Michigan as in New York, there are communities named Troy, Rochester, Farmington, and Utica. The name Troy was also an example of the great popularity of Greek symbolism during the 1800s. Greek revival architecture, Greek names for cities, and Greek styles in clothing and decorations were physical demonstrations of the pride and popular support by Americans of their democratic government in the United States.

Ira Smith of Middlebury, New York, settled a second unincorporated community in the township in 1825. The small commercial center of Big Beaver was located at the intersection of Sections 22, 23, 26, and 27. The earliest histories of the area state that it was named for a beaver dam

located about one half-mile north of the town. Smith operated a tavern between 1825 and 1831. From 1855 through 1885 the community flourished although it never grew as large as Troy Corners.

Troy Corners enjoyed only a brief period of prosperity in the mid 1800s. It lacked sufficient streams for transportation or hydropower. A shallow, sluggish branch of the Rouge River flowed southwesterly through the northwestern sections of the township, and a portion of a second, seasonal brook was found in the northeastern portion of Troy. Neither waterway had sufficient current throughout the year to provide hydropower for a sawmill, gristmill, or any other industry. It should also be noted that briny springs and wells with high mineral contents were found in the northeastern quadrant of the township. The lack of consistent supplies of high-quality water remained a key issue in Troy's eventual development as a city.

By the late 1800s Johnson Niles and the other settlers had developed a prosperous agricultural community. By 1873 Troy Township ranked first, second, or third in Michigan townships for the production of potatoes, hay, wool, cheese, apples, cherries, wheat, and other grains. Many area farmers transported their harvests and sold them in Detroit. Harry Bennet Wattles left his Troy farm in a horse drawn wagon at 2:00 a.m. to arrive by 5:00 a.m. at the Eastern Market in Detroit. After selling his produce, he returned to Troy by mid-afternoon. Roadhouses located

along Woodward Avenue provided food and overnight accommodations for travelers. <sup>13</sup>

Early commercial development at Troy Corners included a general store, blacksmith shop, post office, two hotels, three churches, and a few small shops. "Johnson Niles intended to make it the leading place north of Detroit."<sup>14</sup> Commerce continued to improve so that by 1836, Troy Corners included six mercantile businesses, three physicians, a lawyer, a cooperage, two blacksmiths, a shoemaker, churches, and schools. The community's initial success diminished following significant national and regional events between 1837 and 1843. "The panic attending the suspension of the 'wild-cat' banks, the building of the railroad through Royal Oak, and ultimately through Pontiac, the increased growth of Rochester (because) of its water privileges all tended to detract from the importance of Troy."15 The tough economic times and the alignment of the Grand Trunk Railroad that bypassed Troy Corners permanently hindered growth in the nineteenth century. By 1877 the population of Troy Corners had declined from several hundred to sixty. The total population of the township, however, remained low but fairly constant through 1910 (Appendix 3).

Troy's early road system was crucial to later planning and development. As prescribed by federal law, the nineteenth-century township residents established a system of roads that followed the section lines across the flat countryside. This grid of roads was notoriously muddy

during spring and fall. Early settlers corduroyed, planked, or built ditches along many of the paths. The main north-south route, referred to as Paint Creek Road, was graveled. Later this bumpy path was widened and renamed Rochester Road. By 1920 six miles of the section roads had been paved, ten were graveled, and the rest were dirt. After Troy became a city in 1955, the section line roads were improved as major thoroughfares.

In the 1890s a new method of mass transit was introduced in southeastern Michigan. The interurban electric trolley system provided efficient transportation between small communities for passengers and freight. This service supplemented steam locomotives used for long distance transportation between major market towns. The first interurban lines were built between Detroit, Ann Arbor, and Ypsilanti and then between Detroit, Royal Oak, and Pontiac. In 1899 railroad promoter John Winter, Frank Andrews, and Oliver Law, the supervisor of the Lake Orion Resort Association, built the Detroit, Rochester, Romeo, and Lake Orion Railway. This electric trolley routed from Royal Oak to the resort area of Lake Orion also had stops in Clawson, Troy, and Rochester. Passengers and goods reached Detroit from Royal Oak by transferring to the Detroit and Pontiac Railway.

On September 27, 1899 the first Interurban car rumbled north through Troy Corners en route to Rochester. By 1901 the interurban's tracks had been extended to Romeo and Flint. Henry Everett and Edward Moore purchased the route and renamed it the Flint Division of the Detroit

United Railway. Troy Corners was not a significant DUR destination but the small community benefited from the reliable, fast transportation south to Clawson, Royal Oak, and Detroit or north to Romeo and Flint from 1899–1931. At one time 62 DUR cars traveled through Troy Township each day. The general store at Troy Corners served as a DUR ticket office and waiting room. Long-time residents state they traveled by the DUR to Pontiac, Royal Oak, or Clawson to shop, do business, and see doctors. In addition, milk and produce were transported to Detroit on the "interurban." Each morning farmers placed filled milk cans on the loading platforms along Livernois. Men on the refrigerated freight cars picked up the cans and, on a later run that same day, returned the empty cans in time for the afternoon milking.

Despite its initial popular success, interurban transit to Oakland
County lasted less than 35 years. Many factors contributed to its decline.
Overconfident and rash business decisions by the owners, increased operational costs, and unreasonable government regulations and taxes contributed to the financial decline of the system. Following World War I, travel by automobile grew increasingly popular and offered greater flexibility and independence. In Detroit the powerful political influence of automobile industrialists helped push out the DUR. By 1928 the Detroit United Railway was bankrupt and the Flint Division was sold to the Eastern Michigan Railways. One year later the Great Depression resulted

in the final financial collapse of the line. The last DUR car traveled through Troy Corners on April 25, 1931. <sup>17</sup>

Additional world events and regional developments changed rural Troy Township after 1915. Industrial production during World War I and the rapid growth of the automobile industry moved the City of Detroit into third place in the nation because of the dollar value of its manufactured products. The population of the city and the metropolitan area grew commensurately. By 1920 there were 993,678 residents within the city limits and another 171,475 in the surrounding metropolitan district. While most of the early Detroit suburban development occurred in Wayne County communities like Hamtramck and Grosse Pointe, outlying Counties were also affected. Royal Oak and Clawson in Oakland County, immediately south of Troy Township, grew significantly. Morris Wattles wrote in 1920,

"(Clawson's) present growth and prosperity are due directly to the growth of Detroit. Easily reached by streetcar or auto, it has become the haven for many employees of the Ford Motor Company. In fact, the same might be said of the biggest share of the central part of the township . . . . The character of the whole township is rapidly changing. The subdivision of land is absorbing the farms . . . . The south half of the town is . . .cut up into village lots and the remnants of the old families are losing their identity among the hundreds of new comers." 19

The Great Depression (1930–1939) slowed growth in the metropolitan area. Oakland County recorded only 28 new plats and 1,946 lots during the 1930s. In the following decade, the county records showed

341 new plats and 14,282 lots recorded. The next significant growth in Oakland County and Troy Township occurred after World War II and the Korean War. During the 1950s county records listed 10,883 new plats and 52,504 lots.<sup>20</sup>

## Home Rule City: A Strategy to Preserve a Community

Troy Township remained a rural farm community through the first half of the twentieth century. Platting activity was minimal with the exception of developments that resulted in three annexations in the southern sections of the Township. In 1927 the city of Royal Oak annexed a portion of Section 31. In 1933 the Village of Birmingham, which was located in both Bloomfield and Troy Townships, became a city and annexed a half square mile of land. In 1940 Clawson annexed another parcel.<sup>21</sup> These annexations diminished the total region governed by the Township and reduced its tax base.

The population of Oakland County increased by nearly 300,000 people between 1950 and 1959 as Detroiters began migrating to the suburbs. World War II and Korean War veterans who benefited from the GI Bill and Federal Housing Administration (FHA) mortgages had the means to purchase new homes in new communities. The expansion of the automobile industry in southeastern Michigan, racial tensions, limited housing in Detroit, and concerns regarding the quality of urban schools further stimulated suburban migration to communities like Troy and increased the demand for new housing. Available building sites increased by 68,732 lots in 30 years or nearly 2,300 lots/year.

While construction did not occur as plats were approved, the impact in Troy was significant. Township Board business, as recorded in the minutes of its meetings, shifted from rural issues to the discussion and approval of proposed subdivisions of land that had once been actively farmed. Concurrent with these requests were increased complaints, recommendations, and reports regarding the need for adequate supplies of good water for residential and commercial use and for improved sewage disposal and treatment. Troy historically relied on wells for fresh water. Well depths in the Township varied significantly. In many sections, they were shallow and the water contained minerals and salt. The Township even boasted a natural saltwater pool fed by brine springs and used by the public for recreation. In addition, the soil in the Township did not percolate or drain well, which limited septic disposal of waste and increased the possibility of contamination of domestic wells, especially in new subdivisions with increased density. Septic fields had to be large enough to allow wastewater to drain through soil without reaching and contaminating another supply of domestic well water. The Township was under increasing pressure to provide clean drinking water and to ensure the safe, sanitary disposal of wastes or risk a public health crisis.

The Township budget of \$68,000 in 1954 hampered the Board's ability to implement substantive changes.<sup>22</sup> The State approved legislation that allowed townships to levy special assessment districts if 65 percent of

the benefited property owners agreed. However, Township Supervisor Norman Barnard felt the law was inadequate.

Legislation given to townships still makes it pretty difficult to provide necessary services and improvements. If we incorporated we would have certain advantages that cities have. As a city the township could keep (the) revenues raised from property taxes and also would have easier steps for installing and assessing improvements.<sup>23</sup>

Troy Township also provided minimal public safety for its residents. In 1954 the community relied on a volunteer fire department and a four-man police department with one police car to service 30 square miles. While adequate for a rural community, the police and fire protection were grossly inadequate if the proposed developments were completed.<sup>24</sup>

Annexation of Township land by neighboring municipalities remained the most critical concern of Township officials. In 1953 the City of Birmingham annexed a 40-acre "island" of Township land for a giant Ford Tractor plant. One year later the City of Clawson attempted unsuccessfully to annex 109 acres. Troy Township officials fought annexations because parcels lost from the Township increased fragmentation of the community and eroded its tax base. <sup>25</sup>

Citizens knew incorporation was the ultimate solution to prevent further loss of land, to provide a local government that could more effectively control development, and to retain property taxes and assessments for improvements to the community services. In 1951 the "Citizens for Incorporation Committee in Troy Township" was established with local businessman Ernest R. Gray as chairman. It took another four years and a new threat of additional annexations for the committee and area residents to file petitions for incorporation.

In 1955 Vickers, Inc., a division of Sperry-Rand Corporation, proposed to build a \$2,000,000 office and engineering facility on a 76-acre parcel in Section 32 of Troy Township. The proposed development guaranteed Troy \$20,000 per year in new tax revenues. Vickers, Inc. entered into a secret agreement with the City of Royal Oak to obtain City of Detroit water, sewers, and City of Royal Oak police and fire protection for the plant. Troy Township had an ordinance prohibiting any outside water system from selling water in Troy in competition with the Troy Water Department without special agreement and approval. When petitions were circulated to annex the parcel to Royal Oak, Troy citizens and local officials took action.

Troy citizens and officials of both political parties met on a Thursday evening in March, 1955, and agreed to move forward with the idea of incorporation . . . . The big problem was the density of population. The Township was sparsely settled in some areas, which made it impossible to meet the average 500 people/square mile required under the City Home Rule Act in Michigan . . . . It was decided to omit some of the less populated areas within the interior of the boundaries of Troy. These areas would remain a Township, to be annexed to the city later. A map was prepared by an engineer, and an attorney prepared the petition. A group of about 60 citizens met on a Friday evening, made their plans to circulate the petitions on Saturday, at the same time asking and pledging to keep the plan secret until the petitions were to be filed on the next Monday morning . . . . The petitions were

guarded over the weekend, and early Monday morning (March 7, 1955) two groups left Troy at 6 a.m. to be certain to be in line first at the County Clerk's office in Pontiac. This precaution was taken in the event Royal Oak might learn of the incorporation movement . . . and be first at the Clerk's office to file their petitions for annexation. Such a move would have given their petitions priority for consideration (in) an election by the County Board of Supervisors.<sup>27</sup>

The carefully designed, swiftly executed plan succeeded. Royal Oak learned of Troy's petition after it was filed. Following approval of the petition, an election was scheduled for June 7, 1955. The voters of Troy Township had to approve incorporation as a home rule city and select nine residents to serve on a Commission that would write a charter, a document that defined the city, its purposes, and functions. State law required that the draft Charter be submitted for approval to the Governor followed by a second local election for final voter approval.

Vickers, Inc. challenged the validity of the petitions for incorporation in Oakland County Circuit Court. Vickers maintained that the Township lacked the population required for incorporation by the State. Troy officials estimated the total area of incorporation was 27.5 square miles requiring a minimum population of 13,750. The initial state-held census survey reported 13,217 residents on May 26. Mr. Barnard stated, "Since the census is not officially completed, the committee on incorporation feels we must go ahead with the vote." 28

Verification of the pre-election census continued through Election Day, Tuesday, June 7, 1955. Circuit Judge H. Russell Holland refused to

stop the Troy election Monday afternoon, telling Vickers, Inc. attorneys that it was too late to issue an injunction. However, the judge did not dismiss the suit.<sup>29</sup> Norman Barnard and the Citizens for Incorporation Committee made sure residents knew they could vote. Men with bullhorns cruised the township roads and urged citizens to cast their ballots. The citizens responded with an emphatic, 9-1 vote in favor of incorporation. The final ballot tally was 2,111 yes and 254 no votes.

Nine men were also elected that day to serve on the Charter

Commission. Township Supervisor Norman Barnard received the most

votes and was selected as Chairman of the Commission. Five other

Township Board members were elected, including Fred Hilderbrandt,

Clifton Truesdell, George Ford, Wesley Smith, and Elmer Lowe. Frank

Costello, President of the School Board, and Ernest Gray, Chairman of the

Citizens for Incorporation Committee, also were elected. Roy Duncan, a

lone Democrat, was the ninth member. He stressed the non-partisan

emphasis of the Commission.<sup>30</sup>

Norman Barnard contacted Vickers, Inc. following the election and suggested the two parties negotiate a settlement and that the company remain a part of Troy. On July 5, 1955 Vickers, Inc. discontinued its suit in Oakland County Circuit Court. The Township and the corporation also finalized a water use agreement for the proposed office and engineering plant. Troy would purchase water from the Southeastern Oakland Water Authority and resell it to Vickers, Inc. Walter O. Koch, the company

attorney, stated that the Royal Oak water cost more, but due to its low mineral content, required no additional treatment before use. Troy water required demineralization. Vickers required 75,000 gallons of water per day.<sup>31</sup>

The Charter Commission met during the summer to draft the charter that provided for a seven-member commission elected for three-year terms on a non-partisan basis. The commission appointed a mayor, the City Manager, City Clerk, Treasurer, Assessor, police and fire chiefs, and necessary administrative officials. A Justice of the Peace and an associate justice were elected to office. Finally, the Charter contained the city tax code.

The Charter Commission scheduled a public hearing on August 15, 1955. The *Avon News* published the text of the Charter five days before the meeting, providing citizens the opportunity to study the document. Chairman Barnard stated to the press, "It is the purpose of the Charter Commission to have every citizen who must live and be governed under this charter to have an opportunity to approve or disapprove the matters contained therein." <sup>32</sup>

Three hundred residents attended the public hearing and submitted suggestions regarding reduction of the tax limit and objections to the "strong manager" form of government. Citizens preferred an elected mayor who would provide increased checks and balances with the power of the City Manager.<sup>33</sup>

Then the Charter Commission reviewed and responded to the citizens' suggestions. The most significant change incorporated into the document was selection of the mayor by general election, rather than by commission appointment. Governor G. Mennen Williams received the amended charter for his approval on September 9, 1955. With the endorsement of the governor, officials scheduled a general election in which the voters would approve or disapprove the charter and elect the first City Commissioners and Mayor.

On December 12, 1955, 70 percent of the Township's registered voters cast their ballots and approved the Charter by a slim margin of 86 votes. The final tally was 1,223 votes for and 1,137 votes against adoption. The voters elected Charter Commission member Frank Costello as the first Mayor. The new City Commission included Ernest Gray, George Ford, Elmer Lowe, Donald Lance, Justice of the Peace Charles Losey, and Associate Justice Ceville Mason.<sup>34</sup> The new officials met on Friday, December 16, 1955 and took their oaths of office. Their first official act was to appoint Norman Barnard Acting City Manager. Barnard then presented Mayor Costello with a gavel made from wood "used in building the first house in Troy."<sup>35</sup>

The new city officials faced immediate challenges. Islands of Troy

Township still existed within the city limits. The remaining Township

Commission worked with the City Commission through December 1956

until those parcels were annexed. Two small parcels were annexed to the

City of Birmingham in June 1956. The City of Troy annexed a large parcel in northeastern Troy. On November 6, the City of Troy annexed a fourth parcel that included White Chapel Cemetery. Royal Oak annexed the last parcel of Troy Township land. Royal Oak bordered that parcel on three sides.<sup>36</sup>

#### Exodus From Detroit

The story of the City of Detroit and the role it played in the rise of the suburban metropolitan area was not unique or simple. However, this story was significant, and directly related to the success of Troy. The look and attitude of the new city reflected both its close geographical and economic ties to Detroit and the efforts by suburban citizens to maintain their separate community and identity. It is therefore important to understand those factors that prompted, enabled, or even encouraged the exodus from Detroit. It is also critical to understand what did not contribute to the mass emigration from the urban core.

The status of Detroit as a leading industrial center in the United States and its decline after 1950 resulted from changes following World War II in the national and regional economies, lasting effects of New Deal policies enacted during the Roosevelt administration, massive demographic shifts, and the impact of increased racial tensions. These factors worked like triggers that initiated changes in the way the city functioned as a manufacturing center. The complex series of cause-and-effect reactions toppled the old social and economic structure of Detroit like dominoes that cascaded in chain reactions away from the urban core towards the developing suburbs.

World War II changed Detroit. When the U.S. entered the war, the city's factories were converted to produce tanks, planes, and military vehicles. Detroit soon led the country in the production of military equipment. Abundant jobs and good pay drew thousands to work in the "Arsenal of Democracy." Between 1930 and 1940 those underemployed or unemployed by the Great Depression, including thousands of southern blacks, moved to the city. During that decade, the population of Detroit increased fourteen percent and the African American population in the city doubled (Appendix 2).<sup>37</sup>

However, no new housing was constructed in the city from 1929 through the end of the war. Thus, the influx of 220,000 people caused a serious housing shortage that affected many but was acutely felt by blacks. Most were confined to racially segregated neighborhoods in Black Bottom and Paradise Valley. The homes there were cramped with more than two-thirds identified as substandard and in need of immediate repairs. Only 45 percent had at least one toilet and a bath. <sup>38</sup> Other black enclaves on the west side of the city and in the Eight Mile Road-Wyoming area, while still extremely poor, offered marginally better living conditions. The overall Detroit housing shortage grew more critical when thousands of veterans returned from the war. Many single-family residences were subdivided into one-room apartments, where two or three families lived in a house designed to accommodate five people. Fire hazards, public health concerns, and sanitation issues were staggering.

The ghettos were visual, economic, and cultural blights to the once elegant City of Detroit. Many whites perceived them as the negative result of increased black populations in the city. However, local and federal government policies that controlled the location, improvement, and financing of housing for black and white populations contributed to and exacerbated the problem. The Federal Home Loan Bank Board, real estate brokers, and bankers developed residential Security Maps and Surveys. These ranked residential neighborhoods by the age, condition, and amenities of the houses, the quality of the infrastructures in the region, and the racial, ethnic, and economic homogeneity of the area. The presence of black residents in any area earned that region the lowest "D" rating, which stood for hazardous and high risk. These neighborhoods were colored red on the Home Owner's Loan Corporation (HOLC) maps and were ineligible for building loans or mortgages.<sup>39</sup> Most significant, the Federal Housing Administration (FHA), the source of federally insured, long-term home financing, supported this practice and the exclusion of blacks.

The FHA perpetuated industry's opposition to funding black residential development near white neighborhoods. The FHA regularly refused loans to black homebuilders while underwriting the construction of new homes by whites of similar economic status a few blocks away.<sup>40</sup>

FHA financing was also ineligible for the purchase of older homes that did not comply with modern construction standards or developments that did not meet strict standards.

The FHA did support and finance white suburban developments. Enacted by the Roosevelt Administration in 1934, the Federal Housing Administration promoted large-scale "neighborhood units" or subdivision developments of single-family homes by insuring long-term, low interest, low down payment mortgages for home buyers. If the plans for a large residential development met with the underwriting standards, FHA issued a "conditional commitment" to an approved lender that stated FHA would insure all the home mortgages for that subdivision as long as individual borrowers were qualified. These deals were particularly lucrative for developers as the conditional commitments were based on the projected appraised value of the completed homes and lots. Builders who streamlined construction costs could borrow more money for a project than they needed.

FHA was a safe system because it relied on a detailed appraisal system to eliminate bad risks or properties with inflated values. <sup>41</sup> The appraisal required developers and builders to follow standardized design and engineering features for new construction. Subdivision plats were also required to comply with local zoning ordinances that prescribed lot sizes, setbacks, permitted uses, and building types. The FHA's *Underwriter's Manual* also encouraged deed restrictions or restrictive covenants that covered a wide range of issues from architectural design and maintenance standards to racial exclusions. <sup>42</sup> While the intent was very clear, FHA officials were careful to mask covenants to maintain racial

segregation as practical business decisions. All deed restrictions that ensured high property and neighborhood standards, they insisted, reduced the risk of the loan. However, officials also recognized the power of mortgage insurance in shaping and fulfilling the persistent dream of American home ownership. In a confidential memo written in 1935, FHA Administrator James Moffett told the Housing Advisory Council,

Make it conditional that these new mortgages must be insured under the Housing Act, and through that we could control over-building in sections, which would determine values, or through political pull, building in isolated spots, where it is not a good investment. You could also control the population trend, the neighborhood standard, and material and everything else through the President.<sup>43</sup>

While FHA discriminated against African Americans who wanted to move into better housing or leave urban slums, it facilitated the migration of white middle-class families to the suburbs. The provisions of FHA and the Serviceman's Readjustment Act or GI Bill directly financed suburban lifestyles for millions of Americans. Between 1944 and 1951, approximately eight million veterans received education benefits through the GI Bill. They secured good jobs, qualified for FHA and VA mortgages, and moved into new suburban homes. The provisions of these federal programs foreordained their migration to suburban destinations.<sup>44</sup>

Real estate issues also confronted industrialists. War production had stimulated the development of new production technologies that did not adapt well to old facilities. Modern plants required large tracts of land for single-story installations with ample parking and on-site storage.

Affordable, large sites in the central city were difficult to find. Industrialists looked to relocate their facilities on inexpensive land in rural areas with attractive tax bases. While some Detroit-based industries relocated to southern and western states, others selected sites in the rural counties outside of Detroit.

Corporations further "de-industrialized" to control costs and increase profits. They downsized the workforce from the expanded World War II payroll. Plants were relocated in the south to benefit from lower land prices and taxes and to escape the demands of powerful labor unions that were well established in the north and east. As a result, Detroit lost 134,000 manufacturing jobs after the war while its population of workingaged men and women actually increased.<sup>45</sup>

Plant closures had a ripple effect on the city's economy. When major factories, including Murray Auto Body, Packard, and Studebaker shut down during the 1950s, other auto-related businesses also closed or relocated to area suburbs. Between 1950 and 1956, 124 manufacturing firms moved to communities outside Detroit; 55 of them had relocated out of Detroit. Leading the flight were metal-related firms that had employed approximately twenty percent of the Detroit-area workers in 1950. 46 In a domino effect, the restaurants, taverns, grocers, and other small, independent businesses that had thrived prior to 1950, struggled. Many went out of business.

The economic decline during the 1950s was distinct from past economic lulls and recessions. The long-term reduction of manufacturing job opportunities seemed permanent and has not been reversed to date. The businessmen and the workers who had the financial means to move abandoned Detroit and followed industry to the suburbs. Census and employment figures reflected their exodus. In 1950 there were equal numbers of white-collar workers in city and suburbs. Between 1950 and 1960 almost 180,000 people left Detroit (Appendix 2). Many of those were middle-class white-collar workers who migrated to job opportunities that had moved beyond the city limits. Ten years later the suburban white-collar workforce was nine percent larger than that inside Detroit. <sup>47</sup>

The demographic profile of Detroiters who remained in the city also changed during this period. Between 1950 and 1960, and again in the next decade, the percentage of black residents in the city increased as more blacks migrated into Detroit and, simultaneously, whites sought jobs in suburbia. The net result was Detroit lost 23 percent of its white population, while its black population increased by almost 61 percent. In 1960 African Americans comprised 29 percent of the city's population. In 1970, 44 percent of the City's residents were black (Appendix 2).

Racial demographics also revealed that the percentage of young blacks and senior citizens of both races was increasing. In 1960 approximately 32 percent of the white Detroiters were under the age of twenty compared to 43 percent of blacks. In the decade that followed the

percentage of senior citizens over 65 and living on fixed incomes increased from 9.5 to 11.5 percent. <sup>48</sup> This shift in racial composition and age distribution was critical. Prevailing de facto and du jure Jim Crow policies hampered the ability of the African Americans in Detroit to improve their status in the workplace, to ensure equal educational opportunities, and to improve their overall quality of life. As the percentage of blacks living in the city increased, the significance of racially motivated limitations grew in magnitude and scope and contributed to the overall degeneration of the city. Fear and frustration caused more to leave and further diminish the economic base of the city.

In 1960 the median annual income in Detroit was \$6,769 for whites and \$4,366 for blacks. In the 1970s the annual incomes for all Detroiters fell 4.26 percent while suburban incomes increased the same amount. These reduced incomes in a shrinking population decreased total retail sales in the city from \$524 million in 1958 to \$241 million in 1977. During the same period retail sales in suburban communities rose from \$273 million to \$2.2 billion. As the local economy declined, unemployment and requests for welfare and other public assistance increased, straining the city's financial resources even more. <sup>49</sup>

Property values also declined as businesses and industries left the area. Between 1958 and 1963, assessed valuation in the city fell from \$5.1 billion dollars to \$4.6 billion dollars. When adjusted for inflation, the

State Equalized Value of Detroit properties plunged over 40 percent between 1970 and 1980.<sup>50</sup>

The effect of demographics and the economy on the quality of life was especially evident in education and the Detroit Public Schools. The total number of students attending Detroit Public Schools remained nearly static between 1963 and 1970. In 1963 nearly equal numbers of black and white children were registered. But, by 1970, when 44 percent of Detroiters were black, 64 percent of Detroit's school population was African American, 35 percent was white, and one percent was Hispanic. In the following decade, African Americans comprised 63 percent of Detroit's population, yet 86 percent of the children in school were black while only 12 percent were white and two percent were Hispanic. However, whites and senior citizens still comprised a majority of the electorate in the city and controlled the rate of school tax increases.<sup>51</sup> Voters who did not have children enrolled in school turned down a number of school millage requests during this period. They saw no compelling reasons to invest their limited financial resources in the education of someone else's children or on another race. Yet the deteriorating school system added to the total decline of the city, contributed to reduced property values, and further stimulated the exodus by families with school-aged children.

The combined effects of urban blight and suburban flight were staggering. They were included the dollars and cents of lost wages and revenues. They resulted in crumbling schools and poor test results,

deserted buildings, and empty shop fronts. They fed racial tensions and violence that erupted in the streets. However, beyond Eight Mile Road, the exodus transformed the landscape through new construction sites, real estate advertisements, and shopping centers built next to old farm produce stands. The exodus changed quiet, relatively isolated communities like Troy Township into bustling commercial and residential centers. It forced the residents to redefine and reinvent their community both physically and socially.

## Zoning and Master Plan for The City of Tomorrow

The leadership of the newly established City of Troy was composed of men who had led the Township and the successful campaign for incorporation. The mayor, Frank Costello, and three of the new City Commissioners, George Ford (a former Township Commissioner), Ernest Gray, and Roy Duncan had served together on the Charter Commission. Mr. Gray was also the chairman of the Citizens for Incorporation Committee, the Fire Chief, and a member of the Township Planning Commission. The other City Commission members included Planning Commission and Zoning Board member, Donald Lance, former Township Commissioner, Elmer Lowe, and George Yeokum. Norman Barnard was appointed the first City Manager. He had previously served as the Township Supervisor and was a major proponent of the campaign for incorporation.<sup>52</sup> This core group pursued incorporation to preserve the integrity of Troy's borders and its tax base. Now the men faced the challenge of developing a vision and sound development plan for the fledgling city they had worked to establish. They were keenly aware of Troy's need for improved water and sewer service and felt strongly that controlled development in compliance with a strong zoning ordinance was critical to the success of the municipality. Moreover, they recognized that

rapid growth was inevitable and that Troy had the potential to grow into a highly desirable place to live and work.

The City of Troy was geographically large because the local leadership had included as much township land as possible in the petition for incorporation as a home rule city. In December 1955 the new city included 26.5 square miles. That total area increased to 33 square miles following the annexation of parcels of township land that were deleted from the proposed city in 1955 to establish the mandated population density for incorporation. Troy was larger than Royal Oak (11.7 square miles), Pontiac (20 square miles) or Southfield (31 square miles). The rural landscape was also void of natural or manmade features that might have predetermined patterns of development. There were no significant lakes, rivers, or quarries and limited topography that delineated regions. Because the Grand Trunk Railroad bypassed Troy in the previous century, no one in the city lived on the "wrong side of the tracks." Most significantly, the City of Troy had not grown from a central business district. New development would not emanate from a preexisting downtown area. Rather, the open farm fields and woodlots provided a nearly blank page on which to plot the city. The first step was to establish a zoning ordinance and master plan for development.

Initially the City of Troy adopted the Troy Township zoning ordinance "by reference" in the City Charter. In November 1957 this action was ruled illegal in Oakland County Circuit Court. In a verbal opinion

Judge George B. Hartrick stated the adopted zoning ordinance was invalid because the city had not held public hearings nor had it followed procedures established by state law. This opinion was rendered in a suit filed against The City of Troy by James Suitermeister. This Troy resident was denied his request to rezone 26 acres of commercial property as industrial land. Following the court's decision, City Attorney Jack Hutton appealed to the City Commission to work quickly to enact a legal zoning ordinance. He stated that without legally enforceable zoning regulations, the city was vulnerable to unwanted and inappropriate development. Hutton recognized the City Commission's intent to restrict commercial and industrial development to specific areas in the city. <sup>53</sup>

On June 1, 1956 the city had retained on a part-time basis the planning services of Vilican Lehman Associates to complete a series of studies for incorporation into a master plan for development. George Vilican was the Master Planner for the City of Detroit Planning Commission, and Chuck Lehman served on that same commission as a Senior Planner. Their firm, established in 1954, provided planning analyses, landscape architecture designs, and urban and community designs for cities in the Detroit Metropolitan area. Following Mr. Hutton's request, the City of Troy asked George Vilican to develop a zoning ordinance. Vilican complied. Then, between January and March 1957, Mayor Frank Costello presided over four public hearings where hundreds of irate citizens voiced their objections to the zoning map and ordinance

proposed by Mr. Vilican. Some newspaper accounts suggested over one thousand residents attended the first meeting. Subsequent hearings were held in the high school gym to accommodate the hundreds of citizens who wished to voice their concerns.

Many residents objected to changes in zoning for residential or commercial properties they owned, and that the current uses of their properties would be considered non-conforming. Further, they would be restricted from remodeling, expanding, or rebuilding if 60 percent or more of their structure was destroyed. Others objected to any new commercial zoning adjacent to residentially zoned areas. Some residents did not want any zoning ordinance and preferred that the city develop without restrictions. Norman Barnard led a large group of citizens who bitterly protested that the ordinance did not include agricultural zoning and completely disregarded the wishes of those who preferred to keep the area somewhat rural. Barnard also objected to the Commission's rush to enact a new ordinance. He suggested the city legally adopt the old township ordinance and spend one or two years working on a new plan developed after public hearings were held in each section.<sup>55</sup> Newspaper accounts also noted that residents from surrounding communities, including Bloomfield and Avon Townships attended the meetings because their communities were experiencing similar problems.

Following each hearing Vilican Lehman made adjustments to the proposed ordinance that addressed citizen concerns, including removal of

the non-conforming status of residences in commercial areas. City officials were confident that the ordinance had the support of most residents when only 150 people attended the final hearing. On March 25, 1957 Ordinance No. 23 was approved by a 4-2 vote of the City Commissioners. George Vilican defended the need for the comprehensive ordinance.

When built up Troy will have about 133,000 people, of which 17,960 will be school children. You will require 250 acres for schools, 145 acres for parks and recreation areas, 198 acres for shopping centers, and 1,872 acres for industry. While you are yet in a state of open, rolling land without too much built-up area, you must plan this gigantic growth or you will end up like Detroit, unable to find land for schools, parks and even industry. . . . Under this ordinance and your planning for the future, we are hoping to take the long view and avoid the mistakes others have made. <sup>56</sup>

Following approval of the ordinance three local newspapers published copies of an editorial praising Troy for having the foresight to plan for the future.

Between 1956 and 1957 Vilican Lehman also produced for the City of Troy five studies including:

- 1. Residential Neighborhoods
- 2. Commercial Areas
- 3. Industrial Areas
- 4. Parks, Recreation, and Public Facilities
- 5. Streets and Thoroughfares<sup>57</sup>

In their first studies the planners projected the city's population would reach 100,000 persons by 1980 and achieve maximum capacity of

134,000, based on the continued expansion of the Detroit Metropolitan Area. They defined Troy as "part of the industrial complex of Detroit and its urban area." These predictions were based on the long-term suburban development patterns in other industrial centers and Detroit Metropolitan Area demographics since the 1920s. Oakland County and Troy would experience rapid population growth within a few years.

Vilican Lehman stressed the need to develop and adhere to a sound master plan. It should include a balanced ratio of residential, commercial, and industrial growth to achieve and maintain quality living and working environments and a sound economy. The combination of strong, enforceable zoning regulations with the compatible master plan would provide the framework for the future. They would control the location, quality, and type of growth in any given area in the city. In turn, the City of Troy must offer developers infrastructures that were critical to building cost-effective, commercially attractive development projects. These included adequate gas and electric power, water and sewers, and access to major transportation routes.

Following World War II more than 50 percent of those employed in the Metropolitan Area worked in manufacturing. Sixty percent of that manufacturing was directly related to the automobile industry.<sup>59</sup> The production of durable goods in Detroit had established that city as a leading American industrial center but had also rendered it particularly vulnerable to shifts in the national economy. To improve long-term stability

the metropolitan region needed to diversify and expand the production of non-durable goods. Detroit had also modernized production processes and implemented new technologies through the war years. New industrial plants that required larger, single-story building sites were required to house modern production facilities. The manufacturing plants also required access to utilities and transportation systems for raw materials, finished products, and the work force.

Geographically Troy offered a prime location, twenty miles north of the urban core. There was, within the new city borders, abundant open land. It was logical and predictable that industry would look to suburban Oakland County and the City of Troy to locate new facilities. The challenge faced by Troy was to encourage those developers that would contribute to a sound tax base to support the community, while incorporating them in a development plan that would not diminish the appearance and quality of adjacent residential areas.

Thus, Troy development patterns were directly related to and dependent on development in Detroit. However, according to George Vilican additional factors affected the growth of specific suburbs.

Some individual municipalities in the area will have "more than their share" as other(s) will desire no industry or very little. Physical characteristics of a community may determine this "share" to a great degree. Location on waterways, railroad lines or expressways, and level topography may result in the location of certain industries. 60

Vilican Lehman proceeded with a careful analysis of the various needs of different heavy and light industries compared with the physical features found in Troy. They also determined that 2,100 acres of industrial development would generously support the predicted capacity population of 134,000, stating that Troy's industrial developments would support employees resident in the city, and in surrounding communities with less industry. That number was increased to 2,675 acres in the 1965 Future Land Use Plan to include a proposed research center to be located in the northwestern part of the city.<sup>61</sup>

Water was an issue in Troy. The city did not have access to large quantities of raw water. Heavy industrial plants requiring excessive quantities of water for their processes would more likely look for building locations south of Detroit adjacent to the Detroit River in Trenton, Monroe, and Wyandotte. Further, adequate supplies of treated water would be available only after completion of water and sewer systems that linked Troy to City of Detroit water supplies.

The Grand Trunk Railroad that had limited Troy Corners' development in the 1800s also determined the types of manufacturing facilities that would build in the City of Troy. Heavy industry that required rail transit looked to communities like Warren. The Penn Central Railroad ran straight through that city and provided a corridor for industrial development. Vilican Lehman recommended a corridor of light industry, reliant only on road transportation, in the southern sections of Troy below

Big Beaver Road (Appendix 4). Industrial development in Troy completed prior to 1955 was concentrated in this area. The southern part of the city was flat and more conducive to industrial development. It was also closer to industrial expansion that had progressed northward from Detroit. Forty percent of the factories in Detroit relied on highways to transport raw materials, finished products, and the work force. Stephenson Highway and Maple Road in southern Troy, plus the anticipated construction of expressways, connected Troy to the metropolitan highway system. Finally, the installation of water mains and sewer lines to serve the facilities was more economical in the south where the lines did not need to be extended long distances through residential areas.

Limiting manufacturing to light industry such as metal and plastics fabrication, made residential planning easier. Vilican Lehman sought to buffer neighborhoods from the traffic, noise, and the appearance of industrial sites. Greenbelts, freeway right-of-ways, and transition areas zoned for uses more compatible with residential neighborhoods effectively ensured quality development for both industry and homes.

Equal care was shown in designing the residential sections of Troy.

There were more hills and topographic features in the northern and western portions of the city to enhance the aesthetics of future residential areas. While light industry was restricted to the area south of Big Beaver Road, the rest of the city was divided in subunits termed Residential Planning Areas. 62 Man-made or natural features including major

thoroughfares developed from the old section line roads, significant non-residential areas, creeks, and other topographic features provided the borders for each Planning Area. Each unit contained facilities and services required by the population living in that Area. These included the following:

- A centrally located, public elementary school and playgrounds,
- Park areas, preferably located in conjunction with the school, and
- Local streets having continuity with the Planning Area but designed to discourage unrelated through traffic.<sup>63</sup>

The plan developed by Vilican Lehman included 36 Residential Planning Areas with single-family homes (81 percent) and multiple-family housing (nineteen percent.) Ideally, the planners envisioned areas where no child needed to cross a main road to reach his school. However, six consolidated school districts had boundaries that extended into the City of Troy, and some travel to schools outside of Planning Areas was necessary.

In addition to the proposed school-parks, the Master Plan also called for nine additional neighborhood parks, four citywide parks, and recreational facilities adjacent to the two high schools. Over 470 acres were earmarked for parks and recreational development. Vilican Lehman recommended early acquisition of these lands before residential and

commercial development took place to secure sufficient quantities of parkland at good locations for reasonable rates.<sup>64</sup>

The thoroughfares that delineated the Residential Planning Areas remained the primary street system for the city. Rochester Road and Stephenson Highway were identified as the major north-south thoroughfares. Prior to 1960 Stephenson Highway was considered a potential future alignment for the proposed expressway. When an alternate route for Interstate 75 was selected, the Stephenson Highway right-of-way was decreased. Big Beaver Road was designated the major east-west thoroughfare. The planners recognized that Big Beaver Road linked Macomb County and Selfridge Air National Guard Base (where the road is called Sixteen Mile Road and Metropolitan Parkway) to Oakland County. West of Troy, Big Beaver Road is called Quarton Road. When I-75 was constructed, Big Beaver Road served to link Macomb County with the interstate. It became a major inter-county connector. 65

Prior to 1960 there was little commercial development in any part of Troy. Residents traveled to Birmingham, Clawson, Pontiac, Royal Oak, and Warren for goods and services (Appendix 5). The rural nature of the community and the fact that Troy lacked a downtown commercial or business district required the planners to determine suitable locations for commercial developments.

The planners were sensitive to the conflicts and problems associated with mingling incompatible businesses. Extensive commercial

strip developments along main roads in Warren, Ferndale, and other communities resulted in traffic congestion, inadequate parking, and unappealing, dense development. Alternatively, communities with central shopping districts faced new and increasing challenges to maintain the economic vitality of their downtowns. Northland Shopping Center opened in Southfield, Michigan in 1954. "As soon as J.L. Hudson's opened Northland, its biggest suburban outlet and one of the earliest in the nation, sales downtown began to fall."66 The success of Northland as a regional destination contributed significantly to a national trend by American consumers to shop at regional centers and malls. Chuck Lehman related that his firm and the city wished to avoid both problems. Early in the planning stage there was consensus among the city leadership and their planners not to develop a traditional downtown and to avoid the pitfalls of endless strip developments.<sup>67</sup> Therefore, the Future Land Use Plan called for clusters of commercial developments at the intersections of major roads. The distribution of the centers was based on varying population densities in the city and the location of existing commercial centers with the goal to site proposed commercial uses near similar or appropriate land uses. Troy would offer shopping and commercial services convenient to Residential Planning Areas and at two large shopping centers (Oakland Mall and the Somerset Collection) within the city limits. These large retail outlets would also draw customers from other communities.

Vilican Lehman considered office development as a distinct type of commercial development. General-purpose offices included accommodations for doctors, lawyers, and other professionals. Special-use offices were designated for larger companies, corporations, and headquarters facilities. In 1965 the planners allocated 200 acres of land along Big Beaver Road for general-purpose and special-purpose offices. While they had accurately predicted many of the industrial, commercial, and residential needs of the city, they had not fully anticipated the city's role as a regional center for corporate offices. In 2002, 1,100 acres of office-zoned land were developed in Troy. These developments along the Golden Corridor represented some of the most significant contributions to the city's tax base.

A formal master plan was not prepared until 1965, but the preliminary studies served as a guideline, and thus, a master plan in practice. Between 1956 and adoption of the *Future Land Use Plan: Troy Michigan* in 1965, Interstate 75 was constructed through Oakland County. During that period the City of Troy also revised residential lot standards, and selected a Civic Center Site. These changes in the City prompted updated studies. The reports issued in 1963 and 1964 by Vilican Lehman included the following:

- 1. Economic Base Analysis
- 2. Land Use, Population, Residential Neighborhoods
- 3. Recreation and Community Facilities

## 4. Public Improvements Plan

The progression of studies suggested modifications to the basic tenets outlined in the original studies. More studies were conducted during the following decades and further adjustments were made. However, the basic plan approved in 1965 remained unchanged and is still in effect as the City of Troy approaches its fiftieth anniversary.

In the 1965 document, the planners stated emphatically that the plan was not rigid, but rather a guide for decision-making. "It should be thought of as a flexible framework within which public and private action may take place thus producing a City in which the citizens are afforded a maximum of convenience and enjoyment."

An editorial published in 1959 in *The Royal Oak Tribune* commented on the forethought exhibited in Troy's planning efforts and the reactions of the residents.

Troy. . . . decided soon after its incorporation to plan land use— and to zone it accordingly— so as to avoid the mistakes now so evident in the older cities. This was — and is—a good step if Troy is to be a stable community and avoid the repetition of haphazard boom followed by steady decay in land values. . . . The principles behind Troy's zoning are valid and in the public interest. 70

The author also remarked that some residents protested against zoning regulations and master plan provisions that classified as residential the property along the mile roads (thoroughfares that followed the old section line roads.) They felt their property values would increase if their land could be rezoned for commercial use. But the editorial contended, that

while the ordinance and plan restricted individual property owners, they were designed to preserve the greatest good for the largest portion of the population.

Planning Commission records reinforce comments made by Chuck
Lehman that individuals and developers repeatedly petitioned the city to
waive its Master Plan and Zoning Ordinance to enable non-conforming
developments. However, the Planning Commission, City Commission and
city management consistently refused these proposals. Troy gained a
reputation among developers for steadfastly enforcing the provisions of its
Master Plan and Zoning Ordinance, even when that action meant turning
away valuable and desirable developments.<sup>71</sup> While the strong position
held by city officials may have dissuaded some companies, other business
leaders were attracted to communities with clearly defined development
plans. The Detroit Edison Company published the following:

Industry being sought by more and more communities today, is becoming (increasingly) inquisitive about the planning and zoning of communities seeking them. One of the major points on the check list of all industrial location engineers today is "does this town have a plan, and do they know where they are going?"<sup>72</sup>

Troy leadership also encouraged reviews, modifications, and updates to the plan, but remained consistent in its support of the fundamental concepts outlined in the earliest reports by Vilican Lehman Associates. <sup>73</sup> These actions had the approval of the majority of residents. Newspaper accounts for local elections show candidates, including Mayor Doyle,

Councilman Anthony Pallotta, and Councilman (later Mayor) Jeanne Stein, supported enforcement of the Master Plan and consistently won reelection.

## Two Elbow Curves on I-75

Transportation is a critical component in the structure of any society. Throughout American history, federal and state officials, businessmen, industrialists, and farmers all recognized that the nation's commerce depended on efficient transportation systems. The mass production of automobiles and trucks between 1900 and 1941 shifted the country's reliance on trains to ground transit. Additionally, Americans became passionate about buying and driving their own cars. In 1905 there were 78,000 cars registered in the country. By 1910 that figure had jumped to 458,000. In the next decade, automobile sales increased at a remarkable rate. During 1921, Americans purchased 1.6 million automobiles. Between the 1920s and the 1930s traffic on U.S. roads increased 250 percent. By 1940 there were 27.4 million cars and 4.8 million trucks registered and driven in the country. 74 Businessmen and private citizens embraced the flexibility and degree of personal choice afforded by the new vehicles.

The dramatic increase in traffic on the roads highlighted the need for new highway construction. The questions that plagued everyone were "Where should the roads be built?" and "How should they be financed?" Between 1916 and 1930 states matched federal highway grants on a dollar-for-dollar basis to construct and improve a system of trunk lines.

Between 1919 and 1929 every state instituted a gasoline tax, following the logic that those who used the roads should pay for them. However, the debate concerning funding heated up as special interest groups supported different types of road systems. The conflict was between local truckers who used the farm-to-market road network and interstate truckers who used rural through-routes and urban roads. Farmers and regional haulers supported traditional road building that used federal funds generated through gasoline taxes and state revenues. Long-distance truckers who used more gas objected. They did not wish to bear the greater financial burden for highway development and lobbied to eliminate the federal gasoline tax and to fund intercity and urban routes using federal aid. Local roads, they maintained, should be financed using local resources. The funding conflict stalled progress on a national highway plan for over twenty years.

Prior to the 1950s state highways, like local roads, had unrestricted access. Homes and businesses developed along the routes. As traffic congestion increased, engineers and highway departments debated the value of using "on" and "off" ramps to provide limited access to expressways. These would allow higher speeds but less convenience and access for local businesses. Thus, a second debate emerged between proponents of limited access highways that favored the interests of interstate transportation and residents of local communities who did not

want to lose business that sped by their town but did not go through or stop in it.

During the Great Depression President Roosevelt also considered highway construction as a source of economic recovery and jobs but determined that it would not generate as much work as other programs. As World War II approached, funds to build roads were limited to projects essential to the national defense. Normal federal road construction was not resumed until after September 6, 1945 when Harry Truman dropped wartime controls.<sup>75</sup>

Congressional approval of the Interstate Highway Act in 1956 was a major achievement of the Eisenhower Administration. The discussion over highway finance and administration had been deadlocked since the 1930s. Much of President Eisenhower's first term was focused on negotiating an acceptable compromise between special interest groups and the critical need for a modern, efficient interstate transportation system. The final bill provided for the construction of a 41,000-mile system (later increased to 45,000 miles), financed almost entirely with federal funds (90 percent). President Eisenhower listed four reasons for signing the measure:

- 1. Current highways were unsafe.
- 2. Traffic congestion had increased significantly.
- 3. Poor roads increased transportation costs for businesses.

 Cold War civil defense must be ensured. In case of atomic war, there must be efficient evacuation routes from target areas.<sup>76</sup>

The system did improve traffic safety and the economical transport of raw materials, products, and people, and provided efficient routes between strategic military locations. Equally important, it had an enormous effect on aging industrial cities and new suburban communities. Shortly after the bill was signed into law, urban architect Lewis Mumford wrote, "When the American people, through their Congress, voted a little while ago for a \$26 billion highway program, the most charitable thing to assume is that they hadn't the faintest notion of what they were doing."

Like the railroads of the previous centuries, interstate highway routes determined the vitality and future of many communities. Towns on old highway routes languished or even disappeared when the new highways bypassed them. Communities like the City of Troy that were located along the new right-of-ways flourished. Finally, interstates that were designed to make the big cities more accessible also provided convenient exit routes. Urban cores in cities like Detroit lost industries, communities, and residents to the sprawl of suburban development. High speed, limited-access expressways enabled workers to live greater distances from their jobs. The daily commute was now feasible, affordable, and convenient. Chuck Lehman, who served as a Senior Planner for the City of Detroit and a planner during the 1950s for the City

of Troy when I-75 was built stated: "We all thought that the expressways would bring traffic into Detroit. They would make it easier for workers and businessmen to get into the city. None of us thought that they would do the opposite. They actually were the roads out." The emigration of middle-class workers and their families followed the exodus of industries. The elderly, poor, and African Americans who were unsupported by the government and lived in segregated neighborhoods because of Jim Crow policies, remained and became victims of "urban renewal."

Postwar highway and urban redevelopment projects further exacerbated Detroit's housing crisis, especially for Blacks. Detroit's city planners promised that the proposed system of cross-city expressways would dramatically improve the city's residential areas, as well as bolster the city's economy. . . . Both promises were false. . . . inner city highway construction, in Detroit as in other major American cities, North and South, (was) "a handy device for razing slums."

Interstate 75 was identified as the north-south highway in Michigan that would link the international locks at Sault Ste. Marie with Detroit and later to Florida. Sault Ste. Marie was recognized as a significant strategic military location because of the enormous amounts of raw materials, including copper and iron ore, that were transported from the western Great Lakes, through the locks, to Detroit, and on through the St. Lawrence Seaway to east coast cities and Europe. Sections of the highway between Mackinaw City and Saginaw were completed before construction began in the Detroit area. <sup>80</sup> Local plans dating back to the 1920s also called for that same interstate highway to connect the

industrial and automotive plants in Detroit with those in Pontiac, and then later with the industrial cities to the north including Flint, Saginaw, Bay City, and Midland. The proposed route between Detroit and Pontiac followed a northwest alignment immediately west of Woodward Avenue, which was the main road connecting the two cities (Appendix 6). 81

The Route Location Division of the Michigan State Highway

Department reevaluated the older concepts of the highway and, based on
the results of the Detroit Area Traffic Study conducted between 19531955, recommended that the route be moved east of Woodward. The
population, vehicular traffic, manufacturing, and defense-related industries
in that section of the metropolitan area had all increased dramatically.

When the expressway was routed east of Woodward, it necessarily went
through Troy.

A "specific segmental study area" was identified by the Highway

Department as the first step in the routing process. The southern terminus

of the area was located at the intersection of Holbrook and the Chrysler

Freeway (I-75) in Detroit. The northern endpoint was the intersection of

Telegraph (M-24) and Square Lake Road in Bloomfield Township.

Between those two points and east of Woodward Avenue, a "planning

corridor" was established that:

 Was integrated with existing distribution routes in the Metropolitan Area;

- Bypassed other established cities without interfering with their future growth;
- Provided access to existing county roads that were, or might become, principal routes in the area;
- 4. Provided access to planned areas for development; and
- 5. Used the best engineering and construction techniques. <sup>82</sup>
  The studies conducted by the Route Location Division of the Michigan
  State Highway Department began in late 1957. They used information
  from the Detroit Area Traffic Study, the Detroit Metropolitan Area Regional
  Planning Commission, the City of Troy Planning Commission, plus the
  studies and recommendations of Troy's consulting planners, Vilican
  Lehman Associates. During 1958 five different routes (with some
  intermediate modifications) were proposed that were inside the "planning
  corridor" and that conformed to the following five stated criteria:
  - Route #1 paralleled Rochester Road and extended north through the city (Appendix 7).
  - 2. Route #2 followed Big Beaver Road west to Crooks Road bending towards Pontiac at South Blvd., which is the northern boundary of the City of Troy. Vilican Lehman determined this route based on recommendations from their master plan studies and consultation with officials from Chrysler Corporation who considered locating a research facility in Section 9 (Appendix 7).

- 3. Route #3 entered Troy near the intersection of Stephenson Highway and Fourteen Mile Road and followed a diagonal alignment through the city to the intersection of M-24 and Square Lake Road (Appendix 7).
- 4. Route #4 was a further refinement of Route #2. It entered Troy near Stephenson Highway and paralleled Big Beaver Road, turning north at Crooks Road, and west at Square Lake Road to the intersection at M-24. This route was modified by moving the north-south portion from the west side of Crooks Road one half mile east between Crooks and Livernois. This alignment was labeled the "Southern Route" (Appendix 8).
- 5. Route #5 combined elements of Routes 2, 3, and 4. It paralleled Stephenson Highway between Rochester Road and John R Road, bending to the west as it crossed Wattles Road and angled northwest at Livernois, following a diagonal path to a point west of Crooks. There it paralleled Square Lake Road to the intersection at M-24 (Appendix 9).

Route #1 was quickly eliminated as a suitable choice because plans to install the Twelve Town Drain near Rochester Road made freeway excavations in that area infeasible. Route #3 was direct and therefore more economical to construct. However, George Vilican argued

that the diagonal route was costly because it decreased property values. He stated.

". . . . it created a number of triangular parcels, bounded by the proposed expressway and existing section line roads. These triangular parcels are too small in acreage to allow adequate residential development, in an area planned, zoned, and developing in the highest category of single-family residential use." 83

In turn, Vilican lobbied for Route #4 because it did not bisect the city, individual Residential Planning Units, nor did it create unusable, oddly shaped parcels of land. The "stair step" route fit into Troy's Master Plan and delineated and separated the City's proposed Residential Planning Units. In addition, the portion of I-75 that paralleled Big Beaver Road provided convenient access to that portion of the city zoned for light industrial and commercial development. Vilican also maintained that Route #4 provided access to the 1,700-acre site along Long Lake Road owned by Chrysler Corporation. It had been suggested that Chrysler might develop the site into a massive research facility with 8,000 to 9,000 employees. Immediate access to I-75 was important for those commuting daily to work by car.

George Vilican and his firm emphatically endorsed Routes #4 and #5, which were longer, and thus, more costly than the straight-line alignment suggested in Route #3. The configuration of Route #4, in particular, was preferred. But this stair step design was unique because it incorporated two nearly right angle turns. Some in the Highway

Department dubbed the unprecedented design the "Vilican Lehman Folly.<sup>84</sup> However, Vilican maintained that route provided the best integration of the Master Plan and the concept of discrete Neighborhood Planning Units. While this alignment initially incurred additional material costs for road construction, it preserved and enhanced long-term property values that were critical to the development of the city and its sound financial future.

Both Routes #4 and #5 conformed to the requirements outlined by the Federal Interstate and Defense Highway System and the standards prescribed by the City of Troy Master Plan. Therefore on January 14, 1959, representatives of the Michigan State Highway Department submitted to the Troy City Commission resolutions providing for the two alternative interstate highway routes through the city. In a 4-2 vote with one absentee, the City approved in Resolution 59-42 the selection of Route #4, also known as the southern route.

This decision was not without controversy in the city. Two separate lawsuits filed against the City of Troy and the State Highway Department protested the selected alignment. A homeowners association and White Chapel Cemetery initiated the court cases. On March 21, 1959 the Troy Meadows Home Owners' Association, a non-profit organization composed of residents living in the Troy Meadows Subdivision located at the southwest corner of Wattles at Livernois, filed suit in Oakland County Circuit Court. They alleged that the City Commissioners Roy Duncan,

Louis Yanich, and Clifford F. Sutermeister, Jr., each had a personal and financial interest in the choice of the two expressway routes as each owned property at or near the two proposed alignments. Troy Meadows maintained that the City Charter expressly prohibited Commissioners from voting on any question "in which he has a financial interest other than the common public interest."85 They also maintained that the Commission passed Resolution 59-42 without first holding a public hearing with proper notification to the public, and that the lack of proper notification and public hearings constituted an illegal taking. The suit further contended that the southern route that was selected (Route #4) cost approximately \$1 million more to construct than the northern route (Route #5), and that the northern route was safer for motorists than the southern route. But plaintiffs also alleged that these factors were ignored because of the personal financial interest of the City Commissioners and the less safe more expensive alternative was selected.

Judge Russell Holland ruled that the Commissioners who approved Resolution 59-42 only granted to the State Highway Commissioner the City of Troy's consent to a proposed alignment of the highway. The general route did not specify which particular parcels of land would be purchased for the right-of-way or what compensation might be paid for specific properties. The Commissioners could not know for certain if their own land holdings would gain or lose value when the specific right-of-way within the route was determined. The court also noted that if the

commissioners who owned property near the proposed routes had abstained from voting, it would have been impossible to pass any resolution for lack of a quorum. The decision did not address the allegation that the public had not been properly notified of the impending decision or had been denied the opportunity to state their concerns and preferences in a public hearing.<sup>86</sup>

White Chapel Memorial Association filed a second lawsuit in

August 1960 against The State Highway Commissioner, John C. Mackie,
The State Highway Department, the City of Troy, and the Oakland County
Road Commission for taking ten acres in the southeast corner of the
cemetery for the freeway right-of-way. White Chapel Cemetery,
established in 1925, included 219 acres of land located at the intersection
of Crooks and Long Lake roads. The plaintiffs stated that the City of Troy
refused to move the route east of the cemetery property.

White Chapel was carefully designed to meet stringent standards to provide functionality and "garden type" aesthetics. The loss of ten acres disrupted the drainage system on the property and the symmetrical design of roads, monuments, and plots that ensured every grave was within 200 feet of a road. This limited the distance pallbearers had to carry a coffin.

The loss of the land also represented a large financial hardship for the Association. The ten acres included the lowest elevation on the site. In 1960 this part of the cemetery was used as a depository for soils removed when graves were dug. Using their own land as a fill site saved the

Association \$56,000 in fees based on 1960 costs. In addition, when the ten acres was filled and improved, White Chapel planned to plat the land into 10,000 gravesites with a minimum total value of \$1,300,000.

White Chapel also stated that the owner of property east of the proposed route was willing to sell his land for use as an expressway, with the understanding that White Chapel would purchase any of the property not used for the expressway that existed between the expressway and White Chapel's easterly boundary. Not to relocate the right-of way was "arbitrary, unreasonable, confiscatory, and undue waste of tax funds, and contrary to the best interests of the people of this state as well as the United States."

In October 1960 Judge Stanton G. Dondero ruled that under the Rural Cemeteries (Sec. 10 of Act 12 of P.A. of 1869), private corporations operating cemeteries could withhold assent to a public taking. The tenacre parcel in question was cemetery land, and the Board of Directors had not agreed to it being taken for the highway. Thus, the highway department could not take the land. Following this ruling the Michigan State Highway Department moved I-75 east of the cemetery.

In 1961 the interstate right-of-way between 11 ½ Mile Road in Royal Oak and Walton Road in Avon Township was graded and overpasses constructed. In 1963 the portion of the expressway that ran through Troy, between Stephenson Highway and the M-24 exchange at Square Lake Road, was completed and opened to traffic. <sup>88</sup>

The impact of I-75 on Troy was obvious and immediate. Six years after it opened, on one spring day in 1969, 47,000 vehicles entered and left Troy by I-75. That same day 250,000 vehicles arrived in or departed from the city on surface roads. <sup>89</sup> Traffic studies conducted fifteen years earlier, on one day in May 1954, counted as few as 141 cars and no more than 10,144 cars on any section line road in the Township. <sup>90</sup>

The interstate also reduced the travel time from Detroit to Troy by 50 percent, cutting it from one hour to thirty minutes. Initially more accidents occurred along the worrisome elbow curves. Those rates were lowered after traffic engineers installed new guardrails and solid lane striping that eliminated lane changing on the curves. Careful location of non-residential developments along the freeway corridor, and the use of greenbelts and other means to shield homes from the view and noise of the traffic, minimized the negative effects of eight miles of freeway right-of-way through the community. Vilican Lehman's Folly was not so foolish after all. Their design that conformed to the future plan of the fledgling city brought residents, employees, businessmen, and commerce into the community with minimal negative impacts.

## Water, The Essential Ingredient

The Detroit News reported in 1969 that Troy City Manager Paul York credited the successful rapid development of the city "to the completion that year of the sewer system." Opening Interstate 75 in Oakland County, the article mentioned, "also helped." Sanitation and storm drains and the installation of water lines that provided Troy with necessary supplies of good water were critical to residential and commercial development in the city.

While Oakland County had abundant fresh water resources, including large lakes, rivers, and underground wells, supplies of high-quality water in Troy Township were more limited. Many of the public and private residential wells yielded water with high concentrations of sulfur and minerals. Chemical analysis in 1960 of two city wells found excessive concentrations of iron, silica, and manganese, plus minerals and salts. These compounds contributed to very hard, rusty water, and "black water" that resulted from bacterial growth in the presence of iron—manganese compounds. Naturally occurring brine springs in Section 10 were used to fill a popular, privately owned salt water swimming pool located near the intersection of Long Lake and Rochester Roads.

Some of the rural homes in the area did not have functioning wells.

Local resident Jim Hammond recalled that his parents built a small home

south of Big Beaver Road near Livernois in the late 1930s. Every evening his dad strapped metal cans on the front of their old Ford and drove to a nearby gas station to fill the cans from its spigot so the family had water for the next day. 94 A memo sent to the City Commission in 1956 by M. Yancer, President of the South East Troy Home Owners Improvement Association, reinforced Hammond's recollections. The memo read in part:

We sincerely hope you will give our district. . . between John R and Dequindre, north of Fourteen Mile (Road) every consideration for a special assessment for water. . . .for the past fifteen years many of our members have been carrying water from gas stations etc. Some have tried to have wells drilled with no success, only dry holes. We implore you to give our area every consideration. . . . We are willing to pay our share of the cost of the frontage and we're willing to pay it on our taxes over a five or ten year period. 95

Proper disposal of sewage was equally important. Soils in many parts of Troy did not percolate well. In these areas storm water pooled on the surface and caused flooding. Domestic wastewater deposited in septic fields did not move down through the soil but migrated laterally where it was more likely to contaminate the well of an adjacent neighbor.

Prior to Troy's incorporation as a home rule city, the township's residents had adjusted to their water supplies. Furthermore, the township's rural homes with septic fields were not close enough together to cause serious contamination concerns. However, denser subdivision developments in the new City of Troy posed significant threats to public health and quality of life. In February 1956 the Michigan State Board of Health halted the issuance of water system permits in the city until some

overall water plan was submitted.<sup>96</sup> The following month Howard Kelley, Chairman of the Oakland County Water Sub-Committee, reported that the problem of water supply in Oakland and Macomb counties was urgent.<sup>97</sup> In 1956 Troy was the only South Oakland city still not using Detroit water.<sup>98</sup> Therefore, Troy's city officials focused a great deal of time and energy on solving the problems of water acquisition and wastewater disposal. The process involved cooperative efforts between the City of Troy and neighboring communities, financing, and citizen support.

City officials explored new sources of water and the installation of new water mains to supply the increasing numbers of Troy residents and businesses. The first step taken by the city was to transfer ownership of the Troy Township water system to the City of Troy. In a special election held June 5, 1956, 402 residents approved the transfer and 46 residents cast ballots against the proposal. Then the city considered options for acquiring water, storing, and transmitting it.

"City water" from Detroit was the best long-term source of water for Troy. In 1961 Detroit's three plants had a combined capacity of two billion gallons per day and supplied 47 communities including Birmingham, Berkley, and Farmington. The quality of Detroit water was much higher than that found in Troy wells. Detroit had also planned the construction of three large mains that would supply water to the city by 1975. The total cost for the water project was projected at \$5,506,820. This total was divided among nine water districts identified within the city limits. 99

To solve immediate water supply needs, the City of Troy negotiated with its southern neighbor, Clawson, to lease or purchase that community's two wells on Axtell Street. Clawson had used the wells before obtaining water from the City of Detroit. Although the Axtell wells were no longer necessary to Clawson residents, Clawson's mayor was unwilling to sell the wells, but agreed to lease water rights to Troy. Troy's City Manager, Norman Barnard, also negotiated with the City of Birmingham and purchased its Walker Well. Before connections to Detroit city water were completed, these two sources provided additional water to the southern sections of Troy where most of the homes and businesses were located.

The delivery of the water to new subdivisions was accomplished when a network of smaller water mains was installed. The initial estimated cost of the system was \$565,000. In December 1956 the first in a series of meetings was held to identify special assessment districts to finance \$325,000 of the installation costs. Assessments paid over five years by the residents in the twenty-one special assessment districts retired the special assessment bonds that had been sold. The balance of \$240,000 was repaid by 1983 through the monthly water bills paid by the residents.

The city also identified three separate sanitary sewer districts. They included the Evergreen District that drained the Rouge River basin in the western sections of the city, the Southeastern or Twelve Town District in the southernmost sections of Troy, and the Troy Sanitary Sewer District

that encompassed the remaining twenty-six square miles within the city limits (Appendix 9). Engineering studies reported that the Evergreen and Southeastern sewers would each serve up to 20,000 residents and that the Troy Sanitary District would serve a maximum population of 60,000 persons, for a total capacity of 100,000 residents. In March 1956 the mayor and commission recommended that all three projects should be financed through one general bond issue.

The Evergreen District, initially conceived in 1954, was a cooperative effort by the City of Troy, Birmingham, Bloomfield Township, Bloomfield Hills, Southfield, and Lathrup Village to construct sanitary sewers that would carry the combined effluents from those communities to the sewage treatment facility in Detroit. Local and state legislative approvals for the six communities to participate in a joint North Evergreen Authority progressed, but on different timetables.

Bloomfield Township and the adjoining City of Troy faced the pressure imposed by developers who wanted to begin residential construction projects immediately. The developers intended to build their own small treatment plants if the Evergreen Interceptor was not constructed quickly. To stop the proliferation of small independent facilities, the four municipalities north of Fourteen Mile Road (Troy, Birmingham, Bloomfield Township, and Bloomfield Hills) organized as an authority to build the portion of the project in their region. The residential developers agreed to finance the construction partially so they would not

have to build their own treatment facilities. All four communities agreed to use the Birmingham Sewage Treatment Plant until the rest of the Evergreen Interceptor through Lathrup Village and Southfield was completed and effluent could be sent to Detroit. If plans to complete the interceptor ultimately failed, the four communities agreed to take over the Birmingham plant at its reproduction cost, less depreciation, enlarge the facility, and use it permanently. <sup>102</sup>

The Twelve Town Drain transported the combined sanitary sewer and storm water to Lake St Clair from twelve Oakland County communities including the southern portions of Troy. Unlike the Twelve Town Drain, the Troy Sanitary District provided separate sanitary and storm water drains.

The initial estimated cost of the three drain and sewer projects for Troy was \$3,500,000. In 1964 the Oakland County Public Works

Department sold bonds to finance the installation of twenty-six miles of trunk sewers and the city agreed to repay the county over thirty years. The city engineers connected to and expanded upon the service. By 1967 over 100 miles of sanitary sewer lines were constructed and plans for additional lines were anticipated. 103

The installations of sanitary sewers, storm drains, and water mains were costly and took nearly fifteen years to complete.

During the intervening years adjustments to the systems were made based on increased populations, new technologies, and

local demands. However, the construction and implementation of these infrastructures were pivotal to the progress the city enjoyed as a residential location and a commercial and business destination.

The fact that Troy did not have a downtown provided advantages and disadvantages for development. Mid-twentieth century planners recognized that the increased mobility of metropolitan residents who owned cars and used freeways permanently changed traditional patterns of behavior. It was now convenient to drive ten or twenty miles to a modern shopping center, to commute daily between a suburban residence and a downtown office, or to travel between different suburbs for home and work. The importance and attraction of traditional downtown business districts were lost when consumers were offered the wide selection of major stores, specialty shops, and restaurants featured in modern shopping centers. Customers flocked to the new malls while downtown businesses declined and the commercial business districts of communities struggled to remain vibrant. Efforts to initiate downtown revitalizations were costly and were not always successful.

In reaction Troy endeavored to create a community outside the traditional context of a downtown. People seemed to need a place to congregate and a physical environment that allowed them to gather as a population with a shared identity. The leadership in Troy looked for a financially profitable solution that would enhance the city and make it a more desirable place to work and live. During the early 1960s three solutions were offered:

- The Big Beaver Corridor would include major office, business, and commercial developments.
- The City Center, one square mile within the Big Beaver Corridor, would be the core of commerce, administration, and culture in the city.
- A Civic Center, a component of the City Center, would house governmental and cultural facilities.

In 1962 Vilican Lehman Associates conducted a study to select a location for the Troy Civic Center. Twelve large parcels of land were considered as possible locations (Appendix 10). Each site was given a numerical rating based on how well it met six criteria:

- The site should be located near the geographic center of the city.
- The site should be located near the population center of the city.
- 3. The site should be a minimum of 50 acres.
- Sites that were nearly square were preferred to irregular or very long and narrow sites.
- The site should not be located adjacent to industry, block desirable residential development, or route traffic through residential areas.

 The site should have safe access to north-south and eastwest roads, not be divided by major roads, or be in areas with excessive traffic.<sup>104</sup>

Sites "L" and "H" received the lowest (best) combined scores.

Local officials felt Site "L" was too small for both government and cultural buildings. Site "H" provided access only from Big Beaver Road. However, additional access to Livernois could be developed. This site was also easily accessed from I-75.

Following the recommendations in the study, in April 1963 the City of Troy purchased Site "H" from Helen Huber, the mother of Mayor Robert Huber. The transfer of 87 acres was completed in two transactions that included 77 acres for the Civic Center and 10 acres of wooded land on the northern end of the site to be designated the Philip J. Huber Park. The total cost was \$132,165 with a down payment of \$26,433. The balance was paid over four years with 4.5 percent interest. A new City Hall was built at the Civic Center in 1966.

While Troy's library, district court, police department, aquatic center, and community center were sequentially added to the Civic Center, cultural development of the area remained a controversial subject. A number of Civic Center task forces made recommendations and designed plans for the Civic Center, but progress has been slow.

In 1968 Crane, Gorwic, and Shrem Associates, Inc., planning and design consultants with offices in Detroit, completed a comprehensive study entitled *The City Center Plan* (1968). Their report stated:

A City Center is a vital element of a healthy urban community. It is the focal point of the community and the magnet for both people and activities. Such a center provides for the diversity of activities and services such as commerce, administration, and cultural, where one looks for the professional services, entertainment, specialized shops, and the variety of functions that serve the city as a whole. <sup>106</sup>

The plan identified the intersection of Big Beaver Road and I-75 as the best and most adaptable location for the center. The area was still undeveloped and therefore allowed the addition of new roads to service the center. The location also included the Civic Center. The plan called for two million square feet of office space to meet the growing demand of white-collar jobs in the Detroit Metropolitan area, hotel and motel accommodations, and apartments.

Commercial and office development was also addressed in another planning report issued by Vilican Lehman Associates in 1969. *The Big Beaver Corridor Study* outlined zoning for office, business, and commercial developments along Big Beaver Road between Coolidge Highway and Rochester Road. The 2.5-mile stretch included mostly vacant land and a few single-family dwellings. The strategic location of these properties with immediate access to I-75 was once again recognized as the prime location for corporate offices. Offices for the

Kresge Corporation and Somerset Mall had already been built in this corridor. Careful and controlled developments that adhered to the zoning ordinance and the master plan would predictably result in a "Golden Corridor" that ensured a vital and agreeable environment for the business community while it provided financial stability for the city.

Eight years after the Big Beaver Corridor plan was implemented, the City of Troy planned to widen Big Beaver to accommodate the increased traffic flow. The City notified well-known architect Minoru Yamasaki that the city had filed a condemnation suit to obtain 365 feet of the front yard of his design studio at Big Beaver and Civic Center Drive. The land would be added to two westbound lanes on the north side of Big Beaver. If the land was taken, two 30-inch maple trees and a very old beech tree would be cut down. In an effort to save the trees, Yamasaki proposed that instead of widening Big Beaver Road, it should be closed to through traffic and the corridor made into a business and shopping area serviced by mini-buses and pedestrian walkways. <sup>107</sup>Finally Troy would have a downtown, and traffic would be routed around the area. While some residents liked and praised Yamasaki's creative idea, it was not adopted.

#### The New Community

A headline in a 1967 issue of *The Daily Tribune* read, "Kid Sister' Troy Boasts Biggest 1966 Strides in New Construction." The number of building permits written in the city had increased 150 percent in one year. The value of new construction rose from \$14.7 million in 1965 to \$36.5 million in 1966. This increase overshadowed the growth in Southfield, Warren, and Sterling Township, the three principal suburban cities in Oakland and Macomb counties that developed during the same time period. <sup>108</sup>

Southfield became a charter city in 1958 after it gained regional acclaim when Northland Shopping Center opened in 1954. The existence of the innovative retail center changed how people thought about Oakland County communities. The suburbs became destinations for commerce and places to live. However, the location of Northland Shopping Center in Southfield relied on the availability of basic utilities in the area.

The Detroit Water Board had extended water mains to the Southfield area during the 1950s. Like Troy, Southfield was conveniently located within easy commuting distance of Detroit, was accessible through the new freeway systems, and boasted abundant, available land.

Residential subdivisions were built, and by 1960 the city became a corporate hub with six major office centers including Northland, Prudential

Town Center, City Center, First Center Complex, American Center, and the Galleria Silver Triangle. Peak development in the city occurred in 1965 when \$70.8 million in construction were recorded. That figure declined to \$60 million in 1966. The population growth during the 1960s resulted in an ethnically diverse city. In 1983 the population was forty percent Jewish, ten percent Chaldean, and nine percent African American. 110

Development in Warren included a stronger industrial component than either Southfield or Troy. The Penn Central Railroad in Warren provided the type of transportation required for the raw materials and products of heavy industry, including General Motors, Chrysler, and later Ford Motor Company. The City of Warren, incorporated in 1957, featured residential areas with smaller lots and more modest, economical homes that reflected the economic profile of the labor force that worked in the local factories. In 1964 Warren authorized a record \$97.9 million in construction. That figure fell to \$85.9 million in 1965 and dropped lower to 53.9 million in 1966. While undeveloped land in Warren was still available, the city was close to total development when residential building started to flourish in Troy.<sup>111</sup>

Sterling Township was more densely populated than Troy in the 1960s. A sudden increase in development in the Macomb County township during 1966 coincided with the new construction there of an enormous Ford Motor Company plant. The value of construction in the

township increased from \$27.6 million in 1964 and \$28.9 million in 1965, to \$40.1 million in 1966. This significant increase occurred even though Michigan imposed a ban on new sewer construction for part of the year.

But in 1966 the City of Troy overshadowed all three of its suburban neighbors. Major projects included the J. L. Hudson store at Oakland Mall (\$5.5 million), Saks Fifth Avenue at the Somerset Mall (\$1.1 million), the new manufacturing plant of Beaver Precision Products (\$1.3 million), and expansion of the Vickers, Inc. plant (\$460,000). Permits were also issued on 553 single-family homes valued at a total of \$10.4 million, and 1,115 apartment units valued at \$9.8 million. This multiple-family housing was part of the huge Somerset Park development.<sup>113</sup>

South of Big Beaver Road the light industrial district of Troy included one-ninth of the city's land area but almost one-third of the tax base. In 1969 North American Rockwell, Inc. and Vickers, Inc. were its largest firms. They produced aerospace hydraulics and automotive drive train parts, respectively. Other large companies in the district included AMT Corporation and Industro Motive Corporation, which both manufactured plastic products, and Ford Tractor.

In 1971 S.S. Kresge (later K-Mart) completed construction of its new headquarters in the Big Beaver Corridor at Coolidge Highway. About 1,200 employees transferred from Kresge's 250,000 square-foot location in Detroit to its 500,000 square-foot location in Troy. The Budd Company,

a major supplier of automotive parts, moved 300 employees to its new Troy location. <sup>114</sup>

Also in 1971 city officials established an Office-Service-Commercial zoning classification (O-S-C) along Big Beaver Road between Crooks and Livernois that included three-story minimum requirements for a percentage of the structures. Larry Keisling, a city planner employed by the city, stated in 1971, "We're looking for high-density office buildings that in many cases also include secondary services like restaurants and shops for employees and visitors." Then City Manager Frank Gerstenecker stated that land values on Big Beaver would soar from \$85,000 per acre for regular office zoning to \$240,000 per acre once the O-S-C district was established. While the City of Troy benefited from the increased value of property and the tax base, he added, City officials also worked to create quality work environments for the residents. 116

Residential areas were also a high priority in Troy during the 1970s. One of the largest residential developments, Northfield Hills, was located on either side of Coolidge and Crooks Roads between Square Lake and Long Lake Roads. The massive living community was built on part of the 1,700-acre parcel formerly owned by Chrysler Corporation. Chrysler had purchased the land years before and considered building a large research facility on the site. Instead, Chrysler Realty retained architect Minoru Yamasaki to design an unconventional Planned Neighborhood District. Referred to as PNDs, these projects permitted the development of self-

contained and self-sufficient residential communities that included at least one elementary school. 117

Yamasaki's mixed-use PND plan included 1,600 homes of various sizes and styles and 2,400 townhouses. Residences were platted on curvilinear roads in a design that preserved some open spaces, woodlots, and small lakes. Schools, a giant shopping center, recreational facilities, and an office complex were also incorporated into the PND. Because this type of planning was not possible under the existing zoning ordinance, Chrysler Realty lobbied the city to institute a new PND zoning concept. <sup>118</sup> A temporary local ordinance was approved but expired in December 1974 and was not renewed.

In 1970 Chrysler Realty sold 1,100 acres of the land to Levitt and Sons, Inc. This nationally known homebuilder had conceived the idea of prefabricated homes and after World War II he built Levittowns. While some Troy citizens felt Chrysler had abandoned the project, corporate representatives stated that it had always been their intention to complete the master plan for the community and then sell to their holdings to developers who would build the houses and roads. Chrysler did retain 400 acres on Crooks north of Square Lake Road on which to build an office plaza.

Levitt and Sons built 650 townhouses and 46 single-family homes before the company suffered financial difficulties and was placed in receivership. In 1970 Troy City Council (formerly the Commission)

eliminated the PND designation. It reduced the number of planned townhouses from 2,400 to 1,300 and replaced them with houses of virtually the same size constructed on uniformly sized lots. The remaining 650 townhouses were built adjoining existing condominiums. The Troy Zoning Map sited additional low cost pre-fabricated housing and multifamily housing, including the extensive Somerset Plaza, south of Big Beaver Road.

The construction boom in Troy continued until about 1979. Troy's City Manager Frank Gerstenecker theorized that the increased cost and declining availability of energy or the "energy crisis," plus a sharp decline in population growth, retarded the decay of inner cities and inner suburbs and slowed the growth of outlying suburbs.<sup>119</sup>

The rapid construction of infrastructures, buildings, and homes changed the physical landscape. However, the composition of the residents in the community also expanded tremendously during Troy's fifteen-year boom. Between 1950 and 1980 the population increased over 560 percent, from 10,087 to 67,102. With this tremendous influx the identity of the people as a local society changed permanently.

The small population of township people had been a tightly knit community. Social ties were reinforced with family ties as the offspring of one family line married a descendent from another family. Older Troy residents commonly referred to one another by those relationships. They identified themselves and one another by referencing the surnames of in-

laws and parents. For example a resident might say, "She was a "Halsey" who married a "Blount," or his mother was a "Jennings." This was a convenient means of reference, as all the families in the community knew one another. These families were all Caucasian and predominantly Protestant. The influx of large numbers of new residents changed and ultimately eliminated the older network of township families.

In addition Troy became more racially and ethnically diverse. African American and Asian families were first noted on the 1960 and 1970 censuses (Appendix 3). These figures could simply reflect the inclusion of new categories on census forms. However, the introduction of African American and Asian populations also coincided with the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the elimination of deed restrictions and covenants on the sale of property. Examination of a very small sample of warranty deeds in the Clerk's Office showed covenants existed in Troy. For example, the deed for the Huber family farm, which was purchased by the city for the civic center in 1963, included a covenant that restricted the sale of the property to Caucasians. The *Underwriting Manual* of the FHA had openly recommended "subdivision regulations and suitable restrictive covenants." The FHA stopped issuing mortgages on real estate subject to covenants in 1950. 120 The population of Troy never included a significant African American component. The number of black residents has never exceeded one percent of the total population. In Oakland County significant black communities are found in Pontiac, Southfield, Lathrup

Village, and Oak Park. The black population in Auburn Hills increased after the construction of Daimler Chrysler's world headquarters in that city.

Cultural diversity was most certainly also a factor in new jobs. The percentage of Asian residents increased significantly with the influx of high-tech positions (Appendix 3). Between 1960 and 1980 many light-industrial companies, professional firms, and large corporations moved to Troy. The Big Beaver Corridor attracted high-tech companies, engineers, computer programmers, and highly trained professionals. A Transportation and Land Use Study (TALUS) reported in 1968 that Troy was Oakland County's fastest growing community and the area's new "status community." <sup>121</sup> Troy statistics mentioned in the study as reported by *The Birmingham Eccentric* included:

- Nineteen percent of Troy residents had lived in the area less than one year. Twenty-four percent of the population had resided in Troy for more than one year but less than four years.
- The median income of Troy residents was \$9,740 as compared with a median income of \$9,020 for the entire county and \$6,350 for Detroit.
- Only 2.9 percent of the Troy populace did not own a car.
   34.5 percent owned one car, 53.5 percent owned two cars and 9.3 percent owned three cars. This compared with 7.8

percent of the county population that owned three cars or more. 122

Troy was a convenient location to live for those who were employed in the city as well as for those who commuted to jobs elsewhere in the metropolitan area. Interstate 75 provided fast access to work destinations. Thus, Troy was a very attractive location for two-income families where spouses were able to commute easily in opposite directions.

According to Gerald Vandenbussche, the Chief Building Inspector in Troy in 1977, a second large group of homebuyers were persons who had previously lived in older suburbs in South Oakland and Macomb counties. When their mortgages were completely or nearly paid off, they had the financial ability to upgrade and buy new, larger homes in Troy. "Housing costs may be up but so is the standard of living", he stated. Vandenbussche stated his remarks were based on his casual observations and conversations with builders who came to his office for permits. Some families actually profited immediately by moving to Troy. John Loncharich worked for the City of Troy as an engineer during the "boom years." He moved his family from Hamtramck to Warren where he purchased a house for \$10,000. In 1968, he sold that home for \$20,000 and purchased a 1,000 square-foot, three-bedroom, brick home with a basement on a larger lot in Troy for \$14,000.

The sentiments expressed by residents who lived in the community before and during the period of rapid development varied. Some people

expressed longing for the lost rural environment, others embraced the change and the positive aspects of development, while a few pointed to deficiencies as they saw them. Former Township Supervisor, Morris Wattles, best summarized the attitudes of those who remembered and valued the open countryside of Troy Township. At the age of 76 he commented:

The funny thing is that I didn't have to move to become a city dweller. It happened all at once. One day, there was all the elbowroom we needed. The next day, it seems like all of a sudden we're stepping on each other. I really must say I don't like the changes I've seen. Things are too high-pressure now. There's not a feeling of belonging to a community anymore. But I'm too old to move. I guess I can put up with it for my few, remaining years. 125

Some of the newer residents, who embraced the country lifestyle when they moved to Troy, also took exception to the new developments that encroached on their subdivision or lot. When confronted by citizens who protested the loss of space or a rural road to a new development, Councilman Peter A. Taucher said that this was a cyclic protest. He remarked to the press in 1978, "We've been through this five or six times already." 126 Others complained about the cost of sidewalks, curbs, or widened roads. In general, however, the community supported improvements that enhanced safety, traffic flow, or property values. In 1977 Susan Belniak conducted an unscientific, man-on-the-street poll of Troy residents at a shopping center. Fifteen anonymous individuals were asked what they would change about their city. Some suggested the city

needed better roads or more police protection. However, all ultimately agreed that Troy was a great place to live. A 67 year-old woman stated, "I love it. I wouldn't have stayed here this long if I didn't." 127

The City of Troy is a product of its geography and its location in southeastern Michigan and patterns of human behavior within urban societies witnessed elsewhere in the United States after World War II.

While Troy developed because of these factors, it also succeeded because it lacked other components. Most important, the residents of Troy were bold in their commitment to establish a planned community and maintain their status as an independent governing unit. To that end they incorporated innovation and change into their governance so that they might sustain economic vitality and remain successful.

The pioneers who settled Troy took advantage of the rich soil and gentle topography to establish profitable farms. They valued the land for food production, cleared the forests, and maintained the open space to grow foodstuffs and livestock. Because the area lacked hydropower and established mills, the core of commercial development remained very small. Thus, early Troy Township lacked factories or significant industrial development and the farming community was bypassed by the railroad. The community without a downtown remained small and rural.

In turn these specific nineteenth century deficiencies contributed to the twentieth century success of the City of Troy. The wide-open countryside presented few obstacles for developers and allowed planners to create a master plan that was not configured around an existing town or facility. The fact that Troy lacked any extensive access to railroad transportation eliminated it from the site selection process of the big automotive companies that sought large tracts of land on which to build modern, sprawling plants and then transport the products via rail transit. It also focused development away from heavy industry and blue-collar jobs. Instead Troy officials looked to and courted light industrial manufacturing, high-tech industries, and engineering firms with high percentages of white-collar and professional employees. Because these workers earned good wages, they could purchase larger, more expensive housing in the Troy community.

Troy's location twenty miles north of Detroit was an essential ingredient for its growth as a successful city. As early as 1920 the workforce of Detroit pushed beyond the city limits to find better housing. Following World War II that thrust became a full exodus of corporations, businesses, and families that fled the crowded conditions in the urban core, the limitations imposed by the lack of available and affordable property in the city, and the overall downward spiral of quality-of-life.

There is no doubt that federal programs like FHA and the GI Bill also encouraged migration to the suburbs. Thousands of World War II and Korean veterans took advantage of education benefits and, instead of returning to rural farms in places like Troy, elected to attend college. Upon graduation they had the skills to get high-paying, white-collar jobs and qualify easily for FHA mortgages. Meanwhile aging parents sold their

farms to developers when their offspring, like the veterans, chose careers instead of taking over the farm. The developers who followed the FHA guidelines secured conditional commitments and rapidly turned the cornfields into tidy ranch homes that the veterans purchased with FHA financing. While this research did not specifically cover the phenomenon, it would be interesting to determine the percentage of Troy homes built and originally financed through FHA or GI Bill benefits.

The construction of I-75 through Troy ensured the new city's role as an Oakland County destination. The Big Beaver Corridor that paralleled the freeway was an ideal strategic location for businesses and corporations. I-75 also provided an excellent route to Detroit and the greater Metropolitan Area for commuters. However, the serpentine route of the interstate through Troy was just as important. Because of the "stair step" design, Troy benefited from access to the interstate without suffering from lost property values, fragmented communities, disrupted local traffic patterns, or an unsightly, six-lane straight slash across the city.

The city's proximity to Detroit, its location along the interstate highway, and the abundance of affordable land were not enough to trigger growth in the city. Water and sewers were needed. Water mains plus sanitary and storm drains were absolutely required before permits were issued to build homes and office buildings. While Troy was an independent, home rule city, it was tied to neighboring communities and

the City of Detroit by concrete culverts and pipelines that carried water to and from homes and businesses.

Troy leaders had the foresight to seek professional direction in establishing a well-conceived master plan. When the master plan was developed, Troy leadership critically appraised the successes and failures of other cities. They decided to limit commercial strip development along major thoroughfares and to locate nodes of stores and businesses at intersections. This decision frustrated property owners who wished to maximize the value of their land through rezoning for business or commercial development. The policy also thwarted businessmen who wished to locate anywhere on a main road. However, the decision reduced traffic congestion along two lane roads and ensured more pleasant residential surroundings by reducing the density of development.

An even bolder decision was not to build a downtown. Vilican Lehman and the original city leaders compared the benefits of a centralized business district to the problems incurred by maintaining one in an increasingly mobile, decentralized society. They chose, then, to develop a corridor of corporate and major commercial developments and to focus cultural and community amenities in their civic center located within the corridor. The decision was economically expedient. The Golden Corridor provided the city with excellent financial resources. However, as the city approaches its fiftieth anniversary, Troy still lacks a cultural community center. While a number of task forces and committees have

developed plans to complete the Civic Center, the citizens and city leadership have not reached consensus regarding the best and most cost-effective developments for that site. The Big Beaver Corridor was not designed for pedestrian traffic. Thus, residents do not feel there is a central place where they can gather and mingle. This void has not seriously impaired the overall success of the city. But it does remain one missing piece and a challenge for the city as it continues to mature.

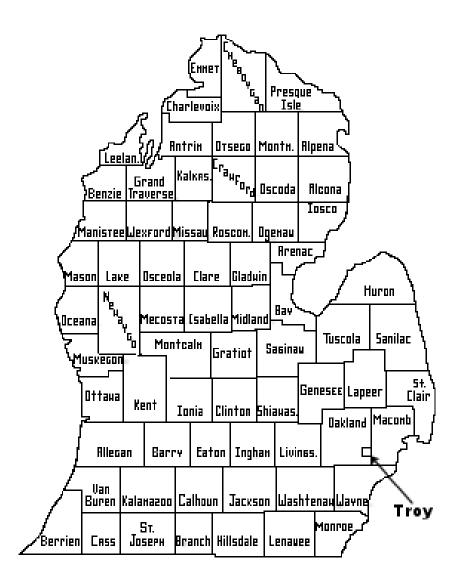
The "downtown decision" along with the plan to cluster smaller businesses and service developments at intersections presented other long-term benefits. Haphazard, inappropriate, and poorly located developments with lower values tend to reduce the value of surrounding areas. In a domino effect they eventually lead to "urban blight," which takes time, energy, and more money to fix. Troy's Master Plan reduced the probability that these developments might occur.

The ultimate catalyst for Troy's success centered around the determined leadership within the community. When Norman Barnard, Ernest Grey, and their colleagues saw that Troy Township would be reduced geographically and economically to an ineffective unit of local government, they proceeded with a shrewd plan for incorporation. As leaders in the new City of Troy, they worked effectively to provide the community with essential infrastructures and a sound master plan for growth. They learned from and avoided the mistakes made by other young cities. Most important they demonstrated professional determination and

restraint when they stuck to their plan. They were not swayed by quick, profitable deals at the expense of long-term values and controlled growth. During the exciting years of rapid growth they were steadfast and turned away developers, rather than amend their plan. The results of those efforts are evident today. Between 1950 and 1980 a modern, efficient, and attractive City of Troy emerged. It has continued to mature as a dynamic edge city, and it remains today a desirable place to call home and a profitable destination for work.

Appendix 1

## The City of Troy in Oakland County Michigan



Troy, Michigan is located in southeastern Oakland County. Oakland County is located in the southeastern part of the Lower Peninsula of Michigan.

Appendix 2
Population of Detroit

Year 1910	Total Population 465,766	White Population NA	Black Population 5,741	Percent Black 1
1920	993,675	NA	40,838	4
1930	1,568,662	1,440,141	120,066	8
1940	1,623,452	1,472,662	149,119	9
1950	1,849,568	1,545,847	300,506	16
1960	1,670,144	1,182,970	482,229	29
1970	1,511,482	838,877	660,428	44
1980	1,203,339	420,529	758,468	63
1990	1,027,974	221,932	778,456	75
2000	951,270	116,599	771,966	81

Census figures obtained from on line from the U.S. Census Bureau at <a href="https://www.census.gov/population/www/documentation.twpsoo27.html">www.census.gov/population/www/documentation.twpsoo27.html</a> and from Thomas J. Sugrue, *The Origins of the Urban Crisis: Race and Inequality in Postwar Detroit*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996) 23.

Population of Troy Township and City of Troy

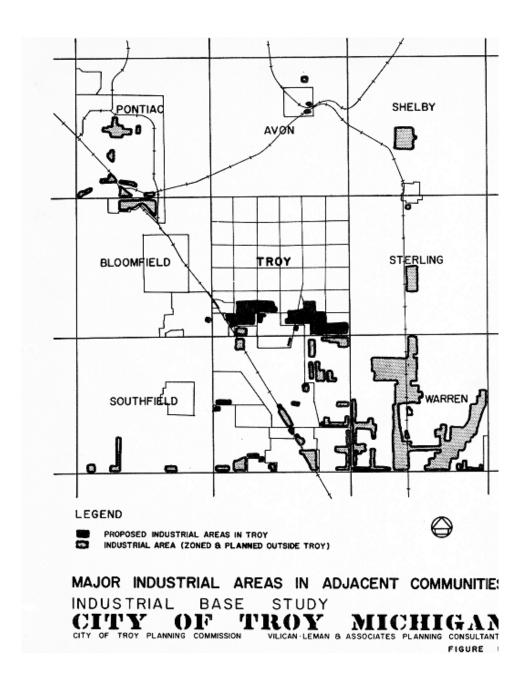
Year	Total Pop.	White	Black	Asian**	Hispanic
1850	1,427	*	*	*	*
1860	1,719	*	*	*	*
1870	1,554	*	*	*	*
1880	1,587	*	*	*	*
1890	1,470	*	*	*	*
1890	1,470	*	*	*	*
1900	1,527	*	*	*	*
1910	1,507	*	*	*	*
1920	2,520	*	*	*	*
1930	3,867	*	*	*	*
1940	6,248	*	*	*	*
1950	10,087	*	*	*	*
1955	13,217	*	*	*	*
1960	19,058	19,025	33	*	*
1970	39,419	39,222	15	128	*
1980	67,102	63,386	642	2,705	664
1990	72,884	66,701	983	6,127	927
2000	80,959	66,627	1,694	10,158	1,184

<sup>\*</sup>Indicates the census did not count this ethnic population.

Census figures between 1850 and 1880 were derived from census data compiled by the staff of the Troy Museum & Historic Village. The 1890 Census figure was obtained from the State Library of Michigan. Twentieth Century data was provided by the *Michigan Census Reports 1950-1980* and the *Historical Population and Employment by Minor Civil Division, Southeast Michigan, Population 1900-2000*, (Detroit: SEMCOG, 2002).

<sup>\*\*</sup>Asian populations include Chinese, Japanese, Korean, Indochinese, and East Indian groups.

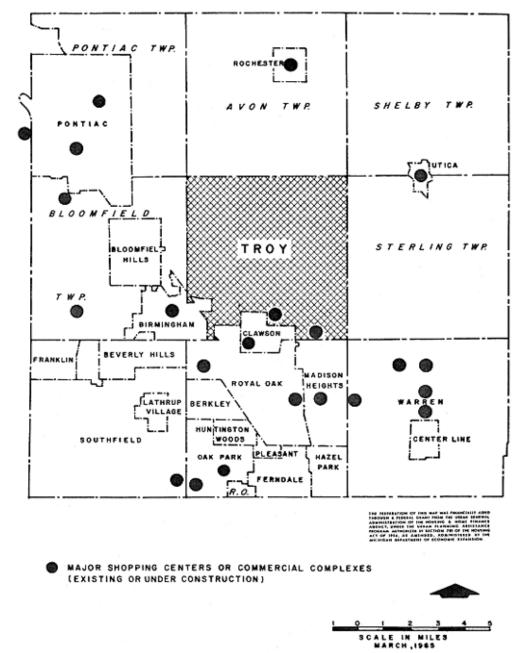
Appendix 4
Industrial Corridors in Troy and Area Cities



Vilican Lehman Associates, *Troy Industrial Study: A Master Plan Study*, (Troy: 1957), Figure 1.

# Appendix 5

## Retail Shopping Centers In Troy and Neighboring Communities

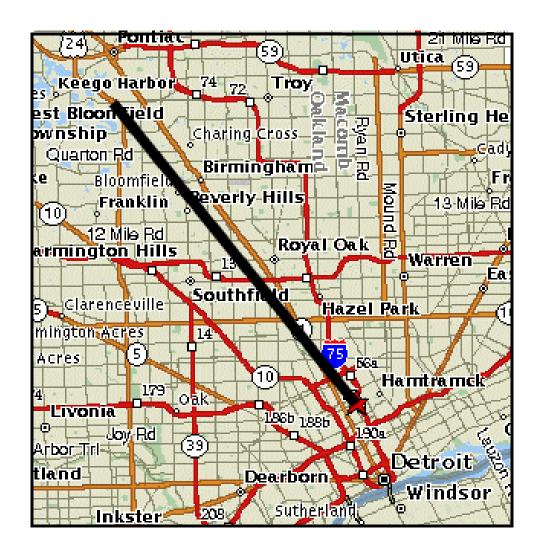


AREA-WIDE SHOPPING DEVELOPMENTS

Vilican Lehman Associates, Economic Base Analysis, (Troy: 1963), 12b.

Appendix 6

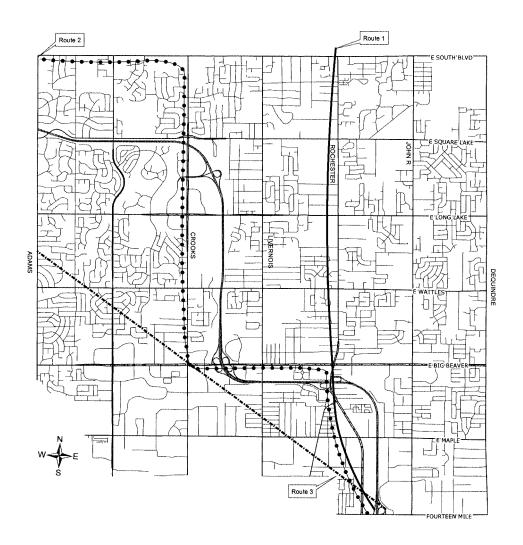
Proposed Alignment of Interstate 75 Prior to 1957



The proposed route between Detroit and Pontiac followed a northwest alignment immediately west of Woodward Avenue which was the main road connecting the two cities

#### Appendix 7

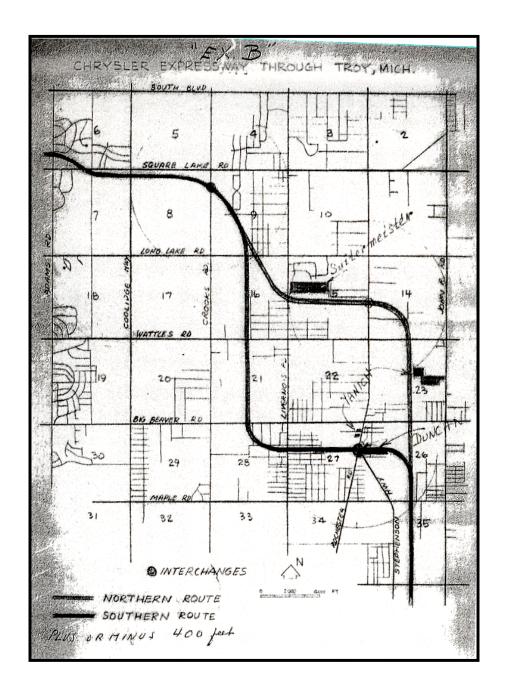
# Proposed Interstate 75 Routes One, Two, and Three (Overlaid on Current Troy Map)



- Route 1 paralleled Rochester Road from Stephenson Highway through the city.
- Route 2 paralleled Big Beaver Road to Crooks Road and Crooks Road north to South Blvd.
- Route 3 was a diagonal route from the intersection of Fourteen Mile Road and Stephenson Highway to M-24 and Square Lake Road in Pontiac.

Appendix 8
sed Northern and Southern Routes

### Proposed Northern and Southern Routes Interstate 75



This map was included as Exhibit B in the lawsuit Troy Meadows Home Owners Assn v. City of Troy, No. C-30930 (Oakland County Circuit. 1959).

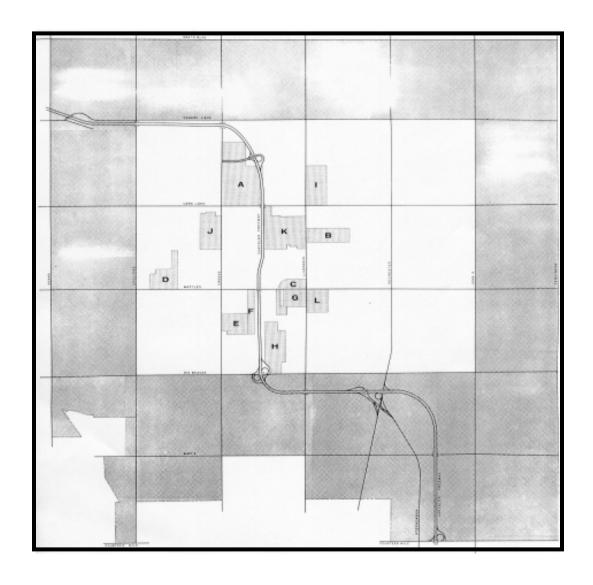
Appendix 9
Sanitary Sewer Districts in Troy

6	5	4	3	2	1
7 N. Everg	reen *	9	10	11	12
Distri 18		16 Troy Sa	15 Initary	14	13
19	20	Dist 21		23	24
S.E. O	<b>C</b>	28	27	26	25
31 \	32	33	S.E. O/C	S.E OC	36

This map was included with the documents from a meeting with Troy representatives, the Drain Commission and the State Health Department on May 24, 1956 in Lansing Michigan. Norman Barnard Papers, Troy Museum and Historic Village Archive.

Appendix 10

Proposed Sites for the Troy Civic Center



Vilican Lehman Associates, Inc., Civic Center Location Study, 1962.

#### Abbreviations

AV: Avon News

BE: Birmingham Eccentric

DN: Detroit News

DP: Detroit Free Press
DT: Daily Tribune

OP: Oakland Press

RT: Royal Oak Tribune

TC Troy-Clawson Times

TE: Troy Eccentric

TMA: Troy Museum & Historic Village Archive

TMR: Troy Museum & Historic Village Resource Files

TR: Troy Tribune TT: Troy Times

VL: Vilican Lehman Associates

#### Endnotes

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Trout Pomeroy, *Oakland County: A Contemporary Portrait* (Chatsworth: Windsor Publications, 1990) 27.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> "Saving Troy From Success," *DP*, January 11, 1992; "2002 Financial Summary," prepared by the Financial Services Division of the City of Troy.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> The requirements for edge city designation include five million square feet of leasable office space, 600,000 square feet of leasable retail space, and more jobs than bedrooms. Edge cities are destinations for jobs, entertainment, and shopping. They are a recent incarnation. Joel Garreau, *Edge City: Life on the New Frontier* (New York: Random House, Inc., 1991), 6-7.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> William Dobriner, "The Suburban Evangel," in *New Towns and the Suburban Dream: Ideology and Utopia in Planning and Development*, ed. Irving Lewis Allen (Port Washington: National University Publications, 1977), 121-140.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Ibid., 129.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Joel Garreau, *Edge City: Life on the New Frontier* (New York: Random House, Inc., 1991), 107.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Rose, Mark H., *Interstate Express Highway Politics 1941-1956* (Lawrence: The Regents Press of Kansas, 1970), 1-13.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Thomas J. Sugrue, *The Origins of the Urban Crisis: Race and Inequality in Postwar Detroit* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996), 125-130;

William Dobriner, "The Suburban Evangel," in *New Towns and the Suburban Dream: Ideology and Utopia in Planning and Development*, ed. by Allen (Port Washington: National University Publications, 1977), 121-140; Thomas Lewis, *Divided Highways: Building the Interstate Highways, Transforming the American Life* (New York: Penguin Group, 1997), ix-xiv. William Dobriner, "The Suburban Evangel," in *New Towns and the Suburban Dream: Ideology and Utopia in Planning and Development*, ed. by Allen (Port Washington: National University Publications, 1977), 121-140; Thomas J. Sugrue, "Crabgrass-Roots Politics: Race, Rights and the Reaction against Liberalism in the Urban North, 1940-1964," *The Journal of American History*, Vol. 82, No. 2 (September 1995), 551-578.

- <sup>10</sup> Trout Pomeroy, *Oakland County: A Contemporary Portrait* (Chatsworth: Windsor Publications, 1990), 26.
- <sup>11</sup> History of Oakland County, Michigan 1817-1877, (Philadelphia: L. H. Everts and Co., 1877).
- <sup>12</sup> Thaddeus D. Seeley, *History of Oakland County, Michigan*, Vol. 1 (New York: Lewis Publishing Co., 1912); *History of Oakland County, Michigan 1817-1877*, (Philadelphia: L. H. Everts and Co., 1877).
- <sup>13</sup> "Troy Farmers of Old Left at 2:00 a.m. for Detroit's Eastern Market," *DT*, September 1, 1971,TMR. The article includes a long interview with Morris and Helen Mary Wattles.

<sup>14</sup> History of Oakland County, Michigan 1817-1877, (Philadelphia: L. H. Everts and Co., 1877).

- Taken from the casual, personal recollections of Viola Smith, life-long resident of Troy and Oakland County. Mrs. Smith is a volunteer at the Troy Museum and Historic Village. She grew up in the Troy Corners area where her ancestors were early settlers and has exceptional recall of names, dates, and events from 1940 through the present. Her comments on shopping were not part of a formally recorded interview.
- <sup>17</sup> Tobi Voigt, "The Unfortunate History of Detroit's Electric Interurban Railways", December 9, 2002, unpublished paper available in TMR.
- <sup>18</sup> Oliver Zunz, *The Changing Face of Inequality: Urbanization, Industrial Development, and Immigrants in Detroit 1880-1920* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1982), 286.
- <sup>19</sup> Text of a speech given by Morris Wattles on February 22, 1920 at a meeting of the Oakland County Pioneer and Historical Society. Mr. Wattles was a Troy Township Commissioner, Township Supervisor, and local historian. TMR.
- <sup>20</sup> Gordon Lambert, *157 Years of Real Estate Subdividing and Urban Expansion in Oakland County, Michigan*, Master's Thesis, Wayne State University, 1979.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid.

- <sup>21</sup> Arthur A. Hagman, editor, *Oakland County Book of History*, A Sesquicentennial project by Oakland County, MI, 1970, 292.
- <sup>22</sup> "Troy Eyes Madison Vote on Incorporation," *DT*, January 17, 1955, TMR.
- <sup>23</sup> **lbid.**
- <sup>24</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>25</sup> "Troy Township Reveals Its Plan to Become Oakland's largest City," *DT*,
  May 27, 1954; "Troy Eyes Madison Vote on Incorporation," *DT*, January
  17, 1955, TMR.
- <sup>26</sup> Vickers Incorporated v the Township of Troy, Oakland County Court Record C-27862; "Troy and Vickers Reach Accord—Vickers Withdraws Suit," *Avon News*, July 6, 1955; Norman Barnard Papers, TMR.
- <sup>27</sup> Norman Barnard Papers, TMR. Mr. Barnard wrote an account of the plan to file petitions for incorporation as a Home Rule City.
- <sup>28</sup> "Troy Census Underway," *DT*, May 5, 1955; "Recheck Township Census", *DT*, May 20, 1955; "Hold June 2 Home Rule vote," *RT*, May 26, 1955; "Troy Voters Decide on Incorporation Tuesday" *RT*, June 2, 1955, TMR.
- <sup>29</sup> "Vote Slated in Five (missing text)—To Cast Ballots on Incorporation," *Pontiac Press*, June 6, 1955, TMR; "Vickers Incorporated v the Township of Troy", Oakland County Court Record C-27862.
- <sup>30</sup> "Troy, Southfield Approve Incorporation—18 Charter Commissioners named in Two Townships," *Pontiac Press*, June 8, 1955, TMR.

- <sup>31</sup> "Troy Vickers Reach Accord—Vickers Withdraws Suit," *AV*, July 6, 1955, TMR.
- <sup>32</sup> "Crowd At meeting," *TC*, August 18, 1955; "Changes Made in Charter of City of Troy," *AV*, August 24, 1955, TMR.
- 33 Ibid.
- <sup>34</sup> "Troy Yes, Southfield No on Charters—Heavy Vote Scores Slim Victory in Troy," *DT*, December 13, 1955,TMR.
- <sup>35</sup> "Troy's first Move: Barnard Named Manager," *DT*, December 17, 1955, TMR.
- <sup>36</sup> "Township Areas Seem to Favor Annexation," *TC*, January 11, 1956; "Troy Annexation Petitions May Be Filed This Month," *TC*, January 25, 1956; "Annexation Vote Expected in May to Reunite Troy," *AV*, March 28, 1956; "Voters to Consider Annexation," *BE*, May 31, 1956; "Only One of Two Islands Become Part of City," *DT*, June 5, 1956; "What's Left of Troy Twp.? Governmentless Area," *DT*, December 6, 1956, TMR. It took one year to determine the disposition of township islands created when those seeking incorporation used gerrymandering to meet minimum population requirements.
- <sup>37</sup> Jeffrey Mirel, *The Rise and Fall of an Urban School System: Detroit:* 1907-81 (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1993), 153; Larry Long, *Migration and Residential Mobility in the United States* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1988), 154-155.

- <sup>38</sup> Thomas J. Sugrue, *The Origins of the Urban Crisis: Race and Inequality in Postwar Detroit* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996) 42-43.
- <sup>39</sup> Ibid., 43-44; Kenneth Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier: The Suburbanization* of the United States (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), 215-216.
- <sup>40</sup> Thomas J. Sugrue, *The Origins of the Urban Crisis: Race and Inequality in Postwar Detroit* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996), 44.
- <sup>41</sup> Marc A. Weiss, *The Rise of the Community Builders* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1987), 141-158.
- <sup>42</sup> Thomas J. Sugrue, *The Origins of the Urban Crisis: Race and Inequality in Postwar Detroit* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996), 42-43.
- <sup>43</sup> This quote and reference were cited in Marc A. Weiss, *The Rise of the Community Builders*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1987) 153.
- <sup>44</sup> "The People's Vote: 100 Documents that Shaped America," *U.S. News* and World Report, 2003 (usnews.com); Irving Lewis Allen, New Towns and the Suburban Dream: Ideology and Utopia in Planning and Development (Port Washington: National University Publications, 1977), 137.
- <sup>45</sup> Thomas J. Sugrue, *The Origins of the Urban Crisis: Race and Inequality in Postwar Detroit* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996) 126.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>46</sup> Ibid., 127-130.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>47</sup> Jeffrey Mirel, *The Rise and Fall of an Urban School System: Detroit:*1907-81 (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1993), 219-221.
<sup>48</sup> Ibid., 219-221, 298.

- <sup>52</sup> "Election," *TC*, December 7, 1955; "Costello To Be Mayor," *DT*, December 13, 1955, TMR.
- Troy's method of establishing zoning when it became a home rule city.

  "Changes Are made At Stormy Second Public Hearing," *Tri-City Messenger*, February 6, 1957; "Judge Finds Interim Law Okay," *DT*,

  March 22, 1957, TMR.
- <sup>54</sup> Harry MacLennan to Mayor Frank Costello, June 1, 1956, City of Troy Binder, Norman Barnard Papers, TMA. Chuck Lehman is still active in the firm, which is now a wholly owned subsidiary of Beckett and Raeder, Inc, and was interviewed on November 17, 2003.
- Troy Crowd Protests New Zoning Asks Council to Keep City Rural," unidentified clipping; "Changes Are made At Second Story Public Hearing," *Tri City Messenger*, February 6, 1957; "Avalanche of 800 Protests Buries Troy Zoning Move," *DN*, February 12, 1957; "Rural Minded Troy Raps All Zoning—Old or New," *DT*, February 12, 1957; "Troy Still Unzoned, 800 Attend Meeting," *TC*, February 13, 1957; "1,500 Property Owners Crowd Troy Gym for Zoning Hearing," *Rochester News*, February 13, 1957, TMR.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>49</sup> Ibid., 219, 294- 298.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>50</sup> Ibid., 297.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>51</sup> Ibid., 219-220.

- <sup>56</sup> "City of Troy Adopts New Zoning Ordinance," *Rochester News*, March 20, 1957.
- <sup>57</sup> VL, Future Land Use Plan: Troy Michigan (Troy: 1965), i.
- 58 VL, Troy Industrial Study: A Master Plan Study (Troy: 1957), i-iii.
- <sup>59</sup> Thomas J. Sugrue, *The Origins of the Urban Crisis: Race and Inequality in Postwar Detroit* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996), 18; VL, *Troy Industrial Study: A Master Plan Study* (Troy: 1957), 2.
- 60 VL, Troy Industrial Study: A Master Plan Study (Troy: 1957), 18.
- <sup>61</sup> VL. Future Land Use Plan: Troy Michigan (Troy: 1965), 38.
- <sup>62</sup> Ibid., 11-18.
- <sup>63</sup> Ibid., 11-12.
- <sup>64</sup> Ibid., 19-21.
- <sup>65</sup> Ibid., 40-42.
- <sup>66</sup> Kenneth T. Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier: The Suburbanization of the United States* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), 261; David Lee Poremba, *Detroit in Its World Setting: A Three Hundred Year Chronology*, 1701-2001 (Wayne State University Press, 2001), 289.
- <sup>67</sup> Interview with Mr. Chuck Lehman, Vilican Lehman Associates,
  Farmington, Michigan in December 2003. Notes filed at the Troy Museum;
  "Planning Essential in Troy," *RT*, March 26, 1959, TMR.
- <sup>68</sup> Future land Use Plan: Continued Managed Growth Into the 21st Century (Troy: 2002), 15.
- <sup>69</sup> VL, Future Land Use Plan: Troy Michigan (Troy: 1965), 43.

- "I cow Interest— Low Vote Expected," *TE*, April 3, 1969; "Road to reelection clear for incumbents," *TE*, January 6, 1977; "Troy's Future?—

  'The Sky's The Limit!'," *The Times- Advance*, September 9, 1971, TMR.
- <sup>74</sup> Mark H. Rose, *Interstate Express Highway Politics, 1941-1956* (Lawrence: The Regents Press of Kansas, 1979), 2-3.

in Postwar Detroit (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996), 18; VL,

Troy Industrial Study: A Master Plan Study (Troy: 1957), 47. Sugrue's
analysis was based on Robert J. Mowitz and Deil S. Wright, Profile of a

Metropolis: A Case Book (Detroit: Wayne State University Press: 1962), a
study of the Detroit City Planners and Planning Commission.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>70</sup> "Planning Essential in Troy," RT, March 26, 1959, TMR.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>71</sup> Interview with Mr. Chuck Lehman, Vilican Lehman Associates, Farmington, Michigan in December 2003. Notes filed at the Troy Museum.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>72</sup> VL, *Troy Industrial Study: A Master Plan Study* (Troy: 1957), 7-8.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>75</sup> Ibid., 10-12.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>76</sup> Kenneth T. Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier: The Suburbanization of the United States* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), 249.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>77</sup> Ibid., 230.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>78</sup> Interview with Mr. Chuck Lehman, Vilican Lehman Associates,
Farmington, Michigan in December 2003. Notes filed at the Troy Museum.
<sup>79</sup> Thomas J. Sugrue, *The Origins of the Urban Crisis: Race and Inequality* 

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- 82 Ibid., 64-65.

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- <sup>83</sup> This statement was taken from the minutes of a meeting with local officials held on June 17, 1958. Robert K. Sloane quotes them in his thesis. Ibid. 66.
- <sup>84</sup> Chuck Lehman made this personal recollection. Mr. John Loncharich, a retired City of Troy engineer, also recalled the term "Vilican Lehman's

Folly". Chuck Lehman was interviewed in December 2003. Mr. John Loncharich, was interviewed December 2003.

- <sup>85</sup> Troy City Charter, Section 4.7(c).
- <sup>86</sup> Troy Meadows Home Owners Assn v. City of Troy, No. C-30930 (Oakland County Circuit. 1959).
- <sup>87</sup> White Chapel Memorial Association v. John C. Mackie, State Highway Commissioner, No. G32687 (Oakland County Circuit, 1962).
- <sup>88</sup> Michigan State Highway Department, Ninth Annual Progress Report for the State Highway Department, County Road Commissioners, Incorporated Cities and Villages of Michigan (Lansing: 1961).
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- 92 "Troy—Newest Boom Town, U.S.A.," DN, March 19, 1969, TMR.
- <sup>93</sup> Pate and Hirn, Inc., Water Supply for the City of Troy from the Detroit Metropolitan Water System, December 1960.

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- April 22, 1963; Liber 4924 page 818 820, City Clerk, City of Troy.
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- <sup>108</sup> "Kid Sister' Troy Boasts Biggest 1966 Strides in New Construction," *DT*, February 3, 1967, TMR.
- <sup>109</sup> Trout Pomeroy, *Oakland County: A Contemporary Portrait* (Chatsworth: Windsor Publications, 1990), 26, 28-37.
- <sup>110</sup> Vicki Goldbaum, Southfield Yesterday and Today (Southfield, n.p., 1983)
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### **ABSTRACT**

THE CITY OF TOMORROW.... TODAY: THE DEVELOPMENT OF TROY, MICHIGAN 1955-1980

by

#### LORAINE CAMPBELL

May 2004

Advisor: Dr. Philip P. Mason

Major: History

Degree: Master of Liberal Arts

Between 1955 and 1980 the City of Troy developed from a rural agricultural community to the second largest city in Michigan based on property values. This thesis first examines the development of Troy within the context of regional and national issues that contributed to suburban growth in the United States after World War II. Further analysis of township and city records, planning reports, court cases, the personal papers of city officials, and newspaper accounts identifies four factors that contributed specifically to the rapid and successful development of this suburban city in Oakland County Michigan. The thesis agues that the geographic location of the city twenty miles north of Detroit, the construction of Interstate 75 through Troy following a unique stair-step route, the construction of water mains and sewers from Detroit to service

Troy, and adherence to a progressive master plan were key components for the city's success.

## Autobiographical Statement

I have a deep interest in both social and natural history and man's relationship with the land. In 1976, I earned a BS in Biology from Wayne State University with a minor in History. I worked as an Interpretive Naturalist for the City of Lansing, and since 1987 for The City of Troy. During that period I also served on the Board of Directors and as President of the Michigan Audubon Society. In 1998, I began work as an historic interpreter at the Troy Museum & Historic Village. Two years later, I was offered the Manager's position at the Museum. This thesis will fulfill the requirements for a MA in History, with a focus on American History and Archive Management. I plan to continue to improve the facilities at The Troy Museum & Historic Village and to expand the programs it provides to the community. Finally, I hope to continue my research on Troy and Great Lakes history and publish on these topics.