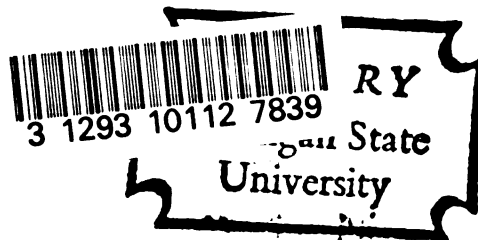


A HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY OF
JACKSON, MICHIGAN:
A STUDY ON THE CHANGING CHARACTER
OF AN AMERICAN CITY 1829-1969

Thesis for the Degree of Ph. D.
MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY
RICHARD ARTHUR SANTER
1970



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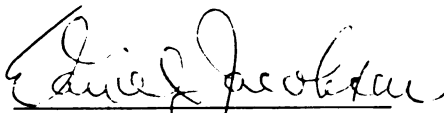
A HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY OF JACKSON, MICHIGAN:
A STUDY ON THE CHANGING CHARACTER OF
AN AMERICAN CITY 1829-1969

presented by

Richard Arthur Santer

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Ph.D. degree in Geography


Major professor

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ABSTRACT

A HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY OF JACKSON, MICHIGAN: A STUDY ON THE CHANGING CHARACTER OF AN AMERICAN CITY 1829-1969

By

Richard Arthur Santer

The purpose of the study is to analyze and describe the changing spatial character of the city of Jackson, Michigan. The research presented in the paper begins with white settlement (1829) and terminates with the present-day city (1969). The contemporary city has a population of fifty thousand and is located in the south-central part of the Lower Peninsula of Michigan. In facing the challenges to its growth, especially the demands brought about by population variations and educational-technological innovations, the character of the city has exhibited a continual process of change during the last 140 years.

To provide a basis for understanding the emergence of Jackson's contemporary cityscape the methodology of historical geography is employed. To identify how the city has changed through time, the researcher has created by description and maps the community's major land uses and functional activities for five dates: 1830, 1870, 1910, 1930, and 1969. Concurrently the intervening periods

have been analyzed and interpreted to gain insight concerning how changes occurred. In the final chapter some implications of expected future development are included.

In the dissertation only the city's land-use patterns pertaining to commercial, residential, industrial, governmental and transportation uses are presented; also discussed are Jackson's population composition, origin, and growth. The decisions which have affected the change in the city's land-use and functional activities are investigated.

Jackson in 1969 is typical of many contemporary American cities in having endeavored to solve some of its problems through the implementation of plans for urban renewal, blighted housing removal, reorganization of traffic flow, and mall construction. While the recent changes have helped to create a new cityscape, its present-day condition is only a mutation of its 140-year development.

As a result of the investigation the notion that the content of earth space is not static, but is constantly changing is reaffirmed. Yet, each of the periods presented in this study has also contributed to the illustration that no matter how incessant change at a place may be, many distributional features from the past persist in the contemporary landscape.

A HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY OF JACKSON, MICHIGAN:
A STUDY ON THE CHANGING CHARACTER OF
AN AMERICAN CITY 1829-1969

By

Richard Arthur Santer

A DISSERTATION

Submitted to
Michigan State University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Department of Geography

1970

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A Dedication:

To Ruth, my wife, whose encouragement and labor
made this dissertation possible.

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The encouragement, guidance and assistance of numerous individuals has contributed immeasurably to the completion of this work. To all who assisted I am most appreciative. Although there are unnamed persons whose contributions were perhaps no less significant, I would like to acknowledge more specifically assistance from the following individuals. I am grateful for the generous advice and critiques given throughout the preparation of the work by Professor Daniel Jacobson, my Guidance Committee Chairman. For his counsel in the formative stages of preparation I am also thankful to the late Dr. Paul C. Morrison.

I am appreciative for the assistance in the search for materials by several librarians: John DaBall, Jackson Public Library; Richard Hathaway, JoAnne Jager, and Carol LaChange, Michigan Section, Michigan State Library. Stuart Babcock, Superintendent Jackson County Abstract Office, assisted in the clarification of property-use problems, as well as suggested additional sources of information for which I am indebted. I also appreciate

Dr. John Wholihan opening his private map collection for my use.

Although they may not have contributed materially, my children helped in their own way which is valued by their father.

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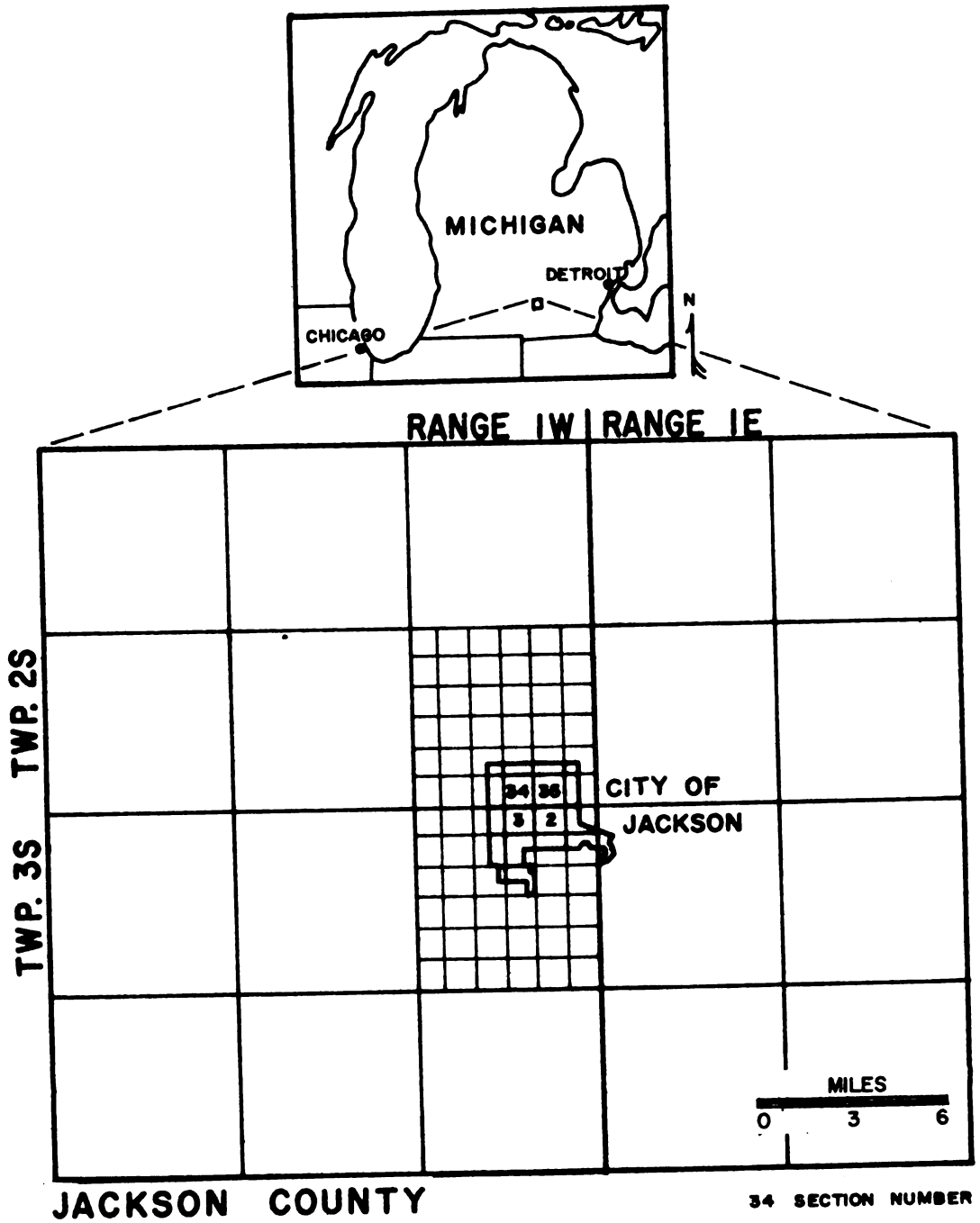
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INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this study is to investigate, analyze, and describe the changing spatial character of the city of Jackson, Michigan. The research presented in this paper begins with white settlement (1829) and terminates with the present-day city (1969). The contemporary city has a population of fifty thousand and is located in the south-central part of the Lower Peninsula of Michigan about seventy miles west of Detroit and forty miles south of Lansing (Map 1). Jackson, like other metropolitan centers which grew from frontier and territorial foundations, has continually been confronted with urgent and difficult problems. In facing the challenges to its growth, especially the demands brought about by population variations and educational-technological innovations, the character¹ of the city has exhibited a continual process of change during the last 140 years.

To provide a basis for understanding the emergence of Jackson's contemporary cityscape or character, the

¹As a general term the character of a city is conceived as the total features or traits that comprise its structure, form, and size, the recognition of which provides a means whereupon it may be differentiated, categorized, and described.



LOCATION OF THE CITY OF JACKSON

methodology of historical geography is employed. It emphasizes the reconstruction of the past geography of a place to show the significance of previous geographic activity.² By using the methodology of historical geography it is believed that a key can be uncovered to answering the question, "How did Jackson's present-day spatial character evolve?"

In this paper only the city's land-use patterns pertaining to commercial, residential, industrial, governmental, and transportation uses are presented; also discussed are its population composition, origin, and growth. How the city's land uses and functions have changed through time and the decisions which brought them about are investigated.

There have been an infinite number of decisions which have contributed to the growth and character of the city. This study concerns the locational decisions relating primarily to the following landscape features: transportation facilities, electric power facilities, the

²Major statements on the methodology of historical geography may be found in the following works: Andrew H. Clark, "Historical Geography," American Geography Inventory and Prospect, ed. by Preston James and Clarence Jones (Syracuse, New York: Syracuse University Press, 1954); H. Roy Merrens, "Historical Geography and Early American History," William and Mary Quarterly, XXII (October, 1965), pp. 529-548; Carl O. Sauer, "Foreword to Historical Geography," Annals of the Association of American Geographers, XXXI (March, 1941), pp. 1-24; Derwent Whittlessey, "Sequent Occupance," Annals of the Association of American Geographers, XIX (September, 1929), pp. 162-165.

State prison, and the ten largest manufacturing and distribution enterprises based on employment.

Selection of the Study Area

For the purposes of this investigation the study area is the city of Jackson bounded by its corporate limits. Although contemporary Jackson is classified by the census bureau as consisting of a larger urbanized area than the central city and a metropolitan area co-terminus with Jackson County, the city still retains its individual identity by virtue of its political-governmental incorporation as a city.³ The investigation of Jackson was chosen for the following reasons.

1. Jackson's higher rank within the hierarchy of central places in comparison to other county seats initially raised the writer's curiosity to discover how this had come about.⁴
2. The city's relatively constant population throughout the last fifty years (Table 1) beckoned an analysis of how that had affected the character of the city.
3. Additionally, it was anticipated that a historical geography would provide basic

³Harold Mayer, "Cities and Urban Geography," Journal of Geography, LXVIII (January, 1969), p. 10.

⁴Of Michigan's eighty-three county seats, seventy-one had a population in 1960 of less than 25,000, and of those, fifty-one are smaller than 10,000 inhabitants.

information for the assessment of future growth of Jackson.

TABLE 1
POPULATION CITY AND COUNTY OF JACKSON

Year	City	County	Year	City	County
1960	50,720	131,994	1890	20,798	45,024
1950	51,088	107,925	1880	16,105	42,031
1940	49,656	93,108	1870	11,447	36,047
1930	55,187	92,304	1860	4,799	26,671
1920	48,374	72,539	1850	2,287	19,346
1910	31,433	53,426	1840	440*	19,346
1900	25,180	48,222	1830	120*	

Source: U.S. Censuses: 1850-1960.

*Estimate (History Jackson County (Chicago: Interstate Publishing Co., 1881), p. 183; George N. Fuller, "Settlement of Southern Michigan, 1805-1837," Michigan History, XIX (1935), p. 196.)

Procedures

To identify how the city has changed through time, the researcher has created by description and maps, the community's major land-use and functional activities for five dates: 1830, 1870, 1910, 1930, and 1969. Currently, the intervening periods have been analyzed and interpreted to gain insight concerning how changes occurred. In the final chapter some implications of expected future development are included.

The particular years selected have been chosen because they appear as representative dates in the

development of the city. The year 1830 was the foundation year and is used to establish the initial occupance patterns. The year 1870 represents post-Civil War conditions dominated by railroad building. The year 1910 immediately precedes the city's decade of greatest population growth, when the Negro population was still comparatively small (Table 2). Jackson in 1930 had its greatest official population as well as its depression character.

TABLE 2
CITY OF JACKSON NEGRO POPULATION

Year	Total	Year	Total
1960	4685	1900	473
1950	2761	1890	469
1940	1504	1880	430
1930	1692	1870	359
1920	810	1860	131
1910	354	1850	76

Source: U.S. Censuses: 1850-1960.

The city of 1969 is representative of the increasing Negro composition of the city's population. Furthermore, Jackson in 1969 is typical of many contemporary American cities in having endeavored to solve some of its problems through the implementation of plans for urban renewal, blighted housing removal, reorganization of traffic flow, and mall construction. While the recent changes have helped to create a new cityscape, its present-day condition is only a mutation of its 140-year development.

CHAPTER I

PRE-JACKSON TERRITORIAL SETTLEMENT

The founding of Jackson was only one isolated event in the Nineteenth Century epic of westward migration into the North American interior. Before the sounds of the surveyor's axe and clanging chains vibrated through the forest wilderness, signaling the intended birth of Jackson, sufficient settlement in the southern Lower Peninsula had occurred to make Jackson's establishment predictable. The decade or so antedating the staking out of Jackson's plat and the Michigan land boom which followed in the 1830's was a critical period in the settlement history of Michigan. Those few years marked the territory's transition from the century-long occupance restricted to the narrow strip of land along the Detroit River and local water courses to inland settlement in the counties adjacent to the Detroit nucleus. Summarizing the events of the earlier settlement in southeastern Michigan will not only put the founding of Jackson into perspective, but will help to explain the origin of the city.

Initial European Settlement
in Michigan

In the nearly two hundred years of European contact with Michigan prior to the establishment of the first Public Land Office at Detroit in 1818, settlement in the territory had had a relatively slow growth. The inhabited area throughout the French, British, and early American governmental administration periods remained virtually the same. When Michigan was designated as a separate territory in 1805, there were still only four small centers of occupancy within its boundaries: at Detroit, Frenchtown (Monroe), Sault Sainte Marie, and Mackinac Island. In spite of missionary, fur trade and settlement activities throughout the Eighteenth Century, by 1810 Michigan's total population was only 4,762 with the majority (2,227) in the vicinity of Detroit.¹

Perhaps the slight growth in southern Michigan after years of European contact can be attributed to the nature of the inhabitants' activities during the period, for neither missionary work with the Indians nor fur trading required large numbers of settlers. Parkins states that the slow occupation of Michigan after Detroit's establishment by Cadillac in 1701 was due to premature settlement.²

¹U.S. Bureau of the Census, Third Census of the United States: 1810, p. 88.

²Almon E. Parkins, The Historical Geography of Detroit, III (Lansing, Michigan: Michigan Historical Commission, 1918), p. 55.

The town developments coming as an outgrowth of the migrating peoples during the later American interior settlement substantiates Parkins' observation.

The War of 1812 and Settlement

The three years of hostilities ending in 1815 between American and British forces became pivotal in the transition to frontier-farmer occupance of the timberland and prairies behind Detroit. The major point is that the war demonstrated the difficulty, but yet necessity, of defending Detroit if governmental control was to be maintained in the Michigan section of the Northwest. To improve the military situation at the outpost would require both more settlers and better land connections. The war was also significant because of the transfer to other territories of the military bounty land grants designated for Michigan as a consequence of the Tiffin Report which misrepresented cultivation possibilities in the territory.³

In the years following the war the Federal Government helped to resolve the plight of the isolated Detroit community. Major actions to relieve the situation and to prepare the interior for settlement were conducting land cession treaties with the Indians, authorizing land surveys,

³George N. Fuller, "An Introduction to the Settlement of Southern Michigan from 1815 to 1835," Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections, XXXVIII (1912), pp. 545-546; Letter, Lewis Cass to Josiah Meigs, March 11, 1816, Michigan Historical Collection, Archives, Cass Letter Book, sheets 106-107.

opening a Public Land Office in the territory, and initiating military road building. By the eve of Jackson's founding, the vulnerability of Detroit had been considerably reduced by its slowly increasing population and the opening of a road south through the Black Swamp to the Ohio communities.

Non-War Considerations

Even though the war's conflagration brought national attention to the Detroit area by its loss and subsequent federal activities after the war, a simple cause and effect situation cannot be assumed to account for the ever-increasing post-war inhabitation of the area (Table 3).

TABLE 3
1810-1840 POPULATION OF MICHIGAN,
ILLINOIS, INDIANA, AND OHIO

Year	Michigan	Illinois	Indiana	Ohio
1810	4,764	12,282	24,520	230,760
1820	8,765	55,162	147,178	581,295
1830	31,639	157,445	343,031	937,903
1840	212,267	476,183	685,866	1,519,467

Source: Compendium of the Ninth Census: 1870, pp. 38, 40, 58, 80.

Other things taking place simultaneously tended to improve Michigan's attractiveness for homesteading. In the Ohio River Valley the pre-war migration trend continued, thus concurrently decreasing available homesteading land in

that section while intensifying the need for another settlement area. Additionally, the technological advances of steam navigation on the Great Lakes and the construction of the Erie Canal in New York (both starting in 1818, the latter continuing over a seven-year period) also served to promote the advantages of Michigan Territory.

Nevertheless, neither the central government's actions to prepare the territory for settlement (surveys, Land Office, road building) nor the introduction of more reliable and economical water transportation triggered an immediate unrestricted land boom or migration stampede as may have been expected. In fact, taking-up the land by the pioneers progressed quite modestly during the post-war years (Table 3).

The reason for the territory's prolonged era of slow growth between the War of 1812 and the 1830's can be explained dually. On one hand, the delay is attributed to no more than would be expected from, as Kuhn suggests, the State's settlement "... in the normal course of westward movement, after Ohio and before northern Illinois. . . ." ⁴

Secondly, the delay has been attributed to reports, correspondence, and publications which described the

⁴Madison Kuhn, "Tiffin, Morse and the Reluctant Pioneer," Michigan History, L (June, 1966), p. 114.

territory unfavorably and thereby acted to restrain some migration.⁵ Foremost of these was the Tiffin Report.

Surveys, Land Sales, and
Laggard Settlement

Congress in 1812 set aside six million acres of military bounty land for war veterans in three western territories including two million acres in Michigan.⁶

Edward Tiffin, the Surveyor General of Ohio was charged with the responsibility of surveying Michigan lands. Yet, on the advice of Cass, Governor of the Michigan Territory, the start of surveying was continually delayed evidently because of Indian matters--treaty problems of quieting their unruliness.

Finally, in September, 1815, the survey was begun by deputy surveyors on what were to be the major boundary lines for the later subdivision of the bounty land. From the reports of his field party which returned to Ohio in November, Tiffin wrote Josiah Meigs, Commissioner of the General Land Office, his ill-famed "Tiffin Report."

⁵Ralph H. Brown, Historical Geography of the United States (New York: Harcourt Brace and World, Inc., 1948), p. 276; F. Clever Bald, Michigan in Four Centuries (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1954), p. 145; Thomas M. Cooley, Michigan: A History of Governments (6th ed.; Boston: Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1892), pp. 192-193; Andrew C. McLaughlin, Lewis Cass (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1891), pp. 95-96; William H. Hathway, "County Organization in Michigan," Michigan History, II (1918), pp. 579-580.

⁶Frank B. Woodford, Lewis Cass, The Last Jeffersonian (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1950), p. 107; McLaughlin, op. cit., p. 95.

. . . Taking the country altogether, so far as has been explored, and all appearances, together with the information received concerning the balance is as bad, there could not be more than one acre out of a hundred if there would be one out of a thousand, that would in any case admit of cultivation.⁷

The total effect of the Tiffin Report on subsequent settlement events is presently a matter of dispute after years of citing it as the primary cause for holding back emigration into the State.⁸

Transfer of bounty lands

Regardless of the debatability of the Tiffin Report's total effect on migration to Michigan, there remains the fact that it did have a major bearing on President Madison's decision to request the transfer of Michigan bounty lands.

. . . The land bounties promised to the soldiers of the late Army, are so covered with swamps or lakes, or otherwise unfit for cultivation, that a very inconsiderable proportion can be applied to the intended grants. I recommend, therefore, that other lands be designated by Congress for the purpose of supplying the deficiency.⁹

Congress responded two months later by awarding three-fourths of Michigan's bounty portion to Illinois and

⁷United States, American State Papers, Public Lands, III, pp. 164-165.

⁸Kuhn, op. cit., pp. 111-138; Willis F. Dunbar, Michigan: A History of the Wolverine State (Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1965), p. 242.

⁹U.S., Congress, House, Military Bounty Lands, House Document No. 81, 14th Congress, 1st Sess., February 6, 1816.

the rest to Missouri.¹⁰ Undoubtedly, the transfer was not a State secret and could be expected to cause one to hesitate in selecting Michigan as a future home if he became aware of the circumstances through written or oral communication.

Regardless of the bounty land surveyors' report, there were others equally as discouraging which preceded it. General Duncan McArthur who served with Cass at Detroit provides one example. He wrote this pessimistic report and advised its recipient to come and judge for himself conditions at Detroit, if in doubt:

I have no hesitation to say that it would be to the advantage of Government to remove every inhabitant of the Territory, pay for the improvements, and reduce them to ashes, leaving nothing but the Garrison posts. From my observation, the Territory appears to be not worth defending, and a mere den for Indians and traitors. The banks of the Detroit River are handsome, but nine-tenths of the land in the Territory is unfit for cultivation.¹¹

Undeterred by the bad reports, people continued to arrive in Michigan and displayed their satisfaction by staying.¹²

¹⁰U.S. Statutes at Large, III, p. 332.

¹¹Bald, op. cit., p. 144, quoting letter, Duncan McArthur to William Woodbridge, November 14, 1814.

¹²Hervey Parke, "Reminiscences," Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections, III (Lansing: 1881), pp. 572-573.

The case for new surveys

After Detroit had received the reports of the Tiffin survey¹³ and the recommendation for the removal of the bounty lands from the territory, means were sought to forestall the abandonment of the territory for settlement and to correct what were felt to be gross misrepresentations. Subsequently, a reasoned case for the opening of Michigan to homesteading was developed with consideration given to legal, military, and humanitarian factors. Not overlooked, undoubtedly, were private economic speculations not always stated publicly, but frequently a significant justification for promoting a project.

A long letter (March 11, 1816) from Governor Cass to Commissioner Meigs is a case in point:

I find by examining the acts of Congress of March 26, 1804 and April 25, 1808, that the President is authorized to cause to be surveyed and sold the lands of the United States in the Territory.

I presume that difficulty of adjusting private claims prevented at an early day the carrying into execution of these acts. That reason has ceased to operate. The private claims in the country have been adjusted, and patents for the land were issued a short time previous to the declaration of war. [This is in reference to claims by persons of British and French descent at Detroit and claims due to the fire at Detroit 1805.]

The present is very favorable time for offering these lands for sale, and considerations of publick

¹³Letter, Edward Tiffin to Lewis Cass, February 12, 1816, Michigan Historical Collection, Archives, Cass Letter Book, sheet 105.

policy, connected with the tenure and defense of the Country, dictate the same measure.

This Territory is weaker in itself, more liable to be attacked and with greater difficulty defended than any other Section of the Union. In 1810 the adult male population did not exceed 800 and the succession of misfortunes, which the Country has experienced since that period, has diminished instead of increasing the number. By bringing the public lands of the United States into market the current of emigration would be turned towards us, our population would soon be such. As would be adequate to the defence of the Country, and a barrier would be interposed between the British and the Indians, which would effectually prevent a recurrence of the unfortunate events, which marked the progress of the late war, for considerable period upon this frontier.

But the considerations upon this subject are so apparent that I will not trouble you with a recapitulation of them. The quality of the land in this territory, I have reason to believe, has been grossly misrepresented. From the report of persons in whom I can place confidence, and from my own observation, I think, it will admit a considerable population. Persons who remove to this territory, settle upon the public lands. This is a result of necessity as there has never been any offered for sale. These settlers it may eventually be difficult to remove, and it is prudent to avoid the evil by permitting them to purchase.

A register and receiver are in office and paid by the United States, without any duties to perform.

Permit me therefore to recommend that immediate measures be taken for surveying and selling the public lands in this Territory.¹⁴

The points made in the letter were taken; the case was won; surveying was resumed later that year.

¹⁴Cass to Meigs, op. cit., March 11, 1816.

Opening the land office

Following the initial surveys, the Land Office at Detroit was opened for public sales in July 1818. Notwithstanding Governor Cass's stated optimism that bringing the public lands on the market would turn the tide of migration, Darby states, ". . . the sales did not operate to add much to the population . . . a great share [was] purchased by the resident inhabitants, and annexed to land already in their possession."¹⁵ More significant here is the unfortunate fact that Darby did not provide his readers with a specific explanation indicating why Michigan was not a migration destination.

Though the soil is good in general, some of it excellent, and all parts well situated for agriculture and commerce, some causes have hitherto operated to prevent serious emigration to the Michigan territory.¹⁶

Some writers have suggested that the delay in migration was partly due to the land laws which did not protect squatters' rights, the cost of land purchases and credit system or Indian unruliness.¹⁷ However, these explanations cannot be considered conclusive because the given problems

¹⁵William Darby, A Tour from the City of New York to Detroit (Chicago: Americana Classics Quadrangle Books, 1962), pp. 199-200 (reprint of First Edition, New York, 1819).

¹⁶Ibid., p. 200.

¹⁷Woodford, op. cit., p. 113; George N. Fuller, Economic and Social Beginnings of Michigan, I (Lansing: Wynkoop Hallenbeck Crawford Co., 1916), pp. 57, 64-65.

were general, not being specifically limited to Michigan. Moreover, similar situations did not result in curtailing migration into the Ohio and Mississippi valleys.

Nevertheless, the Land Sales Act of 1820 did increase the advantages of the persons with relatively small capital resources by allowing "half-quarter section" purchases at \$1.25 an acre plus discontinuing the practice of credit purchases.¹⁸ In the years immediately following the 1820 Act, certified land sales did begin a noticeable rise in the territory from the less than four and one-half square miles sold in 1820 to over ten times that three years later (Table 4).

TABLE 4
CERTIFIED LAND SALES IN ACRES AT
DETROIT 1820-1836

Year	Acres	Year	Acres	Year	Acres	Year	Acres
1820	2,860	1824	61,919	1828	17,433	1832	177,635
1821	7,494	1825	92,332	1829	23,409	1833	771,503
1822	20,068	1826	47,125	1830	70,441	1834	136,598
1823	30,173	1827	34,964	1831	217,943	1835	405,331
						1836	1,475,725

Source: John T. Blois, Gazetteer of the State of Michigan (Detroit: Sydney L. Rood & Co., 1838), p. 74.

¹⁸U.S. Statutes at Large, III, p. 566.

A more important point is the fact that land sales continued to increase only until 1825, the year that the Erie Canal was completed and decreased drastically for three years before recovering at the end of the decade.¹⁹

Earlier explanations for the drop in land sales in the territory after the Erie Canal was brought into full operation are inconclusive. Fuller alludes to "hard times in the East" by citing in a footnote a statement from the Detroit Gazette of May and June, 1826.²⁰ Similarly, Dunbar citing Arthur Schlesinger, Jr. concludes:

There can be little doubt that this decline was due to rising prices in the East, a depression in 1828-1829, and the "tight money" policy of the United States Bank, which made it difficult for prospective settlers to obtain the cash to buy land, to finance the journey westward, and to obtain the capital needed for successful pioneering.²¹

If Eastern economic conditions are accepted as the explanation for the delay, then the revenue received from land sales in the nation should show a similar decrease. Blois' figures give evidence that just the opposite took place with revenue increases each year between 1825-1830

¹⁹The Monroe Land Office which came into operation shortly before the completion of the canal also shows similar declines in land sales. (American State Papers, Public Lands, VI, 630.)

²⁰Fuller, Economic and Social Beginnings, op. cit., pp. 65-66.

²¹Dunbar, op. cit., p. 246.

except 1828 (1.21, 1.39, 1.49, 1.01, 1.51, 2.32 million dollars respectively).²²

By the same token, total land-sales figures for Illinois and Indiana also refute the hard times, tight money, depression explanation. In Indiana acreages bought increased each year between 1824-1830, and in Illinois only 1827 showed a decline.²³ Perhaps then, migration to Michigan was curtailed by a local economic recession limited to its major population source area, New York and New England. If that were the case, Michigan's declines would be disguised in the national figures by purchases by Middle Atlantic and Southern pioneers in the more southerly territory. On the other hand, Kuhn's hypothesis is also reasonable. ". . . Land sales slackened (in Michigan) while investors waited for the surge of pioneers to fill Ohio's Erie shore and spill over into Michigan."²⁴

Surveying continues

Within ten years of the disillusioning beginning of land surveying in Michigan, Jackson's bearing trees were marked, thereby initiating the enduring rectangular

²²John T. Blois, Gazetteer of the State of Michigan (Detroit: Sydney L. Rood & Co., 1838), pp. 152-153.

²³American State Papers, Public Lands, op. cit., VI, pp. 629-630.

²⁴Kuhn, op. cit., p. 114.

imprint, ordained by the act creating the Northwest Territory. John Farmer's first map (1826) shows the progress of the surveys up to that time and provides graphic evidence of the determination and effort to prepare Michigan for extensive settlement. His initial effort shows that the surveyors had completed the work on five townships west of the present city of Jackson, but the surveys were limited to townships in the two present-day southern tiers of counties.²⁵ Preceding the vanguard of American settlement and the surveyor were the Indian treaties of land cessions; one of these Indian treaties (Chicago, 1821) ceded the Jackson section of land to the Federal government.²⁶

Territorial Inland Settlement 1817-1829

Lacking an overwhelming demand for land in the first years after the Land Office's opening, settlement away from the Detroit core was relatively orderly, deliberate, and intuitively logical. As early as the summer of 1816, Governor Cass wrote to Commissioner Meigs concerning the

²⁵ John Farmer, Map of the Surveyed Part of the Territory of Michigan (1826), (photo copy), Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections, XXXVIII (1912), facing p. 636.

²⁶ Alpheus Felch, "The Indian Lands of Michigan and the Cession of Their Lands to the United States by Treaties," Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections, XXVI (1895), pp. 274-297; Fuller, Economic and Social Beginnings, op. cit., pp. lxiv, 58-59, 520-530.

location of the lands that should first be brought on the market.

. . . The first object is to settle the margin of the lakes and rivers and the lands in the immediate vicinity of the present settlements. This is uniformly the course, which the current of emmigration takes and must take. . . . [The settler] He is the pioneer to begin the road, which is to be traveled. But we must not expect him to begin at the wrong end, [and] to do all and leave nothing for others. By settling the country on the margin of the lakes and principal water courses we shall soon have a strong and increasing population.²⁷

When the pioneer household goods finally went westward to bring comfort in the first inland communities, they left from the established river settlements (Frenchtown, Detroit, and the small trading post at Mt. Clemens). The new communities were sited on the major rivers (Clinton, Huron, and Raisin). The budding hamlets clung to within thirty miles of Detroit or the waterfront. From the emerging initial inland settlement pattern there followed the course which Cass insisted emigration "must take."

First interior communities

The progress of inhabiting the internal area of the territory is indicated by the establishment of new communities beyond the older settlement nucleus. The major point to be noted is that when westward expansion commenced, at the same time near the French-established waterfront settlements, increasing American land ownership also was

²⁷Letter, Lewis Cass to Josiah Meigs, June 16, 1816, Michigan Historical Commission, Archives, Cass Letter Book, sheets 121-122.

taking place. Therefore, we find that the first inland settlements starting at Rochester and Pontiac (Oakland County) between 1816-1818 corresponded to increased pioneer settlement at Mt. Clemens and Monroe.²⁸

Several years intervened before the next inland endeavors were undertaken. Between 1823 and 1825 Washtenaw County, adjoining Detroit's Wayne County on the west, had its first settlement. Starting as Woodruff's Grove, Ypsilanti became the first settlement and was followed successively by Ann Arbor and Dexter further upstream on the Huron. Concurrent with Washtenaw's first nuclei was the initial occupation of Lenawee County up the Raisin River west of Monroe County. Tecumseh's development was first started in 1824 and a Quaker Colony two years later began to prosper at Adrian.²⁹ After the establishment of these frontier hamlets, further community development was curtailed as a result of the contraction of migration through Detroit following the completion of the Erie Canal.

Although some new settlers did continue to arrive during the next few years, they tended to fill the vacant areas between the old and new occupied areas, like a child pouring sand over a pile of stones to fill the empty space.

²⁸ Fuller, Economic and Social Beginnings, op. cit., pp. 157-158, 199-201.

²⁹ Ibid., pp. 203-204; Clara Waldron, One Hundred Years a Country Town (Tecumseh, Michigan: Thomas A. Riordan, 1968), pp. 14, 27.

On the other hand, some settlement began taking place in the southwest, being fed at first by the unabating migration in Indiana from the Ft. Wayne nucleus and later by the Chicago Road out of Detroit.³⁰ By the fall of 1829, the year of Jackson's founding, St. Joseph's and Cass County's populations were large enough to organize them, thus making them the first independent counties west of Washtenaw and Lenawee counties.

Road building and pre-Jackson settlement

Good territorial roads were needed for the defense of the Detroit outpost. However, their construction lagged nearly as much as territorial settlement. By the time of Jackson's founding only three roads had been started in the territory and only one was considered completed.

By 1827 a stagecoach-worthy road south through the nearly impassable Black Swamp was finally completed from Detroit to Ohio. Without a doubt, the opening of the Swamp Road was lauded in Detroit, giving it its long desired land access to the settled south and east and an alternate defensive re-supply route.

The roadway to the northwest from Detroit leading to Pontiac and Saginaw, the Saginaw Road, followed the Indian trail by that name as a continuation of Detroit's Woodward

³⁰Fuller, Economic and Social Beginnings, op. cit., pp. 252-254; "St. Joseph County," Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections, III (1881), p. 610.

Avenue. Construction on it was initiated in 1816, but its progress was delayed by poor drainage conditions. By 1835 it had been completed only a short distance north of Flint.³¹

The first road west was the Chicago Military Road, built to link Detroit with Chicago's Fort Dearborn, and followed for the most part the Old Sauk Trail. Authorized by Congress and partially marked in 1825, the Chicago Road is in its contemporary form U.S. 12 (old U.S. 112).³² Originally this route directed settlement into the most southerly tier of counties after it passed west from Ypsilanti.³³

Three other major roads were to come later in the territorial period: the Territorial Road (St. Joseph Trail), the Grand River Road, and the Detroit-Fort Gratiot or Port Huron Road. Of these the Territorial Road connected Jackson with the core area of Detroit.

Summary

On the eve of Jackson's founding, orderly preparations had been made in the Michigan Territory to further its settlement with Indian treaties, surveys, and road building. After the disillusionments of the 1812-1815 War and

³¹Dunbar, Michigan, op. cit., p. 247; Parke, op. cit., p. 573.

³²Bald, op. cit., p. 153.

³³Fuller, Economic and Social Beginnings, op. cit., p. 263.

correction of the misrepresentative Tiffin Report, the end of the long wait for the tide of migration to turn to Michigan was at hand.

With the resurgence of land purchases in Michigan in 1828, after the construction of the Erie Canal, the unabated migration into Ohio, Illinois, and Indiana throughout the 1820's, and the establishment of the first ring of towns and counties around the settlement core at Detroit, Jackson was prepared to receive its first landlooker footing his way west along the St. Joseph Trail who would decide to purchase land in what is now the city.

CHAPTER II

FOUNDING THE JACKSONBURGH HAMLET: TRANSITION OF OCCUPANCE PATTERNS

The way of life of a newly developed area is associated with the cultural milieu from which the people came. The settlers' cultural background forms the structure upon which life in the country grows. The migrant's past culture is often carried with him as invisible baggage, yet at the same time physical conditions and past occupance in his newly chosen settlement area tend to affect and blend with the newcomer's imprint on the landscape. Additionally, borrowing of culture traits from groups with which there is contact frequently takes place.

The study of the founding of the hamlet of Jacksonburgh, as Jackson was first called, is valuable because it helps to explain the evolution of the later city's morphology. One needs only to be briefly reminded that the local conditions of a settled place--its site, topography, vegetation, wildlife, and drainage--have been greatly altered by man's occupance. Artificial drainage, deforestation, cultivation, technological change, fire, and rebuilding have so altered the landscape that conclusions cannot be

derived from contemporary observations alone. To visualize what the place was like at its time of origin, it is necessary to reconstruct the local area at that particular time.¹ Additionally, one should attempt to discover the desires of the founders in an effort to understand why decisions to locate the town at the site were initiated.

Calculating the perpetuation of migration into Michigan, the founders of Jackson risked their capital and livelihood with the hope that they could profit by establishing a village in the path of the trekking pioneers. With Jackson's settlement, the long-established process of frontier inhabitation continued to develop with intensive occupance in central places and extensive habitation on dispersed farms.

Four years after the original survey of the township in which Jackson is sited, the land for the intended village was purchased (July 10, 1829).² This first land purchase came five years after the occupance of the land

¹Sauer, op. cit., p. 10.

²Michigan Auditor General, Jackson County Tract Book (Lansing: Michigan State Library), Microfilm 383. Auditor General Records of Michigan of the first land purchases of a given parcel of land from the United States Government; Edward Tiffin, Survey Contract with Hervey Parke, December 15, 1824, initiating survey of Townships 1, 2, 3, 4 South Range 1 West and Townships 2 and 3 South Range 1 East. Michigan Historical Commission, Archives.

at Ann Arbor and Dexter, the two nearest centers to the east. Nevertheless, this was not the first land in the county to be occupied by persons of European descent.³

With acquisition of the site, construction of the first cabin, purchase of adjacent property, and the arrival of permanent settlers in the spring of 1830, changes in the local landscape became more apparent. By the end of the first year of white settlement, the patterns of the aboriginal occupance had given way to an American frontier landscape.

Site Selection

In June of 1829 Horace Blackman came to Michigan from Tioga County, New York, seeking farm land and, perhaps, a town site. It is a moot point whether or not someone else would have chosen the same site as he. Nevertheless, the area near his purchase possessed several attributes which made it attractive for village development. Although Blackman is credited with selecting the site for the settlement, he was not the originator of the choice.

³U.S. Work Project Administration, Jackson County Family History, Work Project Administration Historical Project (Jackson: Work Project Administration, 1936), p. 10 (mimeographed).

That credit belongs to Johathan F. Stratton, a surveyor residing in Ann Arbor.⁴

Decision for specific location

Following the surveyor's direction, Blackman, accompanied by a woodsman and an Indian, walked nearly forty miles from Ann Arbor into the wilderness. The party advanced primarily along the St. Joseph Indian Trail which the natives used for travel between the Detroit River and the mouth of the St. Joseph River on Lake Michigan. Upon traversing the low morraines of the southern Lower Peninsula's drainage divide, the three men entered the valley of the Washtenong Sepee (Grand River).

After assessing the advantages and disadvantages of the surrounding countryside for two days, the party selected a site on July 5, 1829. Claim stakes were driven on the 160 acres of the southeast quarter of Section 34, Township 2 South, Range 1 West (Map 2).⁵ The site was

⁴William R. DeLand, Stratton's friend and regular correspondent, had previously married a niece of Mrs. Lemuel Blackman, Horace's mother. DeLand had for some time resided near the Blackman's in New York before returning to North Brookfield, Massachusetts, his parents' home. When Horace Blackman went to North Brookfield to marry William R. DeLand's second cousin, DeLand showed the letters from Stratton to Young Blackman who was considering setting up a homestead in Western New York. Stratton's descriptions and DeLand's encouragement prompted Blackman to come to Michigan. (Charles V. DeLand, DeLand's History of Jackson County, Michigan [Logansport (?), Indiana: B. F. Bowen, 1903], pp. 54-55.)

⁵Jackson County Tract Book, op. cit. The land was formally registered at the Monroe Land Office July 10, 1829.



well-chosen for either a town or farm. The advantages included:

1. Location on a main Indian trail leading from Detroit--traditional route of the pioneer inland
2. Indian trail junction with several other minor trails--enhancing accessibility
3. Clear flowing narrow river which could easily be dammed for power
4. An excellent ford across the river
5. Open land, some recently in use for temporary campground and corn fields by the Indians
6. A good supply of oak and other trees--for building and other uses
7. An adequate amount of elevated, well-drained land
8. A central position in what was expected to be a new county

There was one main disadvantage, the large amount of poorly drained land varying from swamp to wet prairie, but the listed advantages outweighed that disadvantage. Other site disadvantages were its distance from Ann Arbor, the heavy timber, and its being in Michigan's western watershed. The latter two factors could, however, easily have been considered advantages by Blackman. From his father, a former lumberman, Blackman possibly knew the

value of timber for milling and construction purposes. The westward flowing Grand River, while not of value to bring goods into the future settlement, may have been interpreted by the young man as enhancing the place as a shipping point for goods moving downstream.

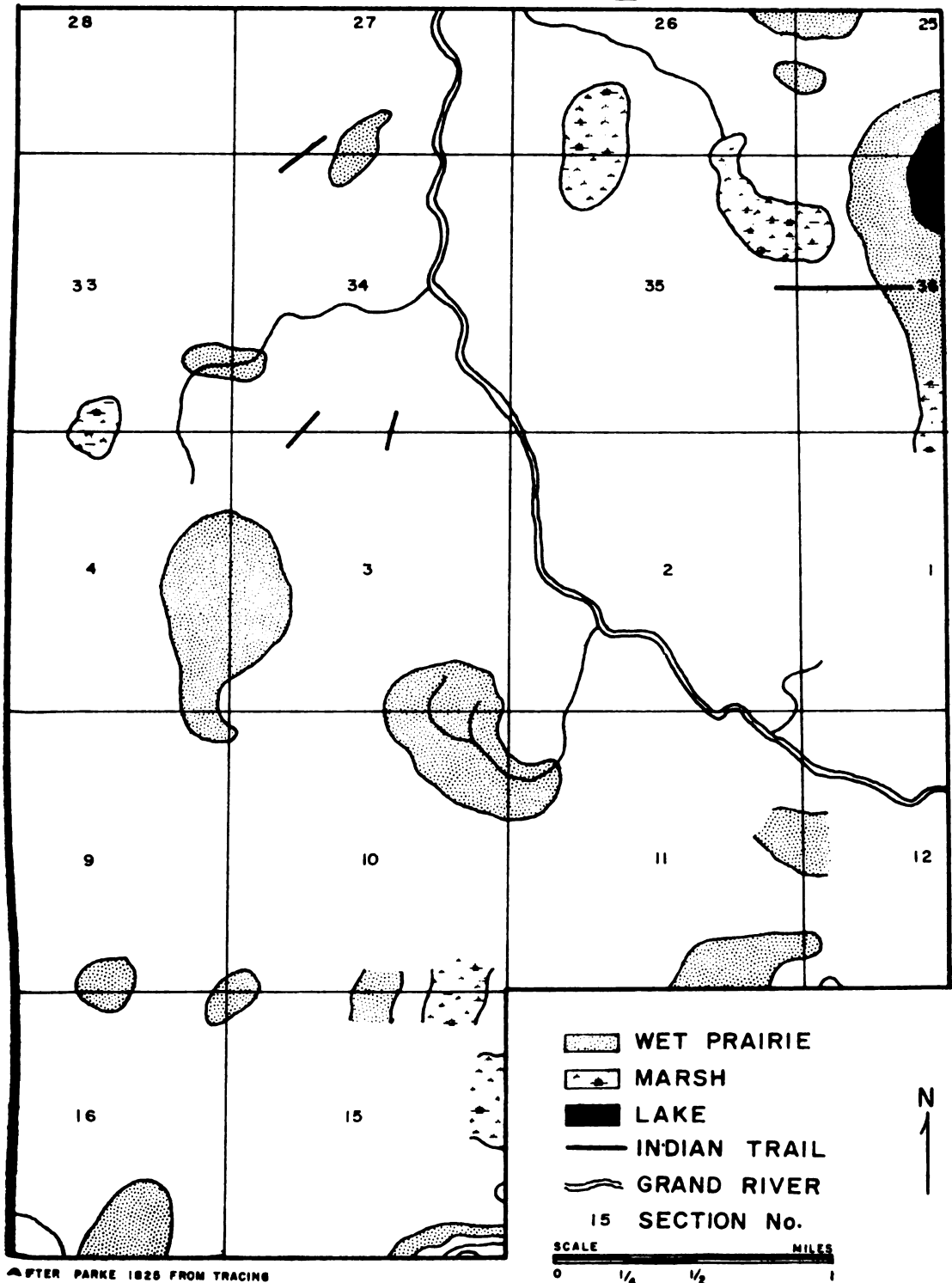
Indian trails.--Unquestionably, the Indian trails were one of the main factors in the selection of the initial site. This is evidenced by the fact that the first purchased land was bisected by the St. Joseph Trail. Furthermore, when the center of the new hamlet had to be shifted to Blackman's southern property line, efforts were immediately made to maintain a link to the trail. The intent was to place the hamlet in a position to intercept homesteaders and artisans moving west. The site's position was strengthened with respect to travel by minor trails branching from the main one near the proposed center. How many trails met at Blackman's site is a matter of conjecture. Reports of two early historians vary between nine and eleven trails converging from different directions.⁶ On the other hand, the original land survey map indicates only one trail actually entering the site.⁷ That trail

⁶James M. Thomas, Jackson City Directory and Business Advertiser: 1867-1868 (Jackson: Carlton and VanAntwerp Printers, 1867), p. 6; Combination Atlas Map of Jackson County (Chicago: Everts and Stewart, 1874), p. 18 1/4.

⁷Record Maps and Descriptive Notes: Hervey Parke Survey, Michigan Historical Commission, Archives, RG 62-16.

CITY OF JACKSON

ORIGINAL LAND SURVEY



Map 3

came into the site on the southern boundary (Michigan Avenue) near Blackstone Street (Map 3). Another trail is plotted to the southwest which undoubtedly joined the main trail at the site. The St. Joseph Trail probably crossed the Grand River where Trail Street Bridge now is located. Up to 1937 when dredging removed it, the natural ford remained there in the form of shallow rapids underlaid by a sandstone ledge.⁸

Although there is some discrepancy between the early accounts on the exact number and location of the trails, this much is clear--the original Blackman location and later-day city were readily accessible by at least three Indian trails, the St. Joseph Trail and two secondary ones. One of the latter led to the southwest, later connecting Jackson with Spring Arbor village (White Pigeon Trail); the other led north paralleling the river.⁹ With

⁸William G. Fargo, "Indian Trails of Jackson County, Michigan," Centennial of the Incorporation of Jackson: 1829-1929 (Jackson: Jackson Centennial, Inc., 1929), pp. 30-31. The surveyors' omission of plotting all the trails and river fords may be due to the complexity of trails converging near the Blackman site to which the early historians allude. The surveyors had to complete a survey of six townships in three months with maps and notes under penalty of fines of \$1000. Thus speed was essential and the field party could have decided not to record in detail the junction of several trails or minor ones. (Record Maps and Descriptive Notes, op. cit.; Hervey Parke Survey Contract, op. cit.)

⁹William G. Fargo, Map: Jackson County Showing Indian Trails (Jackson, 1929 (?)), on file Michigan State Library; Fargo, Centennial of the Incorporation of Jackson: 1829-1929, op. cit.; Wilbert B. Hinsdale, Archaeological Atlas of Michigan (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1939), Map 5; C. V. DeLand, op. cit., p. 59.

the convergence of trails, Blackman's location would become a logical center from which migrants could branch to the north or southwest but still have access to the main trail route to Detroit.

Central location.--Central location was also a primary concern for the selection of the site. Centrality would give it an advantage when the time came for selecting the county seat. Centrality alone, however, did not preordain county seat selection. Up to the time of the settlement of Jackson, none of the organized counties to the east had a geographically centered county seat. Detroit, Mt. Clemens, and Monroe had peripheral waterway locations; Pontiac, Ann Arbor, and Tecumseh were several miles from their county centers.¹⁰ It might be hypothesized that the combination of early settlement, relatively larger population, political connections, and centrality were the critical requirements for commissioners selecting the county seat site. When Jacksonburgh was made the county seat, it possessed these advantages.

Indian campground.--Similar perception of the local land by the white pioneer and the aboriginal inhabitants for settlement and agriculture is demonstrated by Blackman's decision to use the land much as the Indians had.

¹⁰It should be noted that only Tecumseh lost its county seat designation. Waldron suggests even that shift could have been prevented with more astute political action. (Waldron, op. cit., p. 83.)

Included within Blackman's land were both an Indian campground near the main trail just west of the river and at least two corn fields. Undoubtedly Blackman reasoned that if the site were dry enough for an Indian campground and would support their agriculture, it could also serve his purposes well.

Pre-Settlement Physical Landscape
and Site Selection

An early citizen and local historian, writing fifty years after the founding of Jacksonburgh, concluded that the physiographic conditions at the site were not desirable for creating a community:

A more forbidding site for a village or city than that chosen for Jackson could not in all probability have been found in the state of Michigan. The low ground was a swamp. The high land a succession of sand knolls or hills of a very uneven character, interspersed with springs and bogholes. The river bottom was heavily timbered, very low and wet, and so difficult to improve that it was thirty years after the town was started before there was a good, well established street passing through it.¹¹

In spite of the foregoing characterization, it seems illogical that the party selecting the location deliberately chose a "forbidden site." Rather they assessed the surroundings as possessing physical conditions suitable for successful settlement. The lands encompassing the Jackson area were not basically different from the lands lying to the east. Between Ann Arbor and Ypsilanti Blackman

¹¹Michael Shoemaker, "Jackson County: Historical Sketch of the City of Jackson, Michigan," Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections, II (1878), p. 274.

observed, undoubtedly, that successful cultivation was taking place on the glaciated upland and among the marshes and swamps. He, perhaps, reasoned that similar conditions of bogs, light soils, and heavy timber surrounding his land would not be a deterrent to settlement.

Land in the city of Jackson and the county was then, as now, gently undulating.¹² The elevation difference between the lowlands and the ridge paralleling the river and adjacent hills generally exceeds no more than 50 to 100 feet.¹³ The sharpest rise in elevation was found along the western bank of the river. The land rises one hundred feet from the half-mile wide Grand River flood plain to small pitted plains, knobby hills, lying at about one thousand feet of elevation. The southwest part of the city has the points of greatest height with the summit in Sharp Park attaining 1060 feet.¹⁴

Land assessment for agriculture

Evidence that the local area was not considered a prime agricultural area is provided by the original land

¹²J. O. Veatch, F. W. Trull, J. A. Porter, Soil Survey of Jackson County, Michigan, No. 17 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Agriculture, Bureau of Chemistry and Soils, 1926), p. 1.

¹³Map: Michigan, Rives Junction Quadrangle, United States Department of the Interior Geological Survey (Washington, D.C.: 1919); Map: Michigan, Jackson Quadrangle, United States Department of the Interior Geological Survey (Washington, D.C.: 1935).

¹⁴Ibid.

survey maps and notes. These documents indicate seventeen wet prairies and marshes within the city--and not all were plotted (Map 3).¹⁵ In only two places did the survey field party of 1825 rate the land as first class.¹⁶ The remainder of the descriptions recorded classified the land about evenly between (1) second rate rolling, thinly to heavily timbered lands, and (2) poor third rate, uneven or poorly-drained lands. Granting that the quality of the land was not first class, it was reasoned that if one carefully chose his land there was enough cultivatable ground to sustain farming. In turn, modestly successful farming with trade and a county seat function would insure the town's survival. In spite of the poorly-drained condition of the wet prairies, they could be easily drained. Even before drainage the wild hay they provided could be used as a source of food for livestock.¹⁷

Soil and vegetation.--The marsh areas comprised permanently water-covered land which was occupied by water plants such as pond lilies, arrowhead, cattails, flag bulrushes, and sedges. Most of these low places represented

¹⁵Record Maps and Descriptive Notes, op. cit.

¹⁶Ibid. The two places were cited near Ganson and Elm Streets, the line dividing Sections 35 and 36, (T 2 S, R 1 W) and along Francis Street between Morrell and High Streets the Section Line between Sections 2 and 3 (T 3 S, R 1 W).

¹⁷Blois, op. cit., pp. 25-26, 224; Fuller, Economic and Social Beginnings, op. cit., p. 307.

lakes or lakelets in an early state of filling by vegetation. Such land had little outright agricultural value as illustrated by its relatively late purchase. Wet prairies were in a later stage of pond filling; they were originally covered with wire grass and bluejoint. Tamarack was the principal tree found in the wetter muck and peat swamps with other woody plants such as red-osier dogwood, dwarf willow, and winterberry.¹⁸ Along the water courses, in association with Brookston loam soil, an undergrowth of plum, prickly ash, scrub oak, and wild grapevine was common.¹⁹

The dominant trees of the area were the varieties of oak. Swamp oak, hickory, linden, silver maple, and elm were found on the wetter mineral soils. On the drier, sandier soils (Hillsdale sandy loam) black, red, white, and burr oaks and a few hickories were found.²⁰ Black walnut, butternut, sycamore, and aspen were for the most part absent from the forest which almost entirely shaded the city.²¹

Practically all of the land of the Hillsdale sandy loam soil type was suitable for agricultural purposes. Its only drawbacks initially were degree of local slope and size and number of stones and boulders present.²² Areas of

¹⁸Veatch, op. cit., p. 2.

¹⁹Record Maps and Descriptive Notes, op. cit.

²⁰Veatch, op. cit., p. 2; Record Maps and Descriptive Notes, op. cit.

²¹Record Maps and Descriptive Notes, op. cit.

²²Veatch, op. cit., p. 10.

poor soils such as Carlisle muck and Rifle peat found in the southwest, southeast, and northeast extremities of the city, purchased several years after the initial settlement, clearly indicates that the early farmers who located in what is now the city were generally adept at judging the relative merits of the land.

Local drainage.--Water availability was important to the new town developer from New England. The survival of a town within the American cultural-technological system required a water power site for manufacturing purposes. While the Grand River at Jackson was not as ideally suited for a mill as the sites at Albion, Marshall, Battle Creek, or Kalamazoo, it could be dammed for power.²³ The Grand River at Jackson may seem insignificant today, but with a higher water table and smaller water crafts, it would be used to carry goods downstream.²⁴

In addition to Grand River, two small creeks flowed within the city. One rose near Franklin and Bower streets

²³Fuller, Economic and Social Beginnings, op. cit., p. 321.

²⁴Evidence that the early settlers followed the Indians' use of the Grand River comes from Lanman's 1839 guide to emigrants assuring them: "The Grand River flows through this county (Jackson) and is navigable in small boats and canoes to Lake Michigan." In 1836 the Territorial Legislature insured the unimpeded flow of water craft on the river through Jackson by stipulating that the town's second dam should " . . . not exceed seven feet in height . . . and shall contain a lock not less than 75 feet in length and 16 feet in width for the passage of boats, rafts, and other water craft." (James H. Lanman, History of Michigan (New York: E. French, 1839), p. 287.)

and flowed northeasterly across Blackman's property entering Grand River just south of Ganson Street. Another small creek flowed northwest out of a marsh located near Leroy and Loomis streets. Near the northwest corner of Blackman's land a spring rose, which provided one family with an initial source of potable water. Another spring was located about a block north of Michigan Avenue just east of Blackstone. Since deer were known to frequent it, they provided an easily obtainable source of meat.²⁵

Considering the condition of the surrounding territory, the intended site for inaugurating a new community was well chosen. Yet, unfortunately for the succeeding inhabitants, Blackman's purchase had an Achilles' heel, a swamp in its southeasterly part along the river and another near the center of his property's southern boundary. But these swamps were ". . . so far from the center [of the intended hamlet] that it offered, but little objection" to Blackman in 1829.²⁶ Within a year, however, the center of town would be placed in or adjacent to these swamps.

Morphology of the Inner-City

The enduring structure of the inner-city, its location, street and alley pattern, and public lands were not

²⁵C. V. DeLand, op. cit., p. 69.

²⁶Lula A. Reed, The Early History Settlement and Growth of Jackson, Michigan (Jackson: Jackson County Historical Society, Reprint 1965), p. 7.

determined by the physical characteristics of the land but by human competition and cultural borrowing. Just before Horace Blackman returned to New York in the fall of 1829 to organize his family for movement to Michigan, he, his brother Russell, and the surveyor Jonathan Stratton, drew plans for their new village. It was a simple rectangular plan. The main street was to be where Trail Street presently is located with three other parallel east-west streets. Intersecting at right angles were the two north-south thoroughfares, with intervening alleys every eight rods.²⁷ Additional plans were made to construct a dam on the river. It was assumed that the Blackman relatives would be able to purchase adjoining parcels of land the following spring. While the Blackmans were absent, a few men from Ann Arbor took up land adjacent to and upstream from the first purchase.²⁸

Three quarter sections of land were purchased at Monroe, directly south of Blackman's and diagonally upstream, between November and February, 1829-1830. The owners bought

²⁷C. V. DeLand, op. cit., p. 60; County of Jackson, Register of Deeds, Liber 10, p. 582.

²⁸DeLand in his History of Jackson County refers to the Ann Arbor men taking advantage of a "squatter act" which went into effect January 1, 1830, "that allowed settlers to pre-empt one hundred and sixty acres by filing a claim and paying for it within two years (p. 64)." It appears from the dates of first land purchases that the act had no effect in Jackson's founding. Upstream purchases from Blackman's came as early as November 1 and December 9, 1829. Most other adjacent purchases did not come until April, 1830. (Jackson County Tract Book, op. cit.)

the land in order to obtain control of the river's water power. Additionally, they had a survey and plat for a village of Jacksonopolis made in the early spring of 1830. The plat extended from the river west to Blackstone Street and from Blackman's property line south to Franklin Street.²⁹ In April, 1830, before the Blackman party from New York arrived in Michigan, a group of permanent settlers and workmen moved to Jackson and started construction of a dam. The foundation of this dam was laid nearly half a mile south of Blackman's line. It was a primitive log dam and brought the water up only four feet.³⁰ The construction of the dam upstream denied water power to Blackman's intended town site and forced the original town planners to agree to a combination plat when they arrived at Jackson in May of 1830.³¹

The compromise village plat

Early in the summer the third plat, or what is now generally considered to be the original plat of the village of Jacksonburgh, was surveyed and drawn by Johathan

²⁹C. V. DeLand, op. cit., pp. 64-65.

³⁰C. V. DeLand, op. cit., pp. 64-65; History Jackson County (Chicago: Interstate Publishing Co., 1881), p. 176; R. L. Polk, Polk's Jackson City and County Directory: 1903, (Detroit: R. L. Polk and Co., 1903), map facing title page.

³¹C. V. DeLand, op. cit., pp. 64-65.

Stratton. The hamlet subsequently evolved according to its plan.³² The form of the plat was a variation of the Philadelphia Square. However, it most closely resembles the original plat of Elizabethtown, Kentucky.³³ The process by which the town plan was diffused to Jackson is not clear. The men responsible for the planning of Jackson were all from New York or Massachusetts, not from Pennsylvania, the source area of this trait, or from Ohio and Kentucky, where it was early extended.³⁴ As Price indicates, the courthouse square was not a New England trait but may have been adopted by people from there because of its simple and convenient lines in laying it out.

Settlers took the Philadelphia Square westward into Ohio, where it is often described, but with little justification, as a New England square. New England settlers may have found the Philadelphia Square convenient for their purpose, but any New England character it developed must have been in the buildings and planting rather than in the ground plan.³⁵

³²Records of the Michigan Department of Treasury, Auditor General Division, "Plat of the Village of Jacksonburgh." True copy of 1830 plat, August 1842 (Lansing), microprint. Plat Number 9128.

³³Edward T. Price, "The Central Court House Square in the American County Seat," The Geographical Review, LVIII (January, 1968), pp. 30, 45.

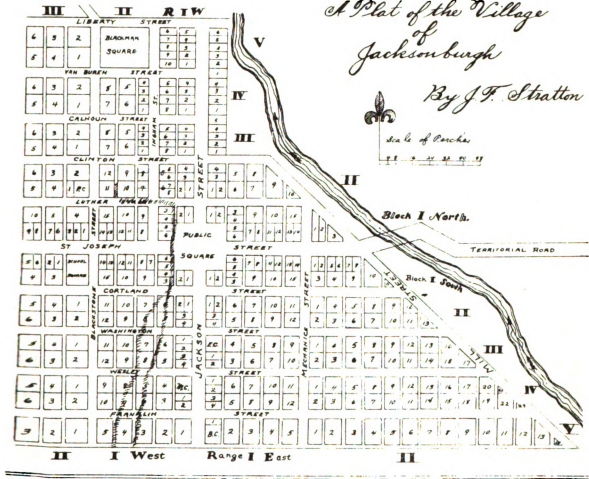
³⁴Ibid., pp. 41, 44.

³⁵Ibid., p. 44. It appears questionable that J. Stratton established the pattern of the plat as his 1830 Plat of Dexter, Michigan, does not possess the alleys or other features found in the Jackson plat. Yet he, as a surveyor, may well have been aware of town plan variations and suggested its design as DeLand stated; Blackman's first plat contained a public square and alleys.

Jackson's town plan originally centered on one large public square. From it were extended the hamlet's two six-rod wide principle avenues (Map 4). St. Joseph Street (later Main Street and Michigan Avenue) was placed on Blackman's south property line. Jackson Street, the principle north-south thoroughfare was placed at the mid-point of Blackman's property. Whether it was intended or not, there were no roadways platted around or through the square. Perhaps by default, Jackson Street and Main Street were run through the center of the public square thus dividing the square into four small squares. The lack of roadways around the square was one factor in the sale of sections of it twenty years later.

Effect of compromise plat

The chief benefit secured by the community from the compromise plat was that it helped to centralize settlement and reduced the chance of competing nuclei from developing. Less advantageous was that the compromise plat placed the center of the hamlet and its main street on poorly drained land. For example, there was a swamp extending a half mile to the east where Michigan Avenue crossed Grand River, which for three decades cost the community much time, effort, and money to make the business district accessible from the east. Another swamp in the southwest corner of the public square made building construction difficult. Travel on the main street was also impeded, due to a small creek which



bordered the west side of the public square and crossed the main street near it. A third swamp covered a four-block long area from just southwest of the public square to a point south of Blackstone and Mason streets.

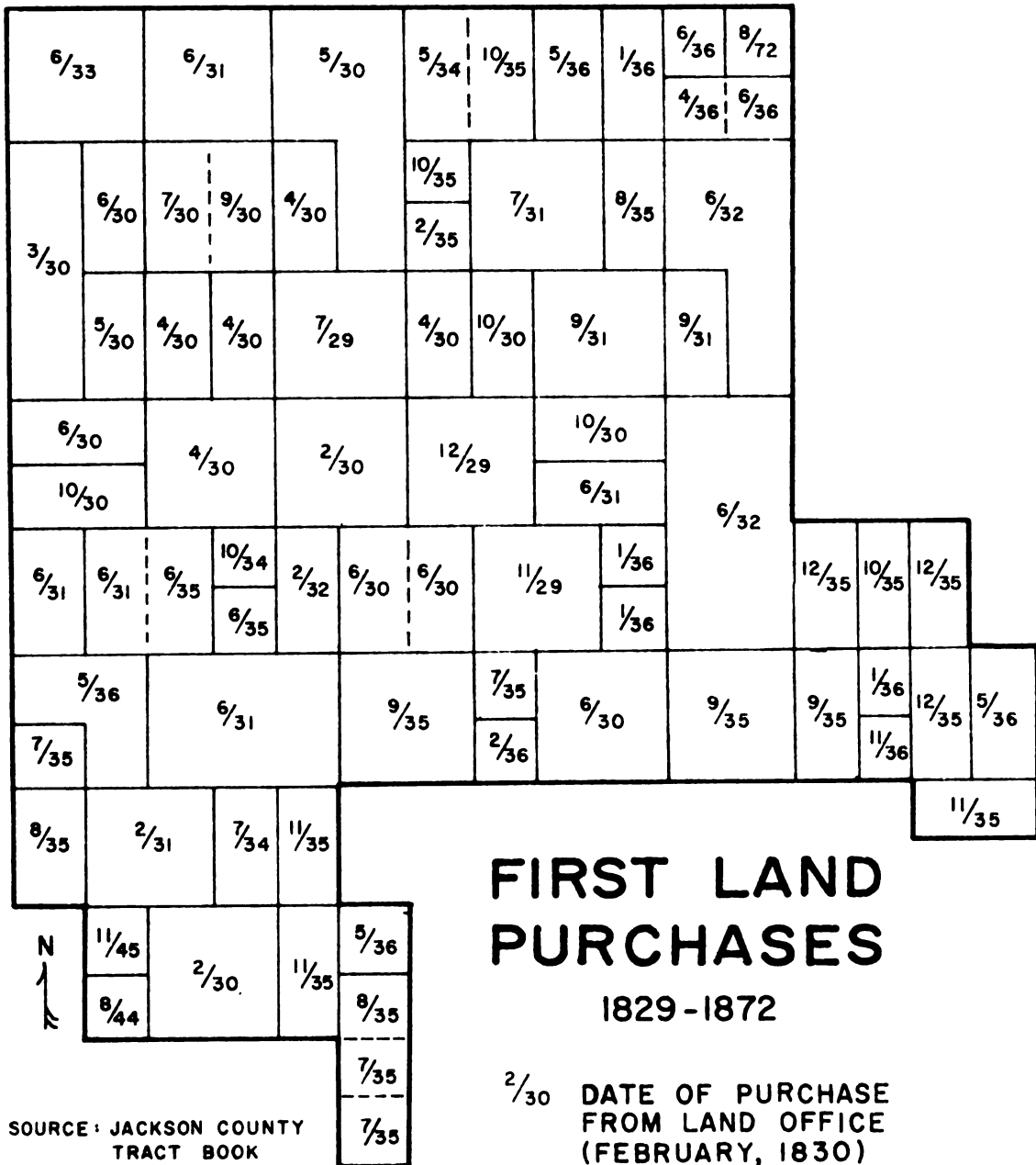
Taking up the land

Once the hamlet's actual survey and lot stakes were in place, the sale of lots commenced. To forestall absentee land owners and speculators from buying in the community, lots were sold with a resident proviso. The proviso required lot purchasers to build immediately upon their lot and occupy it.³⁶ By the end of the year the hamlet had developed, comprised of about twenty log homes and combination business establishments. Moreover, the center possessed most of the elements and institutions of a well-planned colony. Yet, most of the present-day city was held in farm-sized land holdings.

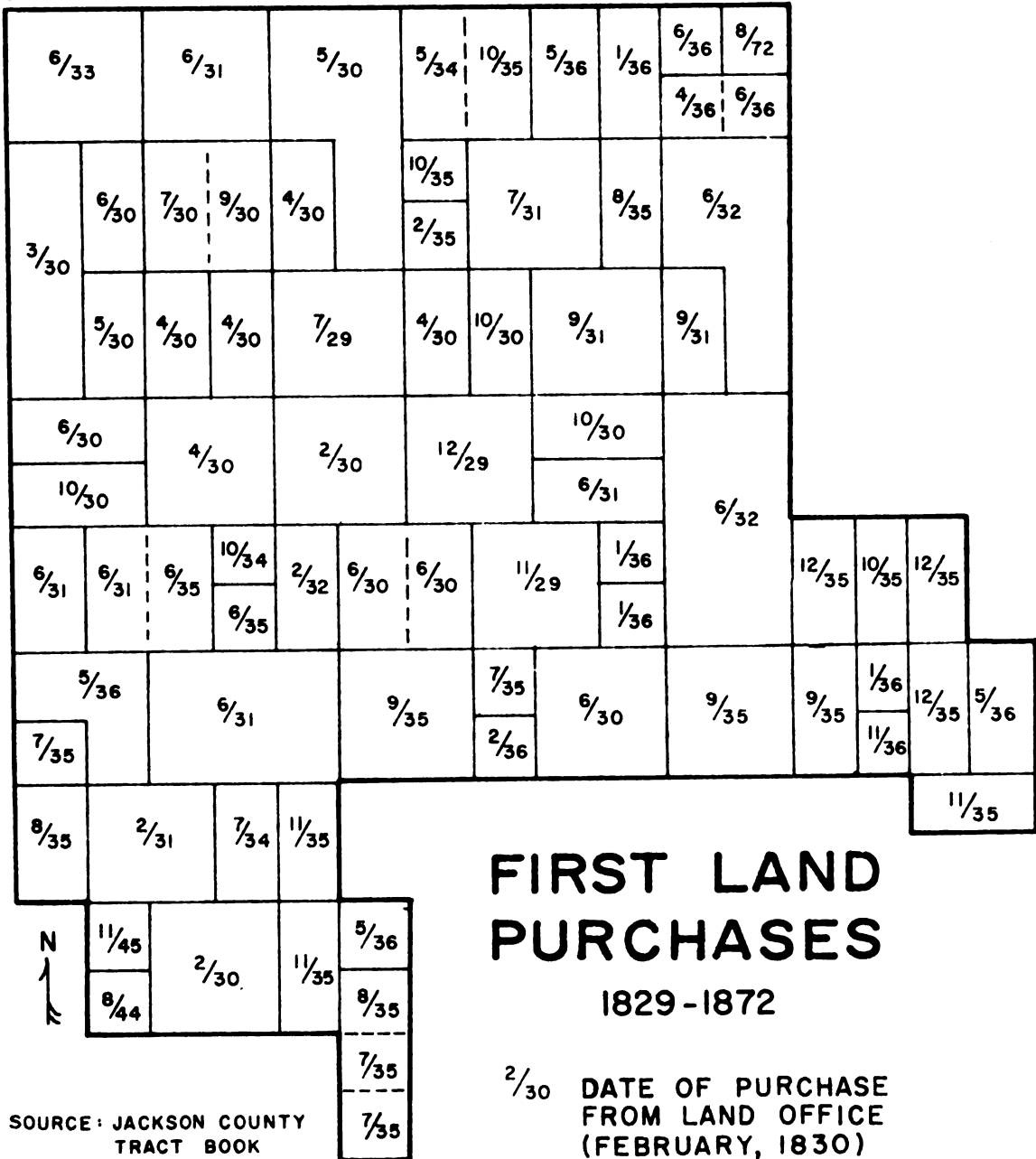
Of the contemporary city's 6,891 acres, less than 150 were devoted to town life in 1830. The land that is now in the city was purchased primarily from the Government Land Offices at Monroe and White Pigeon in 76 parcels (Map 5). There were three quarter sections purchased in 1829, but surprisingly the last initial purchase from the Government did not come until 1872. In that year the final 40 acres in the extreme northeast corner of the city, the

³⁶Thomas, 1867-1868, op. cit., p. 11.

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Thompson Lake and swamp, was transferred to private ownership.³⁷ By the end of 1830 a little over one-third of the city had shifted to private ownership.

Population, Settlement, and its Origin

The people who came to Jackson to take up the land and set the initial occupance pattern were dominantly New Yorkers. Of the twenty men who made the first purchase of land in the city from the Land Office at Monroe during 1829 and 1830, fifteen were from New York, one came from England but did not settle, and four indicated Washtenaw County, Michigan, as their place of residence.

The first home in the city was Blackman's twenty-by-thirty-foot gabled roof log cabin which was built by Horace and Russell Blackman in the fall of 1829. It was located on Trail Street at the southwest intersection of Ingham Street.³⁸

The beginning of permanent settlement at Jacksonburgh started with the arrival of the dam building party from Ann Arbor in late March. This group consisted of nineteen individuals. Three of the men had already located land near Blackman's and two others did by the end of the first week in April. The other men bought lots in the

³⁷Jackson County Tract Book, op. cit.

³⁸Thomas, 1867-1868, op. cit., p. 17; Mary G. DeLand, E. M. Sheldon Stewart, "The First Settlements of Jackson," Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections, V (1882), p. 348.

community once it was platted in the summer. Women in the frontier hamlet included two of the workmen's wives.³⁹

On May 27, 1830, the first segment of the Blackman group from Berkshire, Tioga County, New York, arrived at the village site. By the middle of June the six others in the Blackman group arrived.⁴⁰

With the establishment of the founding groups and their resolution to minimize destructive competition, the settlement became permanent. By the end of the year about thirty families had settled in the city but not all within the bounds of the platted village.⁴¹ Although the majority of families had come from New York, there were three families from Massachusetts, two each from Maine, Pennsylvania, and Ohio.⁴²

By November, 1830, 147 inhabitants were in the county with 123 located in or near the settlement.⁴³ Population growth near the center of the county indicated Jacksonburgh's supremacy from its inception as the county's primate city. Additionally, it indicated that town development led

³⁹History of Jackson County, 1881, op. cit., pp. 174-176.

⁴⁰C. V. DeLand, op. cit., pp. 65-67, 326-330.

⁴¹Jackson Citizen Patriot, September 19, 1937, Section 3, p. 2; Thomas, 1867-1868, op. cit., p. 15.

⁴²Jackson Citizen Patriot, September 19, 1937, Section 3, p. 2.

⁴³C. V. DeLand, op. cit., p. 75.

rural development. During the year smaller settlements were started in other parts of the county. Four families were located at Grass Lake, one family each was located in Leoni and in Brooklyn; a mestizo family was living in Waterloo.⁴⁴

The route to Michigan

Those who came to Jackson from New York generally followed the Erie Canal-Lake steamer route to Detroit. The Blackman's route may be taken as a typical example. They came by horse and wagon to Ithaca, New York, and from there embarked on a canal barge and were floated to Buffalo, New York, on Lake Erie. From that point they took passage on the emigrants' steamer William Penn for a five-day journey to Detroit. An additional two days were needed to reach Ann Arbor via the Chicago Road to Ypsilanti and the Territorial Road west of it, by horse-drawn wagon. In all, the trip from Tioga County to Ann Arbor took twelve days.⁴⁵

⁴⁴Ibid. A precise enumeration of the composition of the place's population in 1830, a census year, does not exist. The national census taken in November included Jackson in Washtenaw County. Of the sixty-seven men listed by Thomas as coming to Jackson in 1830 only eight are shown on the census registration rolls of Washtenaw County. Those eight were recorded at Dexter and account for fifty persons (23 males, 10 females, and 17 children under 20). Undoubtedly, because men had to travel to Dexter or four other stations in Washtenaw County, they chose not to take the time to be counted. (U.S. Bureau of the Census, Fifth United States Census: 1830. Population Schedule, Michigan, National Archives; Record Group 29 Records of the Bureau of Census, sheets 159, 160, Microprint 69, Michigan State Library.)

⁴⁵C. V. DeLand, op. cit., pp. 63-64.

Initial Settlement and Activities

During the initial year of permanent occupation, 1830, the essential residential, political, and production activities were established. Most commercial and production activities were located within the original plat, the only exception being a sawmill and farming. Although many of the founding pioneers of the hamlet possessed specialized skills, most individuals worked at more than one job until the hamlet had grown large enough to permit a more specialized division of labor.

Agriculture

In 1830 land devoted to farming was the most extensive land use within the present-day city. Previous Indian occupation, as in the case of the original site selection for the village, contributed to the location of the first plowed fields. An Indian cornfield located between Blackman's Creek and Ganson Street was the first field plowed. This field extended west from Jackson Street about an eighth of a mile.⁴⁶ The breaking plow, a large implement pulled by four to six yoke of oxen and controlled by three men, was used. By fall at least six fields of wheat were planted.⁴⁷ Besides work on the wheat fields, gardens were spaded and started near the homes. During the first

⁴⁶History of Jackson County, 1881, op. cit., p. 177; Thomas, 1867-1868, op. cit., p. 16.

⁴⁷History of Jackson County, 1881, op. cit., p. 177.

growing season "A bountiful supply of potatoes, had been raised, and pumpkins, squashes, cabbages and turnips stored in cellars and pits for winter use."⁴⁸

Early manufacturing and
service activities

Manufacturing in the initial year of occupance was relatively limited and for the most part associated with housing needs. Production in the home was geared to comfort and functional items. Pole bedsteads, three-legged stools, and cross-legged tables were made. Bed ticks and pillows were stuffed with marsh grass and cattails from the swamp where Fields Department Store is now located.⁴⁹ Home manufacturing and the establishment of the community's dam and first sawmill reflected the pioneers' attempt to copy the way of life they had been used to in New York and New England. While log cabins or local sandstone or cobblestone could have provided adequate housing, frame structures typical of the Northeast were preferred by the pioneers. Thus the dam and sawmill were erected to meet the cultural need.

The first lumber produced in the fall went into improving the community's temporary log housing--flooring,

⁴⁸C. V. DeLand, op. cit., p. 76.

⁴⁹History of Jackson County, 1881, op. cit., pp. 175-180; Reed, op. cit., p. 16.

doors, and shelving.⁵⁰ Later in the spring of 1831 frame structures began to appear. To process locally available hides, a tannery was started by two Germans from Ann Arbor, but it continued in operation only until 1833.⁵¹

The construction of the dam and sawmill attracted the services of a blacksmith and a millwright. When construction was completed, the individuals remained in the hamlet to continue their trade. Anticipating the health needs of the new hamlet, two physicians settled there in 1830. Yet, because of few accidents and general good health, their services were not needed until about 1832 when Michigan ague became a common affliction.⁵²

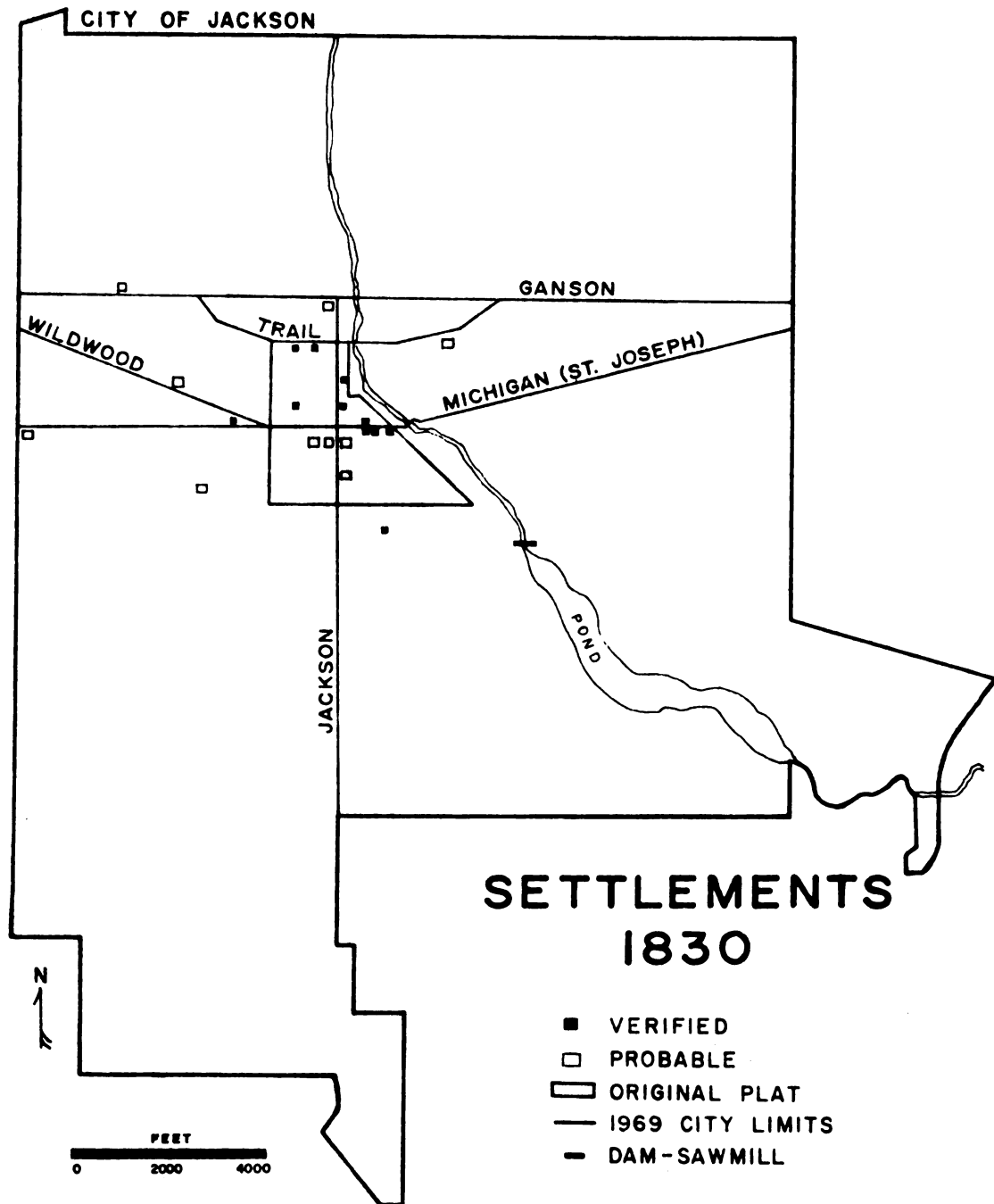
The taverns, competition and
the hamlet's core area

The initial competitive activities involved two taverns, one owned by Blackman's father and brother, the other by the owners of the southern half of the village plat and sawmill. The taverns formed the nucleus of the first business district which has continued to modern times on Michigan Avenue (Map 6). They were located near each other on opposite sides of the main street, just east of

⁵⁰C. V. DeLand, op. cit., p. 67; History of Jackson County, 1881, op. cit., p. 176.

⁵¹History of Jackson County, 1881, op. cit., pp. 180, 218.

⁵²Thomas, 1867-1868, op. cit., pp. 16-17.



Map 6

the first alley east of the public square. Blackman's Tavern was a large double log building made of tamarack logs, forty-by-fifty feet, two stories high.⁵³ I. W. Bennett and W. R. Thompson built a smaller double log structure with two rooms on the south side of the street.⁵⁴ Thus, the tallest buildings in town were in the business district from the beginning of the city's settlement. The Bennett-Thompson structure was the second building in the hamlet and the first one on the town's main street; it was built in February or March, 1830. It had a loft upper floor, made from split logs; the lower floor was made of the same material.⁵⁵

The owners of the southern half of the village, in selecting the site for their tavern, undoubtedly considered three things: one, by placing their operation as near the St. Joseph Trail as possible, it would better enable them to attract travelers to their inn without unnecessary additional travel; two, by putting their tavern between Blackman's cabin on Trail Street and the dam-sawmill, it could then intercept individuals going to or from the mill; third, by locating on the property line, a more powerful argument could be presented to the Blackmans for compromising village plats.

⁵³Ibid., p. 33; Reed, op. cit., p. 11; Jackson Citizen Patriot, September 19, 1937, Section 3, p. 2.

⁵⁴C. V. DeLand, op. cit., p. 65; Thomas, 1867-1868, op. cit., pp. 11, 135, 211.

⁵⁵M. G. DeLand, Stewart, op. cit., p. 349.

The two home-taverns on Michigan Avenue served as public meeting places as well as being the political and economic centers for the hamlet.⁵⁶ These inns intercepted the westwarding travelers "spying the land" for new homesteads. At the taverns were told the merits and logic of settling in or near Jackson. Sometimes knowledge of the prairie or oak openings to the west or individual determination to look further before deciding on a location attracted many beyond the hamlet in spite of the promotional efforts by the founders.

Initial commercial trade

Other commercial activities in addition to the taverns to support the needs of the developing hamlet can also be traced from the first year of white habitation. In the initial year two general stores were opened. One sold mostly dry goods and went out of business in two weeks when the supply was sold out. The second store was located at first in the DeLand cabin with the town's first cobbler.⁵⁷

⁵⁶The taverns in Jackson with their multi-purpose town center activities, were typical to New England and other East Coast taverns of colonial and later times. For a more detailed discussion of old inns see: Charles S. Boyer, Old Inns and Taverns in West Jersey (Camden: Camden County, New Jersey Historical Society, 1962); Edward Field, The Colonial Tavern (Providence, Rhode Island: Preston and Rounds, 1897).

⁵⁷This cabin-store-shop located at Blackstone and Pearl streets had a split basswood slab lower floor raised about two feet off the ground. The section nearest the centered fireplace was not floored and was used as a fire-side seat. This home also had a glass window, "a great luxury" at that time. (M. G. DeLand, Stewart, op. cit., p- 350; C. V. DeLand, op. cit., pp. 76, 335.)

This store had a greater variety of goods including clothes, hardware, whiskey, and groceries. In the spring the store was relocated in the town's first frame structure which was built on the northeast corner of the public square facing Jackson Street.⁵⁸ Influencing the location was undoubtedly the fact that Jackson Street carried the greatest volume of traffic during 1830.

Trade linkages

During the first year of occupation, before agriculture and other production activities developed, most trading was with the established communities to the East. The greatest source of cash came from individuals passing through or those locating in the area. Due to the limited quantities of money available in the community, the economic system reverted at times to bartering as a system of exchange.

The infrequent trade interaction which took place in the first year was generally with Dexter, Ann Arbor, Plymouth, Detroit, and sometimes Monroe. Except for flour most settlers came supplied with a year's provisions which were usually bought at Ann Arbor. For flour, one of the community's first women states:

It was the Jackson custom to send a team [to Ann Arbor] for a load of flour, and then divide it in the neighborhood according to the size of the families, each family bearing its proportion of the expenses and paying a share of the purchase money.⁵⁹

⁵⁸ History of Jackson County, 1881, op. cit., p. 217.

⁵⁹ M. G. DeLand, Stewart, op. cit., p. 351.

Regardless of the supplies brought in and the garden produce harvest of the first season, the winter of 1830-1831 was precarious. Food was scarce and prices high. No pork or potatoes could be bought nearer than Plymouth. Those obliged to buy had to take a trip requiring a week or more.⁶⁰ The first winter the hamlet benefited greatly from the local Indians who traded at the general store and at individual homes. Wild game, fish, and maple sugar were exchanged for bread, coffee, tea, pork, and whiskey. In addition the pioneers supplemented their larder by hunting, trapping and fishing.⁶¹

Improving Access to the Center of Town

From the inception of the idea to locate a town on Grand River, the St. Joseph Indian Trail was to be the primary access route to and through it. In the fall of 1829 the Territorial Legislature authorized a Territorial Road to be laid out west from the Sheldon Tavern Corner [Plymouth] in Wayne County " . . . to Grand River where the St. Joseph Trail crosses the same . . ." then on to the mouth of the St. Joseph River.⁶² The road was marked from Sheldon's

⁶⁰History of Jackson County, 1881, op. cit., pp. 222-223.

⁶¹Thomas, 1867-1868, op. cit., pp. 12-13; C. V. DeLand, op. cit., p. 71.

⁶²Territorial Laws of Michigan, II, November 4, 1829, p. 744.

Corner to the Blackman location between January 4 and 14, 1830. The Territorial Road entered the city from the east on Ganson Street, then deviated south following Trail Street from atop Moody Hill down to the ford. From the crossing place it jogged north again to Ganson Street.⁶³

With the actual development of the town beginning to conform to the compromise village plat during the summer of 1830, access to the platted main street was indirect. Traffic followed the Territorial Road across the ford, then turned south onto Jackson Street to the square. This circuitous route was used because Main Street had no connection with the Territorial Road. To alleviate this situation and encourage direct access into the business and political center of town, two diagonal extensions to the Territorial Road were cleared. The east diagonal (East Michigan Avenue) commenced at Otsego (then Mill Street), the east limit of the village plat. The west extension, Wildwood Avenue (then North Main) began at the west limits of the village.⁶⁴

One of the original pioneers contributed a description of road building problems faced by not having Main Street on line with the Indian route:

The ground on each side of the river was swampy and miry and nobody could get to the river there when it was not frozen over. So the timber was cut and drawn

⁶³C. V. DeLand, op. cit., pp. 61, 76-77.

⁶⁴Ibid., p. 77; Thomas, 1867-1868, op. cit., p. 16.

on the ice and placed in position for a roadway when the spring came. A bridge was also built of timber and covered with split logs. The woods on the east side of the river were very dense, and the land swampy as far east as Page Avenue. The trees were cut out and a crossway built to that point. Before spring a roadway was opened east and west to the Territorial Road, . . .⁶⁵

During the winter months of 1830-1831 both Jacksonites and Ann Arborites working from their respective outskirts made improvements on the main highway. Bridging and corduroying soft spots were the primary objectives. Additionally, a pole bridge was built across Grand River at the Territorial Road crossing point, thereby eliminating the dip to the ford.

In the built-up area of the hamlet there were no actual streets. People went about their business without regard to the right angles outlined by the survey stakes.⁶⁶ Even with the score or so log houses which had been erected, the rectangular pattern of the city's street network was hardly discernible.

Political Institutions and Control

From the inception of the settlement, Jackson was attached to the Territorial or National Government for control. The closest relationship the inland hamlet had to the Federal Government was with the United States Post Office.

⁶⁵C. V. DeLand, op. cit., p. 77.

⁶⁶Thomas, 1867-1868, op. cit., p. 17.

The office was kept in the Bennett-Thompson Tavern. This agency of the government made its influence felt in two ways: one, by the identity it gave to the place, and two, through the flow of communication it carried between distant places. At first the mail was irregularly delivered depending upon travelers between Ann Arbor and "Jacksonopolis." Later, in 1830, a regular once-a-week schedule was set up with an appointed carrier traveling between the two centers.⁶⁷

Through the years the city has had three commonly used names. When the Territorial Road was being laid out, the commissioners voted to officially name the place Jacksonburgh.⁶⁸ This name was used, but because so many places were named in honor of President Jackson, the Post Office altered it to Jacksonopolis, the same name as the township in which the hamlet was later situated in 1830. Both names were used until March 6, 1838, when the hamlet's identification was officially changed by State law to Jackson.⁶⁹

Political organization

At the time of Blackman's purchase, control of the area was vested in the Territorial Government. However,

⁶⁷C. V. DeLand, op. cit., p. 72; History of Jackson County, 1881, op. cit., p. 178.

⁶⁸History of Jackson County, 1881, op. cit., p. 178.

⁶⁹Laws of Michigan 1837-1838, March 6, 1838, p. 81.

with the surge of immigration into the interior during the fall of 1829, twelve counties including Jackson County were set off and named.⁷⁰ A week later the Legislative Council attached Jackson and Ingham counties to Washtenaw County and made them a part of Dexter Township.⁷¹ The beginning of independent local government came in mid-summer 1830 with the organization of the Township of Jacksonopolis co-terminus with the county boundaries.⁷²

Whether the hamlet was officially the county seat during 1830 is unclear. As early as March 31, 1830, three commissioners reported the selection of Jacksonburgh as county seat to Governor Cass. They predicted its probability of being chosen later as the future State's capital.

To His Excellency Lewis Cass, Governor of the Territory of Michigan:

We, the undersigned commissioners appointed to designate the county seat of the county of Jackson, have the honor to report that we have executed the trust reposed in us. (Here follows a glowing description of Jackson county.) Then the report says: In pursuance of the act passed by the last Legislative

⁷⁰Territorial Laws of Michigan, II, October 29, 1829, p. 737.

⁷¹Territorial Laws of Michigan, II, November 4, 1829, p. 745; November 5, 1829, p. 787; III, June 26, 1832, p. 929. It was a common procedure for newly-formed but unorganized counties to be administered by an organized county until such time as the new county's population increased to a point warranting formal organization. Even though Jackson County had a defined area and name, records and justice were administered from Ann Arbor until 1832.

⁷²Ibid., II, July 30, 1831, p. 839.

Council, a territorial road, called the St. Joseph's road, was last winter laid directly through the heart of the Peninsula. * * * * * Where this road crosses Grand river, about seventy miles west of Detroit, and thirty-five miles from Ann Arbour, a flourishing village is commenced, and the proprietors are erecting mills. The road was opened last winter as far west as Grand river, by a company of citizens of Ann Arbour, who, together with the commissioners gave the village the name of Jacksonburgh. We speak confidently when we say the State capitol will be at Jacksonburgh. So sanguine were we in our belief that we required the proprietors to appropriate ten acres of land for a State House square * * * upon a commanding eminence near the upper end of this village; at a point south 62° six chains from the southwest corner of the southwest quarter of section 34, town 2 south, range 1 west, we have stuck the stake for the county seat. The proprietors have given a court house square, a public square, four meeting house squares, one college square. All of which is respectfully submitted.

Oliver Whitmore
Bethuel Farnad
Jona. F. Stratton

March 31st, 1830⁷³

In contradicition to this 1830 report of designation is a February 6, 1831, Proclamation of Governor Cass:

And whereas, Henry Rumsey, Chauncy S. Goodrich and John Allen Esquires, were appointed commissioners to locate the seat of justice of the county of Jackson, and have proceeded to execute the said duty, and have by a report signed by them, located the seat of justice . . . at the village of Jacksonopolis . . . , I do hereby issue this proclamation, establishing the seat . . . of the county of Jackson at the said village of Jacksonopolis, . . .⁷⁴

⁷³"Jackson County," Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections, I (1877), p. 198.

⁷⁴Territorial Laws of Michigan, II, February 2, 1831, p. 807.

With assurance of the county seat activity for Jackson by the winter of 1830-1831, the centripetal forces which that designation afforded began centralizing judicial and professional activities which has continued to the present day. In a few years after its selection, the county government imprint would be observable to the visitor of the place.

Summary

At the end of the first year of occupance, the cultural imprint of the New Yorker-New Englander was not readily discernible. The town pattern lacked definition by constructed buildings. The structures erected were frontier expedients quickly shaped from local resources. Frame homes and shops with glass windows were absent as were New England's ubiquitous schools, churches, and public edifices. The livelihood of the community hung in balance on the skill and luck of hunting and fishing in addition to barter trade with the aborigines. The money economy and technological production heritage of the migrants were not yet dominant.

On the other hand, the native landscape showed signs of culture change. Numerous trees yielded to the axe near the homes and roadways, bridges and unnaturally straight roads began to take form. Taverns, home-stores, bootmaking, blacksmithing, dam building and the sawmill all gave evidence that the founders desired to create a replica of their familiar cultural-technological organization which they

had left. Yet, even with their Northeastern cultural baggage, the initial occupance year reflects the adaption and borrowing from the Indians. This was especially true in the selection of the site and the land first cultivated. More than anything 1830 was a year of expedients and improvization.

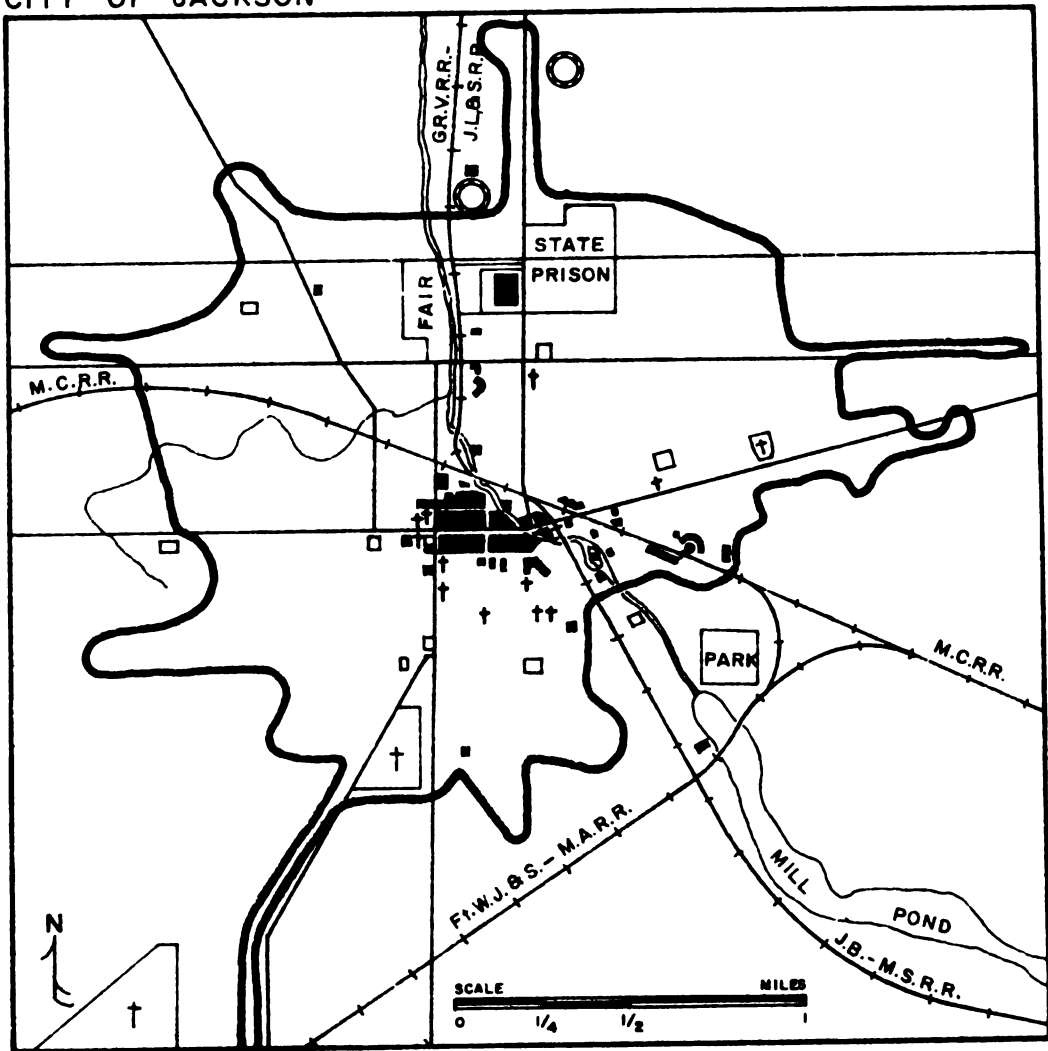
CHAPTER III

THE CITY OF JACKSON 1870: EMERGENT RAILROAD AND INDUSTRIAL CENTER

With the passage of time and human activity, Jackson in 1870 appeared in a different guise. Its decaying wooden frame stores downtown contrasted with many interspersed new three and four-story brick and stone edifices. These business structures extended from the public square east over the river nearly to the Michigan Central Railroad tracks (Map 7). The commercial structures in addition to manufacturing shops and mills, also in the city's center, on Pearl (formerly Luther) Street, along the river, and railroad tracks, gave the place a developing industrial appearance. The seven parallel tentacles of railroad tracks leading from Jackson gave expression to the city's role as a nucleus of manufacturing, trade, and as an agglomeration of people.

A variety of white frame and brick homes had replaced the log cabin homes of the earlier era (Figs. 1-4). The log taverns also were no longer in evidence by 1870. The public square had become a rectangle as the east half of it had been used for commercial sites. Cobblestones had replaced the mud and dust of Main Street. Nevertheless, the

CITY OF JACKSON



AFTER: J.S. BIRD 1871

LAND USE 1870

- MIXED MANUFACTURING
AND COMMERCIAL
- PUBLIC
- ⊕ CEMETERY
- † CHURCH
- COAL MINE
- ⬢ BUILT-UP AREA



Fig. 1.--Single-story home typical of area between VanDorn Street and Grand River settled by Germans and Irish circa 1870. Note sandstone foundation. (411 Detroit)



Fig. 2.--Two-story double rectangular house built in 1870, typical of New England source area and farm homes of Michigan in the mid-1800's. (Harris & Trail Street)

downtown section of the city was in an upheaval with the streets dug up for the laying of pipes for the city's first water system. The forest of oaks, basswood, hickory, and tamarack were only rarely observed in farm woodlots.

More enduring in the transformation of the place were the hills, Grand River, Blackman Creek and the river valleys, but even they had not survived unaltered by the gnawing and chopping hand of man. The streets and alleyways, although only embryonically discernible in 1830, had become defined according to the village plat with the building of stores and houses. Although the central part of the city had an urban character, much of the city's land was still used for agriculture. The farmsteads generally consisted of white frame two-story, double rectangular homes, gable-roofed barns, and horse sheds (Figs. 2, 4). Fields of mixed grains with a garden plot and orchards of apples, peaches, and pears surrounded the buildings.

During 1830-1870 Jackson's originally relatively homogeneous population had become heterogeneous. Its 11,447 inhabitants (third largest city in the State) were a mixture of varied nationalities and races. Germans, Irish, Englishmen and Negroes had begun to combine their skills with the pioneers and their off-spring to fashion a better place in which to live. Dwelling space for homes, gardens, and horse barns necessitated increasing amounts of

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Fig. 3.--Sharp family farmhouse circa 1840.
(Stonewall and Horton road)

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Fig. 4.--Boarding house circa 1870. (VanDorn and
East Pearl)

land devoted to residential use. Similarly, increases were needed for land devoted to commercial, manufacturing, and transportation uses. With the increase in population, the occupied area of the village expanded and the community's political territory was enlarged to include 5760 acres.

Areal Growth 1830-1870

In the four decades preceding 1870, the territory of the political city expanded to nine-tenths of its contemporary area. During the first decade of pioneer settlement, the community could be classified as a hamlet. At that time it existed politically as an unincorporated village in Jackson Township.¹

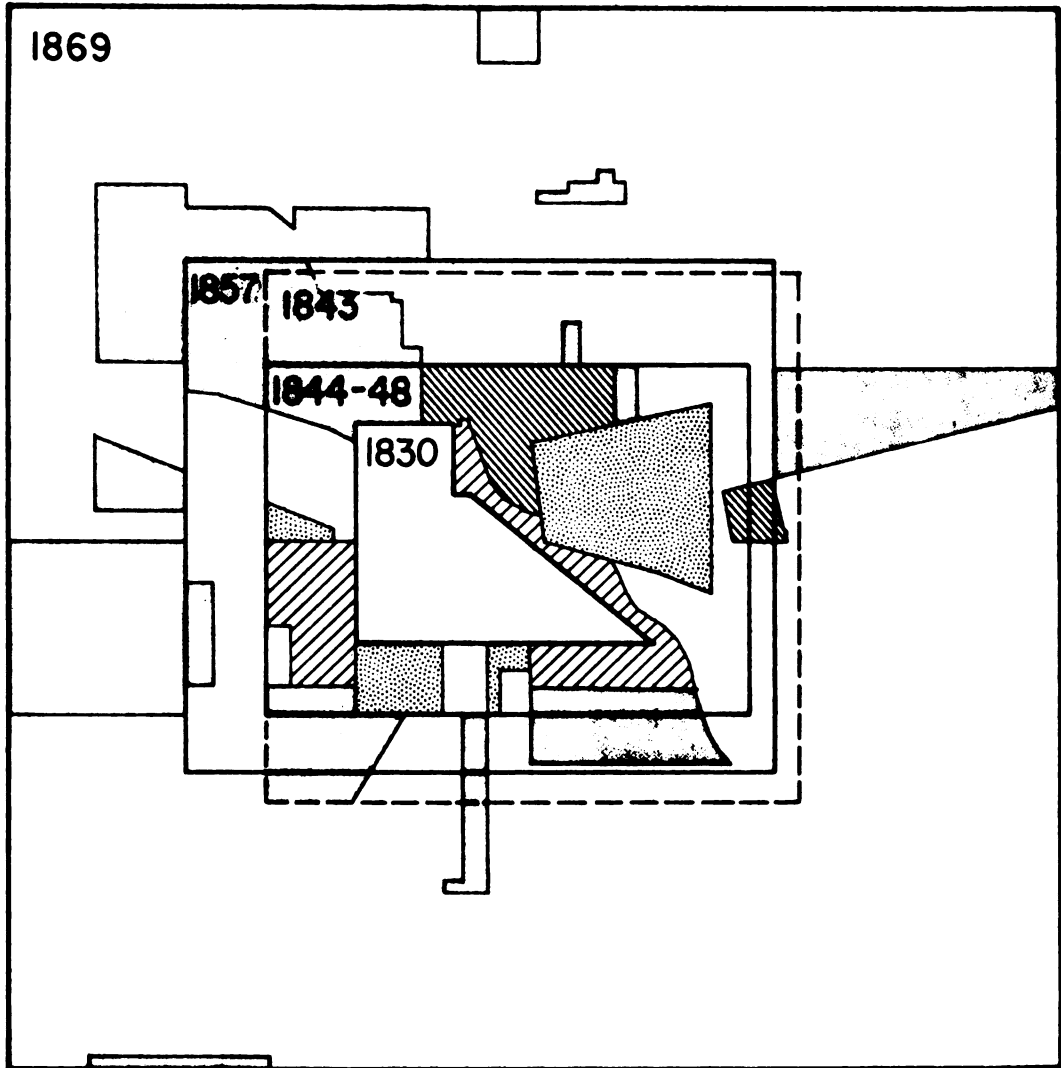
Slow pioneer growth.--From 1830 to about 1837 growth at Jackson was quite modest in comparison to towns farther west in Michigan. Illustrations of the restrained growth at Jackson come from several sources. For example, no plat additions to the original were made until 1836 (Map 8).² As late as January, 1837, when William Monroe arrived in Jackson, only about twenty-six structures including four stores existed in the hamlet.³ Additionally, Fuller quoted

¹Jackson Township was formed in 1837 comprising the area which became in 1857 Summit and Blackman Townships. (Laws of Michigan 1837, March 11, 1837, pp. 35-36.) Until 1837 the hamlet was a part of Jacksonopolis Township which varied in size as the county increased in population and new townships were formed.

²Plats City of Jackson, Michigan Historical Commission, Archives.

³History of Jackson County, 1881, op. cit., p. 238.

CITY OF JACKSON



AREAL GROWTH

1830 - 1870

INCORPORATED AREAS

1843 VILLAGE
 1844-48 VILLAGE
 1857 CITY
 1869 CITY

PLATTED SUBDIVISIONS

1830's
 1840's
 1850's
 1860's, 1870's

SCALE 0 1/4 1/2 1 MILES

the Detroit Free Press of January 18, 1836, stating: "The operation of various causes, unconnected with its real advantages, has here to fore restrained the growth of this place."

Explanations for slow growth.--At the start of the pioneer period the mere facts of centrality and county seat were not enough to overcome other problems. The low swampy site did not encourage settlement, especially when it was understood that such places were the cause of the dreaded Michigan ague. Furthermore, community leadership was lost in 1834 when I. W. Bennett, the owner of the southern part of the village plat, moved to Union City (Branch County) and in 1835 when Lemuel Blackman met an untimely death. One contributing problem was that many migrants traveling west avoided the Territorial Road preferring the Chicago Road evidently because of its relatively better condition.⁴ Rev. Pilcher, the community's first Methodist circuit-rider minister found other reasons:

. . . , to wit: that many of the first settlers were but of limited means and could not make necessary outlays, and again it soon acquired a hard name for morals.⁵

Notwithstanding its problems in its founding years, the general financial crisis of 1837 appears to have been less detrimental to Jackson than to other communities.

⁴Fuller, Economic and Social Beginnings, op. cit., pp. 339-340.

⁵Jackson Daily Citizen, February 26, 1870, quoting letter from Rev. Elijah Pilcher.

Between 1836 and 1840 the number of structures increased from about 26 to 200 in use for businesses and dwellings.⁶ The location of the State prison and the expected connection with the Central Railroad showed their impact in growth.

Village incorporation

In response to the rate of growth occurring with the construction of the State prison in 1838 and the Michigan Central Railroad in 1841, the decision was made to incorporate the village in 1843 (Map 8). The area at first incorporated enclosed land bounded by the present-day Fourth Street (west) and Edgewood (east); the north limit was a line east and west from the Lansing-Stewart intersection; the south limit was located just south of Oakwood.⁷ For some reason lost to history, the village limits were reduced in 1844. The original village incorporation enclosed a territory 480 rods on a side, but the 1844 Act made the village a rectangle with 320 rods on its east and west limits and 440 rods on its north and south limits.⁸ These boundaries were marked by the modern avenues of Fourth, Ganson, Ellery-Johnson and Morrell; however, not until the

⁶History of Jackson County, 1881, op. cit., pp. 238, 495.

⁷Laws of Michigan 1843, March 7, 1843, p. 117.

⁸Laws of Michigan 1844, February 20, 1844, pp. 12-13. These boundaries were reconfirmed in 1848, Laws of Michigan 1848, April 3, 1848, p. 258.

period 1853-1858 did these streets become marked on the landscape. This smaller area for the village was retained until the village was incorporated as a city in 1857.⁹

Incorporation as a city

In the late 1850's with the village population nearly 4000 and the outlook optimistic for a more rapid growth due to the new Jackson Branch-Michigan Southern Railroad connection, the village leaders petitioned to have the place incorporated as a city. Unlike the leaders of the previous decade, the city founders proposed boundaries nearly coinciding with the built-up area. Between 1857, the year the State Legislature incorporated the city, and 1869 Jackson was nearly a square 540 by 532 rods. In contemporary times these first city boundaries are fixed on the land as West, North, McBride, and Wilson-Kennedy streets. However, none of these streets were ever connected to form a continuous outline of the originally incorporated city.

Due to the rapid growth of the community's population in the post-Civil War period the City Council acted to expand the city's territory from 1795.5 acres to 5760 acres (Table 5).¹⁰ Between 1869 and 1926 the territory of the political city remained unchanged.

⁹Laws of Michigan 1857, February 14, 1857, pp. 240-244.

¹⁰Laws of Michigan 1869, March 24, 1869, pp. 653-654.

TABLE 5
JACKSON VILLAGE AND CITY AREAL POLITICAL
GROWTH AND DIMENSIONS

Year	Acres	Sq. Miles	E-W, N-S Dimensions
1843	1440	2.25	1.5 x 1.5 miles
1844	880	1.21	1.37 x 1 miles
1857	1795.5	2.80	1.69 x 1.66 miles
1869	5760	9.00	3 x 3 miles

Population Composition and Growth

Similar to Michigan and the United States as a whole, Jackson has been one of the meccas for foreign settlement. From its founding until 1870, Canada, England-Wales, the German states, and Ireland were the chief sources of Jackson's and Michigan's foreign element. Although Jackson's population was relatively homogeneous in 1830, four decades later nearly one-fifth of its population was foreign born; 2,448 out of 11,447. In addition to the diversity of the foreign born there were 359 Negroes residing in the city.

Negro settlement

As a result of the great wave of anti-slavery reform which spread westward from New York, people of Afro-American descent increasingly became a part of the population. Sometime in the late 1830's George Nichols, a

fugitive slave, arrived and settled in the hamlet and is recorded as the site's first black resident.¹¹ By 1840, fourteen blacks and mulattoes were recorded as living in the township of Jackson.¹² Although there appears to be no record of where the first Negroes lived, evidence tends to indicate an area centered in the two blocks east of the Michigan Central Railroad tracks on the north side of Michigan Avenue. By 1870 this area included blacks north from the main street on Milwaukee to Quarry Street (Map 9).¹³

In the same year, blacks were dispersed in an area south and east of Michigan Avenue and Francis Street. A smaller area of mixed settlement was established north of the prison grounds near Blackstone and North Streets. Two facts support the opinion that the Michigan-Milwaukee area was the original core of black settlement. One, in 1853 Hart's map shows only six scattered buildings southeast of Michigan and Francis Streets.¹⁴ None of these buildings had colored living in them according to the 1872-1873 City

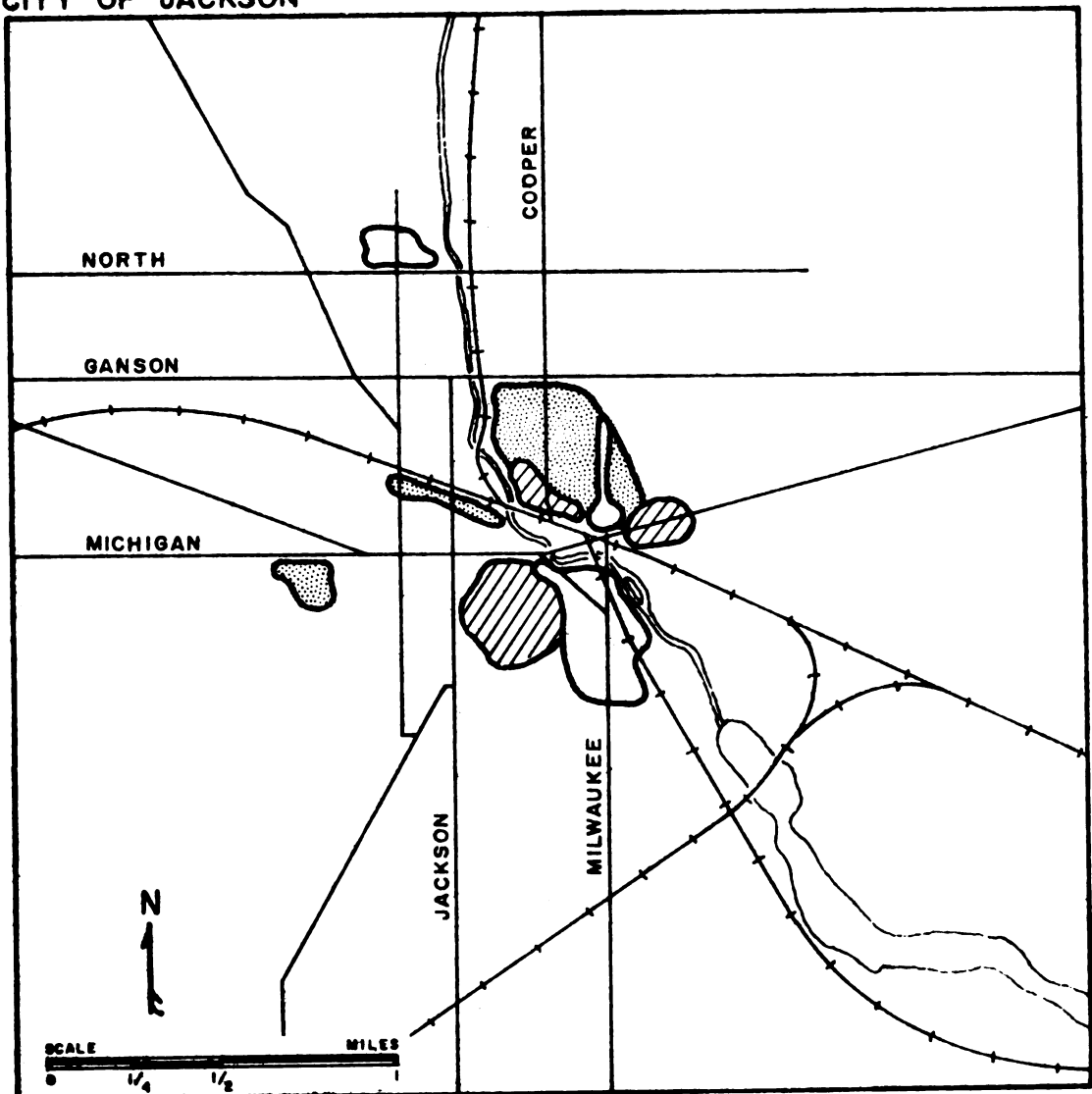
¹¹Jackson Citizen Patriot, September 19, 1937, Section 3, p. 13.

¹²U.S. Bureau of the Census, Sixth United States Census: 1840, Michigan Population, Jackson County Schedule, Microcopy, Michigan State Library.

¹³C. Exera Brown, Jackson City Directory for 1872-1873 (Jackson: VanDyne's Printing House, 1872), p. 192.

¹⁴Henry Hart, Map of Jackson, Jackson County Michigan (New York: Henry Hart, 1853).

CITY OF JACKSON



SOURCE: C.E. BROWN 1972-1973; U.S. CENSUS 1870; JACKSON COUNTY SCHEDULES

NEGROES and FOREIGN BORN

PLACE OF RESIDENCE

1870



Directory. Secondly, twelve structures appear on the Hart Map in the first two blocks east of the tracks on Michigan Avenue; these houses had Negroes in them in 1872. Similarly, the north location is eliminated from consideration because the 1858 map of Jackson by Samuel Geil shows that area vacant of houses.¹⁵ Furthermore, it is doubtful that the southeast area was the first for Negro settlement as that section was not platted until the 1850's while the area east of the river was platted in the 1830's.

Underground Railroad.--Directly active in bringing Afro-Americans to Jackson was the operation of the Underground Railroad. Jackson was on one of the main escape routes to Canada which connected Niles with Detroit along the Territorial Road.¹⁶ In Jackson three agents controlled the movement of the freedom seekers: Lonson Wilcox, Norman Allen, and another.¹⁷ When the blacks were shifted from one hideaway to another, sometimes an individual or a group would be encouraged to remain behind by the agents or their

¹⁵Samuel Geil, Map of Jackson County Michigan with Insets of Towns in County (Philadelphia: J. M. Alexander, 1858).

¹⁶On the Territorial Road route stations were located at Cassopolis, Schoolcraft, Climax, Battle Creek, Marshall, Albion, Parma, Jackson, Michigan Center, Leoni, Grass Lake, Francisco, Dexter, Scio, Ann Arbor, Geddes, Ypsilanti, Plymouth, and Zug Island near Detroit.

¹⁷Charles E. Barnes, "Battle Creek as a Station on the Underground Railway," Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections, XXXVIII (1912), p. 282.

supporters. The quick wits and intelligence which most of these daring people possessed to complete a successful escape, as well as possession of skills, enhanced their contributions to the community from the start. In the city, one of the station hideaways was situated in a house located on the southeast corner of Cortland and Blackstone.

In 1850, after ten years of operation of the "railway," 81 colored were living in Jackson, including 16 in the prison. In comparison 385 colored were recorded in Cass and 724 in Wayne Counties out of the State total of 2583.¹⁸ At that early date nearly a third of the Negroes in Jackson over ten years of age, were born in non-slave states. Virginia (then including West Virginia) and Kentucky were the source of most of Jackson's first Negro residents; this reflected the Underground Railroad which connected Jackson with these two northern-most slave states.¹⁹

As in the case of the pioneer population, New York was the source of most blacks coming from non-slave states. Ohio, Illinois, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Canada were also represented by Negro migrants. Slave states such as Missouri, Mississippi, Louisiana, Florida, North Carolina, and Maryland each had also lost blacks to Jackson by 1850.

¹⁸U.S. Bureau of the Census, Seventh United States Census: 1850, Michigan Population, Jackson Schedules, Microcopy, Michigan State Library; Everett Claspy, Negroes in Southwestern Michigan (Dowagiac, Michigan: Braun-Brumfield, Inc., 1967), p. 4.

¹⁹Barnes, op. cit., p. 280.

Negro occupations.--Between 1850 and 1870 the occupations held by the blacks remained virtually unchanged. The men were employed in building trades as laborers, plasterers, painters, paper hangers, mason tenders. Others provided such services as cooks, barbers, nightwatchmen, and saloon keepers. Transportation activities made jobs for coachmen, engineers, firemen, and teamsters. Negro women were employed mostly as domestics while others employed themselves as hair dressers or ran boarding houses.²⁰

Jackson's citizens' sentiment against slavery manifested itself in ways other than the operation of the Underground Railway. The Abolition Movement led to the coalescing of political groups which emerged into the Republican Party. The first State-wide organizational meeting of this Party took place in Jackson "under the oaks" on July 6, 1854.²¹ The meeting took place near the edge of town on land then known as "Morgan's Forty," lying southwest of the Second and Franklin intersection.

Jackson's 1870 Foreign Born

A century ago the Irish and Germans along with Canadians and Englishmen were the City's dominant foreign-born element. Increasingly from the 1840's and especially in the 1860's the Germans and Irish settled in Jackson. As a generalization, the Irish potato famine, the revolution

²⁰U.S. Census: 1850, Jackson Schedules, op. cit.

²¹From this fact most Jacksonians claim the city as the birthplace of the Republican Party.

and war in the German states, the labor shortage during the Civil War, and active recruitment by the State of Michigan helped to expand the foreign population in the city.²²

Specifically in Jackson, the opportunities for employment in its developing industries and on its railroads attracted most.²³ The earliest Germans arrived in the 1830's seeking opportunities beyond the early core of German settlement in Ann Arbor and Washtenaw County.

German-Irish settlement areas

The present-day Lutheran Church and old Arbiter Hall (now the Eagles Hall) on Cooper Street mark the centers of German settlement in the city (Fig. 5). Jews of German descent acquired the former brick Baptist Church which faced the public square and made it the Hebrew Synagogue. Most of the city's Jews lived near Euclid and Francis streets and were employed as merchants. Most of the Germans came directly to Jackson from Wurtenburg, Bavaria, Baden, and Hesse.²⁴ Routes to Jackson followed the St. Lawrence-Lakes

²²Dunbar, Michigan, op. cit., pp. 354, 457-458; John A. Russell, The German Influence in the Making of Michigan (Detroit: University of Detroit, 1927), pp. 54-59, 91, 247; Karl Neidhard's "Reise nach Michigan," Michigan History, XXXV, translated by Frank Braun (1951), p. 32.

²³Morris C. Taber, "New England Influence in Michigan," Michigan History, XLV (1961), p. 334.

²⁴U.S. Bureau of the Census, Ninth Census of the United States: 1870, Michigan Population, Jackson County Schedule, Microcopy, Michigan State University.



Fig. 5.--Former German Arbiter Hall, the left wing dates from 1848.

waterway or the New York Erie Canal pathway. Others came via Ohio and along the south shore of Lake Erie.

The Irish settled predominantly in the city's old Fourth Ward mixing with the Negroes and German immigrants. Their homes were small, single-story frame or they lived in boarding houses which were built in the area west of VanDorn to the railroad tracks (Figs. 1, 4). Irish also lived near the outskirts of town between First and Fourth, south of Michigan Avenue.

In contrast to the Germans, the Irish frequently settled for a short period of time on the East Coast or in Canada before migrating to Jackson. An example of the delayed migration is demonstrated by comparing the Irish and Canadian foreign born reported in the census schedules for the city. Of Jackson's 564 Irish in 1870, only 40 were under twenty years of age. During temporary settlement in Canada and New York-New England many of the Irish formed families. As a result, the families were comprised of parents born in Ireland and children born in the East. Such a process tended to swell the Canadian-born element in Jackson which was in reality "Irish." The delay also affected the older age group. There were nearly four times as many Irish over fifty-one as Germans of that age by 1870.

Foreign born occupations

Urban activities dominated the occupations of the foreign born in the city of 1870. Although well over half

of the city's land in 1870 was devoted to farming, (3725 acres out of 5760), only nine foreigners were occupied in agriculture. General labor activities and railroad occupations provided most of the jobs for the foreign born. The Irish formed the city's largest laboring class. Table 6 illustrates the stratification of Irish in labor toils according to the census schedules of 1870. Moreover, the poverty of the Irish is suggested in the fact that nearly three times as many Irish women as German women were employed as domestic servants. In comparison to English women, six times as many Irish women were engaged as domestics.

TABLE 6
PER CENT OF FOREIGN BORN MEN OVER TWENTY
YEARS OF AGE OCCUPIED AS LABORERS

Irish	35	Canadian	20
English-Wales	24	Scots	18
German	20		

Next to laborers, more Germans were employed in breweries or saloons than in any other occupation tabulated. Only merchants and railroad workers approached them in numbers. Germans were also significantly employed as carpenters, boot-shoemakers, tailors, potterers, butchers, clerks, blacksmiths, and cigar makers. Notable among the Germans and Irish was the lack of men in the professional occupations.

Canadians, English, and Scots

The immigrants to Jackson from Great Britain and British America held more diverse jobs than their German and Irish counterparts. However, in comparison to the latter, fewer were occupied as merchants and tailors. Reflecting the building needs of the growing city, many Canadians, English, and Scots were employed as brick and stone masons, carpenters, roofers, and in other construction jobs. Mining and the city's chemical works employed almost exclusively English and Welshmen. Several Canadians, mostly women, were teachers. Service activities such as clerks, bookkeepers, and sales positions were filled by the more recent British and Canadian immigrants. However, the community's financial, managerial, political, and professional positions were controlled by native old-stock Americans.

Land Use in 1870

Except for the prison, most manufacturing was confined to a corridor of land running diagonally southeast from a flour mill located at the Michigan Central Railroad tracks and Jackson Street to the pottery factory at the north end of Water Street. The majority of agricultural implement makers were located on Pearl Street east of Jackson Street. Some manufacturing took place on Michigan Avenue between the railroad tracks and the public square. However, most of this land facing Michigan Avenue was used for retail business and commercial activities (Map 7).

Reflecting the size of the community and its county seat role, the city had twenty lawyers. Its role as a commercial center was strengthened by its twenty-one insurance, real estate, and loan agents, in addition to its five banks which located on Michigan Avenue between Mechanic and Jackson streets. Also lining Michigan Avenue were barber shops and beauty shops (usually on second floors), bakers, carbon oil dealers, china and glassware dealers, dentists, clothiers and dressmakers, dry goods stores, furniture outlets, news dealers, physicians, tobacconists, photographers, watch and jewelry stores, and hotels. Less confined to the main street, located north to Clinton or south to Cortland east of Jackson, were blacksmiths, the gunsmith, livery stables, lumber dealers, coopers, music stores, tanners, wood and coal dealers. Not centrally located but dispersed throughout the city with business or commercial operations frequently conducted at their homes were builders, boarding houses (Fig. 4), brewers, carpet weavers, painters, and nurserymen. Of the city's thirty-two grocers, twenty-three were located on Michigan Avenue, three located on Mechanic and six on Jackson. Many of the city's saloons were concentrated in the area near Mechanic and Pearl streets. At that time there were still no neighborhood stores; most business was confined to the well-defined center of the city.

Spirit and Commitment to Growth

The pervading community outlook in 1870 was the same as it had been in 1830. The "Central City" articles which appeared in the Jackson Weekly Citizen and Jackson Daily Citizen have preserved a part of the residents' and businessmen's spirit. In summary, the attitude was to build, to grow in size and population, to rip down the old and replace it with more modern and elegant structures. Most important was the motivation by the citizens to attract job-creating activities.

Perhaps best characterizing the community's determination to grow and prosper were the decisions of the people, political leaders, and businessmen to transfer the city and county public lands to private ownership during the 1850-1870 period. In 1866 the city bought thirty acres of land between the river and the Michigan Central Railroad (M C RR) tracks for six thousand dollars. After improving the land it was, " . . . dedicated for a public park forever. . ." or it was to be returned to its former owner.²⁵ By 1870 the opinion of the local Citizen editor was that something should be done with the land other than using it for a park. His question to the community was, "What will we do with it?"²⁶

²⁵Jackson Weekly Citizen, May 17, 1870, p. 5.

²⁶Ibid.

City Park for M C RR shops

By January, 1871, the community had decided to sell the park for manufacturing development. As a result of the park sale, it also acquired its paramount land user and activity which would dominate the city into the middle of the Twentieth Century (Fig. 6). Throughout 1870 the M C RR was considering moving its repair shop from Marshall and combining it with a new car manufacturing plant. Detroit, Kalamazoo, and Jackson competed for the railroad shops. Each had several railroad connections and, by that time, relatively large populations; Detroit, 79,577, and Kalamazoo, 9,177. In the end, (1) Jackson's central location on the Michigan Central Railroad (M C RR), (2) its connections with most important state and national railroads, (3) the M C RR ownership of 100 acres already in the city, and (4) the city of Jackson's donation of its thirty-acre City Park as an inducement, brought the major railroad facility to Jackson.²⁷

Public square for commercial purposes

As early as 1851 the Jackson County Board of Supervisors proposed selling the public square, undoubtedly recognizing the value of the land for commercial purposes. The public square had acted as a barrier to commercial development which was confined to Michigan Avenue east of the square.

²⁷ Jackson Daily Citizen, March 2, 1870; Jackson Weekly Citizen, January 24, 1871, p. 5.



Fig. 6.--Jackson Junction Shops, construction beginning in 1871.

In 1839 what was intended to be a permanent courthouse was constructed out of local sandstone and located on the southwest quarter of the square. A clerk's office was similarly built facing Michigan Avenue just west of the square on the present-day property of Consumers Power Company. Also in 1839 a magnificent two-story sandstone Post Office was erected facing Michigan Avenue and the northeast quarter of the square (Fig. 7).²⁸ In the present-day, this structure which faces Jackson Street, is connected to the hardware store and used for storage. In 1969 it was the oldest building in the city.

Perhaps the precedent of locating some of the public buildings off the square lands proper helped ease the way in convincing individuals that the Courthouse did not necessarily have to be sited on the square. Further, it could be argued, if the Courthouse did not have to be on the square lands, was there any good to be gained for the community to retain the square on what would ostensibly be valuable commercial and taxable land? Undoubtedly the division of the square into four small squares by the town's two main streets lessened the square's value for building a central edifice.

²⁸ History of Jackson County, 1881, op. cit., p. 229; Michigan Historical Records Survey Project, Inventory of the County Archives of Michigan: No. 38 Jackson County (Detroit: Work Projects Administration, Division of Community Service Programs, 1941), p. 29.



Fig. 7.--Post Office 1839-1893 facing northeast quarter of the public square. In 1969 building used for hardware storage.

Nevertheless, it remained a moot point just what the Board of Supervisors really had in mind when they gave as a justification for the vacation request in Circuit Court pertaining to the southwest quarter of the square:

. . . The symetry and beauty of said Village will be much promoted by the contemplated improvement, and removal of said clerks and Registers Office, and the public interests of the said county of Jackson will be much promoted thereby.²⁹

The Circuit Court approved the petition for sale uncountested May 23, 1851, observing:

The vacation of the southwest quarter " . . . will not conflict either with the public interests of the said Village of Jackson or with the interests of individuals owning adjoining property or other, . . ."³⁰

In May of 1852 and April, 1856, the southeast and northeast quarters were also approved for sale by Circuit Court action.³¹

Southwest quarter public square sold

Although the southwest part of the public square was the first segment to be approved for sale by the Circuit Court, it was the last to be sold and commercially built upon. In 1870 after all the land between Jackson Avenue

²⁹County of Jackson, Abstract Records A-26226-10; County of Jackson, Register of Deeds, Liber 24, p. 474.

³⁰County of Jackson, Abstract Records, A-26226-10.

³¹County of Jackson, Abstract Records, A-21185-1; A-147354-21; County of Jackson, Register of Deeds, Liber 27, p. 169; Liber 38, p. 88.

and the M C RR tracks including the space over the river had been developed commercially, the southwest quarter of the public square was used to maintain commercial development on the main street. On April 22, 1871, five of the city's most distinguished businessmen bought the southwest quarter of the public square and Courthouse for \$19,932.³² Unquestioning, the local editor hailed the sales:

Excellent resolve . . . We shall see this unsightly hole covered by substantial business blocks and the 'rushes, flags, and cattails give place to attractive and salable merchandize.³³

With the sale of the public square, the county was authorized by a popular vote of 4102 to 1439 to purchase the property and three-year-old Methodist Church just west of the southwest quarter of the old square for \$48,719.32.³⁴ In front of the church a new three-story building was erected which stood until 1937. The popularly supported movement of the Courthouse off the square was not shared by all as this 1881 observation indicates:

Such an institution should form the central figure of a public square, and should be a beauty as well as utility . . . the court house, as erected in 1871, is entirely too massive a concern to be hidden away in its present corner.³⁵

³²County of Jackson, Abstract Records, A-26226-13; County of Jackson, Register of Deeds, Liber 73, p. 607.

³³Jackson Weekly Citizen, October 18, 1870, p. 7.

³⁴Inventory of the County Archives: Jackson, op. cit., p. 29.

³⁵History of Jackson County, 1881, op. cit., p. 300.

With the transfer of the city's two main parcels of public land in early 1871, the community spirit of expansion which had been renewed after the Civil War was carried into the decade of the 1870's.

Jackson growth factors

Several interrelated factors can be identified as contributing to the impressive growth of the community.

Chief among these were:

1. The location of the State Penitentiary in Jackson in 1838
2. The location of the railroads in Jackson, especially the occurrence of competing railroads near each other within the city
3. The mineral deposits in and near the city which could be exploited with available technical and financial resources
4. The successful agricultural enterprises in the tributary areas of the city
5. The city's aggressive capitalists and political leaders
6. The optimism and support by the inhabitants for projects which were deemed to be for the betterment of the community
7. The steady increase of the city's population

In addition to the points listed, one of the suggestions of the Jackson Daily Citizen editor--the absence of

drunkenness and the restraint on crime--might be added to the list.³⁶

State Prison Location

In the period between 1830 and 1870 the decision to locate the Michigan State Penitentiary in Jackson was one of the primary reasons for the growth of the hamlet to its status as one of Michigan's leading cities. In the years 1837 and 1838 the investigations and decisions were made which determined where the State's prison was to be located. Equally important to Jackson's growth was the decision of how it would be managed. In March of 1837 Governor Mason was authorized to appoint three commissioners to:

1. Visit and examine places which in their opinion presented the greatest advantages for a penal institution
2. Consider natural resources and propositions from individuals and communities for land and materials
3. Recommend prison designs and discipline systems.³⁷

Subsequently after the examination of numerous places, Jackson, Napoleon, and Marshall were selected as possessing the best locational advantages for the prison.

³⁶Jackson Daily Citizen, March 22, 1870.

³⁷Michigan Legislature, House of Representatives, House Documents: 1838, p. 253; Laws of Michigan 1837-1838, March 22, 1837, pp. 123-124.

From each of these communities, liberal proposals for land donations were made to the State as inducements.

Because Jackson's proposed site would require more grading, additional expense to install a dam and mill, and the fear of disease coming from a nearby tamarack swamp, Marshall was favored by two commissioners. One recommended Jackson. When the Commissioners' report was returned to the House Committee on State Penitentiary which was expanded to include T. E. Gidley of Jackson by request of the Committee, the Committee reversed the Commissioners recommendation and reported to the Legislature 5 to 1 in favor of Jackson.³⁸

The Committee ranked Jackson and Marshall equal in the probability of disease problems and central location for accessibility. However, because it could be expected that most prisoners would come from eastern Michigan it was reasoned that Jackson was more advantageous, considering transportation cost savings by locating the institution in the most easterly of the two points. Most importance, however, was given to the amount of overburden on the respective deposits of sandstone at the two competing sites.

. . . The third subject to be considered is one of more importance, particularly if the state should adopt the policy so strongly marked out by public opinion at the time, and which the committee would recommend, of employing the convicts in the business of stone cutting, as being a business that would least interfere and come in contact with those great branches of mechanical industry that give employment and support to so large and respectable a class of our fellow citizens, and at the

³⁸Michigan Legislature, House of Representatives, House Documents: 1838, pp. 417-422.

same time contribute to the support of the prison, and perhaps to augmenting the revenue of the state. It appears from an examination of the commissioners' report, and from the evidence of individuals who appeared before the committee, that on the proposed prison site at Marshall, a quarry of sandstone has been opened; it is not known however, how extensive the quarry may be, as it is covered with a body of earth five feet or more in depth, while at Jacksonburgh, of the sixty acres of land that the proprietors of that place propose to secure to the state, fifteen or twenty acres, all lying adjacent to the prison site, is one entire quarry of stone, with no earth over it except in small patches--a matter that would make a very great difference in the expense of quarrying stone.³⁹

On March 3, 1838, the decision was made which fixed the site of the penitentiary for the next seven decades.⁴⁰ The State received deeds for a total of sixty acres, twenty acres from Henry B. Lathrop (Map 7). The buildings and walls were constructed on his land which was located east of Cooper to the center of the river between Armory Court (in 1870, Prison Street) and North Street. Forty additional acres were donated by four other individuals. The forty acres were soon cleared of tamarack which was used for a picket stockade around the prison yard.⁴¹ Later the land was drained and developed for agricultural purposes, its use in 1870. Additional land was acquired on the Grand's flood plain extending from just north of Trail Street to

³⁹Ibid., pp. 418-419.

⁴⁰Laws of Michigan: 1837-1838, March 3, 1838, p. 65.

⁴¹The Michigan State Prison, Jackson: 1837-1928 (Jackson (?), 1928), p. 13. The building of the stockade out of tamarack prompted the convicts to say when convicted, they were "going to the tamaracks."

Clinton Street as a reserve for prison water rights. Ob-
stensively, the upstream land was for the development of
a mill.

The prison for jobs

Taken by itself the mere location of the prison in Jackson was of great importance economically, for it provided a source of income for increasing numbers of wardens, keepers, and guards, and a market for a variety of goods. Between 1840 and 1870 wages paid the prison administrators and guards rose from about \$3,000 to \$27,000.⁴²

When most of the other cities of the State had their progress slowed by the Panic of 1837, Jackson entered a period of expansion, primarily associated with the \$40,000 allocated for the construction of the prison.⁴³ The construction of the main prison buildings and walls out of sandstone began soon after the completion of a temporary wood structure and stockade. The sandstone was quarried on the prison grounds alongside the river (Fig. 8). Between 1841 and 1843 the east and north walls were built, three feet at the base and seventeen feet high, as well as a two-story cell wing which functioned as part of the south enclosure (Figs. 8, 9). Workshops were at first constructed

⁴²Michigan Legislature, Joint Documents: 1871, Annual Report State Prison Inspectors, p. 47; Michigan Legislature, House of Representatives, House Documents: 1840, II, p. 599.

⁴³Laws of Michigan: 1837-1838, March 22, 1838, pp. 123-124.



Fig. 8.--Sandstone outcrop on railroad right-of-way north of prison.



Fig. 9.--State prison wall, left portion built early 1840's, right portion and turret in 1900.

parallel to the east and north walls and later beside the west wall (Map 10). The west wagon shops were rebuilt in 1852 after the fire that year which destroyed the 210 feet of the original shops.⁴⁴ This construction phase also provided markets for locally produced lumber, lime, tools, and other construction materials. In addition a food contract usually went to local suppliers and farmers.

The prison as a source of labor

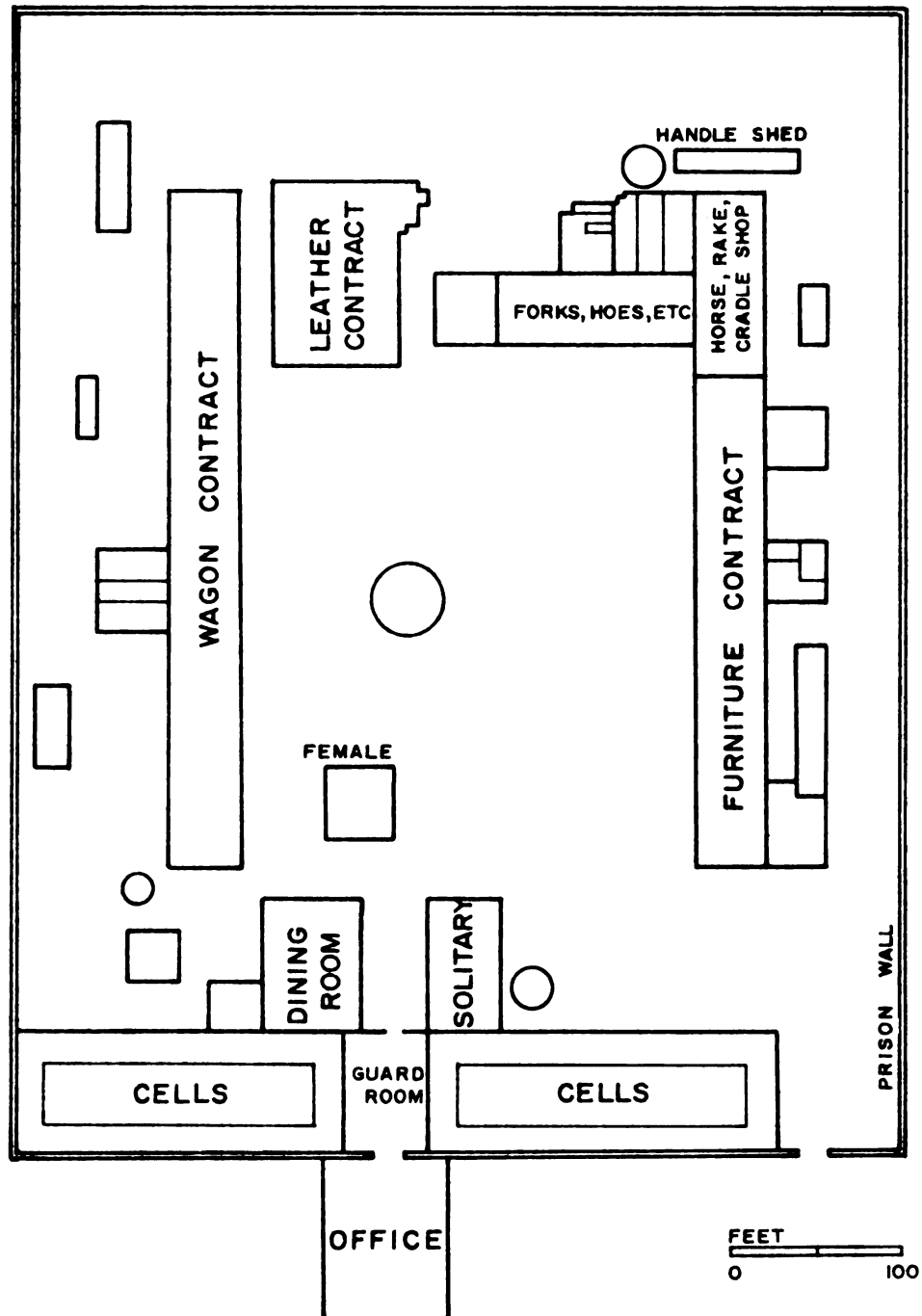
Equally important as the jobs and markets that the penal institution provided was the source of labor which it provided for free enterprise. The prevailing practice in 1837 was to confine convicts, several to a cell room at night. During the day convicts were generally left idle without any form of labor. Such practices, it was found, allowed the wayward to be, ". . . constantly engaged in devising ways and means for furtherance of their criminal designs. . . ."⁴⁵ Rejecting the common penal practices, the Commission recommended the adoption of the Auburn (New York) System of confining and disciplining prisoners. Under the Auburn System the philosophy was to rehabilitate the criminal rather than degrade him further through idleness.⁴⁶ The Auburn Plan provided for individual cell

⁴⁴Michigan Legislature, Joint Documents: 1842, p. 83; Michigan State Prison, op. cit., p. 27.

⁴⁵Michigan Legislature, House of Representatives, House Documents: 1838, pp. 254-257.

⁴⁶Ibid.

PRISON PLAN



AFTER J. S. BIRD 1871

Map 10

confinement at night and constructive labor during the day, the principle being to develop occupational skills in the incarcerated.

Thus, the structures found at the Jackson prison site are functionally associated with domiciling the convicts individually. The use of the Auburn System also accounts for the large amount of land devoted to the manual arts. Following the principle that prisoners should be engaged in useful occupations for free labor, a system of contract labor was established. That system authorized the agent of the State prison to lease for terms up to five years (until 1842, one year) labor of convicts in the State Penitentiary.⁴⁷ As early as 1841 all but eight of the sixty-six inmates were producing for the free market with their pay going to the State.⁴⁸

State prison labor in 1870

By 1870 the State prison was the major industrial manufacturing site in the city. Its most widely marketed goods were the products of the skill and artistry of men in confinement. Of the institution's average of 645 inmates in that year, 538 were employed under contract to private manufacturers (Table 7). The majority of the production took place inside the walls--in the three main workshops.

⁴⁷ Laws of Michigan: 1842, February 17, 1842, pp. 130-131.

⁴⁸ Michigan Legislature, Joint Documents: 1842, p. 83.

TABLE 7

STATE PRISON CONVICTS EMPLOYED ON CONTRACT 1870

Firm	Type	Per Day Price (in cents)	Number
Withington Cooley Co.	Small agricul- tural implements	52	102
Austin, Tomlinson's & Webster	Wagons	76	80
Henry Gilbert	Furniture	50	81
Henry Gilbert	Furniture	71	23
Hatch & Clafin	Boots and Shoes	57 1/2	45
C. Hollingsworth	Cigars	50	30
C. Hollingsworth	Cigars	65	31
C. Hollingsworth	Cigars	28 3/4	9
Webster-Courter	Dressing leather	50	82
Jackson Horse Collar	Horse Collars	65	49
Others	Sundry items	--	38
Total			538

Source: Michigan Legislature, Joint Documents: 1870, III, Annual Report Inspectors State Penitentiary, p. 31.

With an assured supply of labor to be contracted for up to five years at attractively low government rates, entrepreneurs eagerly made Jackson their headquarters (Table 7). In doing this they capitalized on the convicts' skills and willingness to work as an alternative to solitary confinement and idleness.⁴⁹ Complementing the production

⁴⁹The usual method under the Auburn System was to place the convict alone in his cell without books or activity when he first arrived. Within two days convicts normally requested work instead of psychologically depressing activity. (Michigan Legislature, House of Representatives, House Documents: 1838, p. 262.)

of the inmates was the railroad network which was centered in Jackson between the 1830's and 1870's. With the development of the rail center, Jackson became connected with national and international markets.

Railroads and Their Location

In the impulsive and exuberant days of the 1830's, when Michigan was leading all states in new settlers, the railroad became another challenge for the State's pioneers to exploit. As early as 1830 a railroad operation charter was issued to the Pontiac and Detroit Railway Company, but the line was not completed. In 1832 the Detroit-St. Joseph Railroad Company was chartered by the Territorial Council to link the mouth of the St. Joseph River and Detroit. During the summer of 1835 John M. Berrien, an Army surveyor, located the route of the Detroit and St. Joseph Railroad with Jacksonburgh on its route.⁵⁰

Meanwhile, Michigan's first and perhaps the Northwest's first operating railroad, the Erie and Kalamazoo Railroad (E & K RR) was chartered in 1835. This company was to connect Toledo, Adrian, and the Kalamazoo River. It had reached no farther than Adrian, however, by 1836.⁵¹

⁵⁰Ibid., pp. 139-141.

⁵¹Clarence F. Berndt, Jr., "Michigan Railroads, 1837-1846: A Story in Internal Improvements" (unpublished Master's Thesis, Department of History, Michigan State University, 1967), p. 25.

Almost as soon as the E & K RR reached Adrian, plans were made to build an auxiliary line north. The Jacksonburgh-Palmyra Railroad (J-P RR) was planned to link the two places named in the company's title and go through Tecumseh and Clinton. By July, 1838, the line was in operation to Tecumseh. Because of the widespread financial crisis of 1837-1838, causing stock subscriptions to be reduced, the line terminated in Tecumseh between 1838 and 1857.⁵²

State of Michigan becomes a
railroad builder

Shortly after Michigan received statehood, it assumed the role of trunk line railroad builder under the massive program of internal improvements. According to former Governor Felch, the original idea of the Legislative Committee on Railroads was to have only a single road from Detroit to St. Joseph. However, the legislators from the counties to the north and south passed an amendment to build three roads across the State.⁵³ Unwittingly, this action led eventually to Jackson's development as the State's prime rail center during the Nineteenth Century.

The three State railroad routes.--The three railroad routes were designated to extend across the State:

⁵²Waldron, op. cit., pp. 79-80.

⁵³Alpheus Felch, "Minutes--Annual Meeting, 1893," Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections, XXII, p. 15.

(1) to connect Detroit and the St. Joseph River mouth, the Central; (2) to link Monroe with New Buffalo, the Southern; (3) the Northern, not constructed, was to join the mouth of the Black River (Port Huron) with navigable water of the Grand River in Kent County or its mouth in Ottawa County.⁵⁴

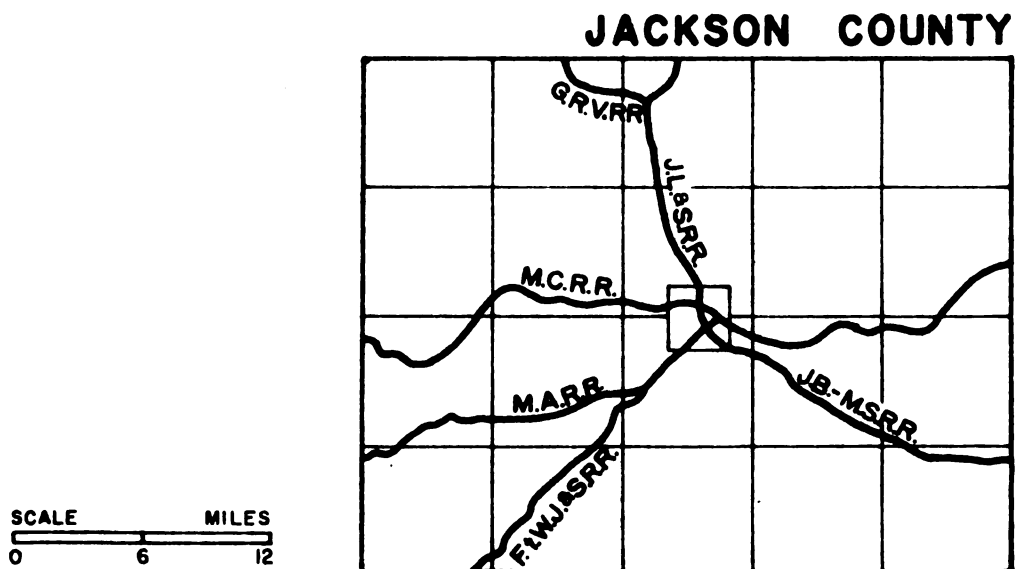
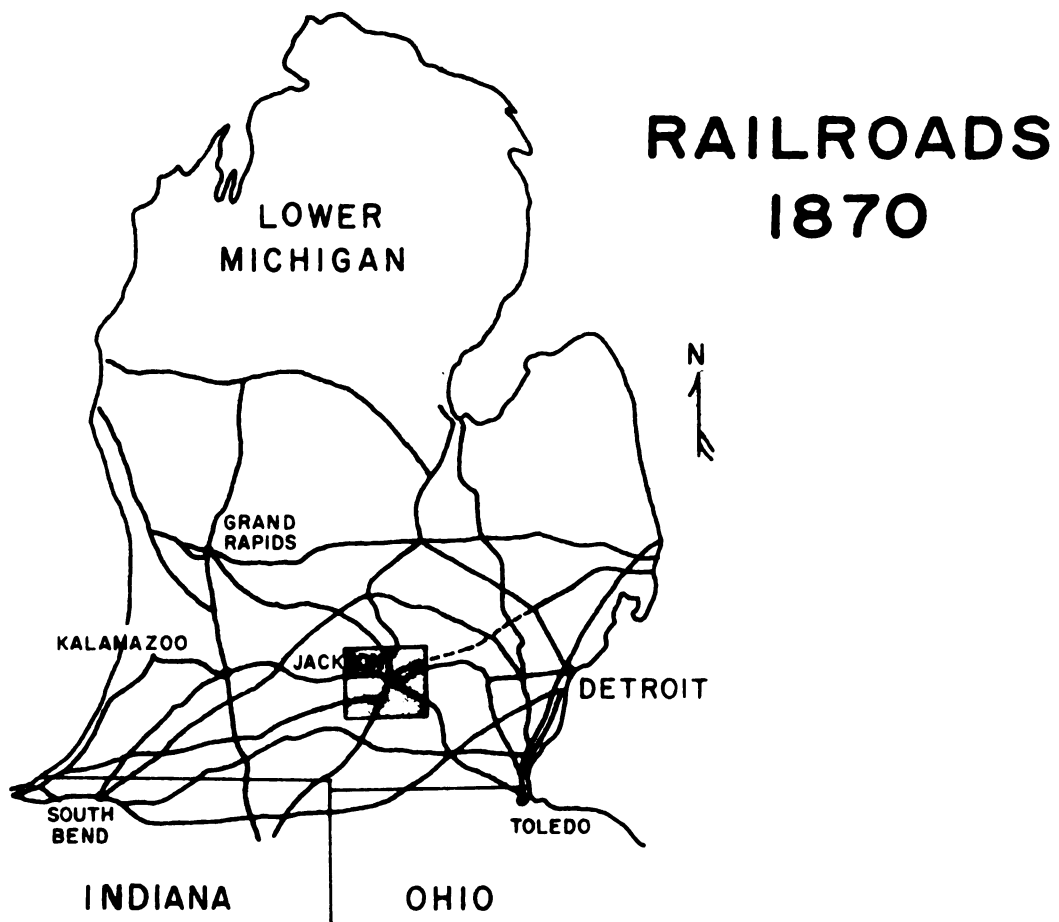
Locating the Central route

Notwithstanding the Legislative Acts provision:

" . . . [the] roads shall be located on the most direct and eligible route between the termini," the Central's route was anything but direct west of Ypsilanti (Map 11). Two facts account for the curving nature of the Central route, (1) the inducements granted to the State by towns to be placed on the route, and (2) the drainage pattern between the termini. The primary considerations of the railroad surveyors were to find routes with the least gradient, fewest curves, easiest bridging, and best ground for its superstructure. Other considerations were given to the cost of right-of-way purchases, cost of building materials, timber, culverts, and number of cuts and fills. Equally important were placing the route close to the center of counties, near established population centers, and linking it to developed or prospective large production areas.⁵⁵

⁵⁴Laws of Michigan: 1837, March 20, 1837, p. 130.

⁵⁵Michigan Legislature, House of Representatives, House Documents: 1838, p. 141; Berndt, op. cit., pp. 42-43, citing Michigan Senate, Senate Documents: 1838, pp. 226-227, 235.



After WALLING - 1873

Map 11

Jackson's locational advantages

Jackson had a number of advantages which made it clear that it would be selected for the Central route:

1. Jackson's river valley site minimized its approach gradient
2. It was centrally located in the county
3. It was the county's primate city in population in 1837
4. It was in the center of a developing agricultural surplus area
5. It was the county seat and political center of the county

In 1837 only two points were in doubt for Jacksonians, (1) how long it would take for the railroad to reach it, and (2) whether Dexter would be one of the places connected to it on the east.⁵⁶

⁵⁶Michigan Legislature, House of Representatives, House Documents: 1838, p. 141. Dexter donated to the State twenty well-sited half-acre village lots to offset the additional construction expense, to become a place on the Central route. On December 9, 1837, the Central route was formally established from Ann Arbor through Dexter, Leoni, Michigan Center, Jacksonburgh, Barry (Section 35, Sandstone Township, Jackson County), Albion, Marshall, Battle Creek, Augusta, Comstock, Kalamazoo, Lafayette, Mason (formerly county seat VanBuren County), Waterford, and St. Joseph. Between these places the route utilized the valleys and tributary plains of the Huron, Grand, and Kalamazoo Rivers.

Connecting the villages and
hamlets by rail 1837-1846

After more than four and one-half years of having to overcome the whims of the Legislature, quirks of financial markets, erratic delivery of strap iron and nails, sickness of workers, and perhaps a certain amount of managerial incompetence, the Central Railroad finally reached Jackson on the 29th of December 1841.⁵⁷ For three years, 1841-1844, Jackson profited as the railroad's western terminal. Earlier the Legislature had defeated a motion to have the tracks laid simultaneously from east to west.⁵⁸ Thus, the financial resources allocated for the road's construction benefited the most easterly communities, especially Detroit from its initiation, as well as Jackson. Later Marshall (1844), Battle Creek (1845), and Kalamazoo (1846) were the terminals before the State sold the Central and Southern Railroads.

Early effect of the railroad

With the trains in operation to Jackson, passengers and freight could be taken to Detroit in as little as six hours.⁵⁹ In 1842 business greatly increased, especially

⁵⁷ Berndt, op. cit., pp. 53, 55.

⁵⁸ Ibid., p. 31, citing Detroit Free Press, March 17, 1837.

⁵⁹ Ibid., p. 55.

that associated with the hauling of wheat. During the harvest season trains made the normal daily run, but to keep up with the demand from the interior, night and Sunday trips were also added. Acting as a stimulus for the city as well were daily stage trips between Jackson and St. Joseph and the beginning of steamer travel to Chicago. In this period Jackson's hotel and related businesses began to prosper.

The "Hibbard's Stage Line" (organized in 1835) was the main reliance for getting to Lansing from all places in the southern two tiers of counties including Detroit. The stage route operated until 1866 when the Jackson, Lansing and Saginaw Railroad (J, L & S RR) was completed.⁶⁰ With agricultural products and wood for fuel flowing into the city, it became necessary to erect storage facilities near the tracks. Facilities for transshipment by stage and cartage haulers also increased.

Because of the burdens placed on the trains and tracks, maintenance facilities became a necessity at the interior end of the line. To meet this need a limited number of car repair and track gangs became headquartered in Jackson. However, with the extension of the line to Marshall, the car repair shops and many of the Irishmen associated with them moved there.⁶¹

⁶⁰History of Jackson County, 1881, op. cit., p. 231.

⁶¹Taber, op. cit., pp. 327-328.

Sale of the Michigan railroads
to private enterprise

By 1846 the State was in a precarious financial condition. To help regain financial stability, the Legislature acted to sell the State's railroads in their incomplete condition. The sale of the Michigan Central and Michigan Southern to individual Boston financial interests brought about Jackson's railroad advantage. The critical point for Jackson was that the Southern Railroad Charter, when it was granted, required the completion of the "Tecumseh Branch" to Jackson along the line of the formerly authorized route of the J-P RR.⁶² The construction of the branch to Jackson was delayed a few years while the new owners of the M C RR and Michigan Southern Railroad (M S RR) engaged in a battle to extend their lines to the developing Chicago rail center.

Jackson Gains a Competitive
Railroad Advantage

In 1858 the M S RR finally completed construction of the Jackson branch (JB-M S RR). Until the late 1860's the city was the only interior point where the two major competing railroads approached each other.⁶³ The branch line

⁶²Laws of Michigan: 1846, May 9, 1846, p. 176.

⁶³James M. Thomas, Jackson City Directory and Business Advertiser for: 1869-1870 (Jackson: Carlton and Van Antwerp Printers, 1869), p. 34. Dunbar states that the M S RR extended branch lines also to Detroit and Marshall from Jonesville in the 1850's. (Dunbar, op. cit., p. 383.) However, until 1875 when the Coldwater & Marshall Railroad was constructed, Marshall was not connected to the M S RR. (R. L. Polk, "Marshall," Michigan State Gazetteer and Business Directory--1875 (Detroit: R. L. Polk & Co.), pp. 537-538.)

terminated on the west side of the river south of Liberty Street opposite the M C RR tracks. Its depot was located near the head of Wesley Street. This branch line immediately provided an outlet and receiving point for goods passing through Toledo inasmuch as the M S RR had leased the E & K RR.

Most important for Jackson was the competition the branch induced between the two great rival lines. By 1870 it was commonly estimated that the Jackson Branch was worth over \$100,000 in savings in freight costs to agricultur-
alists, manufacturers, and businessmen in Jackson County.⁶⁴ Further evidence of the value of the Jackson Branch to the city is the fact that Jackson had become the M S RR's second-ranking depot in gross receipts in 1870. Only Adrian with \$112,972 revenue from passengers and freight surpassed the Central City's \$80,185.⁶⁵

Jackson's and Michigan's minor
lag in railroad building

Although there had been a rush of railroad activity after the E & K RR pioneering success in the 1830's, Michigan lagged far behind other old-Northwest states in miles of tracks laid between 1840-1860. In these years in Michigan only 475 miles of tracks were laid while in Illinois and Ohio, 2757 and 2325 miles were set in place respectively. Even Iowa out-distanced Michigan with 679 miles. Undoubtedly,

⁶⁴Thomas, 1869-1870, op. cit., p. 34.

⁶⁵Ibid.

the State's isolation between the Great Lakes and its sparse northern population accounted for the low amount of trackage. Similar to the State, Jackson as a rail center was still quite minor in 1860. However after Jackson's leaders returned from the Civil War, the city began to exert itself.

In the post-Civil War years four "Jackson Railroads" were developed and successfully guided to completion. Although changed in name, they still exist testifying to their perceptive location. The Jackson, Lansing & Saginaw (J, L & S RR), the Fort Wayne, Jackson and Saginaw (FT. W, J & S RR), the Grand Rapids Valley (GR V RR) and the Michigan Airline (M A RR) were all mainly financed, built, and officered by Jacksonians.⁶⁶ These four lines were, for the most part, completed by 1870. Within the next year with the establishment of the Michigan Central car repair and manufacturing shops, Jackson became the State's outstanding rail center. By 1875 when Marshall expected the completion of the additional railroads through it, its promotional Gazetteer writer could not disguise the fact that that town had suffered from the enterprise of Jackson.

Work is rapidly progressing on this road [Michigan and Ohio Railroad] and it is expecting to be completed early in 1875, when Marshall will no longer lack the advantages of being a railroad center.⁶⁷

⁶⁶Shoemaker, op. cit., p. 317.

⁶⁷Michigan State Gazetteer and Business Directory--1875, op. cit., p. 538.

Community action builds
the center

Jackson's situation near the headwaters of several watersheds through which railroad routes were later marked, has been cited as the main reason for the convergence of railroads in Jackson.⁶⁸ Such explanations ignore the dynamic quality of Jackson's citizens. Just as important as its river valley site was the aid the railroad promoters received from the citizens and city. As Shoemaker observed shortly after the construction of the railroads:

[They were] . . . aided by subscription of stock or subsidies made by the city of Jackson, in conformity in every case with the will of the majority of electors . . . and it is probable that in every instance this timely aid rendered by the city secured the building of each of the roads.⁶⁹

The officers of the Jackson-centered companies were Jackson citizens, all with their business headquarters in the city.

Railroads' effect on
the landscape

One of the most significant developments the railroad had on the character of the community was the land devoted to the railroads. Between 1830 and the establishment of the M C RR shops in the city in 1871, railroad land use

⁶⁸R. L. Polk, City Directory of Jackson, Michigan, 1875 (Detroit: R. L. Polk & Co., 1875), p. 10; Thomas, 1869-1870, op. cit., p. 21.

⁶⁹Shoemaker, op. cit., p. 317.

rose from no acres to approximately 225 acres.⁷⁰ In laying out the routes through the community, the following principles were generally adhered to:

1. Avoidance of built-up areas
2. Placing terminals and service facilities near the center of town
3. Avoidance of sharp curves
4. Solid ground and low gradient conditions

By entering the city on the Grand River flood plain, removal of buildings was avoided. In the case of the M C RR, by curving northwest and angling southwest, vacant property was able to be utilized for the right-of-way. Both the M C RR and JB-M S RR had some disruptive effect on the original plat. The JB-M S RR, entering the city from the southeast, utilized the southern right-of-way of Mill Street. Thus, today's Otsego terminates at Milwaukee rather than at Mason Street. This again illustrates the community's willingness to utilize public land for private purposes. It shows, too, that the railroad and community leaders desired to reduce inner-city disruption.

As late as 1853 only seven structures had been built east of Francis between Mason and Main streets; thus homes were avoided. The M C RR route passed through the original plat on the same angle as the meander of the river.

⁷⁰Jackson City Planning Department, The Physical City, Jackson, Michigan Community Renewal Research Study No. 3 (Jackson, January, 1967), p. 2.

By extending the route northwest nearly to West Street, evidently all but one home was avoided. The route passed through what had been Blackman farm land, north of the developing Main Street commercial center and finally utilized Blackman's square earlier intended to be the State capitol grounds.

Until the Union Station was constructed in 1873-1874 on its present-day site, four separate depots served the railroads. The M C RR had its depot on the south side of Michigan at Park Street. The M C RR roundhouse, freight depot, and repair shop were located south of Plymouth Street (formerly Railroad) between Johnson and VanDorn. The Ft. W, J & S RR office was on Johnson north of the M C RR tracks which it crossed. The JB-M S RR depot was near the head of Wesley, east of its railroad tracks. The railroads north had a small roundhouse north of Trail, east of the river, with depot facilities. The new M C RR maintenance and car shops were located on the relatively level land about a mile southeast of the center of town, on their previously owned land parallel to the tracks. From a land-use point of view, the city was benefited by the fact that the GR V RR and J, L & S RR shared ten miles of track north out of the city to Rives Junction. Also shared were depot facilities north of Trail Street. Thus, disrupting tracks and trains were confined to one right-of-way.

The railroads and the life
of the community

The railroads made Jackson accessible and attractive to industry because of competitive rates. These advantages were not limited to agricultural and manufacturing interests. Jackson also became a favorite point, being central and accessible, for state conventions, fairs, and other congregations of men. By 1870, on the average, there were fifteen arrivals and fifteen departures of trains. The M C RR had five scheduled trains, the J, L & S RR had two, the JB-M S RR had three, the GR V RR had three, and the Ft. W, J & S RR had two.

By the summer of 1870 Jackson had developed into the State's number one passenger station on the M C RR and ranked second in freight shipped; only Detroit handled more (Table 8).

TABLE 8

MICHIGAN CENTRAL RAILROAD REPORT 1870

Rank	City	Passengers	Tons Freight Shipped
1	Jackson	72,482	67,969
2	Detroit	71,927	70,169
3	Kalamazoo	65,946	28,427
4	Chicago	48,879	63,749
5	Ann Arbor	45,538	8,694

Source: Jackson Weekly Citizen, July 19, 1870,
p. 5.

Major shipments from Jackson on the railroads consisted primarily of agricultural produce such as wheat and flour, wool, potatoes, and livestock, as well as agricultural implements. Other major items shipped included lumber, coal, and lime. Major railroad receipts consisted of grain, lumber, brick, shingles, lath, beer, liquor, and salt. From the railroad transactions three generalizations about the city in 1870 can be made: (1) industrial production was tied to agricultural needs; (2) the city acted as a major collecting, transshipping, and processing center; and (3) the local economy was geared to building and construction projects.

Convention center function

After the Civil War Jackson became a major fair and convention city. State and midwestern tournaments frequently came to Jackson. Ice skaters, billiardists, and horse breeders all held state tournaments in the city in 1870. Some weekends as many as 600 skaters would participate for prizes. The State Teachers' Institute, several church regional meetings, and women's franchise meetings brought hundreds to the town. The place was the outstanding traveling entertainment center with "the best" professional theater and burlesque troupes performing. Once without an entertainment attraction for a week, the local editor observed the unusual: "Strange! One whole week in Jackson without a single entertainment, theatrical or otherwise."

The largest congregation of people came with the State Fair. Between 1849 and 1862 the State Fair was always held in Detroit. However, with pressure from farm leaders in the interior of the State and the development of railroad connections, a rotating policy was adopted. Thus, in the decade of the 1860's several communities, Kalamazoo ('63-'64), Adrian ('65-'66), Detroit ('67-'68), and Jackson ('69-'70) profited by hosting the event.

With many conventions and meetings scheduled for the city, temporary housing was constantly in demand. Consequently, the hotel business prospered. For example, it was not unusual to have nearly 5,000 people use the community's five hotels in a week. The four-story brick Hurd House and the Hibbard Hotel were two of the best at that time in the nation and served 1200-1500 guests in a week.⁷¹ Undoubtedly, without the railroads, the hotels and saloons and conventions would have been much less a part of the community life of the city. In addition to the railroads, the local resources were important in attracting activities to Jackson.

Jackson's Mineral Resources

Part of the city's activity, especially the State Penitentiary, coal mining, and chemical manufacturing, can be explained by the resources found in and near the city.

⁷¹Jackson Daily Citizen, May 20, 1870; Jackson Weekly Citizen, June 28, 1870, p. 7.

Soon after the pioneers' occupation of Jackson, outcrops and exposures along the river bank revealed the presence of several useful minerals. Most important of those discovered were: (1) sandstone in the vicinity of the prison and south of it along the river, (2) limestone about three miles north and three miles south of the hamlet, (3) fire clay about a mile north of Blackman's location, and (4) coal with the sandstone and near the dam site. The presence of all of these was confirmed by Douglas Houghton, the State geologist, in 1837.⁷²

The easily gathered coal and shale were used for fuel during the first year or two of settlement. But no organized early effort to exploit coal developed as compared with sandstone and limestone. Although Houghton's report was optimistic in the utilization of sandstone and the finding of coal for mining, fire clay was not in his opinion exploitable.

In descending Grand River, the rock [sandstone] appears again at Jacksonburgh, and over many miles of the surrounding country, having a slight dip like that at Napoleon. Southwesterly, several quarries have been opened in the immediate vicinity of Jacksonburgh, . . . a little north of the village, clay ironstone occurs . . . , but not in sufficient quantities to be of any practical importance. . .

In the bed and bank of the river a little above the crossing of the road at Jacksonburgh, the sandstone is seen to embrace a bed of bituminous shale . . . at first mistaken by the inhabitants for

⁷²Michigan Legislature, House of Representatives, House Documents: 1838, January 28, 1838, pp. 276-309.

coal . . . since the shales are well known to be the usual associates of coal . . . a reasonable hope may undoubtedly be entertained of the existence of coal in that section of country.⁷³

Through the years after the first discovery of the State's first coal at Jackson, its extent was verified in various places. It was naturally exposed and came to light in digging cellars or wells within the city limits, under the cover of only a few feet of glacial drift.⁷⁴ However, twenty years passed before an English mining engineer arrived in Jackson via Pennsylvania to investigate the possibilities of developing coal mining in the region. In the years after 1857, William Walker opened the first of several coal mines in Jackson County.⁷⁵

In 1870 only two mines were located in the city. One was just south and east of Cooper and Porter Streets (Porter Coal Mine). This mine was opened in 1867 and it remained in operation until 1880.⁷⁶ The activity at this mine is marked in contemporary times by several lineal depressions and a circular cave-in which has occurred in the schoolyard and backyards of the surrounding property owners.

⁷³Ibid., pp. 79-80.

⁷⁴C. Rominger, Geological Survey of Michigan: Lower Peninsula 1873-1876, III (New York: Julius Bien, 1876), p. 123.

⁷⁵History of Jackson County, 1881, op. cit., p. 745.

⁷⁶History of Jackson County, 1881, op. cit., p. 558.

Another mine (Walker's) was located near the west end of East Argyle between the Grand Trunk Railroad tracks (old J, L & S RR) and Walker Street (Fig. 10).

By 1873 two other mines were opened within the city limits, one in the prison yard and the other (The South Walker) located at the corporation line and the old JB-M S RR tracks near the modern day Polish National Park. Preceding the active coal mines of 1870, a coal shaft was sunk in the middle of the block east of Francis between Franklin and Warwick Court Streets.⁷⁷

Manufacturing in Jackson 1870

In the years between 1860 and 1870 the number of manufacturing establishments increased statewide 174 percent. Most of the expansion took place after 1865.⁷⁸ Jackson shared heavily in the post-Civil War economic surge. Most notable was the diversification of industry and the increase in number of manufacturing establishments in the city.

In 1860 Jackson, according to the U.S. Census, had only eighteen different types of production activities in twenty-eight manufacturing establishments, employing 525

⁷⁷Hart, Map of Jackson, op. cit.

⁷⁸Sidney Glazer, "The Economic Revolution in Michigan," Michigan History, XXXIV (1950), p. 194.



Fig. 10.--Coal debris overlaying sandstone at Walker coal mine site. (Near East Argyle and Grand Trunk Railroad tracks)

men.⁷⁹ The figure for total industrial employment may lack nearly ninety-five because of a conflict between the Census Report and 1860 Annual Report of the Inspectors of the State Prison. The Prison Report shows several more men under contract than are reported on the census schedules. The latter entirely omits 73 men under contract to Sprague, Withington-Cooley, and Hopkins.⁸⁰

Diversification of industry

By 1870 there were a total of 145 establishments employing 1341 men, surpassed only by Detroit and Grand Rapids in variety. Yet, the convict labor employed only rose to 528. Thus, by 1860 civilian labor employed in manufacturing became dominant.⁸¹ Diversification of industry included two pottery-making firms utilizing the locally available clays. This activity was commenced in 1868 employing 37 men, nearly 20 per cent of them Germans. Considerably higher in value of production was the establishment of the Michigan Chemical Company which employed 30 men, nearly all English and Welshmen. At that time this

⁷⁹U.S. Bureau of the Census, Eighth Census of the United States: 1860, Census of Industry, Jackson County Schedules, Archives, Michigan Historical Commission.

⁸⁰Ibid.; Michigan Legislature, Joint Documents: 1860, Annual Report Inspectors of the State Prison, p. 39.

⁸¹Michigan Department of the Census, Census of Michigan: 1870, Part IV, Table 14, p. 590.

company and the Chemical Works at Natrona, Pennsylvania, were the only companies in the United States producing sodas (sal, caustic, and bicarbonate) and muriatic acid. Up to five car loads per month of caustic soda alone were produced in addition to three tons of muriatic acid. Salt, coal, pyrites, and limestone were the major resources used. By the end of the decade with the depletion of coal mining, the Michigan Chemical Company's chief product became wood pulp.⁸²

Associated with the construction activities, increasingly taking place in the city, was the establishment of three planing mills in the yards of the lumber companies which employed 41 men. Taking advantage of the development of coiled steel springs were the Bates brothers, who manufactured patented bed springs for sale throughout the southern part of the State. During the Civil War production of cigars and other tobacco products became one of the city's larger industries. The four companies employed more than 75 men including several Germans. Production surpassed 2 million cigars which were marketed throughout the Midwest. The production included the use of Connecticut leaf tobacco as well as Michigan-grown tobacco, which was raised in 16 counties but mostly in

⁸²C. E. Brown, op. cit., p. 21; Thomas, 1869-1870, op. cit., pp. 50-51; History of Jackson County, 1881, op. cit., p. 561.

Wayne and Lapeer.⁸³ Starting in 1868 after a year's production in Grand Rapids, the Bortree Manufacturing Company made crinolines and bustles which were distributed in Michigan, Ohio, and Indiana.⁸⁴

Expansion of industry

By 1870 most of Jackson's increase in industry was in activities earlier established in the city. This was especially true of production associated with agriculture. Agricultural implements became the city's first-ranking industry. In 1870 there were ten manufacturers, as compared to two in 1860, concentrating primarily on the manufacture of small farm tools. The Withington-Cooley Company was the major manufacturer employing about 200 men including 134 convicts. The convicts were contracted for 52 cents per day from the State. Figuring a six-day week, the convicts cost this company \$162.76 per man in yearly wages. In comparison the average for wages paid Jackson County implement makers was \$331 per year. Even in Hillsdale County men employed in the same trade averaged

⁸³Thomas, 1867-1868, op. cit., p. VIII; Thomas, 1869-1870, op. cit., p. 74; U.S. Bureau of the Census, Ninth Census of the United States: 1870, Agriculture, IV, p. 178-179.

⁸⁴History of Jackson County, 1881, op. cit., pp. 552, 536.

\$237 per year.⁸⁵ Thus, convict labor appears to have been a considerable saving to the company. Furthermore, such figures put into doubt DeLand's statement about the Withington-Cooley Company.

It has been a popular fable that the use of this labor [prison labor] gave the company employing it a great advantage over competitors. There is not a concern in the world with more thorough knowledge of the ins and outs of the prison-contract labor system, and for nearly a half century of trial it came to the conclusion that convict labor was the dearest labor.⁸⁶

If convict labor was not profitable, one wonders why it was used on trial for "nearly half a century," especially when contracts had to be renewed every five years.

Notwithstanding the use of prison labor, this firm put Jackson into the international market with its manufacture of high quality small implements, cast steel hoes, hay and manure forks, garden rakes, potato hooks, corn cutters, and horse-drawn rakes in addition to many specialty items. The diffusion of the products was assisted by a display of a case of tools at the Hamburg World's Fair which was awarded first prize. Europe, Korea, South Africa, Australia, and South America all

⁸⁵ Figures were derived by dividing number of men employed in agricultural implement manufacturing into amount of wages paid. (U.S. Bureau of the Census, Ninth Census of the United States: 1870, Manufacturing, III, Table XI, p. 680.)

⁸⁶ C. V. DeLand, op. cit., p. 452.

were included in the growing foreign commerce of the company.⁸⁷

A similar increase can be noted with carriage and wagon making; whereas in 1860 there was one wagon maker, by 1870 there were eight. The leading producer, Austin-Tomlinson, gained a nationwide reputation for the production of the "Jackson Prison Wagon." This firm began production at the prison in 1842 shortly after the five-year contract system was instituted and the Central Railroad terminated in the city. In 1870 the company had 78 men on prison contract plus about 25 others employed outside the prison. The operation was specialized by a division of labor into woodworking, machinery, trip hammer, blacksmith, and paint shop. With one hundred employees, production averaged about 3000 wagons per year in addition to sleighs. In comparison only 2184 were made in 1860. During the Civil War the wagons were extensively used by the Union Army to haul supplies. The wagons by 1870 were marketed nationally especially in the Midwest, South, and, with completion of the Trans-Continental Railroad, increasingly to the Pacific Coast. The latter market invasion prompted this comment quoted from The San Francisco Times:

The two-horse wagons have sold among us at from \$225-\$250 . . . the same wagon or better of

⁸⁷Thomas, 1867-1868, op. cit., p. 121; C. V. DeLand, op. cit., pp. 450-456.

Michigan make, can be bought in any quantity both here and in Sacramento at \$160.⁸⁸

Furniture production.--In direct competition with furniture makers of Grand Rapids was Jackson-made furniture. Dominating the activity was Gilbert, Ranson, and Knapp's, a Kalamazoo firm which began its expansion in Jackson in 1857 with the use of convicts. By 1870 the firm was one of the State's leading furniture makers. In 1870 sales were limited mostly to Michigan, but were beginning to reach Minnesota, Missouri, and Kansas. Distribution stores in the State were located in Jackson, Marshall, Battle Creek, and Kalamazoo.⁸⁹

Flouring mills.--After a slow start Jackson had become a major center with its four flouring mills in 1870. With only three firms reporting in the census, over 320,000 bushels of wheat and 60,000 barrels of flour were ground.⁹⁰ The leading mill was located at Jackson and Clinton streets. It had seven run-of-stone operated by steam, capable of producing 300 barrels of flour per day. Its four-story elevator could store 45,000 bushels of wheat. Two smaller

⁸⁸Jackson Weekly Citizen, November 16, 1869, p. 5, quoting: The San Francisco Times.

⁸⁹Thomas, 1867-1868, op. cit., p. ix; Thomas, 1869-1870, op. cit., pp. 52-53.

⁹⁰Michigan Department of the Census, Census of Michigan: 1870, Part IV, Table 4, p. 480.

mills, one built on the site of the old grist mill below the dam and another at the railroad tracks and Mechanic Streets, took advantage of the water power of the river and of the railroad for collecting wheat from as far away as 100 miles. The city's smallest mill was located just east of the M C RR tracks and was operated as a specialty mill, grinding pearl barley, oatmeal, hulled corn, and split peas.

Other production.--The production of boots and shoes with ten manufacturers was another post-War expansion industry which profited from prison labor. By 1870, with the development of the railroads, the handmade shoes of Hatch & Claflin were marketed in all the Western states. Most of the boot and shoe makers were located on the upper floors of stores on Michigan Avenue between Mechanic and Jackson. The leather-goods business for horse items also expanded and diversified after the War. For several years harnesses, whips, and collars (72,000 in 1868) were made, but by 1870 saddles, trunks, and valices became a common product of the five harness manufacturers. The city's two iron foundries and machine shops employed nearly 70 men. The Jackson Foundry was started in 1868 in response for manufacturing and repair facilities for the J, L & S RR. The city's second foundry located on Park near the M C RR tracks engaged in construction casings for building supports, caps, sills, and columns.⁹¹

⁹¹Thomas, 1869-1870, op. cit., pp. 58, 60-62, 70.

Summary

By 1870 Jackson had become a distinctively American small industrial city. Railroads, resources, manufacturing, and the State prison most significantly contributed to the change. The spirit of the community was to grow, build, and expand even if it was required to utilize the public lands entrusted to community ownership.

CHAPTER IV

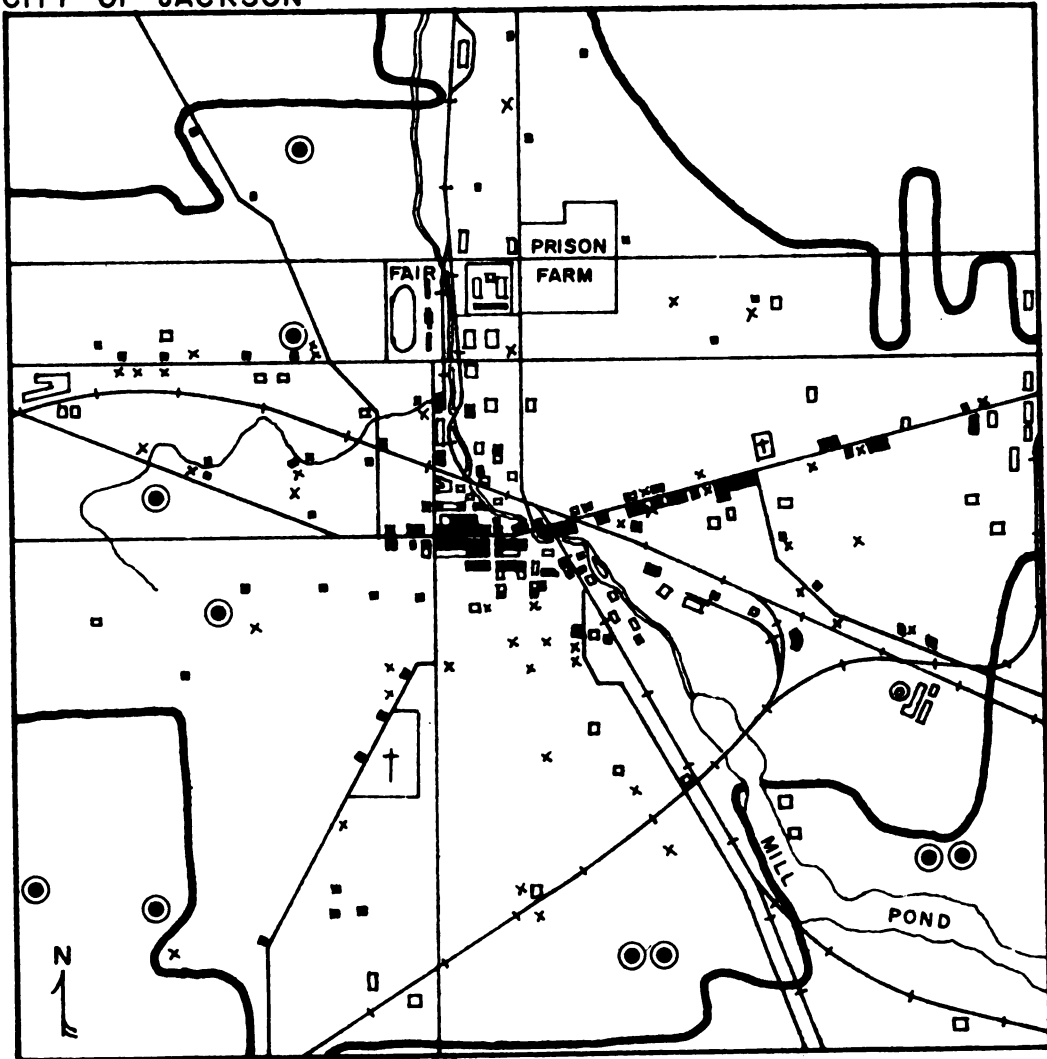
JACKSON IN 1910: EMERGENT AUTOMOBILE CENTER

In the years between 1870 and 1910 the incorporated area of the city of Jackson remained unchanged. Nevertheless, by 1910 the city had acquired a character distinctive from that of 1870. The map of the city in 1910 (Map 12) illustrates many of the changes that had occurred on the site of the city. The most easily observed differences were that urban activities, especially manufacturing and commerce, were no longer confined to the center of the community.

The City in 1910

While in 1870 most manufacturing occurred in or near the center of town, by 1910 most production activity was located in factories built near the city's east, west, and south-central peripheries. The newer plants, although constructed of brick as in 1870, contrasted with the older factories because of their larger size. Each instance of new industrial development up to 1910 occurred in association with the development of Jackson's railroad network.

CITY OF JACKSON



SOURCES: R.L. POLK 1910; STANDARD ATLAS 1911


LAND USE 1910

■ SERVICE-COMMERCIAL

□ MANUFACTURING

● FARM-GARDEN

x GROCERY

 BUILT-UP AREA


Map 12

Land and structures devoted to commercial and service activities were also more widely dispersed in 1910 than in 1870. One of the most notable changes in the city's appearance was the mixing of grocery stores with residential development. Not infrequently home and store were combined in one structure (Figs. 11, 12). The site of the city was changed by 1910 with the construction of one and two-story rectangular commercial buildings along the secondary thoroughfares. Buildings devoted to business activities swept east on Michigan Avenue past the imposing red brick Union Station located adjacent to the M C RR tracks (Figs. 13, 14).

The courthouse and three churches to the east of the remaining portion of the public square marked the civil and ceremonial center of the community by their distinctive appearance. The city's massive limestone public library located on Michigan Avenue near Blackstone Street, in operation only a few months by 1910, also helped to give a monumental appearance to the central part of the community. In spite of the several public edifices west of the public square, business structures occupied lots west of them nearly to Blackstone Street on Michigan Avenue.

In the north central part of town the State prison continued to give a fortress-like appearance to the landscape. In 1910 Jackson's streets of which six miles were paved, were still crowded with horses and carriages.



Fig. 11.--Home and store in residential area, circa 1910. (Trail and Harris)



Fig. 12.--European Bakery in Polish area, established 1913. (Page and Joy)



Fig. 13.--Union Station, constructed 1873-1874.



Fig. 14.--Union Station. In the foreground the rectangular remains of LaGrande Park platted in 1836.

However electric streetcars, transporting hundreds of workers and shoppers, hummed and clanged along fifteen miles of rails placed in the city's main roads. With the commercial and industrial growth of the city after 1870, the land devoted to residential use spread outward from the center and was more densely dotted with houses and apartments. On the periphery of the city a few farms were still in operation in 1910. Interspersed throughout the city on muck soils were several small farm-garden operations which produced vegetables and flowers for local consumption.

Although there were many changes in the city's character between 1870 and 1910, the settlement possessed vestiges of its previous occupance.

Causes of Change

In the years 1870-1910 the functional activities of the community became more diversified. Much of the diversification as well as altered land-use patterns came as a consequence of: (1) the centripetal force exerted by the rail junction, (2) the adoption of technological advances, (3) local inventiveness, and (4) the development of an intra-city mass transport system. In Jackson, like many other cities, the automobile, electric power generation, and agricultural equipment advances figured greatly in local change. Less common in the manufacturing milieu

of other places was the "Hub City's"¹ concentration of corset and undergarment producers. The city's population composition continued to change as a result of foreign migration, especially Polish-speaking people. As the community increased in population while its areal limits remained constant, the settled area of the city conformed more closely with its political boundaries in the years after 1870.

Population Composition and Change

By 1910 Jackson had become one of Michigan's six cities in the 25,000 to 50,000 population range. The city's population nearly tripled; it had gone from 11,447 in 1870 to 31,433 in 1910.² In spite of this growth, Jackson did not keep pace with the population increase of other cities in Michigan. For example, by 1910 Jackson had dropped from Michigan's third to the State's seventh ranking city.³ The city's drop in rank began as early as 1880 when Saginaw and Bay City outgrew

¹"Hub City" and "Central City" were commonly used in reference to Jackson during the Nineteenth and early Twentieth Centuries, reflecting the commonly held notion of its accessibility.

²U.S. Bureau of the Census, Thirteenth Census of the United States: 1910, Abstract with Supplement for Michigan, p. 618.

³In 1870 only Detroit and Grand Rapids were larger. By 1910 Saginaw (50,510), Bay City (45,166), Kalamazoo (39,437), and Flint (38,500) had surpassed Jackson.

Jackson. These cities profited from the development of Michigan's lumber and salt resources. Saginaw also was able to annex adjacent populated territory.⁴ In comparison, Kalamazoo and Flint did not become larger than Jackson until after 1904.⁵ Kalamazoo's improved railroad connections, developing paper mills, windmill industries, and colleges primarily accounted for its more rapid growth. Flint's growth, on the other hand, came as a result of the Buick and other automobile production activities, as well as more perceptive local financing.⁶

So uniform was Jackson's population increase at about 500 per year, it was common for the city's promotional literature to emphasize that it was a city without an "artificial boom."⁷ In the four decades after 1870 Jackson's population growth came primarily from natural increase, migration of young people from the farm, and foreign migration to the city.

⁴Dennis G. Cooper and Floyd A. Stilgenbauer, "The Urban Geography of Saginaw, Michigan," Papers of the Michigan Academy of Science Arts and Letters, XX (1934), pp. 302, 304.

⁵Michigan Department of the Census, Census of Michigan: 1904, Population, I, pp. 83, 91.

⁶Lansing's population, while not as large as Jackson's, also showed the impact of the automobile industry. In 1910 the capital city's population was only 204 fewer than Jackson's, yet in 1900 it had been 8,695 fewer.

⁷Jackson Citizen Press, February 13, 1909, Part II; Jackson (Jackson: Jackson Citizen Press: 1912).

In 1870 the city comprised less than one-third of Jackson County's population while by the turn of the century the city's population numbered more than one-half of the county's inhabitants. These statistics are also indicative of the fact that by the latter part of the Nineteenth Century Jackson and other urban places received a greater number of foreign immigrants than did rural locales. Another example of the city attracting both foreign and domestic migrants is the fact that in the period between 1870-1910, when the city's population tripled, the county's population only doubled. Even though cities in Michigan grew significantly up to 1910, the State's cities tended to grow at a slower rate than those in neighboring states. However, since 1910 the reverse has been true.⁸

Population composition

In the second four decades of Jackson's development, European migration to America continued to increase. However, in spite of the continued settlement of foreign-born persons in the city, the per cent of individuals in this category decreased from 21.3 in 1870 to 13.7 per cent in 1910. Native-born white population in the same year stood at nearly 59 per cent and the Negro population at 1.1 per cent. Illustrating the maturing nature of the

⁸Willis F. Dunbar, "Frontiersmanship in Michigan," Michigan History, L (June, 1966), p. 105.

community and the assimilation of foreign born with native-born individuals is the fact that over four-fifths of the city's residents had in 1910 at least one native-born parent (Table 9).

TABLE 9
MICHIGAN URBAN PLACES AND JACKSON'S
POPULATION 1910

Nativity	Jackson Population	Per Cent of Total	Michigan Urban Places Per Cent of Total ⁹
Native white	18,483	58.8	35.5
Native-foreign born parents	8,285	26.4	37.4
Foreign born	4,307	13.7	26.2
Negro	359	1.1	0.9

Source: U.S. Census: 1910, op. cit., pp. 593, 618.

In Michigan's cities of between 25,000-50,000 population in the years 1900-1910, the per cent of Negroes as a part of their total population decreased. However, in contrast to all other similar sized Michigan cities, only Jackson's Negro population actually decreased in number in the Twentieth Century's first decade.¹⁰ Between 1900-1910 the Negro population of

⁹Urban population refers to incorporated places of 2500 inhabitants or more.

¹⁰Between 1890 and 1900 Lansing and Bay City's Negro population decreased 18 and 15 respectively. These losses were minor in comparison to Jackson's decrease of 119 during the following ten years. (U.S. Bureau of the Census, Thirteenth Census of the United States: 1910, p. 618.)

Jackson dropped from 473 to 354. Assuming the accuracy of census reports, two-thirds of the decrease occurred between 1900 and 1904.¹¹ Jackson was not alone in witnessing a decrease in Afro-American population. Between 1890 and 1910 thirty Michigan counties had reduction in their black populations. Furthermore, the State's population between 1894 and 1904 decreased by 1610 or 11.2 per cent.¹² Whether the decrease in Negro population in the city and State actually occurred is a matter of conjecture as decreases could be attributed to enumeration errors.

The precise location of Negroes living in the city in 1910 is not recorded.¹³ However, the Michigan Census of 1904 provides an enumeration of black residents by wards (Map 13).¹⁴ Two changes in the location of Negro residents occurred between 1870-1910: (1) the growth of two of the early Negro core settlement areas, and (2) the dispersal of Negroes to peripheral or sparsely

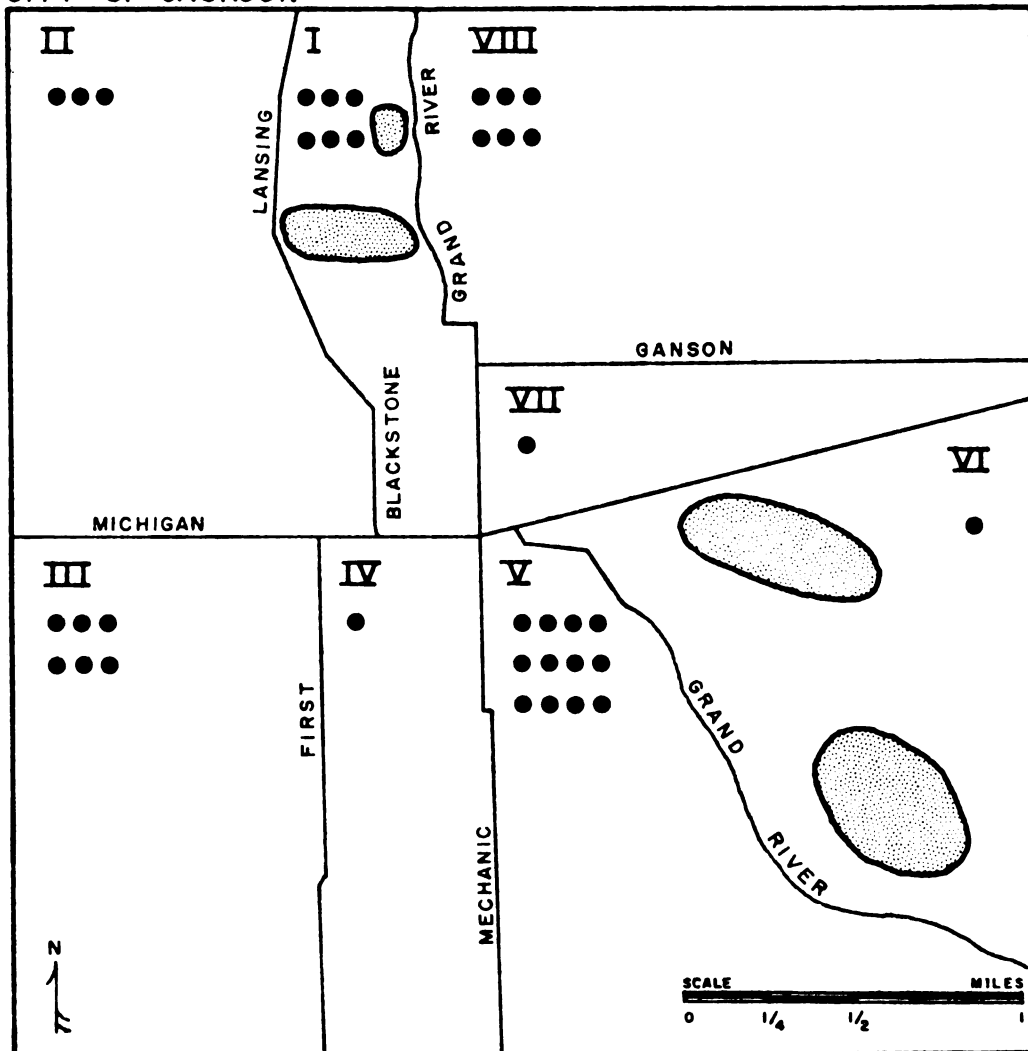
¹¹Michigan Department of the Census, Census of Michigan: 1904, Population, I, Table IX, p. 152; U.S. Bureau of the Census, Thirteenth Census of the United States: 1910, p. 618.

¹²Michigan Department of the Census, Census of Michigan: 1904, Population, I, Table XIX, p. xcvi; U.S. Bureau of the Census, Thirteenth Census of the United States: 1910, p. 618.

¹³Neither the 1910 U.S. Census nor the early 1900 Directories indicates coloreds by wards or addresses.

¹⁴The 1904 figures undoubtedly closely reflected the 1910 Negro occupancy situation as the 1904 and 1910 enumerations only varied by 39 individuals.

CITY OF JACKSON



SOURCE: MICHIGAN CENSUS 1904

NEGROES-POLISH

1870-1910

- = 10 NEGRO RESIDENTS
BY WARDS-1904
- POLISH SETTLED
AREA: 1870-1910
- II WARD NUMBER

settled areas of the community. By 1910 the area east of Mechanic Street and south of Michigan Avenue had become the dominant "Black" section of Jackson. Low cost older housing, proximity to hotels and restaurants, and a tacit community understanding between whites and blacks led to the concentration in the old Fifth Ward area. The North Street-Blackstone Street core also expanded to become an identifiable Negro neighborhood. Negro settlement in the dominantly foreign-born settled area east of Grand River and south of Ganson Street decreased with that area becoming almost exclusively white. This suggests that at that date Jackson's Negroes were unable to compete with the foreign born for the east-side factory jobs and less expensive housing in the former Sixth and Seventh Wards. At the beginning of the century a few Afro-American families had settled in the vicinity of Third Street from Harwood to Griswold streets. Yet, most Negro settlement in the former Third Ward was widely dispersed. In the city's old Eighth Ward Negroes were mainly confined to the State prison.

Jackson's foreign born 1870-1910

After 1870 Jackson's population became more diversified. Germans and Canadians continued to be the largest foreign-born element. However, Polish-speaking immigrants from what was at that time German, Russian,

and Austrian territory became the city's third-ranking foreign-born group (Table 10).¹⁵

TABLE 10
JACKSON'S FOREIGN BORN 1910

Country	City	County	Country	City	County
Germany	1004	1470	Belgium	29	31
Canada	990	1363	Switzerland	23	26
Russia	697	707	France	21	22
England	652	1183	Wales	20	32
Ireland	421	558	Holland	19	22
Scotland	135	155	Norway	14	29
Austria	60	72	Hungary	12	16
Italy	58	68	Turkey	8	45
Greece	48	48	China	7	7
Sweden	35	49	Others	42	42

Source: U.S. Census: 1910, op. cit., pp. 608, 618.

The city's foreign born continued to be concentrated in the east side wards. Over three-fourths lived in the former Wards Five through Eight. The greatest numbers resided in the Sixth Ward which included the railroad junction and shops.¹⁶ The foreign immigrants by settling in the east-side wards selected areas with

¹⁵The displacement of England and Ireland as primary source areas for Jackson foreign born conforms to the national pattern. However, by 1910, nationally, Canada and England ranked fifth and seventh respectively. (U.S. Bureau of the Census, Thirteenth Census of the United States: 1910, pp. 190-192.)

¹⁶Michigan Department of the Census, Census of Michigan: 1904, Population, I, Table XXIX, p. 432.

predominantly lower cost homes, close proximity to railroad and factory jobs, and those which had fewer city services and improvements.

Early Polish migration to Jackson

Beginning in the 1870's Polish-speaking persons began to arrive in Jackson attracted by the coal mining and railroad expansion. The Poles sought a better life; they wanted, too, to escape the Russian-Turkish War which then engulfed Southeastern Europe. Most Polish immigrants at first lived in the North Star Subdivision located between North and Hill streets west of Myrtle (then Maple) to Lansing Avenue. By the mid-1890's with an increasing Polish population, settlement spread to the Chelbus Subdivision southwest of Monroe (then Keller) and Blackstone streets. Subsequent to the establishment of the St. Joseph Catholic Church on North Waterloo at Leroy in 1904, an eastside neighborhood began. With the major pre-World War I influx of Polish continuing unabated after 1890, several families established homes south of East Michigan Avenue near the Jackson junction on Sweet, Lake, Losey, Chester, Page, and South Elm streets.

The southeast neighborhood grew most rapidly after 1890 due to the establishment of new factories in that

part of town.¹⁷ The Polish were assimilated into a variety of occupations. From the beginning of settlement, factory and laboring occupations dominated. Until coal mining ceased in the late 1880's, some were engaged in that occupation formerly dominated by the English and Welsh. By 1910 some Polish residents owned their own stores; parcels of land for new subdivisions had also been acquired.

It appears that Jackson's foreign born were rapidly assimilated into the economic and occupational structure of the city.¹⁸ Yet, the fact that the community's foreign-born element was half that of Michigan's urban places percentage (Table 9), and that its Negro population did not increase indicates some forces may have been active in discouraging foreign and Negro settlement. Evidence of foreign and racial discouragement might be that shortly after the State Legislature approved county local option concerning the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors, Jackson County outlawed the

¹⁷William Kulsea, "Poles: Place to Live in Jackson," Jackson Citizen Patriot, September 19, 1937, Part III, p. 12; "Polish American Historical Association Questionnaire," unpublished questionnaire for the Polish-American Historical Bulletin, prepared by Adam Jankowski, January 12, 1965 (on file Jackson Public Library); phone interview with William Kulsea, Lansing, Michigan, June 26, 1969.

¹⁸The Polish maintained their cultural identity with the establishment of a Catholic Church, schools, and social organizations which also appeared on the city's landscape. (Jankowski, op. cit.)

activity.¹⁹ Such action most affected local German-American saloon and brewing interests. The local newspaper also printed statements with racially discriminatory overtones. For example, business transactions with Chinese were not encouraged by the newspaper. In the Jackson Citizen Press of February 13, 1909, a blatant discriminatory statement appeared: "And, yet there are people in Jackson who patronize the Chink!"²⁰ Evidently the proper action for a person was to patronize the white-operated laundry.²¹

Manufacturing

In the four decades following 1870 the pattern of Jackson's present-day industrial land use developed. The dispersal of manufacturing away from the central part of the city was most significant (Map 12). The congestion

¹⁹Public Acts of Michigan: 1909, May 19, 1909, pp. 216-224; Jackson Chamber of Commerce, Jackson Year Book: 1910 (Jackson: The Jackson Chamber of Commerce, 1910), p. 46.

²⁰Jackson Citizen Press, February 13, 1909, p. 6.

²¹Although the September 19, 1937, Jackson Citizen Patriot states that by 1897 the Chinese monopolized the laundry business, there was considerable laundry competition. The Vandercook and later White Laundry thrived throughout the 1890's and early 1900's. In comparison to the seven Lee Tung relatives, the White Laundry employed 49 women and 14 men processing 1980 industrial and home bundles per week. Thus perhaps the editor's opinion was based on efficiency and scale of operation rather than on race. As a result of the strong competition the Chinese diversified into the restaurant business. (Jackson Citizen Press, February 13, 1909, p. 6.)

and lack of open space for orderly and efficient large-scale factory operations prompted the location of industry near the edges of the city. Also contributing to the spread outward was the initiation of an intra-city transportation system, the cheaper lands away from the settled area, and the construction of the East Belt Line Railroad Branch by the M C RR. Yet, some manufacturing continued to be located in the business buildings along Michigan Avenue, notably shoe making and candy making. However, by 1910 most production activity was segregated from that thoroughfare.

With the progression of years, industrial production continued to become more diversified. By 1910 more than ninety primary products were manufactured. Changes in production were linked to the adoption of technological innovations, inventions by local individuals, and the locational advantages of the city.

Automobile and auto parts production

Throughout the Nineteenth Century mechanics and engineers in the United States and Europe experimented to develop a substitute for horse transportation.²² In

²²For general histories of the early automobile industry see: Charles W. Boas, "Locational Patterns of the Michigan Passenger Automobile Industry," Readings in the Geography of Michigan, Charles M. Davis, ed. (Ann Arbor: Ann Arbor Publishers, 1964), pp. 259-263, reprinted from Papers of the Michigan Academy of Science and Letters, LXIV; Allen Nevins, Ford: The Times, the

comparison to other places in Michigan and the United States, Jackson was relatively late in producing its first horseless vehicle.²³ Byron J. Carter, the owner of a bicycle shop at Jackson and Cortland, produced Jackson's first steam automobile in 1899. Also in that year Coe S. Reeves pioneered an electric car. Three years later Carter, George Matthews (a buggy maker), and Charles Lewis (a spring and axle manufacturer) formed the Jackson Automobile Company,²⁴ the first of nearly a score of such companies located in Jackson between 1902 and 1925.

With the development of automobile production, the east-side manufacturing complex began to expand. In the early 1890's the Jackson Land and Improvement Company induced the Lewis Spring and Axle Company to locate on the New Belt Line Railroad at Leroy. In 1906 the Clark Engine Company, the supplier of motors for the Jackson Automobile Company, was bought by Charles Lewis and moved

Man, the Company, I (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1954); Arthur Pound, The Turning Wheel: The Story of General Motors through Twenty Five Years 1908-1935 (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, Doran and Co., Inc., 1934).

²³In 1884-1885 John and Thomas Clegg of Memphis, Michigan, produced the State's first self-propelled vehicle. In 1887 R. E. Olds and his father made and drove a steam car in Lansing. (Pound, op. cit., pp. 32-34.)

²⁴Edward F. Smith, "Automobiles," Jackson Citizen Patriot, March 17, 1946; "Automobile Industry and Trade," The Flying "A", V (Jackson: Aeroquip Corp., March, 1952), p. 3.

to Jackson. A site across the street from the spring and axle works was selected.

In 1909 the industrial complex was further expanded with the construction of the 200,000 square-foot Jackson Automobile Factory at East Michigan and Horton. Concurrent with the development of automobile production on the east side was the location of several auto-parts firms. These companies sought the facilities of the railroads, vacant and rather level land, as well as proximity to vehicle producers. The major industrial firms located on the east side by 1910 were Frost Gear & Machine Company, the Hayes Wheel Company, and the American Top Company. The latter shipped most of its tops to Detroit automobile makers. The Lockwood-Ash Motor Company was the manufacturer of marine engines and auto parts. The company produced nearly 500 motors a year and marketed them throughout Michigan, Canada, and the Scandinavian countries.

Nearly one thousand men were employed in the auto and auto-parts plants, 500 by the Jackson Automobile Company alone. In spite of the relatively large employment, production of the Jackson Car in 1910 averaged only fourteen per day. With the development of the east-side manufacturing plants and the steady income derived by the employees, families were better able to pay higher taxes and assessments. As a result, water mains, electric

lights, sewers, and additional sidewalk paving were extended into the east side between 1905-1909.²⁵

Buick Motor Company.--Complementing the east side automobile companies for a short time was the production of Buick cars in what is currently the Kelsey-Hayes Plant at the intersection of Wisner and the M C RR tracks (Fig. 15). Buick production came to Jackson in 1904 when William C. Durant sought temporary production facilities while he was constructing and amassing a new auto complex in Flint. Durant was a part owner of the Imperial Wheel Company of Jackson which had acquired the Wisner Street factory at the turn of the century.²⁶ The plant had sufficient space available for auto production even though the Jackson Carriage and Sleigh Company also had facilities in the plant. By 1905 production had reached 750 automobiles. Notwithstanding Durant's commitments to Flint, Arthur Pound states, "Jackson,

²⁵Jackson Citizen Press, February 13, 1909, pp. 9-13. In addition to local sales the "Jaxon" of the Jackson Automobile Company was sold coast to coast through agricultural implement dealers.

²⁶The plant, which had the largest floor space in Jackson, was built on the site of the Civil War's Camp Blair. The factory was built with city assistance to keep the George T. Smith Middlings Purifier Company in the city. The company manufactured centrifical bolting system flour milling machinery which was sold widely in the United States, England, and Europe. By 1893 the Purifier Company failed and the plant shifted to the Central Oil and Gas Stove Company and later Imperial Wheel.



Fig. 15.--Kelsey-Hayes Manufacturing Plant built 1889. The factory is on the site of the Civil War Camp Blair. Between 1904 and 1908 Buick autos were made in the plant.



Fig. 16.--Typical three-story brick commercial structure in CBD built in 1881. (Michigan Avenue east of Jackson Street)

indeed, might have continued as the chief seat of Buick if capital could have been found there as easily as in Flint."²⁷ In 1908 when Buick Motors became a part of the new General Motors Corporation, all of Buick's activities were shifted back to Flint. Imperial Automobile Company was formed by Durant in 1908 and continued production in the Wisner Street plant until 1916.²⁸

Three other auto firms came into production by 1910 which helped to make the city one of the three most active auto centers in the State.²⁹ Even though Jackson was a significant auto center in 1910 there were still leading industrialists who failed to perceive the effects the automobile would have on the city's long-established wagon and carriage industries. For example, a buggy company president as late as 1909 suggested:

²⁷Pound, op. cit., p. 82. While in Jackson Durant organized the Janney Motor Company and the CVI Motor Company; however, these firms only produced a few experimental cars between 1905 and 1908.

²⁸Imperial production started at 300 in 1908 and rose to a peak of 2000 in 1912. This firm also utilized facilities at 207-211 East Washington.

²⁹The Clark-Carter, 504 North Mechanic, Steel-Swallow Auto Company, 123 Liberty Street, and the Fuller Buggy Company, northwest corner of East Michigan and the city limit, all were producing in 1910. Only Detroit and Flint surpassed Jackson in automobile activity in that year. (Boas, op. cit., p. 261.)

Buggies will always be used and there will always be a demand for them no matter how universal the use of automobiles become, and we consequently expect continued increase in our business and in the growth of our institution.³⁰

Perhaps such opinions as the one cited contributed to Durant's difficulty in finding financial encouragement in the city.

Corset production center

Of Jackson's 4797 wage earners, nearly 1000 were women and girls engaged in the production of corsets, lingerie items, skirts, and shirts. Starting in the 1870's the clothing industry continued to take on increasing importance in the life of the community. The city's central position in the Midwest market area, its fine railroad connections, and the Bortree invention of the Duplex Corset in Jackson helped to stimulate the concentration and expansion of the undergarment industry.³¹ By the latter parts of the Nineteenth Century Jackson had become the leading production center of corsets west of Boston. In 1910 there were ten corset manufacturers located in the city with distribution throughout the United States and parts of Europe and Asia. To support

³⁰Jackson Citizen Press, February 13, 1909, p. 9.

³¹For a short summary of the corset and lingerie industry see: Morris DeCamp Crawford and Elizabeth A. Guernsey, The History of Corsets in Pictures (New York: Fairchild Publications, 1951); The History of Lingerie in Pictures (New York: Fairchild Publications, 1952).

the clothing industry, manufacturing of paper-covered cardboard boxes, spring steel, corset and skirt machines also developed in the city. Production of corsets as well as other clothing was concentrated in the center of the city between Pearl and Cortland Streets east of Jackson Street.³²

Agricultural tools and implements

The city maintained its supremacy in small farm and garden tool manufacturing. The leading company, the American Tool and Hoe Company, one of the city's dozen producers, had expanded its facilities adjacent to the prison.³³ A major addition to the agricultural implement field was the Aspinwall Manufacturing Company. This firm was the nation's first producer of automatic potato planters. The company was located in the developing south central industrial area on the M A RR. Producers of wire fencing and iron bridging also utilized the railroad in the southern part of the city for assembly and distribution of their products.

³²Jackson News, March 14, 1923, Part III, p. 49; Industrial Edition, Jackson Daily Citizen, 1889, p. 17; Jackson Citizen Press, February 13, 1909, Part II, p. 10; Jackson (Jackson: Jackson Citizen Press, 1912), p. 69.

³³The Withington-Cooley Company merged with the American Tool and Hoe Company of Cleveland after the death of General Withington in 1903.

Other notable 1910
industrial activity

From its relatively small scale production of candy in 1870, Jackson by 1910 was beginning to acquire a national reputation for the manufacture of excellent chocolate creams, nut and fruit candies. The city's candy makers employed over 200 residents. A. E. Brooks, the city's oldest producer, employed the majority. The Gilbert Candy Company employed only 35 but had introduced modern labor saving machinery. Candy was distributed by mail order and wholesaled throughout Michigan, the Midwest, and Philadelphia. The confectioneries also maintained local retail stores.³⁴

Products associated with local clay and marl deposits and southern Michigan limestone continued to be produced in the city. Among these were clay and cement tile, concrete machinery, and cement block molds.³⁵

With the implementation of county prohibition the local brewers switched to soft drink production and one joined in the expanding production of manufactured ice.

Reflecting the German influence in the city and nation,

³⁴Jackson (Jackson: Jackson Citizen Press, 1912), p. 72; Jackson Citizen Press, February 13, 1909, Part II, p. 14.

³⁵John M. Phalen of Jackson invented the interlocking joint to make concrete pipe waterproof. In 1905 the Reinforced Concrete Pipe Company was the first to manufacture such pipe in the United States. Cities and railroads were the major purchasers for water, sewer, and culvert uses. The products' trade area included Baltimore, Atlantic City, New Jersey, and Denver, plus several cities in Michigan and adjoining states.

pickle and sauerkraut canning employed many.³⁶ Although flour mills remained at five in the city, no significant mill enlargements and modernization occurred after the 1880's. However, the distribution of Jackson's flour was still widespread; it was marketed in New England, the Southern and Eastern states, as well as Scotland and Ireland.

Between 1894 and 1909 the Novelty Manufacturing Company produced over one million small oil heaters and stoves. This industry in Jackson was strengthened by H. L. Smith's introduction of the first efficient oil heater with a round wick. The heaters were successfully sold in Europe from sales offices in London, Brussels, and Holland. The production of refrigerators, caskets, high quality lathes, and chemicals also contributed to the industrial character of the community.

The Penitentiary and the City

In 1910 the prison had ceased providing a locational industrial advantage for the city. This was true in spite of the fact that the State Penitentiary in Jackson had enlarged manufacturing facilities within the prison walls. In 1909 the State Legislature finally abolished the contract labor system after more than a quarter century of pressure from labor unions and

³⁶In 1909 over 50 railroad carloads of pickles and kraut were marketed from the city.

industrialists.³⁷ The main objective was to correct the abuses of the contract system and to shift the profits of convict labor to the State government.³⁸ Consequently in 1910, of the prison average of 740 inmates, only 470 remained on contract to four companies (Table 11).

TABLE 11
STATE PENITENTIARY, JACKSON CONVICT
LABOR CONTRACT 1910

Company	Product	Men on Contract	Contract Expiration Year
Michigan Seating Company	Wicker Furniture	200	1916
Tawes and Company	Shirts	100	1911
W. C. Hills	Monuments	40	1912
Withington-Cooley	Farm and garden tools	130	1912

Source: Biennial Report, Board of Control Michigan State Prison: 1912, p. 5.

In preparation for the termination of contracts, plans were formulated to acquire land outside the city to

³⁷ Public Acts of Michigan: 1909, May 26, 1909, pp. 300-301; Harold Helfman, "Party Politics and Michigan Prisons," Michigan History, XXXIII (1949), p. 245.

³⁸ Helfman, op. cit.; State of Michigan, Biennial Report, Board of Control Michigan State Prison: 1912 (1910-1916 on cover), p. 5 and Appendix.

support a prison-operated cannery and a clay tile works. Other factors in the selection of government controlled production were products which required high amounts of hand labor and previous industrial training nurtured at the prison. In 1910 the only State-operated manufacturing plant was the canning plant.³⁹ The prison administration and guard force did not significantly increase, remaining at about 75 men.

Commercial and Service Activities

The pattern of commercial and service activities in Jackson during the period after 1870 underwent three changes (Map 12). The core area Central Business District (CBD) increased in size and intensity of activity.⁴⁰ Second, the commercial and service function

³⁹State of Michigan, Biennial Report, Board of Control Michigan State Prison: 1914, p. 15. The 1909 law allowed convict-made products to be marketed to private consumers. Thus, starting in 1910 the Homemade brand of canned goods began to appear in home kitchens. By 1916 binder twine, fiber chairs, boxes, broom and dusters, monuments, brick and tile production became established in the prison. Also more than 3000 acres of land north of the city had been rented or purchased to support the city prison production. Thus, it can be observed that the prison in 1910 was rapidly becoming less dependent upon city resources and space.

⁴⁰Central Business District refers to the central area of the city that is associated with the highest land values, tall buildings, high density land use, the greatest concentration of retail sales and service activities, and the focus of vehicle traffic. The area is most commonly known as "downtown." (Raymond E. Murphy and J. E. Vance, "Delimiting the CBD," Economic Geography, XXX (July, 1954), p. 189.) The CBD here refers to the area just east of Blackstone to the railroad depot between Pearl and Cortland streets.

spread to arterial streets which connected residential and rural places with the downtown district. Third, grocery stores became less concentrated in the CBD. With the persistent increase in population the demand for space in the downtown area became more acute. The area between the public square and the railroad passenger depot was still most accessible in 1910. As a consequence commercial activities continued to accumulate in that corridor.

Concurrently with the rise in demand for business space, production activities increasingly became segregated from commercial and service functions along Michigan Avenue. Furthermore, with the most desirable business property already developed and the other building space unsuitable for certain functions due to non-ground-floor elevation, commercial development overflowed the barrier of the public square and courthouse nearly to Blackstone Street. Similarly, Jackson, Pearl, and Cortland had more commercial establishments than formerly.

The spread of commercial and service activities east on Michigan Avenue can be accounted for by the initiation of street railway service on that thoroughfare and the development of the east-side factory complex. Commercial functions with which residents of a neighborhood most frequently interacted, i.e., groceries, bakeries, butcher and barber shops, and hardware stores,

chose locations along the commercial ribbon. The location principle of intervening opportunity was used by the store owners to create a more convenient opportunity for purchase.⁴¹ With the location of stores on East Michigan, less frequent travel to the CBD was necessary. The process of ribbon commercial development also occurred, but to a lesser degree along Wildwood and West Ganson Streets. The commercial development was less pronounced because of smaller size of the west-side industrial complex and the larger residential land holdings along Wildwood. Business activity on Page, Belden, and Greenwood developed with their function as secondary transportation routes into the central part of the city from residential areas and communities to the southeast and southwest.

In 1910 brick three-story structures still predominated in the downtown area (Fig. 16). Most taller buildings clustered near Mechanic Street, the center of the CBD; hotels, banks and offices occupied them. The typical business structures usually had a central door with two large display windows on each side of it. The upper floors had two or three high, narrow windows. The roof line was ornately decorated with brick, carved wood,

⁴¹Edward Ullman, "The Role of Transportation and the Bases for Interaction," Man's Role in Changing the Face of the Earth, ed. by William L. Thomas, Jr. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1956), p. 868.

or metal brackets (Fig. 17). If the building was adjacent to a side or rear alley, an outdoors stairway led to the upper levels (Fig. 18). More often, however, a stairway was enclosed in the side of the building with the walk-up opening on the street (Fig. 17).

Grocery stores, a neighborhood function

Although most of the city's commercial and service functions in 1910 were located near the initial business core or along arterial avenues, grocery store locations were more widely dispersed. Of the 114 grocery stores in operation, 62 had locations outside the central business district and the East Michigan Avenue commercial zone (Map 12). Contrary to other dispersed commercial development at the time, nearly one-third of the store owners located off the arterial roads (Fig. 11). The process of dispersal resulted from an attempt by owners to be most convenient to the city's residential districts. Since a relatively small zone of frequent patronage was required to support a neighborhood operation, many new stores emerged.⁴²

⁴²Richard U. Ratcliff, "Demand for Non-Residential Space," Readings in Urban Geography, ed. by Harold M. Mayer and Clyde Kohn (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1954), p. 405, reprint from Urban Land Economics (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1949), pp. 123-138.



Fig. 17.--Typical CBD commercial structure circa 1870, note window and roof line decorations and stairway opening to upper levels. (Michigan Avenue east of Jackson Street)



Fig. 18.--Open stairway in alley serving upper levels of Michigan Avenue commercial structure.

Changes in commercial and
service character 1870-1910

Table 12 summarizes many of the changes in commercial and service activities of the city between 1870-1910. From the table it can be observed that technological innovation and job specialization contributed to several new functions in the city. Shops to service bicycles and automobiles made their appearance. The dominant use of horses for transportation is evidenced by the existence of numerous horseshoers and blacksmiths as well as the increased number of hay and straw dealers and livery stables. The county seat function and the relative size of the city continued to attract many professional men.

Agriculture

In 1910 agricultural operations continued to thrive on the periphery of the city. The Jackson Stock Farm maintained one of the county's largest dairy operations on Lansing Road just inside the city limits. The city utilized most of the milk production. In the southwest section of the city the 900 acre Merriman-Sharp Farm was devoted mostly to pasture because of the high amount of undulating land.⁴³ In addition, four

⁴³ Throughout the period the farms were a constant location for agricultural experimentation. Small fruits, grains, and vegetables were tested. For a short time a cheese factory was in operation and a winery contemplated. (Phone interview with Miss Jean Redmond, Jackson, Michigan, June 19, 1969); Archives, Ella Sharp Museum, Jackson.

TABLE 12

SUMMARY SERVICE-COMMERCIAL CHANGE 1870-1910

Service Type	1870	1910	Commercial	1879	1910
Insurance agents	15	36	Groceries	32	114
Real estate agents	4	43	Newspapers	3	2
Banks	5	5	Wood and coal	3	21
Builders	26	54	Bathroom		
Barbers	6	43	suppliers	--	1
Blacksmiths	10	9	Hay and straw	Open	10
Horseshoers	--	7	Market		
Dentists	5	27	Junk dealers	--	2
Hotels	11	18	Oyster and fish	1	1
Bicycle Repairers	--	3	Milk depots	--	5
Lawyers	20	37	Music merchan-		
Livery stables	6	9	dise	3	3
Physicians	16	66	Second-Hand		
Auto repairs	--	3	Dealers	--	3
House movers	--	4	Sewer pipe	--	6
Music teachers	--	43	Morticians	3	4
Boarding houses	40	37	Restaurants	--	28
Plumbers	--	16	Cigar and		
Sanitoriums	--	3	tobacco stores	4	14

Source: Thomas, 1869-1870, op. cit.; Polk's Jackson City and County Directory: 1910 (Detroit: R. L. Polk and Co., 1910), pp. 687-806.

orchards of apples and pears were maintained. The major farm operation consisted of raising high quality sheep and pure-bred shorthorn cattle. The muck land along Seymore Street and the southeast part of the city was utilized to produce celery, cabbage, and cucumbers. Nearly half of the harvests were sold for consumption in Jackson; the rest were sold to the local pickle and sauerkraut canneries.

In addition to the large extensive farms, several small intensive farm-gardens were operated (Map 12). With the value and cost of land increasing with urban settlement, small intensive types of agricultural operations could successfully compete with alternate uses. The farm-garden operations raised vegetables, berries, and flowers on primarily Carlisle muck soil.⁴⁴ Local markets and individuals purchased most of the harvest.

Transportation and Utilities

The dominant character of the city in 1910 was acquired as a result of the determination of the community leaders in the 1860's to make Jackson a major railroad center. Even though the era of steam-railroad track construction and locomotive building had come to an end, railroads were the single largest non-agricultural land user and employer. Starting with the location of the M C RR shops in Jackson in 1871, employment, building, and land usage increased considerably. The Union Passenger Depot built in 1873-1874 was the largest station between Detroit and Chicago. At the turn of the century more than 300 acres of land were owned by the railroads for non-right-of-way

⁴⁴ Carlisle muck is a dark brown or black soil with a high organic plant matter composition and loamy texture. This soil was originally forested, a difference from other organic soils. (Veatch, Trull, and Porter, op. cit., pp. 21-22.)

purposes. Less than eighty acres of the total was undeveloped vacant land.⁴⁵ In the forty years prior to 1910 two additional railroads reached the city. The Grand Trunk Railroad (GT RR), completed in 1883, joined Jackson with Pontiac and Port Huron.⁴⁶ In 1900 Jackson became directly linked with Cincinnati and the Chesapeake and Ohio Railroad system via the Cincinnati-Northern Railroad (C-N RR). These two steam railroads brought to a close the era of focusing railroads on the Hub City.

The beginning of the decline of modern railroad functions at Jackson occurred in 1904 when the last ten railroad locomotives were produced in the Jackson shops.⁴⁷ However, employment did not suffer as the shops' major operation continued to be rebuilding and major maintenance

⁴⁵ The 30-acre old city park remained vacant, but was used by some as a play area. This area also had acquired a reputation as the city's major hobo park or hobo woods.

⁴⁶ Due to the delay between its original planned development in 1870 and its completion, the route shown for this railroad is in error as shown on both the Gould 1870 Map and in the Jackson County Atlas of 1874. (James Gould, The City of Jackson, Michigan, map printed in "Land Owner," June, 1870, located in the Library of Congress; Combination Atlas Map of Jackson County (Chicago: Everts and Stewart, 1874.)

⁴⁷ Jackson Citizen Press, February 13, 1909, p. 16. After locomotive production was phased out in Jackson, the M C RR utilized engines made at Schenectady, New York, and Lima, Ohio, and Baldwins from Philadelphia. (Phone interview with R. J. Peters, former engine-house foreman, Lansing, June 26, 1969.)

of engines and cars. Employment in the Junction Shops and M C RR complex averaged about 1500. About 100 more were employed by the GT RR operation.

The addition of the two new railroads had little effect on the landscape as they followed existing right-of-ways or the vacant river flood plain. However, the GT RR utilized part of the county fairground when it crossed to the west side of the river. Within the right-of-ways the Detroit-Chicago, Jackson-Grand Rapids, and Jackson-Niles routes were double tracked as interaction between those centers increased. By 1910 Detroit had become the State's foremost railroad center because of its ten railroads, larger population, and manufacturing output. Also in 1910 its railroad advantage for through shipment to Canada was improved by the completion of the railroad tunnel between Detroit and Windsor.⁴⁸ Yet, Jackson continued to handle an average of about seventy passenger and one hundred freight trains per day.⁴⁹

Electric railways

Complementing the inter-city transportation system that the steam trains provided was the initiation of Jackson's first city mass-transportation system in 1881.

⁴⁸Parkins, op. cit., pp. 271-275; Peters, op. cit.

⁴⁹C. V. DeLand, op. cit., p. 312; Jackson Citizen Press, February 13, 1909, p. 16.

At first transportation was provided by horse-drawn, ten-passenger enclosed cars which traveled on strap rails.⁵⁰ From the beginning the route east on Michigan Avenue was the most patronized. Foreshadowing the doom of this mode of transport was the development of electric power generation which was inaugurated in Jackson in 1884.⁵¹ With the invention of the modern electric railroad motor and the overhead trolley in 1887, electrically driven streetcars rapidly replaced horse-drawn cars in the nation's larger cities.⁵²

In 1891 the first electric streetcar appeared in Jackson. The Jackson Street Railway was run by the operatives of the electric power companies. By 1910 the clang of the trolley operator's bell was heard on the city's fifteen miles of track.⁵³

⁵⁰The first city route ran on Michigan Avenue from the horse barn at Dwight Street west to First Street. Stub lines ran north on Mechanic to the prison, and on First Street to High Street.

⁵¹The power plant was located east of Otsego between Francis and Cortland. (J. F. Baines, "Commonwealth Power Company," Notes on Office and Field Investigation, unpublished records, Land and Right-of-Way Department, Consumers Power Company (Jackson), May, 1940.

⁵²Mildred M. Walmsley, "The Bygone Electric Inter-urban Railway System," Professional Geographer, XVII (May, 1965), p. 1; For a more detailed account see: Henry W. Blake, Walter Jackson, Electric Railway Transportation (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1917).

⁵³Routes ran on Michigan, Cooper, Lansing, Page, and Jackson. (Jackson Yearbook: 1910, op. cit., p. 29.)

Interurban railways

By the end of the Nineteenth Century when the distribution of high voltage alternating current could be converted to direct current at substations along right-of-ways, the possibility of linking cities remote from each other arose. Several companies took advantage of the opportunity in the Midwest. Ohio, Michigan, and Indiana subsequently became the leading centers of interurban travel.⁵⁴ By 1910 Jackson had been merged into the Michigan United Railway Company system which connected it with the larger cities between Detroit and Chicago. Also in that year a new line was opened to St. Johns which brought Lansing and Jackson within an hour and fifteen minutes of each other. As was the custom with most interurban companies, they encouraged weekend use of the lines by extending them to recreation areas or developing parks on their lines. In the case of Jackson, a nickel fare could take a citizen to the parks and pavilions at Vandercook, Wolf, and Grass lakes.

With the general public acceptance of the streetcar and interurban, employment in the operation and maintenance of the electric interurban rose to nearly 300 men by 1912.⁵⁵

⁵⁴Walmsley, op. cit., pp. 1-2.

⁵⁵Jackson (Jackson: Jackson Citizen Press, 1912), p. 10.

Utilities

Gas and electric power production is popularly associated with the city of Jackson because of the location of the headquarters of Consumers Power Company in the city. Yet, in 1910 Consumers Power had just come into being as a holding company. Previously, Consumers Power's founders, William A. and James B. Foote, had pioneered several electric companies in the city. The brothers started their electrical careers in the city in 1885 when they demonstrated the city's first electric street-lighting system.⁵⁶ The Footes' major concern, however, was to create an inter-connected electric transmission system to supply several cities. To foster such a network, they were interested in hydroelectric-power production and high-voltage production; the former for operation cost considerations, the latter to overcome problems of transmission line losses. In spite of the Footes' primary interests, the low-flowage rate at Jackson of the Grand River prohibited hydroelectric production

⁵⁶The brothers were originally interested in flour milling. However, they became more interested in electricity after a generator had been installed in the mill with which they were associated. The Edison Electric Light Company preceded by a few months the Footes in Jackson, but private power competition was common at that time. Furthermore, the Footes envisioned a mass market network based on street lighting and home use, not a limited store light system which the Edison Company set up. (Personal interview with E. Hardy Luther, Jackson, June 4, 1969; E. Hardy Luther, "High Voltage Transmission," Michigan History, LI (1967), pp. 95-113.

there. Thus, electric production in the city has always been coal-steam generated.

From the beginning of the Footes' statewide power activities, Jackson served as their headquarters because of its superb transportation and communication facilities. Contemporary Jacksonians are most familiar with Consumers Power's eleven-story landmark building, west of the public square. However, in 1910 the company occupied only two, three-story brick buildings on the west portion of their modern day office site. Adjoining the offices on the east was a two-story drug store; on the west a funeral home was located on the present-day Hayes Hotel site.

The first steam-electric generation plant was located on the south side of Trail Street adjoining the east bank of the river. That site combined the advantages of water, railroad for coal supply, and nearness to consumption center. In the middle of the present century's first decade, a new plant was placed in operation in a part of the building which still stands at the southwest corner of Trail and Mechanic Street.

Gas production

Gas for illumination purposes began in Jackson as early as 1857 when Edward Coen formed the Jackson Gas Company. A small coal gas works was installed on the west side of Mechanic Street between the river and Pearl

Street. The operation served only a few customers until 1872 when the company's capital was increased through the efforts of the railroad leaders. Subsequently a series of larger works was built. In 1872 a 60,000 cubic-foot plant was built on the south side of Clinton on the west bank of the river. In 1888 production shifted to a 100,000 cubic-foot work on the southeast corner of old Milwaukee and Franklin. In 1904 a second plant was brought into operation a block to the south with a capacity of 500,000 cubic feet. Concurrent with the rise of electricity for illumination, gas production shifted to a higher BTU stove gas product. Distribution of stove gas by 1910 was available throughout the city and immediate environs.⁵⁷

Government and Public Service Patterns

With the growth of the city's population and settled area, lands devoted to public service became more numerous and dispersed. For example, in the post-Civil War period two fire stations served the city, but by 1910 five were in service; interconnected to the stations were

⁵⁷The Jackson Gas Company was absorbed by the Michigan Light Company in 1914; eight years later Consumers Power merged that company with its holdings. (History of the Jackson Gas Company, January 1, 1912, typewritten manuscript, on file Jackson Public Library.)

251 alarm boxes.⁵⁸ Similarly the city's new main post office, a large brick church-like structure built in 1893 on the southwest corner of Mechanic and Washington, was complemented with seven substations. In 1907 the Jackson Library was added to the landscape west of the public square. The library was a contribution of Andrew Carnegie. Schools continued to be the most numerous public edifices, consisting of two high schools and sixteen elementary schools. With the use of the city's park land and squares for commercial, manufacturing, and community betterment projects, the public recreation land in the city was reduced to fifty-eight acres, most of which was in the county fairgrounds. However, with the efficiently operating interurban railways to the nearby lakes and private parks, demand for public recreation land was absent.

Summary

At the end of Jackson's eightieth year of settlement, the character of Jackson mirrored that which had been planned by its community leaders a half century earlier. Jackson had become the envisioned thriving

⁵⁸ Fire Station No. 1 located on the south side of Cortland between Jackson and Blackstone and Station No. 2 at Pearl and Cooper were built in 1884 and remained in operation until 1962. Station No. 3, Gorman near Michigan, and Station No. 4, West near Webb, were built in 1903-1904. The latter was closed in May 1969. Station No. 5, Rockwell and Jackson, built in 1905 was closed in 1962. (Personal interview with Fire Chief, Jackson, July 3, 1969.)

railroad center. Its citizens and leaders were alert to the changing technology of the day, and its mechanics were contributing to change with their own inventions. However, the financial cost of the technological revolution exceeded the available local resources which was evidenced in a lower rank in the city's population growth and industrial expansion. The community's modest growth was also associated with its absence of desire or ability to attract larger numbers of foreign immigrants.

With the growth of the community, the CBD ceased to be able to meet the needs of the consumer efficiently, thus a pattern of dispersed commercial land use emerged. Similarly, congestion, lack of space, and land costs as well as the availability of railroads gave impetus to the development of industrial centers near the periphery of the city.

CHAPTER V

JACKSON IN 1930: A MAJOR AUTO-PARTS PRODUCTION CENTER

In 1930 Jackson again presented a different appearance to the observer. In the twenty years after 1910 the city had attained its largest population and had increased areally for the first time since 1869.

The City in 1930

Jackson after one hundred years of settlement had acquired many of its present-day attributes. The center of the city was dominated by several new brick, marble, and limestone skyscrapers which contrasted with the brick buildings of an earlier period (Fig. 19). Spread ubiquitously on the city's main and secondary streets were gasoline stations established to serve increasing numbers of automobiles (Fig. 20). Jackson's sixty-six miles of paved streets were clogged with autos, trucks, buses, and streetcars. New manufacturing plants of brick construction occupied formerly vacant land along the East Branch Railroad line and in the area of the old city park (Map 14).

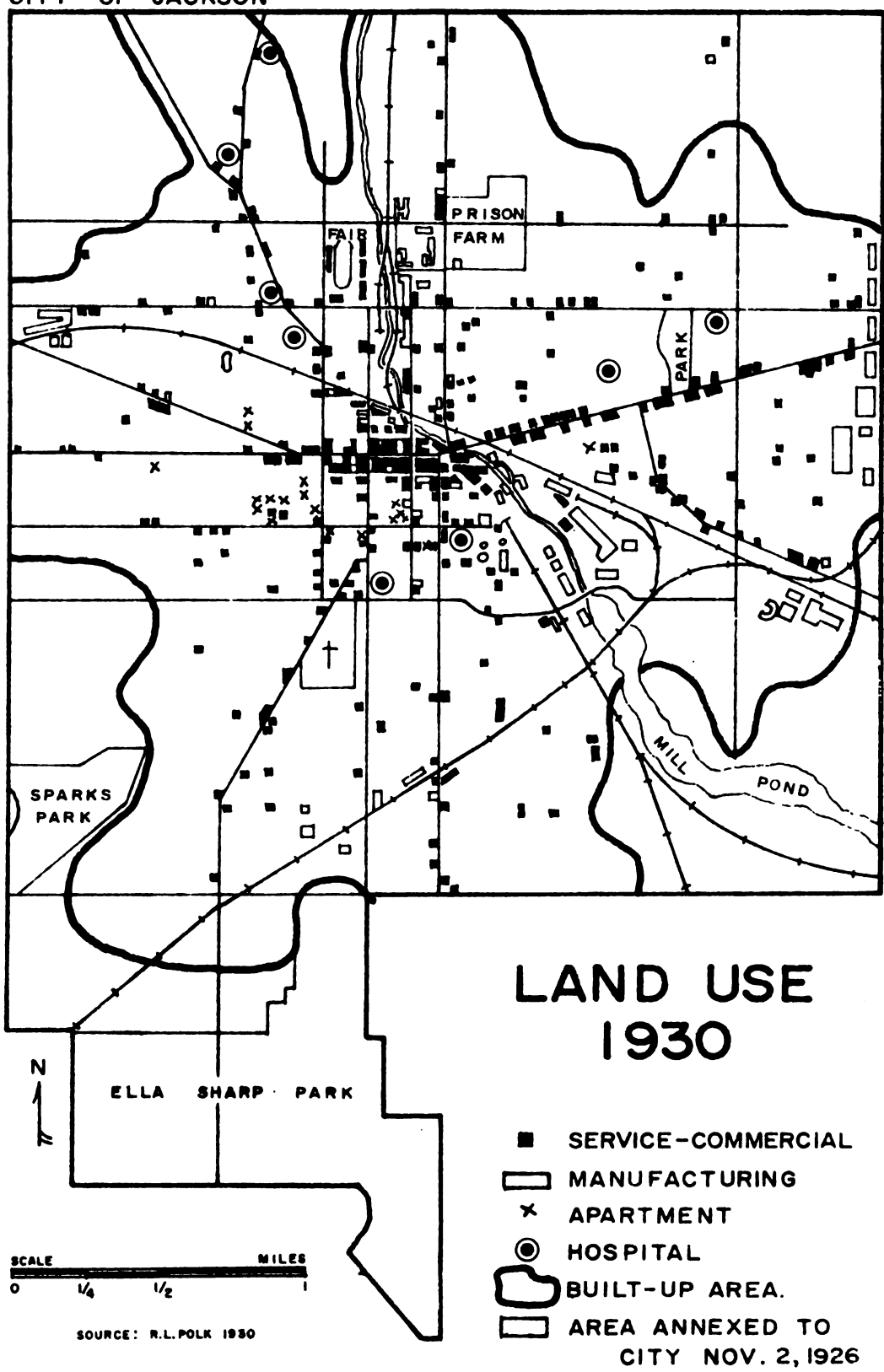


Fig. 19.--Contemporary Jackson CBD skyline. Left to right: Reynolds Building, Jackson City Bank built in 1920's, Union-People's National Bank built in 1930, Baptist Church 1870. (northeast from Blackstone and Washington)



Fig. 20.--Stucco gasoline station circa 1920, far right plywood addition built 1968. (Ganson and Horton)

CITY OF JACKSON



Map 14

To meet the educational and social needs of the local citizens, new schools and fraternal halls appeared on the landscape (Figs. 21, 22). Spaced along the city's State and United States highways were a variety of one and two-story commercial structures. Wood, brick, and stucco homes spread from the center of the city continuing the star-shaped settlement pattern. Partially ringing the downtown area on its east and south sides were apartment buildings.

In spite of the fact that the stock market crash had occurred two months earlier, the Citizen Patriot editor reflects the spirit of growth which the city had been witnessing and which was expected to continue. He writes, "Any citizen who wishes confirmation of the assertion that Jackson is moving ahead needs only to make a tour of the city."¹

While the editor's exuberance was true for the immediate past, the die had been cast which would begin to curtail Jackson's growth in the following decades. For example, in the two decades after 1910 the wastes of the city's growing population and industrial plants overwhelmed the Grand River with pollutants. After 1910 swimming, fishing, picnicking, and hiking along its banks were curtailed as the rate of human and industrial wastes

¹Jackson Citizen Patriot, January 1, 1830, p. 6.



Fig. 21.--Intermediate School built 1918, later used as Junior College until 1969, on school lot site of the 1830 compromise village plat. (Blackstone Street and Michigan Avenue)



Fig. 22.--Polish Falcon Hall circa 1920. (14223 Joy Street)

which poured into the river increased. Unfortunately, during the 1920's the community's electorate chose continually to deny the raising of funds to install adequate sewage treatment facilities.² Inadequate sewer facilities coupled with limited support for an improved water system tended to curtail improvements and developments which otherwise could have occurred. Although new water wells and pumps were installed in the city in 1923, the water system was still inadequate.³

Regardless of inaction on the water and sewage problems, the community did act to alleviate the problem of smoke which became increasingly hazardous to health. After 1930 the unhealthy situation began to be reduced because of the passage of a smoke abatement ordinance in June of 1930.⁴

In spite of the city's dismal appearing air, river pollution, water shortage, and low water pressure, the city in 1930 had acquired much of the character of the present-day city.

Areal Growth and Regional Park Acquisition

The city's population more than quadrupled between 1870 and 1920 and nearly doubled between 1910 and 1930.

²Jackson Citizen Patriot, March 17, 1930, p. 6; May 4, 1930, p. 6; May 6, 1930, p. 1; May 12, 1930, p. 1.

³Ibid., April 26, 1930, p. 2.

⁴Ibid., June 4, 1930, p. 4.

Urban development increasingly occurred contiguous to the city limits after 1910, yet expansion of the city into these urbanized areas was generally stifled. One exception to the vexing problem of annexation occurred in 1926 when the citizens in the sparsely settled area adjacent to the southwest city limit and Ella Sharp Park approved annexation by a slight margin.⁵ The annexation of the territory was simplified to a degree by the fact that in 1912 the land of the Sharp Estate had been bequeathed to the city for a park of at least 400 acres.⁶ The annexation added 769 acres to the city of which 530 were eventually incorporated into the Ella Sharp Park (Map 14). Development of the park began in 1914.⁷ From the park's inception it has served as a regional park satisfying the recreational needs for the surrounding communities and townships. By the time of the annexation vote in 1926 the park's former farm land had been developed with winding scenic roads, a look-out, ball fields, golf course, and magnificent rose gardens. The farm's woodlot of native trees has been

⁵Local Acts of Michigan: 1927, June 1, 1927, pp. 26-27. The citizens of the annexed area voted approval 52 to 40 and the city voters 7793 to 2695. The remainder of Summit Township disapproved by a vote of 571 to 336. The disapproval by the township voters at large reflects their lack of support for annexation even at this early date.

⁶Last Will and Testament Ella Sharp, on file City Clerk's Office, Jackson.

⁷City of Jackson, City Ordinance 50, March 16, 1914, Compilation of Ordinances of 1928 of the City of Jackson, Michigan (Jackson: Central City Book Bindery, 1928), pp. 80-85.

preserved as was the cobblestone wall built in 1861-1865 by a Negro stone mason.⁸

Sparks Foundation Park

Complementing the development of the Ella Sharp Park was the creation of Sparks Foundation Park (Cascade Park) in 1929. This park was donated to the public by Captain William Sparks. However, it has been under the control of the county since its inception. Of the park's 450 acres only eighty are within the city. Its design reflects the borrowing of ideas and plans from several places in the Western Hemisphere and Europe which the captain visited.⁹ The walkway and waterways which approach the concrete artificial sixty-four foot high cascades is similar to one on the Mirimar Boulevard of Havana. Other facilities copy the Prado of Barcelona, Spain, and the canals of Venice. Some portions of the grounds were developed from ideas gained from parks in Florida cities and the fountain in Marshall, Michigan. The park also introduced to Michigan an eighteen-hole miniature "putter" golf course which was copied from one in Miami Beach, Florida.¹⁰ Like Sharp Park the Cascades

⁸ Archives, Ella Sharp Museum, Jackson.

⁹ The captain visited Cuba and other islands of the West Indies, Spain, France, and Italy and other European countries.

¹⁰ Jackson Citizen Patriot, January 1, 1930, p. 8; May 4, 1930, p. 26; June 29, 1969.

became at once a regional attraction for the city and also engendered national and international interest and visitors.

Although the two large parks adequately met the regional park requirement which a small metropolitan city would be expected to possess, the city's dearth of neighborhood parks had become a serious problem for the residents. Consequently, when residential development filled most vacant lots by the 1930's, residential park space became an irksome problem. Moderating to a degree the lack of neighborhood parks were the school playgrounds. However, except for Loomis Park and the County Fair Grounds, there were no other parks for picnicking or of sufficient size for one to relieve the burdens of life by playing games. Only the northwest portion of the public square, Greenwood Park, and Monument Square provided small resting spots.

Population Growth and Composition

Jackson's population of 55,187 in 1930 climaxed the period of its largest numerical growth.¹¹ The city

¹¹In 1930 Jackson was Michigan's eighth largest city. By that year Pontiac (64,928) and Hamtramck (56,268) with their auto production association outgrew Jackson; however, Kalamazoo (54,786) with automotive production curtailed did not maintain its rank ahead of the Hub City. Michigan's other places with over 50,000 inhabitants in 1930 were: Detroit (1,568,662), Grand Rapids (168,592), Flint (156,492), Saginaw (80,715), Lansing (78,397), Highland Park (52,959), and Dearborn (50,358).

increased by 23,754 in the two decades after 1910. Nearly 17,000 of the increase, however, occurred prior to 1920. In spite of the fact that Jackson was relatively large by 1910 and possessed diversified activities as well as a significant percentage of established foreign residents, the city gained less than a thousand additional foreign-born residents between 1910-1930. Moreover, between 1920 and 1930 the city's foreign-born population decreased nearly 250 even though persons of foreign birth continued to migrate to the city.¹² By 1930 foreign-born residents comprised only 9.2 per cent of the city's population as compared to 13.7 in 1910. As in 1910 the city's foreign-born composition continued to be less than half that of the other urban places of Michigan (Table 13).

It would be erroneous to assume that Jackson's modest increase in foreign-born residents over the 1910 levels was due only to the national curtailment of migration from Europe during and after World War I.¹³ Rather,

¹²Considering the city's drop in foreign-born residents alone, it could easily be interpreted that foreign-born settlement ceased. However, the dates of the arrival of Jackson's foreign born in America which follows, indicates that migration of foreign born continued throughout the decade of the 1920's: 1925-1930, 313; 1920-1924, 490; 1915-1919, 233; 1911-1914, 945; 1901-1910, 1313; pre-1900, 1734; Unknown 43. (U.S. Bureau of the Census, Fifteenth Census of the United States: 1930, Population, II, p. 510.

¹³William S. Rossiter, Increase of Population in the United States 1910-1920, Census Monograph I (Washington, D.C.: 1922), p. 19; The World Almanac: 1969, ed. by Lumen H. Long (New York: Newspaper Enterprise Association, Inc., 1968), p. 703.

TABLE 13
JACKSON POPULATION COMPOSITION 1920-1930
BY PER CENT

Parentage	1920			1930		
	Mich.	Urban Places	Jackson	Mich.	Urban Places	Jackson
Native white	45.5	40.2	87.3	48.8	43.8	87.5
Native-foreign born	32.8	33.9	*	29.9	30.8	*
Foreign born	19.8	23.5	11.0	17.4	20.1	9.2
Negro	1.6	2.5	1.7	3.5	4.8	3.1

* Combined with native white

Source: U.S. Census: 1930, Population, III, pp. 1115, 1148; U.S. Census: 1920, Population, III, p. 488.

auto assembly plant operations in other Michigan cities attracted new migrants to those Michigan cities in greater numbers. Furthermore, the auto factories also drew many of Jackson's foreign residents to them. During the post-war period the city's foreign-born population was also reduced by men returning to their homeland.

Composition of the city's
foreign-born population

The following table indicates the emergence of the Polish element as the city's dominant foreign-born nationality. The rise to prominence of Polish-born residents is explained by two factors, (1) increased

migration, (2) the independence of Poland after World War One. The two-fold increase of persons enumerated from Italy and Greece reflects the increase in migration to America from southern Europe which occurred after 1910.

TABLE 14
JACKSON FOREIGN BORN BY COUNTRY 1920-1930

Country	1930	1920	Country	1930	1920
Poland	1254	1371	Netherlands	47	53
Canada	972	994	Switzerland	43	28
Germany	671	763	Norway	35	17
England	641	710	Austria	34	38
Ireland, North -			Denmark	31	35
Irish Free State	222	318	Wales	23	27
Scotland	159	156	Hungary	17	36
Belgium	149	109	Rumania	16	22
Italy	148	116	Czechoslovakia	13	15
Greece	140	120	Yugoslavia	13	10
Lithuania	92	66	Finland	13	5
Russia	87	102	Syria	10	16
Bulgaria	68	49	Others	49	34
Sweden	67	58			
France	57	48	Total	5071	5316

Source: U.S. Census: 1920, Population, III, pp. 493-494; U.S. Census: 1930, Population, III, Part I, pp. 1153-1155.

The foreign-born residents of the city continued to be concentrated in the east-side wards with the Polish dominant in the Sixth Ward. After 1910 most new Polish immigrants settled there. The dominance of the Polish on the east side of the city was most observable after 1921.

In that year St. Stanislaus Church was completed on Joy Avenue. In addition to the church, Page Avenue was lined with Polish-operated stores. Also in the Polish neighborhood two social halls were constructed (Fig. 22). The most distinctive indication that one was in a Polish neighborhood was the appearance of store signs in Polish. The Polish-operated stores primarily served the needs for the most frequently purchased items: groceries, baked goods, and meat. These shops on Page were concentrated between Plymouth and Russell; several remain to this day (Fig. 12).

Negroes become more important
in the city's livelihood

In the twenty years after 1910 the composition of the city's population changed most notably in the number of Negro residents. For example, between 1910 and 1930 Negro residents in the city rose from 354 to 1692. Although this was a substantial increase, the percentage of Negroes in Jackson was somewhat below both the State and urban place percentages for Michigan (Table 13). Nevertheless, the pattern of Negro migration to Jackson generally parallels the national and Michigan trend of Black Movement during the war and post-war decades. During the decade of World War I, Negro residency in the large northern cities increased nearly 50 per cent over the 1910 level. The migration of blacks to the northern industrial centers gave expression to the demand for labor in the North. It

also illustrated an attempt to utilize Negro workers for unskilled foreign labor supply which was diminishing in America.¹⁴

The primary sources of Jackson's early Twentieth Century Negro migration were the states of Mississippi, Tennessee, Arkansas, and Kentucky.¹⁵ The flow from these central southern states indicates the improved transportation from the South by the railroad as compared to the 1840-1860 period when the Underground Railroad operated.

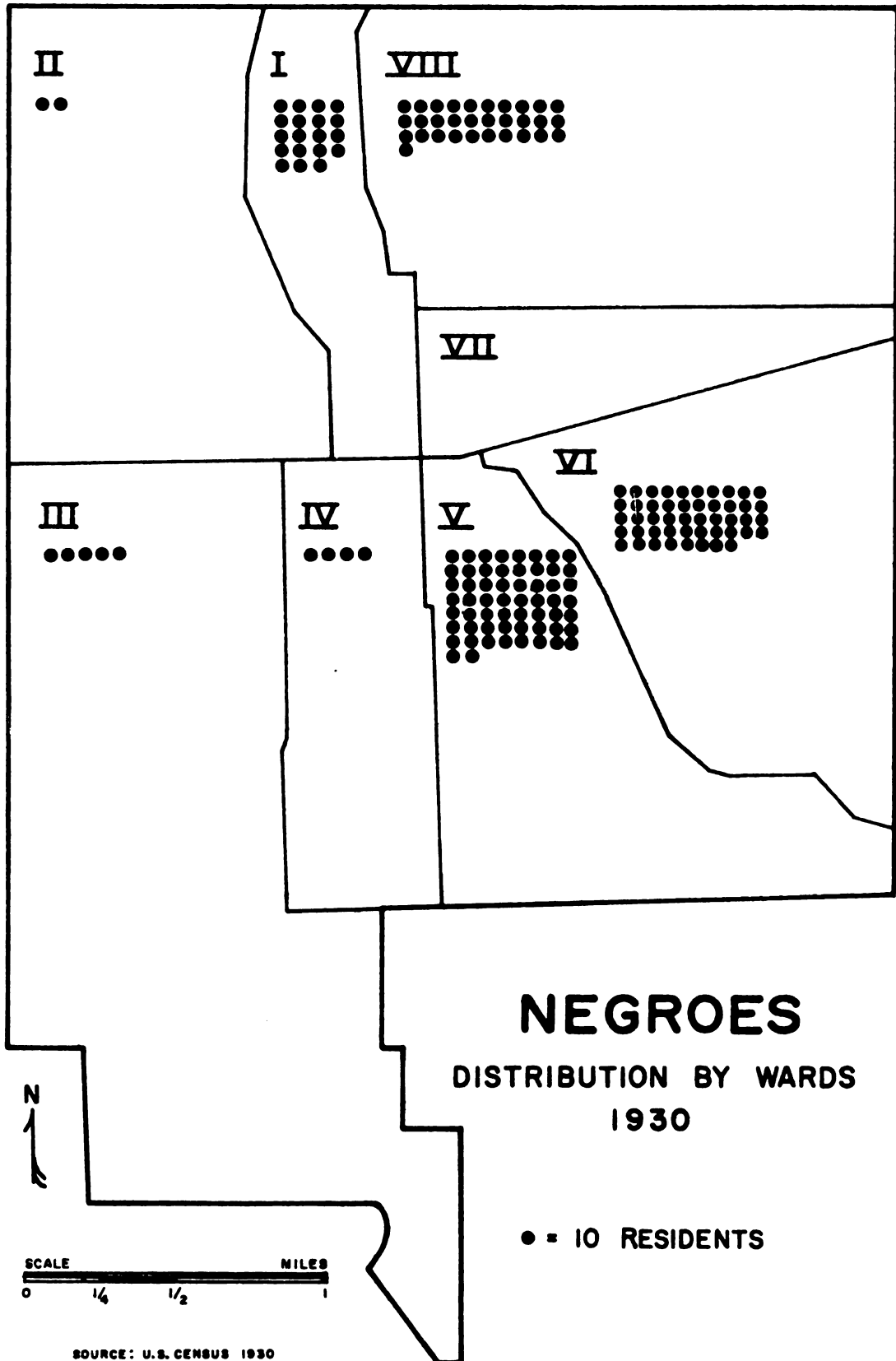
Negro settlement areas
in the city 1910-1930

With the influx of Negro residents after 1914, significant changes in the settlement pattern of the city occurred (Maps 13, 15). City ward census data indicates three major changes: (1) large black increases in the wards with greater Negro populations in 1910, (2) the exclusion of Negroes in some wards with small Negro populations after 1910, and (3) the opening of the Sixth Ward to Negro settlement during the 1920's. During World War I and in the immediate post-war period the Fifth Ward was the community's accepted area for Negro settlement. However, during the 1920's housing became available to blacks in the Sixth Ward. Subsequently, Negroes became

¹⁴Rossiter, op. cit., pp. 128-129.

¹⁵Personal interview with Rev. A. Polk Williams, Pastor Second Baptist Church, Jackson, November, 1968.

CITY OF JACKSON



Map 15

concentrated in the area between Perine and Summit streets south of Michigan Avenue. Concurrent with the opening of housing to Negroes in the Sixth Ward, access to housing generally remained unavailable in the Seventh and Eighth Wards and west of Francis Street. Although the Eighth Ward had an increase in Negro population from 63 in 1910 to 314 in 1930, the increase does not indicate an enlargement in Negro settlement in that part of the city. It shows rather the increase in confinement of blacks in the old prison.

Suburbanization of Industrial Employees

The growing use of the automobile and improved road conditions led to increasing numbers of Jackson residents moving to homes beyond the municipal limits. The trend of suburbanization started with the interurban but in the case of Jackson, as in other cities, the automobile increased the rate after the mid-1920's. The trend can be illustrated by a comparison of 1927 and 1930 resident and employment records for thirty-four of the city's manufacturers. In 1927 77.2 per cent of the workers lived in the city while in 1930 only 74.8 per cent did so. Although some of the increase in non-city residential employment can be attributed to the increased employment of

men from surrounding communities, about 450 workers did move out of the city in the four year period (Table 15).¹⁶

TABLE 15
COMMUNITIES WITH MORE THAN TEN WORKERS
EMPLOYED IN JACKSON'S THIRTY-FOUR
LARGEST INDUSTRIES 1930

Community	Number	Community	Number
Grass Lake	40	Munith	18
Rives	37	Napoleon	18
Leslie	29	Albion	16
Spring Arbor	28	Brooklyn	14
Hanover	19	Horton	14
		Concord	13

Source: Jackson Citizen Patriot, September 7, 1930, p. 8.

The trend to suburban living in Jackson coincides with Wehrwein's early observation that such a trend was noticeable before 1930 in most cities of America and that the process was most closely associated with the automobile.¹⁷

Vertical Development in the CBD

In the post-war period the use of structural steel, reinforced concrete, and electrically powered elevators

¹⁶Jackson Citizen Patriot, September 7, 1930, p. 8, citing Lewis Atherton, Study of the Location of Manufacturing Workers (Jackson: Employers Association, 1930).

¹⁷George S. Wehrwein, "The Rural-Urban Fringe," Economic Geography, XVIII (July, 1942), p. 223.

gave Jackson a new appearance. In rapid succession after World War I banks and office buildings rose into the sky, dwarfing the buildings of earlier construction (Fig. 19). By the 1920's congestion in the downtown area caused by the automobile was recognized by the city's business and political leaders as a problem. Nevertheless, the CBD served by streetcar, interurban, and the city's widest streets was still the most accessible point in the city. To accommodate the growing business enterprises desiring locations with a high rate of accessibility, greater use of vertical space could be achieved with the application of the technological advances in building design and construction. The city's banks with their greater financial resources erected the first of the modern-type skyscrapers. In 1917 the period of relatively tall building skyline was ushered in with the construction of the nine-story People's National Bank.

In the decade which followed structures were made taller. Moreover, the sites of the city's tallest buildings shifted to the west indicating the decreasing influence of the railroad depot as a pedestrian generator. Successively in the 1920's the Jackson City Bank (13 stories), the Reynolds Building (14 stories), the Consumers Power Central Office Building (11 stories), and the Hayes Hotel (9 stories) made their appearance on the landscape.¹⁸

¹⁸Jackson Citizen Patriot, July 24, 1927, Part III, p. 14.

All were located west of Mechanic; the latter two represented the first major private construction west of the public square. In the chasm between the tall office buildings emerged the city's most important commercial facilities.

The emergence of Jackson's largest department store at Jackson and Michigan avenues is related to a phenomenon typical of most cities--the largest business establishment, usually a department store, locates where there is the highest level of pedestrian traffic. The Fields Department Store, established in 1916, was already located between the multi-level buildings and adjacent to the region's largest government facility, the courthouse.¹⁹ Thus, that store had the best locational advantage for further commercial development. With the shift of the business center west on Michigan Avenue, the business structures east of Francis Street became increasingly blighted.

The city's tallest building, the seventeen-story Union Peoples National Bank, was completed in 1930. Physicians, dentists, lawyers, engineers, interior decorators, real estate and insurance agents, beauty shops, accountants, and brokers almost exclusively occupied the buildings. The relative lack of commercial enterprises in

¹⁹Jackson (Miller, Indiana: Commerce Publications, Inc., 1966), p. 1.

the buildings underlines the need for those types of functions to be more easily accessible to pedestrians.

The Automobile's Impact on
the City's Landscape

By 1930 Jackson's landscape had witnessed the impact of the increased use of automobiles. Extensive tracts of land and buildings were devoted to auto-parts production, especially on the east side (Map 14). However, more widely diffused on the city's landscape were the commercial and service activities developed to support the sale and use of automobile transportation. Except for the city's 186 grocery stores, gasoline stations were the most numerous commercial facilities found in the city in 1930.²⁰ Unlike the spread of neighborhood grocery stores to residential streets a generation earlier, gasoline stations sought locations on arterial and main streets exclusively. Most preferred by gasoline-station operators, as in the present-day, were corner sites on the major thoroughfares.

With the development of auto sales as a specialized function of auto manufacturing, auto dealerships became more common in the city. By 1930 Jackson supported twenty new and six used-car enterprises. Such businesses need ground locations with considerable land space. The owners

²⁰R. L. Polk, Polk's City of Jackson Directory: 1930 (Detroit: R. L. Polk Co., 1930), pp. 585-656.

also preferred to be near pedestrian concentrations, thus the periphery of the CBD was the general location for this activity originally. Indicating that the roots of auto sales were related to wagon and carriage sales of an earlier era was the fact that West Pearl Street was a popular location. The 600-900 blocks of East Michigan in the Twenties became a major auto-sales strip taking advantage of comparatively lower land costs on the main thoroughfare into the city. The centripetal force of one dealership drawing for others also aided these businesses.

Although the automobile by 1930 had supplanted the horse as the primary means of travel in the city, commercial services for horses were maintained. The effectiveness of the car curtailing horse-related business activities is illustrated by the decrease of these activities. For instance, by 1930 the number of blacksmiths decreased to three, hay and straw dealers to four, and leather goods dealers to two.

Commercial Development Beyond the CBD

As a consequence of (1) increased congestion in the CBD, (2) residential development at a greater distance from the CBD, (3) increased traffic on the arterial streets leading to the center of the city, and (4) continued factory development on the periphery of the city, strip commercial development became more intensified in

comparison to the 1910 period. Francis and Greenwood streets gained the most commercial developments. Growth of business activity on these streets indicates the increase in travel to the south and southwest parts of the city due to (1) Sharp Park, (2) Vandercook Lake, (3) the interurban route, and (4) commuters coming from outside the city. Belden Road commercial development was curtailed by the increase in traffic entering the city from the southeast on Page Avenue. Contributing also to the Page Avenue commercial strip development was the concentration of Polish businesses on that avenue. In the north part of the city, Ganson, Cooper, and Blackstone-Lansing became the most significant arterial business strips.

Unlike the city's CBD, the arterial commercial strips and intersection business nuclei catered to selling the most frequently used household products and services.

Apartment house district

Concurrent with the rise in employment opportunities in the Central Business District created by the establishment of the larger office facilities in it, was a demand for more housing in close proximity to the CBD. Consequently, to meet the demand throughout the post-war period, new apartments were constructed. With such construction there emerged an apartment district in the area bounded by Seward-Second and Franklin southeast of a diagonal line extending from Mechanic to Van Buren

streets (Map 14). Although the city's first zoning ordinance allowed apartment buildings in a much wider area the concentration of such buildings in the Second, Third, and Fourth Wards effectively discouraged their use by Negroes.

City Zoning and its Early
Effects on the
Landscape

In the 1920's city zoning ordinances became common across America.²¹ In Jackson this was a time when several community leaders recognized the detrimental effects of random development of the city's land. Thus, ways were sought to protect one of the city's primary resources and help develop a more functional and better place to live. Fortunately, Jackson was not the only community to realize the dangers of unrestricted growth of urban places based primarily on the free enterprise, profit-motive system. With pressure from most of Michigan's large cities, the State Legislature in 1921 delegated the power of zoning to incorporated cities and villages.²²

In 1919 a Citizens' Committee was appointed to study the possibilities of developing a city plan. Determined to make Jackson's future development conform to

²¹Richard F. Babcock, The Zoning Game: Municipal Practices and Policies (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1966), p. 3; Arden H. Rathkopf, The Law of Zoning and Planning, I, 3d ed. (New York: 1962), p. 1.

²²Public Acts of Michigan: 1921, May 17, 1921, pp. 402-406.

the recommendations of the nation's best city planners, Harland Bartholomew of St. Louis, a professional city planner, was commissioned to construct a city plan for Jackson.²³ As an outgrowth of the planning effort, Bartholomew also compiled the major portion of the city's first zoning ordinance which was adopted in 1923.²⁴

Since 1923 Jackson's land use has been guided by the zoning ordinance. Yet, the gross patterns of the city were set prior to the ordinance. Zoning, for the most part, more rigidly insured the locational survival of the previously established patterns. Furthermore, zoning as a determinant for land use cannot be relied upon, as the ordinance over the years has been frequently amended. As a consequence the city's landscape has continued to evolve more heterogeneously than the city's early zoners and planners anticipated.

Manufacturing in 1930 in Jackson

The number of city manufacturers totaled approximately 140 by 1930 which represented nearly a thirty per cent increase over the number of 1910 establishments.²⁵

²³Bartholomew's four planning reports issued in 1920 are on file in the City-County Regional Planning Office.

²⁴Final Report of the City Planning and Zoning Commission, Jackson, January 6, 1948.

²⁵Jackson Citizen Patriot, January 1, 1931, p. 10.

Although Jackson had a diversified industrial expansion, auto-parts establishments were the dominant manufacturing group (Table 16).

TABLE 16
SELECTED MANUFACTURING ACTIVITIES 1930

Agricultural implements	4	Candy	2	Garments	
Artificial limbs	1	Cigars	2	(corsets,	
Auto parts	10	Fence	1	belts, hosiery,	
Beverages- bottlers	5	Flavoring- extracts	1	underwear)	7
Brick, concrete block-tile	10	Flour		Harnesses	1
		mills	1	Planing mills	2
		Foundries	3	Radio	2
				Sausage	4
				Tent-awning	4
				Tools- machinery	12

Source: R. L. Polk, Polk's Jackson City Directory: 1930, pp. 589-656.

Auto-parts expansion also brought about a major change to the old city park which was given to the M C RR in 1871. The American Gear and Manufacturing Company, a branch of the Hupp Motor Car Corporation, taking advantage of the city railroads and the labor supply, acquired a portion of the park for its facilities in 1915.²⁶ Michigan Bell Telephone, with the establishment of its regional office and service facilities in Jackson, acquired a

²⁶County of Jackson, Register of Deeds, Liber 221, p. 505.

portion of the old city park a decade later and converted it into a warehouse and storage facility.²⁷

South-central and west-side
Industrial areas

Confined by residential build-up and limited by zoning, new industrial development along the Airline Railroad track was more modest than its east-side counterpart. However, the activities in the south-central manufacturing area became more diversified with the establishment of a brickyard and a concrete products, sausage, and chocolate candy manufacturing plants. Industrial development on the west side was also modest but unlike the city's other manufacturing growth, it occurred mostly west of the city limits. Like the south-central area, diversified manufacturing plants such as the Automotive Fan and Bearing Company, Thorrez and Maes Screw Machine Products Company, and Macklin Grinding Wheel Manufacturers developed. Development west of the city limits was prompted by the greater amount of relatively flat land west of the city, as compared to vacant land in the northwest part of the city, introduction of truck transportation, absence of zoning, and land costs.

²⁷Jackson Citizen Patriot, July 24, 1927, Part 3, p. 4; United States Department of Agriculture, Agriculture Adjustment Administration, State of Michigan Jackson County, Air Photo: BDV-6-73, July 3, 1938, on file Department of Geography, Michigan State University.

Major production and employment
trends 1910-1930

As early as 1917 Jackson had become known as "The Auto Parts Town" even though automobile production was carried on in the city until 1924.²⁸ Undoubtedly, this was due to the Chamber of Commerce's efforts to attract firms which could support auto production in Jackson and other cities via the railroads but not require the vast amounts of capital the automobile producers required. By the mid-Twenties nearly half of Jackson's manufacturing workers were engaged in activities related to auto-parts production.²⁹ Non-automotive production, especially farm and garden tools, undergarments, coupled with railroad, prison, and office employment, however, gave the city a diversified employment base.

The city's diversified employment was largely responsible for providing a moderate stability to the community during the early period of the depression. Notwithstanding, employment in Jackson's forty largest industries dropped from 8819 at the beginning of 1929 to 5780 including part-time personnel a year later.³⁰

²⁸R. L. Polk, Polk's Michigan State Gazetteer: 1917-1918 (Detroit: R. L. Polk and Co., 1917), p. 924.

²⁹Jackson Citizen Patriot, July 24, 1927, Part 6, p. 5.

³⁰Ibid., January 1, 1930, p. 8; January 1, 1931, p. 10.

Decreases in automobile-related production accounted for over half of the community's total unemployment.³¹ Farm and garden tool employment after October, 1929, also witnessed a severe curtailment, employment dropping by about one-third. The undergarment industry was able to maintain relatively high levels of employment because the product had a relatively low purchase price and was non-durable. Employment in the undergarment factories averaged nearly 450 throughout the years of 1929 and 1930. The steady employment contributed to family stability even though women comprised nearly 95 per cent of the work force.³²

Corset manufacturing transition to
medical support garment production

In spite of the fact that undergarment employment and production remained relatively steady after the stock-market crash in 1929, the corset industry was considerably smaller than in 1910. By 1930 only three corset manufacturers remained in business.³³ The post-World War I

³¹Auto related employment decreased in 1929 from 4879 at the start of the year to 3044 at the end. (Jackson Citizen Patriot, January 1, 1931, p. 10.)

³²U.S. Bureau of the Census, Fifteenth Census of the United States: 1930, IV, pp. 790-791.

³³Remaining in corset production in 1930 were the Kellogg Corset Company, 159-189 West Pearl, which moved to that site in 1922 from its previous location at the corner of Pearl and Mechanic. The S. H. Camp Company, 107-113

women's fashion revolution eliminated the traditional corset from feminine wardrobes. Consequently with (1) decreases in sales, (2) aging business managers and owners, (3) difficulties in converting the more rigid corsets to the smaller and lighter brassieres and girdles, and (4) converting to the smaller medical support garment market, most of Jackson's corset makers ceased production. As a result corset employment was reduced by nearly one-half. Nevertheless, the small production of the corsets which did remain maintained Jackson's prominent rank as the nation's corset center. As the corset market declined, the Kellogg and S. H. Camp companies expanded the production and sales emphasis on support garments and braces accepted by the medical profession (Fig. 23). Contributing greatly to the survival of the corset companies was the inventive genius and patents for health aids created by the two corset companies.³⁴

West Washington, purchased the building formerly occupied by the American Lady Corset Company in 1928 after the Camp factory at 287-292 West Michigan was destroyed by fire. A few months before the American lady firm relocated in Detroit and subsequently went out of business. The Jackson Corset Company continued in its 1910 location at 225-243 Cortland until 1934. The failure evidently resulted from its continued emphasis on fashion garments and increased competition from East Coast elastic girdle makers. (Jackson Citizen Patriot, July 24, 1927, Part 3, p. 14; personal interview with Edward F. Smith, former reporter for Jackson Citizen Patriot, local historian, Jackson, July 18, 1969.)

³⁴History S. H. Camp and Company (Jackson: 1960 (?), typewritten, pp. 1-4; personal interview with Mr. John Kellogg, President Kellogg Corset Company, Jackson, June 2, 1969; personal interview with Forest Yeakey, Acting Chairman of the Board, S. H. Camp and Co., Jackson, June 2, 1969.



Fig. 23.--S. H. Camp Company plant since 1928.
Foreground construction activities related to CBD perimeter
route. (East from Jackson and Cortland streets)

Demise of automobile assembly
production

In the period between 1910 and World War One, Jackson became one of the most active automobile production centers in the State outside of Detroit. In this early period of automobile expansion and relatively small-scale auto production, investment capital was more easily obtained by auto promoters, and consequently numerous small companies entered production. By 1912 in Michigan there were seventy auto firms in operation with forty located in Metropolitan Detroit.³⁵ In Jackson five firms were in production.³⁶ Between 1912 and 1916 four additional companies were added.³⁷ With the perfection of the assembly line process, introduced by Ford in 1914, the production of low-cost automobiles and the increasingly

³⁵Boas, op. cit., p. 260.

³⁶Jackson Automobile Co., 1902-1920, East Michigan and Horton; Clark-Carter, 1909-1912, 504 North Mechanic, later the Cutting Motor Car Co., 1912-1914; Standard Electric Car 1911-1916, Hupp and Park Place; Hollier-8, 1912-1916; Imperial Automobile Company, 1908-1916, W. Ganson and Wisner. (John W. Wholihan, Jackson Citizen Patriot, February 2, 1954; "Automobile, Industry and Trade," op. cit., p. 6.)

³⁷Argo Automobile Company, 1914-1916, afterward the Hacket, 1916-1921, South Hupp; Briscoe Motor Corporation, 1914-1921, afterward the Earl Motors Inc., 1921-1926, Leroy and Horton; Marion-Handley, 1916-1920, an assembly company for the Imperial and Marion-Handley, West Ganson and Wisner. ("Automobile, Industry and Trade," op. cit., p. 6.)

larger sums of money needed for expansion, production at Jackson's auto companies was unable to keep pace with the competition.

In addition to competition from better financed auto firms, the preference for gasoline-powered cars forced the Standard Electric Car Company out of business in 1916 after five years of production. The World War and the recession of 1920-1921 were also major blows to Jackson's maturing automobile industry.

In 1921 the Briscoe Motor Corporation, the city's largest auto producer came into financial difficulties and was refinanced by C. A. Earl. For five years the Earl Car was the only one produced in the city. In 1926 when additional capital for expansion was needed, a two and one-half million dollar investment plan supported by Chicago financial interests failed to materialize at a critical time. Without the necessary capital, production was forced to halt. With the passing of the Earl, Jackson's dream of becoming a major auto center, as it had been a wagon center, vanished.³⁸

³⁸"Automobile, Industry and Trade," op. cit., p. 11; Jackson Citizen Patriot, July 24, 1927, Part 6, p. 5. The capital invested in the motor vehicle industry rose from \$173 million in 1909 to 1.4 billion dollars in 1921, in 1926 to 2.0 billion dollars. (Facts and Figures of the Automobile Industry (New York: National Automobile Chamber of Commerce, 1920, p. 9; 1923, p. 5; 1927, p. 3.)

Effect of the ceased automobile production

The discontinuance of automobile production had little detrimental effect on the community. In nearly every instance of closed assembly production, a new, expanded auto parts or other firm occupied the vacant structure.³⁹ A case in point is Sparks-Withington acquiring the Jackson Automobile Company plant and Hayes Wheel, the Mutual Motors factory on Wisner. Similarly, employment levels were maintained or raised as production of wheels, rims, horns, springs, fans, radiators, gears, tops, bodies, luggage trunks, and spark plugs replaced finished cars.

The parts-supplying industry was originally established as a result of the growth of auto assembly and earlier carriage and wagon enterprises. However, their survival in Jackson as a residual industry and further development can be traced to the interrelationship of several factors. The most important are:

1. The availability of space
2. The comparatively low cost to initiate or expand production
3. Availability of local financial assistance
4. Trained labor and unskilled labor supply
5. Excellent transportation connections

³⁹"Automobile, Industry and Trade," op. cit., p. 11; Jackson Citizen Patriot, July 24, 1927, Part 6, p. 5.

6. Desire of the community leaders, and financial interests, to maintain association with the State's auto industry

Transportation

The railroads

By 1930 the New York Central Railroad (NYC) gained control of all of Jackson's railroads except the Grand Trunk which continued to be controlled by the Canadian National. The change in operational control did not diminish Jackson's position as the State's second-ranking railroad community. Although at least one company by the late 1920's had surpassed the NYC in total number of employees, due to depression layoffs in 1930, NYC was the city's single largest employer. Similarly, in spite of the sale of about forty acres for plant construction, the railroads continued to be the city's single largest land user. Except for July 19-August 4, 1930, when transportation was curtailed due to the depression, employment by the railroads remained generally constant at 2000 men.⁴⁰ While the railroads continued to function, they were not as active in 1930 as in preceding years. For instance, freight tonnage handled decreased from 1.3 to 1.2 million tons. Similarly, daily freight trains operating through

⁴⁰Jackson Citizen Patriot, July 13, 1930, p. 1; January 1, 1930, p. 8; R. S. Peters, op. cit.

the city dropped from fifty-six to fifty. Passenger trains serving the city decreased by eight, to sixty.⁴¹

Grand Trunk Railroad.--The Grand Trunk after 1915 became increasingly important as a freight hauling railroad. In the post-war years the GT RR with its connections served the city, hauling sand and gravel from New Hudson, brick from Streator, Illinois, paper from Canada, and the prison binder-twine.⁴² An additional function of the GT RR in Jackson was the transfer of cotton, cottonseed oil, and other southern products from the Cincinnati Northern Railroad. The GT RR also transferred to the C-N RR thousands of automobiles from Detroit and Pontiac destined for the South. In the 1920's the Ford Motor Company also shipped auto bodies made in Detroit to its Avondale plant near Cincinnati via the GT RR.⁴³

While steam railroads continued to lead in the hauling of freight and long distance passenger service, the city's other modes of transportation maintained their complementing or competing role.

⁴¹Jackson Citizen Patriot, January 1, 1930, p. 8; January 1, 1931.

⁴²All of the brick for the Hayes Hotel and part for the Consumers Power and Reynolds buildings came from Streator, Illinois.

⁴³Jackson Citizen Patriot, July 24, 1927, Part 3, p. 1.

Electric railway

By the beginning of World War One the development of Jackson's electric interurban and streetcar system was completed. However, with the steady acceptance of the automobile for everyday use and the regeneration of State and Federal Aid for road construction, electric railway transportation began its decline. Nevertheless, Jackson's electric transportation services continued to operate into the mid-1930's. In spite of the competition from the automobile, excellent streetcar service in the city was still provided by the Jackson Transportation Company. The company employed 117 men and operated twenty-seven cars on five routes over twenty-four miles of track.⁴⁴ The interurban operated by the Michigan United Railway continued service on its routes, established by 1912, which were used jointly with the streetcars.⁴⁵ The evidence of the electric railways has been nearly removed from the landscape. However, if one continues north of the pavement on Blackstone, the grade and right-of-way of the old interurban to Lansing can be observed (Fig. 24).

⁴⁴Jackson Citizen Patriot, January 1, 1930, p. 8.

⁴⁵The routes ran on: Francis Street to Vandercook Lake, Michigan Avenue, Jackson-Ganson-Blackstone to Lansing, Jackson-Trail-Ganson, Milwaukee-Ganson-Cooper to the industrial areas, and Page to Grass Lake. (The Jackson News, March 14, 1923, Part III, p. 21.)



Fig. 24.--Former right-of-way of Jackson-Lansing interurban. The grade of Interstate 94 in the background lies just north of the city limits. (North Blackstone Street)

Bus transportation

In the 1920's bus transportation was initiated in Jackson. However, because of the city's excellent steam and electric railway system, Jackson acquired inter-city bus service somewhat later than other Michigan and United States cities.⁴⁶ In 1923 Leon E. Temple established Jackson's first bus service with two routes connecting the city with Adrian. One route was via Tecumseh, the other via Tipton. The initiation of these routes first indicates the rather limited service by the railroads to those places. By 1926 other private companies developed service between Jackson, Coldwater, and Hillsdale.

In 1925 the interurban company met the competition from the private bus companies and automobiles to protect its financial interests by organizing a bus company. Thus, the Michigan United Railway placed in operation a subsidiary--the Southern Michigan Transport Company--to provide bus service paralleling the interurban routes.⁴⁷ On October 1, 1925, this company opened bus service between

⁴⁶By 1922, 108 United States cities including Bay City, Detroit, Grand Rapids, Lansing, and Battle Creek in Michigan had motor bus lines in operation. (Facts and Figures of the Automobile Industry, 1923, op. cit., p. 34.)

⁴⁷The creation of bus companies by electric railways was common throughout the United States. By 1923 sixty electric railway companies were operating bus lines. (Facts and Figures of the Automobile Industry, 1923, op. cit., pp. 34-36.)

Jackson and Kalamazoo. By 1927 service to Lansing every two hours and to Kalamazoo every hour was perfected. As paving and other road improvements progressed, frequent service to Toledo, Pontiac, Flint, Elkhart, South Bend, and Detroit came into operation. By the beginning of the depression bus service had grown to the point that fifty buses entered and left the city daily.⁴⁸

Jackson's modern highways

After Michigan became a State, federal road building activities ceased in it. State road improvements from the 1840's until after the turn of the century were made primarily by the 203 plank road companies chartered by the State. These companies charged tolls for the roads' use and supposedly continued maintenance.⁴⁹

The railroads for several decades effectively curtailed interest in road building until about the 1890's. In the Nineties a slow reawakening of interest in roads began. The introduction of the safety bike with its

⁴⁸Jackson Citizen Patriot, July 24, 1927, Part 2, p. 8; January 1, 1930, p. 8.

⁴⁹Roger L. Morrison, "The History and Development of Michigan Highways," University of Michigan Official Publications, XXXIX, Number 4 (April 6, 1938), pp. 7-10 reprinted from: Michigan Alumnus Quarterly Review, Autumn 1937, pp. 59-73. Jackson had one plank road connecting it with Lansing. The Jackson and Michigan (Lansing) Plank Road Company was chartered in 1848 and built its road through Leslie and Mason the following decade. (Public Acts of Michigan, April 3, 1848, pp. 368-369.)

uniform-sized wheels stimulated the interest at first. Subsequently bicycle clubs demanded good roads and these demands became reinforced by motorists in the Twentieth Century.⁵⁰

As a result of the growing pressure for better roads, Michigan's 1850 Constitution was amended in 1905. The 1850 document had prohibited the State from being "a part to, or interested in, any work or internal improvement, or engaged in carrying on any such work." After 1905 the State could disburse funds for the improvement of public wagon roads. To direct the State reinvolvement in road building, the State Highway Department was created in 1905.⁵¹

Jackson linked to Michigan's
trunk line highway system

In 1913 Michigan initiated the State trunk line highway system. The 3000 miles of high class highways in the system were planned to connect all of the State's major cities, important transportation points, and the major cities near its borders.⁵² Subsequently, the former

⁵⁰Morrison, op. cit., p. 9.

⁵¹Frank E. Rogers, History of the Michigan State Highway Department 1905-1933 (Lansing: Franklin Dekleine Co. 1933), pp. 19-20.

⁵²Ibid., p. 90; Public Acts of Michigan, May 13, 1913, pp. 634-638.

Territorial Road was improved and became M-17 to carry motor traffic between Detroit and Chicago. Jackson also was designated to be on the State's main north-south highway M-14 which ran from the State line south of Hudson through Lansing to Cheboygan. As in all past instances concerning transportation, Jackson was on a primary route.

By the mid-Twenties the magnitude of highway numbers in each state across the nation caused bewildered motorists to demand a more simplified system of numbering. Thus, in 1925 the Federal Government in co-operation with the states created the U.S. highway numbering system which changed many State trunk line numbers to U.S. highway numbers. Thus, M-17 became U.S. 12 and M-14, U.S. 127. In the city the highway followed the existing streets. Thus, Michigan Avenue carried the U.S. 12 traffic, and U.S. 127 traffic followed Greenwood, Jackson, Michigan, Blackstone, and Lansing Avenues.⁵³

In 1919 M-60 (Franklin Street) linking Jackson with Niles was added to the State's growing network of roads. Two other roads were added to the State highway system after 1925; M-50 (South, Francis, Michigan, Blackstone, Clinton Streets) which connected Monroe with Grand Rapids, and

⁵³Michigan State Highway Department, Michigan Highway Condition Map (Lansing: Michigan State Highway Department, July 15, 1924); Auto-Owners Insurance Company, The 1930 Auto-Owners Road and Airport Map of Michigan (Lansing: Auto-Owners Insurance Company, 1930).

M-106 (Cooper Street) which linked the city with the new prison and Stockbridge.⁵⁴ To better integrate the city's streets with the State highway system and to accommodate more efficiently the automobile in the city, cobblestone, brick, treated wood planks, gravel, and mud streets rapidly became concrete or tarbound gravel thoroughfares. In 1907 only 6.1 miles of streets were paved in the city, limited mostly to Michigan, Jackson, and Mechanic Streets. By 1930, 66 miles of the city's total of 163 miles of street were paved.⁵⁵

In spite of the city's street widening, paving, and lighting activities, dangerous congestion developed with the increasing traffic on streets which were never planned to carry auto traffic. The problem of congestion was made more acute by the competition of through traffic flowing into the center of the city and competing for space with buses, delivery trucks, and the electric railways. As a result of the inadequate road plan and conflicting interest, death and injuries on the city streets became a common occurrence.⁵⁶ On the other hand, because of the good roads

⁵⁴Michigan State Highway Department, Roads Built with the Fifty Million Dollar Bond Issue (Lansing: Michigan State Highway Department, 1926 (?), pp. 1-4, maps).

⁵⁵Jackson Citizen Patriot, January 1, 1930, p. 8.

⁵⁶In the first nine months of 1930, 11 deaths and 254 injuries were caused by the automobile in the city. (Jackson Citizen Patriot, September 25, 1930, p. 6.)

and the city's central location, eight trucking firms were in operation in the city by 1930. Additionally, the auto and roads made it possible for wholesale distributors to improve their services.

Decision to Move the Prison
from the City

In 1930 the State Penitentiary still functioned in the city. However, the convergence of several forces in the post-World War I period led to decisions which moved the prison to a new site north of the city in Blackman Township. In 1924 construction of the new prison began and by 1930 the transition to the new facility was well underway; this was completed by 1934.

In spite of the fact that the State added new penal institutions at Ionia in 1877 and Marquette in 1885, over-crowding at the Jackson facilities was a continual problem. The concurrent increase in the State's population, with the occurrence of increased crime and convictions, made the expansion of the penal facilities again compulsory. In the case of the Jackson institution it was considered most expedient to build a new prison on a different site rather than expand or modernize the existing structures. The main reasons for abandoning the city site were: (1) the cost of rehabilitating the structures, (2) the space limitations because of adjacent factories, streets, and river bank, and (3) State ownership of hundreds of acres

of farm land two miles north of the city. The prison farm land east of Cooper could have been used, but the site was considered insufficiently small because of the large amount of muck.⁵⁷ Another factor affecting the relocation of the new prison in Blackman Township was that in 1918 a small prison annex had been established near the new site.

In 1930 the prison in the city held 1359 convicts while the new prison held 3565. Although the new prison held the majority of the convicts, only the textile plant of the prison industries had been transferred to the new prison by that date. Continuing in operation in the old prison were the cannery, binder twine, broom, monument, and stamping plants. Throughout the transition period truck gardening continued on the farm land east of Cooper Street.⁵⁸ With the growth of the prison operations, employment opportunities for Jackson citizens increased. In 1930 the prison was one of the largest employers of Jackson's civilian workers which is illustrated by the fact that it employed 625 in 1930. Of these 412 were guards of which nearly 350 resided in the city. Moreover, the

⁵⁷H. H. Jackson, op. cit., pp. 59-63; "State Prison of Southern Michigan," (typewritten) November, 1948 (?), on file in Warden's office, Southern Michigan State Prison, Jackson.

⁵⁸Jackson Citizen Patriot, January 1, 1931; personal interview with Lawrence Muck, forty-five-year prison employee, Jackson, July 8, 1969; personal interview with Lilly Scott, secretary to the Warden Southern Michigan State Prison, Jackson, July 1, 1969.

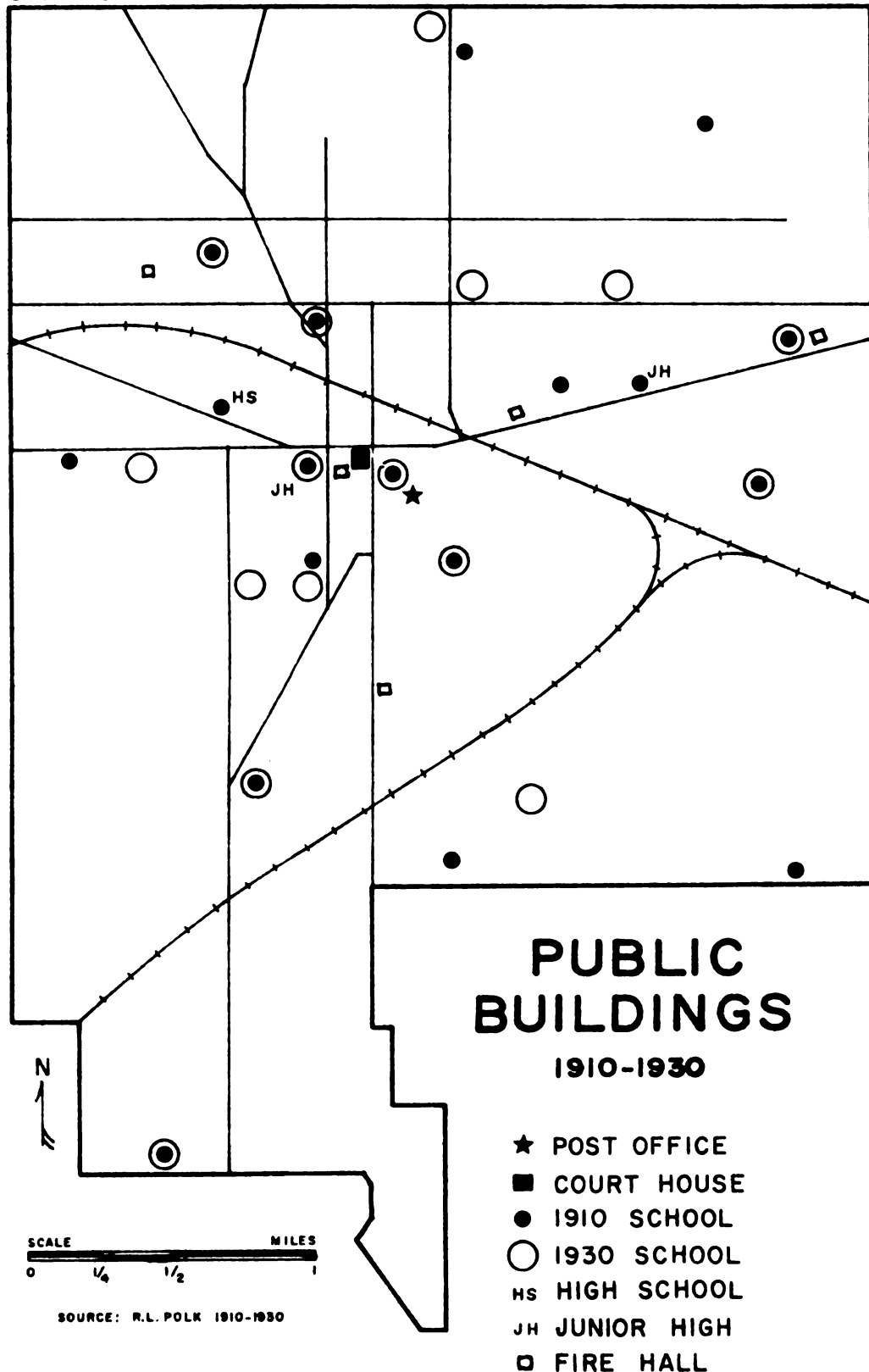
figures indicate that the city was not only the home of most prison employees, but they imply that the city benefited from the prison's continuous income source.⁵⁹

Public Land Uses

Except for the schools and hospitals, the distribution of public activities, i.e., police, post office, and city-county government facilities, retained their 1910 locations (Map 16). A significant but modest new addition was the establishment in 1928 of the Jackson Community College. The college facilities were started in a converted home at 566 Wildwood near the community's then new high school. The present-day city hall (Jackson and Washington) was built in 1908 as a high school. In 1927 the building was converted into a vocational school when the new high school was completed. Two new intermediate schools were built in 1918; one on the original school lot at Michigan and Blackstone, and the other on the site of the first city cemetery at East Michigan and Page. The erection of the two schools illustrates the trend in the nation's larger urban places in the period between 1910 and 1930, to provide a new school organization and

⁵⁹U.S. Bureau of the Census, Fifteenth Census of the United States: 1930, IV, pp. 790-791; Jackson Citizen Patriot, January 1, 1931. The census included the few guards employed by the county at its jail. The prison guard figures undoubtedly also included men employed at the prison's facilities at Chelsea and Onondaga. In both instances only a few men were involved, only slightly affecting the totals.

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Map 16

separate institution to meet the demands of increased school enrollments (Fig. 21).⁶⁰ In addition to the new secondary facilities, seven new elementary schools were built. Most of the new school construction came in areas of increasing residential population. Therefore, five of the new facilities were located near the periphery of the city.

In 1930 the city had eight hospitals (Map 14). As in the present-day, Foote Memorial and Mercy Hospital (Catholic) were the largest. Both of these institutions' origins are associated with the estates of former political and financial leaders. In 1917 the Foote Hospital was constructed on part of the Peter B. Loomis estate.⁶¹ In 1913 Mercy Hospital acquired the estate of former Governor Austin Blair. Five years later a new hospital was built on the site to serve the needs of the Catholic community.⁶² The serious problem of contagious diseases is reflected in the existence of a City Contagious Hospital (311 Seymore) and a Tuberculosis Hospital on Lansing Avenue.

⁶⁰R. Freeman Butts, A Cultural History of Education (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1947), pp. 628-629; W. Kane, A History of Education (Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1938), p. 580.

⁶¹Mrs. W. A. Foote, wife of the founder of Consumers Power purchased the land.

⁶²Jackson Citizen Patriot, July 24, 1927, Part 6, p. 6.

Summary

In the years between 1910 and 1930 the cultural landscape of the city again changed significantly, most notable being the development of the CBD with skyscrapers, the spread of gasoline stations throughout the city, and the building of commercial structures on the city's arterial streets. Although the railroads and prison continued to be major land users and employers, auto-parts manufacturing had emerged as the city's major activity. The city continued as the nation's leading corset center but was rapidly converting to the nation's center for medically approved health garments. The patterns of land use and functional activities, created by the decisions of the political and financial leaders of the community in the years between 1910-1930, have substantially affected the character of the city and are partially perpetuated in the city by the local zoning ordinance.

CHAPTER VI

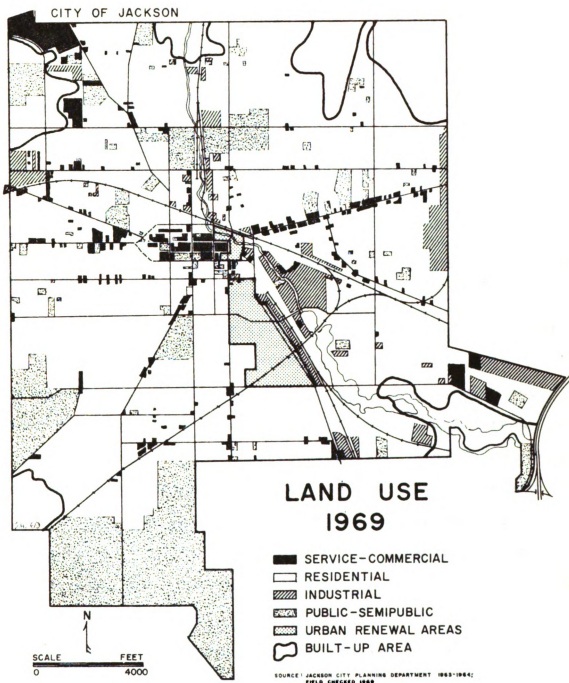
THE CONTEMPORARY CITY AND EXPECTED FUTURE DEVELOPMENT

Contemporary Jackson after 140 years of occupance reflects several aspects of an aging community. Its character and land-use patterns closely resemble previously established conditions (Map 17). Nevertheless, the city in 1969 presents a variety of contrasts to the observer who compares it with the city of 1930.

The City in 1969

Jackson in 1969 is characterized by activities leading to growth, modernization, and redevelopment. As a result a profusion of contrasts are found at the site of the modern-day city which can be associated with not only the age of the city, but also the desire of the community to alter itself to meet the challenge of contemporary living.

Throughout the city decaying structures abound and are readily observable. However, there are modernized and new structures. Housing, the city's most widespread landscape feature, is in the process of change even



Map 17

though the population has remained relatively constant for fifty years. New housing is mixed with older houses as private and public renewal construction occurs (Figs. 25, 26). In the city's newly annexed areas brick, glass, and aluminum one and two-story structures dominate the landscape. In the older industrial areas vacant factories and modernized ones stand adjacent to each other. The Grand River channel also bears evidences of the decaying aspects of the city with its crumbling concrete revetments and conduit.

Vacant and unkempt store buildings line the city's once active commercial streets. However, like nuggets of gold in muddy water, the CBD and newly developed shopping center glisten with their modern commercial edifices (Figs. 27, 28). Michigan Avenue, once crowded with automobiles, appears as a tranquil park having been turned into a pedestrian mall to serve the CBD. Ringing the CBD, new shopping centers, and factories are asphalt parking lots to meet the needs of the community's ubiquitous automobiles. To further adjust to the demands of automobile use, the inner-city street pattern is in the process of redesign; thus the torn up streets cause mud and dust to blow freely as occurred a century ago in the downtown area. Giving mute testimony to the city's changed functional character are the crumbling walls and buildings of the former State prison, the vacant fire scarred railroad junction shops, and rusting railroad tracks.



Fig. 25.--Mobile home on a permanent foundation. Increasingly found in traditional single-family low and middle-income residential areas. (800 block North Wisner)



Fig. 26.--Modern apartment building typical of those being built beyond the CBD periphery. (West and Michigan Avenue)

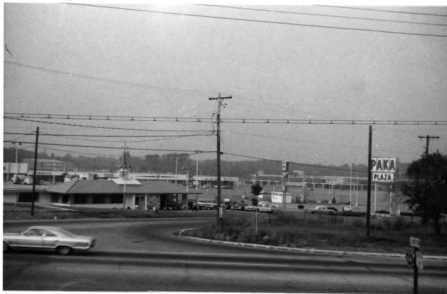


Fig. 27.--Paka Plaza Shopping Center surrounded by off-street parking facilities. (U.S. 127 and I-94)



Fig. 28.--West end of contemporary CBD and Progress Place Mall. Department store on left is on former public square site. J.C. Penney's is the former Courthouse site 1870-1937.

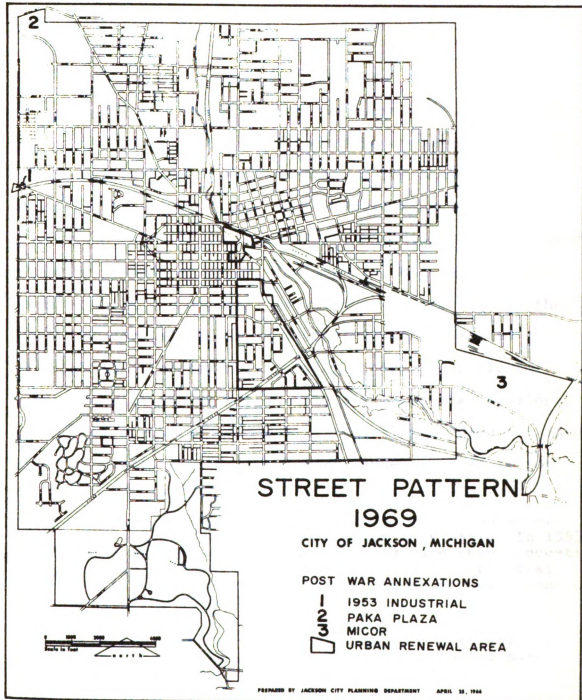
Areal Growth of the City 1930-1969

Even though Jackson's population is 5000 less than it was in 1930, the city in 1969 can be recognized as a growing community because of its recent annexations. Since 1953 the city has increased its size by 362 acres to 10.7 square miles (Map 18).¹ In each instance of annexation one of the primary considerations of land owners involved has been to gain city utility service. In addition, city leaders have encouraged annexations to gain land for developing business and industrial property, the salient point being that of improving the city's tax base.

Post-war annexations

Since 1926 areal growth of the city has been limited to the years between 1953 and 1964. The first post-World War Two annexation occurred in 1953 when 3.3 acres of land between Wildwood and the M C RR tracks were incorporated. The acquisition was made to aid expansion of an industry which was located beyond the city limits. A more reliable

¹In each case annexation was accomplished by City Commission Resolution rather than an annexation vote. The resolution method could be utilized because only one property owner was involved in each case. For descriptions of the annexed areas see: Public and Local Acts of Michigan, PA-1953, May 25, 1953, pp. 455-456; PA-1961, June 3, 1960, p. 781; PA-1961, October 12, 1960, p. 781; PA-1962, March 9, 1962, pp. 613-614; PA-1963, March 12, 1962, p. 507; PA-1964, January 22, 1964, p. 627.



Map 18

and cheaper supply of water was the deciding factor for the action.²

Micor Industrial and
Distribution Park

The creation of Micor Industrial Park in Jackson is a part of the trend in American cities in the post-war period in which land corporations develop large land parcels for industrial and distributional service uses.³ Industrial parks have developed because traditional industrial areas were functionally inadequate, especially in providing employee parking space and serving trucks, and they were aesthetically unpleasant. As early as the mid-1950's the city's Industrial Development Committee investigated the possibility of acquiring a portion of the NYC railroad land to the southeast of the city for industrial development.⁴ In the early 1960's after the city annexed the land, Standard Lands Corporation of Fort Wayne acquired it for

²Prior to 1955 the city provided water and sewer service to outlying areas at double the city rate. In 1955 the city discontinued approving non-city water-use requests. (City Commission Resolutions, June 1, 1955.) Since that year several changes in rates and decisions to serve non-city users have occurred.

³Micor is an acronym for Michigan Industrial Corridor which is an attempt to draw attention to the park's location in the Detroit-Chicago Industrial Belt.

⁴Jackson Citizen Patriot, November 17, 1954, January 2, 1955.

development as an industrial park. Since 1964 approximately one-third of the Micor land has been developed for use. At the present rate of occupance it is expected that another five years will be required for the development of the remaining land.

Although the annexed area to the southeast of the city had originally been conceived as a new industrial area, the majority of the land has been used for distribution activities.⁵ The main reason for the park's emphasis on distribution activities is the center's situation with respect to state and national transportation networks. Micor is adjacent to the new U.S. 127 expressway and three miles south of Interstate 94; hence it is readily accessible for truck distribution of products. The park is also served by a Penn Central railroad siding, thus tying the area to the North American rail network. In addition to transportation accessibility Micor's advantage for distribution activities is enhanced by its central location in Michigan's industrialized south, vacant land suitable for warehouses, and relatively lower land costs.

⁵Ryerson-Haynes (auto parts), Gill Manufacturing (infant and women's clothing), and Jackson Gear (auto parts) are the park's major manufacturers. In each case these firms relocated from older facilities in the city. Distributors include: Associated Truck, Goodyear Tire, Cadillac Overall Supply Company, Vermeulen Furniture, and Pure Oil.

Paka Plaza Shopping Center

Like other metropolitan cities Jackson has recently witnessed the development of shopping centers on its peripheries. The city's major center follows the pattern of other such developments being created on vacant former farm land and at the junction of major traffic arteries (Fig. 27). During the early 1960's the Paka Plaza Center was established near the intersection of U.S. 127 and I-94 with the typical off-street parking facilities. Like the CBD, the center contained a variety of stores for comparison shopping. In spite of the creation of the center and its convenience for motorists, the CBD remained the focus for shopping until 1965. In the early 1960's, when one of the city's nationwide chain department stores found it impossible to acquire sufficient land in the downtown area for expansion and modernization, the firm decided to relocate adjacent to the developing shopping center.

Annexation desired.--Because the parcel of land desired for the proposed department store was only partially within the city, the department-store management requested that the landowner have the non-city portion annexed before agreeing to its purchase. Moreover, city water and sewer service were also desired for the new facility. Annexation of ten acres was accomplished in January, 1964, and Sears, Roebuck and Company opened its new store the following year. With the development of the outlying

center, the CBD's strength as a centralizing force was weakened. Yet, as a total entity, the city was neither diminished as the place to shop, nor were tax revenues lost by the relocation.

In spite of the fact that the city has been able to gain territory for industrial and commercial expansion, residential annexation has been continually thwarted by non-city voters. Except for small contiguous parcels, there is little likelihood for further annexation.

Jackson's Population

Between the years 1930-1969 the pattern of population change has been dissimilar to that of earlier periods of the city's existence. During the city's first century of settlement there was an increase in population in each decade. Since 1930 the total population has had a net decrease.⁶ After 1940 fluctuations have occurred with the total population remaining at about 50,000 (Table 17).

⁶In spite of Jackson's large decrease in population between 1930-1940, it maintained its rank as the State's seventh largest city in 1940. Jackson was not unique in losing population in the depression period. For example, each of the following Michigan cities decreased in population at the indicated rate: Flint 3.2 per cent, Grand Rapids 2.6 per cent, Hamtramck 11.4 per cent, Highland Park 4.1 per cent. (U.S. Bureau of the Census, Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940, Population, I, pp. 502-503.)

TABLE 17
JACKSON POPULATION 1930-1970

Year	Total Population	Per Cent Change	Negro Population	Per Cent Change
1970*	50,500	-0.4	4696	0.2
1960	50,720	-0.7	4685	69.6
1950	51,088	2.9	2761	83.5
1940	49,656	-10.0	1504	-11.1
1930	55,187	---	1692	---

*Estimate

Source: U.S. Census: 1960, Population, I, Part 24, p. 12; Jackson Metropolitan Area Regional Planning Commission et al., Employment and Population Jackson County Michigan (Preliminary), (Jackson: Jackson Metropolitan Area Regional Planning Commission, 1968), p. 20.

Although Jackson's population has remained relatively constant for the last thirty years, its composition has not been the same. The native white and foreign-born proportions have each declined while the non-white population has nearly tripled (Table 18).

TABLE 18
POPULATION COMPOSITION 1940-1960

Nativity	Per Cent 1940	Per Cent 1950	Per Cent 1960
Native white	90.1	89.2	86.6
Foreign born	6.8	5.4	4.1
Non-white	3.0	5.4	9.3

Source: U.S. Census: 1960, Population, I, Part 24, p. 175; U.S. Census: 1950, Population, II, Part 22, p. 79; U.S. Census: 1940, Population, II, Part 3, p. 874.

Jackson's foreign-born
population

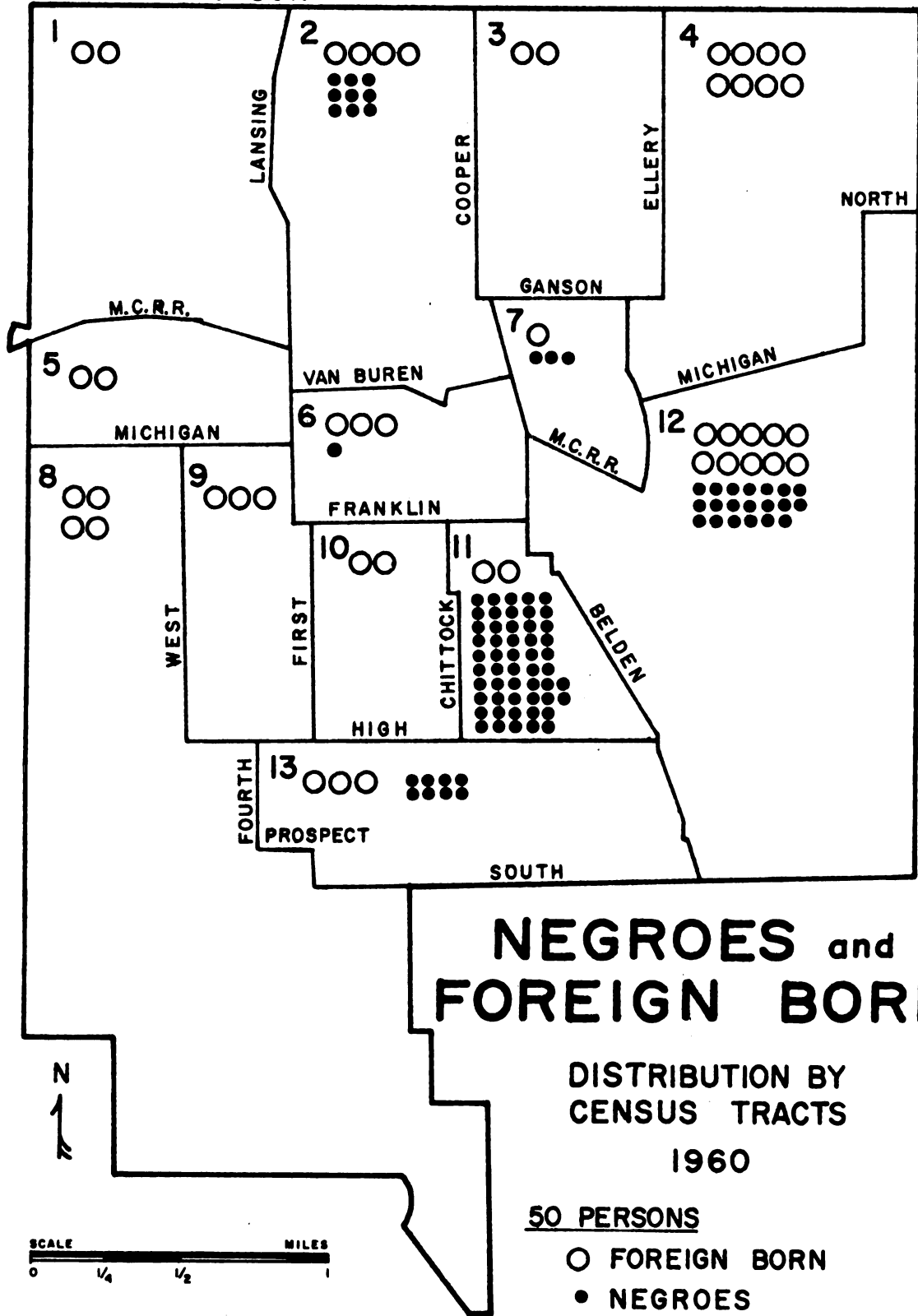
The foreign-born element in the city is presently at its lowest level in the Twentieth Century, comprising 4 per cent of the total population. The decline in the city's foreign born is a result of an attrition process linked to the curtailment of immigration to America in the 1920's. As the city's immigrants succumbed to old age, there have been fewer new immigrants taking their places.⁷ As was the case in the 1920's, even though migration has been curtailed, persons of foreign birth continue to settle in the city. This was especially true in the post-war period when several displaced persons from Lithuania, Poland, Germany, and Italy found homes in Jackson. Persons born in Poland and Germany continue to form the largest ethnic groups in the city.⁸

Foreign-born settlement is still most pronounced on the east side of the city although the concentration is not as intense as in former years. Except for the Polish area southeast of Michigan Avenue, the foreign born are rather evenly spread throughout the city (Map 19). Acculturation of the foreign born is illustrated by their

⁷J. Allan Beegle and Donald Halsted, Michigan's Changing Population, Special Bulletin 415, Michigan State University Agricultural Experiment Station, East Lansing, June, 1957, p. 27.

⁸U.S. Bureau of the Census, Eighteenth Census of the United States: 1960, Population, I, Part 24, pp. xxi, 278.

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diffusion throughout the city as a result of: (1) the lessening dependency on each other, (2) the weakening of restrictions in choice of marriage partners, (3) the improved economic status of the foreign born, and (4) knowledge of the English language. As in the past the Polish Catholic Churches and social halls on Page and Joy are the most notable ethnic group landscape features.

Negro population in
Jackson 1930-1969

During the 1930's the city's black population decreased. However, unlike the total city, the decrease of blacks in the depression period cannot be attributed to the economic conditions of the time (Table 17). Rather, the closing of the State prison in 1934 was the primary cause of the reduction of Negroes enumerated in 1940.

During the Second World War and the decade following, a new era of black migration emerged. In the case of Jackson, Negroes were recruited by local industrialists in the South. Most of the city's blacks came as a result of those efforts or from the encouragement of friends or relatives already living in Jackson. As in the World War One black migration period, Mississippi, Tennessee, Kentucky, Arkansas, and Alabama were the birthplaces of most Negroes migrating to Jackson.⁹ The desire to live in a smaller city and Jackson's lower cost of living attracted many.

⁹Williams, op. cit.

Negro employment

Until the decade of the Sixties the majority of Jackson's blacks were employed in (1) unskilled service occupations: janitors, baggage men, and domestics, or (2) as laborers or operators in auto-parts manufacturing plants and construction jobs.¹⁰ The pattern of employment has not greatly changed; however, there has been an increase in the number of Negro business owners and professional men. Unlike the pre-war period, present-day Jackson has the services of a black lawyer, dentist, and doctor, a score of black school teachers, several insurance agents, and a mortician. In addition, several black Jackson citizens have been employed as guards at the prison. Negro business ownerships include beauty and barber shops, gas stations, a bar, drug, party, and food stores, and an auto painting and polishing firm.¹¹

Curtailed increase in Negro population in the Sixties

In the decade of the Sixties the city's Negro population growth has been insignificant.¹² The primary

¹⁰U.S. Bureau of the Census, Eighteenth Census of the United States: 1960, Population, I, Part 24, p. 274.

¹¹Personal interview with Mrs. Darius Hibbler, businesswoman, and Mrs. Elnora Moorman, Sixth Ward Commissioner, Jackson, December 11, 1968.

¹²Phone interview with Charles R. Mancherian, Resident Planner Harland Bartholomew Associates (Jackson), August 4, 1969.

cause for the curtailment can perhaps be attributed to the insignificant enlargement of job opportunities for blacks in the city. This is especially true for the supply of non-skilled jobs. More specifically, the fact that the city does not have an auto assembly plant has probably had the greatest effect on the slowdown in black settlement in the 1960's.

Segregation and black population growth

The Taeubers have computed an index of residential segregation for 207 cities in 1960.¹³ Their statistics based on block data, rate Jackson and Lansing equal concerning housing segregation. In spite of local planning reports to the contrary, these two cities do not have the highest Taeuber segregation index rating.¹⁴ The communities of Inkster, Pontiac, and Grand Rapids each are rated higher. Although the city has had a record of segregation problems, the Negro population will undoubtedly continue to grow in spite of this situation. Contributing to expected increases in black settlement in Jackson in the 1970's are: (1) the high amount of older housing in the city, (2) the

¹³Karl E. Taeuber, Alma F. Taeuber, Negroes in Cities: Residential Segregation and Neighborhood Change (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Co., 1965), pp. 31-34.

¹⁴Jackson Department of Planning et al., A Long-Range Program for Renewal and Development (Jackson: Jackson Department of Planning, December, 1967), p. 13.

trend towards greater willingness of local firms to hire blacks, and (3) the increasing percentage of Negroes in the family producing ages of 14-45 years residing in the city (Table 19). By 1980 Negroes are expected to comprise 17 per cent of the total population.¹⁵

TABLE 19
COMPOSITION OF POPULATION BY AGE 1930-1960

Age	1930	%	1960	%	Negro		Non-white	
					1930	%	1960	%
Under 1	800	1.4	1161	2.2	30	.05	149	.29
Under 5	4318	7.8	5706	11.2	143	.25	753	1.48
5 - 9	4619	8.3	5118	10.0	133	.24	636	1.25
10 - 14	4658	8.4	4632	9.1	113	.20	491	.96
15 - 19	4411	7.9	3637	7.1	98	.17	322	.63
20 - 24	5012	9.0	2758	5.4	173	.31	182	.35
25 - 29	4760	8.6	2668	5.2	249	.45	315	.62
30 - 34	4521	8.1	2829	5.5	183	.33	294	.57
35 - 44	8747	15.8	6274	12.3	319	.57	573	1.11
45 - 54	6671	12.0	5756	11.3	158	.28	500	.97
55 - 64	4203	7.6	4936	9.7	76	.13	321	.63
65 - 74	2305	4.1	3973	7.8	27	.04	78	.15
75+	951	1.7	1333	2.6	20	.03	91	.17

Source: U.S. Census: 1930, Population, III, p. 1132; U.S. Census: 1960, Population, I, Part 24, p. 66.

Notwithstanding local segregation problems, the black settled areas in the city are expanding. Most expansion follows the familiar pattern of invasion and succession with new black occupations occurring in areas adjacent

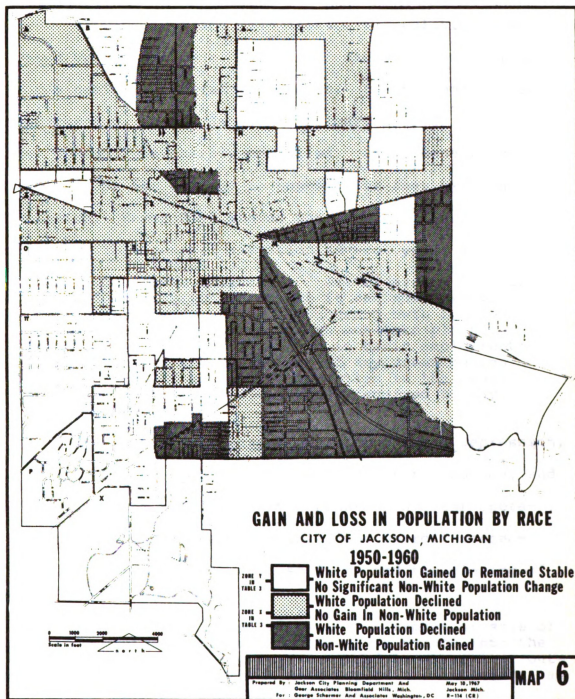
¹⁵A Long Range Program for Renewal and Development, op. cit.

to formerly occupied black areas (Map 19).¹⁶ While Negro settlement is increasing areally, it should be noted at the same time that the area of declining white population is much more extensive (Map 20). Hence it is hypothesized that movements by whites are motivated by factors other than residential invasion by blacks. The typical suburbanization process with whites utilizing their greater economic power to escape from older housing is one of the leading factors of the disparity between black and white occupance. The fewer Negroes and the working age children of whites moving from the city also help to explain the disparity.

Table 19 indicates the declining per cent of white, working-age individuals in the city and the increasing proportion of non-whites in all age brackets. The fact that the Jackson metropolitan area population has increased by approximately 62,000 between 1940 and 1969 while the city has increased about 1000 suggests the strength of the suburbanization trend.¹⁷

¹⁶ Richard L. Morrill, "The Negro Ghetto: Problems and Alternatives," Geographical Journal, IV (July, 1965), pp. 339-381; Eleanor P. Wolf, "The Invasion-Succession Sequence as a Self-Fulfilling Prophecy," Journal of Social Issues, XIII (1957), pp. 7-20.

¹⁷ Employment and Population Jackson County Michigan, op. cit., p. 15, Appendix B.



Map 20

Population decline and
stability

Between 1930 and 1940 Jackson's population decreased by 10 per cent. The major cause of the decline was the national general depression. During those years manufacturing, one of Jackson's primary sources of non-local income, was sharply curtailed. As a consequence, the city lost its ability to support its then existing population. Homer Hoyt stated the principle involved concerning this general situation several years ago.

. . . Some basic activities¹⁸ are necessary in every urban community without which it can not exist; second, that strong and pronounced growth in the population of any community can not take place without a corresponding growth in basic employment; and third that the population of any urban region will decline if there is a reduction in the level of basic income below the amount required to pay for its imports.¹⁹

In the case of Jackson during the Great Depression, two of its basic industries (1) American Fork and Hoe, and (2) Kelsey-Hayes Wheel Company, transferred their operations to Charleston, West Virginia, and Detroit respectively. The relocation of these firms and the closing of

¹⁸Basic activities refers to the export or sale of goods and services outside the city which brings into the city non-local money. The investment of local capital outside the city which returns a monetary gain to the city can also be interpreted as a basic activity.

¹⁹Homer Hoyt, "The Utility of the Economic Base Method in Calculating Urban Growth," Land Economics, XXXVII (February, 1961), p. 53; also see: John W. Alexander, "The Basic-Non-Basic Concept of Urban Economic Function," Economic Geography, XXX (July, 1954), pp. 246-250.

several other manufacturing firms resulted in Jackson residents moving to other places. Detroit, family farms, and the South were favorite destinations.

A second factor causing the decline in the city's population between 1930 and 1940 was the completion of the transfer of convicts from the old to the new prison. That operation accounted for a loss of approximately 1350 individuals or 24 per cent of the city's total decrease. Yoss attributed Jackson's decline in the depression decade to city dwellers moving to the suburbs, "... where rent was cheaper. . . ." ²⁰ In spite of continued suburbanization suggested by Yoss, the growth of the metropolitan area was slight which is illustrated by the fact that Jackson County's population increased by only 804.

The relative stability of Jackson's population since 1940 is explained by: (1) the equilibrium in industrial production within the city, (2) the lack of annexation to add the population increases which have occurred as industrial-commercial growth has occurred adjacent to the city, (3) the off-setting of the effects of suburbanization by city re-development, especially the increasing number of multiple dwellings and the approved

²⁰ Fred L. Yoss, The Legal History of the Union School District of the City of Jackson (Michigan), The Jackson Continuing Self-Survey Research Study No. 1 (Jackson: Board of Education Union School District of the City of Jackson, 1940), p. 62.

use of relocatable homes on residential lots. Because of the expected continuation of these processes, the population of the city is expected to increase less than one thousand through 1990.²¹ While Jackson's population has remained relatively constant, it has dropped to sixteenth rank among Michigan cities (Table 20). This decrease is primarily a result of the strong movement of people and industry to the suburbs in Metropolitan Detroit, the rapid increase in population of university communities in the post-war era, and the support of annexations in other communities.²²

Manufacturing: Persistence,
Decay, and Relocation

In observing the present-day manufacturing activities in the city, three characteristics are apparent: (1) persistence of the location patterns and the type of manufacturing functions, (2) structural decay and obsolete factory buildings, and (3) centrifugal pull of vacant land on the periphery and outside the city.

²¹Employment and Population Jackson County Michigan,
op. cit., p. 20.

²²For a general survey of declining urban places in the United States, see: Ray M. Northam, "Declining Urban Centers in the United States: 1940-1960," Annals of the Association of American Geographers, LV (March, 1963), pp. 50-59.

TABLE 20

RANK AND POPULATION SELECTED MICHIGAN CITIES 1960
WITH PER CENT OF POPULATION CHANGE 1950-1960

Rank	City	Population	Per Cent Change 1950-60
1	Detroit	1,670,144	-9.7
2	Flint	196,940	20.7
3	Grand Rapids	177,313	0.5
4	Dearborn	112,007	17.1
5	Lansing	107,807	17.0
6	Warren	89,240	NA
7	Royal Oak	82,612	71.6
8	Pontiac	82,235	11.6
9	Kalamzoo	82,089	42.3
10	Saginaw	80,612	5.8
11	St. Clair Shores	76,657	286.7
12	Ann Arbor	67,340	39.6
13	Livonia	66,702	280.4
14	Lincoln Park	53,933	84.0
15	Bay City	53,604	2.1
16	Jackson	50,720	-0.7

NA = Not Available

Source: U.S. Census: 1960, Population, I, Part 24, pp. 35-37.

With the easing of the general depression, the city was able once again to attract new industries. One major difference in the post-depression industries locating in the city was that they were non-locally controlled and financed. Hence, local leaders' powers to determine local priorities and goals affecting the function of the city were curtailed by non-local management. Notwithstanding, during the latter part of the depression local capital and financial inducements and the availability of vacant factory

buildings were still important factors in rejuvenating industry in the city. Also significant was Jackson's proximity to Michigan auto plants and its transportation linkages. In the few years just before World War II three of Jackson's primary present-day industries located in the city: Goodyear Tire and Rubber (1555 employees); Walker-Michigan, a division of Walker Manufacturing Company (520 employees); and Aeroquip Corporation (1000 employees).²³ Goodyear Tire and Rubber and Walker-Michigan were non-locally financed which illustrates the transition in financial control in the city.

²³Number of employees in parentheses refers to employment in the city only. Specific plant location factors include the following: Goodyear, located in Jackson in 1937 because of recruiting by local political-industrial leaders, financial inducement, available plant, reliable and cheap city water, railroad transportation, and proximity to Michigan assembly plants. (Personal interview with Public Relations personnel, Goodyear Tire and Rubber, Jackson, August 5, 1969; Jackson Citizen Patriot, June 5, 1962, August 5, 1969.) Walker-Michigan's (makers of mufflers) location in Jackson was motivated by labor difficulties at its main plant in Racine, Wisconsin. Jackson was selected in 1936 because of the availability of the vacant American Gear and Manufacturing plant owned by the Hupp Motor Company as well as available local labor. (Personal interview with R. H. Weaver, General Manager Walker-Michigan Division, Jackson, August 5, 1969.) Aeroquip Corporation, manufacturers of aircraft hose and reusable couplers, located in 1940 in Jackson resulting from several local businessmen and the local banks' willingness to finance the unique manufacturing operation of a German national. ("How Aeroquip was Started," The Flying "A", XVI (April, 1965), pp. 5-6; Melvin D. Barger, "The Story of Peter Hurst," The Flying "A", XX (June, 1969), pp. 4-19; personal interview with Melvin D. Barger, Aeroquip Corporation Public Relations Director, Jackson, August 9, 1969.)

Persistence of industrial location patterns

The distribution of industrial activity between 1930 and 1969 has remained constant (Map 17). The persistence of the pattern is directly related to decisions of earlier periods concerning where industry should be located. More specifically, the railroads and restrictive pressures of residential and commercial development have precluded significant changes. Zoning also has operated as a restraint on the spread of industrially used land in the city.

Although there remains within the city several areas of vacant land zoned for industry, there is little likelihood the land will be developed soon for such purposes. Site conditions, especially the low, swampy areas in the northeast and along Grand River, and sharp relief characteristics mitigate against industrial use. The relatively small size of industrial parcels will further retard industrialization in the city. On the other hand, Micor Industrial Park has several good industrial sites and could accommodate a new major manufacturer employing several hundred.

Auto parts manufacturing dominates Jackson's manufacturing function

During the last fifty years there has been a consistent effort to develop and maintain a diversified industrial and economic base in the city. In spite of

these efforts, manufacturing within the city is becoming less diversified (Table 21). The main reason for this occurring is the relocation of non-auto-parts-production firms out of the city, especially the American Fork and Hoe Company and the Sparton Corporation, makers of radios, television, and other electronic equipment. In both of these cases, the cost of labor was a crucial factor in the relocation decision. The relocation of the Acme Corporation, producers of air-conditioning and cooling equipment, to its Blackman Township plant in late 1969 further increases the city's economic dependency on the auto industry.

TABLE 21

MAJOR MANUFACTURING TYPES AND NUMBER OF FIRMS

Type of Production	Number of Firms	Type of Production	Number of Firms
Abrasives	1	Foundries	2
Aero-space	1	Lawn mower and equipment	1
Auto parts	10	Metal platers	12
Bottlers (soft drink)	2	Plastics	2
Boxes	1	Relocatable classrooms	1
Candy	1	Surgical garments	2
Clothing-ready made	1	Tool and die	17
Concrete products	2		
Flavorings and extracts	1		

Source: R. L. Polk, Polk's Jackson City Directory: 1967 (Detroit: R. L. Polk and Co., 1967); Field survey.

While industrial production in the city has become less diversified, the city's total economic base has remained diversified. The reduction of employment by the

railroads has negatively affected the diversified base of the city. However, the increase to twenty trucking firms, the addition of about 300 employees at Consumers Power Company's main office and the expansion of Commonwealth Associates, an internationally operating firm, has maintained the city's diversified balance up to the present day.²⁴

Decay of industrial structures

One of the critical problems facing Jackson in 1969 is the aging and decaying of industrial facilities within the city. Plants built to house activities of an earlier time are generally unappealing to new industry. Building condition and design are key factors as well as their location in association with transportation and space to serve expansion and employee parking needs. A case in point illustrating the difficulty in attracting a new occupant for a former auto plant is the Ryerson-Haynes Auto Parts Factory on the East Belt Railroad which has been for sale for more than a year (Fig. 29).²⁵

²⁴The notion that Jackson is a diversified city has been confirmed by Nelson. (Howard J. Nelson, "A Service Classification of American Cities," Economic Geography, XXXI (July, 1955), pp. 189, 207.)

²⁵Personal interview with Bruce Robinson, Director Manufacturers Division, Greater Jackson Chamber of Commerce (Jackson), July 30, 1969. Since 1968 when Ryerson-Haynes relocated in Micor the old plant has been used for warehouse storage.



Fig. 29.--Former Ryerson-Haynes auto-parts plant, typical aging industrial facility. (Ganson and Horton)

Further illustrating the undesirability of Jackson's older plants for manufacturing is the use of the former factories near the old prison for Goodwill Industries and Volunteers of America sales and reconditioning operations. Similarly, the former Sparton Corporation Electronics Control plant located in the industrial area on East Michigan has been used since its sale in the early 1960's for office and warehouse space (Fig. 30). Undoubtedly, the former American Fork and Hoe plant, presently being utilized as the offices and warehouse storage for the Acme Corporation, will also be difficult to convert again to industrial production.²⁶

To overcome the undesirable situation of industry's abandoning the city because of antiquated structures and space restrictions, a new pattern of industrial land renewal must be formulated. Perhaps a co-operative city-industrialist program can be developed to clear land for industrial re-development. Lacking aggressive efforts by the community, the trend of industry to locate on vacant land outside the city will prevail.

²⁶In the mid-1950's Acme built more efficient production facilities in Blackman Township to replace its antiquated city plant. Acme, organized in 1919, located in the city in 1932 when fire destroyed their former plant. The American Fork and Hoe Buildings were acquired from a local group of businessmen (Broadstreet Corporation) who bought the plant to prevent the agricultural tool firm from destroying the buildings to remove them from the tax rolls. (Personal interview with Kenneth Weatherwax, President Acme Corporation, Jackson, August 5, 1969.)



Fig. 30.--Former Sparton Corporation plant converted to commercial office space in early 1960's. Circa 1900. (East Michigan and Horton)

Modern Day Commercial
Characteristics

Commercial activities in the present-day city utilize 3.9 per cent of the city's total land (Table 22). In comparison to 1940 when 4.4 per cent was in commercial use, less land is currently devoted to this activity. Urban renewal, demolition of buildings for parking lots, and the slightly larger area of the city accounts for the percentage decline in recent years.²⁷

A present-day map depicting the commercially developed land in the city is somewhat misleading. Except for the development of the Paka Plaza Shopping Center area and the clearance of the downtown urban renewal area, the pattern of commercial land use appears generally unchanged.

In spite of the fact that strip development appears to dominate commercial land use, the actual numbers of people served by the traditional business strip has rapidly declined. This is especially evident by the number of vacant stores and the appearance of many of the stores on the commercial strip thoroughfares. Two factors account for most of the decrease, (1) the development of off-street

²⁷ Jackson City Planning Department et al., The Physical City, Jackson, Michigan Community Renewal Research Study No. 3 (Jackson: Jackson Planning Commission, 1967), Part I, Table 2.

TABLE 22

MAJOR LAND USES CITY OF JACKSON

Land Use	Acres	Per Cent of Developed Area	Per Cent of Total City Area
Residential	2045	38.5	29.7
Commercial	205	3.9	3.0
Industrial	334	6.3	4.9
Institutional	426	8.0	6.2
Recreational	625	12.2	9.6
Railroads	230	4.3	3.3
Streets	1234	23.2	18.0
Off-street parking	62	1.2	0.9
Urban renewal	114	2.2	1.7
Water	126	---	1.8
Vacant and open	1454	---	21.5

Source: Jackson City Planning Commission et al., Land Use Inventory and Analysis Jackson Metropolitan Community (Jackson: Jackson City Planning Commission, 1966), p. 13; note that figures do not total in all cases due to rounding off.

parking shopping centers,²⁸ and (2) the recent construction of the new United States and Interstate Highways outside the city limits.

Progress Place Mall

In the modern period the most significant changes affecting the downtown area have come since 1964. Since then an urban renewal project has cleared the east end of

²⁸Two large neighborhood-type centers are located just outside the city; West Point at Morrell and Brown streets, and the other on East Michigan near the new U.S. 127 expressway.

the CBD and Progress Place Mall has been created (Figs. 28, 31).²⁹ The creation of the mall is primarily the result of monetary support from the local industries rather than commercial firms in the CBD.³⁰ Its continued existence is a result of the approval of it by the city's electorate in November, 1968.

Prior to the creation of the mall, accessibility to the CBD was assisted by the clearing of several homes and businesses by the city to operate municipal parking lots (Map 21). The mall which blocks Michigan Avenue has resulted in the rerouting of traffic on the adjacent streets. However, by 1971 the city's new CBD perimeter traffic route will be completed (Map 22). With the completion of that project the re-design of the inner-city street pattern created in 1830 will be finished in accordance with contemporary plans.

Other commercial pattern changes 1930-1969

One of the results of the suburbanization process in Jackson has been the conversion of many older, large,

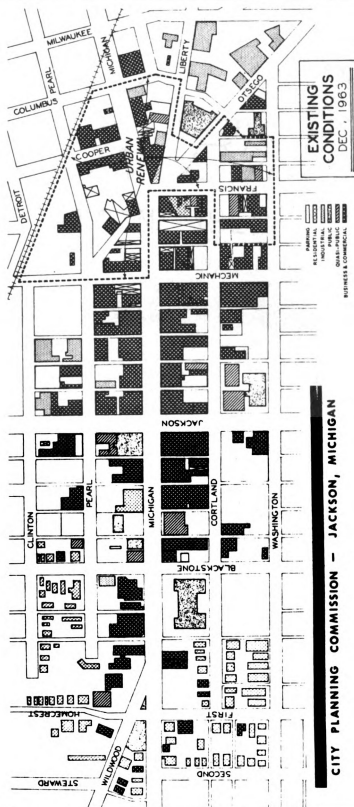
²⁹Progress Place is the name given to the two-block long mall on Michigan Avenue between Mechanic and Blackstone Streets. Only the end one-third of each block is open to automobiles for parking.

³⁰Personal interview with Kenneth Walz, Director Greater Jackson Chamber of Commerce, (Jackson), August 4, 1969.



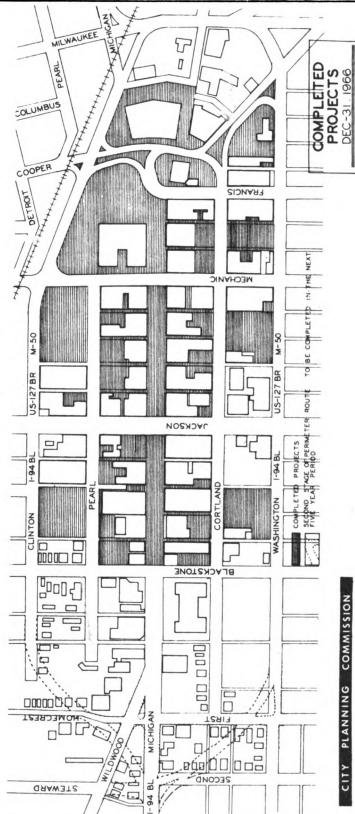
Fig. 31.--Foreground: 1936 Grand River revetment project. Background: east CBD cleared urban renewal land and Post Office constructed 1932.

JACKSON'S CENTRAL BUSINESS DISTRICT



CBD DEVELOPMENT PLAN

JACKSON, MICHIGAN



CITY PLANNING COMMISSION

City of Jackson, Michigan

and high quality residences to office uses. Such transitions are most apparent on West Michigan, Wildwood, and South Jackson (Fig. 32). Zoning, avoidance of congestion in the CBD, cheaper space costs, and land speculation have been most responsible for the transition. To adapt the former residential property to office use, frequently yard space or an adjacent home is demolished for parking stalls.

Another indication of refocusing within the CBD is the construction of the new Jacobson's store at Blackstone and Cortland. The location of this major apparel store illustrates the desire of merchants to develop sales property facing the break in mode-of-transportation site--the parking lots.

Table 23 indicates the composition of present-day commercial activities. Land and activities to support the use of the automobile continue to be the leading commercial and service function in the city. Gasoline stations continue to be the most ubiquitous commercial activity. In most cases their location has remained constant since the 1930's; however, the majority of the sites and buildings have been enlarged.

During the 1930's chain grocery stores began to appear in the city in increasing numbers. However, not until the post-World War II period did these self-service stores begin to diminish the neighborhood stores. In the 1960's there are considerably fewer groceries, meat markets,



Fig. 32.--Former high quality residence converted recently to business use. (505 West Michigan Avenue)

TABLE 23

SELECTED COMMERCIAL AND SERVICE ACTIVITIES

Commercial	Number	Service	Number
Gas stations	95	Physicians	96
Restaurants/Drive-ins	77	Beauty Shops	83
Taverns	59	Lawyers	53
Groceries	53	Barber shops	52
Auto Parts	13	Dentists	51
Bakeries	12	Apartment buildings	47
Vending machines	9	Trucking firms	20
Auto dealers	8	Banks & branches	10
Department stores	6	Funeral homes	8
Trading stamp centers	4	Water softener	
Air conditioning	2	repair	7
Mobile homes	2	Garbage collection	
Bookstores	1	service	7
		Movie theaters	3
		Ambulance	2

Source: R. L. Polk, Polk's Jackson City Directory: 1967 (Detroit: R. L. Polk and Co., 1967).

and bakeries in the city. With the repeal of prohibition, taverns have had the most rapid and numerous increase in the city since 1930.

The number of those engaged in the professional services of doctors, lawyers, dentists, and morticians has remained generally constant in the last four decades, reflecting the city's relatively stable population as well as the gradual movement of professionals to suburban offices.

Urban Renewal

Like most medium-sized and large cities in Michigan in the early 1960's, Jackson became involved in urban renewal projects supported by the Federal Government.³¹ Two areas of Jackson have been affected by urban renewal, (1) the east end of the CBD, and (2) the dominantly Negro area between Franklin and High Street east of Francis Street (Map 18).

The downtown project has been planned and zoned for commercial redevelopment, but the project has only progressed as far as clearing the land and installing new sewer, water, and street facilities. Mitigating against the rebuilding of the site is the fractionalization of the area by the new street pattern and the river.³² Considering the rate of growth of the city and the growth of the metropolitan area, it is unlikely that a new department store will select the site, especially with the development of Sears, Roebuck and Company in Paka Plaza.

Belden Urban Renewal Project

The city's first urban renewal project which comprised 157.5 acres was approved in 1960. The Belden Road

³¹For a historical summary of the development of urban renewal see: Robert C. Weaver, The Urban Complex (New York: Doubleday and Co., Inc., 1964).

³²Personal interview with E. J. O'Connor, Assistant Director Urban Renewal, Jackson, July 30, 1969.

Project was developed to improve the housing of the city's minority race. This project combined the principles of general clearing with spot removal. Although a decade has elapsed, the project is still only 65 per cent complete.

As a result of the project, 116 private low-rent housing units (racially mixed in occupance) were built just south of Franklin Street (Fig. 33). The new two-story brick and wood apartment units replaced approximately 45 dilapidated, one and two-story single family residences, as well as several small retail establishments on Milwaukee and Francis streets. A 100-unit, public, low-rent housing unit was created in the area south of the M A RR track. This area with curved streets and courts, typical of 1960 street designs, mixes two-story, 2-5 bedroom houses with one-story townhouse senior-citizen housing. Between the two housing projects, there is a mixture of old and new homes, as well as vacant lots.

In spite of the delay in fully redeveloping the project, the community has probably been better served by its project plan than those following the national pattern in which slum areas have been redeveloped with luxury apartments or commercial structures.³³

³³Weaver, op. cit., p. 43.



Fig. 33.--Typical low-rent housing unit in urban renewal area. (Franklin near Francis)

Transportation

The development and general use of the diesel locomotive resulted in the decline of Jackson's railroad center.³⁴ The diesel, which required less frequent and a different type of maintenance, rendered the Jackson junction shops obsolete. In addition, competition from automobiles and airplanes drastically reduced the city's role as a passenger generator. Except for Glick Iron and Metal, Goodyear Tire, and a manufacturers' pool box car for Ford Motor Company, industrial and commercial distribution is almost exclusively accomplished by trucking. Also reducing freight railroad service has been the transition from coal to gas heat in homes and industry.

By the late 1960's Jackson had become little more than a stopping point for eight passenger trains connecting Detroit and Chicago. Freight trains also decreased to twenty per day. The curtailment of Jackson as a railroad center cannot entirely be ascribed to the diesel locomotive. Jackson profited in 1870 by its central and main-line location within the Michigan Central rail network and aggressive community leaders' bargaining. In the diesel era with the M C RR only a part of the NYC system, Jackson possessed neither of these advantages. As a result Detroit, Cleveland, and Elkhart, Indiana, assumed enlarged maintenance and classification roles.

³⁴Jackson Citizen Patriot, January 21, 1968.

Although railroading has declined, 230 acres of land continue to be owned by the railroads. Moreover, nearly 200 men remain employed by the railroads. The Penn-Central Railroad still maintains in Jackson (1) the Michigan Division Headquarters which controls traffic west of Saginaw, (2) a minor engine and car repair shop, (3) maintenance of way crews, and (4) a yard force.³⁵

Since 1962 the railroad depot, as well as other railroad property, has been for sale. If the depot is sold--it is now primarily used for offices--a small station-office building may be built. As a result of the transition of railroad activities, it appears a new equilibrium has been established, and no new phase-out of operations is anticipated.³⁶

Bus transportation

Interurban and streetcar service came to an end in the city in 1932 and 1936 respectively. Several factors prompted the discontinuance: (1) cost of maintaining right-of-ways and equipment, (2) depressed economic conditions, (3) increased competition from cars and buses, and (4) improved highways. Since June of 1936 when the

³⁵The Penn-Central was formed by the February 1, 1968, merger of the New York Central and Pennsylvania Railroads.

³⁶Personal interview with R. P. McFeaters, Superintendent Michigan Division Penn-Central Company, Jackson, June 6, 1969.

National City Lines initiated bus service, the routes have been gradually altered into three modified figure-eight patterns serving the entire city as well as a small portion outside it. Since the mid-1960's the Paka Plaza route has been the primary revenue producing line which again illustrates the weakened strength of the CBD as a place to shop.³⁷

During the last decade the focus of inter-city bus service has also changed. Formerly the bus terminals serving the city were located in the downtown area; however, with the completion of Interstate 94 and the development of Paka Plaza, the city's bus terminal has been relocated. The new terminal on West Street is more readily accessible to I-94 and assists the inter-city bus companies to reduce travel time. Unlike railroad passenger service, the bus companies have continued to offer frequent service to the State's metropolitan centers. For example, there are eight buses daily to Detroit, six to Lansing, Grand Rapids, and Flint, and seven to Chicago, including five to Kalamazoo.

³⁷Personal interview with Carl W. Strunk, Manager, Jackson Public Transportation Company, Jackson, August 8, 1969. In 1964 the locally financed Jackson Public Transportation Company began operating the city buses because of the lack of profits by the National City Lines. To gain economies, the Jackson Plan of Bus Leasing was initiated which reduces tax costs. Even with the utilization of school-type buses and the reduction of from 54 to 13 employees since 1945, the continued existence of city bus service is in doubt. (Ibid.)

Public Land Use

During the last four decades land devoted to public and quasi-public use has significantly increased. Excluding recreational land, which has increased by nearly 100 acres, the per cent of public land use has risen from 3.5 per cent in 1940 to 7.4 per cent in 1965.³⁸ The need for land for schools, churches, parking lots, and street and highway maintenance facilities has been mainly responsible for the increase. Consuming less land but more significant because of their increased numbers are government office facilities.

Schools

Throughout the existence of Jackson the political boundaries of the school districts and the village, and later city, have never been co-terminus. Nevertheless, the city has always been the center for the most advanced local training.³⁹ Fifteen of the school district's twenty-two elementary schools, its four junior high schools, and two

³⁸The Physical City, op. cit., Table 2.

³⁹In the present day the city proper is no longer the center for the highest level of local education. With the granting of autonomous control to the junior college in 1965, that institution, serving 3500 students, relocated on a 160-acre campus three miles south of the city. The relocation was necessitated by the expectation of the doubling of enrollment, the inefficiencies of operation due to its former use of scattered temporary and obsolete facilities, and the lack of useable open land in the city.

senior high schools are located within the city. As a consequence of the more rapid growth of school district population and obsolescence of other facilities, six new elementary, three new junior highs and Parkside High School have been constructed on new sites since 1950.⁴⁰ The most significant land change in association with the new schools has been the increase in acreage in the sites. For example, East Junior High, built in 1918, has a site of 3.31 acres, but Frost has a site of 16.2 acres and Hunt's site includes 31.7 acres. Yet the student capacity of each school is about the same.

With the development of school expansion and modernization plans, several schools have been closed since 1930; Wilkins and West in 1932, Lansing in 1940, Main, Pleasant, and South were phased out in the early 1950's. As a result of the opening of the new junior high schools, the junior college occupied the West Intermediate Building in 1961. In 1953 the City Hall was relocated from its office above a drug store at Michigan and Mechanic into the former vocational school and school office building. At the same time new school offices were opened in a former doctors' clinic adjacent to the library.

⁴⁰Elementary schools built in 1950 were: Blackman, Cascades, Wilson; Tomlinson was added in 1954, Reed in 1957, and Firth in 1961. The secondary schools were built as follows: Frost 1953, Hunt 1961, Parkside 1963, and Northeast 1968.

Anticipated school plans include selling the historic school site at Blackstone and Michigan because of the building's condition, its small site, and its location in respect to residential areas.⁴¹ Also planned is centralization of the district's administrative, maintenance, and warehouse operation adjacent to Paka Plaza.⁴²

Neighborhood parks

Since the post-war period the shortage of park space within the city has been significantly relieved by city purchases and individual and civic club donations. In comparison to one neighborhood park (Loomis) in 1930, the city now has twelve; small resting spot parks have increased to four. Since 1930 park land has increased from 558 acres to 652 acres. Using the general national-planning standard of one acre of park land per one hundred persons, Jackson meets the norm. However, about one-half of the total acreages should be in neighborhood parks and playgrounds.⁴³ Because so much of the city's park land is a part of Sharp and Cascades Parks, Jackson is still far behind in adequate park space.

⁴¹Jackson Citizen Patriot, August 1, 1969, p. 11.

⁴²Personal interview with George Scott, School-Community Relations Director, Jackson, July 31, 1969.

⁴³Battle Creek Planning Commission, Schools and Parks: Battle Creek, Michigan (Battle Creek: Battle Creek Planning Commission, 1965), p. 4.

Relocation of the County Courthouse

After nearly seventy years of use, the County Courthouse was again inadequate to meet the needs of the metropolitan community it served. Because of the depression it was unlikely that a new Courthouse could be built.

In 1928 the Elks Temple Company built a five-story fraternal-social center for \$998,000 (Fig. 34). In 1933, because of financial reversals, the Elks Company was placed in receivership and ordered by the Court to sell the property. Twice the county voters turned down proposals for the purchase of the Elks Temple. However, in 1936 a Circuit Court ruling gave permission for the County Supervisors to purchase the building and grounds for \$9800.⁴⁴

In 1939 the old Courthouse site was sold to J. C. Penney's for a department store site, its present-day use.⁴⁵ In 1952 the County Jail was relocated to the west of the Courthouse and the old jail site sold to allow for the expansion of Jackson's largest department store. The location of most of the community's other government offices on the edge of the CBD places Jackson in conformity with the general arrangement of CBD's in most cities.⁴⁶

⁴⁴County of Jackson, Register of Deeds Records, Liber 394, p. 514. (Remodeling during 1936 costs \$360,000 and kept many men employed for about a year.)

⁴⁵Ibid., Liber 381, p. 434.

⁴⁶Murphy and Vance, op. cit., p. 203.



Fig. 34.--Jackson County Courthouse built 1928,
formerly Elks Temple. (Jackson at Wesley)

The Post Office

In order to meet the needs of its increased use, Congress in 1930 approved an appropriation for a new Post Office site.⁴⁷ The following year the Liberty Square site was purchased for \$200,000 in preference to seven others offered for sale.⁴⁸ Notwithstanding the higher price paid for the land in comparison to other parcels offered and political intrigues, Jackson in 1932 became the possessor of the third largest Post Office in the State with 45,000 square feet of floor space.⁴⁹

In the post-war period the role of the Jackson Post Office has increased. In 1964 it became a sectional center for the sorting of mail for sixty-four regional Post Offices.⁵⁰ To process the mail, employment rose from 131 in 1930 to nearly 250. Because of the added function, a new postal processing center of 150,000 square feet is planned

⁴⁷Jackson Citizen Patriot, March 6, 1932.

⁴⁸Ibid., August 30, 1930, January 4, 1931.

⁴⁹In 1954 the former Post Office which had been sold to S. H. Camp Company and used for storage was torn down for parking-lot space.

⁵⁰Michigan has nineteen sectional centers located in eleven cities: Detroit, Flint, Grand Rapids, Iron Mountain, Kalamazoo, Lansing, Michigan City, Royal Oak, Saginaw, Traverse City. Jackson Post Office serves Jackson, Lenawee, and Hillsdale Counties as well as south Ingham and eastern Calhoun Counties.

for completion in 1970. The new facility will be on an eight and one-half acre site in Micor Industrial Park. In addition to mail sorting, vehicle maintenance formerly done in Lansing will be performed in Jackson. With the phasing-out of operation of the present-day Post Office, stamp and mailing facilities will be relocated in the CBD.⁵¹ Whether the present building will endure as has its 1839 predecessor is a moot point; however, its monumental type construction enhances its chances for survival for several more years.

State Prison converted to
National Guard Armory

Although thirty-five years have passed since the last inmates were transferred to the new prison in Blackman Township, the traces of the century of land use by the prison are still readily observable. Fire and demolition have removed some of the buildings, but the fortress wall, west wing, and a few other buildings remain, most of which are in a state of decay. Since 1941 the Michigan National Guard has been the primary user of the former prison.⁵² The west wing has been made into an armory. Up to the mid-1940's the prison industries continued to use some of the buildings for storage.

⁵¹Personal interview with Tracy Vaughn, Postmaster, Jackson, July, 1969; Jackson Citizen Patriot, November 26, 1965, May 29, 1969, June 6, 1969.

⁵²Public and Local Acts of Michigan: 1941, June 17, 1941, p. 544.

During the war the former prison muck farm was used for "victory" gardens by local citizens. After standing idle for several years, the city purchased the farm land from the State in 1953. In the same year the city sold twenty-two of these acres to St. John's Catholic Church. Subsequently both the church and city have developed the land for school and recreational use.

Public Utilities and Airport

In its first century of use by the citizens of Jackson, the Grand River was transformed from a resource of natural beauty and pride into an ugly, week-choked, sluggish, polluted river. To be rid of the unsightly annoyance, a Works Progress Administration project was carried out in the mid-Thirties to improve the river by constructing revetments and installing a conduit (Fig. 31). The project had the added advantage and purpose of providing local employment. Although the appearance of the river has been changed, the original channel of the river was only slightly altered by the dredging, revetting, and back filling. As a result of the project, the river now flows out of sight in the conduit through the center of the city.

Jackson's water supply

Since 1930 the city's water facilities have remained virtually unchanged. The most apparent addition to the landscape has been the construction of a 1.5 million-gallon

water tower near West and North Streets in 1954 to provide peak demand service. The well field established in 1917 on Mansion Street continues to meet the city's needs with twelve operating wells. The well placed in operation in 1870 adjacent to the Water Department Building has continued in operation but only in emergencies.⁵³

The Marshall sandstone formation underlying the city provides a dependable supply of water. In spite of the hardness of the water, Jackson leads all Michigan cities in per capita use with an average of 230 gallons per day. The average is raised by the Goodyear Tire and Rubber plant which uses approximately 20 per cent of the fourteen million gallons pumped daily.⁵⁴

In the present-day, Jackson is confronted with a serious water problem due to the seepage of bacteria from perhaps human or animal sources into the well field. The contamination of the wells or the overdrawing of the well reserves, the capacity of which is unknown, could force Jackson into an association with Detroit or other regional organization for the use of Great Lakes' water. Whatever the action taken, the city is in a potentially hazardous situation with regard to its water supply.⁵⁵

⁵³Personal interview with John Tucker, Superintendent Water Department, Jackson, August 4, 1969.

⁵⁴Jackson Citizen Patriot, August 10, 1969.

⁵⁵Ibid., August 1, 1969; Tucker, op. cit.

Sewage treatment

The treatment of sewage has never been popularly supported by the citizens of Jackson except perhaps in 1906. In that year the city built what may have been the State's first sewage plant.⁵⁶ Unfortunately, the plant process was ineffective and the city went from 1915 to 1936 without any kind of sewage treatment. In 1930 the State ordered the city to stop polluting the Grand River and stop the flow of untreated sewage into the river. The city was also ordered to present definite plans to treat sewage.⁵⁷ Because of the depression, the State order was not enforced and raw sewage continued to flow into the river.

Finally in 1934-1935, with the help of a Public Works Administration grant of \$210,000, the city's first workable sewage-treatment plant was installed north of the city limits in Northlawn Park.⁵⁸ Although the plant was enlarged in 1940, the facility is inadequate for the present city and metropolitan needs. In 1966 the Michigan Water Resources Commission warned the city not to extend

⁵⁶Jackson Citizen Patriot, June 1, 1969.

⁵⁷Ibid., May 12, 1930.

⁵⁸Personal interview with R. A. Greene, Superintendent Sewage Treatment Plant, Jackson, August 4, 1969.

sewer service until the plant was modernized and enlarged. In order to improve the existing facility and to build a new facility to serve the entire metropolitan area, the city has submitted a request for State funds.⁵⁹ How soon improvements on the 1936 system will be made remains in doubt.

Airport

Jackson's municipal airport, like its sewage plant, is not a part of the incorporated city, but is an integral part of it as well as administered by it. From 1912 to 1927 a landing strip at Ella Sharp Park was used by aviators. However, not until 1927 when the community was anxious to acquire airmail service did the city actively seek a site. In December, 1927, a local industrialist Wiley R. Reynolds donated to the city the 160-acre Hood farm, one and one-half miles west of the city on U.S. 12, for an airfield. Since 1927 several additions to the airport, which comprises in 1969 367 acres, have been made.

Because Interstate 94 connects the city with Detroit Metropolitan Airport, only an hour's drive, most Jackson businessmen use that airport. Also, the Detroit facility is used because of its greater number of scheduled flights.

⁵⁹Ibid.; Jackson Citizen Patriot, August 6, 1969. The city's three surrounding townships, Blackman, Summit, and Leoni, are also in the planning stages of developing a separate sewage system.

Since 1950 Jackson has been served by at least one airline. In 1969 North Central Airlines provides twice-a-day service to Detroit and Chicago. Since 1962 operations have increased more than 22 per cent. However, small private planes and company airplanes comprise the majority of the 50,000 operations handled yearly. In 1987 it is expected that this number will increase to nearly 150,000 landings and take-offs.⁶⁰

Summary

The modern-day city of Jackson is a community in the process of renewing itself. To help solve the problems of the contemporary period, the inner-city and CBD have been significantly altered by urban renewal land clearance, a landscaped mall, and a redesigned street pattern.

No longer is the city focused on one point near the public square area; since 1960 a second focal point has emerged near the region's most accessible point at the junction of U.S. 127 and I-94. The Paka Plaza area with its comparison shopping facilities, no direct cost off-street parking lots, bus terminal, central office, and warehouse developments suggests the trend toward a new multiple-nucleated commercial structure. Nevertheless, the CBD remains viable with its major office and middle

⁶⁰City of Jackson, Reynolds Field, Jackson, Michigan: History of Development as a Municipal Airport, Jackson, 1967, typewritten; Records on file Reynold's Field Manager's Office.

and high class shopping complex. Although there have been few new industrial plants located in the city in the post-war period, modernization and expansion of existing manufacturing enterprises have maintained the viability of the city. With the curtailment of the railroad activities, the city has become more dependent upon auto-parts production and central office functions.

Additionally, serious problems of old and non-functional housing and industrial facilities have to be met. Similarly, improving water, sewage disposal, transportation and parking, as well as segregation, will continue to sap the energies of the community and its leaders.

CONCLUSIONS

As a result of this investigation the notion that the content of earth space is not static, but pertinently changing has once again been reaffirmed.¹ Yet, each of the periods presented in this study has, on the other hand, also contributed to the illustration that no matter how incessant change at a place may be, many distributional features from the past persist in the contemporary landscape. The examination of the evolution of Jackson's land use and identification of the factors which affected the decisions to locate activities in the community provide an explanation for the city's present-day character. Moreover, as a result of processes already in operation, some idea is gained to sense what lies ahead in the community's near future.

During the last 140 years the physical site of Jackson has undergone a radical change. In those years forest, hills, and river have been mutilated by man to build a settlement conforming to his cultural needs. The most critical element in the process of changing the

¹Edward A. Ackerman, Geography as a Fundamental Research Discipline, Department of Geography Research Paper No. 53 (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1958), p. 18.

environment of Jackson has been man. The most active agents for change have been inhabitants of Euro-American and Afro-American descent and their cultures. Because of the cultural background of the dominant occupiers, the way of life at Jackson has been inseparably tied to the technology of the highest levels of industry, commerce, and agriculture. Thus, to exploit local resources, to establish and maintain sophisticated transportation and communication linkages, as well as to adopt the most technological advances through time have been paramount goals of Jackson citizens. The fulfillment of these goals is indelibly etched in the character of the landscape of the Central City as it has evolved.

The significance of the physical milieu of Jackson's site must be recognized as a critical factor in the location and development of the city. Nevertheless, the cultural features and the decisions made by man collectively and individually have also had a decisive impact on the creation of the city as it is presently known. As a result, the morphology of Jackson's landscape exists as a symbiotic relationship of physical and cultural factors operating through time, neither of which is solely a determinant. The mere existence of Jackson as a place

- (1) central to Michigan's most densely populated South,
- (2) endowed with sandstone, coal, and water resources, and
- (3) located near the headwaters of three watersheds are

not in themselves factors adequate to explain why the city is larger than most county-seat cities. The inhabitants' knowledge, decisions, and determination to exploit the local advantages explain the metropolitan growth. Similarly, the decisions of community leaders and residents in the last few decades have led to the curtailment in growth of the city.

The willingness of local citizens to use their own or public property to encourage the location of various activities in the village, and later city, has had great impact on the evolution of the Hub City. The prison, railroad shops, Wisner-Ganson and East Side industrial complexes were all initiated with some form of citizen assistance. Similarly, the growth of the core of the CBD at Jackson and Michigan Avenues could only have resulted from the sale of land from the public square. Public lands devoted to parks and the airport exist as parts of the city because of individual gratuity.

No matter how important the local citizens and local resources have been in affecting the development of the community, the State Legislature's requirement to have the owners of the Michigan Southern Railroad complete the installation of the Jackson-Palmyra Railroad was perhaps the most decisive factor in the city's evolution. The requirement gave to Jackson the State's first competitive railroads within a city. The subsequent competition

was instrumental in attracting new industry and inhabitants which stimulated the further development of the city as a railroad hub as well as a manufacturing and repair center.

The development of railroads in Jackson has had a profound effect on the character of the city. Not only have they used a significant portion of its land, but they have also influenced the pattern of CBD development and the composition of the city's population. During the period of dominant railroad use the CBD spread towards the railroad depot, and the stores of the CBD thus were closer to one of the city's main pedestrian sources. With the decline of railroad passenger service, the commercial area that was developed in response to the railroad is idle land which has been cleared by urban renewal.

The emergence of Jackson's two largest ethnic groups, the Polish and Germans, is traced to the availability of railroad jobs in Jackson. Initially, as a result of primarily language problems the ethnic groups congregated in their own neighborhoods. However, except for churches, social halls, saloons, and street names, the effects of the existence of Jackson's larger ethnic groups are not generally observable as a part of the city's landscape features.

The continued location of Jackson's black citizens in less diffused contemporary housing patterns than the city's foreign stock indicates not only the desire of

Negroes to live near each other, but also the impact and tacit enforcement of racial segregation in the community. The continued operation of the forces of segregation in the city is diametrically opposite to the process of the general diffusion of members of low-income groups once they have attained higher economic status. Without a change in the attitudes by whites of accepting a greater diffusion of black housing, discontent fostered by racial segregation and job discrimination in the city can be expected to disrupt the peace and tranquility of the community. As a consequence, present-day landscape features may be destroyed.

In the modern-day network of cities, Jackson is a small metropolitan city linked to the Detroit Metropolitan area. Through time the association has become stronger due to transportation accessibility and the emergence of Jackson's function of auto-parts manufacturing. Because of its linkage to Detroit and present-day growth patterns, Jackson is considered a part of Metropolitan Detroit for regional planning.²

The growth of Detroit, which is central to the evolving Great Lakes megalopolis, is expected to encompass the city of Jackson in an urbanized projection

²Detroit Edison Company, et al., Emergence and Growth of an Urban Region: The Developing Urban Detroit Area, directed by Constantinos A. Doxiadis, Vol. I Analysis, Vol. II Future Alternatives (Detroit: The Detroit Edison Company, 1966).

following I-94 by 1990.³ Notwithstanding the expected continued growth of the metropolitan Jackson area and the development of the Great Lakes megalopolis, the incorporated city trend is to remain a static areal entity. Without areal expansion, the problems of Jackson will be different from those of the metropolitan area. While the metropolitan area will be concerned primarily with the transition of farm land to urban uses, the city will have to deal with the redevelopment of existing urban land.

Although the problems faced by the city and metropolitan region are dissimilar, they are at the same time functionally interrelated. The problems of one cannot be solved without the cooperation of the other. Lacking cooperation of citizens within the metropolitan community of Jackson, there is the danger of creating an irrational city structure which cannot function to meet the needs of its inhabitants and eventually will lead to a necropolis.⁴ Undoubtedly preferred is a dynamic city based on cooperation of the metropolitan-region residents who can transform the community into a dynapolis. Doxiadis's general concept can be applied to Jackson's specific case:

³Ibid., II, pp. 97, 368.

⁴Constantinos A. Doxiadis, "The Coming World-City: Ecumenopolis," Cities of Destiny, ed. by Arnold Toynbee (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1967), pp. 346-348; Emrys Jones, Towns and Cities (New York: Oxford University Press, 1966), p. 12.

The city has only a simple heart. If we let this city grow, as we are doing at the present, it will finally strangle its center. . . . We cannot break out in all directions, as we are doing at present, for in every beseiged city we have to break out in one direction only, the direction of least resistance. We have to let the center grow in this direction. It will grow into a larger area than the present one. . . . By continuing this process we shall create a dynamic city which is parabolic with a parabolically expanding center.⁵

Will cooperation, rationality, and daring of the inhabitants of Jackson lead to the creation of a dynapolis? The choice is man's.

⁵Doxiadis, op. cit., p. 350.

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- _____ . Personal interview with E. Hardy Luther, Historian Consumers Power Company, Jackson, June 4, 1969.
- _____ . Phone interview with Charles R. Mancherian, Resident Planner Harland Bartholomew Associates, Jackson, August 4, 1969.
- _____ . Personal interview with R. P. McFeaters, Superintendent Michigan Division Penn-Central Company, Jackson, June 6, 1969.
- _____ . Personal interview with Elnora Moorman, Sixth Ward Commissioner, Jackson, December 11, 1968.
- _____ . Personal interview with Lawrence Muck, employee at State prison forty-five years, Jackson, July 8, 1969.
- _____ . Personal interview with E. J. O'Connor, Assistant Director of Urban Renewal, Jackson, July 30, 1969.
- _____ . Phone interview with R. J. Peters, former Jackson Junction engine-house foreman, Lansing, June 26, 1969.
- _____ . Phone interview with Jean Redmond, Jackson, June 19, 1969.

- _____. Personal interview with Bruce Robinson, Director Manufacturers Division, Greater Jackson Chamber of Commerce, Jackson, July 30, 1969.
- _____. Personal interview with George Scott, School-Community Relations Director, Jackson, July 31, 1969.
- _____. Personal interview with Lilly Scott, Secretary to the Warden Southern Michigan State Prison, Jackson, July 1, 1969.
- _____. Personal interview with Edward F. Smith, former reporter for Jackson Citizen Patriot, local historian, Jackson, July 18, 1969.
- _____. Personal interview with Carl W. Strunk, Manager Jackson Public Transportation Company, Jackson, August 8, 1969.
- _____. Personal interview with John Tucker, Superintendent Water Department, Jackson, August 4, 1969.
- _____. Personal interview with Tracy Vaughn, Postmaster, Jackson, July 30, 1969.
- _____. Personal interview with Kenneth Walz, Director Greater Jackson Chamber of Commerce, Jackson, August 4, 1969.
- _____. Personal interview with R. H. Weaver, General Manager Walker-Michigan Division, Walker Manufacturing Company, Jackson, August 5, 1969.
- _____. Personal interview with Kenneth Weatherwax, President Acme Corporation, Jackson, August 5, 1969.
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- _____. Personal interview with Forest Yeakey, Acting Chairman of the Board, S. H. Camp Co., Jackson, June 2, 1969.