

DELINQUENCY AREAS IN THE  
CITY AND COUNTY  
OF JACKSON, MICHIGAN

THESIS FOR THE DEGREE OF M. A.  
William Hamilton Sewell  
1934

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DELINQUENCY AREAS IN THE CITY AND COUNTY  
OF JACKSON, MICHIGAN

by

WILLIAM HAMILTON SEWELL

A Thesis Submitted to the Graduate Faculty in  
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THESIS



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## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

Whenever and wherever there are groups of humans the group regulates the social activities of its members. In primitive societies custom governs behavior. In more advanced cultures customs are formulated into regulations or laws by the legislative groups within the state and are enforced by the state. A crime is committed when those laws are broken.

Clayton J. Ettinger defines crime in these words:

One might define crime in the United States as an act or omission forbidden by law, punishable upon conviction by death, imprisonment, fine, removal from office, disqualification to hold office, or other penal discipline. (1)

The definition offered by John Lewis Gillin concurs with the foregoing one, but is stated in somewhat more general terms. Gillin defines crime in this way:

From the legal point of view any action by an individual in contravention of the law is a crime.(2) It may either be the commission of an act forbidden by law or the omission of an act demanded by law.(3)

Crime is often divided into classes according to its seriousness. Grave crimes such as murder and robbery are called felonies while drunkenness and assault and battery are called misdemeanors.

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(1) Clayton J. Ettinger, The Problem of Crime, p. 4.

(2) John Lewis Gillin, Criminology and Penology, p. 11.

(3) This definition is used in this thesis since the data used is based upon the legal concept of crime.



In a discussion of crime it should be remembered that it is not static but dynamic since it is based upon customs, mores, and beliefs of the group which change to meet the new conditions. Acts which were acceptable and even approved by a group several years ago may now be contrary to the written laws of the group and be classed as criminal or acts which were formerly regarded as crimes may no longer be considered as such.

While crime is universally found in all societies, there is no set agreement as to what acts are criminal. The final judgment depends entirely upon the social situation of the group. Thus, we see that in one culture polygamy is accepted as the proper form of marital relationship while in another it is contrary to the law.

Crime is not only universal but has been in existence ever since the emergence of the most elementary forms of group control. Westermarck and others find evidences of violation of law and custom in the most primitive of ancient and modern societies. (4) That crime has been a social problem of importance for a long period of time is demonstrated by the vast amount of theory which has grown up about it. A brief review of this theory from the earliest recorded beliefs to the present theories of crime follows.

### Theory of Crime

The theory of crime began with the early belief that criminal acts resulted from the innate depravity of the individual or the instigation of the devil. (5) About witchcraft

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(4) E. Westermarck, The Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas, vol. 1., chap. VIII.

(5) E. H. Sutherland, Criminology, p. 43.

there were built up many criminal beliefs. It seemed logical since the devil was the enemy of righteousness to employ corporal punishment to drive him out of the bodies of the unfortunate mortals who were suspected of harboring him. In primitive societies and even down to the time of the Salem Witchcraft days, scourgings, beatings, and other vicious physical punishments were inflicted on criminals. (6)

The Egyptians believed that the soul could be cleansed of sin by magical ritual. They were the first to hold the utilitarian viewpoint that man should do good because it was profitable to him to do so. They felt that the approval of human society was what motivated humans to act in a socially acceptable manner. (7) The Babylonians believed in "lex talionis" or "an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth." This doctrine was incorporated in the code of Hammurabi ( about 1927 B. C.).

The Early Greeks believed crime to be an offense against society and that the community should punish the individual for his criminal acts. (8) Socrates identified crime with ignorance. Plato held that man was free to choose the direction of his acts but acted criminally because he believed that he would receive more pleasure and less pain than from socially acceptable acts. The Stoics believed that the criminal was not properly adjusted to nature and reason. Epicurus claimed that the criminal deliberately broke the social contract intended to restrain men

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(6) H. Oppenheimer, The Rationale of Punishment, p. 73.

(7) E. G. Ettinger, op. cit., p. 40.

(8) George M. Calhoun, The Growth of Criminal Law in Ancient Greece, chap. 1.



from harming one another and to save them from being harmed. The Romans believed that religious offenders should merit violent punishment by the community so that the Gods would not wreak their vengeance upon the whole group.

The medieval theories of crime were greatly influenced by the introduction of Christianity. The New Testament fostered the belief in rewards and punishments for sins on earth. The individual was held to be publicly accountable for his transgressions. The doctrine of free will was accepted by most of the thinkers of this time. Duns Scotus, Thomas Aquinas, St. Augustine, and Pelagius all believed in the individual's right to choose whether he would act morally or sinfully. Since the sin was committed against God, it was of public concern and the sinner should be punished publicly.

In the latter part of the 18th century, the Classical School arose. It was a reaction against the penal system based upon repression. A mid-path between determinism and freedom of the will was advocated. Beccaria, Rousseau, Montesquieu, and Voltaire were the leading classicists with Beccaria as the outstanding member of the group. In 1764, he wrote, "Crimes and Punishments". This book protested against cruel and inhuman punishments of criminals and the arbitrary power of judges to set sentences. Beccaria believed that criminals were free moral agents who chose to do evil rather than good, but that they should be judged according to their acts rather than their intent or the circumstances under which the acts were committed.

The Neo-Classical School arose as a protest against the impracticability of the classicist's theory. Rossi, Garroul,

and Joly were leaders in this new school of thought. They retained the belief in the theory of freedom of the will, but recognized that certain persons were unable and incapable of exercising free will. They contended, therefore, that children and persons who were mentally defective should not be held responsible for their criminal acts.

The Positive School, under the leadership of Cesare Lombroso, Enrico Ferri, and Raffaelli Garofalo, was the first school of thought to break away from the standards of the Classicists. Lombroso was the one who first expressed the beliefs of this group. He believed that criminals are by birth a distinct type. This type could be recognized by physical stigmata. He contended that these stigmata resulted from reversion to a savage type or from degeneration. Since the criminal possessed these physical deficiencies, he could not keep from committing crime unless his environment were very favorable. He did some work on prisoners and found what he called "criminal types". From this work, he offered a classification of criminals. Charles Goring, the English criminologist, disproved the existence of a criminal type of his research on English prisoners and control groups. However, Lombroso's work was a great contribution in that it was the first attempt at research to determine the causes of crime and in that it placed the emphasis on the individual committing the crime rather than on the crime itself.

The French School seems to have been a reaction against the biological and anthropological theories advanced by the Positive School. Cornwale, Tarde, and others believed that crime was the resultant of the complexity of social forces operating on the

individual. Tarde, especially, insisted that imitation of the higher social classes by the lower classes was responsible for crime. Since those in the lower classes have neither power nor means they are apprehended and convicted while their more fortunate rich brothers go free.

Modern criminal theory has probably been influenced more by the teaching of Lombroso than by any other man.<sup>(9)</sup> It should not be thought that all modern criminal theory leans toward the belief in a criminal type, however. Sutherland maintains that modern criminal theory can, according to its emphasis, be classified as: (1) biological, (2) personality, (3) primary social groups, and (4) broader social processes.<sup>(10)</sup> The biological theories emphasize heredity, physical structure, endocrine glands, and inherited mental traits. The personality theories stress the mental deviations, impulses, limitations and drives. Some of these theories recognize the influence of social situation upon the individual personality while others do not. The theory based on the primary social group places the emphasis on the home and the neighborhood. The broader social processes theory is built on the belief that crime results from conditions wrought by the inadequate social and economic organization behind our institutions. This theory is stated in terms of cultural lag, social disorganization, and mobility. It is quite probable that no one of these theories or points of emphasis is the correct one when taken alone. Perhaps some theory taking

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(9) C. J. Ettinger, op. cit., p. 57.

(10) E. H. Sutherland, Principles of Criminology, p. 48.



cognizance of all of these approaches would come nearer to the truth.

### The Approach Emphasized In This Study

In this study there will be no attempt to attack the problems of crime from any one of the four points of view set forth by Sutherland. But, since this is a sociological study, the last two theories stated by him will be emphasized most. There will be an attempt, however, to give adequate attention to the individual in his proper relationship to the group, i.e. as a member of the group.

The individual functions only as a member of the groups to which he belongs. He is dependent on one or more groups for his very existence. The behavior patterns that he learns, the habits that he forms, the philosophy he embraces, the religion in which he believes, the political doctrines he follows, in short, everything he does is conditioned by the groups with which he has contacts. Therefore, it seems logical that a study of the nature of the factors influencing these groups would be fundamental to the understanding of the individual delinquent.

### Purpose

It is the purpose of this study to determine the number, kinds and distribution of adult delinquency in the city and county of Jackson, Michigan, for the calendar year 1933 and to attempt to find the causes of the delinquency in relation to the nature of the physical, social, and economic conditions within the various areas of distribution. The apparent factors influencing delinquency, such as type and location of neighborhood, types of homes, average rents, age, color, nativity and sex of population, and religious, educational, and recrea-

tional facilities, will be briefly summarized. There will be no attempt to make a detailed survey of any of the above mentioned factors or of the many others which influence delinquency, such as standard of living, financial condition, organization membership, and education. No doubt such a study would be interesting and of great value in explaining areas, but it lies outside the scope of this thesis.

### Method

The method used in this thesis is primarily ecological, supplemented by the historical, statistical, and survey methods. The data for the study were secured from the Jackson county jail commitment records for the year of 1933. (January 1 to December 31). For this period there were 1,204 commitments. The records gave the name, address, occupation, place of birth, marital state, sex, color, and age of each person incarcerated, the date of commitment, the nature of the offense, the court committed by, the conditions of commitment, and the department making the arrest.

This source seemed to be better suited to the purposes of this study than did the records of the City Police: first, because it provided data on both urban and rural people; second, because the information on the record cards was more complete and more applicable to the problem to be studied; and third, because the county jail records showed fewer commitments for violations of ordinances and minor offenses.

The use of these records may be criticized from the standpoint of the fact that many commitments to the county jail are for minor offenses which are of insufficient importance to be

classed as crimes. However, it is the writer's belief that such offenses as drunkenness are of considerable social importance: first, because they often lead to more serious offenses; and second, because a person who becomes sufficiently intoxicated to necessitate confinement in jail is a menace to the well-being of his family and of his neighbors.

Jail commitment records may also be criticized because the persons committed may give false information concerning themselves. Those committed may often give misleading information about their place of birth, residence, marital state, and occupation. This is especially true of the more experienced and professional criminals. However, the information concerning age, color, and sex should be reliable since these facts can be checked by observation. Moreover, the date of arrest, reasons for commitment, nature of sentence, court committed by, and department apprehended by, should also be accurate since they are matters of court record. In this connection, it should be stated that the reliability of jail commitment records is often questioned since untrained persons frequently do the recording. The criticism of inadequate records does not apply to the county studied since those records are kept by a trained record clerk, whose duty it is to personally fill out all commitment cards. The cards are intended to be used for the identification and apprehension of criminals rather than for sociological research data.

The data were collected by means of index cards and were later transferred to master sheets to facilitate the compilation processes. The facts concerning birth place, residence, sex, color, age, marital state, occupation, and type of crime were



formulated into tables and maps in order to see how the facts concerning delinquency in Jackson county compared with the findings of other studies.

Maps were prepared by plotting the home address of each delinquent on base maps of the city of Jackson. On these maps, each individual was represented by one dot regardless of how many times he was committed. The plotting was done by street and number, with each dot placed on or as near the exact address as possible. (11) Spot maps were not prepared for the county since the places of residence of persons outside of the city were given only by townships. However, the number of delinquents in each township was tabulated.

The next step was to compute the ratio of offenders to the total population of similar age in the different areas of the county and city. (12) This ratio, based on the number of delinquents per 1,000 persons over 15 years of age, will be designated as the commitment rate. In the county the commitment rate was determined for townships, and in the city for wards and enumeration districts since population data were available for the county and city in these divisions. As the commitment rates are in no case based on any area with a population over 15 years of age of less than 500, they should be fairly reliable.

The findings of this study are shown on spot maps, rate maps, and zone maps as well as by tables and discussion. The spot maps show the exact geographical distribution of delinquents in relation to such physical features of their environment as

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(11) See Map 5.

(12) Throughout this study population data from the U.S. Census was used for all computations. Corrections for population changes were not made since it was assumed that these would be uniform throughout the city and county during the three year period from 1930 to 1933.

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railroad tracks, the river, industrial and business areas, churches, schools, and parks. These maps are important since they show the degree of concentration of delinquency in the various areas of the city and the relation of these areas to one another.

The commitment rates for both the county and city are presented on small outline maps, called rate maps, showing the actual boundaries of the areas used in calculating the rates. These maps make it easy to observe the actual rate in each area, to compare the rates of the smaller divisions with the larger areas (as township with county, enumeration district with ward, and ward with city), and the marked variations of rates of division. In some respects, these maps give a more reliable picture of the delinquency situation than do the spot maps since they are based on the ratio of delinquents to population rather than upon the geographical distribution of delinquents.

Zone maps were used to show the variation of delinquency rates and differences in geographical distribution of delinquency in relation to the distance of the area from the business center of the city. These maps were constructed by drawing a series of concentric half-mile circles, using the center of the business district of the city as the focal point.

#### Other Studies

There has been considerable work done by sociologists during the past few years on delinquency areas. A pioneer effort was made by Breckenridge and Abbott in 1912. (13) They constructed spot

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(13) S. P. Breckenridge and E. Abbott, The Delinquent Child and the Home, p. 150.

maps for the city of Chicago showing the place of residence of juvenile delinquents. They found a concentration of delinquency appearing in certain areas of the city. Clifford Shaw's study, Delinquency Areas, appeared and is the best known and probably the most significant of the ecological studies of juvenile delinquency. This study, published in 1929, was made for the city of Chicago. Shaw, working from spot maps along selected radials on the relation of natural areas to behavior, found that (1) the rates of delinquency vary widely in different neighborhoods; (2) the rates are usually higher near the center of the city and decrease with the distance from the center of the city; (3) the areas which have high rates of truancy also have high rates for all Juvenile Court cases, for adult delinquency and for boy's court cases; (4) the areas which had high rates in 1920 had high rates in 1900 even though the national composition of the population changed completely; and (5) the delinquency rate for a particular national group shows the same general tendency as the delinquency rate for the entire population. (14)

Later studies in Philadelphia, Richmond, Birmingham, Cleveland, Denver, and Seattle, made by Shaw, McKay, and assistants (15) verified these conclusions.

Norman S. Haynor studied delinquency areas in the Puget Sound region and found that (1) rates for juvenile delinquency varied widely between specific areas in large cities, small cities, and counties; (2) high rates have persisted over a

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(14) Clifford Shaw, Delinquency Areas, chap. 16.

(15) Clifford Shaw, Radial Variations of Rates of Juvenile Delinquency in Several American Cities, Publications of the American Sociological Society, 26:130, 1932.



period of 18 years for central areas in Seattle; (3) concentration of residences of juvenile delinquents was found near central business districts and near basic industries; (4) Spokane and Bellingham showed high rates in outlying areas; and (5) in small neighborhoods, a single personality may be an important factor in the prevention of delinquency. (16)

In 1930, Andrew W. Lind made an ecological study of community disorganization in Honolulu. Not only juvenile delinquency but several other indications of community disorganization were studied. His conclusions were practically the same as those of the other studies, except that in the heart of Japanese colonies few cases of juvenile delinquency were found. In areas where the Japanese were thrown in with other nationality groups the rates for Japanese juvenile delinquency became very high. (17)

In 1931, Mary Pheleger Smith and E. H. Taylor made an ecological study of juvenile delinquency and dependency in Athens county, Ohio. They found that (1) the rates of delinquency were higher in urban than in rural areas and (2) for the rural portion of the county, the rates of delinquency were highest in mining areas and lowest in the agricultural areas. (18)

D. R. Taft in his work on delinquency areas in Danville, Illinois, found that the residences of adult criminals were mainly concentrated near the center of the city, but that few of them had been reared in that area. He concluded that areas

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(16) Norman S. Haynor, "Delinquency Areas in the Puget Sound Area," American Journal of Sociology, 39: 314-329.

(17) Andrew W. Lind, "Some Ecological Patterns of Community Disorganization in Honolulu", American Journal of Sociology, 36: 206-221.

(18) Mary Pheleger and E. A. Taylor, "An Ecological Study of Juvenile Delinquency and Dependency in Athens county, Ohio", Publications of American Journal of Sociology, 26: 144-149, 1932.

of delinquency not only produce delinquency but act as selective  
(19)  
forces attracting delinquents and predelinquents.

There have been several other studies made of juvenile delinquency in which the ecological method has been used together with the case study and statistical method. Robert Harvey Barker made such a study in Charlottesville and Albemarle county, Virginia. The conclusions as to delinquency areas are  
(20)  
in general the same as those of the other studies.

In all of the above studies, excepting that made by Taft, the emphasis has been on juvenile delinquency. Both Shaw and Barker included maps showing adult jail commitments in their studies, but used them only for comparison with juvenile delinquency areas. The emphasis in this thesis is on adult delinquency areas. Only in this respect does it differ from most of the other ecological studies of delinquency.

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- (19) Donald R. Taft, "Testing the Selective Influence of Areas of Delinquency", American Journal of Sociology, 38: 699-712.  
(20) Robert Harvey Barker, A Social Study of Juvenile Delinquency in Charlottesville and Albemarle county, Virginia, unpublished thesis, University of Virginia, 1934.





## CHAPTER II

### A HISTORICAL, ECONOMIC, and SOCIAL DESCRIPTION OF THE CITY AND COUNTY OF JACKSON, MICHIGAN

In a study of delinquency it is especially important to understand the social situation in which it occurs. The object of this chapter will be to give the reader a general knowledge of the city and county to be studied so that he may more fully understand the data given in the chapters which are to follow. In the main the chapter will be descriptive. There will be an attempt to portray the historical development and the present social and economic picture of the city and county.

#### Location and Geography of Jackson County

Jackson county is located in the south central portion of the Lower Peninsula of Michigan.<sup>(1)</sup> The area of the county is 720 square miles, measuring 30 miles from east to west and 24 miles from north to south. The city of Jackson is the county seat and is located within one mile of the exact geographical center of the county. The topography of the county is characterized by smooth plains, low rounded knobby hills, lakes and swamps, and broad glacial drainage valleys. About eighty per cent of the land is available for agricultural purposes.<sup>(2)</sup>

#### Early History of Jackson

The early history of the county is closely interwoven with the history of the city of Jackson, since the city was the focal

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(1) See Map 2, chapter 3, p.38.

(2) Soil Survey of Jackson County, United States Department of Agriculture, p. 28.

point for county development. The city was founded on July 4, 1829, by Horace Blackman and Captain Alexander Lavery. These men had left Ann Arbor several days before to locate a site for a new settlement. An Indian guide led them to the Grand River, or "Washtenaw Sepe" as it was then called. They camped at the junction of several Indian trails leading to St. Joseph, Detroit, and other important points. At this place, the river was fordable and the banks of the river were high enough to provide adequate drainage. Blackman, especially, was pleased with the site and chose it for the establishment of the village.

Blackman and Lavery returned to Ann Arbor and there were no further developments until the following year. During the winter of 1829, Blackman returned to New York state to interest friends in the new settlement. In the spring of 1830, he returned with several other New York families and began the actual work of settling the new village, at that time the only white settlement west of Ann Arbor. Thirteen log cabins were built, and, on January 18, the town was christened Jacksonburgh in honor of President Andrew Jackson. With the immigration of new settlers, several families settled at outlying points now known as Grass Lake, Brooklyn, Spring Arbor, and Leoni. Others settled in the area adjacent to the village and began clearing the land for agricultural purposes. The village was plotted late in the year and still retains practically the same plan. According to the census of the county taken near the close of the year, the population was found to be 147. Of these persons, 123 lived in the village of Jacksonburgh.<sup>(3)</sup>

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(3) Col. Deland, The History of Jackson County, p. 65.

In 1831, the roads to Detroit, Ann Arbor, and Monroe, as well as several local roads, were begun. The county attracted many new settlers, and by the end of the year there were over 100 families in the county.<sup>(4)</sup> A school was begun with Miss Silence Blackman as teacher. In 1833 the first school building was erected where the West Intermediate now stands. In this same year, a mill and several business enterprises were begun along the main street. The territorial committee, in 1832, definitely established the boundaries of the county and made Jacksonburgh the county seat. Three other villages - Spring Arbor, Grass Lake, and Napoleon - had grown up. At first these settlements offered strenuous competition to Jacksonburgh for leadership in the county, but the natural advantages of Jacksonburgh and the fact that it was the county seat tended to make its growth more rapid during the ensuing years. By 1836, there were ten villages in the county: Jacksonburgh, Concord, Grass Lake, Hanover, Leoni, East Portage and West Portage, Spring Arbor, Napoleon, and Sandstone. During the next ten years, Parma, Rives, Liberty, Springport, Pulaski, Tompkins and Columbia were added, and East and West Portage were replaced by Henrietta and Waterloo respectively.

In 1837, it was announced that Jacksonburgh was to be the seat of the Michigan State Prison; the following year it was built. The name of the town was changed to Jackson in 1837.

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(4) Ibid.

It was incorporated as a village in 1845 and as a city in 1867.

The first newspaper begun in 1837 was a weekly known as the Sentinel. Several other weekly papers followed it, and in 1861 the first daily paper was published. This was called the Daily Citizen. The Jackson Daily Patriot was established in 1868. These two papers later merged to form the Jackson Citizen Patriot which is now the leading newspaper of the city.

Churches played an important part in the development of Jackson. The first church services were held in the homes of the settlers. These meetings were quite informal and usually were held without a minister. In 1830, Jackson was placed on the Ann Arbor Baptist circuit and a minister came each Sunday for church services. In 1883 a First Methodist Church was founded. This pioneer church was soon followed by Baptist, Roman Catholic, Episcopal, and other denominational churches.

The urban and rural population of Jackson county, along with the population of its townships and incorporated places, is shown in Table I. Of the county's 92,304 inhabitants 55,187 or 59.8 per cent are classed as urban, and 37,117 or 40.2 per cent as rural. The table shows that all of those classed as urban live in the city of Jackson. Of the 37,117 classed as rural 12,955 or 34.9 per cent are rural farm and 24,162 or 65.1 per cent are rural non-farm people. The rural non-farm people live in the suburbs of Jackson and in the villages of the county. There are six incorporated villages in the county. Their population ranges from 375 for Hanover to 804 for Grass Lake. Much of the urban non-farm population is found in the three most highly populated townships of the county. They are Blackman (7,583),

Summit (6,754), and Leoni (4,794). These townships all border on the city of Jackson and portions of them serve as its suburban areas. The townships with a low population; Waterloo (804), Tompkins (877), Pulaski (725), Norvell (636), and Liberty (785) are agricultural townships. Their population is mainly rural farm. These townships are all located far enough away from the city to escape its suburbs. (5)

TABLE I. THE POPULATION DISTRIBUTION IN JACKSON COUNTY, 1930. (6)

<u>Jackson County</u>	92,304	<u>Townships</u>	92,304	Rural Farm <u>12,955</u>
Urban	55,187	Blackman	7,583	634
Rural	37,117	Columbia	1,830	830
· Farm	12,995	Concord	1,394	674
Nonfarm	24,162	Grass Lake	1,659	711
		Hanover	1,242	618
<u>Incorporated Places</u>	58,877	Henrietta	1,030	705
		Leoni	4,794	799
Jackson	55,187	Liberty	785	699
Brooklyn	733	Napoleon	1,204	622
Concord	603	Norvell	636	507
Grass Lake	804	Parma	1,066	720
Hanover	375	Pulaski	725	616
Parma	613	Rives	1,198	972
Springport	562	Sandstone	1,251	859
		Spring Arbor	1,073	732
		Springport	1,212	678
		Summit	6,754	308
		Tompkins	877	706
		Waterloo	804	565

In 1930 there were 48,836 males and 43,468 females residing in the county. The native white population was 82,499, 42,817 of which were males and 39,682 females. Of these 82,499 native

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(5) See map 3 for location of these townships.

(6) Fifteenth Census of U. S., Vol. 1,

white persons, 64,411 were of native-born parentage, 9,892 of foreign-born parentage and 8,196 of mixed parentage. There were (7) 7,111 foreign-born whites, 2,481 Negroes, and 212 of other races.

Of the 55,187 persons in the city, 24,255 or 43.9 per cent were gainfully employed, 18,211 or 72.1 per cent of which were male and 6,044 or 27.9 per cent were females; 20,461 or 84.3 per cent were native white, 2,897 or 11.5 per cent were foreign-born, (8) and 811 or 3.3 per cent were Negroes.

### Economic Description

#### Transportation and Communication

Jackson has been referred to as the hub of Michigan. It is seventy-six miles west of Detroit, seventy-three miles northwest of Toledo, two hundred and nine miles east of Chicago, and ninety-four miles southeast of Grand Rapids. There are paved roads, railroads, trucks, and buses connecting Jackson with these cities as well as with other important cities in Michigan. Four railroads - the Michigan Central, the New York Central, the Grand Trunk, and the Cincinnati Northern - pass through the city. There are several truck lines offering passenger and trucking services to Jackson and Jackson county. It is estimated by the Jackson Chamber of Commerce that over 50,000,000 people are served by bus, truck, direct steam connections, and air lines within a five-hundred mile (9) radius of the city.

#### Industry

In the city, there are one hundred and eleven manufacturing companies that employ 9,400 workers, pay an annual wage of over (10) \$13,000,000, and produce goods valued at over \$60,000,000 annually.

(7) Fifteenth Census of U. S.

(8) Ibid.

(9) Economic Statistics, Jackson Chamber of Commerce, 1931, p. 2.

(10) Industrial Statistics, Jackson Employers' Association, 1931, p. 4.

(11)



The picture might be quite different if figures were obtainable for 1933, since several large plants have been closed and employment in general has been low due to national economic conditions. The largest industry is the manufacture of automotive parts. While no automobiles are assembled here the parts and accessories for many nationally known motor cars are made in Jackson plants. The railroad shops and roundhouse of the Michigan Central are located in the city and employ between 2,500 and 3,000 men. The radio industry is next in importance, followed by several smaller industries such as candy making, pattern works, tool making, boiler works, machine, tool, furniture factories, and metal trades.

Wages in Jackson are low except in the highly unionized railroad industries. This is probably due to the fact that, until recently, about ninety per cent of the factories have been operated as "open shops".<sup>(11)</sup> One large company has frequently imported large groups of unskilled laborers from Tennessee and Indiana. This has kept the labor market flooded and has tended to bring competition between workers for jobs. The result has been a low average wage for unskilled labor. The National Recovery Act and other relief measures have benefited Jackson industry and have forced certain unscrupulous employers to improve wages and working conditions. In general, the laboring conditions in Jackson factories are good. Many of the buildings are old but most of those in use have been modernized from time to time.

### Agriculture

The main industry of the county, outside of the city and its suburbs, is agriculture and those forms of endeavor dependent upon

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(11) This term is used in the generally accepted meaning of being anti-union.

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agriculture. General farming is carried on extensively, but there is much truck and dairy farming, due to the fact that Jackson provides a good market for such produce. There are 2,908 farms in the county with an acreage of 362,083. The average acreage of farms in the county is 105.5 acres. The average size of farms in Jackson county is about the same as for the State as a whole and for its neighboring counties. Its average acreage (105.5) is higher than that of the State (101.0), Eaton county (97.8), Hillsdale county (97.6), Lenawee county (98.7), Ingham county (102.8), and lower than that of Calhoun county (115.9) and Washtenaw county (114.6).<sup>(12)</sup> The average value of farms and farm buildings in the county is \$7,655.

#### Retail Stores

There are 757 retail stores in the city of Jackson doing an annual average business of \$41,563,931 and employing over 3,000 persons.<sup>(13)</sup> Their combined annual payroll exceeds \$4,725,000. Every type of merchandise and service conceivable is offered by these retail establishments. Since the city is centrally located, it serves as an excellent trading center for the whole county and portions of surrounding counties.

#### Banking Facilities

There are two banks in Jackson. The larger one is the oldest banking institution in Michigan. It was established in 1836 and

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(12) Fifteenth Census of U. S., Agriculture, Vol. 1. pp. 274-290.  
(13) Fifteenth Census of U. S.

has been open continuously since that time except for a few days during the recent bank holiday. The other bank was founded in 1933 to take the place of the largest bank in the city which had closed. Half of its stock is owned by the Federal Government. The total deposits in the two banks in December, 1933 were \$10,600,000. There is a Postal Savings Bank in the city with savings deposits totaling \$400,000. There are five building and loan associations with resources of \$21,276,000. Besides offering loans on homes, they carry on savings bank functions.

### Social Description

#### Housing

The average farm dwelling in Jackson county has a valuation of \$2,054. Of the 3,357 rural farm families but 2,568 or 76 per cent are classed as owner families and but 760 or 24 per cent tenant families. (14) In the city there are 14,295 families, 8,564 or 60 per cent live in owned homes, while 5,612 or 40 per cent live in tenant homes. The median value of the owned homes is \$5,452. Rent in the city seems to be about the same as in other cities of similar size in Michigan. The median rental in Jackson is \$36.38, Lansing \$38.96, Battle Creek \$33.02, and Kalamazoo \$32.76. In Jackson there are 1,719 homes that rent for \$15 to \$29 per month and 2,748 that rent for \$30 to \$49 per month. (15)

#### Health

In the county there are several county nurses and a county physician. It is their duty to aid indigent citizens and see

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(14) Ibid.

(15) Ibid.

that health regulations are enforced. The Jackson City Department of Health is composed of a health officer, two other physicians, a sanitary inspector, nurses, and public health laboratory technicians. It is the duty of this department to enforce health regulations, to give medical services to needy patients, and to operate a laboratory and a dispensary. There is a school doctor and a school dentist who take care of public school students. At the present time, the County Emergency Relief Commission furnishes medical aid to needy persons. Jackson has adequate private medical services since there are 90 physicians in the county, 70 of whom are located in the city. In Jackson in 1933 the death rate was 11, the birth rate 14, or a natural increase of 3. The infant mortality rate was 60. There are six hospitals in the county all of which are located in Jackson. Two of these hospitals are public and have a total capacity of over four hundred beds. The larger one is a municipal hospital while the other is a Catholic hospital. Both are modern in every respect and are accredited by the American Medical Society. In addition to these, there are a new 300-bed county tuberculosis hospital and three small private hospitals.

### Recreation

There are eight motion picture theaters in the city and one in each of several of the villages in the county. There are several dance halls located in the city and many scattered throughout the county. Several are at lakes and are operated only during the summer and the rest are to be found on the main highways near the city. There are many beer gardens and taverns in the city and county. These places frequently offer cheap entertainment. In

general, commercial recreational facilities are plentiful, even though they may not be desirable.

The 120 lakes in the county afford good chances for swimming, boating, camping, and fishing. The several parks which the county has built at some of the more popular lakes are utilized by many Jackson county people. There are six parks in the city, three of which are very small and do not have playgrounds. The Loomis Park, located on the east side of the city, has playground and picnic facilities and covers some 26 acres. Sharp's Park, one mile southwest of the city, is owned by the municipality and is spread over 530 acres. Besides an 18 hole public golf course, it has baseball diamonds, a football field, tennis courts, picnic grounds. The William and Matilda Sparks Foundation, a 465 acre public park, is located northwest of the city. It is composed of a public golf course, a water fall said to have cost \$400,000, and many flower beds. There are playgrounds at the schools on each side of the city which are under supervision during the summer months. The playing privileges at the two remaining golf courses are for members only. The weakness of the city park system lies in the inadequacy of park facilities on the east side of the city.

Many clubs and churches throughout the city and county offer recreational facilities to their members. The Jackson County Athletic Association stages golf, baseball, wrestling, and boxing contests. The programs are presented at low admission prices since there is no attempt to make a profit.

### Education

There are 126 district 8th grade schools in the county, and 12 accredited 9 - 12 grade high schools. In the city of Jackson,

there are six parochial schools with an enrollment of 3,260 students, and twenty public schools with an enrollment of 11,357 students. Included in the city public school system, are the Junior College, the High School, both fully accredited institutions, two intermediate schools, a vocational school, and seventeen grammar schools. Both of the two parochial high schools are fully accredited. The total value of the public and parochial school system is estimated at \$4,430,265. Fifty per cent of the school buildings are new. There is a private denominational junior college located at Spring Arbor.

There is a great deal of interest in education in both the city and the county. Several clubs offer educational programs. Two business colleges are located in the city. There is a county library which has proved very popular with people living in the country. The City Library, containing 60,986 volumes, has a branch located on the East Side for the convenience of persons in this section of the city. During the past several years no new books have been added to the library and its budget has been cut so much that many of its services have been curtailed. The city libraries are supplemented, however, by those of the high school and junior college.

### Religion

There are 89 churches with a membership of 43,145 in Jackson county, 54, with a membership of 20,039, are located in the city of Jackson. The others are to be found in the villages and small neighboring towns. These churches play an important part in the lives of their members. They offer educational, religious, and social activities to their members. There is little religious strife in the county or city. Most of the Catholic population of

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the county lives in the city. The Protestant churches are scattered throughout both the city and the county. The Jackson County Ministers' Association takes an active interest in social, economic, and religious matters and has done much to coordinate the work of the churches.

### Newspapers

There are two daily and two weekly papers in the city and two weekly papers in the county. The larger of the two dailies is a Booth Syndicate paper and has a daily circulation of 20,000. This paper is non-partisan. It has a large circulation in the county and neighboring towns. The smaller one is a Republican paper and has an average daily circulation of 7,000. Both of the weekly papers are partisan. One is a labor paper and the other Republican. The circulation of the two county papers, both Republican organs, is not wide.

### Protective Agencies

There is a County Sheriff Department, a detachment of the Michigan State Police, and a City Police Department located in the city of Jackson. The Sheriff's Department and State Police function both in the city and the county, while the City Police functions only in the city. There are eight full-time and many part-time deputies. Several of the incorporated villages have constables and deputy sheriffs. The City Police Department is composed of sixty-two full time members and several special officers.

In the county there is a Circuit Court with two full-time judges, a Probate Court, a Juvenile Court, a Municipal Court in the city of Jackson, and a Justice Court in each township.



The Justice Courts handle minor matters, while the Circuit Courts have jurisdiction over more serious criminal and civil cases.

The City Fire Department has 5 station houses, 17 trucks, 75 men, and two county pumpers. These pumpers, stationed in Jackson, are available for use anywhere in the county and are maintained by county funds.

### Social Agencies

There has been a lack of public interest in social agencies in both the city and county of Jackson. At times, civic leaders and businessmen have aroused open antagonism toward such agencies. Lack of financial support caused the Y.M.C.A. and the Family Service Agencies to close several years ago. The Red Cross and County Tuberculosis Societies are practically inactive, and have been for some time. The Volunteers of America left the city three years ago. One reason for this lack of interest in social agencies grows out of the fact that the agencies have not been closely enough coordinated to function efficiently.

The juvenile delinquents are now handled exclusively by the Juvenile Court Judge, the Probation Officer, and the City Policewoman. The Juvenile Court has been an important factor in the treatment of the problem of delinquency. Recently, the City built a modern detention home for juvenile delinquents. The Florence Crittendon Home has been very active in its work with delinquent girls.

The character-building agencies, except for the Y.M.C.A. which is now closed, have been well supported. There are Boy Scout, Girl Scout, and Girl Reserve organizations in the city and in several villages of the county, while the Y.W.C.A. is more active in the city than elsewhere.

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The Jackson County Emergency Relief Commission was organized during the depression in accordance with state and federal emergency regulations. A County Welfare Agency was organized to provide relief to the needy of the city and county. Funds come from the federal, state, county, and city governments. Food, clothing, medical, and dental services are given to those in need. The average weekly relief load in 1933 was from 3,000 to 3,500 families.

The Jackson Federation of Labor maintains a "soup kitchen" where needy boys and men are fed free. During 1933, the organization served an average of 400 meals per day. All of the food is donated or purchased by the organization; no money donations are accepted. The City itself maintains a tramp house where resident and transient men and boys may sleep.

The new Michigan State Prison, located five miles north of the city, was completed in 1933 and is the largest institution of its kind in the world. Its walls enclose 200 acres and there is an average inmate population of from 5,000 to 6,000 men.

### Summary

The early history and development of the city and county were greatly affected by their advantageous location and high type of leadership. The economic and social conditions of the city and county are closely interwoven and interdependent. The present crime situation in the county is greatly affected by the economic and social conditions within its urban and rural areas. In later chapters certain descriptive material set forth in this chapter will be used in an attempt to explain and interpret the findings of the study. The next chapter will be devoted to an analysis of the Jackson county jail commitment records for 1933.

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### CHAPTER III

#### ANALYSIS OF JACKSON COUNTY JAIL COMMITMENT RECORDS FOR 1933

This study is based upon 1,204 Jackson county jail commitment records for 1933. From these records information was available concerning the birth place, residence, sex, color, age, marital state, occupation, and offense of the 1,038 individuals committed.<sup>(1)</sup> This material has been summarized and is presented in this chapter to show the general facts concerning delinquency in this county and to make possible the comparison of these facts with the findings of other studies.

##### Birth Place

Information regarding place of birth was available for 912 or 86 per cent of the individuals committed. Of this number, 830 or 91 per cent were born in the United States and 82 or 9 per cent were born in foreign countries. The number of birth places by states reported by persons committed to the county jail is shown on Map 1. Michigan was given as the place of birth for 495 persons or 54 per cent of those committed. These figures are about the same as those for the Michigan Reformatory where 54<sup>(2)</sup> per cent of the inmates reported Michigan as their place of birth.

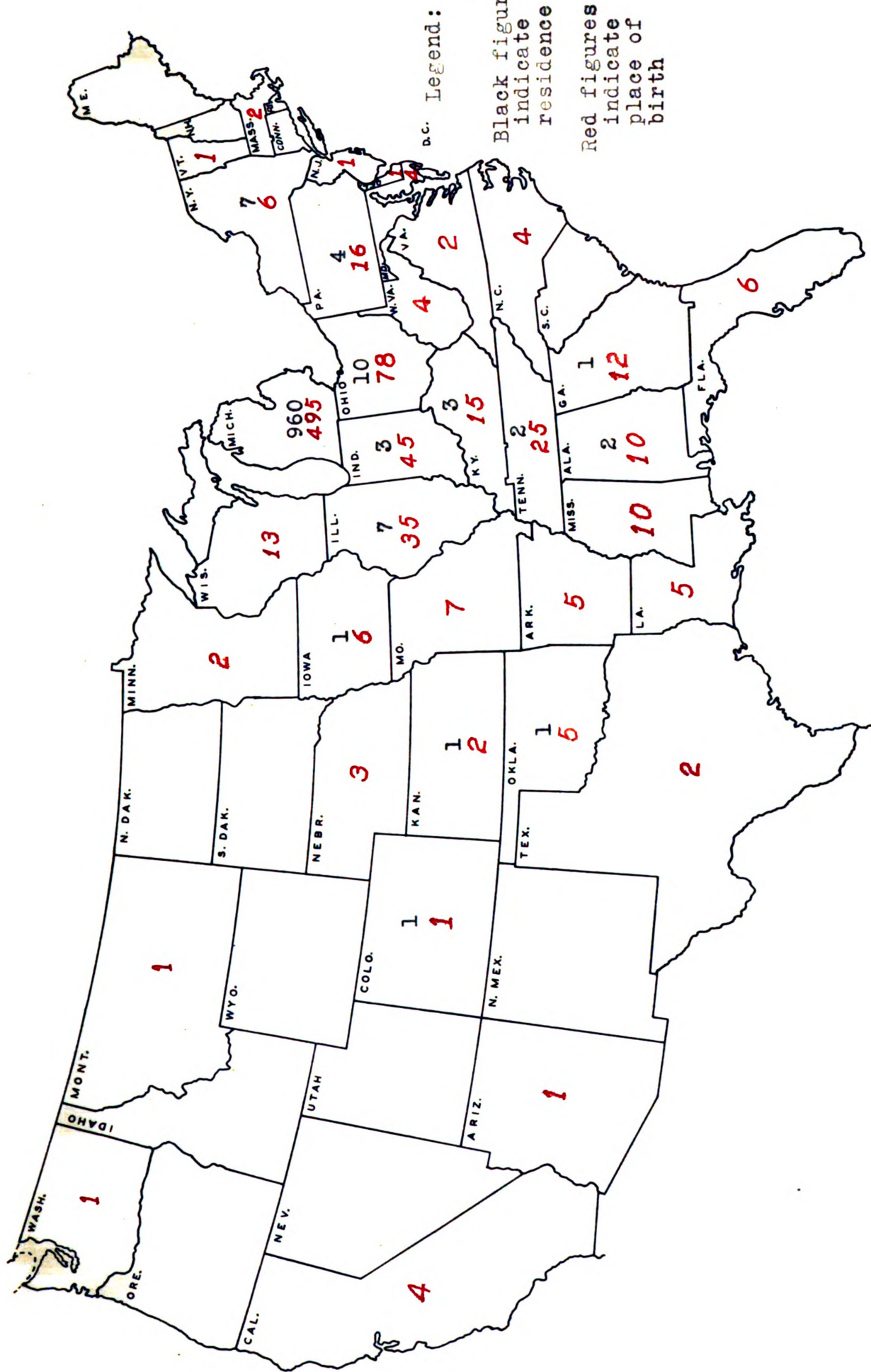
The neighboring states, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois and Wisconsin, were given by 117 persons as their birth place. The large number of persons from these states can be explained by the tendency of people to migrate back and forth to nearby states. Tennessee, Kentucky, Mississippi, Alabama, and Georgia were the birth places

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(1) While there were but 1,038 individuals committed, some individuals were committed more than once thus bringing the total number of commitments up to 1,204.

(2) Michigan Reformatory Statistical Report with Movement of Population (Sept. 1933). Table concerning nativity, p. 12.





Map 1. Birth Place and Residence by States of Persons Committed to the Jackson County Jail in 1933.

of 72 of the persons committed. The large number from these states may be explained by the fact that these persons were either imported into Jackson by industries seeking cheap labor or were attracted to Michigan by the automotive industry. Since little more than half of the persons who were committed to the county jail in 1933 were born in Michigan, it would seem that mobility may have been a factor in their delinquency.

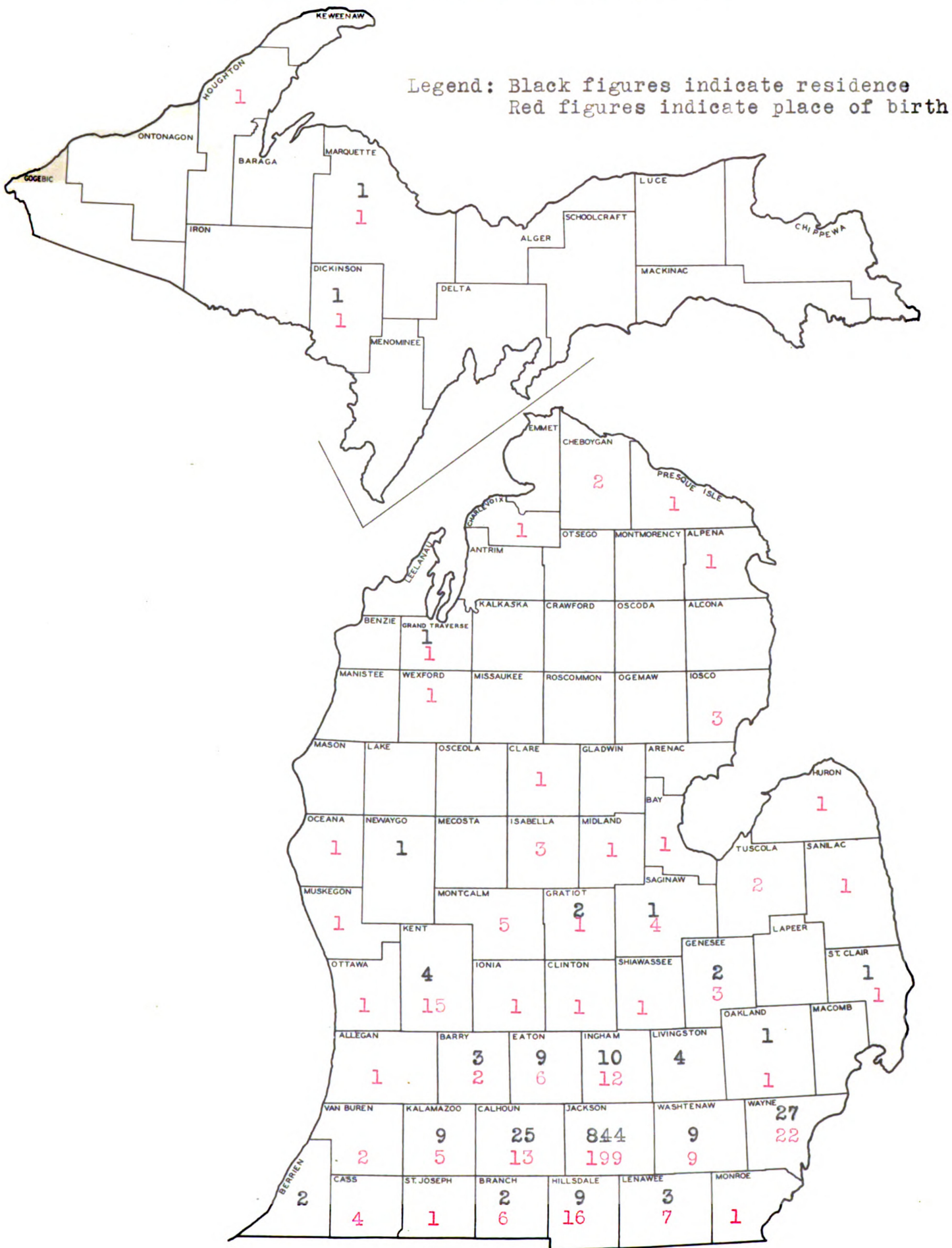
Data on county of birth were available for 365 of the 495 persons committed who were born in Michigan. The number of persons committed reporting birth places in Michigan is shown by counties in Map 2. Jackson county was given as the birth place of 199 or 22 per cent of the persons committed. This fact would tend to show that more than 75 per cent of the delinquent persons came into the county sometime after their birth and were not products of the county. This is in keeping with the findings of Taft in his study of adult delinquency in Illinois.<sup>(3)</sup> Wayne county was given as the county of birth by 22 persons, Kent by 15, Hillsdale by 16, Calhoun by 13, Ingham by 12, and Eaton and Washtenaw by 9 each. That more delinquents migrated to Jackson county from Wayne and Kent counties than from other areas of the state is probably due to the location of the cities of Detroit and Grand Rapids in these two counties, both cities being within 100 miles of Jackson. The other counties referred to above all border on Jackson county and migration is therefore probably quite frequent from one of these counties to the other. The fact that the number of persons committed to the Jackson County Jail residing in these counties is greater than for other counties is no doubt a factor contri-

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(3) Donald R. Taft, op. cit.



Map 2. Birth Place and Residence of Michigan Persons by Counties  
Committed to the Jackson County Jail, in 1933.



buting to the high number of persons reporting them as their counties of birth.

### Residence

The place of residence was given by 1,007 or 98 per cent of the persons committed. The number of persons committed to the Jackson County Jail in 1933 according to residence by states is also shown on Map 1. Of the 1,007 persons committed, 960 or 95 per cent gave Michigan as their place of residence and 41 or 5 per cent states other than Michigan. Ohio, Illinois, and New York each were given by 7 or more persons as their place of residence. All of those residing in New York and Illinois came from the cities of New York and Chicago respectively. Those from Indiana and Ohio can be accounted for by the fact that these states border Michigan at a point within fifty miles of Jackson.

Of the 960 persons giving Michigan as their place of residence, 955 gave the county of residence. The distribution of these 955 places of residence by counties is shown on Map 2. Of the 955 Michigan persons giving county of residence, 844 or 88 per cent were residents of Jackson county and 627 or 67 per cent residents of the city of Jackson. Wayne county was given as the county of residence by 27 persons; Calhoun by 25; Ingham by 10; and Eaton, Washtenaw, and Hillsdale by 9 each. Inasmuch as Detroit is located in Wayne county, the number from that county is naturally large. The other counties mentioned above all border Jackson county. Since their residents live near Jackson, they are more liable to frequent the county than are the residents of counties located farther away.

Sex, Color, and Age

Data concerning sex, color, and age were available for 1,022 of the 1,038 persons committed. The average age and commitment rates according to sex and race of persons committed to the county jail in 1933 is shown in Table II.

TABLE II. AVERAGE AGE AND COMMITMENT RATES ACCORDING TO SEX AND RACE OF PERSONS COMMITTED TO THE JACKSON COUNTY JAIL: 1933 (4)

	: :Population :of County	:Number :Persons :Committed	:Commitments: :per 1,000 in: :Population	:Average Age :of Persons :Committed
Total	87,742	1,022	11.2	34.3
Males	44,836	907	20.2	34.1
Females	43,468	115	2.6	32.4
White	86,279	877	10.2	33.5
Males	43,551	785	18.0	34.1
Females	42,728	92	2.2	32.6
Colored	1,463	145	99.1	33.3
Males	723	122	168.7	33.5
Females	740	23	31.1	31.6

The average age at the time of commitment of the 1,022 persons on whom data were available was 34.3 years. The average age for males was 34.1 and for females 32.4. The average age for both sexes of persons committed was slightly less for colored than it was for white persons. The average age for colored males was 33.5 and for colored females 31.6 as compared with 34.1 for white males and 32.6 for white females. These figures on average age run higher than most of the available figures from other studies.

(4) All population data used in this study are corrected for the Michigan State Prison population.

However, it should be remembered that they are based upon commitment records of both juvenile and adult delinquents. The inclusion of juveniles no doubt brings the average age down considerably. If it were not for this fact these figures would probably conform more closely with those of other studies. Gillen found that the age group from 25 to 35 is characterized by high commitment rates for vagrancy, drunkenness, disorderly conduct and allied offenses, non-support and other crimes against family, embezzlement, and assault. Since the average age of persons committed to the Jackson County Jail falls in this age grouping commitments for these crimes should run high in Jackson county. (5)

Colored persons were committed to the county jail at a frequency ten times greater than that for whites. This ratio seems to be much greater than that for the country as a whole. Gillette and Reinhardt's statement on this matter, based upon statistics for the entire country, is, "that in proportion to the population more than three times as many Negroes as whites were committed to prisons and reformatories in 1933". (6)

Sutherland gives the same ratio, but points out that it is much higher in the northern and western states. (7) It should be remembered that when comparisons of rates between colored and white people are made that they not only involve different race groups but also different economic, educational, and social groups and different cultural levels.

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(5) John Lewis Gillen, Criminology and Penology, 1926, p. 54.

(6) John M. Gillette and James M. Reinhardt, Current Social Problems, 1933, p. 702.

(7) Edwin H. Sutherland, op. cit. p. 110.

Considering the entire group, males were committed at a frequency about eight times as great as for females. White males were committed nearly nine times as frequently as white females, while colored males were committed but five times as frequently as colored females.<sup>(8)</sup> Since Negroes are committed more frequently than whites and males more frequently than females, those areas having a high percentage of Negroes or a noticeable excess of males over females might be expected to show a high commitment rate.

### Marital State

Information regarding marital state was available for 1,011 of the 1,038 persons committed. It is quite probable that the data for single and divorced persons are not entirely accurate since divorced persons are frequently recorded as single. However, the data concerning married persons should be accurate for all practical purposes. The number and percentage of the 1,038 persons committed to the county jail who were married, single, or divorced are given according to sex and color in Table III. Of the 1,038 persons committed more than half (52 per cent) were single, 44 per cent married, and 4 per cent divorced. While no figures are available as to marital state of persons committed to other county jails these figures correspond quite closely to similar figures for the Michigan State Prison. The percentage of married prisoners in Michigan State Prison in 1933 was 36 per cent, single 60 per cent, and divorced 4 per cent.<sup>(9)</sup> A greater percentage of both the

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(8) This ratio is in keeping with the usual commitment ratio of males to females. See John L. Gillin, op. cit. p. 55, and Edwin H. Sutherland, op. cit. p. 111.

(9) Statistical Report of Michigan State Prison, 1933.

colored and white males committed were single than were married. More of the females committed were married than single. (10)  
These facts are also in keeping with Gillin's findings.

TABLE III. MARITAL STATE ACCORDING TO SEX AND COLOR OF PERSONS COMMITTED TO THE JACKSON COUNTY JAIL IN 1933

	: Single		: Married		: Divorced		Total	Per
	Num-	Per	Num-	Per	Num-	Per		Cent
	ber	Cent	ber	Cent	ber	Cent		:
Total Persons Committed	528	52.2	441	43.6	42	4.2	1011	100.0
Males	477	47.2	381	37.7	39	3.9	897	88.7
White	409	40.5	328	32.4	38	3.8	775	76.7
Colored	68	6.7	53	5.2	1	.1	122	12.1
Females	51	5.0	60	5.9	3	.3	114	11.3
White	37	3.7	53	5.2	2	.2	92	9.1
Colored	14	1.4	7	.7	1	.1	22	2.2

### Occupation

Data pertaining to occupation were secured for 572 or 55 per cent of the persons committed. So many occupations were indicated that it was necessary to condense them into general classes. These classes are shown in Table IV. Unskilled laborers constituted the highest number of commitments (224 or 39.2 per cent) followed by those persons engaged in manufacturing and mechanical industries (129 or 22.5 per cent) and those in agriculture (64 or 8.0 per cent). The fewest commitments were for those engaged in clerical and professional occupations or only 5 and 3 commitments respectively for these groups. It is difficult to compare occupational figures of different studies

(10) John Lewis Gillin, op. cit. p. 64.

TABLE IV. OCCUPATIONS OF PERSONS COMMITTED TO THE JACKSON COUNTY JAIL IN 1933

		<u>Total</u>	<u>Per Cent</u>		<u>Total</u>	<u>Per Cent</u>
<u>Agriculture</u>		64	11.2	<u>Miscellaneous Laborers</u>	224	39.2
Farmers	58					
Gardeners	6			<u>Housewives</u>	31	5.4
<u>Manufacturing and Mechanical Industry</u>		129	22.6	<u>Trade</u>	46	8.0
Bakers	2			Clerks	10	
Blacksmiths	4			Retail Dealers	9	
Boiler Maker	1			Salesmen	25	
Brick Layers	6			Other laborers	2	
Carpenters	6			<u>Professional Service</u>	8	1.4
Electricians	6			Show People	2	
Engineers	2			Druggists	1	
Firemen	2			Civil Engineer	1	
Foreman	1			Lawyers	2	
Moulders	7			Musician	1	
Machinists	49			Teacher	1	
Mechanics	11			<u>Students</u>	5	.9
Painters	17			<u>Domestic and Personal</u>	16	2.8
Plasterers	1			Barbers	4	
Printers	1			Cooks	2	
Plumbers	5			Dry Cleaners	2	
Other manufactur-				Housekeepers	2	
ing workers	8			Janitors	5	
<u>Transportation and Communication</u>		46	8.0	Servants	1	
Chauffeurs and				<u>Clerical</u>	3	.5
truck drivers	32			Bookkeepers	3	
Motormen	4					
Mail Carriers	1					
Telephone						
operators	1					
Other laborers	8					
				Total Occupations Given	572	

since there seems to be no definite agreement as to the occupational classification. Gillin reports that 33.3 per cent of all persons committed to jails and prisons in 1910 were general laborers and 6.2 per cent farmers and farm laborers. (11) The

(11) John Lewis Gillin, op. cit. p. 66.

greater proportion of the population engaged in the former types of occupation together with their inferior economic, social, educational and political standing, probably explains the fact that the majority of persons committed were from those occupational groups.

### Types of Offense

The total number of commitments to the county jail in 1933 was 1,204. For each commitment there was an offense charged. These offenses have been tabulated according to the classification scheme recommended by the Committee on Uniform Crime Records of the International Association of Chiefs of Police, <sup>(12)</sup> and appear in the table below (Table V).

- TABLE V. CLASSIFICATION OF COMMITMENTS TO THE JACKSON COUNTY JAIL IN 1933 BY TYPES OF OFFENSE

Type of Offense	Number	Per Cent of Total Commit- ments	Type of Offense	Number	Per Cent of Total Commit- ments
Felonious Homicide	2	.2	Violation of Drug		
Rape	12	1.0	Laws	2	.2
Robbery	22	1.8	Driving While		
Aggravated Assault	12	1.0	Intoxicated	21	1.7
Burglary	48	4.0	Violating Liquor Laws	17	1.4
Larceny	143	11.9	Drunkenness	322	26.7
Other Assaults	66	5.6	Disorderly Conduct		
Forgery and Counter-			and Vagrancy	13	1.1
feiting	12	1.0	Gambling	7	.6
Embezzlement and Fraud	28	2.3	Violation of Traffic		
Weapons, Carrying, etc.	1	.1	Laws	12	1.1
Sex Offenses (other			Other Offenses and		
than rape)	84	7.0	Investigation	272	22.6
Offenses against Family					
and Children	119	9.9	Total	1,204	

(12) International Association of Chiefs of Police, Committee on Uniform Crime Records. A Guide for Preparing Annual Police Reports, New York, 1930, pp. 11 - 14.



From Table V it will be seen that of the 1,204 commitments 332 or 26.7 per cent fell in the general classification of drunkenness. All cases of intoxication, habitual drunkenness, and drunk and disorderly conduct are included in this group. Other Offenses and Investigation constituted 274 cases or 22.6 per cent of the commitments; included in this class are all offenses not otherwise classified such as arson, malicious destruction of property, and violation of parole. Larceny ranked next with 143 cases or 11.9 per cent of the total commitments. Included in this group are all cases of theft. Offenses Against Family constituted 119 cases or 9.9 per cent of the total commitments. Included in this classification are all cases of non-support, desertion, non-payment of alimony, abandonment, and the like. Sex Offenses (other than rape) constituted 88 cases or 6.9 per cent of the total commitments. Included in this classification are adultery, prostitution, operating and frequenting a disorderly house, and indecent exposure, and bastardy. In general, commitments for crimes in the more serious classifications were fewer than for those of less seriousness. There was but one commitment for Felonious Homicide; 22 cases, or 1.8 per cent of the total commitments for Robbery; 12 cases, or 1 per cent of the total commitments for the general classifications Rape and Aggravated Assault.

The distribution of commitments seems to be in keeping with the distribution for various offenses as summarized by Gillin.<sup>(13)</sup> It is in general agreement with the statement regarding types of offense made on page seven of this chapter. The only disagreement

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(13) John Lewis Gillin, op. cit., Table I, p. 53.

is the low percentage of commitments for Vagrancy (1 per cent). This may be explained by the fact that many of the commitments for this offense may have been listed as Investigation by the record clerk.

### Summary and Conclusions

Since the findings of this chapter are important to the understanding of this thesis, they will be briefly summarized. Of those reporting place of birth, 91 per cent were born in the United States, and 9 per cent in foreign countries. Of those born in the United States, 54 per cent were born in Michigan, and 22 per cent in Jackson county. Of those reporting place of residence 95 per cent were residents of Michigan and 5 per cent of other states. About 85 per cent of those who gave their place of residence by county in Michigan were residents of Jackson county and 67 per cent were residents of the city of Jackson. The average age of all persons committed was 34.3 years. The rates of commitments per 1,000 population for races were: 11.6 for all races, 10.2 for whites, and 99.1 for Negroes. The rates by sex were: 22.2 for males, and 2.6 for females. Of the persons committed, 52 per cent were single, 44 per cent married, and 4 per cent divorced. Concerning the occupations reported by persons committed, the greatest numbers were: common laborers 39.2 per cent; those in manufacturing and mechanical industries 22.5 per cent; and those in agriculture 8 per cent.

The highest percentages of commitments were for the classifications of Drunkenness, 26.7 per cent; Other Offenses and Investigation, 22.6 per cent; Larceny, 11.9 per cent; Offenses Against Family, 9.9 per cent, and Sex Offenses, 6.9 per cent.

These findings are in agreement with those of other studies of commitments. With this in mind, the next step will be to point out the areas of delinquency within Jackson county.

## CHAPTER IV

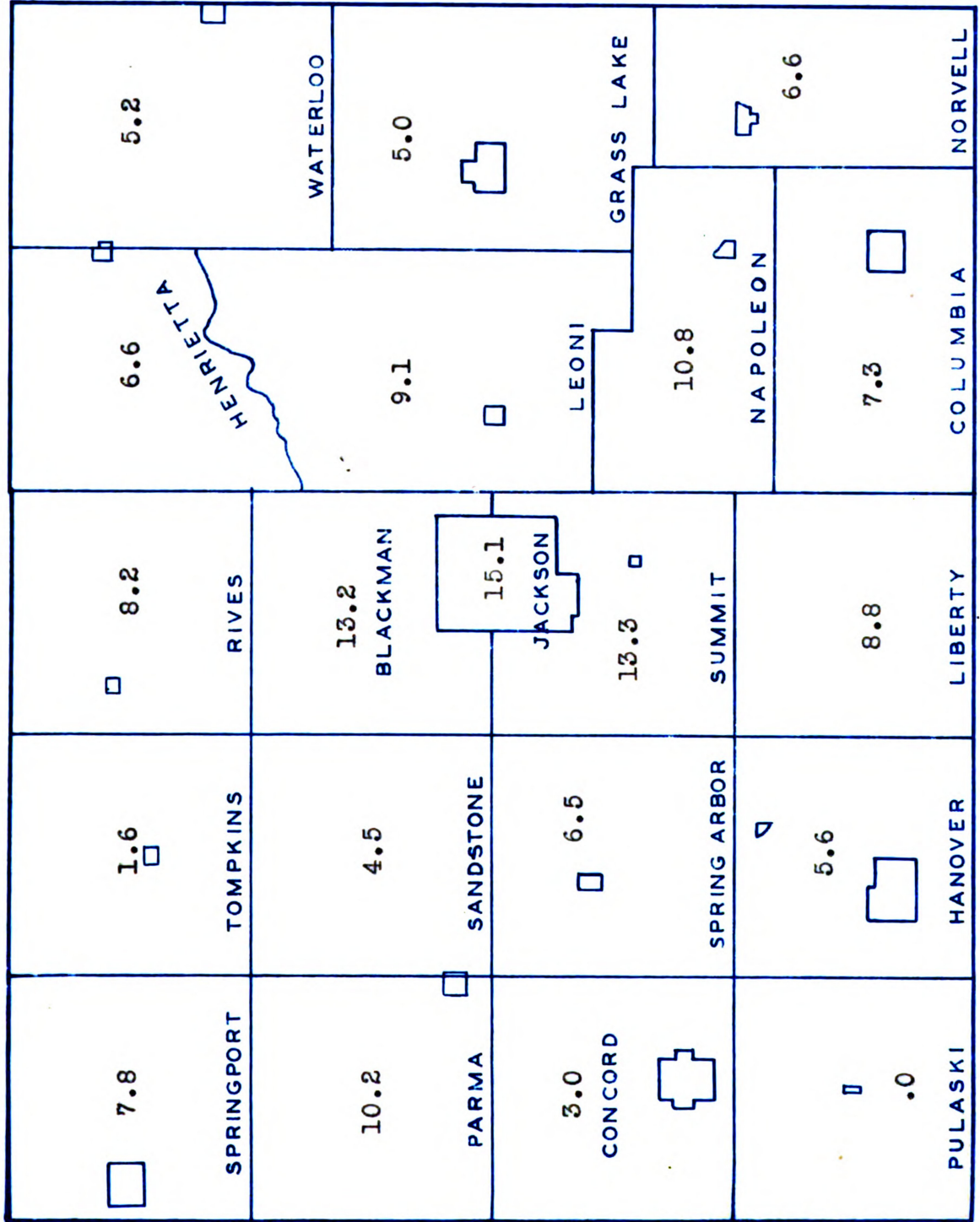
### DELINQUENCY RATES IN JACKSON COUNTY

The studies of Shaw, Hayner, Phelger, Taft, and others have shown that there are wide variations in the concentration of homes of delinquents among specific areas in large cities, small cities, and counties. It is the purpose of this chapter to determine whether such variations are to be found among areas in Jackson county.

In order to show which areas of the county revealed the greatest concentration of delinquency the place of residence for all of the 217 persons committed to the county jail who lived within the county was determined. Since it was not possible to locate the exact place of residence of those living outside of the city of Jackson, tabulations were made on the basis of residence in townships. The commitment rate for each township was figured by determining the number of commitments per 1,000 population over 15 years of age. These rates, and the numbers on which they are based, are shown on the rate map 3. From this map it can be seen that there is a rather marked variation among the commitment rates of several of the townships. Rates are found to range from 0 for Pulaski township to 13.3 for Summit township. Since the rate for the entire county exclusive of the city is 9.3, it is apparent that there are 4 townships with commitment rates higher and 15 with rates lower than the rate for the county. The 4 townships having rates higher than the county rate were: Summit, 13.3; Blackman, 13.2; Napoleon, 10.8; Parma, 10.2. The 15 townships which had the same or lower commitment rates than did the county were: Leon, 9.1; Liberty, 8.8; Rives, 8.2;



# JACKSON COUNTY MICHIGAN



Map 3. Commitment Rates by Townships for Jackson County - 1933.

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Springport, 7.8; Columbia, 7.3; Henrietta, 6.6; Norvell, 6.6; Spring Arbor, 6.5; Hanover, 5.6; Waterloo, 5.2; Grass Lake, 5.0; Sandstone, 4.5; Concord, 3.0; Tompkins, 1.6; and Pulaski, 0.0.

Having shown the variations in commitment rates between the rural areas of the county, the next step will be to briefly discuss the more apparent reasons for these variations. Data concerning population composition were available by townships and were formulated into Table VI along with the number of commitments and the commitment rates. This table and the writer's knowledge of the general situation in the townships will be used in describing them and attempting to explain their rates.

The commitment rate for Summit township is 13.3. Its population is 6,754. Its percentage of persons of foreign stock is 22.7 which is not unusually high. The percentage of Negroes (.1) is very low. Only 4.6 per cent of its population are classed as rural-farm. The high rate in this township may be partially explained by the fact that over one-half of the suburban area of the city of Jackson is located in this township. The suburban area of the city as well as the village of Vandercook Lake, which might well be classed as a suburb of Jackson, are in this township. Although rates for these suburbs of Jackson are not available, Map 4 shows a concentration of persons in the areas adjacent to but outside the city limits of Jackson. It has been shown by other studies that suburban areas often have higher commitment rates than do the urban or rural areas. Reckless explains this by saying that the suburban areas with their cheaper rents and less rigid enforcement of law attract resorts of vice, criminals, and lower class people. These people not only add to

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(1) All of the suburbs to the south and approximately one-half of those to the east and west of Jackson.





TABLE VI. DELINQUENCY RATES AND POPULATION COMPOSITION AND DISTRIBUTION FOR TOWNSHIPS IN JACKSON COUNTY, 1936

	: :Total :Popu- :lation	:Popula- :tion over: :15 years :of age	:Per Cent :of Rural :Farm Pop- :ulation	:Number :of Males :per 100 :Females	:Per Cent :of :foreign :stock	:Negroes	:Number of :commit- :ments	:Com- :mit- :ment :Rate
Jackson County (a)	87,742	63,986	14.6	100.4	18.6	2.3	844	13.3
Jackson County (exclusive of city)	33,905	23,394	38.3	109.6	21.1	1.1	217	9.3
Township								
Blackman	4,722	3,361	13.4	107.3	28.1	5.0	46	13.2
Columbia	1,830	1,370	45.4	110.7	17.0	.1	10	7.3
Concord	1,394	994	48.4	105.6	23.3	.0	3	3.0
Grass Lake	1,659	1,210	42.9	98.7	22.8	.0	6	5.0
Hanover	1,242	896	49.8	102.1	34.1	.0	5	5.6
Henrietta	1,030	753	68.4	110.2	20.4	.0	5	6.6
Leoni	4,794	3,291	16.7	109.5	19.2	.1	30	9.1
Liberty	785	567	89.0	115.1	12.1	.0	5	8.8
Napoleon	1,204	831	51.7	117.7	16.5	.1	9	10.8
Norvell	636	452	79.7	121.6	24.5	.0	3	6.6
Parma	1,066	784	67.5	118.4	21.3	.0	8	10.2
Pulaski	725	474	85.0	113.9	16.1	.0	0	.0
Rives	1,198	858	81.1	110.5	19.7	.7	7	8.2
Sandstone	1,251	897	68.7	107.5	22.1	.0	4	4.5
Spring Arbor	1,073	766	68.2	110.0	18.3	.1	5	6.5
Springport	1,212	901	55.9	105.8	17.3	.0	7	7.8
Summit	6,754	4,493	4.6	102.1	22.7	.1	60	13.3
Tompkins	877	609	80.5	116.8	15.4	.0	1	1.6
Waterloo	804	581	70.3	121.5	27.4	.0	3	5.2

(a) Corrected because Census data includes part of Michigan State Prison.

the delinquency directly, but also have a demoralizing and  
(2)  
disorganizing influence on the neighborhood. The concentration  
of delinquency in the village of Vandercook Lake was a major  
factor in the high rate for the township since 15 cases or 25  
per cent of the total commitments from the township were from  
this village while its portion of the population was about 12  
per cent. (3) This village is located on a lake three and one-  
half miles from the city and not only serves as one of its  
suburbs but also as a cheap resort for Jackson people. The  
influence of these two features probably account for much of the  
social disorganization apparent in this community.

Blackman township had the next highest commitment rate with  
13.2. Its population is 4,722; 5 per cent are Negroes and 28.1  
per cent of foreign stock. There are 107.3 males to every 100  
females in the township. Only 13.4 per cent of the population  
are in the rural-farming class. This township borders the city  
of Jackson and serves as its suburban area. There are no villages  
in this township. Probably the most important reason for its  
high commitment rate is that the suburbs in this district are of  
a very poor type. The presence of several roadhouses in the  
township and its high percentage of Negroes and persons of  
foreign stock are other reasons.

The high rate found in Napoleon township (10.8) is interest-  
ing because there seems to be no apparent explanation for it.  
The township is not a suburb of Jackson and its only village,  
Napoleon, is quite small. (4) Of its 1,204 inhabitants, less than

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(2) Walter C. Reckless, Vice in Chicago, p. 120.

(3) Estimated population of 750.

(4) An unincorporated village.

.1 per cent. are Negroes. In comparison with the other townships in the county, its percentage of foreign born (16.5) is unusually low. About one-half (51.7 per cent) of its population is classed as rural-farm. The village of Napoleon may be a contributing factor to the township's high rate since it is a rather disorganized village. It is probable that some very good reason for the unusual rate in this township could be found if it were fully studied.

Leoni township has a commitment rate of 9.1. The population of the township is 4,794, less than .5 per cent Negroes and but 19.2 per cent of foreign stock. There are 109.5 males to 100 females in the township. Less than 20 per cent of its population is classed as rural-farm. Since the township is within two miles of the city much of its area is devoted to suburbs. Michigan Center, the only village in the township, is located on the Michigan Center mill pond. It was formerly a resort village, but is now a suburb of Jackson. Years ago it was one of the most popular resorts in the county but it has declined very rapidly in recent years. This village is not incorporated, but a very liberal estimate of its population would be 800 or 16 per cent of the total township population. In spite of that, it furnished over 50 per cent of its commitments. It would seem that the presence of this village and the suburbs of Jackson were the major factors in the high rate of this township.

The townships of Liberty (8.8) and Rives (8.2) have about the same rate as the rate for the county as a whole. They are located at equal distances from the city of Jackson on the south and north boundaries of the county respectively. Both are mainly agricultural townships; 89.0 per cent of Liberty and 81.1 per cent

of Rives population are rural-farm. There are no suburbs of Jackson within their boundaries and only one hamlet of any size in each of the townships. (5) The percentage of colored people is very low with less than .1 per cent in either township. The percentage of persons of foreign stock is 19.7 for Rives and 12.1 for Liberty. The figure for Rives is about average when compared with the other townships of the county, while the figure for Liberty is the lowest in the county.

Parma township has a rate of 10.2. Its population is 1,066, 21.3 per cent of whom are foreign-born. There are no Negroes in the township. The ratio of males to females is 118.4 to 100. Parma is primarily an agricultural township. About 67.5 per cent of its population is listed as rural-farm. The village of Parma is located in the township. It is incorporated and has a population of 615. The village is situated about ten miles from Jackson and is not a suburb of the city. It is about the same distance from Albion. It may be that the rate of the townships is influenced by its contacts with these two cities. The village itself is located in a prosperous farming community. It has a twelve-grade approved high school and two churches. Community standards are high and there appear to be no indications of community disorganization.

Springport and Columbia both have commitment rates slightly below that of the county outside of Jackson. Springport, with a rate of 7.8, and Columbia, with a rate of 7.3, have a population of 1,212 and 1,830 respectively. Both have low percentages of

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(5) Less than 50 persons.

Negroes and persons of foreign-stock. The proportion of males to females for Springport township is 105.8 to 100, and for Columbia, 100.7 to 100. Each township has about half of its population living on farms. There is one incorporated village in each township; Brooklyn, in Columbia township, has a population of 733, and Springport, in Springport township, a population of 562. Both of these villages are prosperous farming towns. Neither is near enough to a large city to be greatly influenced by it. There are twelve-grade high schools in both towns. Community life centers about the schools and churches of the villages.

Concord and Grass Lake are two of the larger townships having low commitment rates. Their rates are 3.0 and 5.0 respectively. The population of Concord township is 1,394 and of Grass Lake township, 1,659. Neither have any colored persons and both populations are composed of about 20 per cent of persons of foreign stock. Each township has an incorporated village with the same name as the township. Grass Lake has a population of 804 and Concord a population of 603. Both of these towns are located in the better agricultural areas of the county and nearly all of the population of these townships outside of the villages are farmers. Farms are of the better type. Community activities for the township and village are centered about the village high schools and churches. These factors probably help to account for the low commitment rates in these townships.

Waterloo with a commitment rate of 5.2, Hanover with 5.6, Henrietta and Norvell both with 6.6, are all mainly agricultural townships. Their percentage of persons of foreign stock runs low and there are no Negroes in these townships. In each town-

100

ship from 50 to 80 per cent of the population are rural-farm people. None of these townships are near enough to Jackson to be influenced greatly by its delinquency situation.

Spring Arbor and Sandstone townships are located within five miles of the city of Jackson. Their low commitment rates may be partially explained by the fact that neither is a suburban area of Jackson. Both are mainly agricultural, and both have very low percentages of persons of foreign stock. Neither are there any Negroes in these townships. There is no village in Sandstone township and only a small unincorporated town in Spring Arbor.

Tompkins and Pulaski townships have the lowest commitment rates in the county, with 1.6 and .0 respectively. Both townships have a very low percentage of persons of foreign stock. They are purely agricultural townships and are located at quite a distance from the city. Tompkins has a rural farm population of 80.5 per cent and Pulaski has a rural farm population of 85.0 per cent.

#### Summary

Commitment rates were computed for the county (exclusive of the city) and for the townships within the county to determine the differences in concentration of adult delinquency in these areas. It was shown that the rates ranged from 0 in the township having the lowest rate to 13.3 in the township having the highest rate. With one exception, those townships on the boundary line of the county and farthest from the city of Jackson had lower commitment rates than that for the county exclusive of the city. Four of the six townships nearest to the city showed rates considerably higher than that for the county. The two townships having the highest rates were those having certain undesirable suburbs of the city within their boundary. In general, the townships having the

lowest commitment rates had the highest percentage of rural-farm population. These findings conform with the findings of studies of juvenile delinquency.<sup>(6)</sup>

The next chapter will be devoted to a study of delinquency areas in the city of Jackson.

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(6) See Mary Phleger and E. A. Taylor, op. cit. p. 149.



## CHAPTER V

### DELINQUENCY AREAS IN THE CITY OF JACKSON

The commitment rate (15.1) of Jackson city is higher than that for the county as a whole (11.8) or for any of the townships within the county. It is apparent that the city of Jackson is the most important single factor influencing the commitment rate of the county. That certain areas of the city furnish much and other areas little of the delinquency in the city is common knowledge. The members of the Police and Sheriffs' Departments and even the private citizens of the city often refer to certain areas as "bad" and can point out specifically the section of the city from which most of the delinquency comes. It is the purpose of this chapter to show, by means of spot maps based on the place of residence of persons committed to the county jail and commitment rate maps based on the ratio of commitments to population, the areas of the city in which delinquency tends to be concentrated. After these areas have been determined they will be described briefly and some of the factors influencing delinquency within their boundaries will be considered.

Map 4 shows the place of residence of each person committed to the Jackson county jail in 1933.<sup>(1)</sup> The areas in which these dots tend to concentrate are spoken of as delinquency areas and it is apparent at once that these delinquency areas are found in

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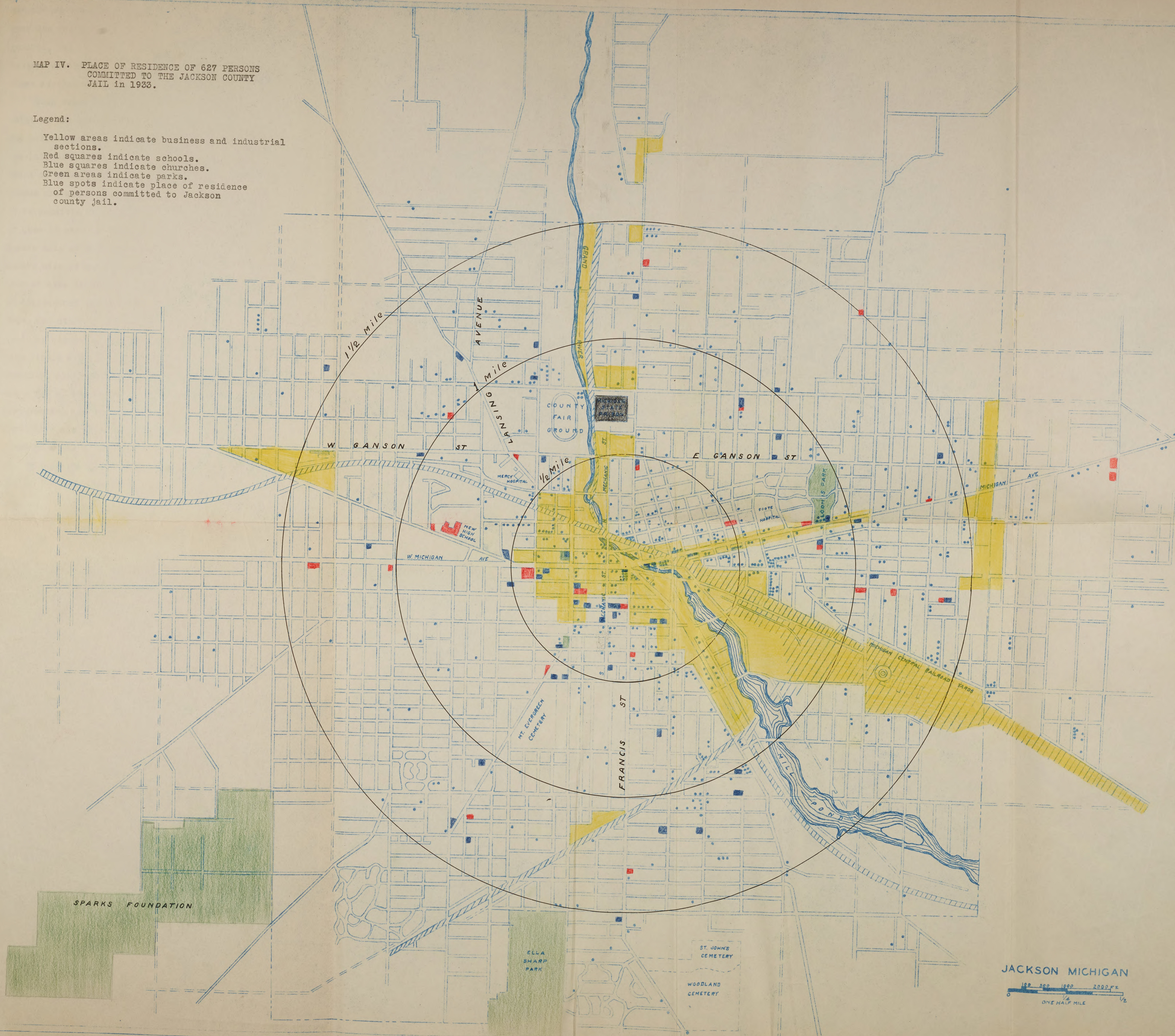
(1) Other information shown on Map 4 such as the portion of the city devoted to business and industry, the location of churches, schools, parks, railroad tracks, the river, the mill pond, and the half-mile circles, the ward boundaries, and the enumeration district boundaries will be used in connection with material to be presented later in the chapter.



MAP IV. PLACE OF RESIDENCE OF 627 PERSONS  
COMMITTED TO THE JACKSON COUNTY  
JAIL in 1933.

Legend:

Yellow areas indicate business and industrial  
sections.  
Red squares indicate schools.  
Blue squares indicate churches.  
Green areas indicate parks.  
Blue spots indicate place of residence  
of persons committed to Jackson  
county jail.



JACKSON MICHIGAN  
0 100 200 300 400 FE  
ONE HALF MILE



and around the main business and industrial districts of the city, near the railroad tracks, and along the river and mill pond. In general, the concentration of delinquency is greatest in the older section of the city, east of Mechanic Street, and least in the newer section of the city, west of Mechanic Street.

When concentric half-mile circles are constructed from a point in the center of the business district it is evident that the concentration of delinquents is greatest within the first one-half mile circle, and the next most concentrated area in the third or outer half-mile circle. <sup>(2)</sup> Population figures from the Census are not available for the areas within these circles but it is possible to calculate the number of cases per square mile of area in each of these circles. There are 289 cases for each square mile of area in the first half-mile circle, 92 for each square mile of area in the mile circle, and 43 for each square mile of area in the mile and one-half circle. This distribution of delinquency is in keeping with the studies of Park, Burgess, Shaw, and others. Delinquency tends to decrease as the distance <sup>(3)</sup> from the center of the city increases. Within the first half-mile circle are the main business area of the city, several industries, cheap hotels, lodging houses, light housekeeping rooms, and a few of the better class apartment houses. There are no playgrounds, and but two small parks. The only recreational facilities are those commercialized places usually found in the downtown areas of a city.

Within the mile circle there are fewer industrial areas and lodging houses. In the area to the east between Michigan Avenue

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(2) The city is but three miles wide.

(3) See: E. W. Burgess, "The Growth of the City", Robert E. Park et al, The City, p. 53. Clifford R. Shaw, et al, Delinquency Areas, p. 50.

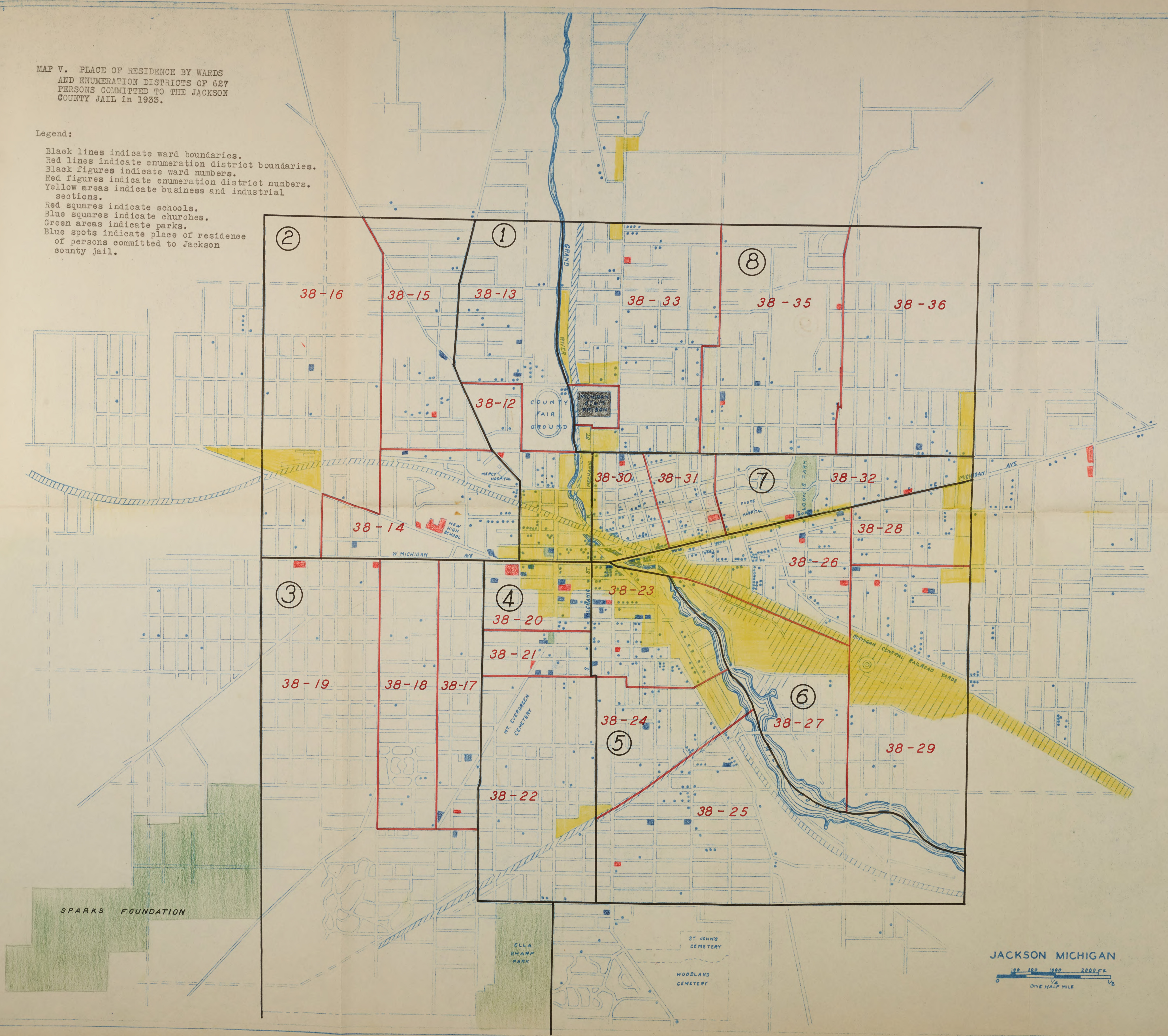




MAP V. PLACE OF RESIDENCE BY WARDS  
AND ENUMERATION DISTRICTS OF 627  
PERSONS COMMITTED TO THE JACKSON  
COUNTY JAIL in 1933.

Legend:

Black lines indicate ward boundaries.  
Red lines indicate enumeration district boundaries.  
Black figures indicate ward numbers.  
Red figures indicate enumeration district numbers.  
Yellow areas indicate business and industrial sections.  
Red squares indicate schools.  
Blue squares indicate churches.  
Green areas indicate parks.  
Blue spots indicate place of residence of persons committed to Jackson county jail.



JACKSON MICHIGAN  
0 100 200 1000 2000 FEET  
ONE HALF MILE





and Francis Street are low rent and Negro districts. The concentration of cases is most marked in this area of the circle. The section between Francis Street and West Michigan Avenue is characterized by homes of a better type. Rents are quite high and there are several fine apartments in this section. The map reveals only a few cases of delinquency here. The area north of Michigan Avenue to the east and west which is composed principally of workingmen's homes, shows quite a concentration of delinquency.

In the outer circle the area south of East Michigan Avenue and east of Francis Street has the most commitments. In this area are located the shops of the Michigan Central Railroad, the largest single industry in the city, and several other industrial plants. Part of this district is inhabited by Poles. The area north of Michigan Avenue from Lansing Avenue north to the city limits consists mainly of workingmen's homes. Here, rents are moderate. The cases of commitments do not seem to be concentrated but are scattered at considerable frequency throughout the area. The section north of West Michigan Avenue and west of Lansing Avenue to the city limits is rather sparsely populated. The homes are those of persons of moderate means and there seems to be no concentration of delinquency. South of West Michigan Avenue and west of Francis Street to the city limits is the best residential region of the city. Here are found the homes of the very wealthy and of the more prosperous business and professional men. Few of the homes are rented and there are no industries. Adjacent to this area are the two largest parks in the city. Even though this district is thickly populated it has very little delinquency.

While, in a general way, the spot map shows quite clearly the concentration of delinquency in certain portions of the city, it does not relate the number of delinquents to the population of an area, and, therefore, does not give an exact picture of the delinquency situation within the city. This can be shown fairly well by determining the commitment rate for each ward and enumeration district in the city. (4) These rates were computed and are shown on the rate map number 6 by wards and on rate map number 7 by population enumeration districts. (5) These maps show the general boundary lines of the wards and enumeration districts, respectively, and the commitment rates of each. Table VII shows the total population, the population over 15 years of age, the number of males per 100 females, the number of delinquents and the delinquency rate, the number and percentage of Negroes, and the number and percentage of persons of foreign stock. This table and the maps will be referred to from time to time in the discussion of the commitment rates of the wards and enumeration districts which is to follow.

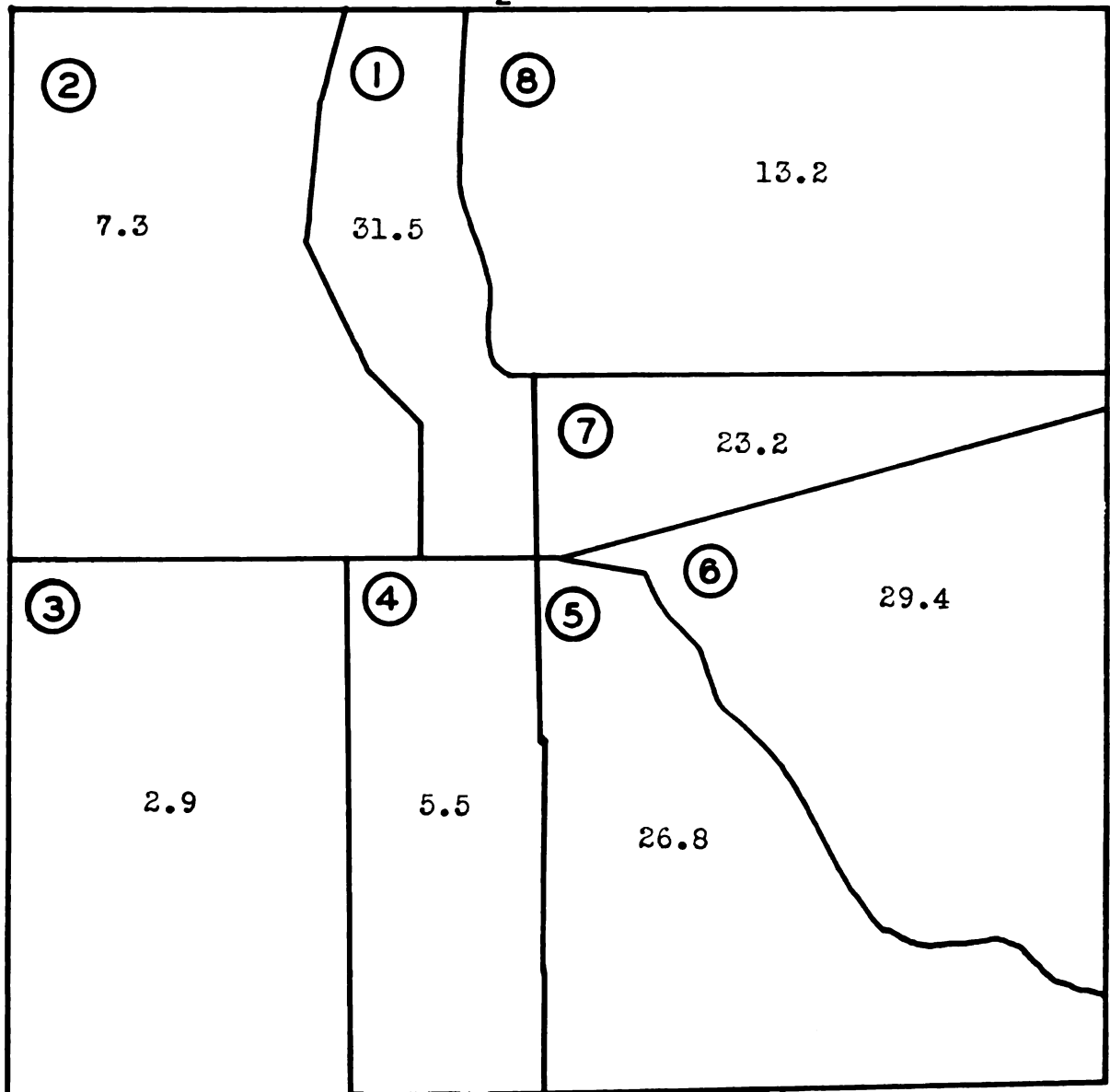
Since there is a wide variation between the commitment rates of various wards and between the enumeration districts within the wards, each ward and each enumeration district will be discussed separately in an attempt to point out some of the reasons for the difference in commitment rates. The writer's knowledge of the districts and such population data as are available will be used in this discussion. The four wards (I, VI, V and VII)

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- (4) Ward and enumeration district boundaries were constructed on a spot map showing place of residence of Jackson persons committed to the county jail. The spots in each ward and enumeration district were counted and the rates were computed. (See Map 5)
- (5) Population data for enumeration districts were secured directly from the Bureau of the Census.



CITY OF JACKSON

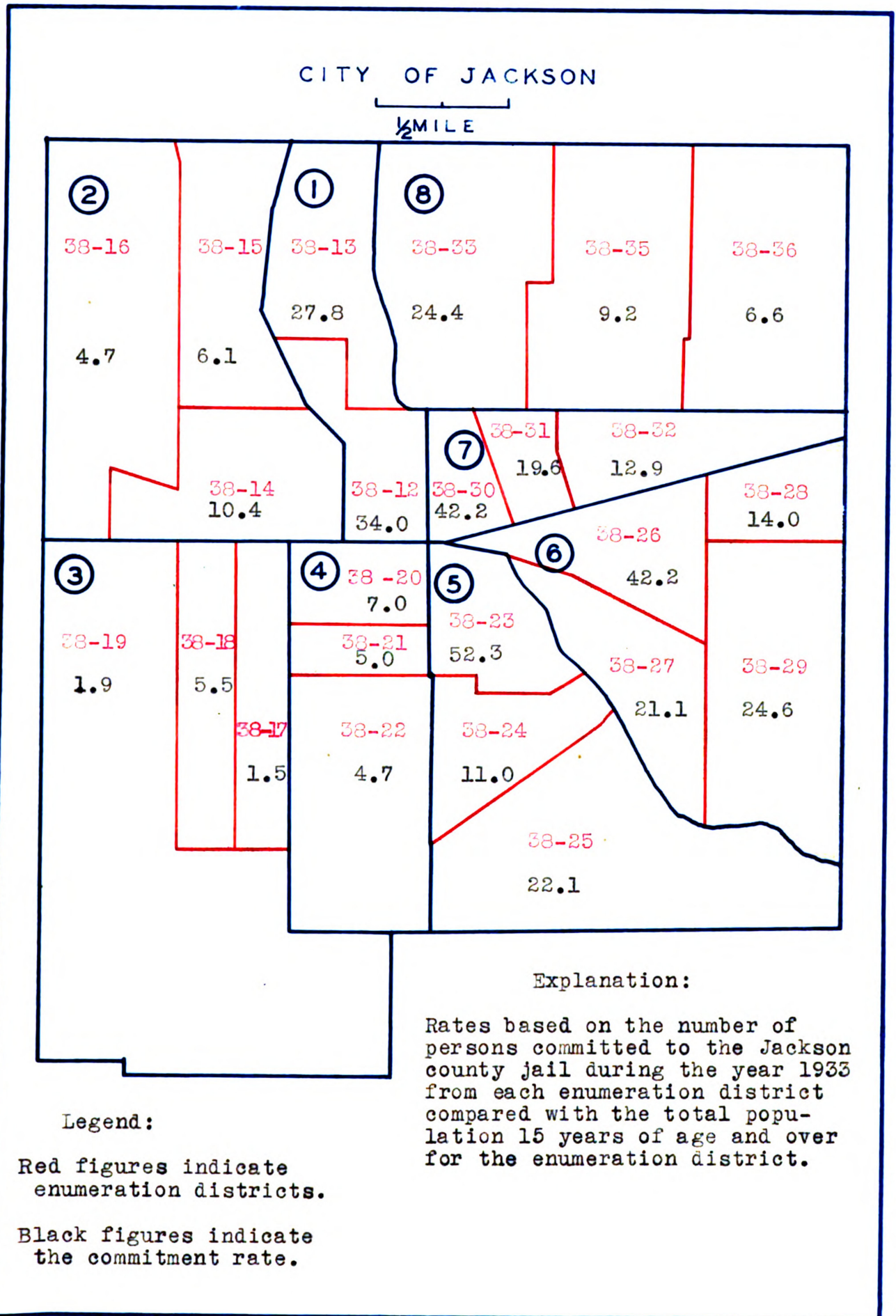
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Explanation:

Rates based on the number of persons committed to the Jackson county jail during the year 1933 from each ward compared with the total population 15 years of age and over for the ward.

Map 6. Commitment Rates by Wards for Jackson, Michigan - 1933.



Map 7. Commitment Rates by Enumeration Districts for Jackson, Michigan - 1933.



TABLE VII. COMMITMENT RATES AND POPULATION COMPOSITION BY WARDS AND  
ENUMERATION DISTRICTS FOR THE CITY OF JACKSON IN 1933

	: Total	: Population	: Number	: Per Cent	: Per Cent	: Number of	: Commitment
	: Popu-	: over 15	: of Males	: of foreign	: of	: commit-	: Rate
	: lation	: years of	: per 100	: stock	: Negroes	: ments	:
	: age		: Females	:	:	:	:
(a)							
City of Jackson	53,837	40,242	98.5	30.9	2.7	627	15.1
Ward I	3,044	2,287	101.1	34.7	6.3	72	31.5
E. D. 38-12(b)	1,660	1,352	95.7	27.7	.6	46	34.0
38-13	1,384	935	108.1	43.0	13.1	26	27.8
Ward II	7,360	5,594	95.5	24.6	.3	41	7.3
E. D. 38-14	2,647	2,116	90.5	29.6	.5	22	10.4
38-15	2,678	1,982	100.6	20.7	.3	12	6.1
38-16	2,035	1,496	96.3	24.9	.0	7	4.7
Ward III	8,124	6,234	87.1	27.7	.7	18	2.9
E. D. 38-17	2,533	2,101	77.5	28.7	.4	3	1.5
38-18	2,716	1,992	94.5	25.9	.7	11	5.5
38-19	2,875	2,141	88.8	27.7	.8	4	1.9
Ward IV	7,208	5,829	92.0	26.2	.6	32	5.5
E. D. 38-20	2,076	1,845	94.3	25.9	.1	13	7.0
38-21	1,444	1,208	82.1	34.3	.0	6	5.0
38-22	3,688	2,776	94.9	24.2	1.0	13	4.7
Ward V	6,899	5,189	100.4	27.7	8.5	139	26.8
E. D. 38-23	1,919	1,511	107.4	25.8	19.7	79	52.3
38-24	2,471	1,913	92.7	31.9	1.6	21	11.0
38-25	2,509	1,765	103.1	25.1	6.6	39	22.1
Ward VI	7,201	5,002	106.4	49.4	6.7	147	29.4
E. D. 38-26	3,021	2,201	106.7	46.8	7.4	93	42.2
38-27	637	379	115.2	69.7	9.7	8	21.1
38-28	1,665	1,284	104.7	23.7	.0	18	14.0
38-29	1,887	1,138	104.6	69.2	10.3	28	24.6
Ward VII	5,925	4,492	108.9	27.5	.1	104	23.2
E. D. 38-30	1,633	1,233	124.6	27.5	.1	52	42.2
38-31	2,033	1,480	110.6	30.1	.2	29	19.6
38-32	2,259	1,779	97.4	25.1	.0	23	12.9
(a)							
Ward VIII	8,067	5,615	102.7	30.6	.6	74	13.2
E. D. 38-33	2,647	1,803	106.4	34.8	1.8	44	24.4
38-34	1,350	---	---	36.4	--	--	---
38-35	2,736	1,847	102.5	34.9	.0	17	9.2
38-36	2,684	1,965	100.1	24.9	.0	13	6.6

(a) Corrected because Census data includes part of Michigan State Prison. (Enumeration District 38-34)

(b) E.D. - Enumeration district.

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having the highest commitment rates will be discussed first, followed by the four (VIII, II, IV, and III) having the lowest rates.

### Ward I

Ward I, with a rate of 31.5, has the highest commitment rate of any ward in the city. The boundaries of this ward are West Michigan Avenue on the south; North Mechanic Street to Ganson Street to the Grand River and thence to the city limits on the east; North Blackstone Street to the intersection of Lansing Avenue, thence out Lansing Avenue to the city limits on the west; and Brown Street on the north. (6) The population of the ward is 3,044, six per cent of whom are Negroes and 35 per cent, persons of foreign stock. There are 101.1 males for every 100 females in the ward. It is divided into two enumeration districts: 38-13 and 38-12. Enumeration district 38-13, the area from West Ganson Street north along the fairgrounds and extending to the city limits is commonly known as Muttonville. (7) The population of the district is 1,384 of which Negroes constitute 13 per cent and persons of foreign stock, 43 per cent. There are 108 males per 100 females in this district, and since males are committed much more frequently than females, this no doubt increases its commitment rate. In this area there are many Poles, Russians, and Lithuanians of the poorer class. These people depend mainly upon common labor and, with laboring conditions as uncertain as they are in Jackson, they are forced to accept low standards of living. There is no

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(6) See Map 5.

(7) Although the slaughter house which originally gave the area its name has long been gone, the name still persists.

school in the district and but two small churches. These churches are located in old houses and are attended mostly by colored people. Along North and George Streets, near the fairgrounds, there are several houses of prostitution and vice. The land beside the river is marshy and the homes there are merely shacks. No doubt the fact that the river runs through this area makes it an undesirable place to live. The city uses the river for sewerage disposal. These factors all contribute to the high rate of delinquency in the area.

The other enumeration district in this ward is 38-12 with a population of 1,660, twenty-eight per cent are foreign stock and less than one per cent are Negroes. There are but 95.7 males per 100 females in this district. Approximately two-thirds of the area of this district is devoted primarily to business and industry since it is located within the first half-mile circle of the city. The main branch of the Michigan Central Railroad and the river both run through this district. The homes of delinquent persons tend to be centered in this business and industrial area. Rents are low and the homes are old and in a poor state of repair. Many of them have been turned into cheap rooming houses and light housekeeping rooms. There is one large church and a small park. The park is in the downtown business district and has no playground facilities. The church is located in this park, but, since it is one of the more fashionable churches of the city, it is not attended by the people of this area. No doubt the encroachment of industry and business upon the residential portion of the area, together with the river, the railroad tracks, and the lack of playground and church facilities have had a marked influence upon the high

commitment rate of this district. Since women are committed less frequently than men the predominance of females in the area should help to keep its commitment rate down.

#### Ward VI

Ward VI has the next highest commitment rate (29.3) of any ward in the city. This ward is located on the east side of the city between East Michigan Avenue and the mill pond.<sup>(8)</sup> The mill pond, the railroads, the Michigan Central Round House, and numerous businesses and industries no doubt contribute to the high rate of commitments in this ward. These factors all make the area less desirable for residential purposes and probably serve as a selective influence in attracting less desirable residents to the district. As Table VII shows, the population is 7,208 composed of 50 per cent foreign stock and 7 per cent Negroes. There are 106.4 males per 100 females. All these are probably principal determining factors in the high rate of the ward.

When the ward is divided into enumeration districts it becomes apparent that the greatest area of commitments centers within the triangular shaped district between East Michigan Avenue and the Michigan Central Railroad tracks east to South Elm Street. This is enumeration district 38-26. In this district there are 3,021 persons, 47 per cent of foreign stock and 7 per cent Negroes. There are 106.7 males to 100 females. The commitment rate is 42.2. There are two small churches, two missions, two schools, but no playgrounds in this district. The Negro population is concentrated on East Avenue, Deyo Alley

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(8) See Map 5.

and Elizabeth Street. This Negro district is known as one of the worst districts in the city. Houses are mostly in poor condition and rents very low.<sup>(9)</sup> The sidings and warehouses of several industrial and business concerns which occupy a large portion of the area make it an undesirable place of residence. They facilitate the theft of coal and other articles and in that way raise the delinquency rate of this slum area.

Enumeration district 38-29 has the next highest commitment rate in the ward (24.6). Its population is 1,887, with 75 per cent foreign stock and 10 per cent Negroes. There are 104.6 males per 100 females in this district. This district contains the Polish settlement of the city. There are two schools and two churches but no playgrounds. Most of these people work in the Michigan Central Railroad Shops which divide the district into two distinct sections. The delinquents are concentrated principally directly across from the railroad shops on Page Avenue. Here are located the poolrooms, card rooms, restaurants, and cheap rooming houses of the neighborhood. The smoke, noise, and confusion of the railroad make it a very undesirable place for residence. However, the Polish people have made this area their little Poland. The area behind the railroad shops is very sparsely populated since the land is poorly drained and consequently very marshy. The unfavorable population composition and location of this area probably tend to raise its commitment rate.

The rate for enumeration district 38-28 is 21.1. The

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(9) According to real estate estimates, from \$7 to \$15 per month.





population is 637. Seventy per cent are foreign stock and 10 per cent are Negroes. There are 115.2 males to every 100 females in this district. This area lies on the south side of the ward between the railroad tracks and the mill pond. Its eastern boundary is South Elm Street. Only a small portion of the area is used for residential purposes since it is mainly devoted to industrial uses. There are no churches or schools. Its location, its high percentage of Negroes and foreign stock, the predominance of males and the lack of churches and schools are factors contributing to its high rate.

The fourth enumeration district in the ward (38-28) is located east of enumeration district 38-26 and north of enumeration district 38-29 along East Michigan Avenue east to the city limits. The commitment rate for this district is 14.0, the lowest in the ward. The population is 1,665, with 24 per cent persons of foreign stock and no Negroes. There are 104.7 males per 100 females. Although there are no churches or schools in the district, there are three churches and three schools located along its boundaries. Most of this area is located east of the business district. Only about three blocks of the district are devoted to industry. In the main, the residences are the modest homes of workingmen. The section's freedom from the business area, its low percentage of colored and foreign stock, and its better types of homes have probably had a considerable selective influence on its population and account for its comparatively low commitment rate.

#### Ward V

Ward V has a commitment rate of 26.8, the third highest in the city. It runs south to the city limits from East Michigan

Avenue and Railroad Streets, and east from Mechanic Street to the mill pond.<sup>(10)</sup> This ward has a population of 6,899, twenty-eight per cent persons of foreign stock and 8 per cent Negroes. For this ward, the ratio between males and females is nearly equal (100.4 to 100). It is divided into three enumeration districts: 38-23, 38-24 and 38-25. Enumeration district 38-23 has the highest commitment rate (52.3) of any enumeration district in the city. Most of this enumeration district lies within the first half-mile circle of the city. Its boundaries are Mechanic Street on the west, the mill pond on the east of Michigan Avenue, Railroad Street on the north, and Morell and Bridge Streets on the south. The population of the district is 1,919 of whom 27 per cent are persons of foreign stock and 15 per cent are Negroes, and there are 107.4 males per 100 females. In this area there are 7 churches and two schools. The positive influences of these institutions on the delinquency rate are probably negated by the influences of the gas works, business and industrial activities, cheap hotels and rooming houses, and the numerous houses of prostitution and vice which are located in the district. The greatest delinquency concentration occurs along Francis Street between Courtland and Michigan Avenues within one block of the main business area of the city. The area east of Francis Street along Milwaukee, East Franklin, Wilkins, Belden, and Biddle Streets is populated mostly by colored people who constitute 15 per cent of the population of the district. The concentration of delinquency here is great. The rest of the area is characterized by old

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(10) See Map 5.

houses that were formerly some of the better homes of the city and have, with the encroachment of business and industry, and of colored people, become less desirable places of residence.

Enumeration district 38-24 is south of enumeration district 38-23 to the Cincinnati Northern Railroad tracks. It has the surprisingly low commitment rate of 11.0. The low rate may be partially explained by the fact that but .1 per cent of its population is Negro, but 32 per cent persons of foreign stock, and the proportion of males to females no more than 92.7 to 100. Industry covers only a small portion of the area and, in general, the homes are moderately priced dwellings. What delinquency there is tends to concentrate along the railroad tracks. There is but one church in the area and there are no schools. The majority of the people living in this district are of the "better class" laboring group.

Enumeration district 38-25, to the south of enumeration district 38-25, has a commitment rate of 22.1. Its population is 2,509, twenty-one per cent persons of foreign stock and 7 per cent Negroes, and for every 100 females there are 103.1 males. There are four churches and one school in the district. The Negro population is concentrated along the Cincinnati Northern and Michigan Central Railroad tracks for several blocks. The homes are cheap and badly cared for. Here is the greatest concentration of delinquency in the area. The remainder of the district south to the city limits is inhabited by members of the highest class laborers. The conductors, firemen, and brakemen working on the railroads make their homes in the section. Homes are modern, and, in general, the neighborhood is a prosperous one. The most important single influence on

the high commitment rate in this district is probably the concentration of Negro population in the immediate vicinity of the railroad tracks. Were it possible to calculate the rate for the district south of the Negro district, it would perhaps be one of the lowest rates in the city.

#### Ward VII

Ward VII, with a commitment rate of 23.2, has the fourth highest rate in the city. It is located on the north-east side of the city, east of Mechanic Street between East Michigan Avenue and East Ganson Street and extending to the city limits. (11)  
The population of this ward is 5,925 twenty-eight per cent persons of foreign stock and less than one per cent Negroes. Its sex ratio is 108.9 males per 100 females. The ward is divided into three enumeration districts: 38-30, 38-31, and 38-32. Enumeration district 38-30 has the highest rate (42.2) in the ward. This district is located entirely in the half-mile circle of the city. It has a population of 1,633 twenty-eight per cent of foreign stock and less than one per cent Negroes. There are 124.6 males per 100 females in this division of the ward. There is one parochial school and one church. The Michigan Central Railroad and the Grand River run through the southwest corner of the section and along Michigan Avenue is a portion of the downtown business district. The remainder of the area is composed of slums, cheap rooming houses, and low class homes. Thirty years ago this portion of the city was part of the better residential section. However, when the city grew, the business district was extended into the

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(11) See Map 5.

area. With the encroachment of business the area became less desirable for residential purposes and the better classes of people left for less crowded portions of the city. The area degenerated until today it has become one of the poorest districts in the city. While colored persons and foreigners have not gone into the area in any great numbers, the white population is migratory and unstable. There seems to be no outstanding concentration of delinquency in any one portion of the area, unless it be along the tracks and Michigan Avenue. The delinquency appears to be uniformly high throughout the district. The location of the area, its unfavorable sex ratio, poor housing conditions, and general social disorganization all have contributed to its high ratio.

Enumeration district 38-31 has a population of 2,033 with 31 per cent of foreign stock and less than one per cent Negroes. There are 110.6 males to every 100 females in the area which extends east from enumeration district 38-30 to North Elm Avenue. It has no churches, but one school, and no industries. Although the East Michigan Avenue business area is in this district it does not extend north more than one block. It is one of the older portions of the city. There are many fine old homes there but the area is in the process of degeneration. In several years it will probably show a much higher rate of delinquency.

Enumeration district 38-32 has a commitment rate of 12.9. Its population is 2,259 with 25 per cent persons of foreign stock and no Negroes. There are but 97.4 males to 100 females in this section. The area lies to the east of enumeration district 38-31 and extends to the city limits. Within the district there are two schools, a large park, and one playground. There is but

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(12) Located at East Michigan School.

one church within the district, but there are a number of churches along its boundaries which many of these people attend. The area is one of the finest on the east side of the city. There are several fine old homes and modern ones of the better type. Many railroad workers and east side business men live in the area. Interest in community life runs high; the only community recreational center in the city is located in the district. Delinquency is not concentrated but tends to be scattered. The low percentage of Negroes and foreign stock, the predominance of females, the absence of industries, the parks, churches, and recreational center, and the distance of the area from the center of the city are all factors which cause the comparatively low commitment rate of the district.

#### Ward VIII

Of the four wards with a lower commitment rate than the rate for the entire city, Ward VIII had the highest (13.2) The ward is located on the northeast side of the city running east to the city limits from the Grand River and north to the city limits from Ganson Street.<sup>(13)</sup> Its population is 8,067 with 30 per cent persons of foreign stock and less than 1 per cent Negroes. There are 102 males for every 100 females. The ward has four enumeration districts: 38-33, 38-34, 38-25, and 38-37. (Enumeration district 38-34 is the Michigan State Prison. As it is not a part of the regular population of the city, it will not be discussed). Enumeration district 38-33 has a commitment rate of 24.4. The population of the district is 2,647, thirty-five per cent of foreign stock and 1 per cent colored. There are

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(13) See Map 5.

106.4 males per 100 females in this district which extends north to the city limits from East Ganson Street along the Grand River and State and Waterloo Streets. The high commitment rate for this district is interesting since the Michigan State Prison is located in the area. Apparently the presence of the prison has not had a strong deterrent effect upon its delinquency. A considerable portion of the area is devoted to industry. The section along the river and surrounding the prison is mainly industrial. There is but one church and no schools. For the most part, the homes are those of workingmen who are employed in the industrial plants of the district. There seems to be no concentration of delinquency in any one portion of the area. The high rate for the district cannot be easily explained since its population composition, excepting for the unequal sex ratio, is not unusual. Perhaps the industries, the prison, and the lack of school and church facilities account for this high rate, but it seems more likely that some more subtle factors influencing the rate are in operation in the district. It would be interesting to determine what these factors might be, but such a survey is beyond the scope of this study.

Enumeration district 38-35 has a commitment rate of 9.2. Its population is 2,736 with 35 per cent foreign stock and less than 1 per cent Negroes. The district runs east of enumeration district 38-35 to Seymoure Avenue. Most of the district falls outside the one-mile circle of the city. Four churches and two schools are located within its boundaries. The homes are of the better type and principally inhabited by workingmen. There is no concentration of delinquency in the area. Its low rate may be explained by the low rate of colored and of foreign stock,



its adequate church and school facilities, the absence of business and industry, the type of its homes, and by the fact that it is located at some distance from the heart of the city.

Enumeration district 38-36 has the low commitment rate of 6.6. The population of the district is 2,684. There are no Negroes and only 25 per cent foreign stock. This area is east of enumeration district 38-35 and is outside of the one-mile circle. There is but one school and no churches in the area. Much of the land is vacant. About three blocks of the district are devoted to industry and most of the delinquency seems to be concentrated near the industrial district. The residences in this portion of the city are mainly workingmen's homes, and, since it is an outlying district, most of them have been built during the past ten years. This is probably a decided factor in the low rate of delinquency in the district.

## Ward II

Ward II has a commitment record of 7.3. The ward is located in the northwest part of the city, west to the city limits from Lansing Avenue and north to the city limits from West Michigan Avenue. (14) Its population is 7,360; 25 per cent foreign stock and less than 1 per cent Negroes. There are but 87.5 males to every 100 females in this ward. The ward is divided into three enumeration districts 38-14, 38-15, and 38-16. Enumeration district 38-14 has a commitment rate of 10.4. Its population is 2,647; 28 per cent foreign stock and less than 1 per cent colored. The fact that there are but 90.5 males to every 100 females in this district is probably a factor in its low rate.

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(14) See Map 5.

The delinquency in the area seems to be centered about Van Buren and Blackstone Streets one block on either side of the railroad tracks. There is practically no delinquency in the rest of the area. It is one of the oldest and best residential sections of the city. Many of Jackson's oldest families live in the district. In general, the homes are quite large and rents high. There are several large apartment houses and better class rooming houses in the area. Two churches and three schools are distributed throughout the district. If it were not for the concentration of delinquency in that part of the district along the tracks it would likely have one of the lowest commitment rates in the city.

Enumeration district 38-15 has a rate of 6.1. The population of the area is 2,678, with 21 per cent of foreign stock and less than 1 per cent Negroes. The sex ratio is nearly equal with 100.6 males per 100 females. The district is located east from enumeration district 38-15 extending to the city limits between West Avenue and Lansing Avenue. It seems to have no concentration of delinquency. Since it is one of the better and newer residential parts of the city, is without industrial or business districts, and has but a small percentage of foreign stock and an equal distribution of sexes, the low commitment rate in the area is not surprising.

Enumeration district 38-16 has a rate of 4.7 and a population of 2,035. There are no Negroes and but 25 per cent foreign stock. The ratio of males to females is 96.8 to 100. The district is located outside of the one-mile circle extending east of district 38-35 to the city limits. The one industry located in this area has not been in operation for several years. It is

one of the newer and more modern residential areas. Rents are high, and there are no rooming houses in the district. There are two churches in the area but no schools. School facilities are to be had, however, in nearby districts. The low rate has probably been greatly influenced by its advantageous economic, geographical, and social conditions.

#### Ward IV

Ward IV has a commitment rate of 5.5. This ward is located south to the city limits from West Michigan Avenue between Mechanic and Francis Streets and First Street. (15) Its population is 7,208; 26 per cent foreign stock and less than 1 per cent Negroes. There are three enumeration districts: 38-20, 38-21, and 38-22. The commitment rate of enumeration district 38-20 is 7.0. Its population is 2,076 of which 26 per cent are foreign stock and less than 1 per cent are Negroes. There are but 94.3 males per 100 females. This fact, no doubt, helps to keep the commitment rate of the district down. Its rate is quite unusual since it is located almost entirely within the half-mile circle of the city between West Michigan Avenue and West Mason Street. Although one-half of its area is devoted to business, its rate is one of the lowest in the city. The low rate of this district in comparison with other downtown districts may be explained by the fact that the area is devoted primarily to better class rooms for light housekeeping and small apartment houses. The high rents make it possible for only those of means to live there. Because of this the transients and least stable persons are not attracted to this area. There are two

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(15) See Map 5.



schools and one church but no playgrounds in this district.

Enumeration district 38-21 has a commitment rate of 5.0 and a population of 1,449. There are no Negroes and 81 per cent are persons of foreign stock. There are but 82.1 males per 100 females in the area. This district runs south of enumeration district 38-20 for three blocks. It is a purely residential area, much like enumeration district 38-20. Rents run high and but few of the homes are low class. There are two churches and one school in the area. The unusual rental conditions, the church and school facilities and the greater number of females than males in the district operate to make the commitment rate low in this district.

Enumeration district 38-22 has a commitment rate of 4.7. Its population is 3,688 with one per cent Negroes and 24 per cent foreign stock. There are 94.9 males for every 100 females in the district. The district is located south of enumeration district 38-21, and comprises over half of the area of the ward. It is one of the best residential sections of the city. In the main, its homes are those of business people and the well-to-do workingmen. Rents are rather high. There are few apartment or rental homes. Although there are no churches or schools in the district itself, educational and church facilities are to be had within a short distance. The section borders on the city's largest park where there are constructive recreational facilities. No doubt the low rate of the district has been influenced by its population composition, its better housing conditions, and its superior recreational facilities.

### Ward III

Ward III has the remarkably low commitment rate of 2.9, the lowest rate in the city. The ward is located east of Michigan

Avenue to the city limits and south of First Street to the city  
(16)  
limits. Its population is 8,124, with 28 per cent foreign  
stock and less than 1 per cent Negroes. There are but 87.1  
males per 100 females in this ward. There are three enumeration  
districts: 38-17, 38-18, and 38-19. Enumeration district 38-17  
has the lowest commitment rate in the city (1.5). Its population  
is 2,533, with 30 per cent foreign stock and less than 1 per cent  
Negroes, and there are but 77.5 males per 100 females in the  
district. The enumeration district is located east of West  
Michigan between First and Fourth Streets. The area is one of  
the best residential areas in the city. The homes are modern  
and rents are very high. The residents are principally business  
and professional people. There are two churches and one school  
in the area. The selective economic and social factors of the  
area along with its favorable population composition are the  
greatest factors in its low commitment rate.

Enumeration district 38-18 has a rate of 5.5. Its popu-  
lation is 2,716; 26 per cent foreign stock and less than 1  
per cent colored. There are 94.5 males to every 100 females in  
the district. This enumeration district is located west of  
enumeration district 38-17. It, too, is in the better resi-  
dential district of the city, and, since its social and economic  
conditions are of the best, it is not surprising that the rate  
is low.

Enumeration district 38-19 has a commitment rate of 1.9.  
Its population is 2,875; 28 per cent foreign stock and less than  
1 per cent colored. There are 88.8 males to every 100 females  
in the district. From the standpoint of area it is the largest

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(16) See Map 5.

enumeration district in the city. It extends two miles south of West Michigan Avenue to the city limits. This district is composed of the homes of the very rich and the near rich and is the "Gold Coast" of the city. There are two schools and one church in the district. Many of the residents belong to the more fashionable downtown churches and participate in their activities. There are no supervised public playgrounds, but there is ample room for play since most of the individual yards are spacious. Both of the two largest parks in the city are adjacent to the district. Although the low commitment rate is due to the favorable circumstances mentioned above, there is little doubt but that the political and financial position of persons in this area prevents their being committed to the county jail for anything but very serious infractions of the law. This factor should be considered in relationship to the unusually low commitment rate of the district.

#### Summary

In this chapter it has been shown that there are definite areas of delinquency in the city of Jackson. Delinquency seems to be centered in those districts where social disorganization is most apparent. Such physical factors as the encroachment of industry and business upon residential areas, the railroad tracks and the river, the predominance of old and run-down houses in some areas, and the distance of residential districts from the business center, all have a great influence upon the delinquency pattern of the city. The more obvious of the social factors, such as the composition of the population from the standpoint of sex, color, age, and nationality, and the type of recreational, educational, and religious opportunities, along with such economic

factors as rents, types of homes, and general occupational class have been shown to influence the commitment rates of various areas. It would have been interesting to survey the more subtle facts, such as organization membership, standard of living, average education, average value of homes, occupational distribution, and financial standing, as they are doubtless related to delinquency in these areas. However, such a study at present cannot be brought within the scope of this thesis.



## CHAPTER VI

### SUMMARY

Crime was defined as any action by an individual in contravention of the law. A brief survey of the theory of crime was then presented. The purpose of the thesis was to determine the number, kinds and distribution of adult delinquency in the city and county of Jackson, Michigan, as shown by the records of the Jackson county jail for the calendar year 1933 and to attempt to find the causes of the delinquency in relation to the nature of the physical, social and economic condition within the various areas of distribution including such factors as composition of population and personal characteristics of the individuals studied. The method used was primarily ecological, supplemented by the historical, statistical and survey methods.

It was found that 54 per cent of the persons committed to the county jail were born in Michigan, but that only 22 per cent were born in Jackson county. About 88 per cent of those reporting place of residence lived in Jackson county and 67 per cent in the city of Jackson. The average age for all persons committed was 34.3 years. The average age for males was higher than for females, and the average age for whites was higher than for negroes. Colored persons were committed at a frequency nearly 10 times greater, in comparison with their portion of the population, than were white persons. Males were committed about 8 times as frequently as were females. Of those committed, 54 per cent were single, 44 per cent married and 4 per cent divorced. Unskilled laborers constituted 39.2

per cent of the total commitments, mechanical and manufacturing workers 22.5 per cent, and persons in agricultural pursuits 8 per cent. The offenses classified under the general heading of Drunkenness constituted 26.7 per cent of the total commitments followed by Other Offenses and Investigation with 22.6 per cent, Larceny 11.9 per cent, Offenses Against Family 9.9 per cent, Sex Offenses (other than rape) 6.9 per cent. In general the findings set forth in this paragraph are in keeping with those of other studies of jail and prison commitments.

Commitment rates were calculated for the county, the city, and the county exclusive of the city. These rates varied rather widely; for the county the rate was 13.3, for the city 15.1, and for the county exclusive of the city 9.3. The commitment rates for the townships of the county were determined. These rates were found to vary rather widely, ranging from 0 to 13.3 for different townships. With but one exception the townships having the lowest rates were located farthest from the city of Jackson. Four of the six townships nearest to the city showed rates notably higher than the county rate. The two townships having the highest rates were those in which two of the more disorganized suburbs of the city were located. These townships also have a low percentage of rural-farm population. The townships having the lowest commitment rates had the highest percentage of rural-farm population.

Since the majority of the persons committed to the county jail were residents of the city of Jackson, this area was studied in greater detail. Spot maps were constructed showing the exact place of residence of each person committed from Jackson. From these maps it could be seen that the homes of

delinquent persons were concentrated in certain sections of the city. When concentric circles were constructed upon the map, using the center of the main business district as a focal point, it became apparent that the concentration was greatest at the center and tended to decrease as the distance from the center of the city increased. It was shown that there were 289 homes of delinquents per square mile in the first half-mile circle of the city, 92 in the second, and 43 in the third.

The city was divided into wards and the commitment rate for each ward was calculated. There were wide variations between the rates of different wards. The commitment rates ranged from 2.9 to 31.5. The wards were divided into enumeration districts, the rates of each enumeration district were calculated, and an attempt was made to explain and interpret these rates. The rates varied from 1.5 for the lowest to 52.3 for the district having the highest rate.

Population data and the writer's personal knowledge of the intimate social and economic conditions within these districts were employed in interpreting and explaining the rates found. Such physical factors as railroad tracks, the river and mill pond, business and industrial development, and housing, along with such other factors as economic conditions and unfavorable population distribution were shown to affect the delinquency rates of various areas. The areas where social disorganization seemed greatest showed the highest rates. In general, those enumeration districts within or adjacent to business and industrial districts showed the highest commitment rates, while those in the purely residential areas showed the lowest rates.

In general the findings of this study were in agreement with those of Shaw, McKay, Hayner, Lind, Taylor, Taft, Phleger, and others and are valuable in that they emphasize the fact that crime is greatly influenced by the factors of environment.

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