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## THE NEIGHBORHOOD: A STUDY OF LOCAL LIFE IN THE CITY OF COLUMBUS, OHIO

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### ABSTRACT

*City structure.* Cities are usually classified according to size. They may be also classified according to the nature and organization of their leading industries. Land valuations in the forms of business, industrial, and residential utilities, largely determine the structure of the modern city. Every city has its central business district, located near the geographical center of the city. Sub-business districts tend to form at street-car crossings and around neighborhood institutions. The basic industries are usually located around the outskirts of the city's corporation, while manufacturing establishments employing women are usually located near the center of the city. Real estate values distribute a city's population into various residential sections of different economic and social status. Racial and nationality bonds tend to subgroup the population within the various economic areas. *Mobility of population.* The term implies the extent to which the individual varies his environment, either by change of residence or by use of secondary means of communication. The mobility of modern life facilitates disorganization of traditional group and institutional structures. It is a measure of progress, but at the same time aggravates many of our political and social problems. Change of residence is much more frequent among the lower economic classes in Columbus than among the well-to-do. But dependence upon local institutions is considerably greater in the poorer neighborhoods than in the better residential sections, on account of inability to use secondary means of communication.

## PART I. LOCAL LIFE WITHIN THE CITY

### I. CITY STRUCTURE

Columbus is a city of about 210,000 inhabitants, according to the latest census. There are forty-three other cities in the United States, which, from the point of view of population, fall in the same

class.<sup>1</sup> Of these cities eleven are in the New England states, eight in the Middle Atlantic, seven in the East North Central, two in the West North Central, two in the Mountain, and five in the Pacific states.

Inasmuch as the modern city is largely an industrial institution it is important to know the nature of a city's leading industries. Eighteen of the cities in question have for their main industry the production of iron and steel products, eight have textiles and clothing, four lumber, three boots and shoes, three baking and confectionery, two publishing and printing, two preserving and canning, one rubber goods, one furniture, one jewelry, and one cotton-seed oil.<sup>2</sup>

These cities may again be classified according to the relative importance of their leading industries. Nine of the forty-four cities of this group are characterized by the national importance of their major industries.<sup>3</sup> For example, Patterson, Fall River, Lowell, and Lawrence, all of which are located in Massachusetts, belong to the textile and clothing group and have their industries organized on a nation-wide sale of products. Similarly, Akron with its rubber goods, Grand Rapids with its furniture, Youngstown with its iron and steel products, represent the type of city with a single dominant industry organized on a national scale. The majority of the cities in this group, however, are not characterized by a single outstanding industry but possess numerous small industries of approximately the same size, the larger part of their business being limited to local trading areas. Cities with this type of industrial life may be called diversified cities.<sup>4</sup> Columbus

<sup>1</sup> The estimated population of Columbus for 1916 was 209,722. It belongs to the third group of American cities, those having a population of 100,000 to 300,000. There was a total of forty-four cities in this group in 1916. *General Statistics of Cities* (1916).

<sup>2</sup> This classification was made from the *Census of Manufactures*, Vol. I (1914), and is based on census returns (1910). Undoubtedly in several instances the leading industry of 1910 is not the leading industry of today. The industry employing the greatest total number of employees was taken as the leading industry.

<sup>3</sup> Cities in which the major industry employed more than twice as many workers as the industry next in order, and more than the total listed for the classification, "all other industries" I have classified here, as "single-industry cities."

<sup>4</sup> See C. A. Beard, *American City Government* (1912), pp. 26-29, for a classification of types of American municipalities.

belongs in this latter class.<sup>1</sup> It has three relatively important types of industry: foundry and machine-shop products; the construction of cars, locomotives, and heavy machinery, and the manufacture of boots and shoes.

Most of our great cities are circular or star shaped unless directly modified by geographical peculiarities. This structure is due to the inherent nature of city development, when uncontrolled by conscious design. "Whatever the type of city, growth consists of movement away from the point of origin, and is of two kinds; central, or in all directions, and axial, or along the water courses, railroads and turnpikes which form the framework of cities."<sup>2</sup>

Columbus is shaped like a Greek cross. Its two leading thoroughfares, Broad and High streets, intersect at right angles near the junction of the Sciota and Olentangy rivers. High Street, the business backbone of the city, runs north and south for a distance of about nine miles within the corporation limits. Broad Street, on the other hand, runs east and west, or nearly so, and forms the arm of the cross. This street comprises part of the old Lincoln Highway. Topography has had something to do in determining the rough outlines of the city's structure. The junction of the two rivers just mentioned furnishes the basis for the crosslike appearance of the city. Expansion has followed the lines of least resistance along the south side of the Sciota River and the east bank of the Olentangy.

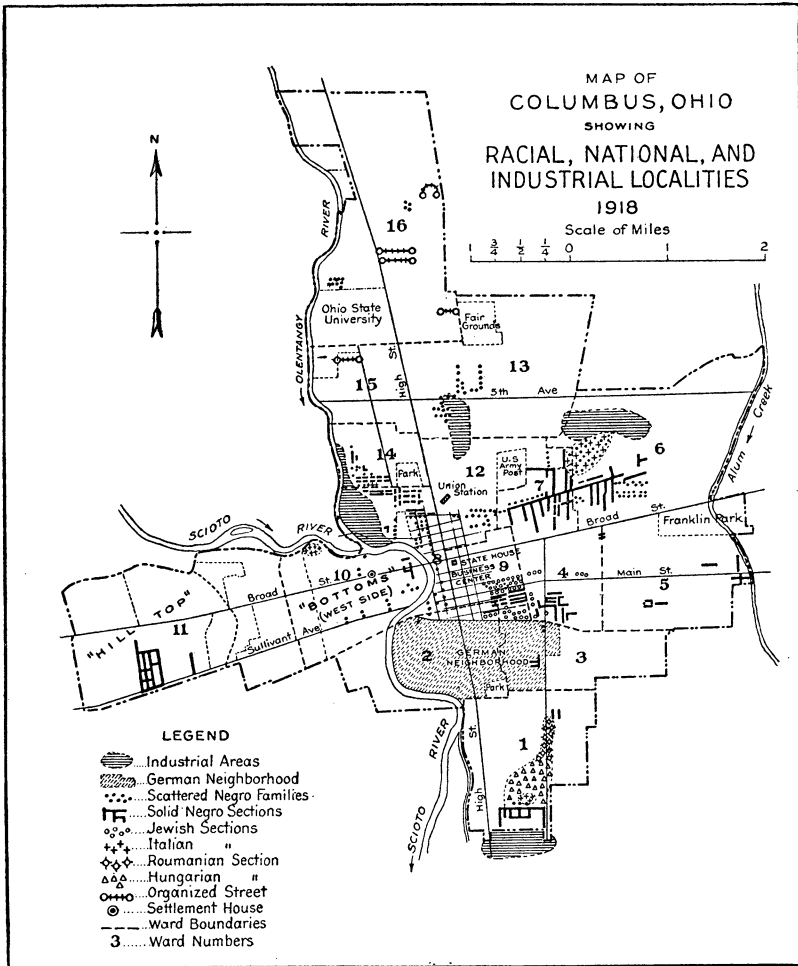
The distribution of business, industry, and population within the confines of any large city is determined by the operation of economic forces which tend to produce certain similarities of structure with respect to all big cities.

Generally speaking, the utility of land in the city falls into three classes: business utility, industrial utility, and residential utility. The areas devoted to these purposes are separated by more or less definite lines and are themselves

<sup>1</sup> Columbus, like almost every other city of its size, manufactures articles which are sold throughout the entire country, also in foreign lands, but Columbus is not dominated by any particular industry, nor does it have the habit of advertising in any of the national journals such as the *Post*, *Literary Digest*, etc.

<sup>2</sup> Richard M. Hurd, *Principles of City Land Values (Record and Guide, 1903)*. Adapted as a reading in Marshall, Wright, and Field, *Materials for the Study of Elementary Economics* (1913), p. 620.

subdivided according to the specific nature or class of use for each purpose. Business area for instance lies generally at the focus of local transportation routes or in other words at the point of intersection of the strongest lines of local



MAP I

travel. This point is very often at the geographical center of the city which can be reached from all sections of the city with equal facility. The industrial area on the other hand has no one definite location, as has the business area. Depending largely on railroad facilities, it soon becomes scattered throughout

all sections of the city, forcing its way from all directions in wedges almost to the business heart. There is generally no control and no concentration other than that offered by the railroad lines. To residential purposes is devoted the rest of the land in the city. This is generally of three classes: fine residential area; general residential area; and tenement area. The first of these preempts those sections of the city which have the greatest number of pleasing and natural advantages. The second, in general, lies along the thoroughfares and highways which have the best transportation facilities and also along such railroads as provide suburban transportation. The third class, the tenement areas, are generally found in the industrial regions and in the pockets or areas that lie between railroad lines and close to the center.<sup>1</sup>

The central business section of Columbus, as indicated on Map I, is located near the geographical center of the city. It comprises an area of about half a mile in length and three blocks in width, the central part of which is the junction of the two streets already mentioned. This is the corner of the State House grounds, also the site of the city's leading hotel. One does not *feel* that he is "down town" until he reaches this corner.<sup>2</sup>

Immediately surrounding the central business section of most cities is to be found a more or less disintegrated area, comprising wholesale establishments, low class hotels and apartment houses, second-hand stores, and cheap places of amusement. This region is usually inhabited by a migratory class of people, such as day laborers, immigrants, and negroes. It also tends to become the rendezvous of the vicious and criminal classes.

The factors distributing values over the city's area by attracting or repulsing various utilities, are, in the case of residences, absence of nuisances, good approach, favorable transportation facilities, moderate elevation, and parks;

<sup>1</sup> E. H. Bennett, "Planning for Distribution of Industries," *Annals of the American Academy* (January, 1914), pp. 217-18.

<sup>2</sup> Referring to the defects of the round city John P. Fox, Secretary of the Transit Committee, City Club of New York, writes, "The round city, as found in America, tends to have a congested business center, with high buildings, high land values, high rents, congested streets and similar faults. It tends to require riding to and from work, especially if one wishes to live anywhere near the country. It requires too many radiating streets to reach surrounding territory, using more land than necessary. It makes it impossible to build one adequate rapid transit line to serve all the central district and the residence sections. It buries most people in its midst too far from the country, the latter being reached only by riding, which many poor people cannot afford to do."—"Relation between Transit and Housing," *Annals of the American Academy* (January, 1914), p. 160.

in the case of retail shops, passing street traffic, with a tendency toward proximity to their customer's residences; in the case of retail wholesalers and light manufacturing, proximity to the retail stores which are their customers; in the case of heavy wholesaling or manufacturing, proximity to transportation; and in the case of public or semi-public buildings, for historical reasons, proximity to the old business center; the land that is finally left being filled in with mingled cheap utilities, parasites of the stronger utilities, which give a low earning power to land otherwise valueless.<sup>1</sup>

Such a disintegrated area is quite conspicuous in the city of Columbus. Surrounding the main business section on all sides for a distance of from one to a dozen blocks there is a black and grimy area unfit for human habitation. Here cheap boarding houses and questionable hotels are wedged in between large warehouses and wholesale establishments. This region is very largely given over to colored people and poor whites.<sup>2</sup> Prior to the suppression of segregated vice in the city a considerable part of this section was occupied by keepers of immoral resorts. The eastern part of this district contained, in the early days, the homes of many of the wealthiest residents of the city. However, with the expansion of business and the development of modern means of transit, the well-to-do moved farther east along Broad Street, leaving their now obsolete homes to be used as places of business or to be subdivided into cheap apartments for the poor.

Most of our cities, due to their rapid growth, have districts that are going through a transition from resident districts to factory and business districts. Rents from dwellings are decreasing, while land value is greatly increasing. The owners of many of these homes, foreseeing the opportunity to sell the land for business purposes in one year or ten years, will not repair or improve their houses, because they argue it would be a waste to put more money in the houses that will in themselves bring no return when selling the land.<sup>3</sup>

The primary industries of most cities tend to be located near the outskirts of the city's corporation, along water fronts and

<sup>1</sup> Richard M. Hurd, *op. cit.*, p. 620.

<sup>2</sup> In his study of 4,500 employees in factories located in Norwood and Oakley, suburbs of Cincinnati, Graham Romeyn Taylor found that "nearly half, or 44.68 per cent, live in thickly populated parts of down-town Cincinnati, five miles from their work."—*Satellite Cities*, p. 97.

<sup>3</sup> Mildred Chadsey, "The Old House as a Social Problem," *Annals of the American Academy* (January, 1914), p. 87.

railroad tracks. Smaller industries, especially those employing women and unskilled labor, seek low-priced areas near street-car lines and so may be located in almost any part of the city. Around the primary industries independent communities develop which have a life of their own distinct from the rest of the city, such, for example, as the stockyard district of Chicago. Subcommunities of another type, due to the difference of population selection, form around any important center, such as a university, park, school, or other public institution.

Transfer points, owing to concentration of daily streams of people and consequent opportunity for shops, are strategic points in a city's area, creating business subcenters, whose prospects of increasing values are limited only by the number and quality of the people likely to utilize them. As examples, note the marked effect of transfers in New York at Broadway and 34th Street, Madison Avenue and 59th Street, Lexington Avenue and 59th Street; also in New Haven at Chapel and Church streets; in Denver at 15th and Lawrence streets; and many transfer points in the outlying districts of Chicago.<sup>1</sup>

Columbus has three significant industrial communities. One is located in the twelfth ward and contains the plants of the Jeffrey Manufacturing Company, which employs about 4,000 men, and the High Malleable Company, which employs about 700 men. The second industrial area lies along the Sciota River, extending from First Avenue down to the center of the city. In this district are the plants of the Lamneck Furnace Company, the Nye and Sons Stove Company, and the Hulse Furniture Company. The third industrial section is found in the south end of Columbus. Here are the large steel industries of the city, including the Buckeye Steel Casting Company, the Columbus Branch of the American Rolling Mill Company, the Seagraves Manufacturing Company, and others. In addition to these manufacturing areas the shops of the different railroads form other industrial communities. The Hocking Valley Shops are located in a bend of the Sciota River in the western part of Ward 2, making this section of the ward much less stable than the remaining German part of it which lies east of High Street. Similarly the large Pennsylvania Shops, located a short distance northeast of the United States barracks, account for the mixed foreign and negro section found there.

<sup>1</sup> Richard M. Hurd, *op. cit.*, p. 622.



Each of these industrial areas has a more or less distinctive community life of its own. The residents of these communities are very largely people who work in the nearby industries. While their economic status is that of the day-laboring class still their population elements comprise a mixture of practically all racial and national stocks. There is a distinct tendency, as may be seen by Map I, for the different racial and linguistic groups to form little colonies within these industrial communities. This is especially noticeable with respect to the industrial area surrounding the South Columbus Steel Works. This is a motley district, practically every street represents a different racial or national aggregation.

The population of any city is distributed according to economic status into residential areas of various rental or real estate values. Family income tends to segregate the population of a city into different economic districts much the same as the price of tickets at a theater divides the audience into several different strata of economic and social distinction.

The main consideration in the individual selection of a residence location is the desire to live among one's friends or among those whom one desires to have for friends; for which reason there will be as many residence neighborhoods in the city as there are social strata.<sup>1</sup>

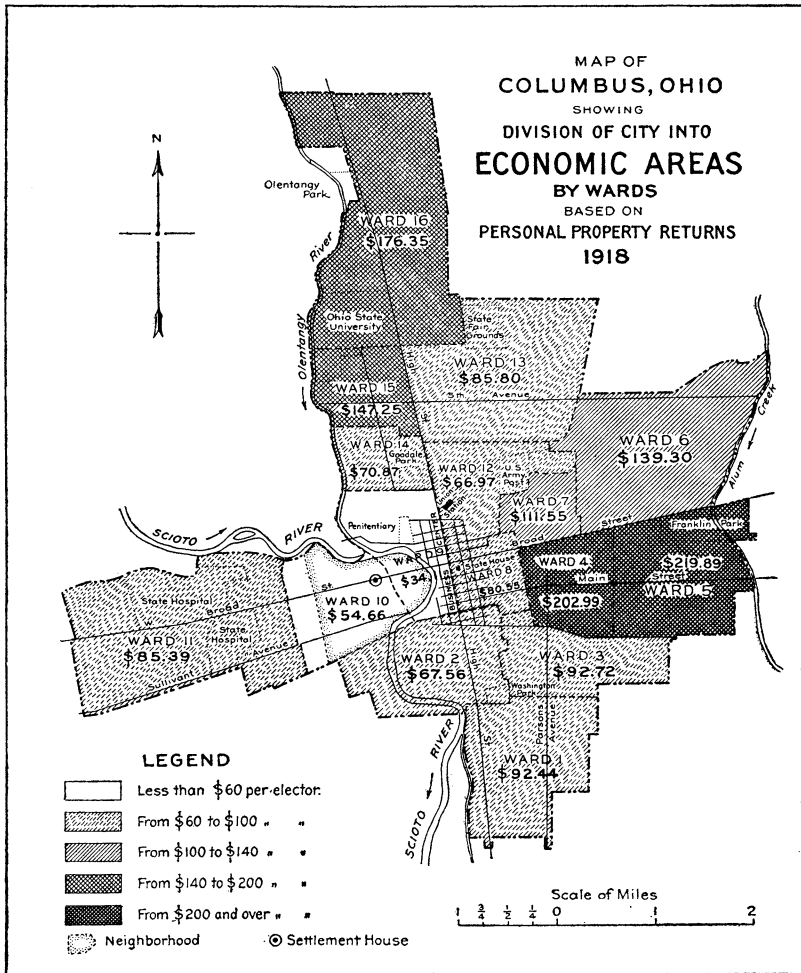
In order to bring into relief the various levels of economic distribution of the population of Columbus a measure of comparative economic status was sought. It was finally decided to take the average per elector tax returns on household furniture as a standard of rating. Household furniture returns are listed from the home address rather than from the down-town office, and, therefore, furnish a territorial distribution of this sort of property. The returns were calculated by wards and the totals divided by the number of registered electors for the same year in each ward.<sup>2</sup>

The measure of economic status here adopted is not without its shortcomings. In the first place the ward is not a homogeneous economic area. It frequently includes the extremes of wealth and

<sup>1</sup> Richard M. Hurd, *op. cit.*, p. 621.

<sup>2</sup> The ward totals were divided by the number of registered electors rather than by the number of householders, inasmuch as each householder is allowed one hundred dollars tax exemption on furniture, and, therefore, in the lower economic regions only a small percentage of the families made returns at all.

poverty. This is true, for example, with respect to the sixth ward, the eastern end of which contains some of the most luxuriant homes in the city, while the western corner represents a broken-down colored section. But, on the whole, the classification of



MAP II

wards, as determined by this form of measurement, corresponds almost precisely with the common-sense rating as based on general observation. The foregoing map (Map II) indicates the results of this study.

The first impression gained from an examination of this map will be the striking difference in economic status of the various wards in the city. Wards 4 and 5 with their economic status of \$202 and \$219 respectively, stand in bold contrast to Wards 9 and 10 whose per elector status is less than one quarter as great. The latter wards, as may be seen by Map III (p. 163) are also the most mobile sections of the city. Wards 15 and 16 comprise the university district and represent the middle class type of home. The relatively low rating of Ward 11 is due to the presence of a large negro colony located near its southern border, also to a disintegrated neighborhood lying north of the State Hospital for the Insane. On the other hand, Ward 1 is probably rated a bit too high. This is a foreign locality surrounding the South Columbus Steel Works and our measure of economic status applies merely to citizens.

Racial and national sentiments tend to subgroup the population of the different economic areas of a city into more intimate social divisions. "Every great city has its racial colonies, like the Chinatowns of San Francisco and New York, the Little Sicily of Chicago, and various other less pronounced types."<sup>1</sup> Columbus has several such racial and national colonies, each with a more or less distinct social life of its own.

The colored population,<sup>2</sup> as may be noted on Map I (p. 148), is, in general, distributed around the periphery of the main business section, along the river flood plains, near the railroad tracks, and around the industrial plants. Most of Ward 9 is inhabited by colored people. During the past few years the colored families, especially the new arrivals from the South, have been pushing their way out into Ward 14, driving the Italians, who previously occupied this territory, still farther north. The northern boundary line of Ward 9, Goodale Street, is now almost entirely inhabited

<sup>1</sup> Robert E. Park, "The City: Suggestions for the Investigation of Human Behavior in the City Environment," *American Journal of Sociology*, XX, 582.

<sup>2</sup> In 1910 Columbus had a colored population of 12,739, which, when compared with the total population of the city, constituted at that time a higher percentage of negroes than was to be found in any other city in the state. Moreover this number has been greatly augmented by the influx of negroes from the South during the past few years.

by negroes. The river end of this street, together with the immediately surrounding territory, was originally known as "Fly Town," receiving this name on account of the migratory tendencies of workers employed in the nearby factories, also on account of the lawlessness of the place. In this section the Godman Guild Social Settlement House is located.

The largest colored community in the city lies just east of the central business district. This community includes practically all of Ward 7 with the exception of a few streets on which are located some of the best residences in the city. It also extends into the southwestern corner of Ward 6, the eastern half of Ward 8, and the western part of Ward 4. The central part of this colored community lies north of Long Street between Seventeenth Street and Taylor Avenue. This region is undisputably surrendered to negroes. It is a city of blacks within the larger community. Here are found colored policemen, colored hotels, stores, churches, pool-rooms, picture theaters, as well as separate colored schools. The colored people have their own local organizations such as lodges, war-relief clubs, and a political organization called "The Negro Republican League."

Of the minor negro colonies indicated on Map I attention should be called to the one in the extreme south end of the city, adjoining the steel plants; to the colored neighborhood in the eleventh ward, reference to which will be made later; to the colored district surrounding the Jeffrey Manufacturing Plant in Ward 12, and to the smaller colored localities adjoining the university campus.

Columbus has one large Jewish colony, lying a few blocks east of the southern end of the main business section of the city. This district is bounded on the north by Rich Street, on the east by Parsons Avenue, on the south by Livingston Avenue, and on the west by Grant Street. In this quadrangle, comprising about twelve city blocks, there is located the Jewish Schonthal Community House, Temple Israel, the Agudas, Achim Synagogue, Tiffereth Israel Synagogue, the Beth Jacob Synagogue, the Ahavath Sholen Synagogue, and the Jewish Progress Club. The area described, however, is not inhabited entirely by Hebrews. The population is a mixture of colored and Jewish people. This is the home of

the Orthodox Jews of Columbus.<sup>1</sup> The so-called "Reformed" Jews, which include, as a rule, the Jews of German nationality, are dispersed along the eastern section of the city in the better residential district between Broad Street and Bryden Road.

The renowned German section<sup>2</sup> of the city extends along South High Street from Livingston Avenue as far south as Washington Park, bounded on the east by Parsons Avenue, and on the west by the Hocking Valley tracks. It comprises an area of about a square mile and falls, for the most part, within the second ward. Many of the most prominent of the old German families reside along High Street south of Livingston Avenue. Practically all of these families own their homes and many of them have resided here for over thirty years. The whole community, just outlined, is fundamentally German. The dwellings represent the typical German village structure, built close up to the sidewalk, with garden space and chicken house in the rear. Many of the alleys are lined with small residences. Frequently the owner of a fine home will have a small building on the rear of his lot occupied by a tenant family. The shops, churches, and other public places of this district are owned and operated by Germans, and the German language is used almost exclusively.

Lying immediately south of this German neighborhood and extending to the southern limits of the city is a mixed foreign district, inhabited by Austrians, Lithuanians, Hungarians, and Italians.

## II. MOBILITY

"The city is the spectroscop of society; it analyzes and sifts the population, separating and classifying the diverse elements."<sup>3</sup>

Mobility of population may be considered under three heads: change of residence from one community to another, change of

<sup>1</sup> This is the historic Jewish neighborhood of Columbus and is noted for the solidarity of its local life. Graham Taylor says, ". . . The family-like fellowships persistently growing out of and around the Jewish synagogue, which is the most ancient type of the neighborhood still surviving, perpetuate the spirit of neighborliness and give it more or less flexible, but long accepted, forms of development."—*Religion in Social Action* (1913), p. 149.

<sup>2</sup> According to the 1910 Census, Columbus had 5,722 foreign-born Germans, which was the largest single foreign-born nationality in the city (*Thirteenth Census of United States*, III, 428).

<sup>3</sup> A. F. Weber, *The Growth of Cities in the Nineteenth Century* (1899), p. 442.

residence from one neighborhood to another within the community, and mobility without change of residence.<sup>1</sup> The official sources of information on these subjects are very inadequate. The census reports furnish data concerning nationality and interstate migrations,<sup>2</sup> but aside from that we know nothing about the movements of people from one community to another,<sup>3</sup> much less the movements that take place within the community itself.

That the mobility of modern life is intimately connected with many of our social problems there is general consensus of opinion. Assuming that a reasonable amount of mobility is both inevitable and desirable, nevertheless it is unquestionably true that the excessive population movements of modern times are fraught with many serious consequences.

Perhaps the most obvious effect of the mobility of the population within a city is the striking instability of local life. Neighborhoods are in a constant process of change; some improving, others deteriorating. Changes in incomes and rents are almost immediately registered in change of family domicile. Strengthened economic status usually implies the movement of a family from a poorer to a better neighborhood, while weakened economic status means that the family must retire to a cheaper and less desirable district.<sup>4</sup> So in every city we have two general types of neighbor-

<sup>1</sup> Robert E. Park says, . . . "Mobility in an individual or in a population is measured, not merely by change of location, but rather by the number and variety of the stimulations to which the individual or the population responds. Mobility depends, not merely upon transportation, but upon communication."—*American Journal of Sociology*, XX, 589.

<sup>2</sup> The 1910 Census records the percentage of the population of each state born within the state. This gives a general impression of the relative mobility of the different states. The percentage of people born within the state in which they were counted varies from 94.7 for North Carolina to 21.8 for Wyoming. Ohio is above the average in stability with a percentage of native born of 74.4 (*Thirteenth Census of United States*, I, 712).

<sup>3</sup> See Bucher's *Industrial Evolution* (Wickett translation), chap. x, for an interesting study of internal migrations of population in Germany. He shows that of the population of Prussia, in 1880, 57.6 per cent were born in the municipality where enumerated (p. 354), and for Bavaria (1871) 61.2 per cent (p. 355).

<sup>4</sup> "A study of five hundred families who, in 1913, moved from one home to another has clearly shown that in 63 per cent of the cases poorer accommodations were secured because of a recent change in the family income which caused a necessary change in the amount of rent that could be spared."—Carol Aronovici, *Housing and the Housing Problem* (1920), p. 20.

hood; the one whose inhabitants have located there on the basis of personal choice, and the other whose inhabitants have located there as the result of economic compulsion. The former, as we shall see later, contains the possibilities for the development of neighborhood sentiment and organization, while the latter lacks the necessary elements for reconstruction.

Rapid community turnover also plays havoc with local standards and neighborhood mores. It is impossible to have an efficient local opinion in a neighborhood where the people are in constant move. It has repeatedly been affirmed by students of society that the decay of local standards is a pertinent cause of moral laxness and disorderliness.

We are dependent for moral health upon intimate association with a group of some sort, usually consisting of our family, neighbors, and other friends. It is the interchange of ideas and feelings with this group, and a constant sense of its opinions that makes standards of right and wrong seem real to us. . . . When we move to town, or go to another country, or get into a different social class, or adopt ideas that alienate us from our former associates, it is not at all certain that we shall form new relations equally intimate and cogent with the old. A common result, therefore, is a partial moral isolation and atrophy of moral sense. If the causes of change are at all general we may have great populations made up largely of such displaced units, a kind of "anarchy of spirits" among whom there is no ethos or settled system of moral life at all, only a confused outbreak of impulses, better or worse.<sup>1</sup>

The flux of modern life also intensifies all problems connected with government, national, state, or local. The fact that we have a residence qualification for voting leaves an increasingly large number every year of disfranchised citizens. This too applies especially to a class, the migrant laborer, which has no other means of participation in social control.

Our distinguished critic, James Bryce, drew attention years ago to the relation between mobility and government.

In no state of the union is the bulk of the population so fixed in its residence as everywhere in Europe; in many it is almost nomadic. Except in some of the stagnant districts of the South, nobody feels rooted to the soil. Here today and gone tomorrow, he cannot readily contract habits of trustful dependence on his neighbors. Community of interest, or of belief in such a cause

<sup>1</sup> C. H. Cooley, *Social Process*, pp. 180-81.

as temperance, or protection for native industry, unites him for a time with others similarly minded, but congenial spirits seldom live long enough together to form a school or type of local opinion which develops strength and becomes a proselytizing force. Perhaps this tends to prevent the growth of variety of opinion. When a man arises with some power of original thought in politics, he is feeble if isolated, and is depressed by his insignificance, whereas if he grows up in a favorable soil with sympathetic minds around him, whom he can in prolonged intercourse permeate with his ideas, he learns to speak with confidence and soars on the wings of his disciples. One who considers the variety of conditions under which men live in America may certainly find ground for surprise that there should be so few independent schools of opinion.<sup>1</sup>

Students of municipal government are constantly calling attention to the difficulty of creating interest in municipal affairs among a people who are in constant move.<sup>2</sup> Stability of residence, as a rule, implies home ownership, which in turn gives rise to local sentiment and interest in neighborhood surroundings. In a region where the population is continually shifting there is little opportunity for the development of neighborhood sentiment, and as a result, local concerns are usually left to take care of themselves. It is hard to develop interest in neighborhood affairs among families who are the while conscious of the temporary nature of their domicile within the district.

The problems which the mobility of population presents to political reformers are likewise common to social workers in other fields. Organizations dealing with delinquency and dependency are hampered in their efforts by the frequent movements of their "cases."<sup>3</sup> Similarly the church, trade union, and other voluntary forms of association lose in their efficiency through the rapid turnover of their local membership lists.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *American Commonwealth*, II (1907), 289-90.

<sup>2</sup> Hart (*Actual Government*, pp. 210-11) points out that the American habit of moving is an important cause of bad city government. Goodwin in his *Municipal Government*, p. 26, also emphasizes the relation of population movement to the problem of local government.

<sup>3</sup> In a study of 324 newly "closed" cases, in the records of the Social Welfare League of Seattle, it was found that the average length of time the families were under the jurisdiction of the organization was five months; and the average number of changes of residence during that period was 2.2. Moreover, 45.8 per cent of the cases were closed because the family had moved away from the city.

<sup>4</sup> In a study made of 2,049 resignations from the Seattle Chamber of Commerce, (June, 1917, to December, 1920,) Mr. Suen Chen, a student in sociology, discovered



In considering the general causes of the present mobility of population it is important to view the subject from both its psychological and its social aspects. Thomas and Znaniecki have grouped the dominant individual wishes or desires into four general classes: "the desire for recognition or status; the desire for safety or security; the desire for power; the desire for new experiences."<sup>1</sup> It is of course obvious that the relative strength of these different desires varies in different individuals and at different ages in the same individual. E. L. Thorndike says, "old age, femaleness, and physical weakness" . . . seem to favor "the long familiar physical and social environment," while "adolescence, maleness, and energy"<sup>2</sup> seem to be combined with the roaming disposition.

Of the four types of desires just mentioned the desires for security and recognition find their chief satisfactions in the solidarity and intimacy of the small local group; while the desires for power and new experience attain their fullest fruition in a wider social milieu. The rigoristic codes of the small stable community have never afforded adequate satisfaction to the human impulses of the more energetic members of the group. The solidarity of the primitive neighborhood group was undoubtedly, to a greater extent, the product of a hostile external environment rather than the result of spontaneous human impulses. As Stuckenberg says, "Frequently the inherent qualities of men have less power to unite than the desire to antagonize what is averse to them. . . . Prejudice, hatred, and opposition are powerful factors in association."<sup>3</sup>

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that 764 or 37.3 per cent of those resigning had been members of the organization less than one year; 787 or 38.3 per cent had been members more than one year but less than two years; 328 or 16.1 per cent had been members more than two years but less than three years; while the remaining 170 or 8.1 per cent had been members three years or more. Moreover, 604 or 29.4 per cent of the total number resigning gave as their reason for leaving the organization change of residence to another community.

The present membership of the Seattle Chamber of Commerce (December, 1920) is 3,034; of this number 634 or 20.9 per cent have been members for one year or less; 1,197 or 39.4 per cent have been members for two years or less; and 1,517 or half the total number have been members for three years or less.

<sup>1</sup> *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America* (1918), I, 73.

<sup>2</sup> *Original Nature of Man*, I (1913), 56.

<sup>3</sup> *Sociology, the Science of Human Society*, I, 86.

Adam Smith contrasts the strong clan-feeling which still in the eighteenth century prevailed among the Scotch Highlanders with the little regard felt for remote relatives by the English, and observes that in countries where the authority of the law is not sufficiently strong to give security to every member of the State the different branches of the same family choose to live in the neighborhood of one another, their association being frequently necessary for their common defence: whereas in a country like England, where the authority of the law was well established, "the descendants of the same family, having no such motive for keeping together, naturally separate and disperse, as interest or inclination may direct."<sup>1</sup>

On the social side it is scarcely necessary to draw attention to the leading causes of intercommunity migration. The sudden change from a predominantly agricultural to a predominantly industrial society has occasioned a mobility of life unknown before. As long as the soil furnished the chief basis of economic income man was obliged to live a comparatively stable life in a fixed and definite locality. With the development of the modern capitalistic régime, the presence of the individual is no longer necessary to insure the productivity and security of his property. He may now, if he chooses, invest his savings in interest-bearing securities which require neither his personal presence nor his attention to insure an income. He is thus left free to live, if he so desires, a nomad life.<sup>2</sup> Of course all classes in society are not equally free to move about. The middle-class tradesman and many of the professional groups are more or less tied to definite localities by the very nature of their work. On the other hand, the well-to-do and the day-laborer are free to move almost at will.

Our modern factory system is the chief cause of the present migratory tendencies of the wage-earning class. In an open labor market with employers competing with one another in their demands for labor, the wage earner is fast becoming a sort of tourist who spends but a short period in each community during his trip around the country.

Seasonal or intermittent occupations, temporary jobs, commercial depressions, occasional unemployment, and a general sense of the lack of permanency

<sup>1</sup> E. Westermarck, *Moral Ideas*, II (1908), 223.

<sup>2</sup> See Godkin, *Problems of Modern Democracy*, pp. 180 ff., for a brief discussion of this subject.

in the tenure of their industrial positions, pull settled families up by the roots and seldom leave them long enough in one place to take root again. Our manual workers are more and more transient. Many among them are forced to become tramping families.<sup>1</sup>

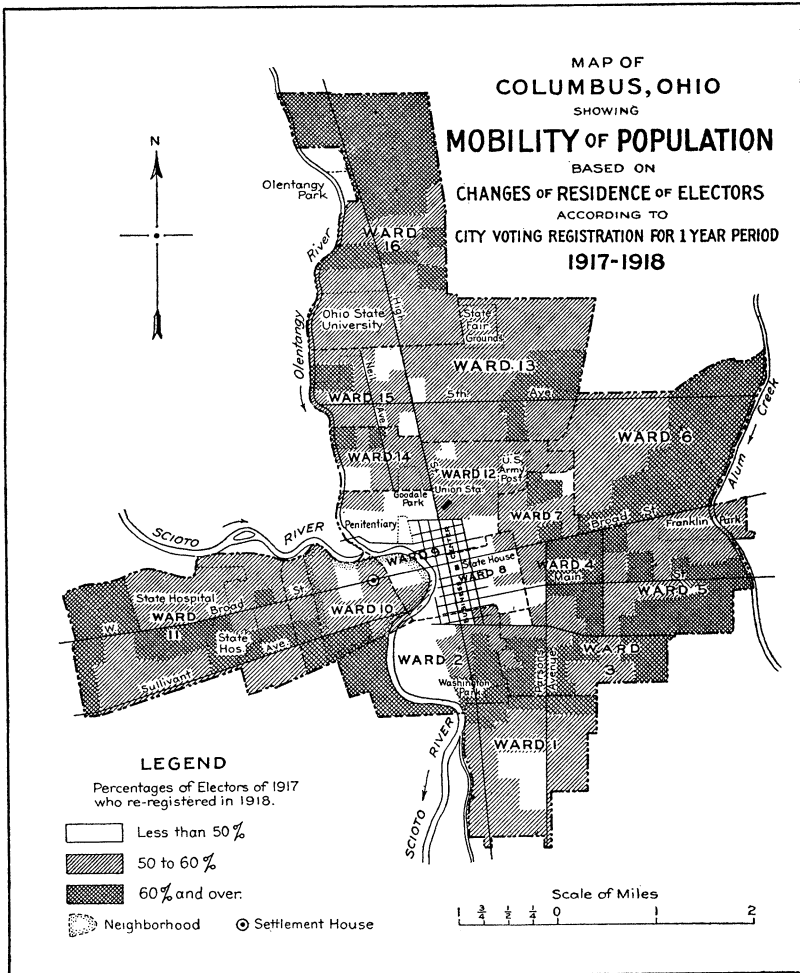
Moreover, change of residence from one section to another within the community is quite as disturbing to neighborhood association as is movement from one community to another. In order to get an idea of the comparative mobility of the population of the various local areas in Columbus, a study was made of the changes in the lists of the registered electors during the period of one year. The records of each year's registration are listed by precincts by the city's Board of Elections. The 1917 list of names was compared with the 1918 list, and the percentage of names per precinct of the 1917 list that reappeared in the 1918 list was taken as a measure of the relative stability of the precinct. For example, if a certain precinct had 100 registered electors for 1917 and only 75 of these names reappeared in the 1918 list the percentage stability of that precinct would be rated as 75. The city is divided into 262 precincts, each of which comprises about two or three blocks. The average registered electorate per precinct was, in 1918, 175. From this small geographical unit it is possible to get a rather intimate knowledge of the extent of local mobility of population.

Taking the city as a whole, only 58.6 per cent of the registered electors of 1917 re-registered in 1918. In other words, of the qualified voters of 1917, almost one-half failed to requalify to vote in their old precincts in 1918. The percentage of registration of electors varies greatly, of course, in the different sections of the city, precincts ranging from 31.0 per cent to 77.8 per cent. The most mobile precinct is located in Ward 9 near the Sciota River, while the most stable precinct lies in the center of the old German neighborhood in the northern corner of Ward 1. Map III gives the results of such tabulation by precincts for the entire city.

This map gives a picture of the relative stability of different sections of the city when judged by the single criterion of the

<sup>1</sup> Graham Taylor, *Religion in Social Action* (1913), pp. 143-44.

re-registration of electors. It does not show the actual extent of shifting of population within any particular spot. Failure to re-register is not definite proof that the elector has migrated from



MAP III

the confines of his precinct. He may merely have omitted to perform this privilege of citizenship. On the other hand, movements of non-citizens are not recorded in this study. But, despite

these limitations, I believe the method here employed furnishes an approximately true picture of the comparative population movements of different sections of the city.

It is quite evident from this map that the down-town section, including the main business area and its immediately surrounding territory, is by far the most mobile part of the city. But this is to be expected, considering the nature of this section. As we have already seen, most of the people living near the business center are of the boarding-house and cheap hotel class. The more stable parts of the city are to be found, for the most part, in the better residential districts, in the eastern, northern, and western extremities of the city. The large German neighborhood, lying immediately south of the main business section, practically all falls in the class of highest stability, while the industrial area, located farther south in Ward 1, comprises one of the most mobile sections of Columbus.

The correlation between stability and economic status is quite interesting. For ocular demonstration of this relationship the reader should compare Map III, page 163, with Map II, page 153. It must be borne in mind, however, that Map III is constructed on the basis of a small unit, the precinct, while Map II is based on the ward as the unit. Now taking the ward averages for stability and comparing them with the ward averages for economic status we get the result shown in Table I.

This table shows, in general, that stability varies directly with economic status. For example, Ward 9, which has the lowest economic status of all the wards in the city, has also the lowest re-registration of electors, which means the lowest stability. Likewise, Wards 8 and 12, which are considerably below the average in economic status, are also below the average in stability. On the other hand, Wards 4, 5, and 16 fall considerably above the average in stability, and rank high in economic status. Wards 2 and 3 appear to be exceptions; they have high stability and low economic status. But as we have already seen these wards contain the large stable German neighborhood, the residents of which, while home owners and relatively prosperous, maintain a lower standard of living than the average American of similar economic status.

Let us now examine the relation between mobility, dependency, and juvenile delinquency. The two spot maps (IV and V) facing page 166 show the geographical distribution of the official cases of dependency and juvenile delinquency for a one-year period, May, 1918, to May, 1919. As might be expected the majority of the dependency cases are segregated in the low economic areas surrounding the central business district. The colored cases form conspicuous groups near the railroad tracks and the river, also in the eastern part of the city near Franklin Park.

TABLE I  
RELATION BETWEEN WARD STABILITY AND ECONOMIC STATUS

Ward	Average Re-registration per Ward (per cent)	Average Economic Status per Ward
9.....	43.7	\$ 34.11
8.....	44.4	80.55
12.....	50.6	66.97
15.....	53.7	147.25
13.....	57.7	85.80
14.....	57.7	70.87
1.....	60.4	92.44
10.....	60.6	54.66
7.....	60.6	111.55
6.....	61.9	139.30
2.....	62.9	67.56
16.....	63.1	176.35
11.....	64.1	85.39
4.....	65.3	202.99
5.....	65.5	219.89
3.....	66.0	92.72

The most striking feature concerning the geographical distribution of juvenile delinquency is the rather even dispersion of cases throughout the entire city. Single streets or individual family groups rather than neighborhoods seem to form the nuclei for wayward children. There is, apparently, but slight correlation between the segregation of dependency and that of delinquency. Table II gives more exact presentation of the facts recorded in Maps IV and V.

It will be observed that Wards 8, 9, and 12, which comprise the central part of the city, and which rank highest in mobility, also rank high in extent of both dependency and delinquency; while

Wards 4, 5, 15, and 16 rank high in stability and have relatively little dependency or delinquency. However, the relation between mobility and dependency is much more conspicuous than the relation between mobility and delinquency. For example, Wards 13 and 14 have almost average stability but rank highest for the whole city in their percentages of juvenile delinquency. These two wards

TABLE II  
WARD VARIATIONS IN STABILITY, DEPENDENCY, AND JUVENILE DELINQUENCY

WARD	NUMBER OF* REGISTERED VOTERS FOR 1918	STABILITY†	CASES OF DEPENDENCY‡		CASES OF DELINQUENCY	
			No.	Percentage	No.	Percentage
9.....	1757	43.7	82	4.67	27	1.54
8.....	2225	44.4	75	3.37	26	1.17
12.....	2062	50.6	94	4.56	25	1.21
15.....	2661	53.7	23	.86	12	.45
13.....	3062	57.7	51	1.67	49	1.60
14.....	2344	57.7	58	2.47	39	1.66
1.....	2950	60.4	58	1.79	45	1.53
10.....	2477	60.6	82	3.31	35	1.41
7.....	2721	60.6	44	1.62	23	.85
6.....	2995	61.9	65	2.17	32	1.07
2.....	2496	62.9	57	2.28	32	1.28
16.....	4540	63.1	24	.51	18	.39
11.....	3171	64.1	53	1.67	28	.88
4.....	2884	65.3	56	1.94	19	.66
5.....	3477	65.5	26	.74	12	.35
3.....	3635	66.0	45	1.24	34	.94
Total.....	45,457	.....	893	.....	456	.....
Average for city.....	.....	58.6	.....	1.97	.....	1.00

\* The number of registered electors furnishes our only clue to the ward populations of the city, as the ward boundaries have been modified since the 1910 census was taken.

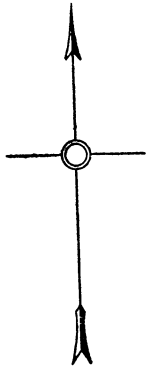
† The term "stability" implies here, as formerly, the percentage of the 1917 electors who re-registered in the same precincts in 1918.

‡ The cases of dependency and delinquency here recorded are known in the organizations concerned as "official cases," that is, they are the more permanent and serious cases with which the organizations have to deal.

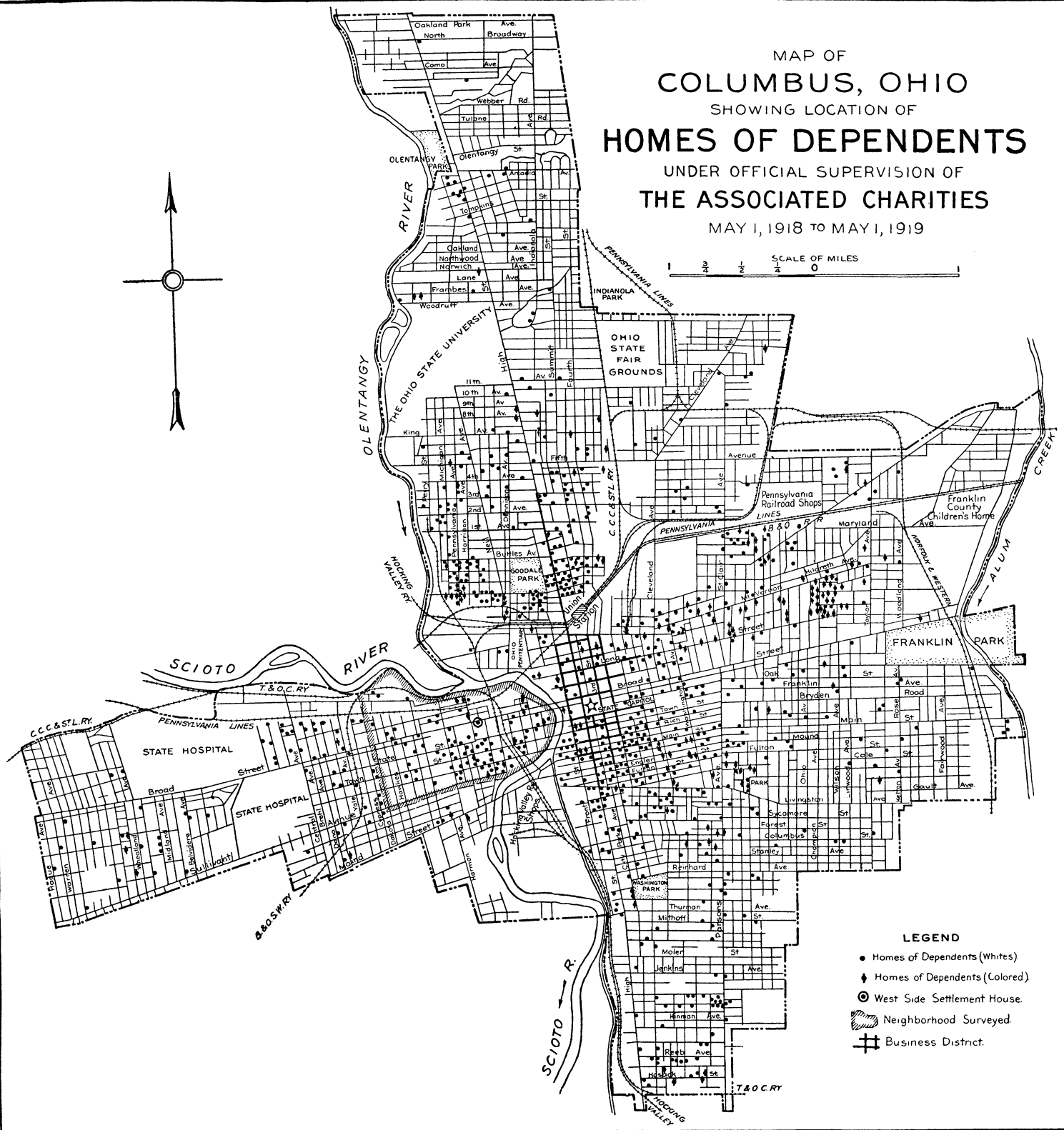
happen to include industrial areas and have comparatively large colored and immigrant populations.

While our method of measuring mobility does not indicate whether the movements of families are from one community to another or from one neighborhood to another within the community, still a few sample cases seem to show the latter type of movement predominates. For instance, in Ward 9, out of the total 743

MAP OF  
**COLUMBUS, OHIO**  
 SHOWING LOCATION OF  
**HOMES OF DEPENDENTS**  
 UNDER OFFICIAL SUPERVISION OF  
**THE ASSOCIATED CHARITIES**  
 MAY 1, 1918 TO MAY 1, 1919



SCALE OF MILES  
 1 1/2 2 3 4 0

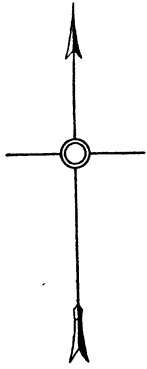


**LEGEND**

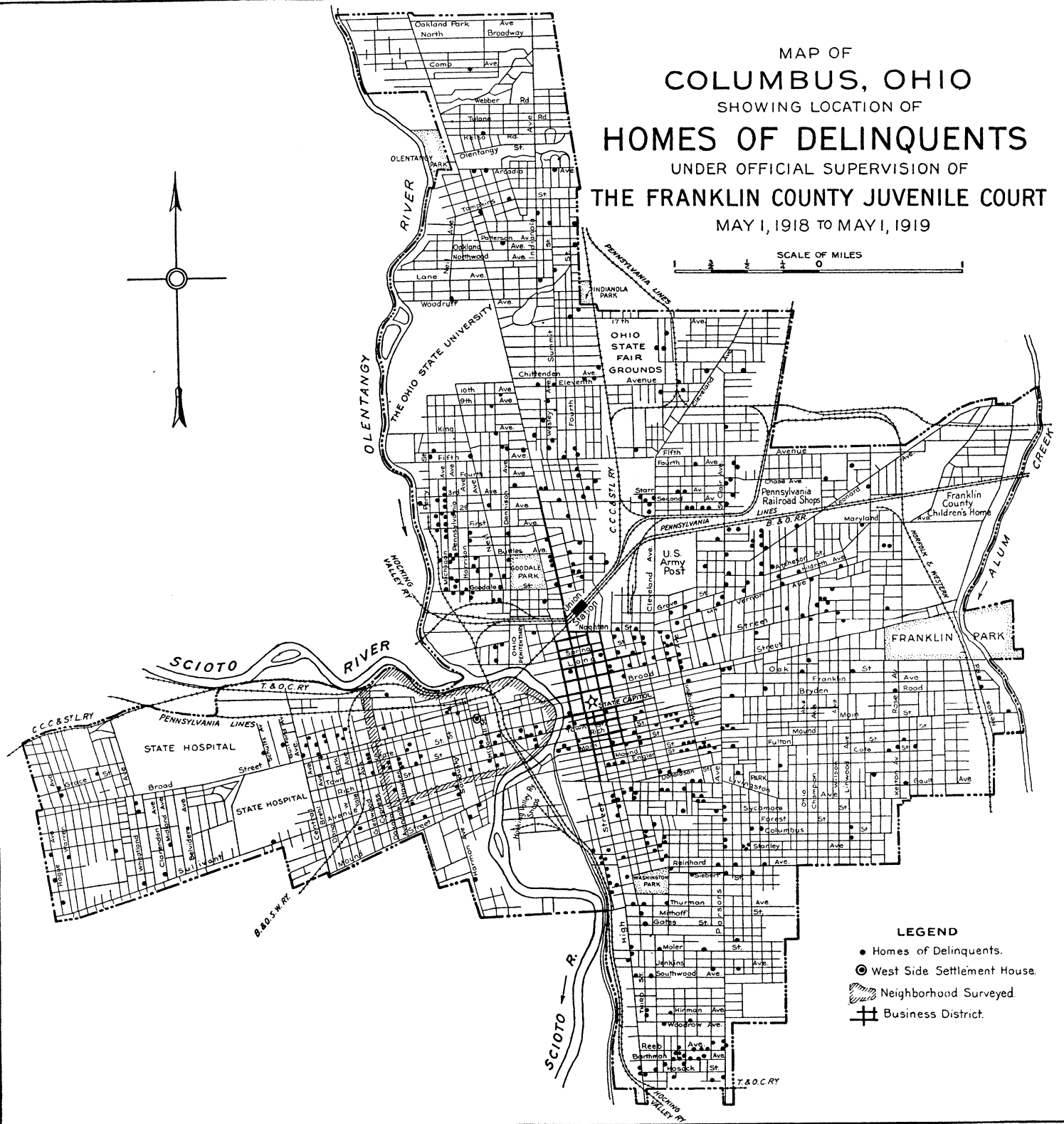
- Homes of Dependents (Whites).
- ◆ Homes of Dependents (Colored).
- ⊙ West Side Settlement House.
- ▨ Neighborhood Surveyed.
- ⊞ Business District.



MAP OF  
**COLUMBUS, OHIO**  
 SHOWING LOCATION OF  
**HOMES OF DELINQUENTS**  
 UNDER OFFICIAL SUPERVISION OF  
**THE FRANKLIN COUNTY JUVENILE COURT**  
 MAY 1, 1918 TO MAY 1, 1919



SCALE OF MILES  
 0 1/2 1 2



registered electors for 1917 whose names reappeared in the 1918 list, 141, or an average of 19.1 per cent, were listed with different street addresses within the confines of their respective precincts. When it is recalled that the precinct in Columbus comprises a very small area of but one or two city blocks, it is obvious that quite a considerable amount of mobility is from house to house within the same neighborhood. Another sounding was taken in Ward 16, an area of higher economic status. All the families in a single block were canvassed. Of the fifty-one families visited eleven had been on the street less than one year, thirty-two less than five years, and the remainder from five to ten years. Forty-one families had moved to the street from some other section of Columbus and of this number twenty-eight had moved to the street from the immediately surrounding neighborhood.

Again there is a type of mobility that is not indicated by change of residence, but which is almost as significant from the standpoint of neighborhood life. This is measured by the ability of the individual, due to modern methods of communication, to utilize the larger social environment afforded by the community as a whole. The automobile, street car, telephone, and press, together with increased leisure time, have all contributed greatly to the breakdown of neighborhood ties. Moreover, the disintegrating effects of these modern means of communication are not confined to the city alone. They have equal significance with reference to life in the country. To quote Cooley:

In our own life the intimacy of the neighborhood has been broken up by the growth of an intricate mesh of wider contacts which leaves us strangers to people who live in the same house. And even in the country the same principle is at work, though less obviously, diminishing our economic and spiritual community with our neighbors.<sup>1</sup>

Warren Wilson says:

In those states in which the trolley system has been extended into the country, for instance Ohio and Indiana, the process of weakening the country population has been hastened. Sunday becomes for country people a day for visiting the town and in great numbers they gather at the interurban stations. The city and town on Sunday is filled with careless, hurrying groups of visitors, sight-seers and callers, who have no such fixed interest as that

<sup>1</sup> *Social Organization* (1912), p. 26.

expressed in church-going or in substantial social processes. For the time being interurban trolley lines have dissipated the life of the country communities.

Referring to the use of the telephone and rural free delivery Wilson continues:

The old acquaintance and the intimate social relations of the country community have not been helped by the telephone: and along with the presence of aliens in the community, one quarter or one half or three quarters of the population, the telephone has had the effect of lowering the standards of intimacy and separating the households in the country from one another. The Rural Free Delivery has put the country people into the general world economy and for the time being has loosened the bonds of community life.<sup>2</sup>

It is an obvious fact that in isolated rural communities or backward city neighborhoods where the telephone has not become an instrument of common usage and where poverty restricts the use of secondary means of transportation, or where linguistic barriers prevent communication with the outside world; in such neighborhoods are to be found the best examples of the old neighborly forms of association. I shall, however, reserve for a later chapter the discussion of the influences of secondary means of communication upon social life in a city neighborhood.

<sup>2</sup> *The Evolution of the Country Community*, p. 128.

[To be continued]