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A STUDY OF ARRESTS IN DETROIT, 1913 TO 1919¹

ARTHUR EVANS WOOD²

The following data aim to give a picture of the arrest situation in the city of Detroit for a seven year period, 1913-1919. The exposition of the material gathered may be made by setting forth a series of questions the answers to which are to be found in the data.

I. UNDER WHAT CHARGES IS THE TOTAL VOLUME OF ARRESTS, MALE AND FEMALE, DISTRIBUTED?

Seventeen main classifications of arrest charges were adopted within which fell the specific crimes named on the arrest cards. There were 186,662 male arrests, and 40,493 female arrests. TABLE I presents the distribution of these total arrests, male and female, with per cents, in accordance with, first, the major classifications of arrest charges; and, secondly, the specific crimes named within each major classification.

TABLE I

MAJOR AND MINOR CLASSIFICATION OF ARREST CHARGES 1913-1919, SHOWING NUMBERS AND PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION, BY SEXES

Classification of Arrest Charges	Male			Female		
	Number	% of Class	% of Total	Number	% of Class	% of Total
ALL CHARGES	186,662		100.	40,493		100.
Against Safety of State.....	6,669	100.	3.58	39	100.	.096
Violating Conscription Law		85.				
Conspiracy					5.1	
Desertion		8.6				
Alien enemy		2.1				
Impersonating soldier or of- ficer		1.7			5.1	
Espionage .....		.6			5.1	
Sedition					72.0	
Desecration of the flag.....					12.8	

¹This study was undertaken initially by the Detroit Community Union and the Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research, each contributing 50% of its cost. The work was begun under the direction of Mr. Arch Mandel and a committee of whom the present writer was a member. Mr. Mandel was then a member of the staff of the Bureau of Governmental Research, and is now Secretary of the Dayton Community Chest. The completion of the study in its present form is the work of the writer. The original data were taken from the arrest cards in the Record Bureau of the Detroit Police Department.

²Professor of Sociology in the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich.

Interfering with Administration of Justice.....	133	100.	.07	67	100.	.16
Perjury		32.4			65.8	
Interfering with officer.....		25.5			26.8	
Contempt of court.....		24.8			4.5	
Resisting officer		8.3			1.5	
Obstructing execution of law for money		1.2				
Concealment of crime.....		.9				
Aiding escape of prisoners.		.6			1.5	
Disorderly Conduct	70,904	100.	.38.0	18,500	100.	45.71
Disorderly person		51.6			68.8	
Disturbing the peace.....		41.5			14.5	
Disorderly conduct		4.0			9.8	
Disorderly acts		2.5			6.7	
Loitering .....					.6	
Drunkenness	24,971	100.	13.4	2,095	100.	5.16
Begging and Vagrancy.....	5,707		3.07	739	100.	1.83
Begging		78.6			95.1	
Vagrancy		21.4			4.9	
Gambling	1,992	100.	1.07	10	100.	*
Gaming		92.5				
Operating gaming rooms...		6.9			50.0	
Operating lottery					50.0	
Violating Regulatory Statutes	17,652	100.	9.47	1,671	100.	4.12
Traffic laws		77.0			18.0	
Drug law		4.3			9.8	
Immigration law		4.1			46.0	
Interstate commerce law...		2.9			.8	
Parole law		2.8			.8	
Health law		1.5			9.3	
Plumbing law		1.4			4.0	
Food law		1.1				
Labor law .....		.8				
Barber law .....		.8				
Selling to a minor.....		.7				
Postal law					1.3	
Game law					2.3	
Quarantine law					1.4	
Medical law					2.1	
Merchandise law .....					.5	
Violating Liquor Laws.....	1,440	100.	2.38	504	100.	1.25
Larceny	21,528	100.	11.53	5,206	100.	12.86
Petty larceny		50.3			71.7	
Grand larceny		29.3			14.8	
Driving away automobile...		9.3				
Larceny from person.....		9.0			10.5	
Attempt to drive away auto.		.9			2.5	
Attempt larceny from person		.7				
Larceny by Fraud.....	5,051	100.	2.72	1,269	100.	3.14
Embezzlement		18.6			1.6	
Removing contract property		16.0			20.6	
Receiving stolen property..		14.7			6.5	
False pretence		10.2			4.7	
Violating U. S. Revenue law		7.6			32.3	
Forgery		6.8			.9	
Larceny by conversion.....		5.7			2.8	

*Less than one-tenth of 1 per cent.

Uttering and publ. bad checks		5.6			16.4	
Defrauding hotel keeper....		4.2			9.8	
Extortion		3.7				
Defrauding garage keeper..		3.4			9	
Counterfeiting .....		.9				
Robbery (violence) and Burglary (breaking and entering)	5,223	100.	2.80	857	100.	2.12
Breaking and entering.....		43.8			5.1	
Robbery		28.8			2.2	
Assault and robbery, armed		10.0			59.0	
Burglary		7.2			.8	
Assault and robbery un-armed		4.5			24.0	
Breaking and entering rail-road car		1.6			10.4	
Robbery (attempted)		1.9				
Attempt to break and enter		.8			4.1	
Robbery of bank.....		.5				
Assault (and carrying weapons)	12,757	100.	6.86	1,316	100.	3.24
Assault and battery.....		58.0			54.4	
Carrying concealed weapons		18.7			2.1	
Assault, felonious		12.0			6.3	
Cruelty to animals.....		4.9			22.4	
Assault to do bodily harm..		2.1			.8	
Threats		1.2			10.1	
Slander		1.1				
To send or possess explosives to do bodily harm.....		.5			.5	
Careless use of firearms....					.5	
Kidnap or attempt to kidnap					1.2	
Abortion .....					.9	
Homicide	1,033	100.	.55	57	100.	.14
Murder		41.5			42.0	
Manslaughter		30.4			14.1	
Assault to murder.....		25.3			21.8	
Attempt to murder.....		1.8			6.3	
Conspiracy to murder.....		1.0				
Accessory after murder....		1.0				
Property Destruction	785	100.	.42	122	100.	.30
Malicious injury to property		82.4			87.7	
Arson		12.9			2.5	
Procuring to commit arson.		1.9				
Injury to tombs,, etc.....		1.8			9.8	
Sex Offenses	3,188	100.	1.71	7,977	100.	19.71
Bastardy		25.1				
White slavery		12.2			.3	
Pandering		11.1			3.25	
House of ill fame (bawdy house)		9.0			10.6	
Contributing to delinquency of female child		8.6			.7	
Adultery		6.1			1.7	
Indecent liberties with female children		4.6				
Lewd and lascivious cohabitation		3.5			1.1	
Bigamy		1.2			.4	
Assault to rape.....		.6				

Prostitution					81.2	
Seduction .....					.5	
Family Neglect	4,505	100.	2.42	18	100.	.04
Non-support		95.6				
Abandonment		3.5			89.0	
Desertion .....		.9				
Family neglect					11.0	
Miscellaneous	124	100.	.06	46	100.	.11

II. HOW DOES THE TOTAL VOLUME OF ARRESTS, AND THE VOLUME WITHIN EACH SPECIAL CLASS OF ARREST, VARY WITHIN THE SEVEN YEAR PERIOD, 1913-1919?

A summary answer to these questions is to be found in the following discussion:

1. Total Arrests, 1913-1919.

Male Arrests (186,662 for the whole period) increased from 20,323 in 1913 to 29,598 in 1919, the peak number being 36,336 or 19.5 per cent in 1917. The general increase within the period is partly accounted for by the increase in population of males over 17 years of age in Detroit during the period which was from 198,772 to 330,709.³ The fluctuations within the period from year to year are undoubtedly affected by changes in police policy as well as by changing social conditions.

Female Arrests (40,493 during the period) increased from 2,110 in 1913 to 9,779 in 1919, the peak number or 24.1 per cent of total occurring in the last year. The female population over 17 years of age increased during this period from 176,055 to 296,082.⁴

2. Special Classes of Arrest.

(a) The fluctuations, year by year, with reference to particular classes of arrest are of significance. For example, the 6,669 male arrests for crimes against the "safety of the state" fell mostly within the year 1918, when there were 5,566 male arrests on this charge or 83.5 per cent of total. This crime, obviously, was occasioned by the War, as "violating the conscription law" constituted 85 per cent of all male crimes under this head. Female crimes under this general category were too few to be of significance.

(b) Arrests for crimes against the "administration of justice" were relatively few in number for both males and females, peak number for both sexes falling within the year 1918. As seen from table I, perjury was the most frequent offense under this head.

³Based on estimates of the Detroit Board of Education. On this basis the per cent of male arrests of the total male arrestable population increased during the period from 10 to 13 per cent.

⁴The per cent of female arrests based upon total female arrestable population increased from 1 to 27/10 per cent.

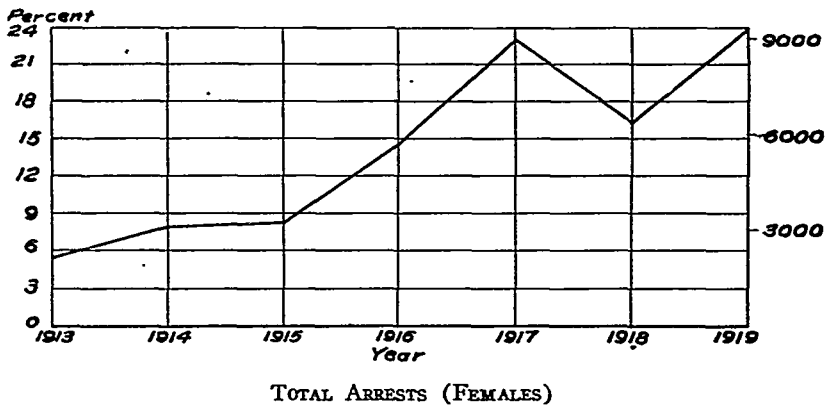
- (c) Arrests for "disorderly" crimes bulk very large in the total numbers for both sexes, there being 70,904 males, or 38 per cent of total male arrests, and 18,500 females, or 45.7 per cent of total female arrests, involved in this general category of crime. For both sexes the peak numbers for "disorderly" crimes fall within the year 1917. This fact may well reflect extraordinary police activity against the "floating" population of the city at the time of the draft. Aside from the probability of the influence of war conditions, other factors are at work to cause, for example, the percentage of women arrested on "disorderly" charges to drop over 10 per cent from 1917 to 1918, and then to increase over 10 per cent in 1919.
- (d) On the charge of "drunkenness" 24,971 males were arrested during the period, or 13.4 per cent of total number of male arrests; and on this charge were arrested 2,095 females, or 5.1 per cent of total female arrests. The percentage distribution during the seven year period of nearly 25,000 male arrests for "drunkenness" is very uneven. It is year by year 1913-1919 as follows: 20.6, 5.9, 11.6, 14.4, 11.2, 11.9, 24.3. A high per cent of females arrested on this charge occurred in 1913 (19.1); from then on there was a marked drop until 1919 when it rose again to 17.7 in 1919. Shifting policies within the police department are doubtless involved.
- (e) For "begging and vagrancy" there were 5,707 males arrested during the period 1913-1919. Sixty per cent of these arrests occurred from 1913-1915; only 7 per cent the last two years, 1918-1919. Nearly half of the arrests of females on this charge occurred in 1917.
- (f) The violation of "regulatory statutes" involved 17,652 male arrests during the seven years, 77 per cent of such infractions coming under the head of traffic violations. The volume of these arrests was low until and during 1916. For some unascertained reason, possibly an increased number of municipal ordinances, or a more drastic enforcement, there was a two- to four-fold increase in male arrests for this cause during the last three years of the period. Female arrests for this cause were relatively few, and, such as there were, occurred mostly in the last three years.
- (g) Violation of "liquor laws" resulted in 4,440 male arrests during the seven year period, and in only 504 female arrests. Ninety-one percent of the male arrests occurred in 1917, 1918 and 1919, presumably as a consequence of state and federal prohibition legislation.
- (h) Crimes of "personal violence" occasioned the arrest of 12,757 males, and of 1,316 females during the whole period. Crimes under this head are predominantly male crimes (assault and battery, felonious assault, etc.). The percentage distribution by years of these 12,757 male arrests displays some irregularity. It is as follows for the seven years: 13.8, 14.1, 15.3, 17.6, 18.3, 10.7, 9.8. The decline in the last two years of the series may possibly be accounted for by war conditions which herded young men into

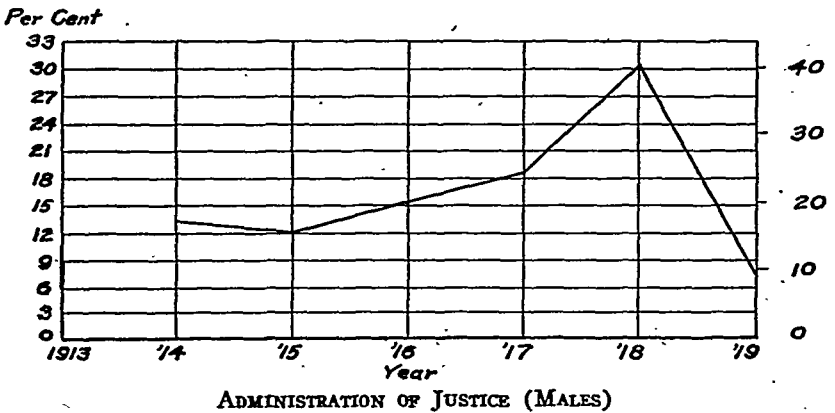
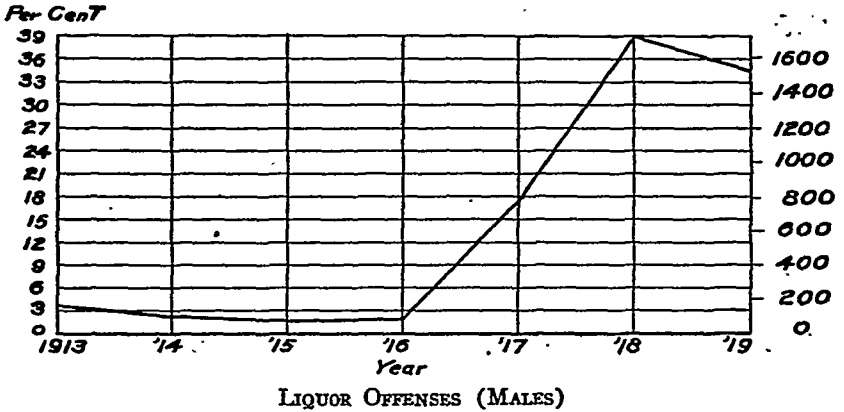
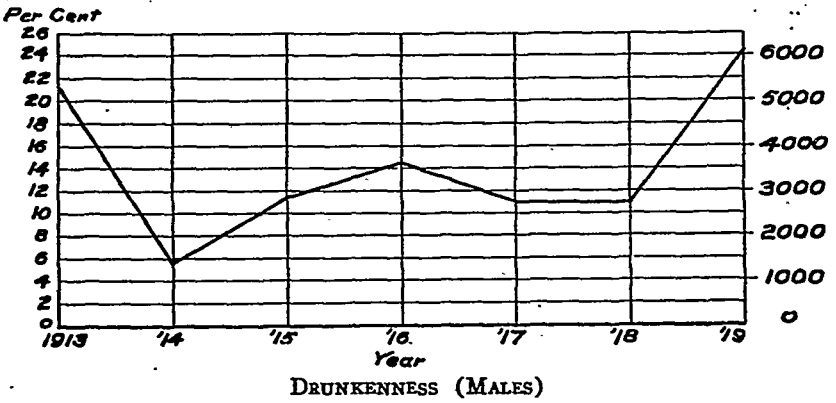
the army, or made them otherwise give account of themselves at home.

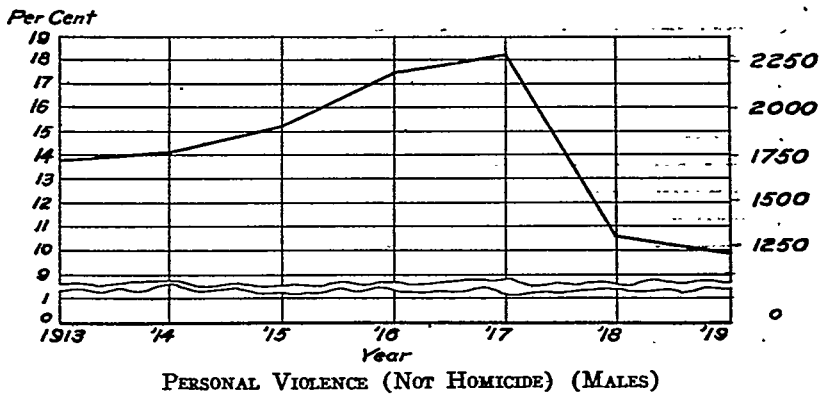
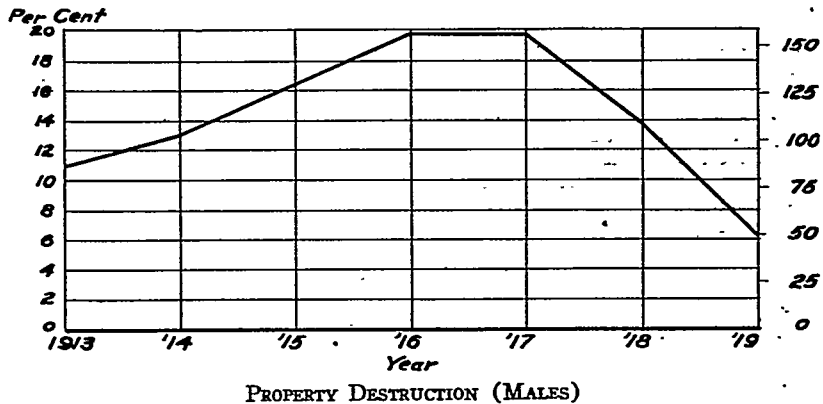
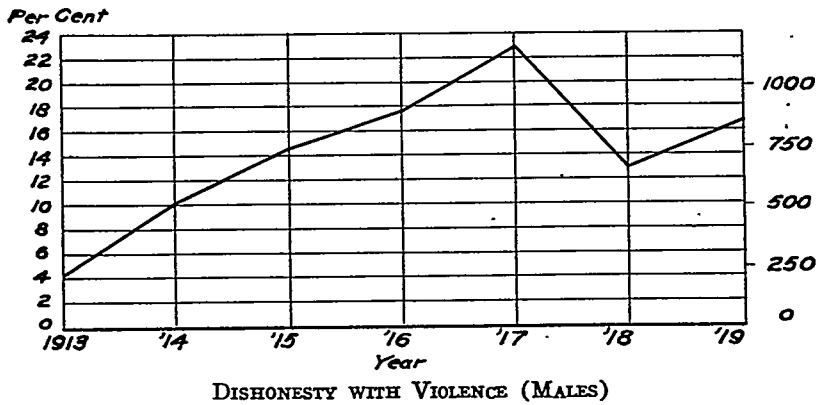
- (i) "Homicide" was the charge on which 1,033 males and 57 females were arrested. The peak year for male arrests for homicide was in 1917, in which occurred one-fourth of all male arrests on this charge. Sixty-one percent of all male arrests for homicide fell within the years 1916, 1917, and 1918.
- (j) Arrests for crimes of "property destruction" were relatively few in numbers during this period. The peak year for male arrests for this cause was in 1916 and for female arrests, 1917.
- (k) "Simple dishonesty" (or larceny) involved the arrest of 21,518 males, or 11.5 percent of all males arrested during the period; and 5,206 females were arrested for crimes under this head, or 12.8 per cent of all females arrested. The percentage distribution for male arrests shows a steady increase up to the peak year of 1917, following which there is a distinct falling off. On the other hand, the peak year for female crimes of this order was 1919, when nearly one-third of all female arrests for this cause took place.
- (l) "Fraudulent dishonesty" caused 5,051 male arrests and 1,269 female arrests. Male arrests increased steadily up to the peak year of 1917, after which they declined. Female arrests for crimes of this character also increased up to 1917, there being a very sharp rise in 1916. After 1917, there was a slight decline in 1918; and then a very marked increase, such that over one-third of all female arrests for crimes under this head occurred in 1919.
- (m) "Dishonesty with violence" (robbery, robbery-armed, burglary, etc.) was the occasion of the arrest of 5,223 males and 857 females during the seven years. The male crimes under this head were chiefly "breaking and entering" (43.8 per cent of total) and "robbery" (28.8 per cent of total). Three-fifths of female arrests in this general class were for "assault and robbery armed." The percentage distribution of male arrests by years showed an increase until 1917, after which there was a decline. Female arrests on charges under this head displayed an increase year by year until 1917, after which there was a decline, and and then in the last year a great increase. In fact one-half of the entire number of female arrests under this head fell in the year 1919.
- (n) "Sex offenses" caused the arrest of 3,188 males and of 7,977 females during the period. Crimes under this head occasioned 19.7 per cent of all females arrested during the seven years. Bastardy, white slavery, and pandering were the chief types of sex offence among males; while prostitution and keeping a bawdy house included 91.8 per cent of the female sex offenses. The trend in regard to sex offenses for both males and females indicates an increase yearly until 1917, and after that a marked decline.

- (o) "Family neglect" (non-support, desertion, etc.) led to the arrest of 4,505 males and of only 18 females during the period. Of males arrested 95.6 per cent were on charges of non-support. The peak year for male offenses of this type was 1916. The war years, including 1919, showed a marked falling off.
- (p) "Miscellaneous" or unclassified offenses were the cause of too few arrests to indicate anything of significance as to their year by year distribution.

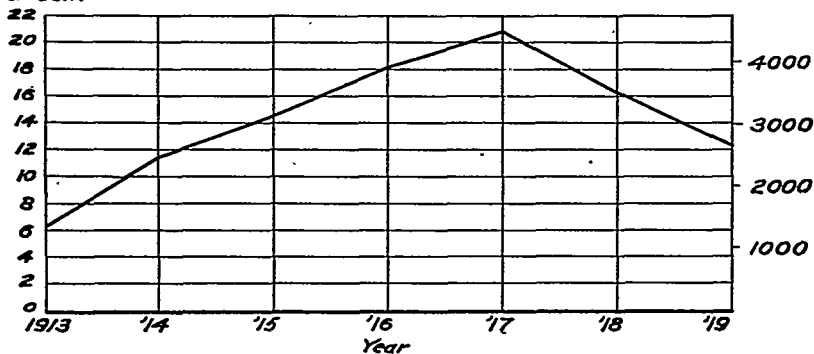
In relation to our answers to Question II we present in this connection a series of Charts, indicating the yearly trend for all male and female arrests during the period; the yearly trends for female arrests on charges of Sex Offenses; and the yearly trend for male arrests on charges falling under the special classifications of Safety of State, Administration of Justice, Regulatory Statutes, Property Destruction, Disorderly Offenses, Drunkenness, Begging and Vagrancy, Liquor Offenses, Simple Dishonesty (Larceny), Dishonesty with Violence (Robbery, Burglary, etc.), Personal Violence, Not Homicide (Assaults, etc.), Homicide, and Family Neglect.





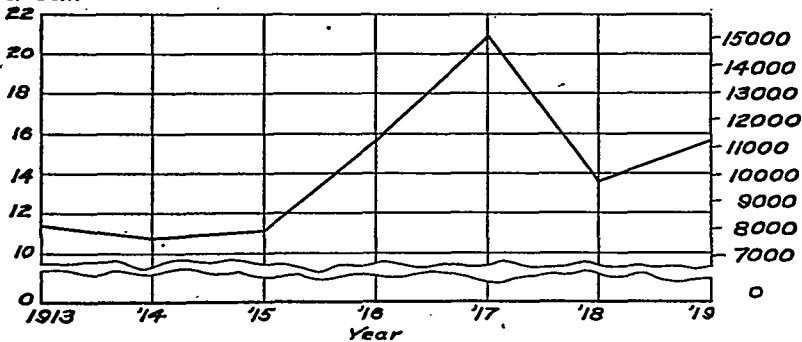


Per Cent



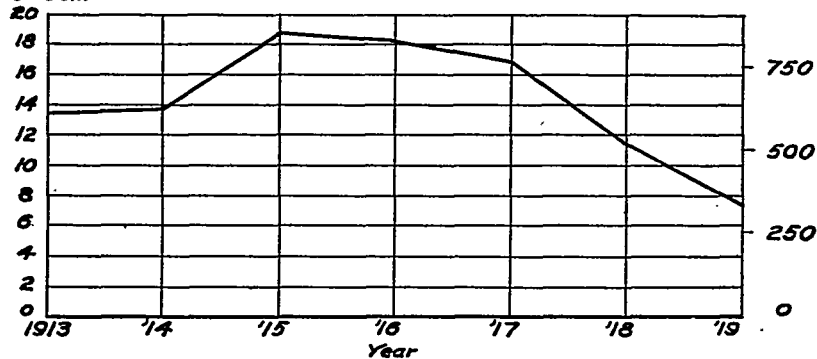
SIMPLE DISHONESTY (MALES)

Per Cent

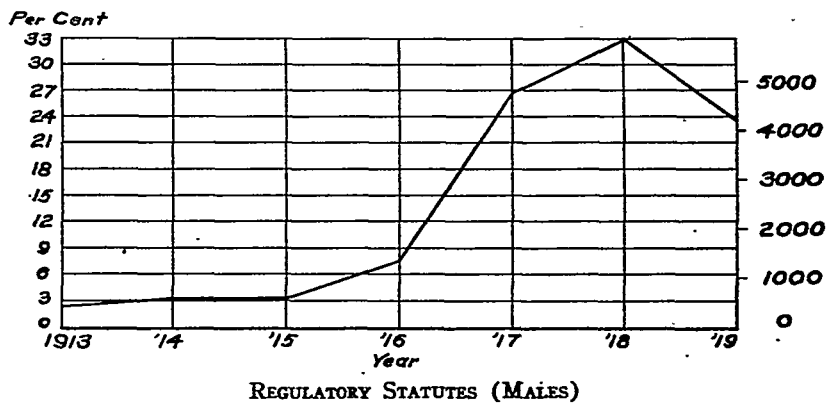
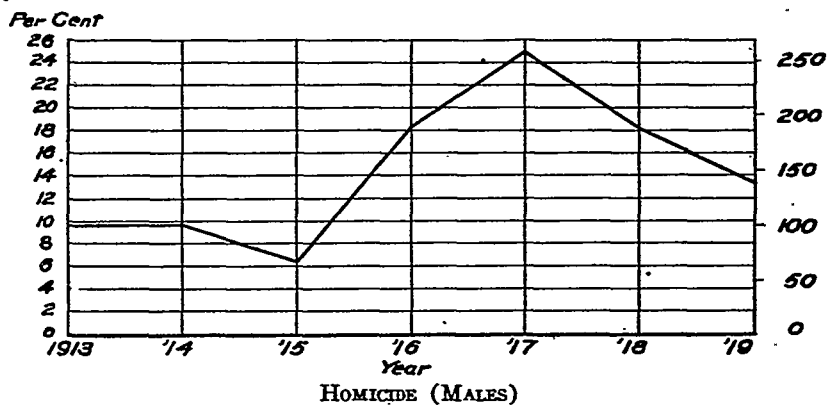
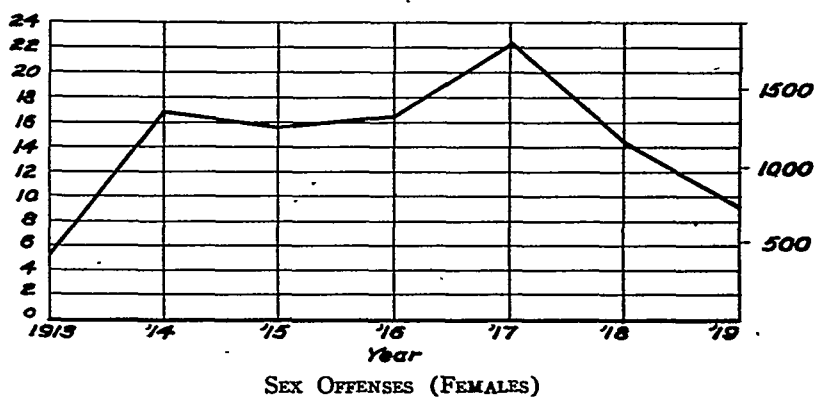


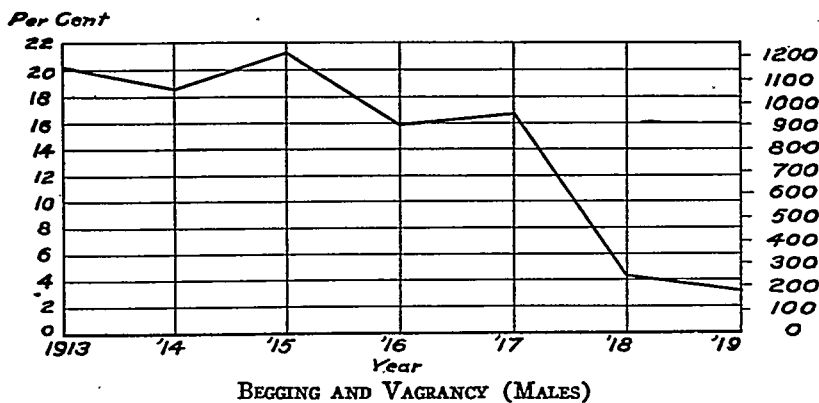
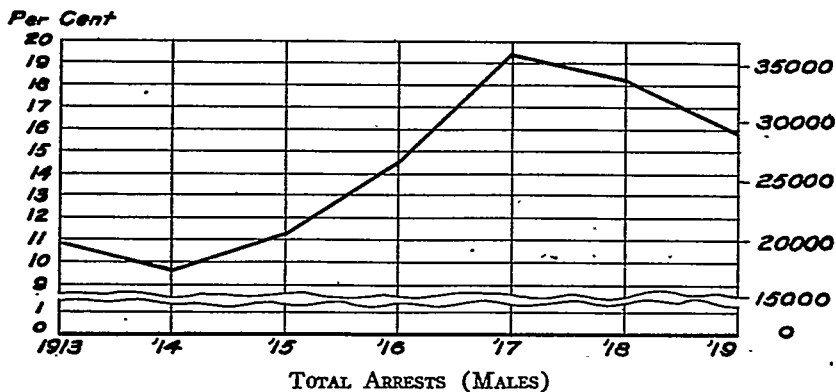
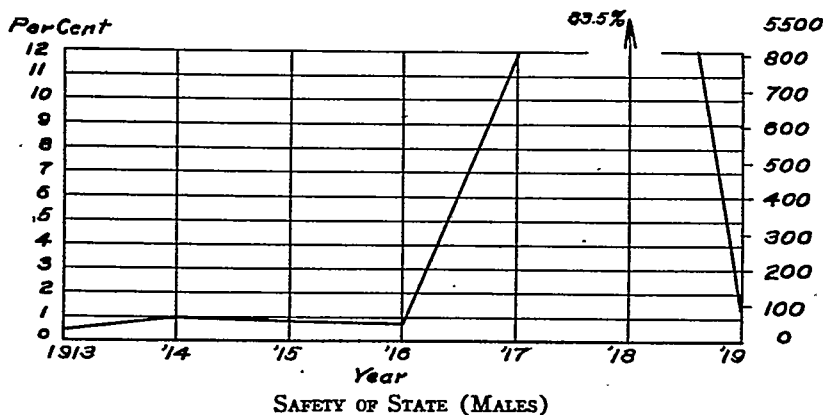
DISORDERLY OFFENSES (MALES)

Per Cent



FAMILY NEGLECT (MALES)





III. WHAT IS THE FLUCTUATION WITHIN THE PERIOD AS REGARDS THE RELATIVE IMPORTANCE OF EACH SPECIAL CLASS OF ARREST?

In answer to this question the data are presented for male arrests only. We have the following, which gives the highest and lowest per cent that the arrests under each special classification constitute of the total yearly volume of male arrests:

	Per cent	Per cent
1. Safety of State.....	.1 (1913)	16.4 (1918)
2. Administration of Justice..	.0 (1913, 1919)	.1 (other years)
3. Disorderly	28.8 (1918)	42.9 (1914)
4. Drunk	7.7 (1917)	25.4 (1913)
5. Begging .....	.3 (1919)	5.2 (1914)
6. Vagrants .....	.2 (1918)	1.0 (1913, 1917)
7. Gambling .....	.4 (1919)	1.7 (1914, 1915)
8. Regulatory Statutes	2.1 (1913)	17.2 (1918)
9. Liquor Offenses .....	.3 (1915, 1916)	5.2 (1919)
10. Simple Dishonesty	6.6 (1913)	14.6 (1915)
11. Dishonesty by Fraud.....	2.2 (1918)	3.5 (1914, 1915)
12. Dishonesty with Violence...	1.1 (1913)	3.6 (1915)
13. Personal Violence	4.0 (1918)	10.1 (1914)
14. Homicide .....	.3 (1915)	.7 (1916, 1917)
15. Property Destruction .....	.2 (1919)	.6 (1914, 1915, 1916)
16. Sex Offenses	1.3 (1919)	2.2 (1916)
17. Family Neglect	1.1 (1919)	4.0 (1915)
18. Miscellaneous	Too few cases	

IV. WHAT WERE THE MONTHLY FLUCTUATIONS OF ARRESTS DURING THE PERIOD, BOTH AS TO TOTAL ARRESTS AND FOR THE SPECIAL CLASSIFICATIONS?

The answer to this question is to be found in TABLE II which follows. This table presents the various classifications of offenses under which arrests were made, the numbers of males and females arrested from 1913 to 1919 under these main classifications, and the months of maximum and minimum numbers of arrests for each classification. For comparative purposes supplementary data are presented from the Report of the Detroit Police Department for 1928. These latter data refer to *complaints* rather than *arrests*, and the division by sexes is not given. On *a priori* grounds the two sets of data are not strictly comparable. Nevertheless, for those classifications of arrest for which we have the monthly variations for the two periods (1913-1919 and 1928) there is a singular approximation as to the months for the highest and lowest numbers of arrests.

TABLE II
MONTHS OF MAXIMUM AND MINIMUM ARRESTS FOR SEVENTEEN MAJOR CLASSIFICATIONS OF ARREST CHARGES, 1913-1919, COMPARED WITH MONTHS OF MAXIMUM AND MINIMUM NUMBERS OF COMPLAINTS OF CERTAIN OFFENSES COMMITTED, ACCORDING TO REPORT OF DETROIT POLICE DEPARTMENT, 1928

Classification of Arrests		Arrest Data, 1913-1919			Complaints, Detroit Police Dept. Report, 1928		
		Nos.	Months for Maximum and Minimum Numbers		Numbers Both Sexes	Months for Maximum No. of Complaints	
			Max.	Min.		Max.	Min.
1. Safety of State	Males	6,669	April	Dec.	9		
	Females	39	Oct.	Aug., Dec. ²			
2. Administration of Justice	Males	133	Nov.	Dec.	9		
	Females	67	Jan.	Aug.			
3. Disorderly Offenses	Males	70,904	Aug.	Feb.	5,270 ⁴	Aug.	Apr.
	Females	18,500	Aug.	Feb.			
4. Drunkenness	Males	24,971	Oct.	Dec.	27,678 ¹	Oct.	Jan.
	Females	2,095	Nov.	Dec.			
5. Begging and Vagrancy	Males	5,707	Mar.	Sept.	Included in "Disorderly"		
	Females	739	Aug.	Nov., Dec. ³			
6. Regulatory Statutes	Males	17,652	July	Dec.	9		
	Females	1,671	July	Dec.			
7. Liquor Offenses	Males	4,440	Dec.	Mar.	9		
	Females	504	Oct.	Apr.			
8. Personal Violence (not homicide)	Males	12,757	July	Feb.	665 ⁵	Aug.	Feb.
	Females	1,316	July	Jan.			
9. Homicide	Males	1,033	Mar.	June	9		
	Females	57	Feb., June, Sept. ⁷	Jan., Apr. ²			
10. Property Destruction	Males	785	Nov.	Oct.	9		
	Females	122	8	8			
11. Simple Dishonesty (larceny, etc.)	Males	21,528	Aug.	Apr.	13,952 ⁶	Aug.	Mar.
	Females	5,206	Feb.	May			
12. Dishonesty by Fraud	Males	5,051	Oct.	Sept.	9		
	Females	1,269	Aug.	June			
13. Dishonesty with Violence	Males	5,223	Dec.	May	749 (Robbery)	Nov.	Apr.
	Females	857	Nov.	May	542 (Burglary)	Aug.	Apr.
14. Sex Offenses	Males	3,188	May	Dec.	9		
	Females	7,977	July	Feb.			
15. Family Neglect	Males	4,505	May	Oct.	9		
	Females	18	8	8			
16. Gambling	Males	1,992	April	Jan.	9		
	Females	10	8	8			
17. Miscellaneous	Males	134	8	8	9		
	Females	46	8	8			
Total Arrests	Males	186,662	Aug.	Feb.	57,230	Oct.	Mar.
	Females	40,493	Aug.	Feb.			

¹Except Drunk Motor Law. ²None reported these months. ³Same number both months. ⁴Includes Vagrancy. ⁵The Department's Report apparently did not include here non-felonious assaults which were included in the Arrest Data. ⁶Not including Auto thefts of which there were 8,364 with a high point in October and a low point in March. ⁷Same number all three months. ⁸Too few

As will be seen from an examination of TABLE II in the *arrest* data for 1913-1919 the high and low months for total *arrests* for both males and females are August and February, respectively; while for the *complaint* data in 1928 the high and low months for total *complaints* are October and March, respectively. The totals in both cases are, of course, affected by the monthly distribution for particular classes of arrests and complaints. Let us, then, see how the distribution falls for some of these classes.

89,404 *arrests* on "disorderly" charges, including both males and females, have their maximum and minimum numbers in August and February, respectively, while 5,270 *complaints* of "disorderly conduct and vagrancy" have maximum and minimum numbers in August and April. "Begging and Vagrancy" in the *arrest* data have maximum and minimum numbers for *males* in March and September; but the *arrests* on this charge are relatively few as compared with those for "disorderly offenses." In other words, the incidence of *arrests* and *complaints* on "disorderly" charges for the two periods considered, 1913-1919 and 1928, is nearly the same.

Male "drunkenness" (24,971 in seven years) had the highest incidence for *arrests* in October and lowest in December; female *arrests* (2,095 in seven years) on this charge are highest in November and lowest in December. *Complaints* (27,678 in 1928) for both sexes on this charge are highest in October and lowest in January. Again, this closely approximates the distribution of *arrests*.

Male *arrests* (12,757 in seven years) on charges of "personal violence," not including "homicide," have high and low points in July and February; female *arrests* on these charges are high in July and low in January. 665 *complaints* for "aggravated assault" (felonious) in 1928 for both sexes are highest in August and lowest in February. Over half the *arrests* on these charges during seven years were for non-felonious forms of "personal violence" (assault and battery). This makes the *arrest* and *complaint* data on these charges, strictly speaking, non-comparable. What the foregoing distribution shows is that the *arrests* on charges of "personal violence" (felonious and non-felonious) for a period of seven years indicate high and low points as to their monthly occurrence nearly similar to those for *complaints* in 1928 for felonious forms of personal violence.

26,734 *arrests* (21,528 male and 5,206 female) 1913-1919, under the general head of "simple dishonesty" are compared with 13,952 *complaints* of "larceny" (male and female) from the Report of the Detroit Police Department, 1928. The maximum and minimum num-

bers of male *arrests* on these charges fall in the months of August and April; of female *arrests* in February and May. *Complaints* of "larceny" (both sexes) 1928, have their maximum number in August, and their minimum number in March. Considering that male *arrests* are over four times the number of female *arrests* on "simple dishonesty" charges, it is clear that the fluctuation of these charges is about the same for both *arrests* and *complaints*. Indeed, combining male and female *arrests* for "simple dishonesty" gives the same maximum and minimum incidence that is found for male *arrests* alone, namely, August and April. "Auto thefts" are separately classified in the *complaint* data, but are included with other "simple dishonesty" offenses in the *arrest* data. The high and low months for *complaints* of "auto thefts" are October and March.

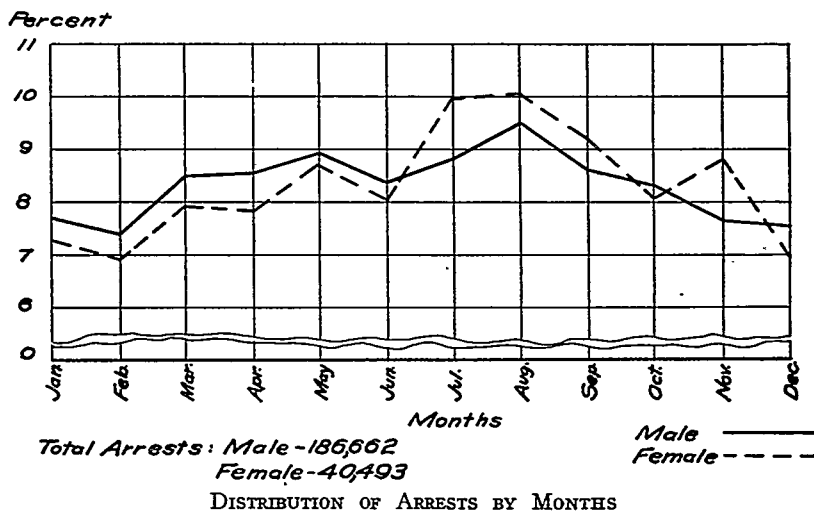
"Dishonesty with violence" (burglary, robbery, etc.) has the most numerous *arrests* for males in December, and least number for males in May. Female *arrests* on this charge have a maximum number in November and a minimum number in May. Combining numbers for male and female, we find that the maximum and minimum numbers fall in the same months as these for males alone, namely, December and May. In the *complaint* data for crimes of this character we find that for both sexes "robbery" has high and low incidence in November and April, respectively; and "burglary" has a high and low incidence for *complaints* in August and April. Combining "robbery" and "burglary" *complaints* we find that the maximum *complaints* on both charges occurs in November, and the minimum number in April. Again, on these charges the *arrest* and *complaint* data compare rather closely.

It will occur to the reader that the varying number of days in the month may conceivably have affected the monthly distribution of arrests as presented in the account given above. To check upon this possibility the total number of arrests for each month during the whole period, 1913-1919 was divided by the number of days in each month, respectively. The resulting quotients throws the low number for male arrests from February back into December, with only a very slight increase for January; but thereafter the trend is the same as if the differing lengths of the months had not been taken into account. That is to say, as far as these arrest data are indicative, the total volume of arrests in Detroit begin at a relatively low point at the beginning of the year, or at the end of the previous year, rising, month by month, until the middle of the year is reached, when there is a slight decrease, and then proceeding to a high point in the late summer, after which there is a decline to the end of the cycle. Evidence has

been presented showing a somewhat similar trend in the complaint data from the Detroit Police Department for a single year.

A Chart is herewith presented showing the monthly distribution of total male and female arrests for the seven year period.

The writer offers no explanation for this course of events as regards arrests. Such an attempt would involve one in a study of the shifting sociological and economic conditions from season to season in Detroit; and it would also involve a study of the shifting policies of the Police Department. Sufficient is it here to quote from the 1928 Report of this Department where it is stated in connection with the table of monthly distribution of complaints (Table IV A, page 12). "This information is valuable in arranging vacation periods for the force."

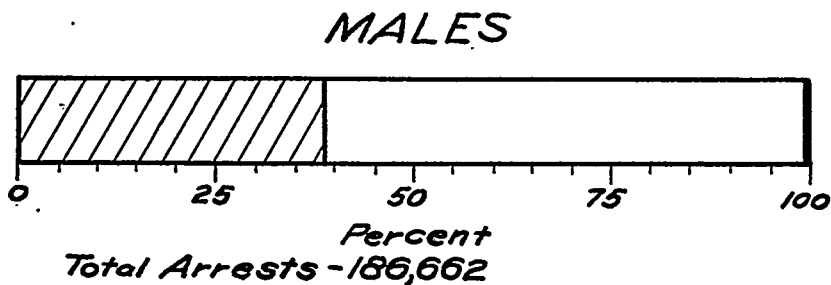


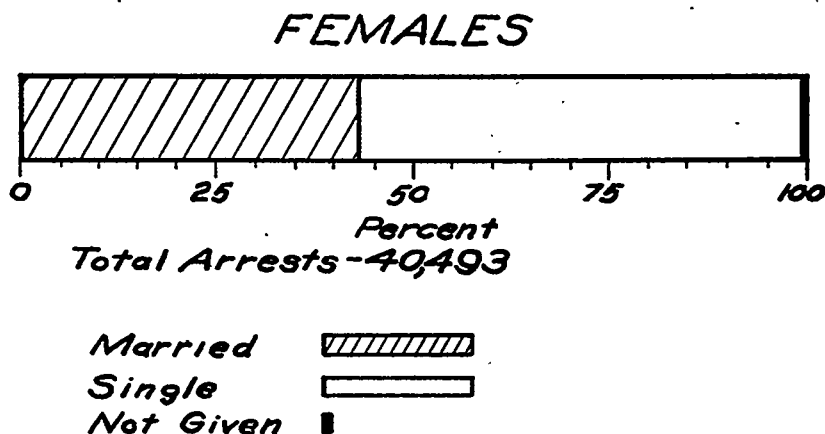
V. WHAT IS THE MARITAL CONDITION OF THOSE ARRESTED?

Data as to the marital condition of those arrested indicates that of 186,662 males arrested 38.1 per cent were married and 61.5 per cent were unmarried. Of 40,493 females arrested 42.8 per cent were married, and 56.8 per cent were unmarried. This distribution for marital status, however, varies with particular offenses. For example, in the very large group of "disorderly" offenses 33.5 per cent of the males were married, while 66.5 per cent were unmarried; and of females arrested on this account 39 per cent were married and 60.7 per cent were unmarried. Similar preponderance of the unmarried prevails among males arrested for "drunkenness"; but among females

arrested on this charge there is a much higher per cent of married women, namely, 56.1 per cent. For other arrest charges the distribution as to marital status of offenders is somewhat as follows: married males predominate among those males arrested for "liquor offenses," "personal violence" (not homicide) and "fraudulent dishonesty." Unmarried males predominate among males arrested for "property destruction," "simple dishonesty," "dishonesty with violence," "sex offenses," and "gambling." Males arrested for violating "regulatory statutes" and for "homicide" are about evenly divided among the married and unmarried. Of females the larger proportion are married who are arrested for violating "regulatory statutes," "liquor offenses," "personal violence" (not homicide), "homicide," "simple dishonesty," and "fraudulent dishonesty"; while there are more unmarried than married females among those arrested for "dishonesty with violence" and for "sex offenses." The small numbers of females arrested for "property destruction" are about evenly divided among the married and unmarried.

A Chart indicating the marital condition of those arrested is herewith presented.





ARRESTS CLASSIFIED BY SOCIAL CONDITION

VI. WHAT IS THE AGE DISTRIBUTION OF PERSONS ARRESTED?

A summarized answer to this question is presented in what follows, data for which are drawn from basic tables, and are presented separately for Whites and Negroes:

WHITES

1. For total arrests of white males and females the age group 20-30 includes the highest percentages, the same being 44.1 per cent for the former, and 55.4 for the latter respectively. Males are a little more evenly distributed, having larger percentages in the age groups under 20, and 30 and over, than females.

2. Particular arrests show a different distribution from total arrests as to age. For example, on the following charges the peak distribution as to age falls above the period 20-30:

"drunk" has the largest percentage for males and females in the age group 40-70, being 38.2 per cent for the former, and 36.2 per cent for the latter respectively.

"beggars and vagrants" have the largest percentages in age group 40-70, the same being 40.1 per cent for males, and 29.5 per cent for females.

"liquor" offenses for males are concentrated in the age period 30-40 with 39.9 per cent of all male arrests on this charge.

"homicide" and "property destruction" among females have highest percentages in the age group 30-40 with 39.9 per cent for the former and 39 per cent for the latter.

3. The arrest charges which have relatively high percentages of those arrested in the age group under 20 are as follows:

For males,

"disorderly conduct," 10.2 per cent; "regulatory statutes," 14.5 per cent; "property destruction," 10.1 per cent; "simple dishonesty," 18.7 per cent; "dishonesty (with violence)," 22.6 per cent; and "Miscellaneous," 20.5 per cent. These are the offenses which contribute most largely to the 15,977 white male arrests of persons under 20 years of age.

For females,

"Safety of State," 13.2 per cent; "administration of justice," 15.6 per cent; and "beggars and vagrants," 13.3 per cent.

NEGROES

1. Total arrests for negroes are even more heavily concentrated in the age group 20-30 than white arrests, with 48.8 per cent for males and 72.9 per cent for females in this group. As in case of the whites, negro male arrests are somewhat more evenly distributed among the different age groups than negro female arrests.

2. All arrest charges among negro females have the highest percentages in the age group 20-30; but among negro males the arrest charges for "drunk," "beggars and vagrants" and "family neglect" have their highest percentages in the age group 30-40. Moreover, among negro females four arrest charges show relatively high percents in this age group.

3. Though no negro arrests for any cause have their highest percentages in the age group 40-70, yet the following offenses show relatively high rates in this group:

For males,

"drunk," 34.6 per cent; "beggars and vagrants," 28.1 per cent; "liquor," 21.4 per cent.

For females,

"beggars and vagrants," 22.8 per cent.

4. Arrest charges among negroes that show relatively high percentages in the age group under 20 are

"beggars and vagrants" (female), 17.5 per cent.

"property destruction" (female), 11.8 per cent.

"dishonesty with violence" (female), 12.9 per cent.

"regulatory statutes" (male), 11.9 per cent.

"simple dishonesty" (male), 12.4 per cent.

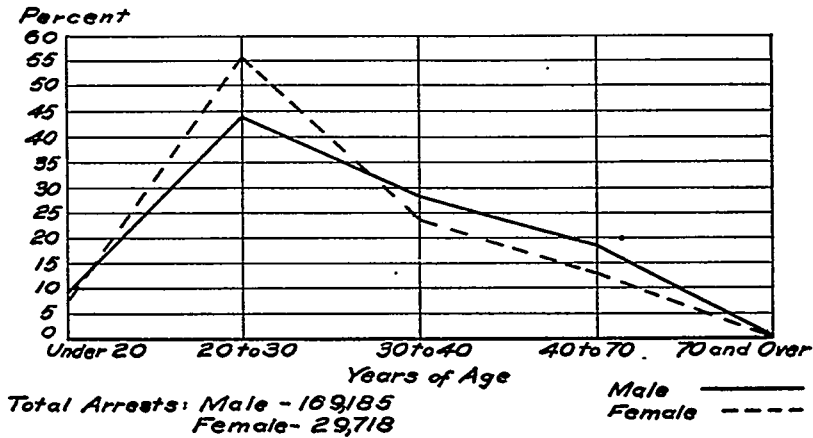
"dishonesty with violence" (male), 14.5 per cent.

The differences that obtain between whites and negroes in regard to the age distribution for arrests are undoubtedly affected by the differences in age distribution for these two groups in the general population.

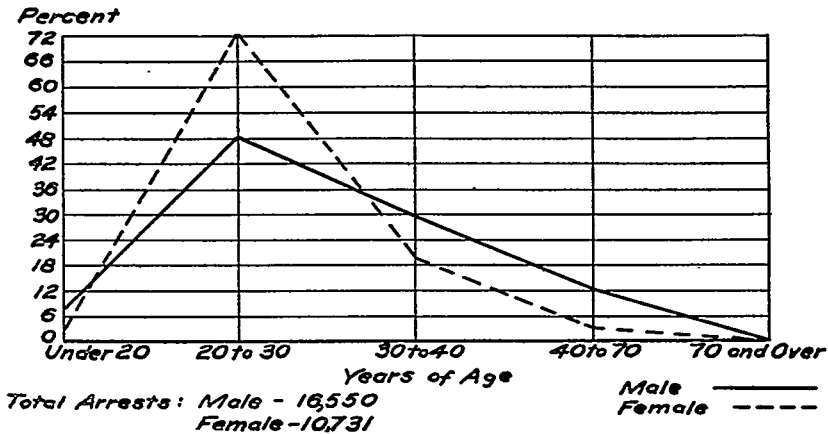
Charts are herewith presented indicating age distribution for White and Negro arrests for both males and females.

ARRESTS CLASSIFIED BY AGE

WHITES



COLORED



VII. IS THE AGE OF THOSE ARRESTED FOR SERIOUS CRIMES BECOMING GENERALLY YOUNGER?

One hears sometimes that it is. For the purpose of throwing some light on the question a comparison was made of the age distribution of those arrested for robbery and burglary in Detroit for the

period 1913-1919 and for the single year of 1928. This comparison is set forth in the following table:

TABLE III
AGE DISTRIBUTION FOR MALES ARRESTED FOR ROBBERY AND BURGLARY IN DETROIT,
1913-1919 AND 1928

Period	Total No.		Age Distribution							
	Arrested	Per Cent	Under 20		20 to 29		30 to 39		40 & over	
	(Males)		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1913-1919	4397	100	994	22.6	2358	53.6	795	18.1	250	5.7
1928	2294	100	421	18.3	1275	55.5	442	19.2	156	6.8

From the above table we note that in the period 1913-1919 of the males arrested on charges of robbery and burglary young men under 20 constituted 22.6 per cent; whereas in 1928 of the corresponding group they constituted 18.3 per cent. This does not indicate that those now charged of these crimes are younger than was the case a decade or more ago. The impressive fact is that for both periods a little over, or a little under, one-fifth of all males arrested on these charges should be boys under twenty years of age.

VIII. HOW ARE ARRESTS DISTRIBUTED AMONG NATIONALITIES?

This information is to be had from the following table IV:

TABLE IV—(Continued)

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION AMONG NATIONALITIES FOR EACH OF SIXTEEN CLASSIFICATIONS OF MALE ARRESTS, 1913-1919,
INDICATING RANK OF NATIONALITIES FOR EACH CLASS OF ARREST

[illegible]

Table IV indicates for each of the sixteen arrest classifications the per cent constituted by male arrests of each nationality, or groups of nationalities, during the seven year period 1913-1919. This is not a *crime rate* for these nationalities, but simply an indication of the relative proportions that males of different nationalities constitute in the separate volumes of arrest charges. The data are taken from the category of "nationality" on the arrest cards. Taking the percentage distribution of the nationalities for each of the arrest classifications, the table also shows the rank of each nationality group, that is, the relative volume of arrests that can be attributed to it for a given charge.

First, the nationality distribution for all arrests. Native Americans (white and negro) rank first with 57.2 per cent of all male arrests. Second rank for all arrests is given to the group Russians and Finns with 9.7 per cent. This nationality grouping is admittedly vague and misleading inasmuch as before the redistribution of territory occasioned by the War the term *Russia* on the arrest card was given by many Polish immigrants. This is a fundamental difficulty which obviously cannot be straightened out with greater accuracy. Third place in the total volume of male arrests is held by the group English and Canadians with 6.8 per cent. Fourth, are the Austro-Hungarians with 6.6 per cent. This group includes some who would now be classified under Czecho-Slovakia or Jugo-Slavia. Fifth, are the Germans, with 3.5 per cent; sixth, are the Italians, with 3.2 per cent; and seventh, are the Poles (those who gave Poland as their place of nativity), with 2.5 per cent. The remaining nationalities with rank and percentages of arrests are as follows: Irish, eighth, 2.4%; "other foreign-born," ninth, with 1.7%; Greeks, tenth, with 1.6%; Servians, Bulgarians, Rumanians, and Turks, Armenians, eleventh, with 1.3%; Belgians, twelfth, with .9%; Norwegians, Swedes and Danes, thirteenth, with .4%; French, and Mexicans, South Americans, fourteenth, with .3%; Chinese and Japs, fifteenth, with .2%; and Swiss, sixteenth, with .1%; Spanish are seventeenth with less than .1 of 1 per cent.

If we turn from the distribution of total male arrests to that for particular male arrest charges certain facts of interest appear. First, the native-born males, including white and colored, have the highest percentages for each, separate arrest classification. This, of course, is to be expected from their preponderance in the general male population. Following are presented the five highest ranking nationalities and their percentages of arrests for the more important arrest classifications:

For arrests on "disorderly" charges the ranking of the five highest nationalities is (1) Native-born Americans (white and colored) 56%; (2) Russians and Finns, 11%; (3) Austro-Hungarian, 7%; (4) English and Canadians, 6%; (5) Italians, 4%.

For "drunkenness" the five highest rankings are (1) Native-born Americans (white and colored) 61.7%; (2) English and Canadians, 10.9%; (3) Irish, 7%; (4) Russians and Finns, 6%; (5) Austro-Hungarians, 4.7%.

For "begging and vagrancy" charges we have: (1) Native Americans (white and colored), 70%; (2) English, Canadians, 10%; Irish, 10%; (3) Russians and Finns, 3%; (4) Germans, 2%; (5) Poles, .8%.

For violating "regulatory statutes" the five highest ranking are as follows: (1) Native Americans (white and colored), 68.6%; (2) English, Canadians, 8.3%; (3) Russians and Finns, 6.2%; (4) Austro-Hungarians, 3.6%; (5) Germans, 2.5%.

For "liquor offenses": (1) Native Americans (white and colored), 44.8%; (2) Russians and Finns, 15.4%; (3) Austro-Hungarians, 11.9%; (4) Germans, 6%; (5) Poles, 5.2%.

For "personal violence": (1) Native Americans (white and colored), 40.1%; (2) Russian and Finns, 17.3%; (3) Austro-Hungarians, 12.9%; (4) Italian, 5.9%; (5) English, Canadians, 4.8%.

For "homicide": (1) Native Americans (white and colored), 45.3%; (2) Italian, 23.4%; (3) Austro-Hungarians, 6.4%; (4) Russians and Finns, 6.2%; (5) English, Canadians, 4.6%.

For "simple dishonesty": (1) Native Americans (white and colored), 62.4%; (2) Russians and Finns, 8%; (3) English, Canadians, 5.9%; (4) Austro-Hungarians, 5.5%; (5) Poles, 3.2%.

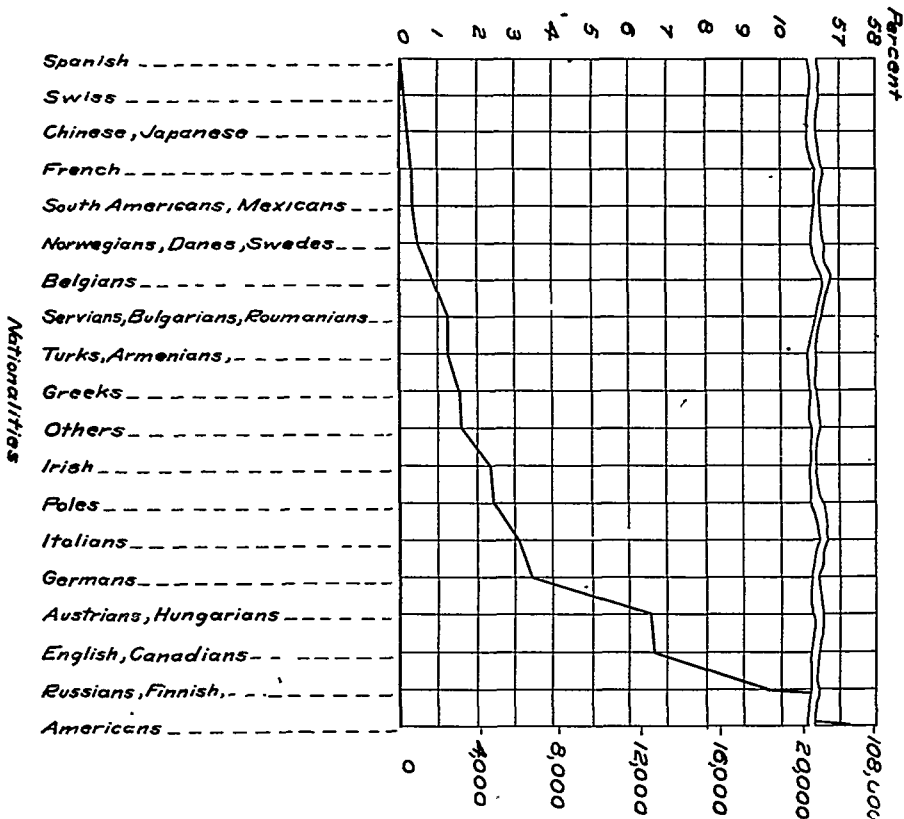
For "dishonesty with fraud": (1) Native Americans (white and colored), 49.9%; (2) Russians and Finns, 8.6%; (3) "Other foreign-born," 7.2%; (4) Italian, 5.9%; (5) English, Canadians, 5.7%.

For "dishonesty with violence": (1) Native Americans (white and colored), 67.9%; (2) Russians and Finns, 7.1%; (3) English, Canadians, 4.6%; (4) Italian, 3.8%; (5) Austro-Hungarians, 3.5%.

For "sex offenses": (1) Native Americans (white and colored), 56.2%; (2) Russians and Finns, 7.8%; (3) English, Canadians, 6.5%; (4) Austro-Hungarians, 6.3%; (5) Italian, 4.4%.

For "family neglect": (1) Native Americans (white and colored), 56.4%; (2) Russians and Finns, and English, Canadians, 8.9%; (3) Austro-Hungarians, 8.1%; (4) Germans, 7.9%; (5) Poles, 2.9%.

A Chart is herewith presented indicating the percentage distribution of arrests among the nationalities.



DISTRIBUTION OF ARRESTS BY NATIONALITIES, 1913-1919

The fuller significance of the foregoing data concerning the nationality distribution among arrests may be had by comparing the nationality per cents among arrests with the percentage distribution of nationalities for the total population of Detroit. The latter is to be seen in the following table which is based upon the School Census of Detroit as of June 1, 1921. A more accurate basis for comparing with our period (1913-1919) would have been the nationality distribution for the year 1916, but this was not readily obtainable; and a rough comparison of the respective arrest and population quotas of the nationalities can be had from the table we present.

TABLE V
CITY OF DETROIT, JUNE 1, 1921
(Population by Nativity)

Place of Birth	Male	Female	Total	Per Cent of Pop.
U. S., White.....	324,179	317,568	641,747	68.0
Canada	22,656	24,866	47,522	5.1
U. S., Colored.....	23,690	20,304	43,994	4.7
Poland	24,824	18,928	43,752	4.7
Germany	14,232	14,065	28,297	3.1
Russia	13,741	10,977	24,718	2.6
(Present Boundaries)				
Italy	11,122	7,305	18,427	1.9
England	8,666	7,349	16,015	1.7
(Proper)				
Hungary	6,362	5,345	11,707	1.2
(Present Boundaries)				
Austria	6,457	5,191	11,648	1.2
(Present Boundaries)				
Belgium	3,914	3,150	7,064	.8
Scotland	3,553	3,104	6,657	.7
Ireland	3,164	2,684	5,848	.6
Roumania	1,979	1,518	3,497	*
Greece	2,497	709	3,206	*
Lithuania	1,514	986	2,500	*
Sweden	1,224	795	2,019	*
Jugo-Slavia	1,219	705	1,924	*
Ch-Slov.	970	825	1,795	*
Malta	1,396	346	1,742	*
France	899	836	1,735	*
Armenia	1,008	523	1,531	*
Holland	872	656	1,528	*
Finland	768	695	1,463	*
Denmark	706	407	1,113	*
Australia	620	493	1,113	*
Turkey	808	399	1,207	*
Switzerland	444	337	781	*
Norway	356	250	606	*
Ukraine	334	226	560	*
Mexico	352	153	505	*
Bulgaria	385	113	498	*
Spain	269	118	387	*
China	231	97	328	*
Latvija	55	46	101	*
Japan	63	11	74	*
Portugal	39	27	66	*
All other countries.....	2,789	1,909	4,698	*
Total	488,357	454,016	942,373	

*Indicates that percentage of population is less than .5.

Further evidence, comparing the nationality and racial make-up of the arrest group with that of Detroit's population, may be had from the following table:

TABLE VI

MALE ARRESTS BY COLOR AND NATIVITY: NUMBERS AND PER CENT, 1913-1919;
 COMPARED WITH COLOR AND NATIVITY OF DETROIT'S MALE POPULATION:
 NUMBERS AND PER CENT, 1920, AND WITH PER CENT OF EACH
 POPULATION GROUP 15 YEARS AND OVER: 1920

Arrests, 1913-1919	Detroit Male Pop- ulation, 1920		Per Cent Detroit Male Population 15 Years and Over, 1920
	Numbers Per Cent	Numbers Per Cent	
Native Born White	90,313 48.2	346,894 64.2	(native par.) 70.4 (foreign par.) 57.1 (mixed par.) 60.2
Foreign Born White	79,799 42.7	169,095 31.2	95.3
Negro	16,550 8.9	23,605 4.3	86.4

In the above table male arrests (1913-1919) are distributed among Native-Born Whites, Foreign-Born Whites, and Negroes; and a similar division is made for the male population of Detroit, according to the Federal Census of 1920. The Foreign-Born Whites and the Negroes are seen to have far more than their legitimate quotas in the arrest group; and the Native-Born Whites, far less. These discrepancies are partly accounted for by the greater percentages of males *over 15 years of age* to be found among the two former groups as compared with the latter, as will be seen by examination of the final column of the table.

Table VII presents data relating to dispositions of arrests for the two periods 1913-1919 and 1928. The data for 1928 are taken from the report of the Detroit Police Department for that year. For the arrest data for 1913-1919 the divisions by sex are presented; but such a division was not made in the report of the Department. For the seven year period there were 186,662 male arrests and 40,493 female arrests. In 1928 there were 56,681 arrests of both sexes.

Coming to the dispositions, we note that of the arrests during the longer period 69.5 per cent of the males and 66.2 per cent of the females arrested were disposed of in court; while in 1928, 67.6 per cent of the arrests (both sexes) were thus disposed of. Considering the specific type of court dispositions it will be noted that from 1913-1919 54 per cent of the males, and 52.3 per cent of the females arrested, were *convicted*, though 26.4 per cent of the males and 20.2 per cent of the females had their *sentence suspended*. In 1928, 46.3 per cent of the cases were *convicted*, there being no data on suspension of sentence.

IX. HOW ARE ARRESTS DISPOSED OF BY COURTS AND POLICE?

Information on this question is given in the following table:

TABLE VII
DISPOSITION OF ARRESTS, 1913-1919 AND IN 1928

1913-1919			1928
Dispositions	Male	Female	Both Sexes
Totals	186,662	40,493	56,681
Percent	100	100.	100
Convicted and Sentenced:			
Number	51,634	13,005	26,293
Percent	27.6	32.1	
Convicted, Sentence Suspended:			
Number	49,322	8,178	46.3
Percent	26.4	20.2	
Discharged by Court:			
Number	14,049	3,412	12,204 cases or
Percent	7.5	8.4	
Dismissed by Court:			21.3 per cent ac-
Number	12,644	1,843	
Percent	6.7	4.6	quitted or other-
Nolle Prossed:			
Number	1,298	163	wise terminated
Percent .....	.6	.4	
Rearrest Ordered:			in court.
Number	1,061	163	
Percent .....	.5	.4	
Acquitted:			
Number	557	44	
Percent .....	.3	.1	
Total Court Cases:			
Number	130,580	26,808	38,497
Percent	69.5	66.2	67.6
Discharged by Police:			
Number	47,197	12,767	12,696
Percent	25.2	31.6	22.3
Given to other Authorities:			
Number	4,060	905	5,448
Percent	2.1	2.2	9.6
Transported:			
Number	4,339	....
Percent	2.1	....
Total Police Cases:			
Number	55,596	13,673	18,144
Percent	29.4	33.8	31.9
Not Given:			
Number	686	12	
Percent .....	.3	....

Other dispositions than conviction are presented for the period 1913-1919. For example, 7.5 per cent of the males and 8.4 per cent of the females were *discharged* by the court; an additional 6.7 per cent of the males and 4.6 per cent of the females had their cases *dismissed*¹ by

¹The terms "discharged" and "dismissed" both appear on the arrest cards of the Record Bureau, and mean the same thing, the former applying to the man arrested and the latter to the "case."

the court; then, .6 per cent of males and .4 per cent of females had their cases *nolle prossed*; in .5 per cent of the male and .4 per cent of the female cases a *rearrest* was ordered; and finally, .3 per cent of the males and .1 per cent of the females were *acquitted* at trial. Altogether 15.6 per cent of the male cases and 13.9 per cent of the female cases were disposed of in court otherwise than by conviction.

In the report of the Police Department for 1928 the information regarding specific type of court disposition, other than by conviction, is not given. Altogether, however, in 1928, 12,204 cases or 21.3 per cent were disposed of in court by some other means than conviction. Only an examination of court files would reveal what happened to them.

Turning to the police dispositions of the total volume of cases for the two periods, we find that in 1913-1919, 29.4 per cent of male arrests and 33.8 per cent of female arrests were handled by the police without recourse to the courts. Thus, 25.2 per cent of the males and 31.6 per cent of the females arrested were *discharged* by the police, because of lack of evidence for holding them, or for some other reason. An additional 4.2 per cent of the males, and 2.2 per cent of the females were turned over to *other authorities* or *transported* to other states or countries.

In 1928, 31.9 per cent of males and females arrested were disposed of by the police without court action. This included 22.3 per cent who were *discharged* by the police, and 9.6 per cent turned over to *other authorities*.

The conclusion would seem to be that no very great change in the outcome of cases of persons arrested as between 1928 and a decade or more ago. What change there is seems to indicate that a somewhat smaller per cent of cases are now convicted, and a somewhat larger per cent of cases are disposed of in court otherwise than by conviction, than was the case between 1913 and 1919.

Finally, arrests and dispositions for certain offenses for 1913-1919 and 1928 are presented in the following table:

TABLE VIII
ARRESTS AND DISPOSITIONS FOR CERTAIN OFFENSES, 1913-1919 AND 1928 IN DETROIT

Arrest Charge	1913-1919 (Males)						1928 (Both Sexes)					
	No. Arrested	No. Discharged by Police ¹	No. Court Cases	No. Convicted	% Convicted of those arrested		No. Arrested	No. Discharged by Police ¹	No. Prosecuted	No. Convicted	% Convicted of those arrested	
Murder	1,033	597	434 ²	175	16.9	40.3	93 84	160 117	82 27	33 47	20.6 40.1	42.3 52.2
Man-slaughter												
Assaults												
felonious	12,757	1,082	11,650 ³	6,193	48.5	53.1	665 ⁹	851 1,590	437 69	85 876	9.9 55.0	20.5 57.5
non-felonious												
Robbery	5,223	2,261	2,959 ⁴	1,733	33.1	58.5	759 542	1,015 1,062	193 628	213 251	20.9 23.6	25.9 57.8
Burglary												
Larceny	21,518 ⁵	7,218	14,296 ⁶	9,369	43.5	70.4	13,952	4,379	2,070	1,740	39.7	75.3
Auto-Theft	7	7	7	7			8,364	684	343	190	27.7	55.7
Rape	8	8	8	8			238	386	226	65	16.8	40.6

¹Or otherwise disposed of by Police. ²Disposition not given in 2 cases. ³Disposition not given in 25 cases. ⁴Disposition not given in 3 cases. ⁵Included auto thefts. ⁶Disposition not given in 4 cases. ⁷Included under larceny. ⁸In the data for 1913-1919 rape was not separately listed but included under sex offenses. ⁹Number of non-felonious assaults "Known to Police" was not given in 1928 report.

In the above table the data for 1928 are taken from the Report of the Police Department for that year. A careful examination of the table seems to indicate that the more serious the charge the less chance there is of conviction. That is, in 1928 it is seen that there is a higher percentage of convictions for manslaughter than there is for murder; larceny brings a larger proportion of convictions than robbery and burglary; and non-felonious assaults than felonious assaults. Moreover, in the data for 1913-1919 the convictions on the combined homicide charges of murder and manslaughter show a lower percentage than those for the two types of assaults; and, again, in 1913-1919 larceny more often brings convictions than robbery and burglary. In 1928 the 20.5 per cent of convictions for those prosecuted on charges of felonious assault, and the 25.9 per cent of convictions on charges of robbery bespeak a grievous failure of the criminal process at some point.

CONCLUSION

The foregoing materials present a picture of the arrest situation in Detroit over a period of years with a minimum of interpretation and explanation. Arrests are affected by two variable conditions: the volume of crime, and the activities of the Police Department, which in turn are the result of the efficiency and the policy of the police. To carry it still further, that efficiency and policy are influenced by public opinion, the standards of government, the efficiency and policy of the courts, and many other factors. What we have, then, in an arrest study is not an accurate view of the volume and character of crime, but rather one factor of the community's reaction to crime. Studies of arrests should be accompanied, therefore, by a thoroughgoing examination of the standards and policies of police departments, but such is beyond the scope of this discussion. It should be finally said that any study of police activity depends upon the completeness and accuracy of police records. Since the period covered by this study much improvement has been made in the police records of our larger cities through the efforts of the Committee on Uniform Crime Records of the International Association of Chiefs of Police. This Committee was organized through the initiative of the Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research, the same organization which sponsored the study of arrests which we have here presented.