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# THE HOUSING AWAKENING

I.  
LAWRENCE VEILLER

SECRETARY NATIONAL HOUSING ASSOCIATION

America has at last awakened to the consciousness of her slums. Throughout the land a new sense of social and civic responsibility is stirring. The "new view" of charity has brought with it a new sense of values. Social workers are now seriously asking themselves what shall it profit a man to go to the hospital if he must soon return to some vile slum.

It is now the rare person who does not immediately assent to the view that prevention is better than cure, and there is a growing conviction in all our cities that poverty is curable and even preventable. That bad environment is responsible for many of the ills of the body social and the body politic, is denied by few.

Ignorance, folly, vice, sin, and other forms of human weakness will not altogether disappear from our horizon, but we are beginning to see, as never before, the blighting effects of adverse circumstance upon both the weak and the strong. We refuse longer to believe in the innate depravity of the human race and seek outside of the individual for the causes of human frailty.

We are rightly charging to our travesties of homes, the responsibility for much of poverty, crime, insanity, disease, industrial inefficiency, political degradation. The shame of the cities is upon us, and we are feeling, as never before, the moral responsibility for the continued existence of our slums.

These sentiments, moreover, are confined to no one section of the country—from ocean to ocean, the country is aroused. North, South, East and West share in this awakened conscience.

Nor are these views by any means limited to social workers. Editors, magazine writers, public officials, conservative business men, nurses, physicians—all are awake to their responsibilities.

*Mirabile dictu*, these beliefs are being translated into action. Here and there a social worker, overborne with the sense of the futility of the old methods

of relief work, is pointing out to his associates and directors that it is more important to have adequate sanitary inspection in the homes of the poor than it is to provide coal and clothing—that instructive visiting nursing may be better than grocery tickets, that the city itself had better spend its money to strengthen its health department, than to supply outdoor relief.

It is not strange that we should have awakened to the dangers of our slums, for they have forced themselves on our attention with an insistence that could not be disregarded. Their coming has in most cases been associated with the advent of new races of immigrants, and, like most imported articles, they are costing us dear. No tariff wall has been high enough to keep them out. Few cities have been immune from the slum invasion. Staid New England college towns like New Haven have awakened with a start to find that one-third of their population is of recent foreign importation, that they have not only slums but a serious housing problem. Aristocratic Baltimore has discovered that she has heretofore been "barbarous Baltimore", and now rises in her wrath determined to slay the hydra-headed monster that has been sapping her vitality.

Indiana, stirred to its depths by one woman's recital of the wrongs of the poor, has determined to do away with her slums, and taken the first step towards that important end.

Milwaukee, a younger city of the Middle West, stimulated by its new socialist leaders, is going not only to stamp out its slums, but purposes to build for its workmen new homes on the city's outskirts.

On the Pacific coast, the stirrings of the new ferment have been profoundly felt. Los Angeles, the city of most things good, is wiping out its small slum nucleus, and through its capable woman sanitary expert is affording the whole country an object lesson in the possibili-

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ties of reform through "teaching the tenant." San Francisco, risen from its ashes, is unfortunately rearing for itself future plague-spots—but here, too, public-spirited men and women are alert and on guard.

Ohio is aroused and militant. Cleveland, city of civic spirit, and Cincinnati of civic shame, are joining hands with Columbus in sounding the death-knell of the slum.

Philadelphia, rightly famed as the "city of homes", is anew affording the country an object lesson, showing how two million people are being housed in individual small houses.

Buffalo, which for years has been the admiration of housing reformers, with its miles and miles of small houses, now shows that what has seemed so fair, may be most foul; and how the problem of room overcrowding is inseparably bound up with problems of race, in her "city of huddled Poles."

Chicago, with her miles of alleys and her magnificent distances, offers an example to the whole country in her wise standards of height limitation for new buildings; Detroit, with its sudden extraordinary growth and marvellous industrial development, has not escaped the common lot of other cities and is now fighting her incipient slums, determined to nip the evil in the bud. St. Louis, partly aroused, is at work, seeking relief from many intolerable conditions.

In the South, Kentucky has led the way and has passed the best housing law in the country, due to the public-spirited work of a few men and women in Louisville.

Washington, the nation's capital, whose blind alleys have for years been the nation's shame, is soon to show the country how a city may deal with its plague-spots and make them into gardens of delight.

Hartford, unduly burdened for a city of her size, has at last determined to throw off the reproach of her bad housing conditions, and has evolved a plan for building model houses for her workmen in the outskirts of the city, combining this with a plan of industrial development.

New York, distinguished for having the worst housing conditions in the world, but long the leader in housing reform in America, continues that leadership. Her 7,000 privies are now a thing of the past, and her 100,000 windowless bedrooms are fast disappearing.

Even Boston, where housing reform has been "in cold storage" for the past twenty years, seems at last to have been stung out of its self-satisfaction and complacency, and, though prophecy is dangerous, it may translate thought into action.

The Russell Sage Foundation through its interesting and valuable researches is about to demonstrate in outward and visible form the possibilities of cheap concrete construction through the "poured house."

Finally, the National Housing Association has come, to focus attention on the problem, to tie together the scattered threads of effort throughout the country, to stimulate and encourage, to place its experience at the service of those who need and desire it.

What strikes the observer about all these cities is the similarity of the problems. Disease-breeding privies, neglected alleys, filthy out-premises, lack of water supply, room overcrowding, defective drainage, windowless rooms, insufficient ventilation, dilapidation, neglectful landlords, and inadequate attention by the health authorities seem to be the common lot.

The outlook for the future is hopeful. The old idea that the housing problem could be solved by building a "model tenement" is fast disappearing. In its place, one finds emphasis laid upon housing laws which will control the situation for all time; on efficient and vigilant sanitary inspection; on Garden Cities and model small houses in place of huge tenements; on instructive visitation of our immigrant population, and the teaching of the elements of hygiene in the public schools and in the home. The country, though awake and aroused, does not yet sufficiently realize its obligations—does not yet quite appreciate that eternal vigilance is the price of liberty and that when it enlists in the cause of housing reform it must enlist for life.

November 19, 1910.

## THE HOUSING AWAKENING<sup>1</sup>

### II

## SOCIALISTS AND SLUMS—MILWAUKEE

CARL D. THOMPSON

CITY CLERK OF MILWAUKEE

"Milwaukee is essentially a 'city of homes.' The percentage of laboring people who own their homes exceeds that of any other city in the union. It has no congested slums or tenement districts."

This is the statement made in a prospectus issued by the Merchants and Manufacturers' Association of Milwaukee, published of course in the interests of "civic pride," attracting capital, booming the city, the greater Milwaukee, and other similar commercial ideas.

How naively innocent. Or shall we say, how adroitly misleading.

Of what city on all the American continent can it be said, "It is a city of homes?" Homes for whom? What kind of homes? Who owns them?

These are questions which no commercial association, we fear, would answer frankly and fully. In this respect Milwaukee is probably no worse and no better than the average city of its size.

### FACING THE FACTS

A new administration has come into power in Milwaukee. It views social and industrial problems from a new angle; grapples them with refreshing vigor and originality—among these none is more interesting than the housing problem—and at the outset refuses to be misled as to the facts or to conceal or

mistake the facts in the interests of a false commercial pride.

It may be accepted as practically true that there are as yet no extreme tenement or slum districts in Milwaukee, at least none of the kind which we have in New York and Chicago. But we do have in Milwaukee three foci of the disease. One is in the third ward, the Italian district, where living conditions are perhaps worst; another is in the fourteenth ward, where the Polish working class lives; and the third is in the Jewish district in the fourth ward.

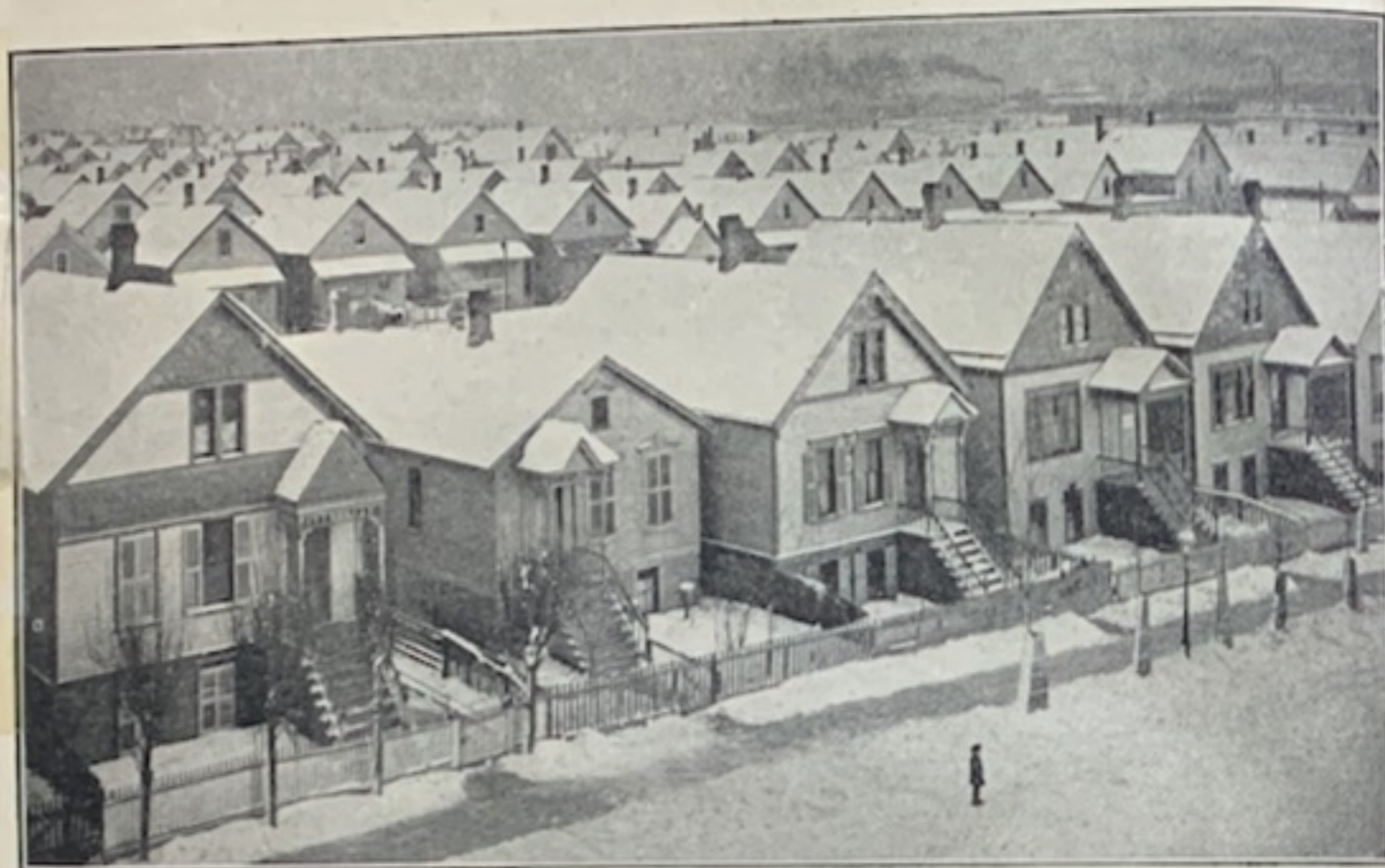
The administration is determined to prevent these foci from developing and especially from coalescing. Milwaukee is a comparatively small and relatively young city. Conditions have not developed so far as in larger cities. It is possible to prevent the growth of real tenement conditions and of a slum population. It is the resolute purpose of the present administration to prevent it if possible. It hopes that Milwaukee will never have the kind of problem which New York city, Chicago and other like cities have.

But while Milwaukee does not have real tenement houses or slum districts, it does have practically the same conditions as are found in the slums and tenement districts of larger cities. H. H. Jacobs, warden of the University Settlement, who is as familiar as anyone in the city with its housing conditions, puts



<sup>1</sup>For the opening article in this series see *The Housing Awakening*, by Lawrence Veller, in *THE SURVEY* for November 19. Price 10 cents.

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THE MILWAUKEE OF TODAY.

Typical of several sections to which Mr. Thompson applies a term usually confined to larger centers—"the city wilderness."

it this way, "What we have in Milwaukee is tenement and slum conditions in the cottage dwellings of the city."

When some of the newspaper men and charity workers of the city were taking Mr. Veiller on a tour of inspection through the fourth ward Ghetto, and again through the Italian quarter of the third ward, he told us that he had never seen anything worse in New York or Chicago than he saw in certain individual cases here and there in the housing conditions of Milwaukee. This opinion was supported by other experts, and from such knowledge as I have of housing conditions in the various cities, I am of the opinion that it is true.

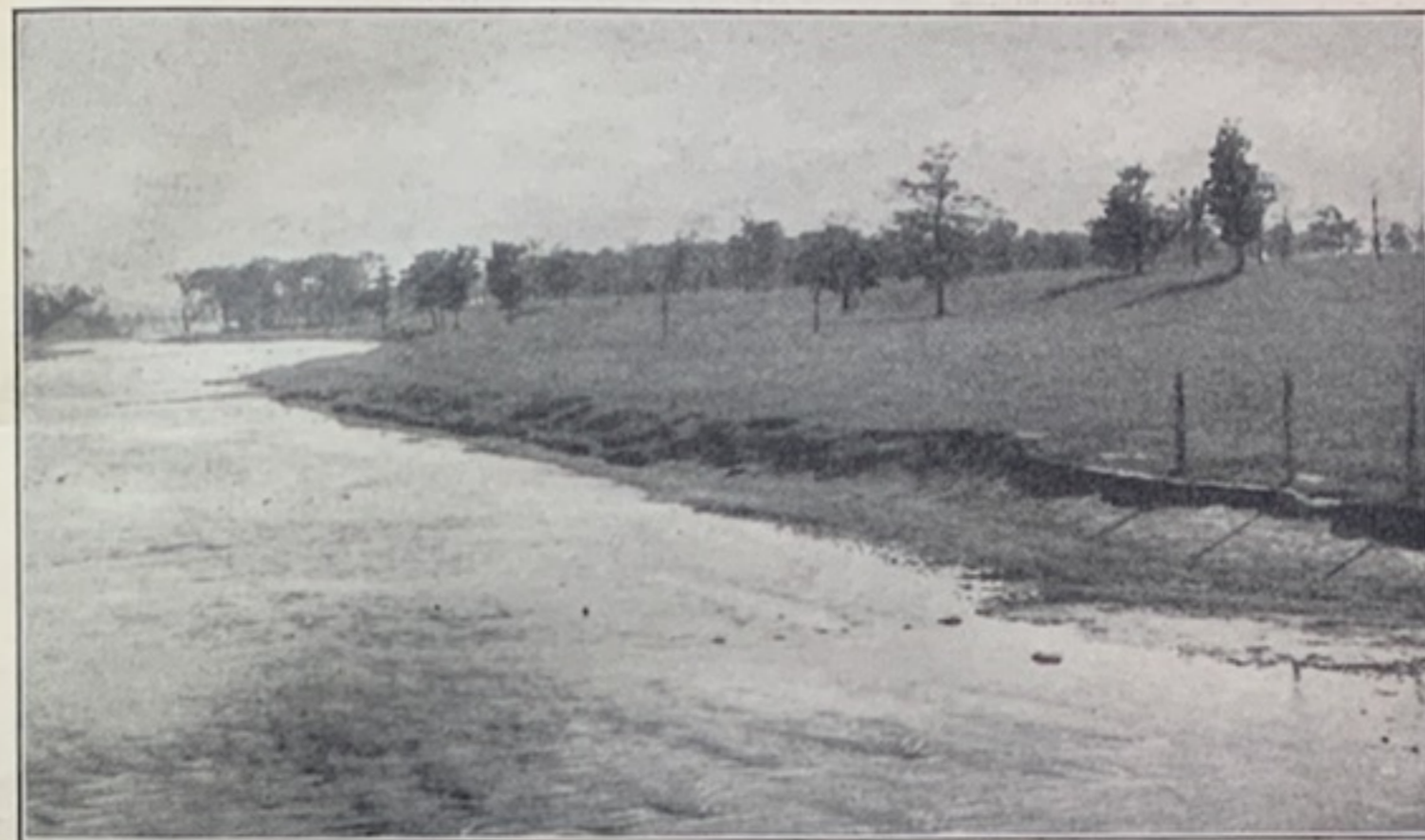
In the third ward bad conditions are not quite so extensive, but more acute. On one of our trips of inspection through the Italian district, we came upon conditions which words cannot describe adequately and no camera can picture. Sounds and smells escape the camera.

Entering one of these dwellings we had to duck our heads to escape a shower bath from leaking pipes above the door. Incidentally, we had to dodge a crowd of the canine family which did not seem

to be particularly pleased with our visit. The rooms were dark. Something, which I supposed was food or intended for food, was bubbling on a little stove. A friendly goat was playing with the baby on the floor, and the pigeons cooed cheerily nearby. Through the door of the kitchen we got the odor of the stable. The horses had the best room. In the middle room, which was absolutely dark, on a bed of indescribable filth, lay an aged woman, groaning with pain from what I judged to be ulcerated teeth, but which for aught she knew might have been a more malignant disease. In this single dwelling, which is not unlike many we saw, there lived together in ignorant misery one man, two women, ten children, six dogs, two goats, five pigeons, two horses, and other animal life which escaped our hurried observation.

The most insanitary conditions prevail in the basement dwellings. It is not infrequent to find conditions where ten men live in a basement. In the alleys accumulate the dirt and filth typical of tenement districts. Often there is a box of manure under a kitchen window, and the refuse and garbage

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THE MILWAUKEE OF TOMORROW.

Suburban property, twenty minutes by trolley from the heart of the city, which the socialist city government will plat for workingmen's homes.

piled in a foul-smelling mass where the little children must live and play.

In the fourth ward the alleys are crowded with shabby shacks, shut out from sunlight and air by dead walls of larger buildings, forlorn and wretched.

In the Ghetto, in one building live seventy-one people, representing seventeen families. The toilets in the yard freeze in winter and are clogged in summer. The overcrowding here is fearful and the filth defies description.

Within the same block are crowded a number of tenements three and four stories high with basement dwellings. One of these is used as a Jewish synagogue. Above and beneath and to the rear this building is crowded with tenement dwellers. The stairways are rickety, the rooms filthy, and all are overcrowded. The toilets for the whole population are in the cellar adjoining some dwelling rooms, reached by a short stairway. At the time of our visit the floors of this toilet, both inside and outside, were covered with human excrement and refuse to a depth of eight to twelve inches. Into this den of horrors all the population, male and female, had to go.

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Just back of this synagogue, and on all sides of it, the overcrowding is tremendous. A glance at the pictures showing the rear of these buildings will prove conclusively that to all intents and purposes we have regular tenement dwellings in Milwaukee.

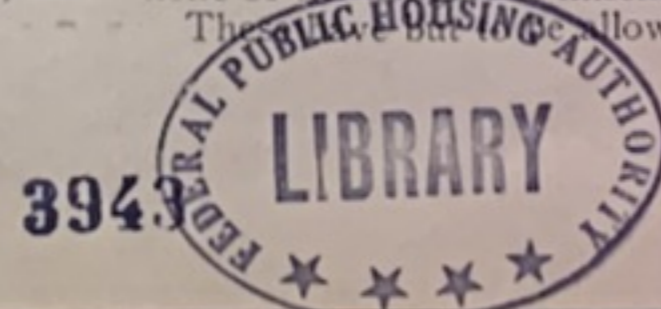
Another feature of the overcrowding is the back to back cottage and tenement dwelling. It is not unusual to find three houses on one lot with very little breathing space between.

Here one sees the "sanitary" bakery wagon, whose driver, after tramping about in the offal of the alley, climbs into the wagon with his dirty boots, and then piles the loaves of bread where his feet have trod.

Here the children's only playground is the street or alley. The child digs up the manure with a broken shingle, to load it in his little cart; here the little child-mothers bear the burdens left upon them by their elders, who have gone away to work.

Thus we have all of the conditions of a tenement and slum population: the dark rooms, the overcrowding, the filth, the insanitary toilets—none of the horrors, none of the dangers is missing.

The only thing that is allowed to breed,



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HIS ONLY PLAYGROUND THE ALLEY.

"The child digs up the manure with a broken shingle to load into his cart."

to fester, to spread, and with the growth of the city, our housing conditions will become, in proportion to our population, as bad as those in any city.

#### "THE CITY WILDERNESS"

From the window of one of our public schools in the Polish district in the fourteenth ward on the south side, one can get a striking view of "the city wilderness." The gabled roofs of a vast stretch of houses peak upward with the monotony of waves, and stretch away into the gray distance until they are lost in the smoke of the factories which fill in the background. These are the "homes" of the Polish people who toil. A picture merely suggests the monotony and the magnitude of the problem.

If we come nearer to these houses, almost any one of them, we shall find the typical dwelling. There is an entrance, perhaps under the steps, which leads to the apartments below. In this semi-basement in the front lives a family. There are perhaps two rooms, sometimes only one. In the rear of this same basement lives another family. Above, on the first floor, lives another family, likewise in two or three small rooms; and in the rear is another. Thus four or more families live in one small cottage—and,

often, in true tenement style, they "take in" boarders.

To make matters worse, crowded back with these dwellings are the alley houses, mere duplicates in construction and crowding.

All of these houses are crowded closely together, so that there is very little, and in many cases absolutely no sunlight in the dwelling rooms. Here, together, live men, women, children, dogs, pigeons and goats in regular tenement and slum conditions. This is another of the three foci of the Milwaukee housing problem.

In some larger American cities less than one-tenth of the people own their home. In Milwaukee, a city where capitalism is less developed, the percentage is higher—35.1. But how can it be said even of such a city, "It is a city of homes"? Only a trifle over one-third of the people have a place which they can call their own.

Nor is it true that the percentage of laboring people who own their homes "exceeds that of any other city in the union." In Milwaukee the percentage is 35.1, while in Cleveland it is 37.4 and in Detroit 39.1. So the boast of the Merchants and Manufacturers' Association is without foundation. Only a trifle over one-third of our people own their homes at all, and with that the administration is heartily unsatisfied. Moreover, conditions are sure to get steadily worse as the city grows unless active measures for improvement are begun.

#### HEALTH DEPARTMENT AT WORK

The first task in the solution of the housing problem is diagnosis of the case. For that sort of process a physician is

needed. So, naturally, this part of the work falls to the Health Department. Hence for this, as well as for other good and sufficient reasons, the Milwaukee administration was particularly anxious to secure an especially competent health commissioner. Those who had the matter in hand for the administration sought diligently far and wide. They went to Rochester and tried to get Dr. Goler. They went to Chicago and other cities. Meanwhile objection was steadily made against the appointment of anyone outside the city on the ground that it was contrary to civil service and state laws. At last the administration hit upon the idea of securing Dr. William Colby Rucker, who technically was a resident of Milwaukee, although as a matter of fact his work in the army and navy had kept him away for many years.

The administration learned of Dr. Rucker's remarkable success in dealing with yellow fever in New Orleans and bubonic plague in San Francisco. He seemed unquestionably the man who would fill the bill. Some question was raised as to his politics. The reply which Mr. Berger made was characteristic. He said Dr. Rucker's politics were "anti-bubonic plague, anti-typhoid fever, anti-slum and anti-rat." That sufficiently illustrates the view of the administration and its attitude towards politics. Efficiency comes first, in its judgment.

However, Dr. Rucker's superior officers were unwilling to let him go. The administration moved on Washington and through the Wisconsin representative secured from President Taft a leave of absence for Dr. Rucker, in order that he might take up the work.

Once at the head of the Health Department, Dr. Rucker's attack upon the various phases of the housing problem was immediate and aggressive. He began at once a general clean-up in the streets and alleys, the byways and basement dwellings, as well as in general housing conditions in the Ghetto. Two hundred boys and girls were organized into the Milwaukee Health Guards, whose purpose is to help keep the city clean, to spread the idea that the preservation of

human life is the highest type of patriotism. An investigation of the tenements was begun and a system introduced for scoring houses as to their relative sanitary condition. An immediate reduction of the number of occupants was enforced in the tenements where there was



THE SLUM IN MILWAUKEE.

To all intents and purposes a tenement, with all a tenement's bad features.



JEWISH SYNAGOGUE.

Crowded by tenement dwellers above, beneath some of the worst conditions ever encountered.

serious overcrowding. An educational campaign was begun by means of popular lectures on sanitation, for the general public. They were illustrated with stereopticon slides. An ordinance was sent to the City Council providing for the removal of slaughter houses from the city, thus doing away with some of the most distressing conditions in one residence district. The garbage collection department was reorganized so that garbage is collected between midnight and six in the morning instead of during the day. Modern tight-lidded metal receptacles were substituted for the old-fashioned garbage box or barrel. And, finally, a commission was put to work to devise an up-to-date system for disposing of sewage. At present it is emptied into the lake from which the city draws its drinking water—and typhoid fever is much more prevalent than it



MANURE BOX UNDER A KITCHEN WINDOW.

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should be, an epidemic occurring in the early part of the year.

Now all these activities of the Health Department bear either directly or indirectly upon the housing problem and the administration proposes to bring every possible force into play in behalf of better living conditions.

#### OTHER PROBLEMS INVOLVED

But something more than this is required in dealing with the housing problem if anything like a solution is to be reached; some method must be found to provide the people with better houses, at such rents as will bring them within the reach of the poor. More than that, they must be so located that those who work in the industrial centers may pass quickly back and forth between their homes and their places of work.

Thus the problem involves the city at once in at least three other problems, namely, municipal dwellings or some similar arrangement, city planning and platting, and transportation.

The Legislature had granted Milwaukee, under a law relative to parking, the right to buy, own and sell real estate. By means of this, the administration is taking steps which will put the city in



JUST BACK OF THE SYNAGOGUE.

"What we have in Milwaukee is tenement and slum conditions in the cottage dwellings."

possession of nearly a million dollars' worth of real estate on the outskirts of the city. The land is being platted with reference to model dwellings for wage-earners. Certain sections are to be set aside for industrial and manufacturing purposes. Other sections will be devoted to commercial interests, and still others will be reserved entirely for residences.

As most of this land bears trees and shrubbery, and some of it lies very beautifully on the banks of the rivers which flow through the center of the city, it forms an almost ideal place for residence. Literally miles of beautiful, rolling land on the banks of the rivers, with here and there the beckoning glory of the woods, and now and then a suggestion of the forest primeval, lie within a twenty-minute street car ride from the heart of the city. A more ideal place for the dwelling of man could hardly be imagined, yet these broad smiling acres lie untouched while the people stifle and sicken in the city less than three miles away.

Solve the problem of cheap and rapid transportation, and the working people may live by the rivers, amid sunshine and shade, the melody and song of nature's

open fields. This the administration is determined to bring about. It is the purpose so to plat these residence districts that every house will have land enough to let the sunlight into every room and to provide for garden and lawn.

As to the houses themselves, Thomas A. Edison has become so interested in the plan that he has offered to give the city the use of a new method of concrete construction, by which houses that formerly cost several thousands of dollars can be built for something like eight hundred.

A form of lease will be offered to working people, which will enable them, by payment of a very small sum, to secure possession of a little plot of ground and a dwelling. Further payments will be on easy terms and the arrangement will carry a surrender value, so that at any time any workingman who takes advantage of the offer will be able to get back the money he has put in.

The administration believes that the offer of homes under such conditions will prove so attractive, that very soon the tide of population will be turned back from the congested center and spread out over the wider area.

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But even this plan will fail unless the city can manage to keep control of the transportation problem, for as the population spreads out the need for quick, cheap travel increases.

#### CHEAP RAPID TRANSIT

Therefore, as part of the solution of the housing problem, the Milwaukee administration is wrestling most earnestly with transportation. It has already drafted a model franchise with considerable

and transfers, so that one unified system will be put into operation. The rates are to be under city control and the whole system will ultimately be owned by the municipality.

In this way, by securing at once the control of the developing system and by providing for final municipal ownership of the whole system, the city will be in a position to keep its outlying residence districts within easy reach of all who wish to use them.



STABLES AND MANURE PILES FOR NEIGHBORS.

show of being able to put it into operation. If it succeeds in this an entirely new system of transportation will gradually be developed within the city. A number of interurban lines are already eager to accept any reasonable terms that the city may exact in order to develop their systems into and within the city. The plan is to have trunk lines under complete control of the city from the beginning and the franchise terms provide that the city automatically becomes the owner. These lines are to be direct from the heart of the city to the outlying districts. They are to be of modern construction and with universal exchange of tickets

#### A QUESTION OF WAGES ALSO

Finally, those who are struggling to free themselves from bad housing conditions must be assured of an income which will enable them to meet expenses. No one can get something for nothing, and it is not the purpose of the administration to pauperize its people by charity. The effort is, rather, to enable the people to help themselves. The housing problem, therefore, becomes a labor problem—a question of providing the people with steady employment at remunerative wages. It is fundamentally a question of wages and hours, of labor and cost of living.

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A WOODEN TENEMENT.

Seventeen families, numbering seventy-one people, live here.



CITY GARBAGE WAGON AND HOME OF ITS DRIVER.

One woman, ten children, six dogs, two goats and two horses live on the lower floor; more people live upstairs.



"WANTED—A PLAYGROUND."

The poor and ignorant classes of working people, who are attracted to this country by the commercial interests, which are always seeking cheap labor, cannot extricate themselves so long as the labor conditions which they now encounter prevail. The Italian, the Slovak, the Hungarian, the Pole, the Jew and others who are brought into our cities by commercial interests, are those who suffer most from bad housing. The sooner it is clearly understood that the reason they suffer thus is because they are poor and ignorant, and because their wages are low, the sooner we shall see the solution of the housing problem.

These foreigners are brought here because they will work for low wages. Be-

cause they work for low wages they must live in wretched and insanitary houses and hovels. And because they live thus the city has the menace of the tenement and the slum. There is no final escape for them except by way of improved labor conditions. Hundreds of cities in Europe have tried to solve the tenement and slum problem in some other way. There is no other way. The cities which have torn down their slums and built model tenements have discovered finally that the net result

was that the slum and tenement appeared in some other place. Better educated and better paid people, generally the middle class and always those who had some degree of economic resource, were the ones who moved out into model dwellings. The others could not—they did not have the means.

So, ultimately, the effort to solve the housing problem must fail until it reaches down to the economic basis of life. It must open opportunities for labor at increased rates and under better conditions. It must increase the economic efficiency of the lowest strata of the toiling population. It must do this or it cannot bring them out of the bondage of their tenement dwellings.



UNDERGROUND DWELLINGS—THE CITY HAS RISEN AND FORGOTTEN THEM.

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cause these wonderful trips have revealed to the children of the slums an outlook beyond the squalor of the tenement. A nursery cannot allow its responsibility to end when it has provided shelter, for upon it the child is dependent for whatever of beauty is brought into its life. Park No. 2, the one bit of refreshing landscape in the vicinity, will be a continual source of helpfulness in this direction.

But has the responsibility of the nursery ended when it has given of its best to the child? Shall it close its doors contentedly each evening when the last of its babies, divested of the clean clothing put on after the morning bath, has been sent back in its rags to the stifling tenement cot? Several days or weeks may elapse before it is again brought in and then the set-back in health is disheartening. The home may be the natural place for the child even though it be better brought up and better cared for at

the nursery; but who will wish without inquiry and without further effort to condemn it to the hopeless disorganization, the sordidness and ignorance of the typical slum home? The nursery's responsibility for the child does not end in the nursery. It holds its great opportunity in its relation to the mother and through the mother, to the home. It must be a real force in the education of capable mothers and in the organization of fit homes. The mother must be influenced to occupy her leisure to the best advantage of her children. She must be taught to make her habitation a real home, a place for which her children have a real home attachment. The new nursery will strive to be a factor in the home life of the community of which it is a part. It looks longingly to that utopian day when no mother need work, when every mother within its radius of activity will be able to make a happy, safe home for her children.

## THE HOUSING AWAKENING<sup>1</sup>

### III.

#### THE AWAKENING OF A STATE—INDIANA

ALBION FELLOWS BACON

When we wanted to awaken Indiana to her need for a housing law we had to ring and call and hammer. We cried, "Wake up, Indiana,—your system is full of poison, and it's time to take a dose of medicine." And the sleepy state half awoke, just enough to take the dose the Legislature gave it, but not awake in every extremity. Then it turned over again, and dreamed all sorts of dreams, and was very restless. But the medicine is taking hold of the poison. In a nutshell the method used to awaken our state was this—we learned all we could of the conditions, and drummed them into the ears of the public.

To get the flavor of our situation, you will have to know something of our con-

<sup>1</sup>The preceding articles in this series are The Housing Awakening, by Lawrence Veiller, in THE SURVEY for November 19. Price, 10 cents, and the Socialist and Slums—Milwaukee, by Carl D. Thompson, in THE SURVEY for December 3. Price, 25 cents.

ditions. See if you do not say, "Why, that sounds as if it might be in my own town." I am so convinced that our Indiana problem is, in the main, the problem of all states in the Union, with variations, of course, that I want you to tell me if our conditions are not typical.

Of course, our little unpretentious slums cannot compete with those of New York and Chicago and Pittsburgh, where the housing problem is so overwhelming that it has to be handled by machinery—rakes and steam shovels. Some of our cities need rakes, too, but in some we have to go at the slums with a microscope and tweezers. We realize that our cancer spots are none the less deadly because they are small. Yet that has been the hardest thing to teach the public, that slums are not a matter of size.

To begin with, the public had to be taught that what they had always

thought were just poor folk and old houses were really slums. It sounded rather metropolitan—maybe that was why the idea took so well in the small towns. Another new thought was the responsibility of the landlord. We had not learned that the rent collected from our old death traps was really blood money.

The reason why our slum problem had not come to the front before was very likely because the slums themselves were in the rear. They were "out of sight, out of mind." You had to go down the alleys and the back streets to find them. That is why some of our good people did not believe we had any. They were so respectable, and went only on our nice streets, and the slums did not come their way. One woman listened to my tale of the poor and said, "Well, well! I never dreamed anyone lived like that in Evansville. But then I was never thrown among that kind of people."

Being a friendly visitor and the head of the Flower Mission, I had to poke around all kinds of places to find our poor. Drawn by the lure of wretchedness into the haunts of poverty, it was easy to learn where it hid away. The amazing thing was that all the places I found had existed so long without everyone knowing of them. Still, some of the worst places have a respectable front, and one never dreams of the horrors inside without going in to see. Doubtless that is true in all the towns in which people live.

Our campaign grew out of this Flower Mission work. I remember for the first time making a round of our tenements. The houses were shabby old rattletraps, dark and damp, with sodden yards full of ash piles and rubbish. The babies, the mothers, the walls, were all the same hopeless gray.

There did not seem to be any excuse for it, and I asked our secretary: "Why

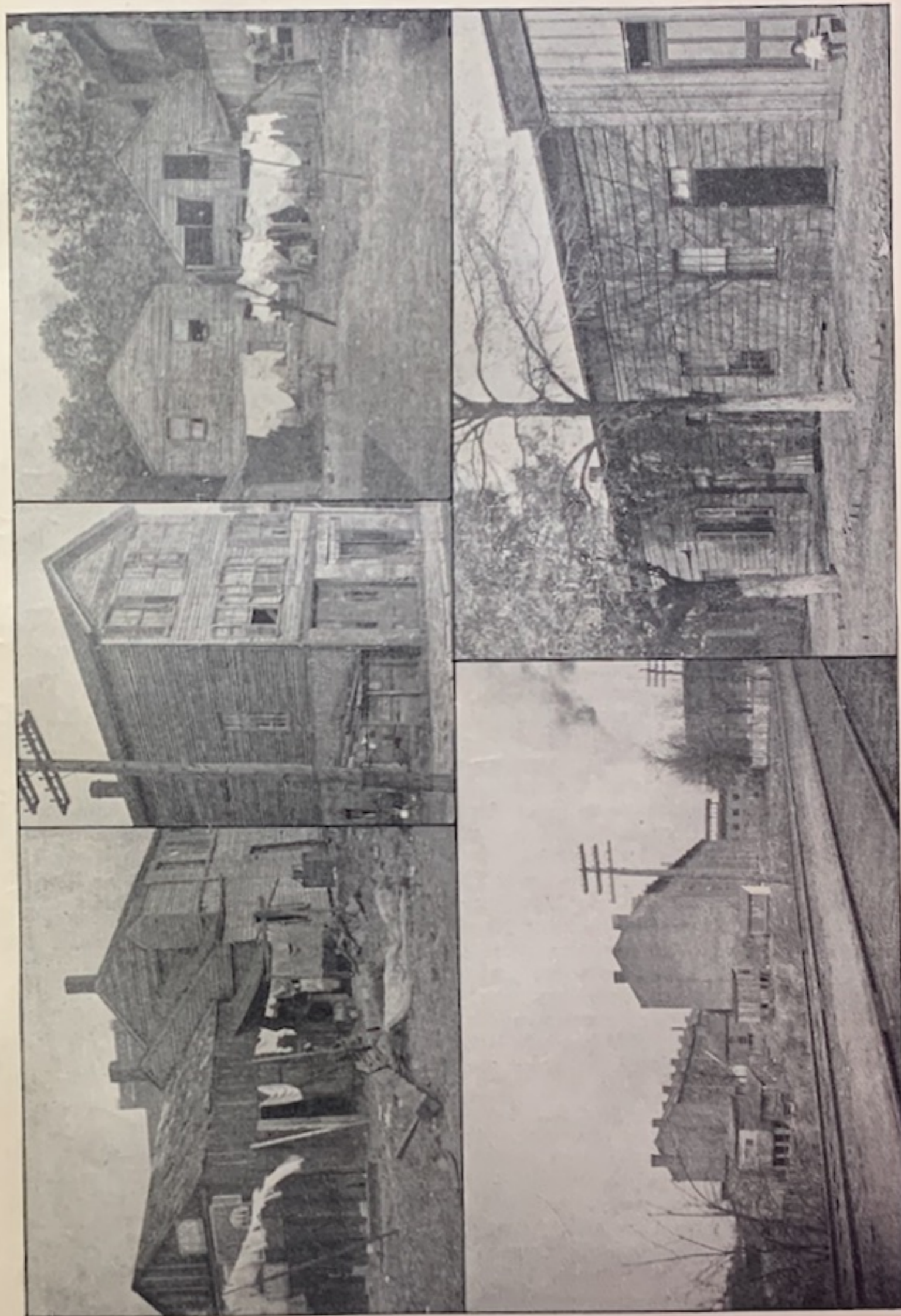


ALBION FELLOWS BACON.

do not the landlords cut some windows in those dark rooms? Why do they not mend those dangerous stairways and those leaky roofs? Why do they not drain the yards, and put in hydrants?" And the secretary answered wearily: "They do not have to. The houses bring good rent anyhow, and there is no law to require it."

No law! The poor had no legal right to air or sunlight or water! They could be charged rent for the house that murdered them! That was the beginning of our campaign—the cause of the war.

It always seemed strange to me that other friendly visitors should dwell on the persistent filthiness of the poor—as if, forsooth, they could be washed without water or dry without drains. None of our tenements had city water. Some-



SOME OF EVANSVILLE'S BAD HOUSING CONDITIONS.



times one cistern had to supply ten or more families, and then they had to be "sparin' of the water," one woman said, as she hung up her line of gray, half clean clothes. In one of our largest tenements, guiltless of drains, one of the top floor tenants eloquently poured her suds over the railing into the hall below.

It is the custom in the "Cotton Mill Block," also unprovided for waste, for the tenants to stand in the doors and unblushingly project dishwater, suds and garbage into the common yard space. Under the August sun the odor is sickening, yet the barefooted babies play over the scum. Of course they have chills there, and typhoid, as they do in many tenements where the seep water runs back into the open cisterns.

Tuberculosis is frightfully prevalent among our poor. In the tenements there are always sick cases; no wonder, with the horrible cesspools under the windows. People hive over warehouses and herd in stables, unsanitary and unclean, like the animals. Yet, with all of these conditions, our people did not know about it, except just a few. Our charity committees did not go to the homes of the poor—do your committees?—they sent the charities secretary, as most towns do.

What frightened me was that Jacob Riis said that fifty years ago the slums of New York resembled those of our larger western cities today. Does not that frighten you western people? Fifty years! What would our tenements be in that time? Would they be full of tortured bits of humanity, as those of New York are now? It got so that a procession of white-faced, wailing babies began to appear in the dead of night, and wave their tiny arms, and cry, "Sleep no more till we are cared for." When you get to "seein' things at night," you are ready for work.

Reports had been coming for some time from our other cities, showing conditions similar to ours. Careful inquiry bore out my conviction that every city, town and village in the state had a growing slum or a slum nucleus. There was good reason to believe that at least a preventive state housing law was needed.

All the charities secretaries over the state were strongly in favor of a housing law. They felt the need of it. Two of our most experienced and wisest leaders, Miss Rein of South Bend and Mr. Grout of Indianapolis who has done such splendid things in his city for better housing, warmly endorsed it and helped plan for it. Alexander Johnson and Dr. Hurty of our state Board of Health, always on the frontier line of reform, promised to help. Then, with Providence and the press on our side, what could not be accomplished?

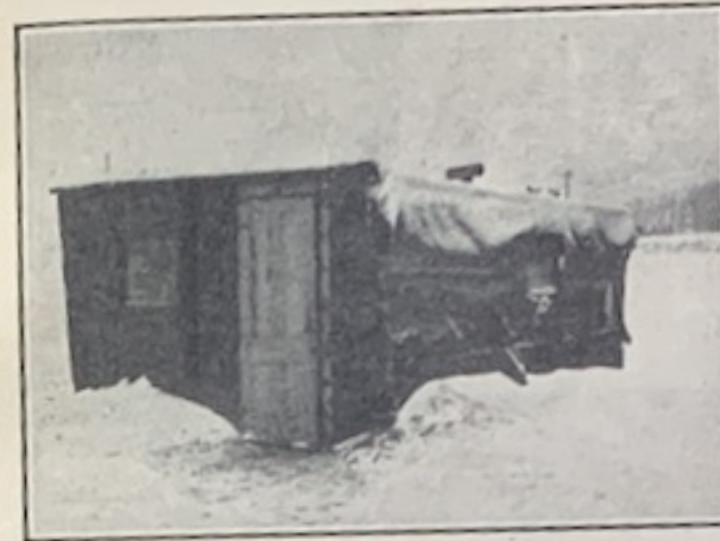
On the other side, men of experience declared it would be impossible to pass a housing law at the first attempt, maybe not for four or six years. The virgin soil of the whole state would have to be broken up—and that makes hard ploughing—before the seed of the new thought could be planted. There was no organization ready to manage it, no money to pay for investigations or to hire secretaries or lawyers. The cause had few friends and there was bound to be opposition by landlords and builders. It looked pretty hopeless, but that did not make a bit of difference. The time had come to obtain a housing law, and when a thing ought to be done, and has to be done, it can be done.

There were two men whose encouragement outweighed all the millstones of the conservatives. They were Lawrence Veiller and Jacob Riis. No one will ever know how much help and comfort their counsel was all through the campaign. They said, "Go ahead, and get your state law." That settled it.

After that, a great hand seemed to be directing every movement. Somehow, the plans unfolded, the hearts of men were opened up to good influences, the path was made straight. Otherwise the law could not have been won in a year. It was a miracle, nothing less.

After talking the matter over with Mr. Grout, the plan of the campaign decided on was this:

1. To secure as full reports as possible of existing housing conditions all over the state.
2. To draft a housing bill to cure our old tenements, and prevent unsanitary dwellings from being erected. In other words, to check the incipient slums.



No congestion here.



Fourteen people in a two-room flat.

#### WHERE EXTREMES MEET—SOUTH BEND.

3. To enlist as many organizations and individuals as possible.

4. To secure the active help of all charity organizations in the state in educating the public.

5. To have photographs made of typical unsanitary dwellings in each city, mounted as posters, displayed there, and afterwards before the Legislature.

6. To have illustrated sermons and lectures all over the state.

7. To syndicate several of the largest newspapers in the state, and run a series of articles on "bad housing," local and general.

8. To present the subject to the state conference of charities.

9. To send personal letters, and literature on the subject, to each member of our Legislature.

10. To engage some prominent organization to superintend the passage of the bill.

Was not that last confiding?

Now, that is a very simple plan; but it did not fit in very well with house-keeping. Making laws and concocting soups and salads are widely different fields of action, and it took months for one pair of hands to write all those letters, being all hyphenated with domestic dashes.

First, there were the letters to all the secretaries of the charity organizations in the state, asking about conditions in their town and sending a questionnaire. Of course that is not the scientific way to investigate, but you cannot employ a corps of trained statisticians without money. While the pot was boiling, I went personally to some of the little towns that had no charity organization, to see if each had a young slum coming on. E. T. Hartman, who had initiated

me into the principles of housing reform and given me invaluable instruction, had predicted that I would find a slum nucleus in every village. After wading around on foot, through dust and sand and cockle burrs, under the August sun, some of the rarest specimens of slums in our state were discovered. Typical houses, they were, that would disgrace a crowded city.

Then the answers to the questionnaire came in and settled all doubts of the need of a housing law. The answers were amazing. In Indianapolis a scientific canvass of one district had been made by the Charity Organization Society, and the Commercial Club. It showed that hundreds of families lived in crowded, dark rooms, without drainage, sewerage or water, light or air.

In the smaller towns the housing of the poor was uniformly bad. The startling revelation was made that in all our cities new houses were being built daily without windows, even the costliest flats. Of course, every report gave some specific cases in detail, so we had something accurate, surely enough.

If a ship comes into port with just a single case of cholera on board, that is enough to hold the vessel in quarantine. This may be way off the track, but it seems to me that if just one family is allowed to live in a town in squalid disregard of decency and health, there is something wrong with us if we pay no attention to it.

The next difficulty was to get a housing law that would fit our conditions. If

Mr. Veiller's Model Housing Code or his splendid book on Housing Reform, had been published, it would have saved so much labor and mental agony. There was nothing left to do but compile the best laws to be found. But the laws made for the big cities would not fit our state. It was like making over grandpa's coat for little Johnnie to trim them down to our needs. Just to cut off the tails was not enough; they had to be taken up in the shoulders, and fitted all over. At last our bill was finished, and one of our best lawyers, J. E. Igleheart, went over it and tightened all the screws.

It was very trying, in drafting the law, to have to keep in mind the poor on one side, the landlords on the other, and the Legislature in perspective. How blithely could we have set about writing a law that would have made things as they really ought to be, if we could have planned for something more than mere decency—just space and water and sewerage! What joy it would have been to decree generous garden plots and noble outlooks, instead of meting out miserly air spaces; what pleasure to bequeath bath tubs with a stroke of the pen to future generations; to plan the City of Our Visions, instead of a City of Compromises!

The next thing was the publicity part. The presidential campaign was on and that engrossed the newspapers, but our plan was to serve up slums to the public, local and general, hot and cold, by articles, editorials, stories, cartoons, in every possible way.

Then there were letters to clubs and individuals, men and women of influence, ministers, teachers, politicians, candidates for office, to get their pledges. Each letter had to go over the lacerating story, to explain the new thought and the old need. Each one had to make a different appeal. For instance, a letter to a business man took up the commercial aspect—showed how bad housing was bad business. Letters to ministers dwelt on the moral and ethical phases. Letters to women's clubs dealt with the impossibility of making homes in the miserable tenements, with the environment of the growing child, the danger to their

own children, etc. The purpose of these letters was to arouse public sentiment, and to get the persons addressed to bring pressure to bear upon their members of the Legislature.

Then came the letters to the 150 members of the Legislature. With each one went a copy of *Charities and The Commons*,<sup>1</sup> in which were an article and a strong editorial on the Indiana Housing Problem. The support of this magazine was a big factor in the fight, and the friendly help of the staff is something for which we must always be grateful.

Then the bill was presented to the State Charities Conference, and the Commercial Club of Indianapolis. A member of this club, Linton A. Cox, was in the Senate. Without his wise counsel and hard work the bill must have failed. After it passed he defended it in the lower court, and wrote the brief for the Supreme Court, all without pay; so you know he belongs to the tribe of Abou Ben Adhem, who "loved his fellow men."

Now the fight was narrowed down to the Legislature and every gun was trained on it. Our posters were taken to the State House and hung on wires along the corridor, as one hangs out a washing. It was a great privilege to address the joint committees to which the bill was referred, and still greater to address both houses of the Legislature, as most of the 150 men had to be won over to housing reform. Now, let me tell you that the "plain, unvarnished tale" of the poor was what counted—not statistics, not eloquence, not logic—and it always does count.

I used to think that line in Gray's Elegy was so fine, "The applause of listening senates to command." Maybe in Gray's time it was not a joke to talk about "listening senates." But they did listen kindly to the story of the poor, and what bad housing meant to the poor, bad health, bad morals; and what it meant to the state—the cost of crime and disease and dependence, and the loss of efficiency of the working man. What took hold of the legislators, I think, was the horror of it, "the pity of it." That showed the chivalry in our men. It was like watch-

<sup>1</sup>*Charities and The Commons*, December 5, 1908.

December 17, 1910.



A TERRE HAUTE SLUM—"SAND-BURR HOLLOW".

ing a tournament of knights to sit back and see the friends of the bill, in both houses, fighting for it. The landlords came in force, and it was a bitter fight. The beautiful thing was that the opposition did almost all the lobbying.

After a hard battle the bill passed, mangled and torn, but very much alive. It was cut down to only two cities, but we'll get all the others yet. It is a satisfaction, anyhow, to know that the slums of all the other cities have been ventilated, for once. Of course, the law was promptly contested. It is now in the hands of the supreme judges. Heaven send they may have mercy on the poor!

There would be little use for this recital if our case were isolated. I am convinced that if any of the readers of THE SURVEY were to take up a housing campaign in their state they would find the same need of reform, the same opposition. Their stronghold also would be public opinion. As soon as people know the truth about the slums, there will be no more slums.

There are some things the public will have to be taught. They must be taught that "the slum is the enemy of the home"; that it is not safe to let children

grow up in filth and degradation; that the civic—the social—body is all one, and that one festering spot means blood poisoning to the whole body. Sooner or later the housing problem will demand the attention of every state in the union. If you wait till it forces legislation it will be too late. What is needed is to "head off the slums," as Jacob Riis says, now, while land is so cheap and so plentiful.

If we could only lift up our eyes and see the vast, unpeopled plains of our great country, and then have a vision of the crowded towns. There is so much room for everyone in our wide states, with plenty of sunlight in the fields, plenty of air on the hill tops. Yet men, in their blindness, go on building tiny boxes—coops, traps, dens—and call them houses. And they squeeze them together in bunches, and call them towns. And there sad-faced men and women stifle and die for lack of air. Sickly children droop in the close rooms or tumble about over the cinders; children that never played in the grass or daisies. And the voices of all these cry to you: "Give us sunlight and air! Give us room to breathe in and grow! Give us our birth-right!"

December 17, 1910.

## SLUMS IN BERLIN

JOHN IHLDER

FIELD SECRETARY NATIONAL HOUSING ASSOCIATION

That the Germans are dealing courageously and to a considerable extent successfully with the great social problems is undisputed; but an impression has gone abroad in America that their success has been greater than facts seem to warrant. Notably is this true in the matter of housing, which by many students is considered the fundamental social problem. Germany has built, particularly in Berlin, and is still building, great "model" tenements with interior courts so large that they may be divided into children's playgrounds and gardens. While Americans and some Englishmen are hailing these barracks as triumphs, the Germans themselves are beginning to discover disadvantages and to turn their attention to securing for the worker and his family the benefits of the small house, or cottage, which has been in England and America (except for New York) the home of the people.

But it is not alone from evils inherent in tenements that the Germans suffer. Despite the proclamations issued on this side of the Atlantic that German cities have no slums, German cities apparently do have slums, or slum conditions, such as lack of light and air, overcrowding and utterly inadequate toilet facilities.

A committee of the Berlin Sick Insurance Fund for "merchants, tradesmen and pharmacists" publishes reports which give a distressing picture of the housing of what is far from being the poorest or worst-paid class of Berlin's population. These reports are based on investigations of the conditions under which beneficiaries of the fund are living. Among the beneficiaries are, in the words of the report, "sons and daughters of parents of the better class, who even in time of sickness are above want, as well as a considerable number of such as, by education and position, are used to better conditions of housing, and therefore spend on their housing more than is the case generally."

As its minimum standard the sick in-

surance fund committee takes a habitation or apartment having a floor area of 108 square feet, a height of eight feet three inches and a net cubic capacity of 540 cubic feet. Compare with this the New York requirement, in force since 1901, that in every new tenement house each apartment shall have at least one room containing not less than 120 square feet of floor area and each other room shall contain at least seventy square feet. Each room shall be at least nine feet high from the finished floor to the finished ceiling, except that an attic need be nine feet high in but one-half of its area.

The committee found that no fewer than 680 men—equal to 8.3 per cent of the total number of male patients visited, and 600 women—equal to 8.2 per cent of the total number of female patients visited—lived in rooms which were below the specified minimum of floor space; in fact, 166 persons were found living in rooms which did not measure even one-half of the floor area required. As regards the height of the rooms, 2,052 men (25.2 per cent) and 1,664 women (22.9 per cent) inhabited rooms which did not reach the minimum height. And lastly, 4,166 men (51.3 per cent) and 3,383 women (46.5 per cent) were deprived of the necessary minimum of cubic capacity of air; 2,591 persons did not have even one-half, and 133 had to be satisfied with less than one-quarter of the cubic air-space which is indispensable for a living human organism—and these were all sick men and women, some with tuberculosis!

The committee also reports that 372 men (more than 4 per cent) and 232 women (about 3 per cent) live in cellar dwellings. The bulk of the dwellings—over 80 per cent in the case of front tenements and nearly 98 per cent in the case of back tenements—consist of but two rooms and a kitchen, or less, while nearly 30 per cent in one case and over 50 per cent in the other were habitations consisting of but one room and a kitchen.

Moreover, the committee found that its patients were in the majority of cases sharing these small rooms with other persons—four, five, six and even more. Of the male patients living as lodgers only 43 per cent had a room to themselves. Of the total number of male patients 39 per cent shared the room with another person, 12 per cent shared it with two, and 3 per cent shared it with four. The conditions of those living with their families was much worse, no fewer than 30 per cent living with three persons and more. To make the picture a little more vivid, the committee reports that 115 persons of both sexes lived in rooms which had no window, 443 lived in damp rooms, and 1,452 had to share their conveniences with more than fifteen persons in each case.

It would be possible to match these conditions in New York and perhaps in other American cities, which are ignor-

antly congratulating themselves on having no housing problem. But in New York, where the Tenement House Department has been in operation for eight years, no new tenements erected in that time (and such tenements now house more than a million and a quarter persons) would call for criticism on the part of the Berlin investigating committee, while even the old buildings are being brought slowly up to a standard where they will cease to be downright breeding places of disease.

In other American cities, as shown by the series of articles now being published in *THE SURVEY*, the importance of good housing has begun to be understood and definite steps are being taken toward improvement. Germany has much to teach, but America should study the lessons she presents with discrimination, for America, too, has made considerable progress.

## CIVIC IMPROVEMENT

CHARLES MULFORD ROBINSON, Contributing Editor

### A VALUABLE BULLETIN

One of the best bulletins which come to this department—interest and value being considered—is that issued each week by the City Club of Philadelphia. This club aims "to gather into membership men of all parties, occupations and creeds from every geographical section of the city, who have in common a sincere interest in the betterment of municipal conditions in Philadelphia." It holds a weekly luncheon, at which an important address is made, which is followed by discussion. The bulletin has been printing this material. One group of papers has discussed in a very informing way what Philadelphia is doing in various respects for her citizens. Other typical subjects have been Scientific Appraisal of Real Estate as a Basis for Taxation, by Frederic C. Howe, and The Immigrant and Democracy in American Cities, by Grace Abbott.

### THE BUTTERFLY

The butterfly seems a curious topic for a civic improvement department. One cannot improve butterflies; but once upon a time this testimony was borne: "The butterfly came and hovered over his head and re-inspired him." Accordingly, with this motto a Butterfly Association has been formed which takes as its purpose "the betterment of humanity irrespective of color, creed or race." It publishes a

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little monthly magazine of no more than leaflet size, but attractively printed and full of good quotations and short, thoughtful articles. One of the best in a recent number discussed Social Centers and Civic Progress. It began with these words, which are well calculated to set one thinking: "Out of the forest primeval came two crossroads, and the first social center was established. The social center is not a product of the past century, but has always existed, changing its form and function with advancing civilization."

### PLAYGROUND OCCASIONS

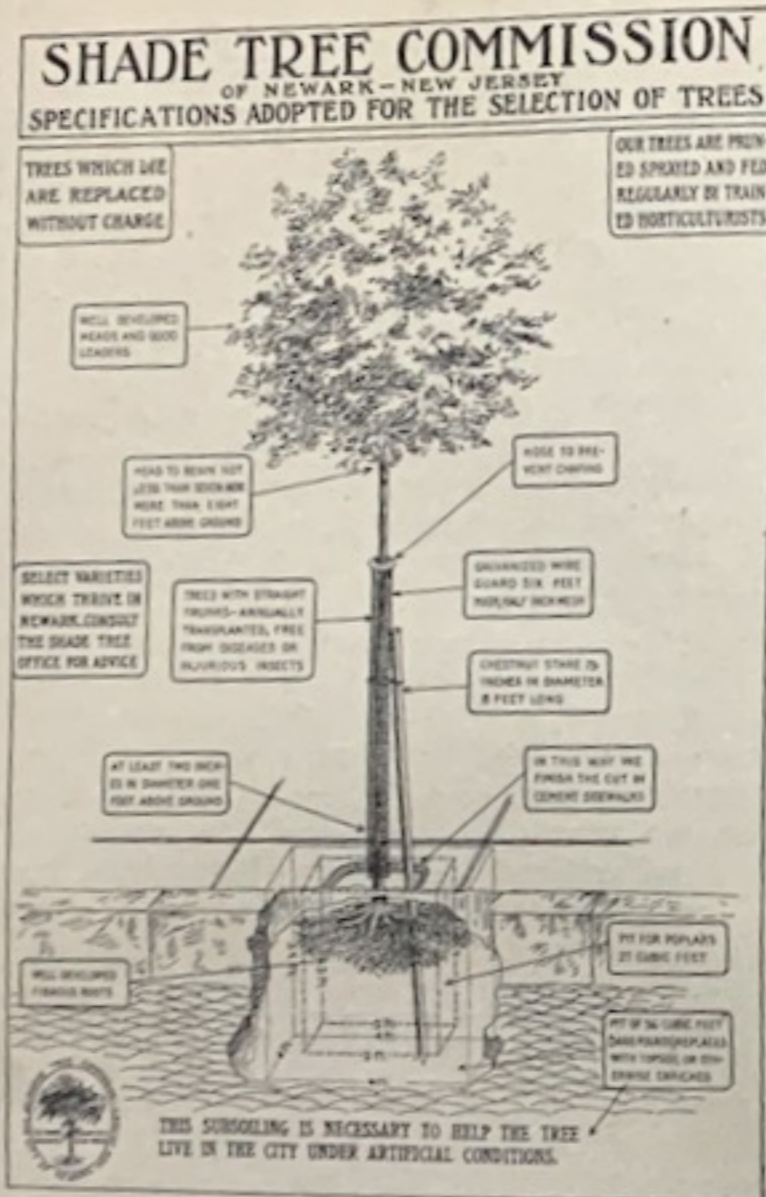
The latest annual report of the Children's Playground Association of Baltimore is a handsomely printed and illustrated pamphlet. Of the reports which it contains by various officials and committees, perhaps the most interesting, because the most novel, is that by Mary B. Steuart, supervisor of playgrounds. Miss Steuart describes "Occasions." These to the number of thirty-six were given during the summer in various parts of the city, and were, she says, of the greatest value in bringing together in friendly relation children, parents, neighbors and directors. Each entertainment was a neighborhood affair. The children of the playgrounds were the actors, the parents and friends the spectators. There was a great variety. Some of the "occasions" were Mother Goose parties. Others were devoted to illus-

trated songs. Yet others to phantom dances, folk dances, etc. As Miss Steuart says, the possibilities of these local "occasions" are alluring. There is much in the various sections of a city, especially among the foreign people, which may be studied, and here made use of, to preserve traditions and folk lore, and to keep the younger generation in sympathy with the past.

#### SHADE TREE PROTECTORS

This department has had occasion several times to refer to the activities of the very wide-awake Shade Tree Commission of Newark N. J. The commission has just done another interesting thing. It has organized the children in public schools of the city as shade tree protectors. The constitution and by-laws drawn up for the organization state that the objects of the league are "to inspire its members with civic patriotism, to inculcate in them a zeal for their city's beauty, to enlist them as volunteer aids to the Shade Tree Commission in its care of the street trees and parks, to propagate knowledge concerning laws and ordinances enacted and ordained to protect trees, to promote the setting out of new street trees and to urge young and old to maintain, protect and cherish existing trees."

Membership is open to pupils above a certain grade. Badges will be presented by the Shade Tree Commission to the officers of the league, and to such members as perform some service in the care or protection of the trees in their respective districts. It is optional with the league of each school whether or not dues shall be levied. The offices shall be equally divided between boys and girls. Meetings are to be held bi-weekly in summer and on the fourth Thursday of each month during the school year. Sergeants-at-arms shall be stationed at the entrance of the meeting room, "to prevent strangers from entering and members from leaving without permission, and shall aid the president in preserving order."



HOW NEWARK'S CIVIC PATRIOTISM GROWS.

a woman. The first woman to be elected town councillor in Lancashire is the same person. She is Mrs. Charles E. Lees, and now she has been elected mayor of Oldham. In electing her, Oldham is the first of the great towns in England to place a woman at the head of its municipal affairs. The reason of these honors is set forth in the following statements taken from a recent London paper: "All ranks of townspeople are united in feeling that the honor is thoroughly deserved, for Mrs. Lees has for many years shown a high public spirit and noble devotion to duty. Her benefactions have been numerous, and so judiciously placed as to affect the well-being of every section of the community. Mrs. Lees has taken a leading part in the educational work of Oldham, and was instrumental in forming the Beautiful Oldham Society, which has already relieved the somber appearance of the town. In the opening of playgrounds she has played a useful part, and she gave eleven acres of land to the Hope Sunday-school, and another large estate as a pleasure resort. It is her ambition to see a playground in every congested area. As president of the National Union of Women Workers, Mrs. Lees has long pressed the claims of her sex, and is satisfied that there is plenty

The school district in which a league is established shall be divided into as many sections as the extent of the district and the number of trees therein may require. Each section shall be in charge of a foreman. Reports are to be made to the foreman, and these reports read at the meetings and subsequently sent to the Shade Tree Commission. There are to be occasional public meetings. The commission has issued, further, two interesting leaflets of instructions for the juvenile shade tree protectors.

#### A WOMAN AS MAYOR

The only person on whom the city of Oldham in England has ever conferred its freedom, is

reform as well as of penal law, and it can no longer be passed over in silence. Criminal anthropologists whose views are not clouded by the cobwebs of medieval dogmas have fully realized the importance of this fact, and I, for one, quite agree with Havelock Ellis<sup>1</sup> where he says that "the prison officer of today is about as well fitted for the treatment of criminality as the hospital nurse of a century ago was fitted for the treatment of disease," and further: "The criminal in all his manifold variations, with his ruses, his instinctive untruthfulness, his sudden impulses, his curiously tender points, is just as difficult to understand and to manage as the hospital patient, and unless he is understood and managed there is no hope of socializing him.

In India a "security bond" of from 150 to 500 rupees is exacted from any prison officer as a guarantee for the faithful performance of his duties.<sup>2</sup> What I demand is a moral guarantee of his knowledge and fitness, without which it is impossible for him satisfactorily to fulfil his professional duties. I have raised the question, but I have not solved it. For the solution we look to the practical mind of this mighty country, where full justice is always done to the theoretical exigencies of any problem. For more than a century we, in Europe, have been accustomed to see the sun of prison reform rise in the west. I am fully convinced that in this case also the light will first break forth in America; not *ex oriente*, but *ex occidente lux!*

## THE HOUSING AWAKENING<sup>1</sup>

### IV

#### HOUSING REFORM IN COLD STORAGE—BOSTON

EDWARD T. HARTMAN  
SECRETARY, MASSACHUSETTS CIVIC LEAGUE

In considering the housing question during the past fifty or more years, Boston has been almost purely academic.

Some talk, some writing, mild laws and milder enforcement were the order of the day until in 1888 Professor Dwight Porter prepared a report on some of the tenement house districts of Boston which should have justified quite a little activity on the part of the people and the officials; but very little was done.

A decade later the Twentieth Century Club issued a "thesis based on original investigations," after the manner of the graduate schools of the country. After this a number of literary productions with housing as their subject appeared in the newspapers and magazines.

In 1903 Mayor Collins appointed a commission to investigate the subject. A fairly good report and a draft of a law were the results. This was printed in generous quantities of which the city still has a good stock on hand. It may also be found in numerous public and

private libraries. In 1904 the Legislature authorized a commission which reported in 1905. On this report there were some hearings.

In 1906 Mayor Fitzgerald appointed a commission which devoted itself exclusively to fire protection, strength of materials and other structural matters. In the meantime, a committee of the Massachusetts Civic League was considering tenement house provisions, which the commission promised in turn to consider. The commission, however, reported its proposed law without giving attention to the tenement house sections. Later, at the instance of the mayor, these were embodied in the bill by the committee of the Legislature and, after many amendments, finally became the present law on

<sup>1</sup>H. L. Adam: *Oriental Crime*, 1909, p. 270.

<sup>2</sup>A series of articles describing housing conditions in typical American cities, large and small, East and West, and the efforts being made to improve these conditions. Published with the cooperation of the National Housing Association. I. Introduction, by Lawrence Veller, *THE SURVEY*, November 10, 1910, price 10 cents; II. Socialists and Slums—Milwaukee, by Carl D. Thompson, December 3, 1910, price 25 cents; III. The Awakening of a State—Indiana, by Albin Fellows Bacon, December 17, 1910, price 10 cents.

<sup>3</sup>The Criminal, 2nd edition, p. 325.

tenement houses. Many builders and owners have protested that this law renders future building impossible, but buildings are now in course of construction which show that practically any kind of lot may be used under the law. These buildings are of such a nature that the people, so far as they have given the matter attention, and most of the officials, consider them bad housing.

After the law was passed there was no further evidence of public interest, except that the Civic League committee succeeded in blocking amendments to weaken the law, some of which have been introduced each year since. The people seem not to realize that there are serious conditions and that through their indifference other interests are succeeding in pulling the local authorities their way.

While the people do not see the conditions, they are at every point painfully aware of the results. The bad housing conditions of Boston are responsible for much of the immorality, drunkenness, neglect and crime which the churches, the settlements, the courts, and many private societies are trying to combat; for much of the sickness which the district nurses, dispensaries, and others are trying to cure; and through all these for the poverty which the charitable societies are so eagerly trying to alleviate.

Boston is most insistent in season and out of season in her efforts to salve over all these superficial sores but she has not yet consciously set herself to removing this one cause. As the problem has shown itself, other movements have been developed to help. The floating hospital does for a few what the homes should do. The outdoor school conducted by the Women's Municipal League is taking care of a few children and pointing the way for a few parents. One of the main arguments for playgrounds, even, has come to be that homes are not fit places for play and that without playgrounds children cannot grow up.

What are the actual facts in regard to the housing situation in Boston? No one knows. It is known, however, that dark rooms, overcrowding, filth, impossible water closets, and many other bad conditions may be found by any who look

for them in most of the blocks in the North and West Ends, and in many places in Charlestown, East Boston, South Boston, Roxbury, Brighton and Dorchester.

An example of what may be found is noted in the recent report of the Boston-1915 Committee on Housing and the situation is interestingly compared with what is found in New York:

Seven single North and West End blocks had in 1905 from 1,017 to 1,174 inhabitants—each a fair-sized town. As numerous blocks here, however, cover less than an acre, those with smaller population are often very crowded. Of twenty-two blocks whose density in 1905 I determined, four had less than 500 per acre,—four between 500 and 600,—nine between 600 and 720,—four between 786 and 880,—and one had 1,138 per acre. In all Manhattan, 122 blocks had 750 or more persons per acre—"intolerable congestion"; and all but seven of them were on the Lower East Side. Block No. 33, bounded by Prince, Thacher, North Margin streets, and Lafayette avenue, was—so far as known—the most densely populated block in Boston; it had 956 residents on .84 acre. They lived in houses averaging  $3\frac{2}{3}$  stories high—viz., 310 persons per acre per story. New York's most crowded block had 1,672 per acre in houses averaging  $5\frac{1}{2}$  stories, or 304 per acre per story.

It is not possible here to go into all the causes, but it may be said that the people are primarily responsible. Indifference and ignorance are common to both slum dwellers and those who live elsewhere. Local authorities, to whom people naturally look for assistance, find more points of contact with owners and politicians than with the public (through the fault of the latter, let it be frankly said), and they have come to consider mainly what may be permitted under the law rather than what may be prevented.

The Board of Health, for example, in which is lodged great power for activities in the right direction, has been too steadily kept in tow by the mayor and by the great zero created by the absence of public opinion. For twenty-one years the board has had power to regulate the occupancy of houses or of parts of houses, in the interest of the public health. It has been using this power, setting 300 cubic feet as the space required for each occupant of a sleeping room, and has "stenciled" many rooms found

to be overcrowded. The stencils, says the board, are papered over, painted over and otherwise obliterated. When such a room is again visited by an inspector it is treated *de novo* and "again stenciled if it needs it", the board in the twenty-one years having developed no system of keeping a list of "stenciled" rooms.

But it is known that if the board had the best system imaginable it has not enough inspectors to do the work needed. The present inspectors might do the work if the public, tenement dwellers, and others were doing their part, but they are not. Many people in the tenements persist in violating regulations in regard to overcrowding, ventilation, filth and garbage; many owners do the same so far as their part is concerned; and the public gives tacit consent. It will take many more inspectors to see that right conditions are developed and maintained, and they will have to remain in service till the people learn the value of the new methods.

A much needed adjunct now is a corps of instructive district sanitary inspectors. Many tenants are woefully ignorant or indifferent as to the results of conditions under which they live. The situation could be much helped, too, by a system similar to that instituted by Octavia Hill in London.

The present Board of Health seems willing to improve matters and it is believed that it will succeed if the people stand between it and the owners and politicians. The building commissioner and the superintendent of streets, in whose department the sanitary division

As a matter of fact a recent investigation showed a number of rooms occupied by sleepers each of whom had 200 cubic feet or less. "Boston not only fails to require the minimum of other cities, but seems to have no minimum at all: no minimum for working men and their families, though for every tramp in the common lodging-houses the Board of Health requires at least 350 cubic feet of air-space and open windows."

falls, will do all that the people make it possible for them to do. The board of appeal sees too much the material side of the housing question and apparently has not awakened to the fact that, because people have to live in houses, there is a social or human side. It has nullified the spirit and in some cases the letter of the law.

These facts are now known by many people and the present state of public opinion makes the problem look more possible of a gradual solution than at any time in the past. The settlements, nurses, charity workers, and others are coming to see that their methods are letting the problem get ahead of them. They are beginning to see that it is a part of their work to help remove the causes of the difficulties which it will always be a part of their duty to alleviate. New organizations are taking up the newer aspects of the work and many others are showing a ready willingness to co-operate. Officials are feeling the same impulse and are either strengthening their present machinery or devising new machinery to do the work. There is hope, but this hope is based entirely on the assumption that Boston has at last awakened to her needs in housing and sanitation, and is ready to learn her job by working at it.

Academic Boston has been interesting to herself and to others in many parts of the world. Boston on her job promises to be more interesting. She will hardly reach efficiency in less time than she has devoted to her academic consideration of the subject; but, if she can put herself in fifty years among the fairest cities of the land (where they will be at that time), she may congratulate herself that she decided to take her proper place and get to work in this year A. D. 1910.



RANKEN TRADE SCHOOL, ST. LOUIS.  
Employers, trades unionists and educational experts commend this institution.

## THE RANKEN TRADES SCHOOL AT ST. LOUIS.

A trade school which has the commendation of employers, trades unionists and educational experts is worth more than ordinary attention, for it is a phenomenon all too rare. "The Ranken Trades School is on the square," a plumber said recently. And so all of the laboring men regard it. They are as glad to have Owen Miller, president of the Missouri State Federation of Labor, on the school's advisory committee as the school is to have won labor's approbation. On the other hand, the co-operation of employers is shown by the fact that the Metal Trades Association sends forty boys to the school as regularly indentured apprentices. The employer meets the tuition fee and pays the boys their regular shop wages while they are in attendance.

How comes this friendship of both trades-unionist and capitalist? exclaim those who have always heard of the difficulties of most other trade-schools. The answer is so simple and so ideal that belief in it—and the actuality forces credence—props up one's wobbling faith

that more freedom, honesty and thoughtfulness, higher principles, practically applied, will yet save the day in these "labor and capital" troubles. Single-hearted and clearheaded, with a daily study of what constitutes for today and tomorrow the best possible trade education, the Ranken School holds its independent, middle-of-the-road course.

When David Ranken, Jr., deeded over to the David Ranken, Jr., School of Mechanical Trades the whole of his large fortune, exceeding \$3,000,000, he then and there endowed it with much of the freedom which characterizes it, for ideas can always be carried out if there is no concern as to where the money is to come from—a hampering, even crippling consideration which confronts nearly every institution and individual. Many of the trade-schools opposed by trades-unionists are not efficient; they profess to turn out a good plumber in three months. The Ranken School, however, trains boys long and carefully and raises rather than lowers any standard of trade workmanship. But these "three months

## THE HOUSING AWAKENING<sup>1</sup>

V

### THE HUDDLED POLES OF BUFFALO

FREDERIC ALMY

Secretary Buffalo Charity Organization Society

The Poles of Buffalo live in a sort of social Sahara. Their infant death rate is excessive, and the proportion of Poles exceeds all others in the juvenile court and at the city poor office. It has recently been shown that ninety-six per cent of those under investigation earn less by \$110 than the \$634 a year which the Charity Organization Society of Buffalo stands for as the lowest tolerable budget which will allow the bare decencies of life for a family of five.<sup>2</sup>

It is not generally known, perhaps, that among Buffalo's 80,000 Poles there is not one settlement house, not one city playground (though land has now been bought for one), and but one day nursery; that, according to our Polish Survey, there are twenty teachers in parochial schools who do not speak English at all, or speak it too poorly to use it in teaching. The Polish community is almost bare of the modern social work so rife elsewhere in Buffalo. Such work could create a Polish opinion which would refuse to tolerate the huddled living which keeps the Poles down. It might reduce the Polish census; but is it better to have 80,000 near the foot of the ladder or 40,000 climbing rapidly?

Even as it is, the Poles are climbing. They have two daily newspapers; 4,000 families, representing 20,000 people, own their own homes; 5,000 of them have deposits in the savings banks, amounting

<sup>1</sup>A series of articles describing housing conditions in typical American cities, large and small, East and West, and the efforts being made to improve these conditions. Published with the co-operation of the National Housing Association. I. Introduction, by Lawrence Veiller, *THE SURVEY*, November 19, 1910, price 10 cents; II. Socialists and Slums—Milwaukee, by Carl D. Thompson, December, 3, 1910, price 25 cents; III. The Awakening of a State—Indiana, by Albion Fellows Bacon, December 17, 1910, price 10 cents; IV. Housing Reform in Cold Storage—Boston, by Edward T. Hartman, January 21, 1911, price 10 cents.

<sup>2</sup>See *THE SURVEY*, for June 4, 1910, pp. 370, 379.

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to over \$2,500,000; and they own taxable property worth \$12,000,000. It is a wonderful record, under a heavy handicap of social neglect. They are thrifty, they are clean, they are willing, and they are neglected. They are raw material of the first value, undeveloped and wasting.

Nearly all the Poles live in small one-story and two-story wooden cottages. The new cottages are mostly two stories, with accommodations for six or more families, but the older type is a one-story cottage, so built that it is adapted to four families, though the owner is apt to occupy two of the rear apartments.

Today there are in Buffalo 80,000 Poles, which is one-sixth of the entire population, and their 15,000 cottages are all under the tenement law, which is administered by a Polish health commissioner, Dr. Francis E. Fronczak. He is new in office, but bids fair to be the best health commissioner Buffalo has ever had, even Dr. Wende not excepted. It is in his power to do much to release his people from the conditions which have held them down. Good health work means not only protection for the rich, but salvation for the poor who cannot, like the rich, escape from their surroundings. Dr. Fronczak has the opportunity to save more lives in Buffalo than even Dr. Pryor has saved through his tenement and tuberculosis work, or than the mistakes of a thousand doctors in private practice could destroy.

The tenement law has not yet been effectively enforced, but there have been good efforts. Twenty-eight years ago, in 1882, the tenement committee of the Buffalo Charity Organization Society secured some tenement ordinances, and ten years later the same committee made an elaborate report which led to new and more stringent ordinances in 1894.

Good work was done by this committee in enforcing these ordinances, and as a result Buffalo has no such serious structural conditions in its tenements as most large cities have.

Instead of now sowing, we are reaping. The sowing was done long ago by Dr. John H. Pryor, of later tuberculosis fame, and by William A. Douglas and Williams Lansing, who served later on Roosevelt's Tenement House Commission.

Our chief evil today is room-overcrowding, and here the city ordinances of 1894, which required 600 cubic feet of air for each occupant, were better than the present state law of 1901, which requires only 400 cubic feet. The ordinance is still effective, and is expressly not repealed, but the state law has practically supplanted it.

In 1905 Messrs. Pryor and Douglas of the tenement committee of the Charity Organization Society started another tenement crusade, and for a year or two the town was "tenement mad," as one of the newspapers put it. Revolting details of nasty plumbing were in the daily press. Dr. Van Peyma and George W. Gillette of the same committee followed up the work. The health commissioner, Dr. Greene, gave his full support, and in one year 200 buildings were altered or reconstructed. These were mostly in



Photo by Hare  
A PHILOSOPHER CARELESS OF APPEARANCE.

the Italian quarter for the poorer Italians have run to old hotels, warehouses, and abandoned homesteads, while the Poles have kept to cottages. As late as 1906 we found Italians living in large rooms, subdivided by head-high partitions of rope and calico, with a separate family in each division.

The state law is certainly drastic. All new or altered tenements must be certified as O. K. by the Health Department, and without this certificate tenants

cannot be compelled to pay rent, city water can be turned off, and any mortgage is immediately foreclosable. The city has turned off water several times, and has used the eviction clause with great success. In the old United States Hotel, which was converted into a tenement house, the landlord refused to make necessary, but costly, changes. We told the tenants to stop paying rent, and he could not evict them. The result was that radical changes were made with the tenants still in the building. The welter was indescribable, but there was no unnecessary delay.

As Dr. Pryor has said repeatedly, night inspection is far more effective than day inspection to detect overcrowding, and nothing less than night inspection is adequate. Moreover, until this year there were but three tenement inspectors in Buffalo, and even now there are but nine.

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Photo by George J. Hare, Buffalo

OVER THE HOUSE TOPS IN WINTER.



THE EVENING MEAL.  
Husband and wife and two boarders in a Polish home.

Photo by Hare



THE PRESSURE OF EXISTENCE.  
Ten people in four rooms and six beds.

Photo by Hare

What can nine inspectors do in a city where the large tenement hardly exists, and where there are 15,000 tenement houses, under the three-family law, in the Polish section alone?

In 1902 we found one small two-story cottage in the Polish quarter, on Mills street, which housed sixty people. Of course it was photographed for the Sunday papers with its whole population standing in front of it. Nothing of this sort exists today, but as Mr. Daniels's Polish Survey has abundantly shown, the overcrowding is still serious and dangerous.

Counting little bedrooms, living-rooms, and kitchens (and they are pretty nearly indistinguishable), Mr. Daniels tells us that half the Polish families in Buffalo, or 40,000 people, average two occupants to a room. There are beds under beds (trundle beds, by the way, were once quite respectable), and mattresses piled high on one bed during the day will cover all the floors at night. Lodgers in addition to the family are in some sections almost the rule rather than the exception. Under such conditions privacy of living, privacy of sleeping, privacy of dressing, privacy of toilet, privacy for study are all impossible, especially in the winter season; and those who have nerves, which are not confined to the rich in spite of an impression to the contrary, are led near to insanity. Brothers and sisters sleep together far beyond the age of safety. It begins so, and parents do not realize how fast children grow, or how dangerous it all is.

What is the remedy?

Enforce the tenement law. Public opinion stands for it, and only public inertia stands in the way. Night inspec-

tion will prove the overcrowding, though mere day inspection will prove it also. These cottage tenements lack some of the evils of tenements elsewhere, for there are no dark rooms, but nevertheless they handicap life. The Poles will never come into their own in Buffalo until they stop this huddle. The word is not mine, but Mr. Veiller's, but it is descriptive.

To stop the overcrowding will of course raise rents. Two families in a cottage must pay more than four or six families in the same cottage. With the wages they get the Poles cannot afford the rents they pay now. If rents increase many will go back to Poland, as they did by thousands in the recent panic years. This would make a dearth of labor and raise wages. The employers will seek to bring in a lower grade of people, as in the steel plant at Lackawanna, just over the city line. If an efficient health commissioner insists on American conditions for these people, the standard of living will be sustained and the standard of wages also. If the high wages continue, the employers, and possibly some of the consumers, will not have pretty things to say of Dr. Fronczak, but the Poles will; and the community will owe him a debt it can never repay.

As I have said elsewhere, we want to give our foreign population an American fair chance, and then compel them, literally compel them, to live like Americans. We shall not have good citizens otherwise for our universal suffrage. The children of the poor do not need charity so much as they need opportunities. You cannot make a silk purse out of a sow's ear, and you cannot make an American citizen out of a tenement slum. The slum must go. If you spare the slum you will spoil the child.

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# HOME WORK IN THE TENEMENTS<sup>1</sup>

ELIZABETH C. WATSON

SECRETARY OF THE WORK AND WAGES COMMITTEE OF THE CHILD WELFARE EXHIBIT

Photos by Lewis W. Hine

THERE WAS A MAN LIVED IN OUR TOWN  
AND HE WAS WONDROUS WISE,  
HE WANTED FOLKS TO WORK AT HOME  
AND SO HE ADVERTISED.

THEN WHEN HE SAW THE PEOPLE COME  
IN CROWDS UNTO HIS DOOR,  
HE SAID, "I'LL GIVE MY WORK ALL OUT,  
I NEED A SHOP NO MORE."

(From *Sorrowful Rhymes of Working Children.*)

And so it came about, and grew and grew, until now there are thirteen thousand some odd tenement houses in New York licensed by the bureau of factory inspection of the State Department of Labor, in which work given out by manufacturers and contractors can be made or finished in the homes, where the labor of all members of the family can be utilized without reference to age or factory law.

Securing a license permitting a tenement house to take in certain homework is a very simple matter. The owner or agent renting the property files with the Department of Labor a personal application for a license. The department sends out an inspector to investigate the building. If it comes up to the sanitary regulations and there are no charges filed against it in the Health or Tenement House Departments, a license is granted that allows all families living in the house to take in work if they desire. The house may contain one or forty families. The number makes no difference. The license is for the entire house, and entitles all the tenants to do homework.

The law calls for two inspections of licensed tenements a year, but owing to

<sup>1</sup>Some of the facts and figures from Miss Watson's report, and her adaptations from nursery rhymes, are shown at the Child Welfare Exhibit at the Seventy-first Regiment Armory, New York, which will continue until February 12.

the limited number of inspectors only one complete inspection is made, at which time thirty-five or more inspectors make a complete survey of the licensed houses. Only four inspectors are detailed regularly to this department for work the year round.

The law regulating this branch of industry is Section 100 of the labor laws which prohibits, except when licensed, the use of a room or apartment in a tenement house or of a building on the same lot with one for "manufacturing, altering, repairing or finishing" of

coats, vests, knee-pants, trousers, overalls, cloaks, hats, caps, suspenders, jerseys, blouses, dresses, waists, waistbands, underwear, neckwear, furs, fur trimmings, fur garments, skirts, shirts, aprons, purses, pocketbooks, slippers, paper boxes, paper bags, feathers, artificial flowers, cigarettes, cigars, umbrellas, or articles of rubber, nor for the purpose of manufacturing, preparing or packing macaroni, spaghetti, ice cream, ices, candy, confectionery, nuts or preserves.

But whether licensed or not, the law does not interfere with the making of any goods *not* specifically mentioned in it. There lies the rub, as witness this list of things not mentioned and therefore made, quite legally, regardless of conditions:

finishing gloves, making buttonholes, hat frames, millinery ornaments, chiffon hats, baby

## CIVICS



HAPPY DESPITE THE SLOP-SINK.

### THE HOUSING AWAKENING<sup>1</sup> VI.

#### NEW TENANTS AND OLD SHACKS

ROGER N. BALDWIN

SECRETARY, ST. LOUIS CIVIC LEAGUE

So far as the housing problem of decent living is concerned, St. Louis was quite asleep until very recent years. We had been told by an eastern authority that we had no tenement-house evil, for we had no tenements over three stories high, we had regular streets, an alley through every block, and plenty of vacant lots, and sunlight, and air (and smoke). We were flattered by the distinction of an almost unique type of one-story three- or four-room brick dwelling with its neat little yard, quite characteristic of thrifty German South St. Louis.

Some people disagreed, however. They inspected our east end, particularly the tenements occupied by immigrant peoples. They found a sea of frame shacks and brick houses, two and sometimes three on a lot and one or two on the alley rear—flimsy structures of one and one-half to three stories, poorly lighted, without plumbing, all served by yard vaults (many unsewered), and many of them

<sup>1</sup>A series of articles describing housing conditions in typical American cities, large and small, East and West, and the efforts being made to improve these conditions. Published with the cooperation of the National Housing Association. I. Introduction, by Lawrence Veiller, THE SURVEY, November 19, 1910, price 10 cents; II. Socialists and Slums—Milwaukee, by Carl D. Thompson, December 3, 1910, price 25 cents; III. The Awakening of a State—Indiana, by Albion Fellows Bacon, December 17, 1910, price 10 cents; IV. Housing Reform in Cold Storage—Boston, by Edward T. Hartman, January 21, 1911, price 10 cents; V. The Huddled Poles of Buffalo, by Frederic Almy, February 4, 1911, price 25 cents.

crowded around the four sides of a court, entered only by covered passageways from the street or alley. The surface-drained yards were filled with garbage piled against rotting fences, heaps of ashes, and flying waste paper. There was no city collection of ashes or paper, and the garbage-wagon irregularly picked up only the garbage placed in receptacles convenient to the driver's fancy.

The investigation made by the Civic League in 1907, as a result of the agitation on housing, disclosed the facts that in a selected, but typical, district of forty-eight blocks, in which lived 13,223 individuals, there were only sixty-six bath-tubs and 204 water-closets, and that so few tenements got city water from anywhere except the common yard hydrant that they could be counted on the fingers.

The storage of decaying fruit and rags, and bakeries in rear rooms was a common feature in a district which knew no regulation, no

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SOME TYPICAL BACKYARDS.

education in the decencies of living, nothing but the chaos of a helter-skelter construction of frame and brick shacks, renting monthly at an average of \$3.50 a room, largely to the foreign-born families living in overcrowded two- to three-room "apartments."

The Civic League made a careful study and a most readable report, widely distributed. It recommended definite remedies: abolition of all privy vaults, exterior toilets and sinks; general reconstruction of old tenement houses by simple plumbing, proper and accessible water supply, and condemnation of unsafe and insanitary structures; a general ordinance covering new construction and the maintenance of tenements; prohibition of bakeries, butcher-shops, sweat-shops, and the storage of fruit and rags in stables and tenements; a bill and an appropriation for the collection of ashes and rubbish by the Street Department.

That was two and one-half years ago. The law governing the construction and maintenance of new tenements has been passed, and on the whole is working well in apartment houses as well as in the few new east end structures.

But that is all. All other efforts have met either determined opposition or ineffective action. The bill to abolish privies and substitute water-closets, interior or exterior, so aroused the real estate men and landlords, that at one of a series of public hearings before the House of Delegates in the winter of 1910 the house chamber was packed to the doors with seven or eight hundred landlords—largely Jewish immigrants—who attempted to hoot down the advocates of the bill. The labor unions and social workers were on one side, the real estate men and reactionaries on the other. "Privy vaults could not be abolished."

It was an unreasonable and confiscating cost, an impossibility to secure a non-freezing water-closet for use in yard compartments—and it hurt the pocket! The newspapers, for the most part, declined to print material on the agitation, and only the fact that the overcrowded public hearing broke up in a riot secured any effective publicity.

The bill to promote the reconstruction of old tenements with water on each floor, lights in the halls, prohibition of the use of cellars for living, stipulation of the number of windows per room, etc.—all of this much-needed regulation still slumbers in the pigeon-holes of a reform Assembly.

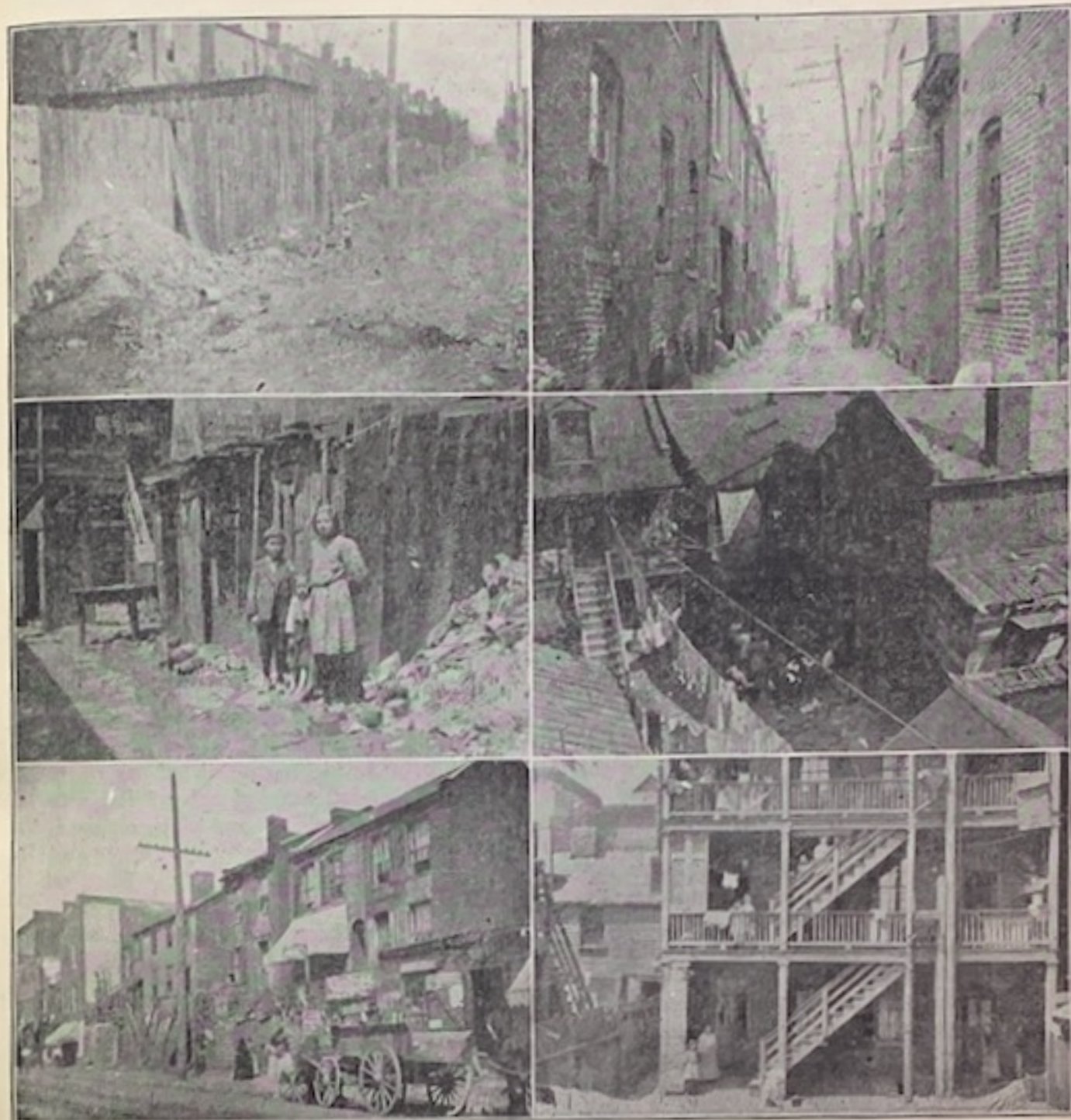
But the leaven works. Following the agitation for legislation came the National Conference of Charities and Correction and more publicity. One newspaper waged war in the cause of the bills. Housing experts viewed the littered alleys and filthy courts, the few, but unique, rear sheds on the alley, choked with heaps of week-old garbage, the stench of which of a summer's night permeates the entire east end of the city. Housing experts crawled through dark passageways into foul cellars, damp with yard drainage, yet half filled with stored fruit. No inspection, no regulation—a mere living for the benefit of landlords.

And experts heard the interesting tale that the worst district of town was the property of the Board of Education! Inquiry brought out the facts of a peculiar system of land tenure by which the board (and many other owners) for years has rented its property on leases forever renewable, to persons who in turn rent it out, and whose advantage it is to make no improvements, since a revaluation every ten years is the basis of the price paid



RUBBISH DUMPS: COMMON IN CROWDED SECTIONS.

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OLD DWELLINGS.

St. Louis slums are of every kind. The outside drain in the picture in the lower right corner is found in most tenements.

on the renewed lease. What these experts thought and what they freely said was boldly published.

Interest in improved housing is belated, but it is acute. Settlement workers who do not see a health inspector from one month's end to another, whose pleading with public officials has brought nothing but excuses, but who insist earnestly and continuously on the relation of their own efforts to the larger work of the

city's obligation, know that a solution must be near at hand.

We are to be congratulated on our street and alley arrangements, on our new tenement law, on our lack of high dwellings, but we still have our 10,000 privy vaults and our acres of shacks—a vast deal to be rid of—and an aggregation of new tenants from across the sea who will need, for the art of decent living, more than the ministrations of the gar-

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bage-man and the health inspector, even were they to visit daily.

This educational work for a cleaner city and a more wholesome home life must be based, however, on a comprehensive code of regulation, which will show the city's appreciation of a standard of decent living.



WHERE THEY HOARD GARBAGE.

## GRAND RAPIDS GETS RESULTS

JOHN IHLDER

The progressive element among the people of Grand Rapids, Mich., has found a way to get results. For years progressives and even conservatives, knew that the city needed important improvements. But the very fact that there were several needed stood in the way of getting any of them; for each had its special advocates who feared that if any other were put through the cost would be used as an argument against the adoption of theirs for years to come. So year after year proposals which would have commanded a majority of votes, if put before the people purely on their merits, were defeated by the combined strength of those who are against every improvement that costs public money, with those who wished something else to come first.

The municipal affairs committee of the Board of Trade made the first attempt at solving this problem three years ago, when it induced the government to appropriate money for a city plan. A commission appointed by the mayor, aided by John M. Carrère and Arnold W. Brunner, prepared a report which made a careful survey of the city's needs and indicated the best way to meet these needs. With this as a guide, the municipal affairs

committee called a conference of officials and representative citizens as the climax of its second civic revival—the first had secured the appropriation for the city plan report. At the conference the committee proposed that all efforts should be concentrated on securing one improvement, that when this had been placed fairly before the people and adopted or rejected, another conference should be called and another improvement decided upon which should receive united support. This proposal received the unanimous endorsement of the conference. The committee then presented a list of needed improvements, and after debate the conference decided unanimously (only one man not voting) to concentrate all efforts on securing a bond issue for a water filtration plant.

The campaign ended in victory at the municipal election last spring. There had been two previous attempts to secure pure water for Grand Rapids, which had ended in failure. Four days after the election the committee called another conference, to which it invited officers of the district or neighborhood associations, the trades and labor council, and the real estate board. This conference decided unanimously to concentrate all efforts on securing at the fall election a bond issue for an extension of the park and playground system, as recommended in the city plan report. The campaign began immediately. The Park Board, which had with difficulty been restrained from putting the proposal before the people at the spring election, took an active part. During the summer Grand Rapids has long had band concerts in present parks. Last year many of the concerts were given in districts which have no parks, and between numbers park and other officials and citizens made addresses advocating the bond issue, illustrated with lantern slides which emphasized their points. All the organizations which had been represented at the conference, with one exception, formally endorsed the proposal. A number of business and professional men subscribed money for the equipment and supervision of a playground as an earnest of their desire to help, and the city government was induced to provide money for the equipment and supervision of three other playgrounds.

As election drew near the Park Board became even more active. It had in its superintendent, Eugene Goebel, a man who had already commended himself to the people by the results he had achieved on a small appro-

priation. Mr. Goebel showed that he is a persuasive campaigner as well as an efficient park superintendent. Upon him in the last weeks fell the burden of the detail work. He conducted meetings, secured endorsements from organizations in every part of the city, and waged a continuous publicity campaign through the newspapers, by means of a wagon which constantly traversed the streets, and by great posters on the billboards.

Meanwhile the municipal affairs committee had reorganized the Grand Rapids Playground Association so that through its dollar memberships it might reach every corner of the town, had assisted in getting out literature, and had secured options on a considerable part of the land recommended by the city plan report, so that if the bond issue carried there might be no danger of prices taking a sudden boom. Aid from without was given by Graham Romeyn Taylor, who made three addresses just before the election.

In all this campaign there was only one serious setback. The district organization in

that part of the town which most needs parks and playgrounds, and which has now its last opportunity to get playgrounds without destroying buildings, listened to an alderman who advised against the bond issue, and recalled its endorsement. In this district, which contains over 12,000 inhabitants, there remains only one tract of seven acres which is perfectly suited to playground purposes. This is almost in the center of the district and has already been platted for building. After several rebuffs the municipal affairs committee finally secured an option on it. Then the district organization voted against the bond issue and the owner, who had been treated in the same way by the aldermen the year before, withdrew the option. This set-back lost the ward, but at the election the bond issue carried by a large majority.

The municipal affairs committee has issued a call for a third conference, which shall decide upon the next step to take in making Grand Rapids all that the city plan report says it may be.



CAMPAIGNING FOR PARKS AND PLAYGROUNDS IN GRAND RAPIDS.

## CIVIC IMPROVEMENT

CHARLES MULFORD ROBINSON, Contributing Editor

### TOWN PLANNING BY CHARTER

The pending new charter for the city of St. Louis makes provision for city planning. It creates a Board of Public Improvements, to consist of five members appointed by the mayor, which is to select the heads of the Departments of Engineering, Construction, Streets, Water, Buildings, Parks and Public Utilities. Besides the general duties under the old charter, various powers are given the board, including that "to make a plan for the harmonious development of the city." It is interesting, with this authority in mind, to read over again the list of departments which would be called upon to co-operate in the preparation of such a plan.

### A CALL TO THE ART IMPULSE

In the *Village Magazine* there is an editorial addressed to the "Art Student who has Returned to the Village." It contains these words that are widely applicable "Oh, all you students that I have loved, whose work I have enviously admired, who are now back home grubbing at portraits, though they are not your specialty; or designing billboards, though they are not your divine call; or acting on the committee to paper the church and buying bad paper to please them; or back on the home newspaper that will not often print your short novels; or singing in the old choir for no salary at all; or composing advertisements in the real estate office and neglecting your

lyrics; or taking charge of the Sunday school orchestra and curing them of the Moody-Sankey habit—Greeting, and God-speed to you! If you have any cherished beauty-enterprise, undertake it where you are. You will find no better place in all America."

#### SMOKE CLOSED THE SCHOOLS

The Women's Organization for Smoke Abatement in St. Louis, backed by the Civic League, has been making a carefully planned crusade since the opening of the new year against those industrial plants, which by belching forth thick clouds of black smoke make life uncomfortable. Six hundred pupils in one of the public schools had to be dismissed at 11 o'clock on one of the darkest days, while at other schools within the smoke belt pupils were entertained with stories by their teachers during the time it was too dark to study. The city was divided into 160 inspection districts each of which was patrolled daily by two women together, who watched all offenders twenty minutes to be sure that the condition observed was not merely temporary. The papers day after day published smoke pictures. The president of the board of public improvements created a special temporary force of 200 smoke inspectors. In the period between December 6 and January 14 the inspector of boilers and elevators took up almost as many cases as it had in the previous seven months.

#### NEW JERSEY TRIES COMMISSION

The commission government idea has struck New Jersey. The climax of the campaign was reached on January 24 when a state convention assembled at Trenton. Over 100 delegates from twenty cities, six of which were represented by their mayors in person, attended. A committee composed of one representative from each city in the state interested in the problem will meet shortly to draft a bill which the Legislature will be requested to pass. Much of the interest created is due to the addresses which John MacVicar of Des Moines has been delivering throughout the state.

#### ALUMNI SOCIETIES AS CIVIC CLUBS

Since local university alumni associations are often more interested in having a good time themselves than in community recreation, it is well to note how much the Harvard Club has done for Syracuse. Under its auspices Sunday band concerts in the parks were started, which were later taken over by the city. The club initiated the indoor Sunday concert now held with much success in the Central High School, and this winter it suggested a new form of municipal recreation which has been promptly put into effect by the officials. This is a public skating rink on the Erie Canal. The city has provided a cloak room and an attendant and has strung large arc lights over the canal for several blocks. Thus the people have, in the very center of the city, a free skating rink of

much greater length than is usual in rinks to which admission is charged. This work is the more interesting because it is the first which Syracuse has undertaken, at least in recent years, in the direction of winter playgrounds.

#### AN EFFECTIVE SOCIETY

A pamphlet sent out by the American Scenic and Historic Preservation Society, describing its objects and accomplishments, is of interest for the remarkable record which it contains. The society is not very much in public evidence; but in doing its work quietly it seems to have performed it none the less effectively. It is always ready to co-operate with other agencies to secure things which it believes are desirable, without seeking to appropriate all the credit. During the last decade members of the society have made personal gifts aggregating \$2,347,200 for public parks, statues, tablets, and the preservation and restoration of historic buildings. The society has been chiefly instrumental in the creation of seven state parks and largely responsible for an eighth. It has done much to secure appropriations for these parks, is the custodian of five state properties, and was the leading factor in establishing Washington's Headquarters Park in New York city at a cost of \$235,000. The list of old buildings it has saved or restored, and of historical sites it has secured and marked, is very long.

#### AKRON'S CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

The Chamber of Commerce of Akron, O., is representative of that type of commercial organization which takes a broad civic interest in the community's progress. Its year book contains reports of committees, among which that on city improvement tells what it has done to secure a park for the city. It co-operated with the Park Commission in bringing to Akron Howard Evarts Weed, the Chicago landscape architect, to make city plans. It has interested itself in securing additional land around the new high school, in the care of shade trees of the city, in a yard improvement contest, and in various other matters for the betterment of Akron. The housing committee shows that it is largely responsible for an increase of eighty-three per cent in building permits issued during the last year, and in the effort to provide houses for the rapidly growing working population. There is also a municipal committee which has prepared a building code and concerned itself with questions of street paving, traffic congestion, flood control, and street lighting. There is no more encouraging sign than the evidence given by such reports as that from Akron of the broadening interest of business men in civic progress.

#### SUCCESS IN VILLAGE IMPROVEMENT

In the annual report of the Massachusetts Civic League, the statement of the committee on Village Improvement is included, which is signed by Parris T. Farwell, chairman. It attempts to answer the important question as



WHY TEACHING THE TENANT IS NEEDED.

## THE HOUSING AWAKENING<sup>1</sup>

VII

### TEACHING THE TENANT

JOHANNA VON WAGNER

EXPERT, LOS ANGELES HOUSING COMMISSION

Teaching the tenant: When that means dealing with people of thirty nationalities, different customs, superstitions and languages, one might well hesitate before embarking on that sea. Once in it, one is carried away by the deep, dark undercurrent, and is well repaid for his efforts to teach the hard-working, greatly underpaid class of society, our tenement dwellers, how to keep afloat.

<sup>1</sup>A series of articles describing housing conditions in typical American cities, large and small, East and West, and the efforts being made to improve these conditions. Published with the cooperation of the National Housing Association. I. Introduction, by Lawrence Veiller, *THE SURVEY*, November 19, 1910, price 10 cents; II. Socialists and Slums—Milwaukee, by Carl D. Thompson, December 3, 1910, price 25 cents; III. The Awakening of a State—Indiana, by Aldon Fellows Bacon, December 17, 1910, price 10 cents; IV. Housing Reform in Cold Storage—Boston, by Edward T. Hartman, January 21, 1911, price 10 cents; V. The Huddled Poles of Buffalo by Frederick Almy, February 4, 1911, price 25 cents; VI. New Tenements and Old Sharks—St. Louis, by Roger N. Baldwin, February 18, 1911, price 10 cents.

March 4, 1911.

Everybody is struggling to reach the light, sometime, somewhere; and those who would remain down deep in the dark, indifferent to better ideals, should be coaxed and pushed and helped until the inertia is overcome. Unless we feel that all of the thirty nationalities of our large cities have to be dealt with as members of one big family, irrespective of color or creed, we fail of our mission and might better choose some other work.

Is it worth while? If it is not worth while for the other fellow, it is worth while for one's self to have helped along in the work of God, "the cause of man,"—evolution, economic and spiritual. To make the most of present-day conditions and surroundings, and to awaken desire for better standards of living, is our work. So we start out with good will towards all men, a speaking knowledge



IN LOCKHARDT COURT.

Mrs. Von Wagner interviewing an old woman.

of several languages, the experience in sickness of four years' hospital training, to meet and conquer the two great foes, ignorance and superstition, or tradition and self-love.

At the beginning of my work, twelve years ago, I was rudely made to realize that while I had some things to give, it was a difficult matter for some to receive. My first day as woman inspector was perhaps one of my hardest, because I had to adjust my theories to existing customs. By request of the doctor, I went to the home of an Irish family, an old ram-shackle cottage on a high hill, dirty and vermin infested; a child dying, a new baby expected any minute. The doctor thought that, while the child was probably doomed, the house should be made a little cleaner for the arrival of the newcomer.

Words fail to describe the chaos and pathos of the situation—the child in the kitchen in a cradle, lying on old garments, the pinched little face covered with flies; the emaciated body covered with soiled rags. On the floor, on chairs, everywhere, soiled clothes and pieces of old cloth; dirty dishes on the table, in the sink and on a broken-down stove; flies, flies everywhere! The dirt of ages on walls, ceilings, furniture; the mother sitting by the cradle drunk; the father arranging pipes and glasses for the anticipated wake, drunk also; sympathetic

neighbors all around, partaking of the beer, helping to swell the lamentations; the air unbearably oppressive, and with it all, the sultry heat of a summer day.

For a minute I stood overcome. When I stated that I had been sent by the doctor to lend a hand and look after the sick child, a storm of opposition broke loose. "It is Divine Providence that the child shall die; I stand for no interference. One dead, and one born every year, so it has ben for seven years, and this one must go too. O, my baby!" More yelling and more drinking.

No moral persuasion would help here. A minute more and

the drunken men would have put me out on the street. "All right," I said, "we will do what we can and leave the rest with God." I said it positively, put my handbag down and asked the sanest woman in the crowd to help me clean up; put on my apron and commanded all out, to give a chance to the baby. There was confusion and threatening, but I stood my ground. I managed to put the mother to bed, to sleep off the effects of liquor. The father was easily persuaded to lie down. Then work commenced. We repaired the fire box, heated some water and, after bathing the baby and reviving it with a little hot water and a few drops of brandy, the woman and I went to work, cleaned the kitchen and washed the child's linen. When that was done I left the woman in charge of the child, and went out to get some necessary articles to work with and telephone to the doctor, besides looking after several other sick babies, as we had at that time no district nurses.

It was several hours before I could return. Climbing back upon the hill in the evening, lo and behold most of my work had been undone; the mourners had returned, the pipes were being smoked, more beer and whiskey consumed, and the baby was almost lifeless. Righteous indignation does not express my feelings! Out, they had to go, and they went, through the front and back door, and

then I gave my attention to the little one, the mother interfering continually. "I tell ye it won't swallow another spoonful, it is going; I tell ye it won't draw another breath." And more like it. I just had to ignore her and do what had to be done.

Fortunately the doctor came in about ten o'clock, and with his help the woman was made to lie down once more in the next room, calling to her husband, "I tell ye she is going to kill that baby, that's what she is doing, and you sit there and watch her." After a while there was silence, and the "watchman," shamefacedly, was only too glad to follow his wife's example and retire.

Thank God I was alone with the baby. The doctor had given little hope, but it was a relief to have had his advice and help in smoothing the difficulties. Alone with the dying child in the dimly lighted kitchen, a sultry night, innumerable bugs and insects creeping from behind broken wall paper, and cracks, and crevices, roaches and bed bugs—shall I ever forget the horror of it! Sitting with the baby on my lap before the kitchen fire to keep the hot compresses on its little body, feeding, drop by drop, the barley water and stimulant, protecting it against flies and vermin with a piece of mosquito netting, from which continually I had to scoop off the bugs falling upon us from the ceiling.

To intensify the horrors of the night, mice and rats began running across the floor, and there was nothing to do but keep my feet on another chair as all my attention had to be devoted to the baby, which by this time showed the symptoms of approaching death. Its whole little body became rigid, the eyes seemed broken, a yellowish fluid exuded from the lids, and there was no pulse at the wrist.

I could not give up the child. I wrapped it up in a blanket, took it out in the garden, walking and praying that it might live. And it lived and began to breathe and get warm; and there out of doors I sat with the baby in my arms

until five in the morning, watching the sun rise on a new day. Then the mother appeared on the scene, a pitiful sight, sullen, untidy, dirty. Placing the child in the carriage, I talked to her one solid hour. What didn't I say! The woman cried and saw her duties in a different light, promising by all that was holy to take care of the little life and save it from an early grave. After her promise to care for the child according to instructions, I walked home—there were no cars at that time in that part of the city—for I needed a bath, clean clothes and some breakfast before beginning another day's work.

The following day conditions of home and mother were made more favorable for the arrival of the unborn, and for the first time in her married life there were two living children in the family! The spell was broken and five born since have lived. While the woman never became a very clean housekeeper, she developed into an excellent mother and nurse; the children were kept clean, and the father in his leisure hours did most of the housecleaning. The new baby was named for me, and the children felt they had a claim on me, especially the two elder ones. Drink was practically eliminated from the household; the man may have had a glass of beer with his supper some days, but other than that I never saw signs of it.

During my first week of work, seeing



IN MURILLO COURT.

The babies are always a bond of sympathy.

a child in convulsions in an Italian family, I said to the mother, "Quick, get some hot water to put the child into a bath." She replied, "What do you know about children? I guess I know what to do—a mother of twelve children." "Well, then, send one of the twelve for a doctor. Where are they?" (not seeing one). "I buried eleven." "Well," I said, "you will bury the twelfth if you sit still and wait for the child to recover without help." Without as much as "by your leave" I made a fire, a good mustard bath which brought the sufferer comfort, and perhaps saved the woman her last child. I then went out and sent for a doctor to give medical aid. The mother, who was then quite violently opposed to my advice, later became a very dear friend; the boy is living yet; two more children have been born and lived, because the woman was willing to be taught the care and feeding of infants, besides cleanliness of body and home.

A child had just died in a tenement consisting of two light and two dark rooms. The windows were all on one side and it was absolutely impossible to establish a current of air. The father was given to much drink; the mother took in washing. A beautiful baby, the pet of the family I had known so well, was dead (pneumonia). "How did it happen?" "O, Mrs. Von Wagner, it was not my fault. I have been up day and night, never took off my clothes, never opened a window since the baby was sick."

The people had sent for me to care for the child, but could not find me as I was out of the city at the time, and the baby had to die from ignorant care and fear of fresh air. I could not then tell the poor mother the reason why, but later I did, to protect the health of the others. The father, who earned good wages when sober but spent most of it in saloons, was standing by the little coffin, broken-hearted. I went up and talked to him, told him how sad it was that a chance had not been given the beautiful baby; nobody could know how much was lost to the family and to the world; what a great gift from heaven it was to care for a little soul, and that one day we should

have to answer for it. The man put his hand on the little cold forehead and then and there made a vow to give up drink—and he kept it. The family moved into a light, airy flat, and the children got a chance for better health and education.

Another experience that stays in my memory was of an Italian tenement in a basement, the kitchen containing a long table, benches close to the wall, chairs hanging upon the walls to make room for the affairs of day; in one corner a small bed in which was a child sick of diphtheria. In an adjoining room, on a high bed, the mother was sick of cholera morbus, and this, the family bedroom, had to serve as the storeroom as well, as the cheap tenements have no closet room for food or clothes.

On ropes overhanging the bed, sausages, peppers, dried fruit, and other eatables; underneath the bed, flour, and macaroni; tomato balls—a preserve of tomato made into a tight hard ball—rolled under the bed in their natural state, and from them pieces were broken off every day for soup or macaroni, plus cobwebs, dirt, and vermin. The toilets were in the yards, necessitating the use of vessels in bedrooms. The doctor whom I called in to see the patients, on being shown the unhygienic condition of food stuffs in the bedrooms, became nauseated and had to leave the room. The family was persuaded to let the child go to the Contagious Disease Hospital; the kitchen was fumigated; all eatables were removed from the bedroom, and the woman was cared for until recovery. With the aid of the father and willingness to be instructed, more sanitary ways of living resulted, the family being persuaded to leave the unhealthy basement and move above ground.

Almost always the Italians rent a tenement large enough to sublet several bedrooms, each having as many beds as the space allows, two or three double beds with a few cot beds between, according to the size of the room. To economize space, the doors are taken off the hinges and put in the cellar and a thin curtain is put in their place. When asked how many men are kept, the number given equals the number of beds. Ex-

perience has taught us that the number of boarders accommodated is far in excess, as many as two or three men sharing one double bed. Very often this number has to be doubled, as there are different occupants of these beds from the day and night shifts of workers.

Night inspections of such premises prove these facts and aid effectually in eliminating overcrowding. While the subletting of rooms swells the income and bank account, the family life deteriorates morally and physically and untold harm is done to the growing children. In talking to the children about having to help with the burdens of the household duties, they often confide their troubles and complain to me. Little girls have said, "The men are nasty and lift up our skirts." Many children have contracted venereal troubles by having to use toilets in common with ten or twelve boarders.

Being present at the funeral of an Italian woman who had died of consumption, leaving nine children and ten boarders, the oldest daughter, crying, said, "She had to kill herself for the men. My father made her keep them long after it was necessary." The bank account was more precious than the mother's life, and the children were the sufferers.

A baby very sick, no doctor, no nurse—I tried to persuade the family to call in a doctor to save the little one, to feed it properly, to take it out of the hot kitchen. The father said, "Never mind, baby die, it's all right, my wife she makee another." But the doctor and the nurse do get there in spite of objections. Sometimes their advice and ministrations are accepted; other times refused, and another life is lost.

The Italians are very independent, so far as their ways of living are concerned and in obeying city ordinances. Most of them are thrifty; their main object seems to be to save all they earn, while on the other hand they are anxious to get all the material help possible, whether needed or not. Mutual helpfulness is not much practiced among them. Often in a tenement, when some woman was sick and a little girl was standing by a sink trying to do a washing, or leaning far out of the window to hang up clothes, I

would go from floor to floor asking for help. The neighbors would reply, "Who will help me when I'm sick?" "Have too much work myself", etc. Some lessons in moral obligations have to be taught right here.

Too frequently the Italian landlord cannot be coaxed to comply with tenement house laws, but must be threatened; and even that is useless when he has become a political boss and dares defy the laws.

My experience in another home was instructive. It was a very dirty tenement house, sadly neglected, occupied by colored families having three rooms each. On entering, I saw sacks and sacks of rags and women and children sorting them. Becoming acquainted with the circumstances of the family first, I begged permission to inspect the rooms. It was granted, except that I was asked not to go into one of the bedrooms as the husband was sick in bed. As the wife had seemed anxious to hide the fact, I was just as anxious to be allowed to know the nature of the sickness. After persuading her to let me see if I could give any aid, I entered and found a case of smallpox, with the people sorting rags and taking them away. The man was promptly removed; the premises were fumigated; all rags, bedding, and clothes were burned; the loss was made good, and the whole house, both halls and rooms, was kalsomined. The people had to discontinue their business of sorting rags in the tenements; they were told of the danger of infection and acquainted with the law.

One woman, pleased to get into a new house, took the dark room flat because of the difference in price. When told of the danger to the family's health, she admitted that she would have to move because the gas bill was equal to the difference in rent. Besides, all were suffering more or less with eye trouble, especially the mother, who every time she went on the street had to become accustomed to daylight. Having to get eyeglasses for herself and children she lost considerably in health and money, in her effort to save rent. If the woman had known the value of sunshine and light



A WOMAN'S INFLUENCE IS NEEDED HERE.

she would never have moved into a dark tenement.

Oh, these basement rooms! One I remember well. It was damp, but cheap; the family occupied the kitchen, two women boarders the small bedroom. On one side the diminutive windows opened on a yard, on the other side the doors opened into a dark damp cellar, part of it partitioned off for men boarders. One cold winter day I found the head of the family, a consumptive, lying on a small bed in the kitchen, rocking a cradle by his side. The wife was away in the mills, working to support all. A small fire burned in the stove; the windows were tightly closed; moisture condensed on walls and woodwork; green mould was everywhere—on the walls in the kitchen, bedroom, cellar; even the mattress the sick man was lying on was soaking wet except the upper layer—a terrible dead, chilly air. But a fire, and at the same time an open window, would have seemed to the man like wasting precious fuel, as it is not the custom among these people to open a window at night or during the

And so there was the seventh funeral from this small basement, which looked innocent enough from the outside, even clean; but the grade of the yard was toward the house—no drain, all water soaking under the cellar. After a death the family usually moved out; another one was ready to move in, every one of them losing some member with lung trouble. The tenants earned very little. They thought to save all they could by subletting the only bedroom and even part of the cellar. Man and wife together hardly earned eight dollars a week—sometimes less. All living there were sick, more or less, with bronchitis, rheumatism, and tuberculosis.

The seventh funeral ended the chapter. At my request, the Board of Health vacated this "death trap" for all time. The family, with the aid of the charities, was helped to move into healthier surroundings, and cared for. If the tenants had known that dampness undermines health and in the long or short run spells death, they would have paid a little more rent and lived above ground.

My first day among Slavic tenants made me go out on the street and weep. It tempted me to pray for an earthquake to take us all down! What could I do single-handed, teaching the art of living to those who only struggled to exist? The largest family occupied the kitchen, with two beds and a cradle, benches around the walls, children everywhere—on the bed, on the floor, in the cradle; the stove full of kettles (all coffee kettles), and one large soup pot with the individual pound or half-pound of meat for each family or boarder.

But this is wash day. Wash day happens often during the week, and the woman who sublets the rooms, and incidentally looks after the babies, is rocking a cradle back of her with her foot while washing away at the tub. She must wash for the boarders, cook their food and mend their clothes. The heat and oppressive atmosphere from so much cooking and washing in those close quarters on a summer day, the moisture of the steam and the stale bedroom air on a winter day when all windows are closed, are beyond description. Small wonder that the babes die and the women become consumptives! No wonder that the women say, "Too much trouble to have children, too many boarders;" and the midwives are kept busy, many of the women dying as a result of their mal-practice.

Out of the kindness of their hearts, the baby gets a glass of beer with the rest of the family, or a little wine or whiskey because it is so pale and weak, "to make it strong"; or, as one of the women said when I stopped her from pouring a whole glass of beer down the baby's throat, "It is only for good luck." The others had all died and she did want to save this one.

Behind the scenes, as it were, through gaining their confidence and being able to speak their language, one hears the tale of woe of the women, veritable beasts of burden, and learns of the brutality of the men, who use the knut (whip) if their wives are sick in bed and not able to cook for the boarders. In one instance, I stopped a man from beating his wife

two hours after childbirth because she was unable to get up and prepare dinner. There were seven men to cook for.

Often when the woman is a wreck from overwork in carrying heavy loads of wood on her back from the docks up the hilly streets to her home to save the price of fuel, in addition to doing all the rest of her work, if you insist that her husband, who by this time has a bank account, shall pay for proper care and food for her, he says, "No, sir, she is no more good to me, she'll go in the box." Only the arm of the law helps here—seldom moral persuasion. Frequently the successor of the wornout wife is already installed and mistress of the man.

If in the instances cited I have confined myself to the faults in human nature and a wrong social condition, it is not because I have not been able to see the good and beautiful—these are everywhere, among all nationalities, side by side with the bad.

A bright Jewish girl watching my work, going with me from the cellar to the top of the house to see what I was doing, asked, "Lady, is the Board of Health your husband?" She had come from New York and had seen only men inspectors. "I am so glad it is a woman this time," the mother said, and asked a good many questions regarding the health of her children.

The titles given me in my work have been various; to the boys I was the "city"; to the girls the "health-lady"; to many Slavic women, the "Mrs. Board of Health"; and to one dear Irish friend, the "Lady of the Sanctuary" (meaning sanitary).

The request to come on a Sunday when the boys and girls are home, or in the evenings when the husband is home, to take a meal underground (basement), or under the roof (attic), or somewhere else, is gladly complied with, as personal touch helps much toward promoting confidence and establishing friendly relations. In return, my evenings at home were attended mostly by my friends from the tenements. Much to my surprise, the people who thought it was quite necessary to have in their best room, cheap imitation lace curtains, glaring colored

carpets, and painful chromos (which are so easily obtained from the ever-present "installment plan" man in tenement houses), admired my inexpensive furnishings, from the cheese-cloth window curtain to the social cup of coffee. Prices and recipes were asked, patterns taken, and many pleasant hours spent in mutual benefit.

"What do we have to teach?" you ask. Is there anything that is not to be taught? The people must know the laws of health; the mothers must be taught how to get that health in the home. They must

know the principles of sanitation as applied practically in the home: cleanliness of air, of food, of body, of rooms, of kitchen utensils; right removal of all dirt and dust, especially the care of garbage; the dangers of defective plumbing; symptoms of declining health; defective eye sight, hearing, the beginning of tuberculosis, etc. With each family the situation differs. The more knowledge, plus common sense, the worker has, the better for the people. We give and we take, because we can also learn much from those we meet.

## THE RELATION OF ECONOMICS TO THE LAW

FRANK J. GOODNOW  
COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

Blackstone in his Commentaries on the Laws of England, which was first published in 1765, defines law as "a rule of civil conduct prescribed by the supreme power in a state, commanding what is right and prohibiting what is wrong." In explaining the last part of this definition he says:

Those rights then which God and nature have established, and are therefore called natural rights, such as are life and liberty, need not the aid of human laws to be more effectually invested in every man than they are; neither do they receive any additional strength when declared by the municipal laws to be inviolable. On the contrary no human legislature has power to abridge or destroy them. . . . For that legislature in all these cases acts only, as was before observed, in subordination to the great law-giver, transcribing and publishing his precepts. So that, upon the whole, the declaratory part of the municipal law has no force or operation at all, with regard to actions that are naturally and intrinsically right or wrong.

Blackstone evidently conceived of law as the formation of certain abstract and universally applicable principles of justice, which man by searching could find out. His definition of law has been criticised by later authorities, not so much because it attempted to impart to law the characteristic of permanence, as because it confounded law and ethics, ethics be-

ing regarded as embracing the rules of individual conduct which man regardless of legal sanctions was expected to follow.

Blackstone wrote more than fifty years before the theory of evolution had been perceived or formulated, and under the influence of what, in place of a better term, we may designate as the theological attitude toward life. The essential characteristic of this attitude was that it was based on the assumption of a divine revelation of the truth, which broadly speaking was considered to be applicable to all conditions and to all times. The close connection between religion and early law had made it seem natural for the lawyers of the eighteenth century to conceive of law as having some of the sanctity of a divine command, and as being the expression, imperfect it is true, of eternal principles whose apprehension by the human mind was possible through a process of reasoning largely *a priori* in character.

Brooks Adams, writing more than a century later, says in *Centralization and the Law*:

Legal right, broadly, is what the dominant force in society, deflected more or less by opposition, requires or authorizes.

Mr. Adams evidently conceives of law



A CITY OF HOMES.  
What San Francisco was before the earthquake.

## THE HOUSING AWAKENING

### VIII THE ROMEO FLAT—SAN FRANCISCO

ALICE S. GRIFFITH  
SECRETARY SAN FRANCISCO HOUSING ASSOCIATION

In every city the cry of regret for the mistakes of the past is heard, for not even an awakened public conscience and an instructed public mind can wipe out all the errors of the past.

But what of a city built on the hills, —a city of sunshine and sea-given breezes, swept clean by fire to be built anew in this twentieth century? Surely the builders would grasp their unrivalled opportunity. What is San Francisco's reply—a city of small homes, a city of gardens? No. A city of tenements.

<sup>1</sup>A series of articles describing housing conditions in typical American cities, large and small, East and West, and the efforts being made to improve these conditions. Published with the cooperation of the National Housing Association. I. Introduction, by Lawrence Veiller, *THE SURVEY*, November 19, 1910, price 10 cents; II. Socialists and Slums—Milwaukee, by Carl D. Thompson, December 3, 1910, price 25 cents; III. The Awakening of a State—Indiana, by Albion Fellows Bacon, December 17, 1910, price 10 cents; IV. Housing Reform in Cold Storage—Boston, by Edward T. Hartman, January 21, 1911, price 10 cents; V. The Huddled Poles of Buffalo by Frederic Almy, February 4, 1911, price 25 cents; VI. New Tenants and Old Shacks—St. Louis, by Roger N. Baldwin, February 18, 1911, price 10 cents; VII. Teaching the Tenant—Los Angeles, by Johanna Von Wagner, March 4, 1911, price 25 cents.

<sup>2</sup>As *THE SURVEY* was going to press word was received that the tenement house law now before the California Legislature had been amended so that, if passed, the Romeo Flat will be subject to its provisions. The Senate has passed the bill with only one dissenting vote.

April 1, 1911.

Looking back to April 17, 1906, one sees whole districts covered with small houses, vine clad, fragrant with flowers. On April 18 the fire swept the city, and before a month had passed the builders were at work. Fast they built. Shelter was needed, expediency and desire for gain were paramount, and the smoking ruins were covered with poorly constructed buildings, several families crowding into a space adequate for one.

In less than a year thoughtful men and women realized that San Francisco was face to face with a housing problem and that no law existed to check the increasing abuses. In spite of municipal indifference and corruption a tenement house ordinance based on the New York law was passed in 1907. The New York reformers had obtained all that was possible for their great city, where land values are so high and vested interests so entrenched, but the meager allowances for light and air conceded for the crowded metropolis should not have been the model for the small city accustomed to wide spaces and generous gardens. Yet even these limited restrictions were soon evaded, and the





SAN FRANCISCO'S OPPORTUNITY.  
Telegraph Hill May, 1906, after the great fire.

ordinance was fiercely opposed by speculative builders and property holders. A state law seemed imperative. Only thus could a two years' truce be guaranteed the city, for the very possibility of frequent concessions to their demands delayed the work of the builders, and those who struggled to uphold the law had no sooner successfully combated one attack than another was pending from a different quarter.

In framing the state law the same general definitions and provisions were followed, for opposition to all restrictions was rife and what had once been conceded could not easily be withdrawn. Thus, through an error of judgment on the part of the framers of the first law, California has adopted standards which, though the best that New York could do after sixty years of neglect, are low for San Francisco. There has thus been placed before the smaller towns of the state not yet cursed with the evil of the three-family building, a model which in the future will be followed only too

eagerly. The power of suggestion is limitless and the speculative builder omnipresent. Inflated land values based on the earning capacity of a small lot covered by a three-family building in place of the former cottage have induced much of the rapid rebuilding of San Francisco. For not alone in the poorer districts, but in every quarter of the city, apartment houses, flats, multiple buildings of every type have superseded the single family house.

Thus an opportunity such as the world has seldom seen before has been cast aside with ignorance and indifference. Gain has been placed above all else and selfish interests have made their fight with a concentration of purpose worthy of a better cause.

What of those interested in upholding the law? Why have they neglected so obvious a duty? Until house to house investigations were made by the social workers of the Latin quarter, even their realization of the extent of the evils was not awakened. The spectacular

tenement of New York does not exist, but in the three- and four-story wooden buildings crowded in the narrow alleys of the North Beach district, dark rooms, lacking in some instances even a window into an unventilated shaft, lie as festers, breeding disease and sin, though unseen and unsuspected by the casual passerby. The investigations begun in January, 1908, have been the basis for the successful upholding of the law, but apparently have had little influence on its interpretation and enforcement. The crux of the present situation is the Romeo Flat, for by means of this type of building widespread evasion of the law has been legalized,

During the investigation of 1908-1909 it was found that the Romeo Flat was constantly built without regard to percentage of lot area covered and almost invariably without a yard. These evasions of the law were reported to the Board of Public Works, which alone of the various municipal departments responsible for the enforcement of the law, is in a position of authority, through its

issuance of building permits. The president of the board stated that it had been decided to exempt these buildings from the restrictions of the tenement house law owing to the fact that they were flats, which with their separate entrances, as he claimed, did not fall within the definition of a tenement house.

But the Romeo Flat with its "common stairway" was plainly within the definition. This had been conceded by the Board of Public Works and by the building committee of the Board of Supervisors during the first attempt to alter the city ordinance.

The change of opinion on the part of the Board of Works was at once made the chief issue in a long drawn battle. An appeal was made to the Board of Supervisors, which while anxious to uphold the law had no power of enforcement, and its only possible course lay in an appeal to the city attorney for the legal interpretation of the definition of a tenement house and its relation to the Romeo Flat. Both his opinion relative to the city ordinance given June 7,



THE LOST OPPORTUNITY.

A city of wooden tenements—not homes. Telegraph Hill today.



A THIRTEEN-FAMILY ROMEO FLAT.  
"Ruled out" of the tenement law.

1909, and that relative to the state law given July 24, 1909, maintain that as there are outer entrances on the "common stairway" of the Romeo Flat these are separate street entrances, and thus bring the building under the definition of a flat and not under the definition of a tenement house.

Whether such an interpretation would hold in court is more than debatable. Unfortunately the Housing Association and other interested organizations are not financially able to bring a test case, and thus in every quarter of the city tenement houses are erected without yards, with small courts, and in many cases with smaller rooms and less privacy than are demanded by the tenement house law.

In itself the Romeo Flat does not constitute a menace, except that its single stairway permits a three-story building containing six apartments to be built on a small lot in place of a flat with three apartments. The open stairway is preferable to a dark, unventilated hall, but it is manifestly absurd that this type of multiple dwelling should violate any provision of the tenement house law. Since

the city attorney's decision, 195 of the 275 wooden buildings erected for three or more families have been Romeo Flats. It is safe to assume that not one-quarter of these have yards and that the great majority are without adequate light and ventilation.

San Francisco is somewhat protected by the insertion in the building law of 1910 of provisions relative to the minimum size of courts and the percentage of lot areas which may be covered by buildings for three or more families. These were no sooner passed than they were attacked, and notwithstanding the fact that the present union labor administration should have been counted upon to support the cause of the tenement house dweller, the restrictions were relaxed; but that a determined fight was made by the medical profession and social workers, ably upheld by the San Francisco Labor Council, they would have been entirely eliminated.

The laws as they stand should prevent the worst of the evils of the past, but the question of enforcement blocks the way of progress.

The public receives from a municipal department no more than it demands, and the prevalent indifference to the bad housing conditions in San Francisco is largely responsible for the lax interpretation and enforcement of the law. Two at least of its many safeguards are practically inoperative. One of these is the provision that the Board of Works shall issue the permit "after plans for plumbing, lighting, ventilation, and other sanitary features have been approved by the Board of Health." The other provision relates to "certificates of occupancy," and recites that

it shall be the duty of the Board of Public Works to make or cause to be made a final inspection and examination of all buildings before any such buildings are occupied, and if such buildings are found to have been erected and constructed in conformity with all the provisions and requirements of this ordinance, said Board of Public Works shall issue a written or printed certificate thereof to the owner or lessee. No person, firm, or corporation shall occupy any building or structure until such certificate has been issued.

Except in regard to specifications for plumbing the Board of Health is

April 1, 1911.



IN "GOD'S COUNTRY"—CALIFORNIA.



SAN FRANCISCO MANUFACTURING TUBERCULOSIS IN ITS DARK ROOMS.

never consulted and never asks to see the plans filed with the Board of Public Works when application for building permits are made. The second of the laws is so entirely a dead letter that the Department of Public Works has not even a printed form of occupancy certificate.

If the public could be made to realize its responsibility for the negligence of its municipal officers, the first important step towards reform would have been taken. Even could strict interpretation of the law and its enforcement so far as the proper granting of permits be obtained, the question of inspection remains to be dealt with. The Board of Public Works has at its command ten building inspectors; as soon as a building is completed their responsibility ends, and all inspection ceases. The Board of Health has the right of entrance if a "public nuisance" has been reported, but undoubtedly for a city with an ever increasing tenement house problem, the Department of Health should supply special tenement house inspectors. Here again public indifference is the root of the evil, for only by an increase in its appropriations could the already overburdened Department of Health meet this demand.

There is still another phase of the situation which should be intelligently and

forcibly dealt with. This is the compulsory improvement of old tenements. At present the state tenement house law simply regulates the construction of new and the alteration of old buildings. No improvements are demanded. Such should undoubtedly be required and should be under the authority and supervision of the departments of health throughout the state. San Francisco could benefit greatly by such regulations properly enforced, for in the hundreds of tenement houses built immediately after the fire, and before the passage of the city ordinance of 1907, every law of hygiene has been violated.

The California state law is unfavorably criticised by tenement house authorities in New York because the wooden tenement is permitted, and the added fire risk is held to be of even less importance than the poor sanitation which must necessarily follow a few years' occupancy of a cheaply built wooden building. This undoubtedly is true, and but adds to the necessity of further legislation towards safeguarding the health of the occupants of the poorest type of tenements.

Among such buildings in San Francisco the Romeo Flats stand as warnings to other cities and other states. If such an evasion of the spirit of a law can be legalized, does it not prove that



TALL WOODEN TENEMENTS—"CUNEO" FLATS.

it is not law but enlightenment that is needed? Does it not mean that until the men of a community are willing to sacrifice time and energy to arouse the public conscience, greed and ignorance will nullify every good law? Not the least wise of the many wise chapters of Lawrence Veiller's *Housing Reform*<sup>1</sup> is the chapter of Don'ts. Would that the first two of these could be impressed on the heart and mind of every man in San Francisco and in every similar city: "Don't let your city become a city of tenements. Keep it a city of homes." "Don't imagine there is no necessity of action because conditions in your city are not as bad as they are elsewhere."

San Francisco points with justifiable pride to the rapid rebuilding of her busi-

ness section. Even those who regret the wiping out of every landmark of pioneer days rejoice that the spirit of the pioneers lives in their sons; but where can be found among these sons the foresight and public spirit which reserved from the Mexican grants the open squares, and gave the Golden Gate Park to the people as a heritage of pleasure?

San Francisco "invites the world" for the Panama-Pacific Exposition of 1915. She justly claims that she can house, interest, and amuse all who may come for a day. But what of those who will enter her gates through the great canal? What is prepared for the immigrant who will be the father of her citizens?

Let the men of San Francisco learn before it is too late the lesson taught by New York. The hour is pregnant. Shall health, happiness, honor be brought forth, or disease, misery, and vice?

<sup>1</sup>Housing Reform. By Lawrence Veiller. Russell Sage Foundation Publication. By mail of THE SURVEY \$1.25.



"CLIFF-DWELLERS" IN CUNEO FLATS.

Lincoln's Birthday will be Inaugural Day for the Demonstrations of Protest and Revolt

**Appeal to Reason.** This is Number 104

DEBS' DATES

Total Number of Sales 472,613

By Eugene V. Debs

### DECLARATION OF REVOLT

By Eugene V. Debs

The working class has no longer interest in the welfare of the capitalist class in the United States. The only attraction left to them is money.

The rights of law, as well as the rights of justice, are the only things that interest the capitalist class. They have no interest in the rights of the people.

The appeal we now make is to the working class to demand their rights. We demand that the government should not only protect their rights, but should also see that they are given the means to exercise them.

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## "THE APPEAL" AND ITS INFLUENCE

W. J. GHENT

The "Appeal to Reason," edited at Girard, Kansas, is the most widely read propagandist publication in America. The case of its managing editor, Fred D. Warren, charged with an offence against the postal law and recently pardoned by President Taft, has been the subject of much comment; but there has hitherto been no attempt, either by its friends or its enemies, to appraise the influence of the "Appeal" as a force in American public thinking. THE SURVEY asked such an estimate from Mr. Ghent, author of *Our Benevolent Feudalism and Socialism and Success*, who, as president of the Rand School of Social Science, occupies a distinctive position in the socialist movement in the United States.

The subject is not a simple one. The *Appeal* has its passionate devotees, and even in the socialist movement its confirmed enemies. To the doctrinaires it is too flighty; to the sober-minded it is too reckless and sensational. To its ardent supporters, on the other hand, it is something like holy writ. To them it speaks very nearly the first and last word on socialism, and its pronouncements on current issues are accepted as authoritative. An estimate of its influence must take into account the causes for these extreme differences of opinion and attitude.

The *Appeal* has won its way because it has brought socialism to the mind and heart of the common man. The socialism that arose after the Civil War was utterly unlike its two forerunners—the Owenite and the Fourierite forms—that held sway in the third and fourth

decades. The new movement was German in origin, and under the leadership of various doctrinaires it became a distortion of Marxism—incredibly dogmatic, narrow, and bitter. It struggled along for many years, but in spite of the strongest endeavors failed to make appreciable headway among the workers. It may be said even to have effectively alienated large sections of that class. It dealt in fixed dogmas, uttered in a phraseology that few except the initiate could understand; and it avoided, or even often opposed, the workers in their daily struggles.

Interpreting socialism along broader lines, J. A. Wayland came into the movement with his little paper, the *Coming Nation*, in the early nineties. He brought new elements into socialist propaganda. Instead of theoretical disquisitions on matters never to be solved, he brought



REAL HOMES FOR WORKINGMEN.  
Each house, six rooms and bath. Rent, fifteen dollars a month.

## THE HOUSING AWAKENING<sup>1</sup>

IX

ONE MILLION PEOPLE IN SMALL HOUSES—PHILADELPHIA

HELEN L. PARRISH

OCTAVIA HILL ASSOCIATION, PHILADELPHIA

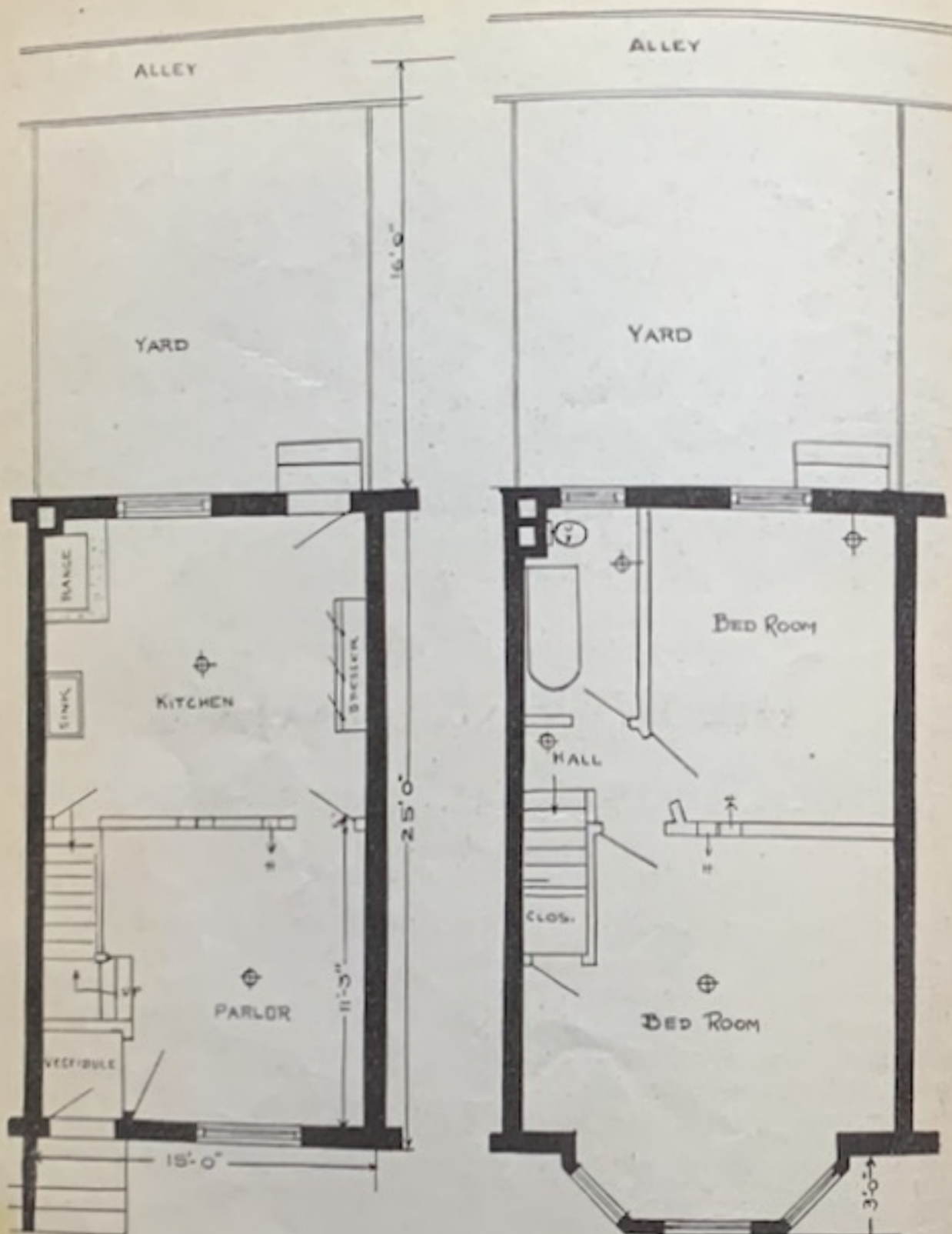
With our knowledge of the evils of tenement houses in America, why do tenement houses continue to be built? Why are associations organized to promote model tenements and not for the substitution of some better kind of housing for the people?

<sup>1</sup>A series of articles describing housing conditions in typical American cities, large and small, East and West, and the efforts being made to improve these conditions. Published with the cooperation of the National Housing Association. I. Introduction, by Lawrence Veiller, THE SURVEY, November 10, 1910, price 10 cents; II. Socialists and Slums—Milwaukee, by Carl D. Thompson, December 3, 1910, price 25 cents; III. The Awakening of a State—Indiana, by Albion Fellows Bacon, December 17, 1910, price 10 cents; IV. Housing Reform in Cold Storage—Boston, by Edward T. Hartman, January 21, 1911, price 10 cents; V. The Huddled Poles of Buffalo by Frederic Almy, February 4, 1911, price 25 cents; VI. New Tenants and Old Shacks—St. Louis, by Roger N. Baldwin, February 18, 1911, price 10 cents; VII. Teaching the Tenant—Los Angeles, by Johanna Von Wagner, March 4, 1911, price 15 cents; VIII. The Rouco Flat—San Francisco, by Alice S. Griffith, April 1, 1911, price 25 cents.

May 6, 1911.

The unanimous verdict of the 1,400 delegates to the International Housing Congress at Vienna last year condemned the tenement dwelling, on the grounds of health and social welfare. Great Britain contended that on the grounds also of cost its indictment is just. It was argued by Mr. Aldridge of England that a normal, healthy dwelling for a workingman's family consists of three bedrooms, a living room, a scullery, and a bath, and that it is even now impossible in continental cities, to approach this standard in block dwellings at a rental within the reach of the working people. It was shown that in Great Britain the cost of the room, including the cost of the site, in the cottage or one-family dwelling, is less than the cost of the room alone in the block building; and the discussions of the congress offered many valuable suggestions

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FIRST FLOOR PLAN

SECOND FLOOR PLAN

A HOUSE FOR EACH FAMILY.

Two-story brick houses, four rooms and bath. Selling price, \$1,750. Rent, thirteen dollars a month.

toward furthering the substitution of the small house for the tenement.

In many American cities the significance of this subject is not yet apparent to the average citizen. The one-family house was originally the universal type; the tenement is a development of later days, but in many large and crowded communities it is already of the first importance. In outlying districts of Greater New York, among green fields and unimproved areas, the "horrible example," even though built according to the new law, persists and repeats itself, and the infection is rapidly spreading to surrounding cities. Can it be that this kind of building has become a habit with the builders, and that a habit is allowed without question to control an issue such as this?

The contrasting type of the small house in Philadelphia has given rise in its various stages of development to many and serious difficulties, but this attempt to describe it is prompted by the belief that it is the better method of housing, the only method that ultimately will offer a solution of the great housing problem

with which all our cities, great and small, must some day wrestle. There is the good small house and the bad small house; the small house on its own street and with its own yard, and the small house crowded in behind a large house on the rear of lots or in narrow alleys, wherever the greed of landlords, before the law forbade, could find a footing for it. There is the small house whose rent is too high, which when times are hard and work is scarce has to house more than its own one family for whose need it is adapted. These are some of its phases, and yet, even in slum districts, the evils arising from its overcrowding and misuse are less serious than those of the tenement, for it is more readily reconstructed and less costly to destroy. In the newer sections of a city and in its newer forms it may become the stepping stone to garden cities and to a realization of the dreams of city planners, while the tenement will forever prevent its city being a city of homes.

Four reasons are usually given why this method of housing has succeeded in Philadelphia: first, the topography of



HOMES OF UNSKILLED LABORERS.

Tens of thousands of these in Philadelphia; six rooms and bath. Rent, thirteen and four dollars a month.

May 6, 1911.

the city with the low price of land; second, the municipal regulations favoring the small house; third, the readiness of financial institutions to loan money for building operations; fourth, the desire of the people to own their own homes.

In this discussion it is hoped to show that Philadelphia's situation is no longer a peculiar one. Rapid transit and the decentralization of industries give other communities similar opportunities, though it may be necessary for them to get some impetus in this direction through stronger and better legislation, or by the initiative of philanthropic effort, or by the experiments of enlightened business interests. But Philadelphia's example at least points the way.

First, then, in regard to the city itself. It is situated on an undulating plain with an extended water front and covers an area of 130 square miles. It is made up of a number of districts brought together under one government by an act of consolidation in 1854. It thus contains various centers of commercial and manufacturing activity and the natural growth about these centers, extending over and filling in the stretches of unoccupied land between them, has contributed largely to its development. An excellent street car system makes a five-cent fare to extreme points.

Its land values have always been remarkably uniform and low for a city of its size. Today, within twenty-five or thirty minutes of the City Hall, building land with street and municipal improvements can be bought for from \$14,000 to \$16,000 an acre. If the maximum number of forty houses be allowed on this space, built on lots of fourteen to fifteen by fifty to sixty feet each, the price would be about \$400 for each of these lots. The zone where such prices obtain is receding constantly to the edge of the unimproved areas which are waiting for the approach of the trolley lines and the opening of streets, but these figures may be taken to suggest roughly the basis on which the building operations in small houses are undertaken.

Second, the building requirements as to foundations, walls, joists, etc., are much less severe for houses sixteen feet

or less in width. Fourteen feet, however, is the minimum width of house allowed, and in many of the present operations it is found advantageous to increase the size of lots, even a few inches in width adding greatly to the desirability of a house. It is said that the leniency of these municipal regulations in Philadelphia is a strong factor in the success of the small two-story house.

On the other hand, no house can be built on an existing street which is less than fourteen feet wide, and all new streets opened must be at least forty feet wide from house line to house line. Also, the owner must in the first instance meet all the charges for street improvements, although he only carries as a permanent charge the care of the curb and sidewalk. For a lot fourteen feet wide, these charges are:

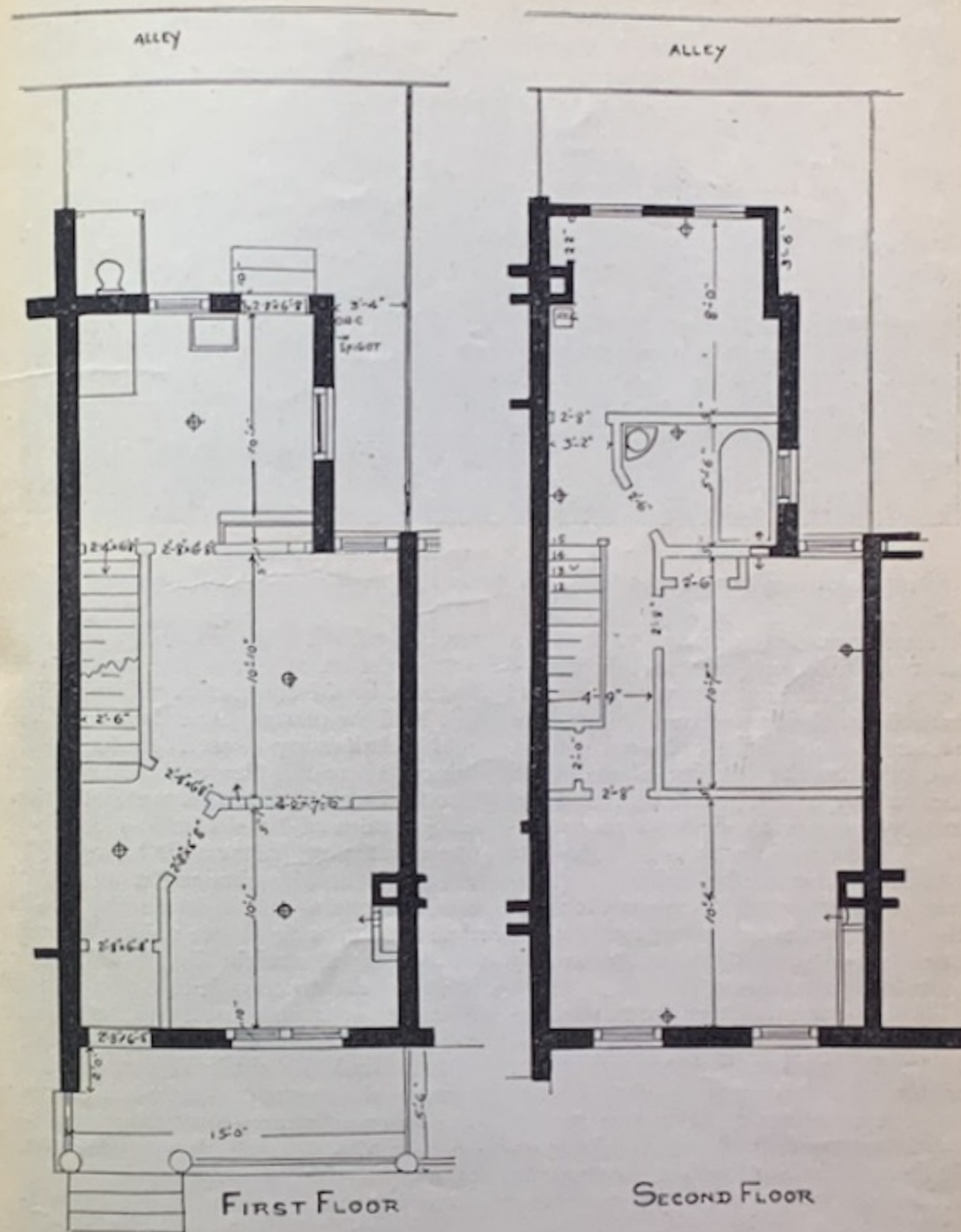
Sewer, \$1.50 per foot.....	\$21.00
Water main, \$1 per foot.....	14.00
Roadway, 12 x 14 feet; asphalt at 20 cents per square foot.....	33.60
Curb at 55 cents per foot.....	7.70
Sidewalk, 8 x 14 feet; concrete at 20 cents per square foot.....	22.40
	<hr/> \$98.70

The fire regulations require that all houses, except in certain outlying districts of the city, must be of brick or stone.

The small house is safeguarded in cities of the first class in Pennsylvania by a law passed in 1895, before the business interests behind the beginnings of a tenement house movement were strong enough to offer serious opposition. This law makes the building of tenement houses so costly that it has practically stopped their erection for the poor. It is now applied chiefly to the building of high-class apartment houses.

The contracting builder, when an operation in small houses is to be undertaken, usually buys the land by a small cash payment, arranging for the balance of its value by mortgages or ground rents. The money for these operations is largely obtained through the trust companies. First mortgages on real estate are by the law of Pennsylvania a legal security, and as trust funds can only be invested in such securities, these mortgages are greatly in demand. The companies will

May 6, 1911.



MECHANICS' HOMES.

Six rooms and bath. Rent, sixteen dollars a month. Brick houses, built in rows. Sale price, \$2,000.



NEWER TYPE OF HOUSE FOR SKILLED LABORERS.

Six to eight rooms and bath. Rent, sixteen dollars up. Thousands of these in Philadelphia.

advance from sixty per cent to sixty-six and two-thirds per cent of the cost of the completed operation. The rate charged is usually five and four-tenths per cent. They make collateral loans—contingent on the advance of the work. The builder must give bonds and the trust company often employs an inspector of its own, in addition to the city inspectors, to watch the building. Sometimes the mortgage is placed on the operation as a whole, and when the work is done this is separated and made to apply to the individual house.

These operations have been so successful financially that they are considered safe and profitable investments, and a builder who has proved himself conservative and intelligent in the use of capital has no difficulty in obtaining it. The financial institutions have been amply justified in taking the risks and have profited greatly by the results. The loans are considered so secure that sometimes in transferring its interests in a mortgage to a client the company will guarantee against possible loss, the client agreeing to accept five per cent on the loan and the company reserving four-

tenths per cent as a bonus for the guarantee. Often, of course, the operation is financed by the contractor. He will himself hold the mortgages as the houses are sold, reimbursing himself gradually for the outlay made. One contractor who is also in the real estate business states that of 800 sales of houses he had built not one was thrown back on his hands. The ground is usually obtained in blocks of about five acres and is divided by streets that must "run from one public street to another in a straight line." The best price for construction is made on a basis of twenty or more houses, and the specifications for each sub-contractor are so systematized for the uniform rows of houses—the corner ones only being larger and more elaborate—that the work can be done at remarkably low figures when compared with the cost of building a single house.

The smallest house now being built has four rooms arranged as shown in the first plan, or with a bathroom built out as an overhanging frame extension at the rear. Sometimes, also, there is a shed kitchen for summer use. In the older sections these houses, often with few con-

veniences, rent from eight to twelve dollars per month. In the newer sections their rent is thirteen or fourteen dollars. They show in its simplest form a plan of construction which in its further development is very complete. In its next stage a passageway to the stairs is taken off the front room, and a kitchen forming an ell is added. There are thus three bedrooms on the second floor. This is the really typical small dwelling and the one most in demand. Its two chief characteristics are that each room opens to the outer air and that each room has its separate entrance. In the newer neighborhoods the demand for more conveniences has grown until it includes cemented cellar, furnace, stationary wash-tubs, bay window, often a porch, besides the range, gas, bathroom, and sink. There is always the danger of careless work and inferior materials, but the model, as shown in the accompanying

plans, is completely and intelligently designed.

The rents for these six-room houses range from ten or eleven dollars in old districts, where the houses are old and without modern improvements, up to twenty dollars for some of the larger and most complete ones. In some neighborhoods they bring even higher rents, and again they are developed still further by the extension of the ell, giving four rooms on each floor.

The average cost of the two-story houses built in 1910, without the cost of the land, as reported to the Bureau of Building Inspection when permits were applied for, was nearly \$2,000. This average is raised by the large numbers of two-story eight-and ten-room dwellings in residential neighborhoods. The average actual cost price of such houses as have been described, and which are shown in the photographs of typical



ATTRACTIVE BACK YARDS OF THESE HOUSES.

Light, air, privacy—real homes.

THE SUREY

streets, is probably from \$1,200 to \$1,500, without the cost of land or profit to the contractor.

It is claimed that these extensive building operations could not take place unless the houses were built for immediate sale. During the year 1910, 8,034 two-story dwellings were erected at the estimated cost of \$16,010,925, exclusive of the cost of the land. In the past ten years 60,000 have been built, and there is a total of about 185,000 such houses in the city. The census of 1900 gives only twenty-two and one-tenth per cent of the families as living in houses owned by themselves, though the number of different owners of real estate is said to be between 150,000 and 160,000. The explanation is that many new houses are bought in groups for investments. Many workmen own houses as investments, and many have moved from those that they first bought to larger ones or to new neighborhoods, still holding their first purchase as a source of income.

The desire for home-owning has been encouraged and reinforced by the building and loan associations. It has been said both that these associations have made the small house in Philadelphia and that the small house seeker has made these associations. From whichever standpoint they are considered their influence has been of immense social value, not only in the acquisition of houses, but also in the encouragement of thrift and the training that they give their members in co-operative business enterprise. Thus, the development of the small house has developed also the desire for the small investment in real estate, the attainment of which is made possible by the advantageous terms by which sales are made.

As the houses in a large operation are finished they are immediately put up for sale. A cash payment of \$300, or even less, is sufficient to obtain possession. The terms of sale would be in this way:

Cash	.....	\$300.00
First mortgage at 5.4 per cent	.....	1,200.00
Second mortgage at 6 per cent	.....	500.00
		<u>\$2,000.00</u>

The yearly charges on such a house would be:

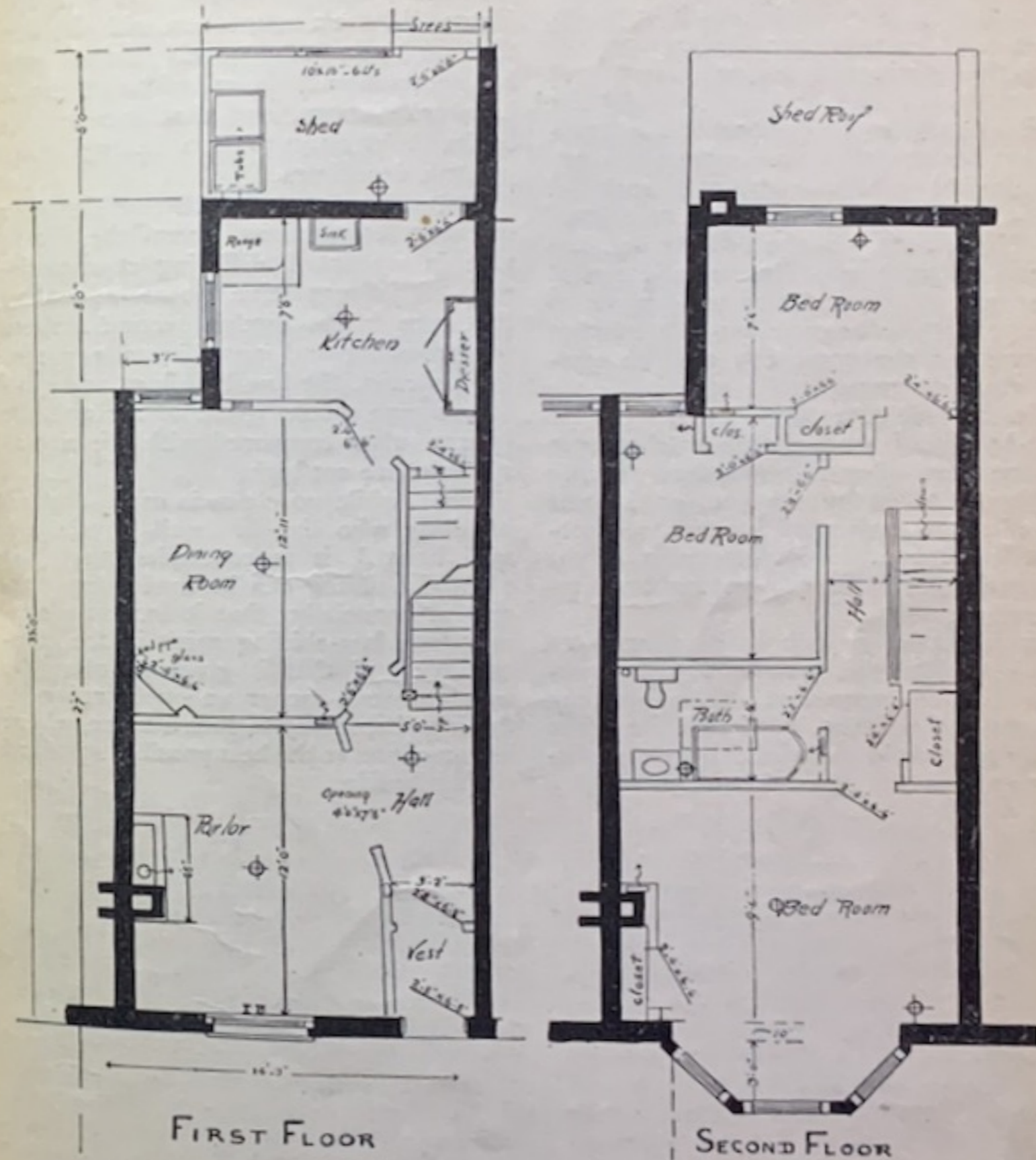
Interest on first mortgage at 5.4 per cent	.....	\$64.80
Interest on second mortgage at 6 per cent	.....	30.00
Taxes on assessed value of \$1,400 @ 1.50	.....	21.00
Water rates	.....	10.00
		<u>\$125.80</u>

This equals a monthly payment for rent of about twelve dollars, without repairs and incidental expenses. If the second mortgage is held by a building and loan association the dues and interest on the five shares of stock representing this mortgage would amount to sixty dollars each year; but by these payments the mortgage would be gradually liquidated, and would be cancelled when the shares fall due at the end of about twelve years.

By the census of 1900 there was an average of five and four-tenths persons to a dwelling in Philadelphia. Now, according to the city records—the census returns for 1910 are not yet available—the 1,549,000 persons live in 325,000 dwellings, an average of four and seven-tenths persons to a house. The building of houses has thus outstripped the increase of population and the standard of one house for a family seems about to be attained. This means a gradual moving of the better-to-do classes into the newer neighborhoods and a readjustment of population in the older districts.

It has not been the purpose of this paper to discuss the housing conditions of the many foreigners who are grouped according to nationality in large districts. Here the supply of small houses at low rents is not great enough to meet the demand. Houses built originally for a family of the better class are now, under regulation and inspection, used as tenement houses, and are practically meeting the need for extra accommodations for these classes. Among these people, too, the tradition of the city that the small house is the better is speedily accepted and is what they strive to attain.

It is not possible to give in any concrete form evidences of the advantages to the people of Philadelphia of this method of living. It is only possible to generalize somewhat and to suggest points of comparison for other places.



ANOTHER TYPE OF MECHANICS' HOMES.  
Six rooms and bath. Cost, about \$1,400.



Some years ago it was found that the number of peculations discovered among the employes in a large department store in New York were greatly in excess of those in a similar establishment in Philadelphia. After investigation it was concluded that the cause for this lay in the fact that in Philadelphia each employe, outside of his relation with the store, had a distinct position to sustain. He owned or rented a house, or his family did; he had church and neighborhood connections; his character was subject to comment; and if he moved it was with the knowledge and interest of his neighbors. In New York, on the other hand, the man's identity was lost in a crowded tenement district. As he was known to but few people he could move to another district of the great city and be completely lost again.

In Philadelphia fairs or festivals for the benefit of some church or charitable interest are often advertised in summer as being given by the people of some small street, each small house being decorated and contributing its quota to the entertainment. Porch parties are frequently given.

In addition to such social advantages the life within the household can be regulated more normally. The sleeping rooms are upstairs, separated from the daily household tasks and interests, giving greater privacy and quiet than when

the rooms open one from another. Some yard space, however small, draws forth unexpected tastes or interests, and the mother of a family has opportunities for fresh air and sunshine which she never can have where going out means leaving her work and descending many stairs. These all have a connection with the fact that approximately 75,000 houses have been erected with the aid of building and loan associations, and that five savings banks hold \$140,000,000 belonging to 371,744 depositors.

Many elements must be considered in drawing conclusions from the death rate in wards of differing characteristics. It is suggestive, however, to find that even in the foreign sections, where overcrowding and many insanitary conditions exist, the low buildings and yard spaces give much light and air and the figures, when compared with the city as a whole, are not high.

Thus, while no claim is made that all of those who live in small houses are well housed, it is contended that this plan of building can be made very successful financially; that it fosters a conservative, law-abiding spirit in the community; and that it gives to even the smallest wage-earner an opportunity by thrift and economy to earn a home, where he can conserve the best possible standard of family life.

Fourth, every care should be taken to restrict as far as possible the expenditure of public money on town planning schemes. Some enthusiasts are inclined to plan "noble" roads, parks, and squares with every consideration to "appearances," but not a thought of the cost. If this practice becomes at all general then town planning will soon be discredited on the score of expense. By all means have plenty of open space, but do not spend too much money on it. The first object of town planning should be better housing, and extravagance will defeat that object.

Fifth, municipal land purchase on farsighted and cautious lines will much assist town planning.

By owning a certain amount of land themselves local authorities are able to prevent undue private speculation, and they have this great advantage over private individuals, that when they are preparing a town planning scheme they

know where their roads and trams are likely to go, and can therefore without any risk whatever, buy land that is going to be increased in value by their scheme, before, and not after, the increment created by the expenditure of public money. Municipal land purchase on careful lines kills two birds with one stone. It prevents private land speculation, and it reduces the cost of town planning schemes by securing for the community the increased value created by their efforts.

Town planning properly administered should not only raise the lives of the people; it should also in the long run relieve the pockets of the taxpayers.

America's enthusiasm in the fight against tuberculosis is an example to the rest of the world. This work of spreading cities outwards instead of upwards is closely allied with the endeavor to stamp out consumption. Better housing means less tuberculosis.

## THE HOUSING AWAKENING<sup>1</sup>

X.

### THE FOREIGN INVASION OF A NEW ENGLAND TOWN —NEW HAVEN

EMMA W. ROGERS

A mutual friend brought an old New Haven resident to see me in the country last summer and naturally the talk turned on New Haven. Time had evidently made little change in the affection and interest of this New Havener for her native city, from which she had been taken as a bride thirty years ago to the middle West, and which she had only re-visited at long intervals. It was the ancient elms, the quiet beauty of the streets, the ivy-covered college buildings,

the circle of cultivated and conservative people dominating the little college city which lingered delightfully in her memory, and doubtless it was rude on my part to dispel the illusion which was evident from the nature of her inquiries.

"Do you realize," I said, "that while much of the old remains, there has grown up in these years a new New Haven, a city where more brass is manufactured than anywhere in the United States, or in the world, for aught I know; where

<sup>1</sup>A series of articles describing housing conditions in typical American cities, large and small, East and West, and the efforts being made to improve these conditions. Published with the cooperation of the National Housing Association. I. Introduction, by Lawrence Veiller, *The Survey*, November 10, 1910, price 10 cents; II. Socialists and Slums—Milwaukee, by Carl D. Thompson, December 3, 1910, price 25 cents; III. The Awakening of a State—Indiana, by Albion Fellows Bacon, December 17, 1910, price 10 cents; IV. Housing Reform in Cold Storage—Boston, by Ed-

ward T. Hartman, January 21, 1911, price 10 cents; V. The Huddled Poles of Buffalo by Fred-eric Almy, February 4, 1911, price 25 cents; VI. New Tenants and Old Shacks—St. Louis, by Roger N. Baldwin, February 18, 1911, price 10 cents; VII. Teaching the Tenant—Los Angeles, by Johanna Von Wagner, March 4, 1911, price 25 cents; VIII. The Romeo Flat—San Francisco, by Alice S. Griffith, April 1, 1911, price 25 cents; IX. A Million People in Small Houses—Philadelphia, by Helen L. Parrish, May 6, 1911, price 25 cents.

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SMALL TENEMENTS ON OAK STREET.

thousands of men and girls work in the largest gun factories, the largest hardware factories, the largest rubber shops, the largest clock shops in the United States? Do you know that one-fourth of our population is Italian and one-third of the births this year were of Italian babies; that some thousands of Russians, Austrians, Hungarians, Roumanians, and Lithuanians surround our city in colonies like a Roman wall, and inhabit as well the heart of the town with these thirty-five thousand Italians; that the spreading elms canopy children of every race, for long ago the Irish, Germans, and French formed a noticeable contingent, and the two former are now the chief pillars of government here? In fact," I said, "to know New Haven today as it really is one must know a busy, thriving, manufacturing city, with two-thirds and more of its population foreign born or the children of foreigners, and its chief interests centered on wages and profits and the practical bread-and-butter questions of the hour."

No, she had not realized this change, this onward march of events. It con-

fused her vision of the old New Haven, and seemed almost a desecration of sacred soil. In the West it was the natural course of events, but it was grievous that the old colonial city should not remain dedicate to its early ideals.

"But much of the old remains," I said, "although the ancient elms are dying gradually, and many conservative traditions and customs are passing with the years. The college has grown into a great university; the college circle has quadrupled in numbers, and it still exerts a not unkindly influence. What was finest and most worth while and beautiful in old New Haven survives and grows on in the new, but as part of a greater whole. Because the factory whistles have drowned out the college chimes, and many tongues of many lands have made the quiet streets noisy you must not write your sonnet of old New Haven. Let it stand and write another of the new New Haven. It will not be so smooth; its rhythm will have some shocks and jars, but rough and unmusical though it may be, there may be power and prophecy in it and awakening."



LARGE TENEMENTS ON OAK STREET.

Awakening is the note that characterizes modern New Haven. Out of a dream of its own perfection and a resolve not to shed the threadbare garment of the past, this beautiful city has awakened to a higher appreciation of its rich endowments and opportunities, and to a realizing sense of its shortcomings and needs. It has begun weaving its new raiment to clothe worthily and to adorn a New England city of the twentieth century.

A distinguished citizen now gone to the real heaven assured me when I first came to New Haven that there was no place under heaven so altogether lovely and like the kingdom to come. And the large measure of truth in this old resident's estimate must be taken for granted, as the limits of this article permit me only to write of the things in which New Haven still falls short of the kingdom in the eyes of the awakened.

On no subject except the business upbuilding of the city is the awakening of New Haven more evident than on the conditions in which its poorer wage-earners live, and how best to remedy these. It has dawned on the community that

indifference to and ignorance of civic conditions and needs, on the part of the well-to-do as well as of the poor, are the causes of slums in our city, and that both classes must be aroused to do away with them and to make them impossible.

The well-housed citizen sees little and knows less of the uncomfortable and insanitary dwellings of the poorer wage-earners, and seemingly is heedless of the fact that disease is bred chiefly in the neglected tenement sections and conveyed from there to the whole community. He fails to realize that the city's industrial efficiency is largely affected by the home conditions and the environment of the wage-earners, who make up the greater part of the citizenship.

The well-to-do citizen is responsible primarily for social and sanitary conditions because he has some leisure and a degree of education and trained intelligence. It is his duty to know under what conditions the poor live and work in his city, and to co-operate with authorities and civic societies for the common welfare. The indifference of the poorer wage-earners is due to lack of leisure,

of surplus energy after exhausting toil, and to ignorance of the deadly results of bad housing and environment. They are the chief victims, but they fail to realize that tuberculosis, typhoid, diphtheria, and other common diseases are due generally to neglected sanitary evils in their city and are preventable. The poor must be educated up to discontent with cellar dwellings and dilapidated, insanitary apartments. That marvellous human trait, adaptability, a bane as well as a blessing, takes the edge from the poor man's protest against darkness, dampness, bad odors, overcrowding, and other disease-breeding environment. It is ugly and disagreeable, he sees and feels, but he fails to comprehend its peril and that in consequence of it wrecked health may heap his pathway with unbearable burdens.

Discontent is the world's stairway to higher standards of living. Until the poor are protected from death-dealing homes and environment by the intemperance and energy of community leaders and duly elected guardians of the public welfare; until they are taught to recognize the dire results of slum conditions and to do their part in remedying them, we must hold the rest of the community responsible for the evils under which the poor suffer, and which exact their toll of sickness and death from every class.

Home environment, meaning clean streets, lot space affording light and pure air, prompt removal of all garbage and waste,—these are a vital part of good housing. How does New Haven deal with them?

The garbage and waste removal and disposal is the liveliest part of our housing awakening. It is a burning question in more senses than one, and quite well typifies the uphill road all reforms must travel in New Haven. The question has been actively discussed for five years or more, and urgent appeals from citizens and civic associations, with piles of complaints to the Health Department, have not resulted in the adoption of a modern system.

The city removes only the garbage, and this entirely by the private contract system until the present year, and the service has been highly unsatisfactory.

Infrequent service, open wooden barrels on wooden carts, and dumping in the suburbs to feed to pigs are the causes of dissatisfaction. Citizens must remove at their own expense all waste and ashes. One consequence of this is that the director of public works claims he cannot keep the tenement streets clean, for every breeze blows the waste from neglected dooryards and open ash bins into these streets. Another sorry result is that tenement landlords provide oblong spaces boarded in, but unroofed, for the tenants' ashes and waste. Here waste paper, worn-out mattresses, rags, old iron, broken odds of furniture and utensils are thrown helter skelter by the tenants, perhaps eight or ten families, and when their one or two garbage cans are full the excess garbage is dumped in the waste and ash bins with results better imagined than described. Flies innumerable and occasionally great rats add to the mischief, and needless to say discomfort and disease are inevitable results of this municipal neglect.

Careful landlords have these ash and waste bins emptied once a month, but the more numerous indifferent ones empty them two or three times a year. Some back yards which I went into a few days ago, belonging to a group of Italian tenements, were simply horrible, with ashes, filthy refuse, garbage, and paper indiscriminately mixed and in piles and loose, the few receptacles being overfull. Such conditions are common among the tenements and are a scandal in any city.

A committee of the Board of Aldermen took up the question of garbage, ashes, and waste collection and disposal in 1910 and made a lengthy report, giving much space to what is being done elsewhere, and many enlightening quotations from books and reports on sanitary service in cities, but wound up in a highly disappointing way by advising the city to continue the present system of garbage collection and disposal, with recommendations for some minor improvements in the service. In the matter of disposal, the committee advised postponing the installation of a modern sanitary system until other cities had demonstrated a more nearly perfect system of

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TWENTY-FOUR FAMILY HOUSE ON LAFAYETTE STREET.

In this house the rents range from \$7 to \$12 for from two to four rooms. There is but one toilet on each floor for six families. The rear house is within eight feet of the one in front. The hall is 140 feet long, very narrow, and poorly lighted.

incineration or reduction, and it also recommended that ashes and waste removal be left as at present to individual citizens and owners.

The result is the continuance of the old system of garbage collection for two-thirds of the city, under a two year contract. The contractors are required, however, to use approved steel wagons. A municipal service is provided for the remaining one-third of the city, covering about seventy-two miles of streets. If this shall be the entering wedge for up-to-date municipal collection and disposal of the city's garbage, ashes and waste there is great cause for congratulation.

As a citizen I am loath to confess that inoffensive pigs are the victims of our municipal garbage disposal system. Before the day of modern sanitary science this might have been tolerated, but it is indefensible in the second decade of the twentieth century. The country may lag behind the city in progress, but the farmer, even if he is sometimes dubbed a "hayseed," has learned not to

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keep a swill barrel. Household food and kitchen refuse are taken direct from the kitchen to the iron troughs of the piggens and fed to the pigs. No stale or held-over garbage is considered fit for the animals which form the chief meat food of the world. A strong effort was made by citizens to have New Haven install an incinerating plant of a kind in successful use. A bond issue was voted for this purpose, but no action has resulted. On the contrary, the city is out on a pig hunt to acquire enough of the animals to consume the garbage which the municipal service collects. It is collected only twice a week, freezing and thawing in winter and decaying in the heat of spring and summer before reaching the unfortunate swine. The markets of New Haven will offer this garbage fed pork to a long-suffering public, the more intelligent part of which has abjured home-grown pork for years. But the working people eat it, and that may be one of the reasons why our large hospitals are always overcrowded.

This economical scheme of garbage disposal is being tried-out at Springside, the county home and farm for the poor, but I am informed that the pens and dumps are properly distant from the home. The offensiveness of this method of disposal has become so great in one of the suburbs where the private contractors operate it, that the community threatened to rise and abolish the practice forthwith.

All efforts of the citizens having failed, except as above noted, to change our antiquated garbage system, or to convince the authorities how great a menace to public health it is to leave the disposal of waste to private owners and tenants, it is inevitable that the entire community, and especially the tenement population shall continue to suffer from the disagreeable and dangerous results of municipal negligence and pennywise economy.

What are the housing conditions among wage-earners in New Haven? For skilled workers and others who can pay from fifteen to twenty-five dollars a month there seems to be a fair and increasing provision, but of a kind greatly to be deplored in a small city. The building of two- and three-family houses for this class has not ceased, but is far exceeded by the building of large tenements for from six to eighteen families, a kind of building undesirable where quick and cheap transit to many attractive suburbs exists.

For the largest group of wage-earners, those who can pay from seven to fifteen dollars, and especially under twelve dollars, the housing provision is very inadequate and much of it unsanitary and lacking in every convenience of comfortable living. There are still over a thousand privies in the dooryards of this class of houses although an ordinance forbids them. In many of the others the water closets are in the cellars; sinks are of the old type and often dilapidated; basement dwellings exist in large numbers, many of them below the legal limit; rear tenements are crowded on the lots in the more thickly settled neighborhoods. Tenements going up for this class of tenants are chiefly of the eight- to eighteen-family variety, crowded as close as the present law permits against similar

tenements or stores, or loft buildings. All the worst evils of bad housing are sure to abound in them, and every effort should be made to prevent the erection of such houses.

Tenement building is done now almost entirely by Italians, Russians, and Slavs, who by pinching economy have saved enough to make these paying investments. On the smallest permissible lots they crowd the largest tenements their capital and the law will allow. Our tenement housing standards are therefore set by a thrifty, but ignorant, class of foreigners, with only rudimentary social consciences, who are unrestrained except by a state law totally inadequate to meet the situation.

In 1909 ninety-six tenements were built each accommodating from three to twenty-three families, and in all giving homes to 453 families. About one-third of these houses were of brick.

In 1910 the same number of tenements were built, each with from three to eighteen families, thus giving homes to 543 families. Fifty-six of these houses accommodated from six to eighteen families each. A slightly larger proportion of them were of brick. Since January, 1, 1911, permits have been granted for, and building has begun on fourteen tenements each accommodating from six to sixteen families.

The seventh ward is the smallest in area in the city and has the largest population of any ward in New Haven. It has the highest number of persons to a dwelling and has the highest death rate of any ward in the city, indicating that this section of the city is more congested than any other. It is, however, closely followed by the third, the fifth, and the sixth ward, in all of which the population is more than three-fourths foreign-born or children of the foreign-born.

In New Haven there is no excuse for congested areas and the increase of tall tenements except the indifference of the citizens and the authorities. No large tenements are needed nor should they be allowed; no overcrowding on lots should be tolerated. If these evils are here and rapidly increasing let us blame ourselves and not the kindly and industrious foreigners who thriftily try to earn

the most they can on their investments and are ignorant of the calamities they are calling down upon themselves and the community.

Until 1905 Connecticut had no tenement housing law. With the rapid growth of manufacturing industries and the great influx of foreigners housing evils had developed in the larger cities of the state. The housing law followed an investigation made in New Haven previous to 1905, under the direction of Lowell House Settlement Association. While limited in extent this revealed all the evils incident to overcrowded neighborhoods of the very poor. About the same time a report of housing conditions in Hartford by the United States Bureau of Labor had declared conditions there to be the worst of any city of its size investigated. Hartford joined with New Haven in working for the 1905 law, but owing to lack of a strong public opinion favorable to advanced legislation on tenement housing, and to opposition of real estate interests, it was impossible to pass an adequate law at this time.

The law applied only to tenements which should be erected. To get it through at all it was necessary to leave out entirely the regulation by law of insanitary conditions in existing tenements. The 1905 law was, however, a long step in the right direction, and a great advance over no law at all.

The slowest going states have not been able to keep out of the rising tide of public sentiment for fundamental social reforms which shall raise the standards of living of the lowest stratum of society and so safeguard the general public welfare.

It now seems possible to secure much needed amendments to the housing law of 1905, and these, after careful study and due consideration, have been drafted by the tenement housing section of New Haven's Civic Federation. With the cooperation of Hartford and other large towns of the state this will doubtless be passed by the General Assembly of 1911. Even as amended as far as possible after Mr. Veiller's Model Housing Law and the excellent New Jersey law it will not



"THE ANCIENT ELMS" ON THE NEW HAVEN GREEN.

be an ideal law. But it is the best which its supporters believe can be secured from the present General Assembly.

In addition to its work for a better garbage and waste service and for more adequate tenement housing laws and ordinances, the housing section of the Civic Federation is trying to organize an improved housing association on a business basis, after the successful plan of many other cities, to erect model houses and tenements, purchase and renovate old tenements, and manage tenement property for owners.

Such an organization, the federation believes, will not only provide comfortable homes for some of the poorest wage-earners, but will crystallize public sentiment upon the whole situation and thus help to bring about more adequate city ordinances and state laws, strict enforcement of these, and better sanitary service for the yards and streets of tenement quarters. It will also, as it has in other cities, set a standard for the housing of the poor, which will gradually change for the better the housing accommodation for this class of citizens.

New Haven has an efficient Building Department up to the limits of its small force, which works constantly to regulate tenement building according to the requirements of inadequate laws

and ordinances, and beyond them when possible. The Health Department is asking for more tenement house inspectors and trying to bring its service up to date for the betterment of the public health.

The Civic Improvement Commission has issued a valuable report on the physical conditions of the entire city, especially as regards parks, playgrounds, shade trees, wider streets, and the development of the suburbs, with plans, maps, and recommendations for improvements which will make New Haven a more beautiful and healthful city to live in for rich and poor alike. This commission has done its work chiefly through Cass Gilbert and Frederick Law Olmstead, and its very valuable report is one of the significant signs of New Haven's civic awakening.



SIXTEEN-FAMILY HOUSE ON CEDAR STREET.

Rents for three and four-room apartments are \$10 and \$12. There is one toilet for every two families.

The Chamber of Commerce has a committee on tenement housing, and is seeking to co-operate with the efforts being made for the better housing and environment of the wage-earners.

The outlook is cheering for a gradual, radical change in the poorest quarter of the city, for making it possible that the great wage-earning majority of our citizens shall be safeguarded from the evils of insanitary homes, and that thus the whole community shall be lifted to a higher plane of health and efficiency.

marshall and insurance commissioner, and give satisfactory evidence as to his moral character. Brokers shall be deemed to be agents of the insured for purposes of procuring insurance, and agents of the company for purposes of collecting premiums. Payments of premiums to brokers shall be deemed and held as payments to the company.

Outside these insurance reforms, and the provisions centralizing responsibility for knowledge of fire conditions in a state office to which would be given important powers of prevention, and which would provide for widespread educational measures, it will be noted that these Pennsylvania bills would enable volunteers to offer their services and become effective workers in the effort to reduce fire waste.

Every man and woman in the country should be an ally of this movement; should become posted about the facts in the case; should have under law authority to report any dangerous or illegal conditions noted in any building, anywhere and at any time, to the proper authorities; and should be able to require prompt, effective, and reasonable correction—just as agents and members of the Society for Prevention of Cruelty to Animals can now inquire into and resist on the spot abuses of that nature.

Annotated copies of the Pennsylvania bills, in pamphlet form, may be obtained from Powell Evans, 517 Arch street, Philadelphia.

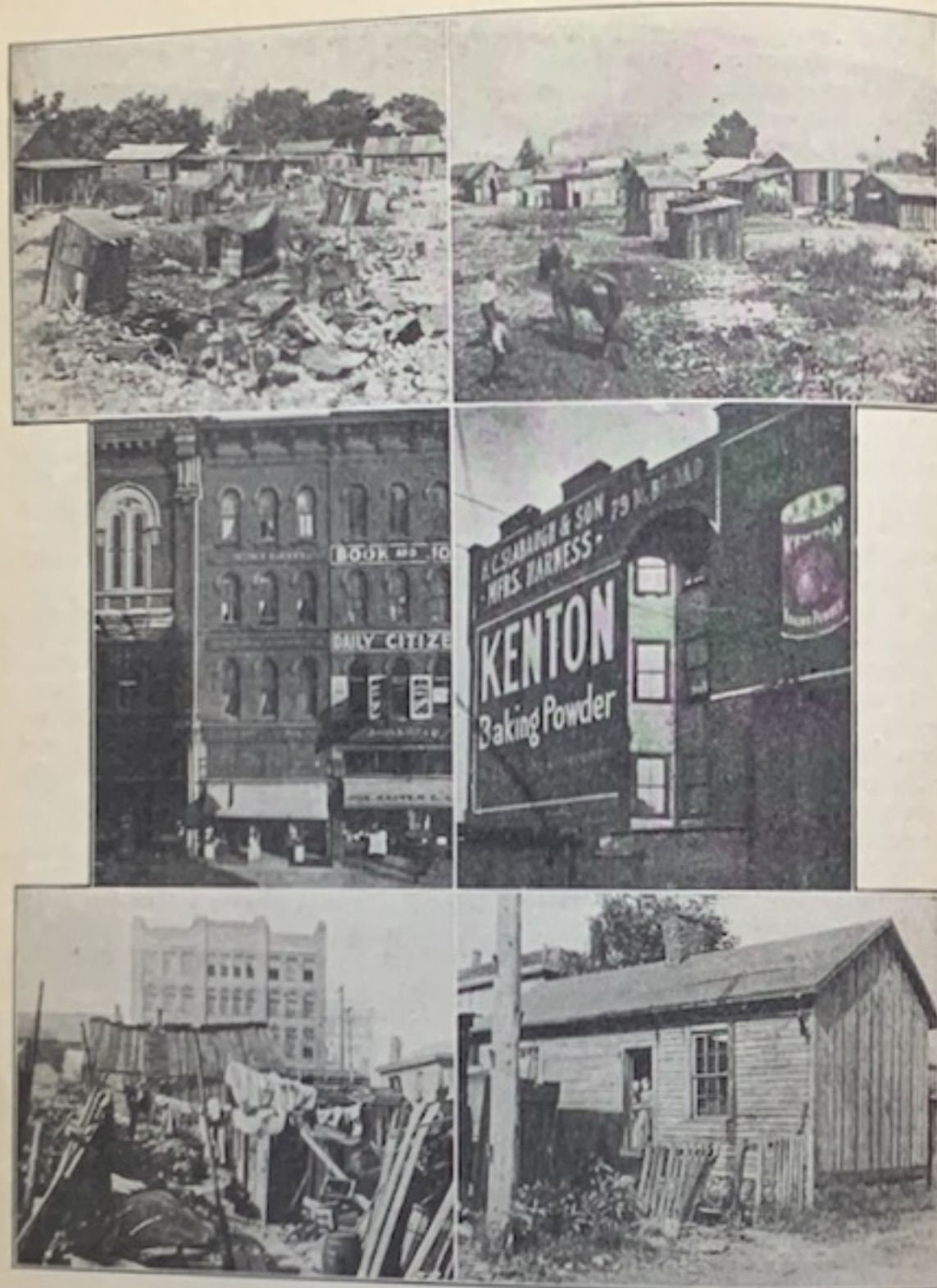
This article was written during the session of the Pennsylvania legislature just closed. Mr. Evans is in Europe. The fire marshal bill became a law practically as proposed and embodies in a general way all of Mr. Evans' suggestions. The companion act providing for a revenue by taxing insurance companies failed of passage and no substitute measure was adopted, so that the cost of the fire marshal's office will have to be met by the general state revenues. The amendment offered providing for the licensing of insurance brokers and agents did not pass. In the form in which they were introduced, the bills presented a rounded program of legislation.

The New York Legislature also has passed a state fire marshal's bill and, as this issue goes to press, it is awaiting the Governor's signature. This bill does not apply to New York City, where the fire prevention problem will be handled, if any one of three measures passes, by a Bureau of Fire Prevention, to be established in the Fire Department.—Ed.

The final duty of the average householder throughout the land before retiring to rest is to look at the fire or furnace in his house. The fact that this danger is so ever present tends in itself to limit opposition to it, because the fear of it is a habit and in a measure subconscious; but the moral support of the country, which is the basis of every great movement, could beyond question to my mind be rapidly and effectively organized to oppose present fire waste.

The frequent, irregular, and unrelated newspaper comment on fire losses shows the disposition of the daily press in the matter and its aid could doubtless safely be counted upon to disseminate regularly more systemized information, when the need of a thorough educational campaign on the subject is made clear. I trust that state fire prevention associations will spring up all over the country, formed of and supported by citizens generally to co-operate with the growing list of fire marshals in an effort to reduce American fire waste.

With the premise admitted that we as a people know how to construct, protect, and occupy buildings reasonably immune from fire waste, it follows that the great bulk of present fire waste is largely preventable. A group of city buildings reasonably correct in construction, protection, and occupancy suffers less from fire hazard than if deficient in these three respects; a block of buildings correct in these respects is more proportionately safe from the fire hazard than any one group; while an entire city properly constructed, protected, and occupied in practice cannot burn. That such conditions can gradually be brought about—the fire map of Boston proper shows even to-day, in the gradual extension of fire-proof structures over crucial areas. It is the truth in this thought which was the basis for that provision of the Napoleonic code, still the fire insurance law of France, which provides that the individual must in a measure insure his neighbor as well as himself against fire loss.



WHERE THE OTHER HALF LIVES IN COLUMBUS.

The two pictures at the top show some shacks built of material collected by an enterprising scavenger. The site is a dump and is filled in with every known kind of rubbish from three to eight feet deep. One well drains the pile and furnishes water. One of the two middle pictures shows the upper half of the air shaft in the six-story dumb-bell tenement which is common in Columbus while the other is of a four-story tenement house sealed up by other buildings on three sides. It has no fire-escapes and is full of dark rooms. At the bottom is shown a back yard within two and a half blocks of the state house and a two-room dwelling in an alley which rents for \$5.00 a month.

## THE HOUSING AWAKENING

XI

### THE DISCOVERIES OF COLUMBUS

OTTO W. DAVIS

SUPERINTENDENT COLUMBUS ASSOCIATED CHARITIES

Christopher Columbus discovered America in 1492, but Columbus, Ohio, did not discover itself until 1910. Both discovered new worlds. The former discovered a distant world, strange and wonderful, holding out great promise and unlimited opportunity. The latter found an unknown world in its very midst, strange but horrible, suggesting a malignant growth of terrible possibilities to her citizenship if left unchecked. It was disclosed that the great mass of her wage-earners were without any protection whatever from the thoughtless or greedy landlord who was erecting buildings covering his entire lot, putting in as many dark rooms as he happened to find expedient, and providing water and toilet facilities if he wanted to, or omitting them if he did not.

It is the old story of gradual transition from the village to city of 200,000; of "everybody's business, nobody's business"; of social neglect and religious indifference; of some social worker who sees the menace and horror of it all, secures the facts and makes them known; of co-operation with public officials and private agencies; and of the power of an awakened public opinion.

Housing conditions in Columbus are probably not one whit worse proportionately than they are in the reader's city, if he lives in a place of more than eight or ten thousand where no adequate regulations are in force. Columbus has no enormous quantity of bad housing conditions, but these are things to be measured by quality, not by quantity, and Columbus has houses without an inch of yard, has dark rooms, unsanitary toilets and privies, and buildings without toilet or water.

Just how many such there are no one knows, and as long as "decent" people kept on the main streets and off the alleys, apparently no one cared. These

The preceding articles may be had for 25 cents each.

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good people succeeded very well in convincing themselves that Columbus was a city of homes. All this happy dream might have remained unbroken if the pernicious social worker had not kept telling of some of the things found in the alleys and poorer streets. For instance, a man with his sick wife and two small children were living in a single, dark, unventilated room. The wife and mother had tuberculosis, and it was very evident to the Associated Charities that little could be done really to help the family so long as it lived there, so it was moved to better quarters. Ten days later a family of nine were reported to the society from the same single room.

The writer will never forget two families he was called on to visit shortly after his arrival in Columbus. One was a family of five, where the husband and



THEIR PLAYGROUND.

The children of twelve families play here.



SIXTY-SEVEN DARK ROOMS.

The house at the top has twenty-four dark rooms divided among eight families. There are twelve families in the building. The two lower pictures are of new buildings which have fifteen and twenty-eight dark rooms respectively. In the middle one the toilets are ventilated into the halls.

father was dying of tuberculosis. They were living in a damp, dark, foul basement, unfit to house animals, much less human beings. The other poor family had dabbled in real estate and bought a home. A visit was made to see what kind of a house these applicants for charity had purchased. It was found to consist of four posts about twelve feet apart, around which had wrapped the tin roofing from some old building. It cost, they said, two dollars for the building, fifty cents for roofing paper, ten cents for some nails and the rest they did themselves. In this one room shack lived a family of nine.

To get some idea of just how bad conditions were, the Associated Charities made a careful investigation of five small blocks in different sections of the city. Accurate data was secured concerning 114 houses containing 287 apartments, 225 of which were occupied by 260 families composed of 735 persons. The facts found were significant. For instance,  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent of the houses examined were found to cover the entire lot. Fortunately just half of them were found to cover only 50 per cent of the lot. Of the 714 rooms in these buildings, 6 per cent were without outside windows, thus furnishing the best of all breeding places for tuberculosis.

In the matter of water-supply, 10 per cent of the apartments examined were absolutely without any whatever, 9 per cent more were dependent entirely upon cistern water, and 40 per cent were without any city supply. Of the remaining 60 per cent, 43 per cent got their water from a hydrant in the yard.

The conditions found in regard to toilet facilities were equally bad.  $5\frac{1}{2}$  per cent of the apartments were without a closet of any kind whatever. 79

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REAR VIEW OF SAUSAGE ROW.

These are frame houses set flat on the ground. The family upstairs pays \$5.00 a month and the one downstairs \$6.00. There are no toilet facilities and no water.

percent had theirs in the yard as in the days of our fathers, and 63 per cent of the families were obliged to share theirs with one or more other families. In several instances ten and twelve families had to share a single closet between them.

In the 287 apartments examined there were found just forty-nine sinks, which means of course that in addition to all the extra trouble entailed in doing the family work without this convenience, 83 per cent of the families were compelled to carry out into the yard all their waste water. As more than half the yards had no adequate drainage, it follows that all the waste water had to be thrown out to pollute the ground of the children's only play space.

There are few sane men or women who would attempt a defense of such conditions. It seemed perfectly obvious to those who made this investigation that if they could only make the facts clearly known,

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there would be no trouble in bringing about an important reform. First a small committee of the Associated Charities made a trip of inspection, and came back quite ready to endorse any sensible plan for improvement. Next we invited the mayor, the city solicitor, the city auditor, the fire chief, the health officer, and some newspaper reporters to see something of how the wage earner had to live. They went, and what they saw caused one and all to shake their heads in silent horror that not only men and women, but little children, should be permitted to live in such surroundings as were found. Near the end of the trip, as we emerged from the black dampness of a tenement where twenty-four dark rooms are divided among eight families, the mayor voiced the sentiment of all, when he exclaimed, "Now, gentlemen, this is enough for me. Let's stop right here. What I want to know is, what are we to do about it?"

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LIVING QUARTERS OVER A STABLE.

A livery stable is on the first floor, a haymow on the second, and living quarters with fourteen dark rooms on the top.

There was no dissent to the suggestion that the city solicitor should co-operate with the Housing Reform Committee in framing a code which would eradicate the evils found. The newspapers next day gave the people some idea how a few of "the other half" in Columbus live.

The tenement houses of Columbus are mostly of the three-story type, only a few having four floors. That we are in imminent danger of the New York type is shown by the presence of one huge, non-fireproof six-story tenement of the dumbbell plan. Few of the four-story tenements have fire-escapes, and seldom does a three-story building have one. One tenement covering the entire lot has a livery stable on the first floor, a carriage repository and hay-mow on the second, and above the hay mow the people sleep. There are thirty rooms, fourteen of which are dark. Two tenements erected within the past two years contain fifteen and twenty-eight dark rooms respectively. Another, on the principal street, not yet wholly finished, will contain twelve absolute dark rooms and an equal number of unventilated toilets save as they ventilate into the dining room. Twenty dollars is paid for this apartment, and nearby are several eighteen dollar suites of five rooms in a row, with three of them windowless, while the toilet

is located in the innermost dark rooms in the tenements of Columbus.

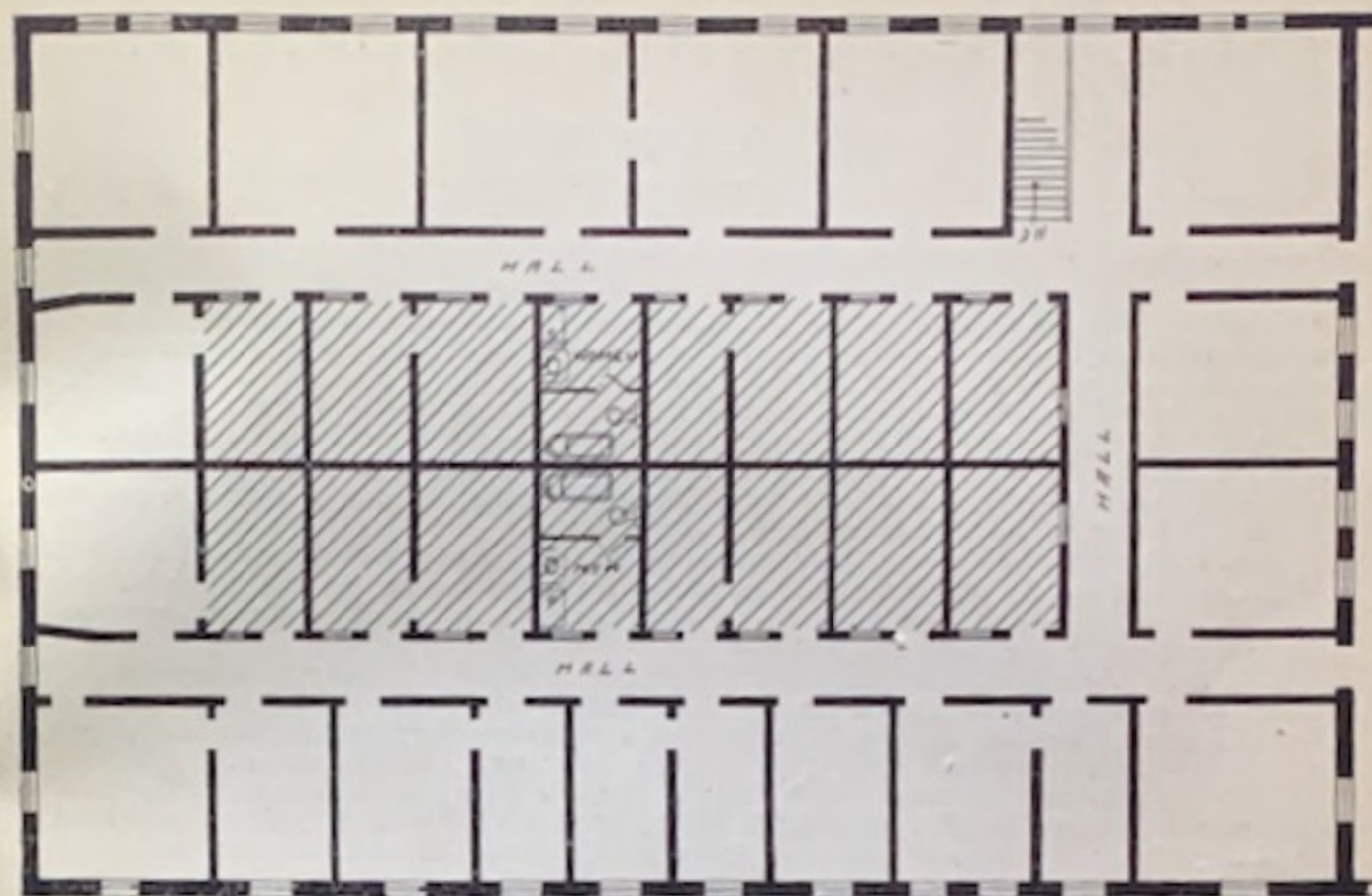
There is no one, however, who has inspected bad housing in Columbus, who is not aware that a law affecting tenement houses only would fail to reach many of our worst evils. Bad as the tenement houses are, there are hundreds of two-family and single houses where, with the exception of the dark room, sanitary conditions are as bad or perhaps worse than in the tenement. For instance, what could be worse than "Sausage Row," with its eight or ten buildings set flat on the ground, with one family paying \$5.00 for two rooms up-stairs and another family paying \$6.00 per month for two rooms down-stairs, without any toilet facilities and with no water except what they steal? Instances were found in which a single closet had to serve the purposes of ten and twelve families. Toilet and water facilities are equally bad in single houses, some having neither. In spite of the fact that Columbus has recently expended \$2,000,000 to ensure the pure water which it now has, thousands of wage-earners and their families are not provided with it by their landlords. Great numbers of these live in single or double houses, which are very popular in Columbus. In addition, there are a considerable num-



THREE DARK ROOMS.

These are in a nine-room flat which rents for \$18.00.

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FLOOR PLAN OF LIVING QUARTERS OVER LIVERY STABLE SHOWN ON OPPOSITE PAGE.

ber of families who live in one or two-room shacks along the river bank or on the "dumps." One enterprising "scavenger" has built a baker's dozen of such shacks out of the boxes, boards, and buildings which he has been given or been paid to haul away. From these he receives a rental of \$42.00 per month. Any housing legislation for Columbus would be utterly inadequate if it failed to touch the double and single house.

Moreover, the committee could see no good reason why, if a sink with running water in each new apartment in a tenement would be a good thing, it was not equally desirable in a dwelling house, or why the family in a small house should not be guaranteed a tight roof and sanitary conveniences the same as a neighbor who had the misfortune to live in a tenement. It was accordingly decided to attempt to give equal protection to all.

Edgar L. Weinland, head of the city Law Department, a man of refinement and culture, stung with a sense of shame that poor people in his city should be forced or permitted to live as he had found many living, entered earnestly and heartily into the effort to draw up a housing code that would be just to the

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builder and owner, and yet eradicate the evils which too often accompany the building of houses in the city. Fortunately the Russell Sage Foundation published at about this time Veiller's Model Housing Law which was used as the basis for our code. Mr. Veiller himself, as secretary of the National Housing Association, gave constant and invaluable assistance in framing a code suited to the needs of Columbus.

By keeping up a constant agitation during the months in which the code was in process of formation, by securing for it the endorsement of the Society of Architects, the Real Estate Association, the Builders' Exchange, besides many non-technical organizations including the Federation of Labor, we were able to create a public opinion which forced the code through the City Council without amendment.

To see that the code is enforced, that it is amended by its friends if amendments are found necessary, and to agitate for higher ideals in housing, a Committee of One Hundred has been organized. Possessing the best housing code as yet passed, we hope to have also the best enforced one.



# THE RISKS OF THE ORE-DIGGERS<sup>1</sup>

DON D. LESCOHIER  
MINNESOTA BUREAU OF LABOR

*Machine shop and factory accidents—their human cost and preventability, has been written large before American public opinion in the past three years. A great work in education and in engineering has still to be done in these fields. It has been the distinction of the Minnesota Bureau of Labor that in its investigations as to the trade injuries in this northwestern commonwealth, they interpreted the problem in terms of new ranges of employments—employments which have their seat in rural and wild districts as well as in the cities, and employments which are carried out in great sections of the country where as yet the industrial accidents problem is not appreciated.*

*This is the first of a series of four articles by Don D. Lescohier of the Minnesota Bureau of Labor, in which he will present the results of investigations carried out under his direction in four of the chief employments—the risks of the ore-diggers, of the lumber men, of the millers, and of the farm workers.*

*The articles are technical in the sense that they will be informing to every man who works or employs men to work in any of these trades—who knows what it is to "run logs," or the difference between an open-pit blaster and a trammer; they are none the less freighted with a human story which gives them graphic color and general interest.*

*Minnesota is the only state which keeps a complete record of its trade accidents. On the basis of this system of reporting, the State Bureau of Labor is carrying on an intensive and co-operative campaign of education and law enforcement in each important industry.*

The prevention of mine accidents is a serious matter to Minnesota. During the past five years 380 workmen have been killed and 313 seriously injured in the Minnesota mines. In the year ending July 31, 1910, 4,507 mine accidents were reported to the Bureau of Labor, 83 of which were fatal. Seven caused total permanent disablement, seventeen the loss of a leg, an arm, a hand, a foot, or an eye; nearly 100 others caused serious fractures, crushings, or lacerations; and 1,246 caused severe injuries, such as sprains, dislocations, lesser fractures, or finger amputations.

When compared with other mining fields, both in the United States and foreign countries, the accident rate in the Minnesota mines seems abnormal. The table below compares the accident rate in Minnesota with that in the Michigan iron mines, and the chart on the opposite page the rate in Minnesota with that in the entire United States and in several foreign countries.

<sup>1</sup>This article is the first of a series of four on the prevention of work accidents in iron mines, lumbering, flour mills, and agriculture, presenting the gist of the findings of the Minnesota Bureau of Labor, 12th biennial report, 1909-1910.

FATAL ACCIDENTS FOR EACH 1,000 MEN EMPLOYED.

YEAR	St. Louis County	Marquette County	Dickinson County	Gogebic County
	Minn.	Mich.	Mich.	Mich.
1906.....	7.25	3.77	4.30	8.28
1907.....	5.08	5.49	2.06	4.68
1908.....	3.98	2.98	1.64	3.97
1909.....	4.00	4.05	.76	4.14
1910.....	4.05	..	..	..

<sup>1</sup>Five year av'g 4.90 [4.07] [2.19] [5.27]

The high accident rate in Minnesota is due largely to the rapid development of the industry and to absentee ownership. Production has increased 33 per cent and the labor force 62 per cent in the last five years. The 1910 shipments (33,337,684 tons) were approximately one-seventh of the entire shipments since the first mine was opened in 1884. Loaded fifty tons to a car, the 1910 ore would make a train 2800 miles long. But even this tremendous output is not to be the limit of achievement. During 1910, nearly one-third of the labor force were laying bare the ore for still greater productivity. This explains why the labor force increased 62 per cent while

<sup>2</sup>Figures in brackets represent averages for four years.

that they may bring the proceeds to this country. Many, however, even of those who are struggling hard, will not sell their patrimony, but leave it for a mother or a brother who does not propose to emigrate. The Syrians of Troy send home their old people, or those who find it impossible to prosper. They can be supported more cheaply at home, and persons of these classes are most apt to be homesick.

Beginning about twenty years ago, and especially during the eight or nine years following, there was a considerable movement of money from the United States to Syria, to bring relatives over, for the support of those at home, or for investment. Little money now goes to Syria for investment; nearly all the remittances, except small sums for the support of an aged mother who does not wish to emigrate, or of relatives who would be debarred from entrance, go for the purchase of goods. It is said, on authority which appears to be good, that an average of \$500 a day goes to the one village of Zahleh, which has a very large contingent in this country; but apparently as much returns to America, either in cash from the sale of property or in goods. For although many factories for the cheaper oriental goods have been established here,<sup>1</sup> the more expensive and valuable products are necessarily brought from the Orient. It is the belief of the most intelligent Syrians doing business here that the commercial balance will soon become even.

It is said by some who have opportunities of judging that comparatively few have money in bank. It has already been

<sup>1</sup>This fact—in the first instance due to the high tariff on certain goods which Syrians would naturally import from home (60 per cent *ad valorem*), but later to the fact that many skilled lace-makers and weavers have come hither to live—to a large extent meets the frequent charge that Syrian peddlers pretend that their wares are imported when in reality they are made in this country. Another charge—much more serious—is that they claim that their laces are hand-made when in reality they are machine work. It is possible that this charge is due to a misunderstanding on both sides. The Syrian needle lace is always hand-made (sometimes ill-made, too) and so far as I know, the more elaborate kinds could not be made otherwise, no machine having been as yet invented that would make them. But a great deal of Syrian lace is crochet, not unlike the Irish lace, and both Syrian and Irish crochet lace may be imitated by machine. Any judge of lace knows the difference at a glance, as every woman can judge between valenciennes lace and "German val," or between hand and

seen that this is hardly the case, but if it were so, it might be explained by the absence of savings banks in Syria. Apparently, however, Syrians prefer to invest their savings in real estate, when they do not invest them in business, and this may be due in some degree to home conditions, since nearly every man in Syria owns the house he lives in. So far as can be ascertained, an unusually large proportion of Syrians in this country own their homes. In New York the proportion is said to be smaller than elsewhere; about 10 per cent (estimated); but perhaps quite as large a proportion as of Americans in this city. In Toledo, Troy, New Haven, Providence, Chicago, St. Paul, Milwaukee, Indianapolis, and in fact in almost every city except Albany, Cincinnati, and St. Louis, a number own their homes. Many own tenement property for investment. This is especially the case in Lawrence, Mass., where thirty-five persons own such property, several of them living on the premises; but it is a more or less usual form of investment in every one of the cities named. Mention has been made of a business block in New York owned by a banking firm; a merchant in St. Paul owns one, and the same is the case in various cities. Mention has also been made of large tracts of North Dakota land owned by a St. Paul merchant, and merchants in Chicago and elsewhere own city lots or tracts of western land. Some of the western farmers are said, on the other hand, to have sold their homesteads at an advance, and to be hoarding the money, a practice certainly not prevalent.

Hamburg embroidery. Doubtless women unaccustomed to using lace and embroidery often deceive themselves when there is no intention to deceive; very probably in some cases Syrian peddlers take advantage of the ignorance of their customers. Syrian embroidery is generally tambour work, and invariably is done by hand in Syria, but machines for tambour work have been in existence at least half a century, and probably much longer, in France and other western countries. I have personally known of instances where no asseverations on the part of a Syrian peddler, with her few English sentences, availed to convince her American customers that the beautiful hand-work she offered was not machine-made. Doubtless machines have been so perfected—or they will be—as to imitate the hand-work so perfectly as to deceive many customers, even when the price ought to show them that they are—or at least ought to be—purchasing machine-made embroidery. It is, however, probable and to be expected that a number of expert lace-makers and embroiderers will come to this country.



BIRDSEYE VIEW OF DETROIT.  
(Continued on opposite page.)

This picture shows the east side of the city taken from the civic center and showing the river and radiating avenues.

## THE HOUSING AWAKENING<sup>1</sup>

XII

### A CITY AWAKE—DETROIT

MYRON E. ADAMS

The completion of a comprehensive building code, the reorganization of the department of buildings, and the establishment of a housing commission under the direction of the Board of Commerce are indications of an awakened interest in the problem of protecting the city of Detroit from the evils attending its constantly increasing housing problem.

The census shows one of the causes of a housing problem in Detroit. In 1870 the population was 77,599; in 1880, 116,340; in 1900, 285,754, and by 1910, it had increased to 465,766, without unusual gain by annexation.

Through all these years Detroit has ranked among the first cities in the num-

<sup>1</sup>The issues of THE SURVEY containing the eleven preceding articles in this series will be sent for 25 cents each.

ber of houses owned by residents. Its position at the crossroads of interstate and international commerce, its varied industries, the conditions under which men have labored, as well as the unusual recreational opportunities on river and lake, have made a strong appeal to the home-builder and have been among the most obvious causes of its growth.

The city was well planned. From the civic center, the Campus Martius, which is located some four blocks from the river front, radiate a series of avenues, while the streets run parallel and perpendicular to the river. Thus Detroit resembles an open fan with the river for outer edge. Three miles to the east and the west, the Grand Boulevard Parkway commences at the river and extends around the city, enclosing the most thickly-built part in a square. Outside

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BIRDSEYE VIEW OF DETROIT.  
(continued from previous page.)

The Grand Boulevard Parkway begins two miles and a half to the east and extends around the city.

this parkway are the best residential and an increasing number of factory districts.

Congestion has been retarded, notwithstanding the rapid growth in population, in a number of ways. The land is without hills or valleys to raise natural obstacles to normal expansion, and there have been many open spaces, some of them large farms held for a rise in value. Of late, however, improved transportation facilities and the tendency to build farther out have forced the sale of these lands, and they are fast building up. Other obstacles to congestion were the diffusion of population in special industrial districts along the river front, with its twelve miles of factories, the Parkway and its factory districts, and the routes by which the railroads have entered and completely encircled the city. Not only are foreign groups separated from one another, but the groups themselves are divided, and we have two Polish, two Hungarian, and two Italian settlements.

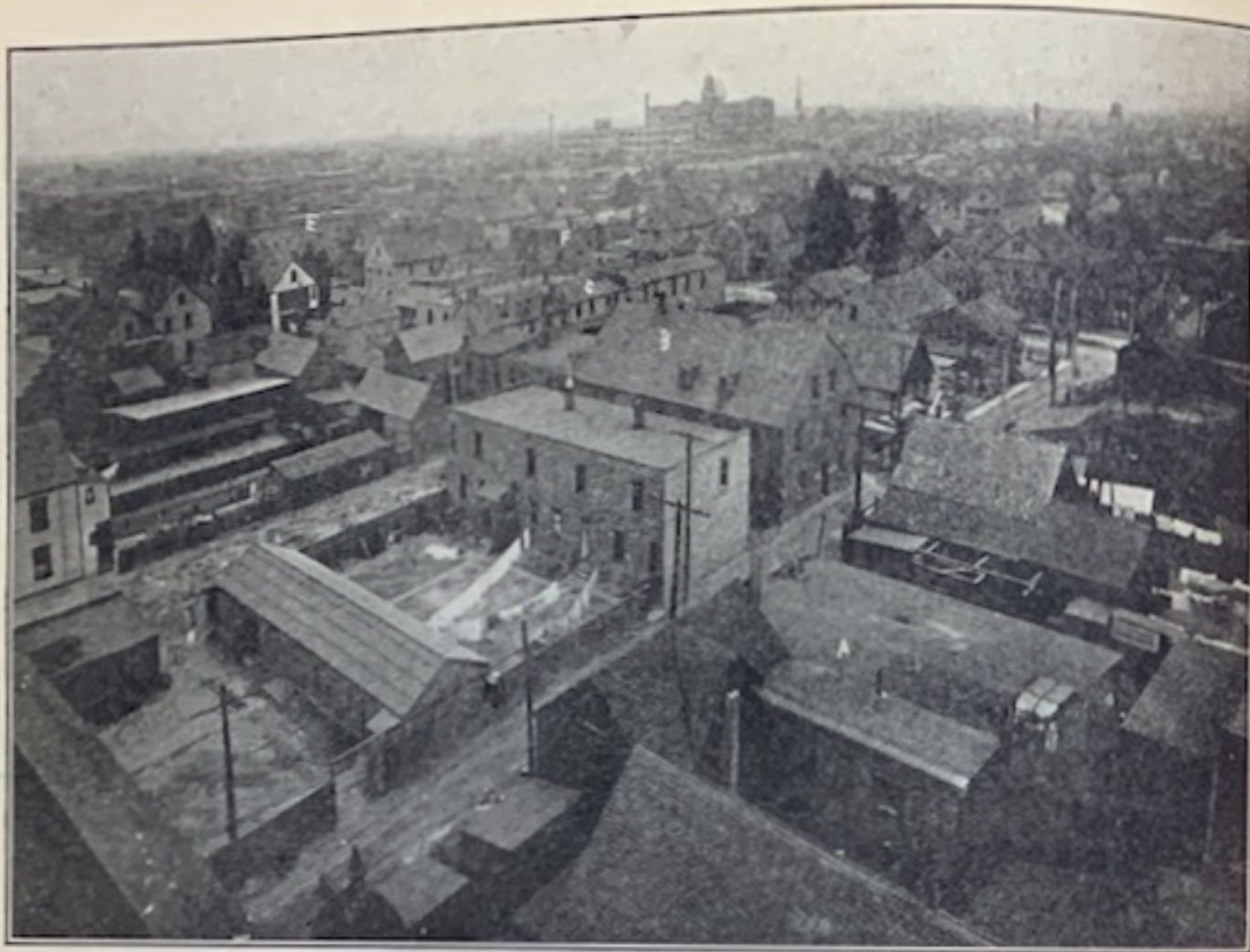
To these hindrances to congestion must be added the possibility of almost unlimited expansion, with easy access to

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places of labor. It is significant that practically all the automobile factories, which have been built within the last five years, are located in the outskirts, where before there were great tracts of vacant land.

The census shows that the population of Detroit increased by 180,000 during the last ten years. The question immediately suggests itself as to what provision has been made for housing these people. The answer is unsatisfactory because of insufficient statistics, except for the last three years. In 1908, 1,975 single dwellings, 398 double dwellings, 247 tenements, and 105 combined stores and dwellings were erected, affording homes for 3,716 families, or 17,194 people. In 1909, 2,503 single dwellings, 431 double dwellings, 107 combined stores and dwellings, and 154 tenement buildings were erected for 4,569 families, or 21,017 people. In 1910, 3,020 single dwellings, 529 double dwellings, 109 combined stores and dwellings, and 240 tenement buildings were erected, providing a total accommodation for 5,500 families, or 25,300 people.

Thus in three years, 63,493 people



THE FOREIGNER CREATES HIS OWN PROBLEM.

This is a birdseye view of the colony of Bulgarians, Dalmatians, and Servians. The houses are constructed so as to use all the space. (A) shows how barns and houses are extended and joined into one. (B) is a new tenement house of the best type. (CD) in center, towards top of building, shows conditions not possible under the new building code. As many as 100 boarders in (C). In (D) fifty boarders, five boarding bosses, and their wives, and seven children. Built so closely together that all light is shut off on the east side of (C) and the west side of (D). (E) Hotel where men sleep in shifts in busy season.

were housed in new buildings, independent of alterations and additions. In other words, during three-tenths of the time, more than one-third of the increase in population of the last decade was cared for in new homes. Despite all this Detroit has felt the pressure of incoming population, and shows evidences of overcrowding. There are two chief causes of this in two distinct classes of districts.

The first is the steady exodus to the suburbs of people whose homes once formed the downtown portion of the city, and whose places are taken by renters and roomers with little interest in the property they occupy and still less in the neighborhood. On the east side, and within a radius of three-quarters of a mile from the center of the city, this old district with its cheap boarding houses, many in bad repair, and its men's lodging houses, combined with the infrequent homes of long-time property-

holders, forms the border of the dreary district of houses of prostitution and their kind. On the west side is a similar district where these conditions are being duplicated. The disintegration goes on without perceptible opposition; the number of people who crowd into smaller quarters constantly increases.

The second cause is the rapid growth of foreign-born colonies. Ten years ago the first traces of congestion became evident in the Jewish quarter. Practically every family lived then in its own house, with grass and flowers in the yard. But with rapid growth rents increased, and the occupation of the same house by two families began. The demand for more room continued; landlords raised the roofs of their cottages to admit another story and extended the buildings so that they covered the whole lot; some moved the house to the rear and put another in front of it, others at-

tached it to the barn by a connecting apartment, or remodeled the barn to house more than one family.

If the process of remodeling which has been going on for the last five years is to continue without interference, the whole Jewish quarter will become one great district of overcrowded tenements, some of a very bad type. In the center of the district is the largest public school in Michigan. The city has appropriated \$65,000 for a recreation park, which will in some measure compensate for the loss of open spaces for children, who are found here in great numbers. But it will not change housing conditions nor prevent congestion.

The Hungarian colony lies in the Delray district, an industrial section some four miles from the center of the city. The Hungarian has a racial magnetism that attracts all friends and relatives from the other side. Admission is denied to none who can crowd in. Cottages built for four or five people house thirty and thirty-five. Every corner is used, and there is little furniture but beds and kitchen utensils. Sometimes the cellar or back yard is made into a primitive refuge for boarders.

The Polish district on the west side is by far the best of the sections inhabited by foreign-born residents. Industrial advantages have divided the Poles into two distinct communities. They are thrifty homemakers, owning 90 per cent

of the houses in the district. They seem to prefer the one- or two-story dwelling with a yard, and seldom occupy the two-family flat or the tenement, as their Jewish and Servian neighbors do.

The Italians, rapidly increasing in number to 15,000 or 20,000, occupy a large district within the inner mile circle. There are few homemakers among them, and the boarders roam from city to city and from section to section. Many live in houses once among the most desirable in the city. These bring high rents, with consequent overcrowding. Repairs are lacking and disorder prevails.

The Servians, the Dalmatians, and the Bulgarians form a colony of about 5,000 near the car shops. Here, under the "boarding boss" system familiar in most industrial cities, there are few houses with fewer than six boarders, besides the boss and his family. When the shops are busy this number is doubled, and the beds are used day and night. In one tenement on a rear lot, which had four separate flats with twelve rooms, were seven women, five boarding bosses, and fifty-two boarders—and that in a slack season. Inspectors of the Board of Health, who have power to prevent overcrowding, have cut down the number of boarders and improved the general sanitary condition of the neighborhood. One of the serious problems is the number of dark rooms created by the building of new houses and tenements on the



NINE ARGUMENTS FOR THE \$65,000 PARK IN THE GHETTO.

The triplets, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob Rubenstein, and the three pairs of twins stood in the front line of 1,400 children who lived in the district where overcrowding had been most evident. They made an irresistible argument for playgrounds and better housing.

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"THROW IT IN THE ALLEY."

Detroit has probably the most complete alley system in this country. The task of keeping alleys clean becomes increasingly difficult. This picture shows conditions in the most crowded district before the refuse of the winter has been cleared up. The Board of Commerce, the Housing Commission, and the Central Council of Charities are co-operating with the Board of Public Works in solving the problem.

lot line. These shut off all light from one side of the building.

In addition to positive causes of concentration of population and increasing congestion, there was a lack of proper building legislation for prevention, regulation, and inspection. It is fair to say that until last February there were no ordinances which could keep conditions from growing more serious. Methods of building were practically unrestricted. Tenements could be built to cover the entire lot. A building could be so erected as to shut off the light and air, and even to prevent access to another building on an adjoining lot. Practically the only restrictive provisions were within limited fire districts, and they covered only the construction of side walls and

roofs. In certain respects, where the condition of the house actually constituted a public nuisance, the Board of Health had authority to bring the matter before the courts, and from time to time some of the most unsightly and unsanitary places were reached in this way. The Board of Building Inspectors created in 1885 and the fire marshal's office created in 1887 lacked jurisdiction over dwellings.

But in 1907 the Legislature empowered the mayor to appoint a building commission of five men, which was instructed by the Common Council to formulate a building code. The commission completed the code in the spring of 1910, and for almost a year the Common Council gave it serious consideration; with

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several minor changes the entire code was adopted and made operative last February.

The sections covering the construction of dwellings and those dealing with tenement houses seem comprehensive and adequate to remedy defects already apparent, and to prevent prospective building operations which might add to congestion. These sections regulate the percentage of the lot to be covered by any tenement or dwelling, the distance from the adjoining lot line, the size of rooms and windows, the ventilation, the size of shafts, and the distance between these and other buildings on the lot. The code is retroactive in that the Department of Buildings may require alterations to provide light and ventilation not to exceed the minimum requirements of this ordinance.

The code provides for a Department of Buildings to grant permits and to compel compliance with its provisions. Eleven inspectors are authorized. The amount secured from licenses for building permits will cover the expenses of the department. During the first month of its existence the income from building permits amounted to \$1,600, and the yearly budget for the maintenance of

the department amounts only to \$15,000.

While the building code was before the Common Council, a joint meeting of the Board of Commerce and the Central Council of Charities resulted in the organization of the Detroit Housing Commission, composed of representative men who intend to reinforce and supplement at every point the work of the Department of Buildings. Under the direction of Luther E. Lovejoy, the commission has already interested the community in the subject of housing, and has had a part in bringing about important changes in the building code and in securing from the city adequate appropriation for the department.

There is every reason to believe that this commission will eventually approach the problem on the constructive side, and lead the movement to increase the number of houses that can be secured at small rents, or be purchased by men earning moderate wages. This combination of public administration reinforced by private support and approval will do much to keep the problem of congestion out of the increasing list of conditions that prevent natural and healthy living in a city which has always been a city of homes.

## WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION

### WOULD THE BEST SYSTEM FOR GENERAL WELFARE BE CONSTITUTIONAL?

MILES M. DAWSON

COUNSELLOR AT LAW AND CONSULTING ACTUARY, NEW YORK

This citation of authorities on the constitutionality of a system to provide for workmen's compensation by federal tax levied upon employers, according to the hazard as a percentage of the pay roll, to be collected and disbursed by mutual associations of those contributing, rests upon the proposition that it would promote the general welfare of the United States. That being taken as established, the three questions are:

1. Is the purpose constitutional and may the funds be disbursed for this purpose?

2. Is the form of the tax constitutional?

3. Is the machinery for collecting and disbursing it constitutional?

The preamble of the federal constitution declares that "We, the people of the United States ordain" it, among other purposes, to "promote the general welfare." The next and the last purpose enumerated is to "secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity." The general welfare of the entire United States and all its people, not merely of the several states, was in contemplation.

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The Supreme Court, in *McCulloch vs. Maryland*, 17 U. S. (4 Wheaton), 316, pp. 402, 404, held that

its powers are granted by them (i. e., the people) and are to be exercised directly on them and for their benefit.

See also *Martin vs. Hunter's Lessee*, 14 U. S. (1 Wheaton), 304.

Article I, section 8, of the constitution provides that taxes may be laid and collected "to pay the debts and provide for the common defense and general welfare of the United States." This is the only grant of power in the entire constitution which specifies as its object that "general welfare" to "promote" which it was ordained.

By the great preponderance of authority the taxing power is not restricted to the purpose of executing the so-called "enumerated powers of Congress," i. e., those vested in that body by the remaining paragraphs of article I, section 8.

Mr. Justice Story in his Commentaries on the Constitution says of this:

The same opinion has been maintained at different and distant times by many eminent statesmen. It was avowed and apparently acquiesced in, in the stated (state?) conventions called to ratify the constitution; and it has been, on various occasions, adopted by Congress, and may fairly be deemed that which the deliberate sense of a majority of the nation has at all times supported. This, too, seems to be the construction maintained by the Supreme Court of the United States.

In this Jefferson and Hamilton, though so widely apart on principles of constitutional construction, were absolutely in harmony, Jefferson saying in an official opinion:

To lay taxes to provide for the general welfare of the United States is to lay taxes for the purpose of providing for the general welfare. For the laying of taxes is the power and the general welfare the purpose, for which the power is to be exercised. Congress are not to lay taxes *ad libitum*, for any purpose they please; but only to pay the debts, or provide for the welfare of the Union. In like manner they are not to do anything they please to provide for the general welfare, but only to lay taxes for that purpose.

and Hamilton in his report in 1791, as secretary of the treasury:

It is, therefore, of necessity left to the discretion of the national legislature to pronounce upon the objects which concern the

general welfare, and for which, under that description, an appropriation of money is requisite and proper. And there seems no room for a doubt that whatever concerns the general interests of learning, of agriculture, of manufactures, and of commerce, is within the sphere of the national councils, so far as regards an application of money. The only qualification of the generality of the phrase in question, which seems to be admissible, is this, that the object to which an appropriation of money is to be made must be *general* and not *local*, its operation extending in fact, or by possibility, throughout the Union, and not being confined to a particular spot. No objection ought to arise to this construction from a supposition that it would imply a power to do whatever else would appear to Congress conducive to the general welfare. A power to appropriate money with this latitude, which is granted in express terms, would not carry a power to do any other thing not authorized in the constitution, either expressly or by fair implication."

But one of the elder statesmen differed—Madison, who argued that appropriations not for the purposes of the "enumerated powers" are unconstitutional; i. e., for instance, that Congress has no power to give bounties; but he even held (4 Elliott's Debates, 2nd Phila. Ed., pp. 525 and 526) that a protective tariff is constitutional. Such a tariff the Supreme Court of the United States pronounced in *Downs vs. United States*, 187 U. S., 496, at 515, "like all protective duties, a bounty."

Monroe held with Jefferson and Hamilton in his message vetoing the Cumberland Road bill in 1822, and Jackson in his message vetoing the Maysville Turnpike bill in 1830.

The Supreme Court of the United States has repeatedly indicated its opinion that there are no limitations of the power "except those expressly stated" in the constitution. See *McCray vs. United States*, 195 U. S., 27, at 59; *Flint vs. Stone Tracy Co.*, 220 U. S., 107, at 153; *McCulloch vs. Maryland*, 4 Wheaton, 316, at 431; *Weston vs. City Council of Charleston*, 27 U. S. (2 Peters), 449, at 466, in which last Chief Justice Marshall says:

If the right to impose the tax exists, it is a right which in its nature acknowledges no limits.

The words "general welfare" in the constitution have not been construed by

## THE HOUSING AWAKENING<sup>1</sup>

XIII

### EXCHANGING 70,000 EARTH CLOSETS FOR A \$20,000,000 SEWER SYSTEM—BALTIMORE

J. W. MAGRUDER

GENERAL SECRETARY FEDERATED CHARITIES OF BALTIMORE

For four years the city of Baltimore has been at work at enormous expense on "one of the most stupendous engineering projects of modern times, i. e., the installation of a storm water and sanitary sewerage system throughout all the streets and alleys, carrying connections to each individual house."

This is the culmination of an agitation which has been going on at intervals for more than fifty years. The immediate occasion of it was the passage of a law by the General Assembly for the protection of the oyster industry of the state, which yields an annual income of \$50,000,000, and the life of which was threatened by the increasing outflow of sewage from this city of nearly 600,000 inhabitants. But it would have come anyhow; for even the most complacent Baltimorean had begun to be uneasy about the 90,000 earth-closets, which the Health Department

in its successive Annual Reports up to 1903 had estimated as the number within the city limits. Some had already taken things into their own hands by laying private sewers—nobody knows

how many; all, however, emptying directly or indirectly into Jones' Falls, an insignificant stream flowing through the city, or else into the harbor, thereby reducing the number of earth-closets to possibly 70,000.

Lawrence Veiller declares that the situation, even under improving conditions, is "unique among American cities"—a "bad eminence" which the average Baltimorean is unwilling to have advertised to the world even in a Health Department

report, unless it be accompanied at once by the reminder that this city, far-famed as a seat of art and learning and scientific research, and for its efforts in progressive social work, for "its civic

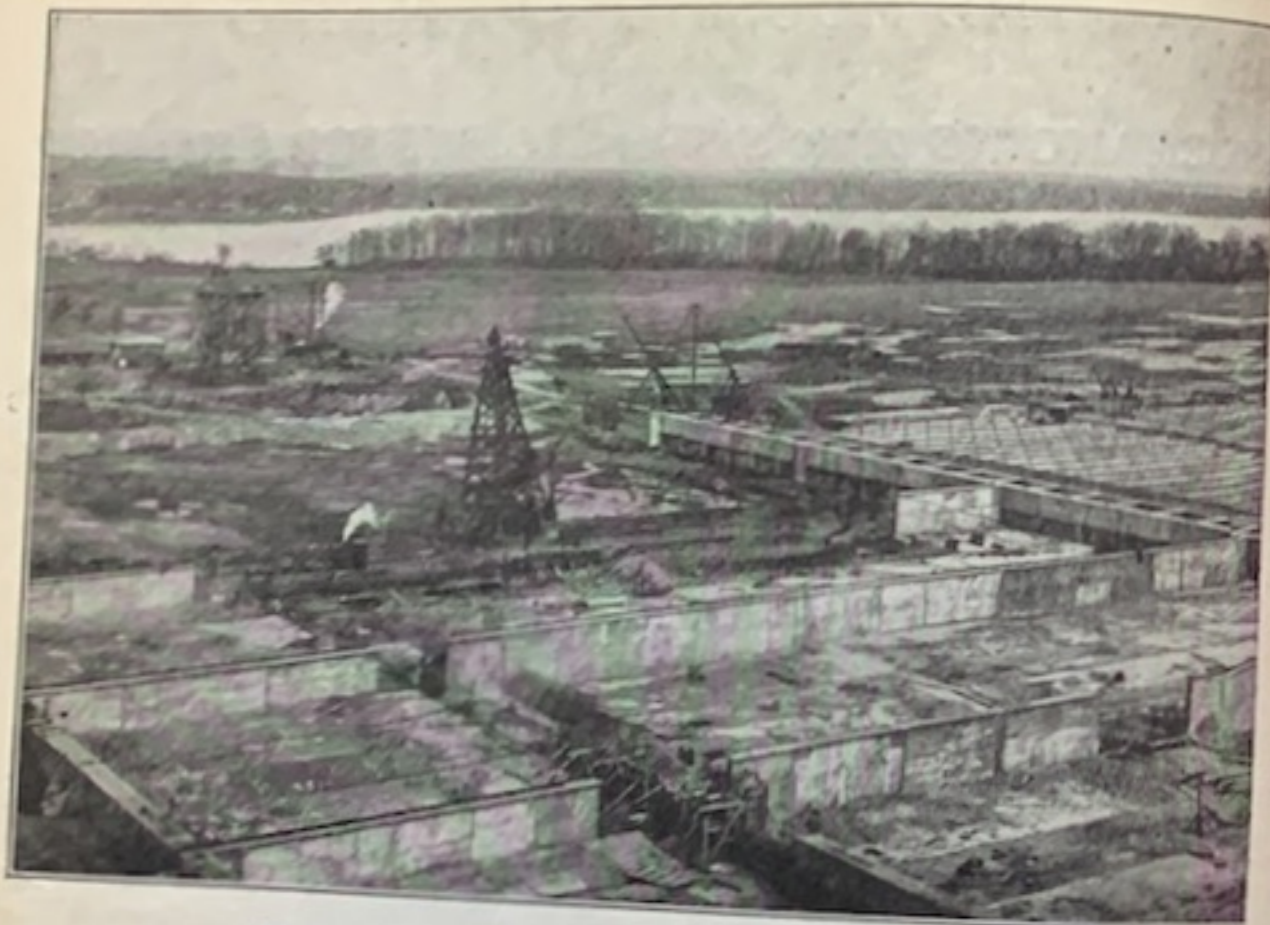


"MADE IN BALTIMORE."

An odorless method of pumping out night soil. So universal was the earth closet in Baltimore that this device was worked out for odorless cleansing, particularly in houses where before it had been necessary to carry buckets through the house to the street.

<sup>1</sup>A series of articles describing housing conditions in typical American cities, large and small, East and West, and the efforts being made to improve these conditions. Published with the cooperation of the National Housing Association. I. Introduction, by Lawrence Veiller, *THE SURVEY*, November 19, 1910, price 10 cents; II. Socialists and Slums—Milwaukee, by Carl D. Thompson, December 3, 1910, price 25 cents; III. The Awakening of a State—Indiana, by Albion Fellows Bacon, December 17, 1910, price 10 cents; IV. Housing Reform in Cold Storage—Boston, by Edward T. Hartman, January 21, 1911, price 10 cents; V. The Huddled Poles of Buffalo, by Frederic Almy, February 4, 1911, price 25 cents; VI.

New Tenants and Old Shacks—St. Louis, by Roger N. Baldwin, February 18, 1911, price 10 cents; VII. Teaching the Tenant—Los Angeles, by Johanna Von Wagner, March 4, 1911, price 25 cents; VIII. The Romeo Flat—San Francisco, by Alice S. Griffith, April 1, 1911, price 25 cents; IX. A million People in Small Houses—Philadelphia, by Helen L. Parrish, May 6, 1911, price 25 cents; X. The Foreign Invasion of a New England Town, by Emma W. Rogers, June 3, 1911, price 25 cents; XI. The Discoveries of Columbus, by Otto W. Davis, July 1, 1911, price 25 cents; XII. A City Awake—Detroit, by Myron W. Adams, August 5, 1911, price 25 cents.



BIRDSEYE VIEW OF NEW SEWAGE DISPOSAL PLANT.

(Continued on next page.)

The sewage is to be carried by gravity for six miles through a huge outfall to this series of filtration beds. 1,100 miles of sewers will drain into it. The solid matter is to be utilized as fertilizer; the liquid to be filtered to the purity of drinking water.

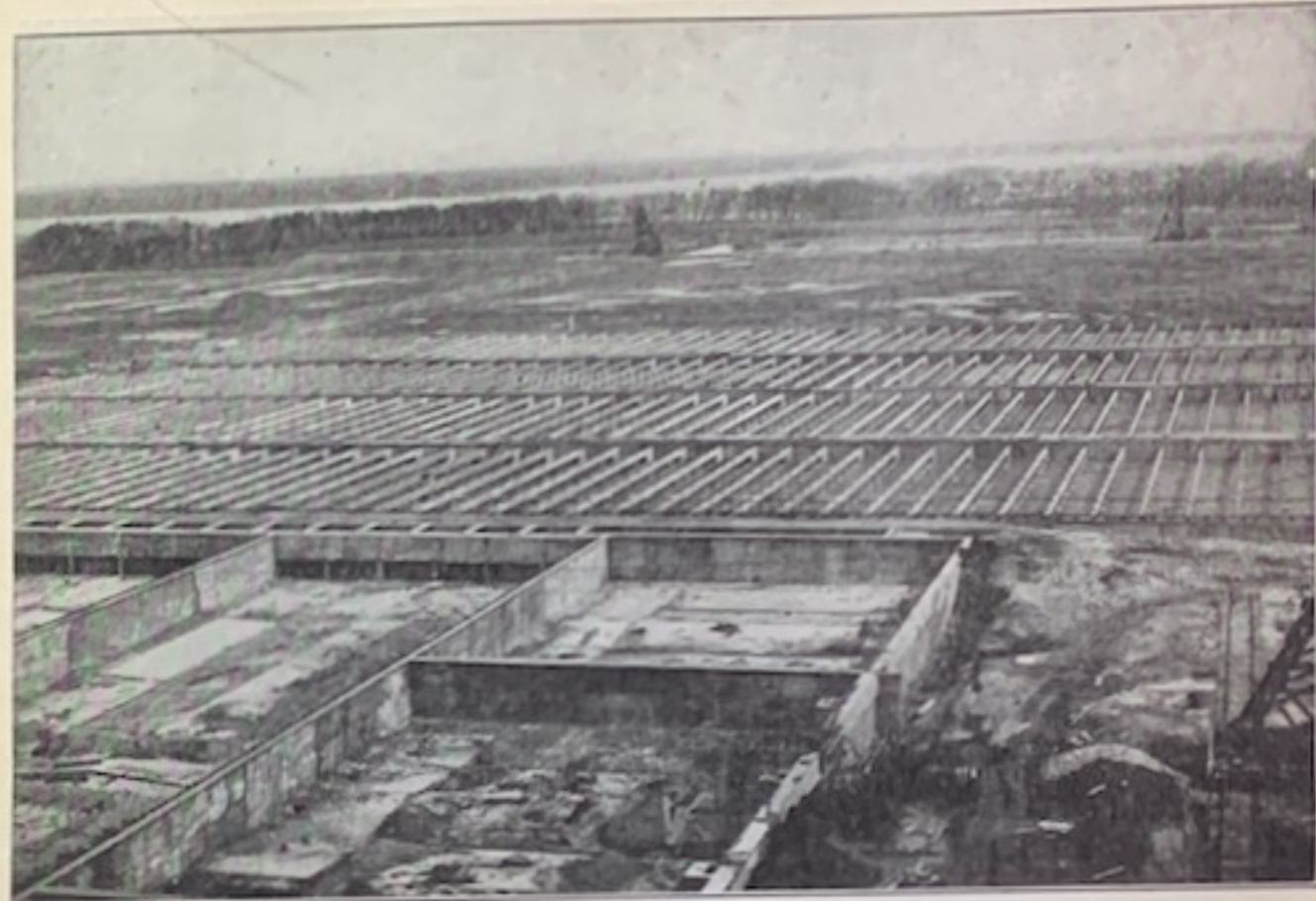
spirit overcoming almost insurmountable obstacles, rising like a Phoenix from the ashes," is now addressing itself in drastic fashion, once and for all, to the rectifying of conditions which are the growth and inheritance of one hundred and fifteen years.

"I do not know of a single instance in history," says the engineer in charge of this enterprise, "where a city of the size of Baltimore has at one single stroke attempted to sewer the entire city, treating its enormous sewage by the most modern methods, both as to disposal of its storm water and purifying its sewage almost to drinking water." It means that eventually Baltimore is to become one of the cleanest, healthiest cities of the world. The cost will be twenty million dollars.

Much of the condition which has now at last become intolerable is properly chargeable to the village fathers of the long ago, who when they came to town brought with them "rural institutions" to which they were accustomed, such as

"the vault in the back yard, the leaking cesspool, and the slop-gutter"; not feeling a need of better things for themselves, nor taking thought for things needful for their children after them in the city that was to be.

The marvel is that the penalty now being paid is so largely one of dollars and cents. How 600,000 people have managed to live over, next to, or in the neighborhood of 70,000 "earth closets," euphoniouly so-called, and at the same time escaped the plague and kept the death-rate down within measurable distance of the normal, would seem on the face of it inexplicable. Sanitarians, however, explain away the miracle by pointing to the rolling land upon which the city is built, giving a natural drainage into Jones' Falls and the harbor; and also to the subsoil of sand and clay, except at the lower levels, supplying a natural filtration bed—not that this makes the death-rate lower, but that it prevents it from becoming higher. Of course the people with sufficient in-



BIRDSEYE VIEW OF SEWAGE DISPOSAL PLANT.

(Continued from preceding page.)

The fall of the filtered water from the disposal plant shown above to Back river, a mile or more away, will be utilized to generate electricity. This will be sufficient at the start to operate the sludge pumps and eventually to light the municipal buildings.

come have been able to purchase a certain amount of immunity from these horrors to which the poor are subjected, their toilets and bath-rooms draining into hidden cess-pools and private sewers.

Nevertheless, for rich and poor alike, a day of judgment would surely have come. The storm water and the city sewage must either sink into the ground or empty into the Falls or the harbor; and these two natural disposal plants had about reached their limit. The harbor was already a veritable cess-pool. Hundreds of sewer pipes poured their contents into it on all sides. It was choked with organic matter, and there were no water currents, if we except the tides, to carry off the sewage.

The harbor would not be such a sink of pollution if the supposedly natural filtration bed under the tens of thousands of earth closets really afforded an outlet; or if the closets, of which hundreds, if not thousands, are all the time full to overflowing, were regularly emptied by the "night soil men." There are more

than one hundred men earning their livelihood in this way. None is a city employe though all are supposed to have licenses. The business is one in which anyone may embark if he can but equip himself with a dipper or bucket, barrels, and a cart. The work originally was done at night, but the carts made such a racket, lumbering over the cobblestones, that Baltimoreans decided they would rather endure the nuisance by day than have their slumbers disturbed. Since then it has been a "night soil" business only in name.

Any man who cleans out cesspools certainly earns his money, even though he gets the top price—\$2.50 a cart-load. He hauls it to Winan's Dump and empties it into barges which are privately owned and operated by a company with an exclusive franchise, paying the company twenty-five cents a cart-load for floating it down the river to Bear Creek.

An inventive Baltimorean devised an apparatus consisting of pump, hose, and tank-wagon, which does the work in an



TANK WAGON FOR NIGHT SOIL.

The least objectionable method of cleansing the privies in a sewerless city. The night soil is pumped into the wagon. Both pumping and hauling are odorless.

odorless, inoffensive, not to say eminently respectable manner altogether remarkable. The pump will throw a stream two hundred feet. It has been "known to pass freely such unusual articles as a pair of heavy cloth pants, an entire army blanket, and forty feet of rope"! The inventor is said to be making a fortune, not in Baltimore only, but in cities near and far which have been accustomed to hold their noses and "pass by on the other side" of the barrel-wagon in a city with 70,000 privies.

One might think that common decency would incline people to clean up of their own accord. But the experience of our neighbors who come to Baltimore to buy vault-cleaning apparatus goes to show that even with a sanitary sewer at their very doors there is a certain contingent of the population determined to "be filthy still."

The nuisance clerk is one of the busy men about the Health Department. Overflowing cesspools are the most frequent cause of complaint. As many as

50,000 inspections are made annually. It is no exception to see fecal matter flowing down street gutters. In two instances during her investigation of housing conditions, Miss Kemp saw it flowing from rain leaders which connected with sink wastes on upper floors; a condition, however, which is explained if we stop to consider what it means for top-floor tenants, of all ages and both sexes, to descend long stairways to a yard closet, only to find it a miserable and oft-times nasty shack with little or no privacy, the one and only convenience of from two to eight families.

To say that tenement-dwellers accept these offenses against health and morals without protest argues only ignorance of the minds of the poor. To some degree they resign themselves to conditions, but the smothered sentiment does find expression on occasions; as, for example, in the childlike frankness of the bright little Italian girl, recently come from New York, who is told about in the printed report on Housing Conditions in Balti-

September 2, 1911.

more (1907). She was found cleaning two closets which served for seven families of the house in which she lived a few feet away. "I hadn't charge to clean them, only the one," she said; "but they were so stinky. Oh, Lordy! it's bad to live by a stink!" And later, in comparing the cheaper rental of her Baltimore home with what the family had paid for their New York flat, where, however, they "had a water-closet and there was no stink at all," she said: "I do believe it is better to pay more for your house than to stay all the time by a stink." One feels with the investigator "almost grateful for the quotation marks which permit the use of the vigorous, if inelegant, Anglo-Saxon term, for it is the only one that seems to be even moderately descriptive."

If these sinks of corruption were to remain, there would be no ridding the city of flies and mosquitoes, the twin pests and transmitters of typhoid and malaria. The well-to-do and rich might protect themselves to a degree by nets and screens. Not so the people generally. Vaults, whether empty or overflowing, would continue to be a breeding-ground for the carriers of disease. Yards and



SEWER IN AN ALLEY.



"YOU CANNOT PHOTOGRAPH THE SMELL."

September 2, 1911.

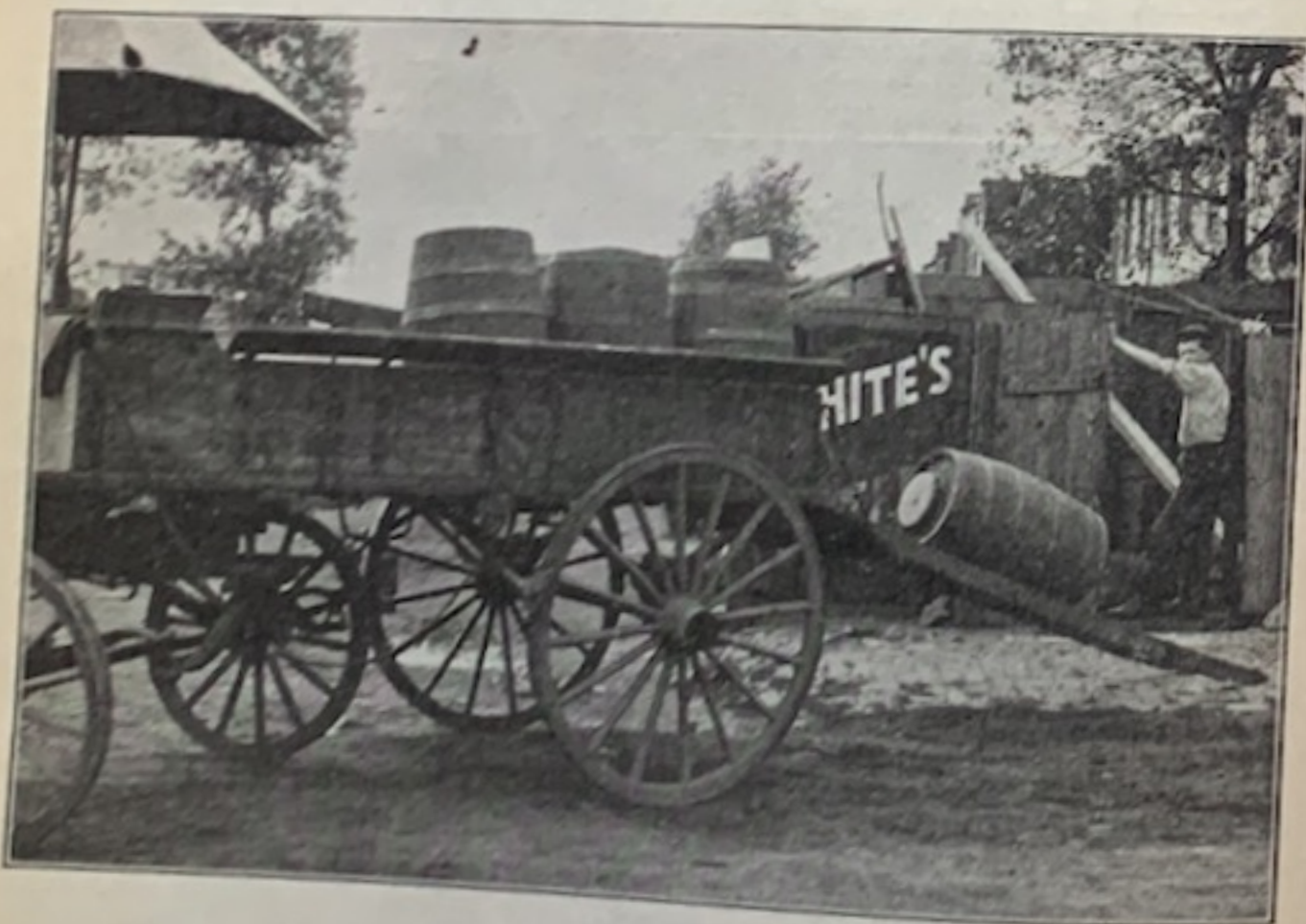
alleys everywhere would swarm. During an epidemic of typhoid in one part of the city, an investigator saw the contents of an overflowing vault streaming down the public alley. It was "known to contain the discharges of two typhoid patients, which had been emptied into it during the six weeks preceding." Perhaps some of "the mysteries of Providence" could be cleared up, if we were to trace through flies, hucksters, grocery-boys, market-men, and kitchen-maids the connection between these streams of pollution and the food on our tables.

No wonder Baltimore has voted to abandon her cesspools and surface drainage and go down to the very foundations for a sanitary sewer system. It is none too soon. The soil and sub-soil underneath a third or more of the city is such a reeking mass of muck that even the most hardened and indifferent of sewer-diggers recoil, and in alleys and narrow cuts next to privies have had to be coaxed, cajoled, and all but coerced into sticking to their jobs.

When the final bond issue of ten mil-

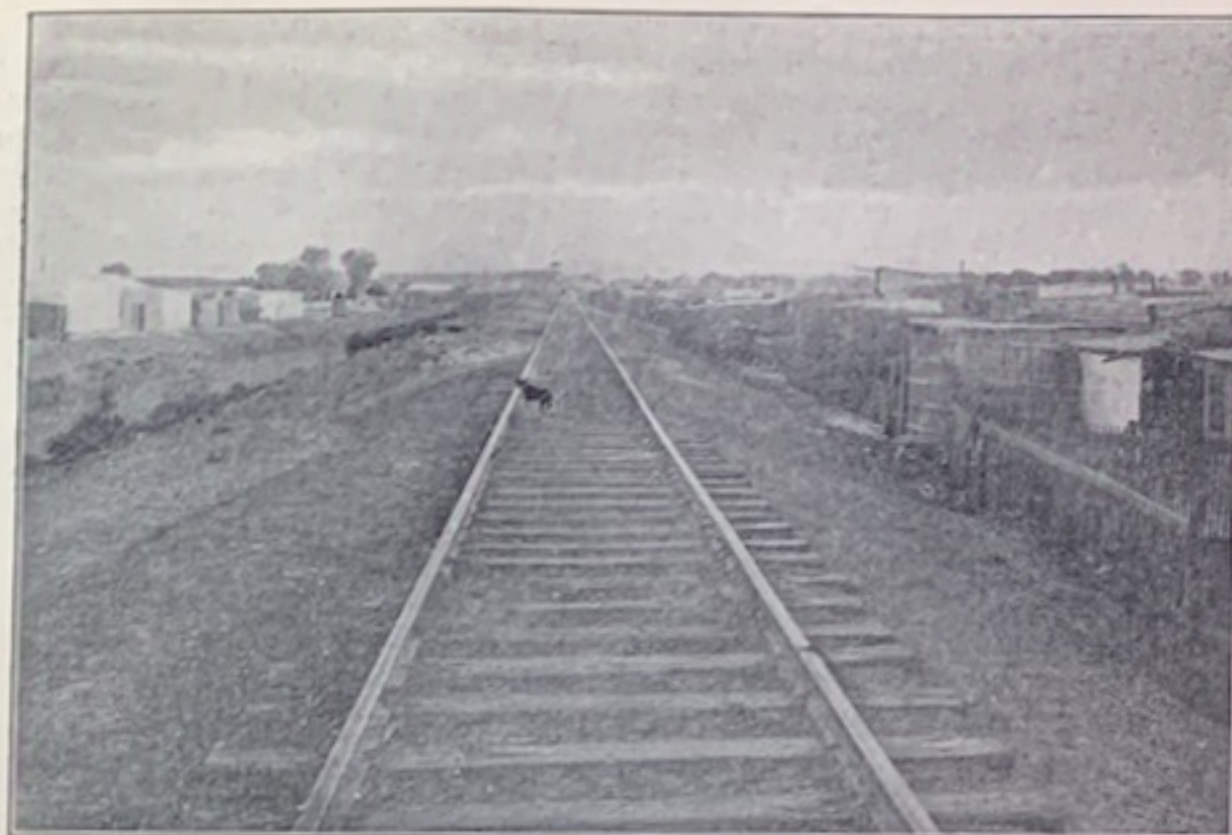
lions was voted by the people last spring, it meant that as soon as the disposal plant is completed at Back river, six miles distant, all of East Baltimore can be drained into it without further delay, and by 1914 the entire sewer system, eleven hundred miles in length, will be finished, making possible a general house-, yard-, street-, and alley-cleaning in "Baltimore-1915."

Meanwhile, the Health Department and the Building Inspector's Department have enough to keep them more than busy if they do what is expected of them: to work not independently but co-operatively for the enforcement of the provisions of the new building code adopted three years ago. By this the dumb-bell tenement, dark rooms, overcrowding, and the hundred-and-one physical and social ills that plague other cities are forever prohibited, and to Baltimore, with her great number of small dwellings owned by the occupants, is given the opportunity to take her proper place among the most advanced of American cities.



A PRIMITIVE METHOD.  
Emptying by means of dipper and bucket, barrel and cart. Highly objectionable.

September 2, 1911.



"THE UNENDING MILES."

## PASSAGE TO TEXAS

FRANCIS H. McLEAN

FIELD SECRETARY, CHARITY ORGANIZATION DEPARTMENT, RUSSELL SAGE FOUNDATION

There may be a few men who know Texas. Many know parts of it. Even to a Californian, however, its striking and manifold variations are a never ending source of amazement. It is something to have sojourned in it a month and even in that time to have realized the incorrectness of many impressions. Generally it takes longer to relieve one's self of hasty impressions.

Let us see. In that month it took 3,000 miles of traveling to visit six cities. Important as those cities are, their own confusing variation forbids generalizing. Far to the west, scarcely of Texas though in it, is El Paso, up a titanic incline of 619 miles from San Antonio, its altitude 4,000 feet; a desert city of the mountains, with nothing but sand and air which thrill and tingle and colors which intoxicate. Many come for their lungs, come and go; and the permanent group of residents are well within their shells.

At the other end of that incline is San Antonio, green and beautiful, with its

November 19, 1910.

memories going back to Lone Star days, now undergoing the pangs of a land boom, with its civilization a mixture of old and new, the gay city of Texas. Still to the east, another half day's journey, is Houston, with something of Atlanta's assertiveness, claiming business primacy with more or less justification. Perhaps a little more southern in feeling is this lower tier of cities, excepting El Paso. El Paso is a reflection of the world. It is not only the Negro who is a separate class, but the Mexican—the Greaser—is to the ordinary inhabitant a being inferior. Then the capital, Austin, where one seems to strike the very heart of Texas: a tight little city of not so many ten thousands, sufficient unto itself, with a generous social democracy which has no counterpart in the other cities. Here is not only politics, but culture, the great University of Texas here having its domicile; or, rather, this is its home address, for ever the university is linking itself to the life of the people of the state.



The Conference of Education and the university have been fighting the battles for primary education and the socialization of the schools through parents' associations. Its law and other professors are furnishing the material for more than one social campaign. Progressive enough to adopt the commission form of government, though a city of but 25,000 or 30,000, Austin is showing what efficiency may be introduced by that system, even in a small city. Clean, generous and delightful is Austin.

Something tells you that you are reaching towards the northern borders when Fort Worth and Dallas are reached. The few railroad lines have merged into many, there are fewer Mexicans, manufactures are on the increase, the population type has become more cosmopolitan than in San Antonio or Houston. Here, too, the growth of the public conscience is apparent, particularly in Dallas. Indeed, in Dallas, and to a slightly less degree in Fort Worth, one realizes that the social problems are keenly felt and that the social agencies have reached a degree of organization quite complex. Situated within twenty miles of each other, they have developed only the most good natured of rivalries.

As to the relations among the five cities, so far as the social field is concerned, there is very little interplay. Here, as elsewhere, the charity organization group has struck up more acquaintanceships, but outside of the State Federation of Women's Clubs, the Labor Council, the Conference of Education people, and the university, very little general knowledge is current of what is happen-

ing in the other cities. There has been comparatively little visiting, and excepting in the case of Fort Worth and Dallas, whose interplay is undoubtedly responsible for some of the progress achieved, one has an ever present feeling of isolation.

And having seen these cities, what has one seen of Texas? What of the wonderful Pan Handle country, transforming its pastures to golden-lined crop fields, measuring its expanses by millions of acres? What of the still remaining pastures to the west, in the vast reaches stretching to the desert which encompasses El Paso? What of the glitter and fascination of the gulf cities, indeed, if one confines one's self to centers of population? What of a thousand other aspects of a land whose marvelous diversity of face and clime and geography bewilders?

Once the writer was endeavoring to plan a way of having the question of juvenile probation discussed comprehensively by the judiciary.

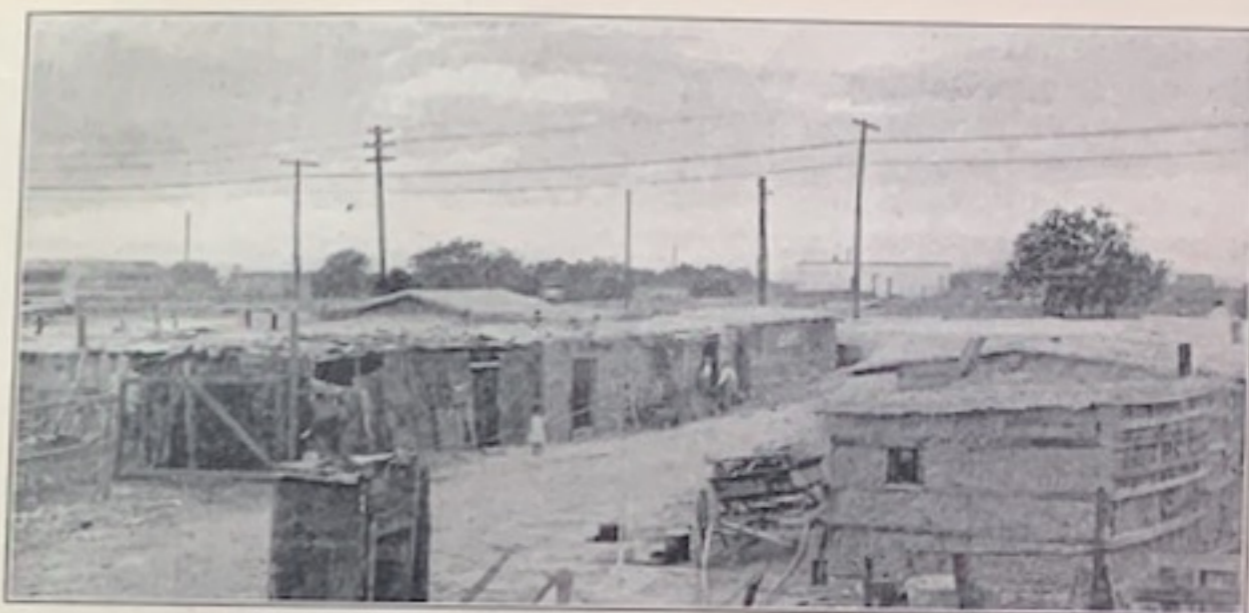
"There is the State Association of County Judges," replied a wise judge, "but it is

no use your trying to get that before them as a whole."

"Why?" he was asked.

"Because, in scores of counties, some of them without railroads," was the reply, "the county judge is also superintendent of public schools, and does not have to be a lawyer. They are not bothering themselves about public questions, but trying to make their own way."

This brought out, as a mere incidental, the diversities even in agricultural conditions, throughout the state.



BUILT OF RUBBISH

A row of huts near the international bridge at El Paso where the presidents of two great republics met.

So, to speak of Texas as a whole, as a result of even this long journey, is absurd. If one traces the location of the five cities mentioned upon the map of Texas, he will find that after all only a little of the center has been visited with a short trip of 600 miles to the western border. Nevertheless, because these are five of the most important cities, and because there are at least three organizations (already alluded to) which have state-wide affiliations in the social field and whose point of view may be obtained at second hand, and because the results of rural mishandling are sometimes apparent in cities, there are certain problems standing out prominently in these

selfsame cities, which are certainly state problems.

There can be no doubt that tuberculosis, both imported and domestic, hangs like a black cloud over Texas. It is extremely difficult, practically impossible, to form any idea of just how serious the situation is; but this is known: that wherever there exists an associated charity, there also exists a feeling approaching despair, caused by facing a situation without facilities to combat it. There is very little provision for sanatorium care; the state regulations for registration and disinfection are variously carried out in the different cities; a traveling exhibit and some few fairly



A HUT OF DIRT AND TWIGS.

Makeshift construction, without sanitation, in El Paso.

November 10, 1910.

November 19, 1910.



THE WORST SECTION OF THE CONTINUOUS CORRAL.

About 200 people live here. Light and air come only from the door. The infant death rate is very high. Rent, seventy-five cents a week.

effective local campaigns comprise the sum total of educational effort. Then consider that into this state, which, after all, is just beginning to know itself, there is pouring a stream of unfortunates from other states, fleeing, as they think, to save their lives in this sunny clime. Some do; but they are the ones who have resources. Many others, whose resources are small, through the criminal ignorance and incompetency of local medical practitioners, waste what would go a long way at home toward securing adequate care in coming here to strive and scrimp for a few weeks or a few months, and then collapse. They become public charges. Even then they may become victims of a ghastly comedy, may be shipped from place to place, by public officials, at public expense; shipped wherever their despairing whims suggest; hastened to death, and the public treasury in the end the sufferer.

So far only the associated charities have attempted to send home sufferers of this sort. Public officials in some instances have acted humanely in providing what care they could.

In this chaotic condition Governor Campbell, at the last legislative session, vetoed a measure for the establishment of a state sanatorium, a course in which he was amply justified. The situation

demands something far more general than that. Governor Campbell's suggestion that there should be a state tuberculosis commission is, in the writer's mind, the first necessary step. Such a commission should have very wide powers of investigation and recommendation. It will be necessary for it to jack up the local health officials, who are lax, much more abruptly than in the past. It must gather statistics and data of the present extent of the disease. It must very carefully consider the question of a deportation law, or of other measures which will prevent the incoming of those who come only to die at public expense. It must see what system of sanatoriums is best adapted to the peculiar conditions existing in the state, and this with relation to the comparative wealth and comparative civilization of different sections. Then must come a consideration of the educational campaign. Other states have suffered because of lack of a great state program. Texas is in a position to lead the way by a strong state commission.

Because we have expressed the opinion, voicing the belief of trained observers in the four larger cities at least, that tuberculosis is a menace, it must not be presumed that present conditions are much worse than in other states. The

November 19, 1910.



THE MODEL CORRAL OF SAN ANTONIO.

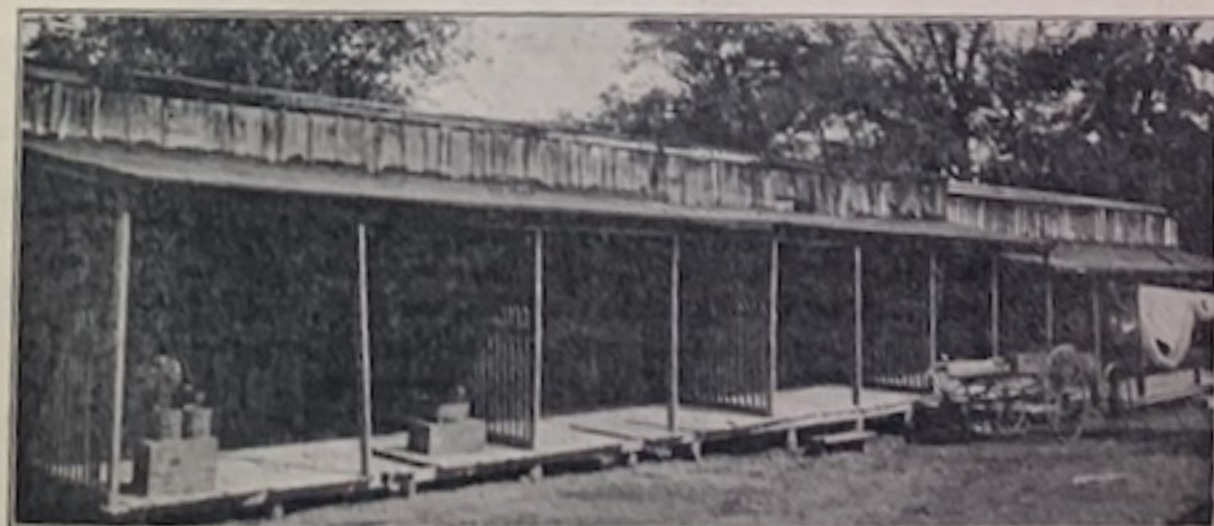
Renting for \$5.50 a month, these little houses are occupied by steady, hard-working men.

only difference is that Texas is adding rapidly to its burden by reason of alien accretions. With this added burden, only a few health officers have acted with any degree of vim. A few have attempted to hide conditions. Others have affirmed that there were no "native" cases, which is nothing less than wilful blindness. But whether there has been activity or laxness, it matters not. Because of climatic and present social conditions, the tuberculosis problem is primarily a state problem in Texas.

In the field of the juvenile court and probation there is the same apparent need of a state juvenile court commission. The history of this movement in Texas plainly indicates that it is now in need of the patient, careful, intensive field work which must always follow the active propagandist stage. As the result of enthusiasm, there was imbedded in the

Texas statutes a law covering juvenile court and probation which was practically copied bodily from the statute books of another state. In some ways lawyers have affirmed it was a misfit. Its legality on some points is so seriously questioned that the judge in one important city juggles his dockets so that technically juvenile court cases are tried on a criminal docket. As a result, we were told of one case where a weak-kneed jury refused to take a child from a notoriously immoral woman, on evidence which any juvenile court judge would have accepted as convincing.

In another large city the probation system has been badly discredited because the judge has been trying to work out a "big brother" volunteer scheme with no paid official as a center. In short, some of the best friends of the movement acknowledge that, excepting



THE CONTINUOUS CORRAL.

Under new ownership it has been brought up to a high standard of cleanliness.

November 19, 1910.



in a very few places, it has broken down completely. There is need to see where the law should be remedied, what system would best fit counties varying in wealth and in social conditions, when the paid officer should be paid from the public moneys, and so on through the whole long chapter. Texas was not ready for the plan; it had not been worked out in sufficient detail. What is being done now should have been done in the first place. The day was saved in a few places, like Dallas and Houston.



THEIR ONLY OUTLOOK.

A city beautiful movement has been started in San Antonio—but not in this alley.

For instance, in Dallas the Women's Club paid for a good officer until the county was willing to pay for him, following the old Chicago plan. But there cannot be the slightest doubt that probation needs rejuvenation on a carefully thought out and intensive plan.

Though in tuberculosis the state has been slow in awakening, this is not indicative of its attitude in other fields. The child labor problem now receiving attention in the state is practically one of prevention. There are unmistakable evidences of increasing manufacturing inter-

ests. At the same time there is nothing resembling the cotton mill conditions in some of the other southern states. Whatever of administrative coercion is now exerted in this broad state must be by one lone commissioner of labor statistics and a deputy at Austin, who notifies the district attorney in case violations come to his attention. The district attorney notified must prosecute. In several pretty bad situations the commissioner or deputy has gone to the scene and righted matters. But everyone recognizes that they can give only incidental protection. The present child labor law prohibits employment of any child under twelve in factory, manufacturing mill, or any establishment using machinery. Children between twelve and fourteen the statute bars out, and those who cannot read nor write, unless the child has a widowed mother or incapacitated parent to support. Employment under sixteen is prohibited in breweries, distilleries, and in marine service. The twelve- to fourteen-year-old children who are employed, can drive away idleness only between the

hours of 6 A. M. and 6 P. M.. They cannot work all night. Proof of age is most rudimentary. Furthermore, there is no compulsory education law.

With this situation, leaders in social work in Texas are considering two things: first, the organization of a state child labor committee; and, second, the placing of all emphasis just now upon legislation which shall fix an absolute standard age limit of fourteen, and shall further, as the opportunity offers, a state compulsory education law. No wiser decision could be made. It is not a situation which indicates improving the administrative machinery, in order completely to accomplish what the present law intended. Rather every detail of the situation seems to cry out for the strategic advantage of getting a better and absolute standard on the statute books, and then fighting for the administrative details later on; especially so as industrial interests grow apace, and problems become more complicated.

With reference to a legislative program of this sort, it is interesting to the writer to remember some comments made to him upon the uncouthness of the Texas Legislature. It was not his fortune to see it at work. But certainly it cannot be accused of unwillingness to accept "new fangled" ideas, an accusation which could rest against certain other Legislatures.

Let us take these two movements, for instance, child labor and juvenile probation. Its legislation on these two subjects is really remarkable, when one remembers how strong in Texas is the tradition that a man's home is his castle, and his children his own. Even in some of the cities it is so. The writer was called sharply to account in Fort Worth for having ventured to remark that in the ultimate analysis the state must be responsible for its children. The "castle"

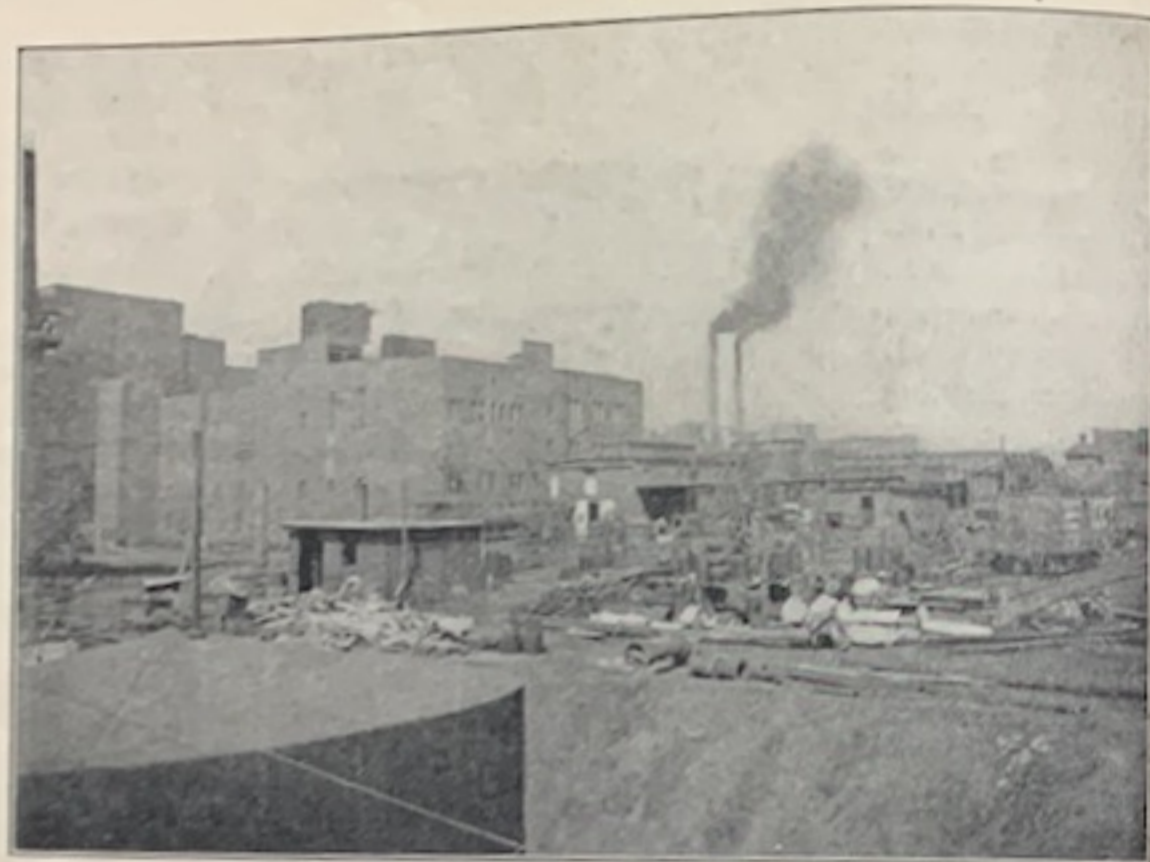


idea is still a more or less popular tradition, redolent though it is of Middle Age isolation and oppression.

While the three campaigns above mentioned must begin from the state end, there is another which must be taken up in the individual cities. From El Paso, with its miserably damp and dark Mexican adobes fringing the international boundary along the historic Rio Grande, to the opium

shacks in the bottoms of Dallas, there is in every one of the five cities a need for some rudimentary housing regulation. There is an amusing yet sardonic tale of the time when the presidents of the United States and Mexico were to meet at the Rio Grande. It was discovered that a most irreverent, unreasonable and utterly miserable group of so-called houses bordered the line of progress, and refused to hide itself. What easier than to hide it with a huge fence! That is the logic which El Paso used. Visiting physicians affirm that only the climate has saved it from desolating scourges. But even the climate cannot avert all disease, and the worst of the adobes have been responsible for the spread of indigenous tuberculosis. Nevertheless, adobes built lately have been better, and work for mothers and babies carried on by the Woman's Charity Association last summer gives promise that El Paso will slowly awaken to the need of cleaning house. More definite word has come to us in a recent dispatch from El Paso, that the city physician, W. H. Anderson, has recommended the destruction of 1,500 shacks for the protection of the health of the city. The City Council ordered him to begin to destroy the worst ones, and to force sewer connections in those that are habitable.

This habit of setting apart ugly facts by themselves is not confined to El Paso. In San Antonio, for instance, the news-



MANUFACTURE IS ON THE INCREASE IN FT. WORTH.  
Back yards of Swift and Armour packing plants.

papers viewed with suspicion and alarm a little description of a visit paid to some picturesque horse corrals which thrifty property owners had transformed into "model dwelling houses." Imagine a hollow oblong, pointed on three sides, with a continuous row of corrals, more or less partitioned off, and housing, apparently, fifty families or more. Incredible as it may seem, there was even danger from fire because of the possibility of the one single and narrow place of egress being blocked with people and household belongings. Certainly the sanitary arrangements had the virtue of being plain and above board. Nothing was concealed—a few common privies, a common pump or two, everything deliciously Arcadian and odorous. The cheerful Mexican families, one newspaper assured us, positively joyed in these simple houses. There was, too, a link which tied these peaceful retreats to busy downtown, for here the pecan nut workers were getting their wares ready. In a city in which the use of the word "tuberculosis" by the Associated Charities secretary in her newspaper articles was resented, it is not to be wondered that it was considered quite bad form to speak

of corrals. When they were mentioned, nothing would do but to send a reporter to about the best one of the lot, to bring his impressions back, enriched by the rosy hues of an active imagination.

But despite its land boom and tourist boom and hotel boom and all, San Antonio is beginning to awaken to the need of cleaning up its back yards. Curiously enough a city beautiful movement has been started in San Antonio, but its leaders evidently were not taking housing into their program. Their talk was of beautifying the two banks of the canal which runs through the city, and such like. Imagine a beautiful canal and man corrals in the background! It has remained for the owner of one piece of corral property to improve it, and since then there are the evidences of the beginning of a social conscience. A campaign will be waged this coming season.

It is only because of the somewhat picturesque side of the housing problems of these two cities that they have been so specifically mentioned. There are sores in the other cities as well. The housing problem is already part of the program of the newly organized Central Council of Social Agencies in Dallas, and there

should be a corresponding movement in all of the cities of the state. All in all the conditions are pretty bad.

So this leviathan commonwealth is beginning to find itself. In age not so young, in youthfulness very, very young, but big, it is like some boy

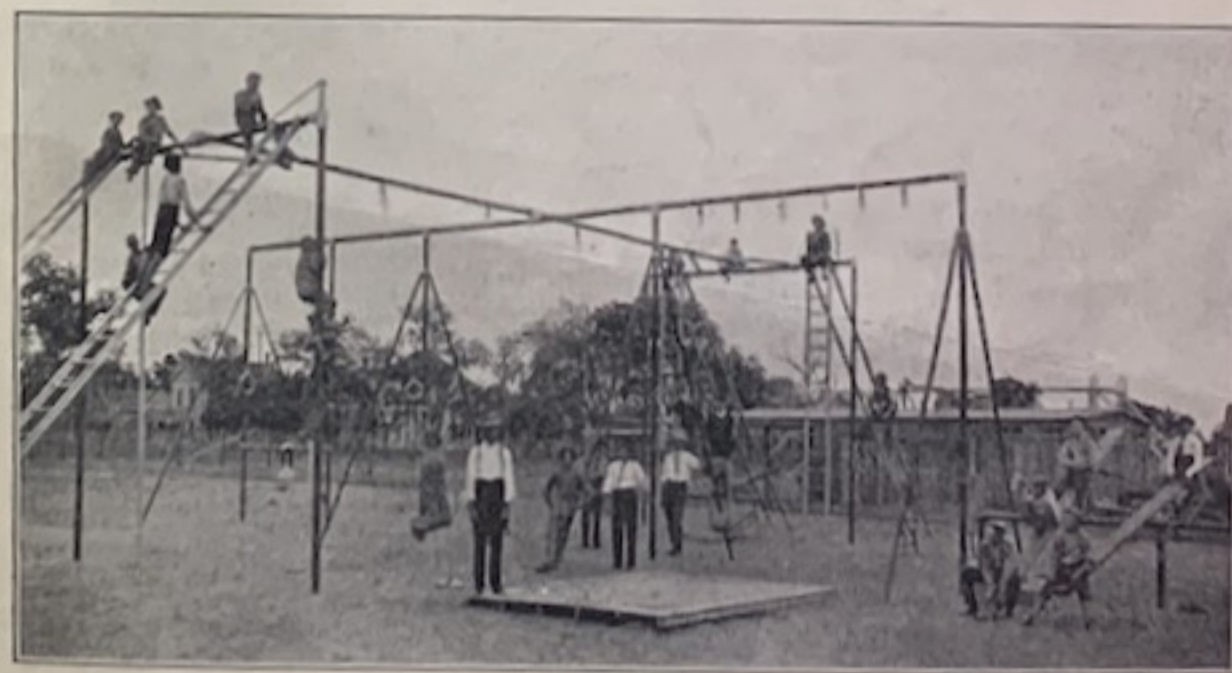
giant of sixteen, all bulging and bursting out of his outgrown clothes, awkward and ungainly. Whilst harking back to the pioneer days, cities have been growing and growing, railroads have been invading, the hordes of well and ill have been encroaching, the social problems have come, most insistent of all—not only those spoken of, but others.

What will be the outcome? If the writer mistakes not, there will be some mighty interesting tussles down there in the Lone Star State—sharp and pointed and fruitful encounters! It would be invidious to mention the strong men and women to be found in the Associated Charities of the different cities, the Mothers' Congress, the Women's Federation, the Conference of Education, the Labor Council, and the settlements, or



DOORYARD OF A MEXICAN HOME, EL PASO.

those who have already enlisted; they are always eminently practical save in one point—state legislation. A most interesting illustration of this is given by the Women's Club in Dallas. It could count upon a small amount of money to use each year in encouraging new social work. Therefore it induced the city authorities to create the office of matron in the jail if the club would pay her salary for six months or a year. It had a hand in the selection of the matron, and of course when the agreed upon time expired, no one would hear of abolishing the position. The matron had made herself too useful and she was put on the city pay roll. In the same way the club for a time paid for a probation officer. Now the county pays him, and he is a good officer. Next came a



PLAYGROUND AND BATH HOUSE AT DALLAS.

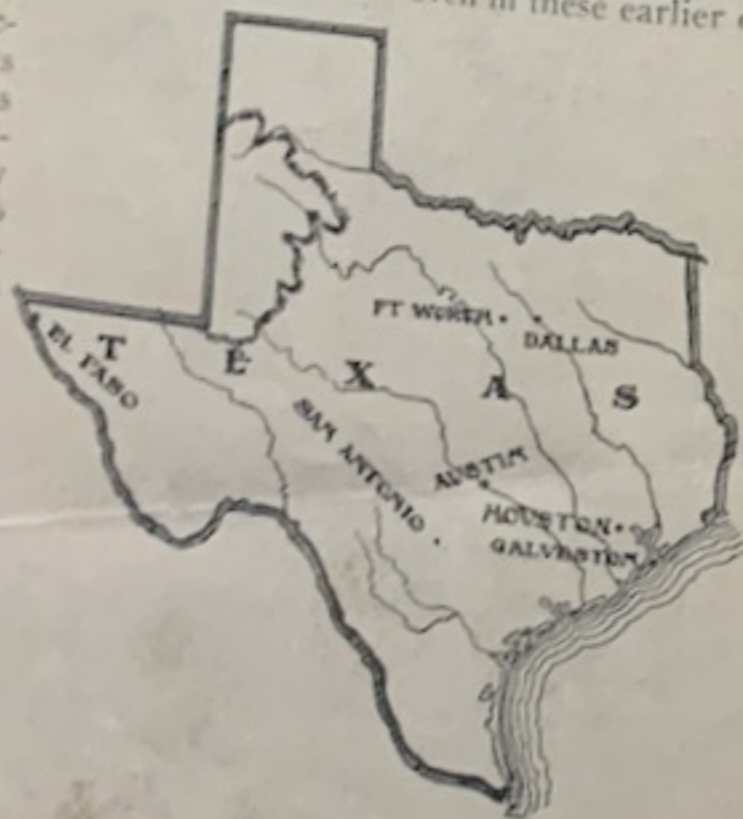
The Women's Club secured the playground, a paid probation office and a jail matron.  
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playground director, and, if not already a city employe, he soon will be. Thus in about three years, by attending strictly to one thing at a time, the club has three most helpful social agencies at work.

Not always, but sometimes, as we have indicated, there has been lack of wisdom in state legislation. We believe this is due as much as anything else to the isolation forced by the unending miles which seem to separate city and city. There has not been sufficient exchange of views, sufficient understanding, sufficient criticism, between different groups, different cities.

It is for this reason that the formation of a state conference of charities and correction has been urged. It is plainly and apparently one of the chief needs of the state. The unending miles must be overcome.

In both city and state there seems to be one other handicap to overcome. Many of the business men of the state have seen their business grow, without relieving themselves of the details which could be entrusted to able subordinates. They have become slaves to detail, and have not allowed themselves the margin necessary for interests outside the walls of their own offices. A few have come to realize how inevitably this leads to a slowing down in their purely routine work, as well as in the evolution of those larger plans which only a stimulated business imagination can produce. These men have become intensely



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interested in one or another phase of social development, and have realized the moralities involved. Ethics, something more than personal ethics, is undoubtedly receiving more and more attention, and the fruition will come when more men refuse longer to be mere machines of addition and subtraction.

It is true that some complain of inadequate support of voluntary work. But adequate support is dependent upon the vitality of the interest in any particular work. It is true that the habit of subscribing liberally may not be present; but it can only come when men actually make sacrifices, and they do that when a social activity has become as much a reality to them as their own business.

That outlook upon a little of the center of Texas and at one of its edges, with its teeming acres, its horizon-confined pastures, its desert splendor, its wide-flowing rivers, its magnificent vastnesses, its fascinating cities, its vigorous peoples, convinces the observer of one thing: it is to no mean destiny that this princely state is tending. And in that destiny social progress, if one may judge by what has been forthcoming even in these earlier days of isolation and lack of cohesion, will play no mean part.

Not Mexico, but preventable disease and the curing of social and individual ills—this is the fight in which the Lone Star State will engage with all that matchless vigor and audacity with which it waged warfare in those never-to-be-forgotten days of the fifties.

pod drama within the range of the wage-earners is quite similar in last analysis to that of creating a larger audience and demand better plays and the two forces should work in harmony.

#### REPORT ON EQUAL PAY

The New York Commission on Teachers' Salaries, which was appointed by Mayor Gaynor last February, has submitted its findings in 140 pages of material, so bulky that they have not yet been published in full. In the main the report is favorable to the advocates of "equal pay" for women teachers. Much carefully compiled information is given which is of interest to educators throughout the country.

The commission found that while only one-eighth of the positions in the public schools are suited to men, there are more men than women on the waiting list. The proportion of men teachers was found to be greater in the cities where equal pay for the sexes prevails than in those which discriminate. The commission was unanimous in believing that men should be employed in the upper grades of elementary schools and in the high schools.

The commission finds that men do not appear in large numbers below the sixth grade and practically all are employed in teaching boys' classes. In the sixth, seventh, and eighth grades there are 905 men and 789 women teaching boys' classes. Many boys leave the public schools without ever having had a man teacher.

The commission assumes that it is more difficult to teach boys than girls in the two upper grades, and recommends larger salaries for teachers of either sex for this work. For the lower grades and for girls in the last two years the report suggests for both sexes the rates that are now in force for women.

The commission recognizes the evidence on the cost of living furnished by the investigations of the State Conference of Charities in 1906, of the Russell Sage Foundation,<sup>1</sup> and

<sup>1</sup>The Standard of Living Among Workingmen's Families. By Robert Coit Chapin. Russell Sage Foundation Publication. By mail of THE SURVEY, \$2.

of the Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor in 1907, and finds that \$600 a year is not enough even for a beginner. The A. I. C. P. found \$600 a difficult wage for a single woman in New York. Instead of a slow advancement every year, it suggested a minimum salary of \$720 unchanged for three years. The Board of Estimate and Apportionment has passed a resolution in favor of this change which will take effect as soon as the necessary changes in the Davis law can be made.

Salaries for principals, it is said, should be based solely upon the size of the schools and not upon sex. In the high schools it is suggested that teachers of boys' classes, irrespective of sex, shall be paid more than those who have girls. In order to avoid the multiplication of salary schedules a system of bonuses in addition to salaries is recommended for teachers of classes of mentally defective and backward children and of cripples. It is recommended that clerks receive a yearly salary of \$600 instead of three dollars a day.

The commission believes that the wages paid substitute teachers should be so advanced that "it will no longer be possible to effect any considerable saving by employing the services of substitutes rather than those of regular teachers."

Under the head of "sex comparisons," the commission finds that promotion and attendance on the part of children are practically equal in schools under men and women principals, but that they are slightly better in rooms taught by men. The average woman is absent from duty two and a half times as much as the average man, but women are not tardy so frequently.

The commission consisted of Clinton L. Rossiter, chairman; Mrs. Frank H. Cothren, secretary; Leonard P. Ayres, Lee K. Frankel and James M. Gifford.

#### THE HOUSING PROBLEM OF TWENTY CITIES

The article by Mr. Veiller on another page opens a series of twenty on as many cities which will be published in THE

SURVEY once a fortnight. Since the organization of the National Housing Association, for which he was responsible, small but increasing groups of earnest men and women have taken up anew the study of local conditions as the necessary basis for legislation. THE SURVEY is fortunate in securing for its readers the first publication of these studies in communities ranging all the way from tiny villages to New York, Chicago, Philadelphia and Boston. The illustrations will offer significant evidence.

The list of articles, to which there may be additions, is as follows:

- The House Awakening, Lawrence Veiller.
- The Awakening of a State—Indiana, Albion Fellows Bacon.
- Two Million People in Small Houses—Philadelphia, Helen L. Parrish.
- Teaching the Tenant, Johanna von Wagner.
- Socialists and Slums—Milwaukee, Carl D. Thompson.
- A City with 70,000 Earth Closets—Baltimore, J. W. Magruder.
- Two Hundred Miles of Alleys—Chicago, Charles B. Ball.
- "Romeo Flats"—San Francisco, Alice S. Griffith.
- A City of Huddled Poles—Buffalo, Frederic Almy.
- Housing Reform in Cold Storage—Boston, Edward T. Hartman.
- A City Awake—Detroit, James B. Williams.
- American Housing Reformers, Lawrence Veiller.
- Housing in Cleveland, Howard Strong.
- New Tenants and Old Shacks—St. Louis, Roger N. Baldwin.
- The Slum Invasion of a College Town—New Haven, Mrs. Henry Wade Rogers.
- The Discoveries of Columbus, Otto W. Davis.
- A Neglected Community—Cincinnati, C. M. Hubbard.
- Turning Alleys into Playgrounds—Washington, William C. Woodward.
- New York—The Pioneer in Housing Reform, Lawrence Veiller.

## SEWAGE AND NEW YORK BAY

The letter by Mr. Holmes on another page refers to an article in THE SURVEY of October 8 which was a discussion primarily of the problem, at which New York is now at work, of properly disposing of the sewage of her five boroughs.

A solution of this will obviously be impossible if neighboring communities

continue to pollute the harbor. Acted by one community cannot solve such problem; there must be co-operative effort in which all bear their share of keeping clean a body of water which is immediately adjacent to the homes of millions of people. The problem is vastly complicated by the fact that not only numberless cities and towns but two states front on New York bay. It would thus seem to be obviously an interstate question which, as Mr. Holmes suggests, may yet find its way to the United States Supreme Court.

In that case, the mere creation of a Metropolitan Sewerage Commission indicates New York's desire, if not her accomplishment, to appear with clean hands. As things stand, it would seem that if such a case as Mr. Holmes suggests came into court, the burden of proof would inevitably fall upon New Jersey, and that that state would be called upon to answer yes or no to some question as this: "Have you done everything in your power to purify your sewage which you propose to discharge into a neighbor's front yard, and have you co-operated with that neighbor in devising a comprehensive plan for keeping New York harbor clean and healthful?"

Physicians, engineers, sanitarians and municipal commissions have differed widely as to the standards to be set up and as to the value of the various cleansing processes proposed. The records of inter-municipal relations go to show that if New York, situated at the discharging end of waters which carry the sewage of hundreds of towns, did not set up high standards, her neighbors might gorge her waters with raw sewage. A degree of treatment adequate for today might be quite inadequate tomorrow—or in a few years—with the enormous growth of population in New Jersey and in Westchester county, N. Y. It is easier and safer to demand a comprehensive plan and adequate treatment now than to wait until the harbor waters are saturated. White Plains and other Westchester towns did not project the Bronx river sewer until the river became literally a stench in the nostrils of the commuters. Why ask New York to repeat the experience?

relief. Better housing, education of parent in hygiene and care of child, a sensible and practicable curriculum for the boy who has to leave school, these were all strongly urged as measures to reduce the number of delinquents for whom institutions must be established.

Alfred P. Fletcher, principal of the Trade School, threw an interesting light on the attitude of the child, especially the boy, toward school life. From immemorial school tasks have been set to the average boy and little has been done to make them more entertaining.

As soon as a boy reaches his teens, even before that period, he wants to change study for real work and wages, which appeal to him more than abstract problems do. To retain his interest is

He cannot understand the value of study unless he can use it in everyday life. The half-time system such as Cincinnati uses helps at this stage. Under it the boy works two weeks and goes to school two weeks. The varied employment curbs his restless spirit and satisfies his desire to be out in the world.

Defectives were considered from the standpoint of prevention and cure. The enormous number of epileptics and deaf-mutes is growing and methods and means of treating them are inadequate. An attempt has been made to prevent marriage of defectives which is almost certain to result in equally defective progeny. The session devoted to defectives, led by Dr. Max Mailhouse, president of the Connecticut Colony for Epileptics, discussed the ignorance of parents and teachers which prevents them from recognizing the handicap from which subnormal children may suffer. The want of provision for defectives is amazing when it is considered that one in five hundred persons is afflicted.

Perhaps the most interesting preventive and corrective measure proposed was made in an address by Governor Wood, who advocated whipping boys instead of giving them short terms in reform schools. There is a disgrace connected with a beating, no matter how light, that might do more to prevent future misdemeanor and to give "backbone" than months of confinement, he

said. He proposed the same punishment for drunkards and wife deserters.

The president of the conference, Prof. Henry N. Farnam of Yale, reviewed the work yet to be done in a paper on The Good Samaritan and the Good Citizen.

## EDITORIAL GRIST

### SOLUTION OF URBAN HOUSING

The city of Philadelphia has practically achieved the solution of the urban housing problem in America so far as the type of house is concerned. The article by Miss Parrish on another page, gives most interesting details of the way in which the entire city has been built up with small houses. That in one city a million people should live in small houses, and that a city of Philadelphia's size and age should be a city of homes and not a city of tenements, are the most hopeful notes which have thus far been struck in the discussion of the housing problem of America.

What is possible in Philadelphia is possible today in practically every other American city except New York and possibly Boston. It would be difficult to imagine a more comfortable type of house for working people than the Philadelphia house. With a sufficient number of rooms of ample size, with modern plumbing, furnace in cellar, running water, modern toilet conveniences, bathtub and heat, with small back yards and real privacy, it is hard to conceive how homes which more perfectly satisfy the need of our urban housing population could be devised.

Of course from an architectural point of view there is great monotony in these rows of similar houses stretching for miles in every direction, but so, too, there is even worse monotony in the rows of tall tenements in New York. Monotony can be relieved by varying the architectural treatment, which of course always adds to the expense, but it can be done just so far as the people have means to pay for it. The beauty of the Philadelphia house is that it provides not

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only excellent living accommodations for the city's working people, but does it at rates within the workingman's means.

The assertion that Philadelphia has solved the urban housing problem should be distinctly understood to apply only to the type of house; that is, Philadelphia has solved the architectural or planning problem and the economic problem. But the sanitary problem is not solved and never will be in any city, for here housing reform is a matter of eternal vigilance. So long as the citizens of any community tolerate dirty streets, the too infrequent collection of garbage and refuse, the accumulation of filth in neglected alleys, the outside water closets and antiquated privy vaults, the unregulated lodger evil, the use of cellars as dwellings, and the continuance of bad plumbing, there will be a housing problem. The Philadelphia houses, built in rows, are infinitely better for the unskilled laborer than the ordinary detached houses common to many American cities. Between detached houses too little space is generally left, and the spaces quickly degenerate into unkempt bare spots, unsavory receptacles of waste material.

With the example of Philadelphia so splendidly demonstrated through years of practical experience there is no longer any excuse for the newer cities of our middle West and far West to copy the blunders of New York. Let them, instead, copy the successes of Philadelphia.

## JUSTICE WITHOUT FEAR OR FAVOR

GRAHAM TAYLOR

The arrest of the secretary of the International Bridge and Structural Iron Workers' Union at the instance of the Erectors' Association, whose members employ many of those union men, on the charge of blowing up the plant of the Los Angeles Times and many other bridge and building structures, is one of the most serious arraignments ever suffered by American organized labor. The only parallel to it is the prosecution of the officials of the Western Federation of Miners in Colorado and Idaho. But however heinous the crimes were

with which the miners leaders were charged, there was at least an occasion which partly accounted for them both in the aggressions of certain powerful combinations of employers and in the disturbed and corrupt political conditions in Colorado, which bred distrust of the law and contempt for many of those charged with its enactment and enforcement. In the public mind these conditions and the charges against the miners found some connection, enough at least to cast suspicion upon the prosecution and to give the benefit of a larger doubt to the accused, which led to their acquittal.

There is no such occasion in any way to extenuate the long series of dastardly deeds for which the perpetrators have been sought continuously and which are now charged against the executive officer of the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers, his brother, and an alleged third conspirator, who, it is claimed, is turned informant and has offered states evidence. Such serious charges, involving, it is said, the loss of no less than 112 lives and property valued at nearly \$4,000,000, should not be held against any man until they are proved by due process of law. Moreover, no one who is just, and who knows the only way in which justice can be done, will deny the right of the accused to the best legal defence they can secure, or will begrudge them the largest help of their friends in procuring the ablest available counsel. If there is probable cause to hold the accused to trial on these charges, it is the plain duty of the Erectors' Association and of the authorities to prefer and press them. If there is reasonable doubt of the guilt of the accused, or much more strong presumption of their innocence, in the minds of their friends and fellow-craftsmen, it is equally their duty to aid in their defence.

On both sides, however, there is much to deplore already. On the one hand, it is unfortunate that the arrests were made in such a spectacular way and that such unusual and extra-legal measures were employed by the detectives. While they insist that the forms of law were complied with in the extradition and delivery of the prisoners where they are

# THE COMMON WELFARE

## NATIONAL CENSORSHIP OF MOTION PICTURES

The National Board of Censorship of Motion Pictures feels that its work has been misunderstood by many. It therefore endeavors in a recent report to answer certain adverse criticisms which have lately been circulated. In doing this it explains at length how in March, 1909, a committee of the Association of Exhibitors of New York called on the People's Institute for advice regarding the public hostility to which the motion picture art was at that time subject. Upon the suggestion of the People's Institute the exhibitors asked for the creation of an un-

official board of censorship, which was established. The control was vested in a Governing Board made up of representatives from several civic bodies and certain individuals, none of whom were financially interested in motion pictures. A censorship committee was also formed, all of the members of which volunteered their services.

Since all moving-picture films are made from one negative, the board decided that the way to gain its end was to inspect the new productions before they were placed on the market. This step made the censorship, which was planned originally for New York only, practically national in its scope and bene-



Donahy in Cleveland Plain Dealer.

THE TRAFFIC SQUAD.

fits, as these same pictures are produced throughout the country.

The misunderstandings have arisen mainly in three or four ways. There have been a few films, three to be exact, in the last eighteen months—of which one was a picture of Roosevelt in Africa—known as "special releases," for which extra prices are charged and which have not been passed by the board. There are also pictures privately owned by lecturers or prepared for a particular circuit of vaudeville houses, which are not and cannot easily be censored. A few pictures antedate the censorship.

Part of the expenses of the board have been paid by the motion-picture interests, which have benefited from its services, but this applies to the executive and clerical work performed and not to the censorship committee. The salaried general secretary and his assistant have no voice in the censorship of pictures. The report shows how the board has repeatedly acknowledged publicly the contributions of the motion-picture interests.

The board, in order not to make its work of censoring for the entire country more difficult by straining its relations with the trade, decided not to act itself as a prosecuting agency locally in New York in the cases where it found theaters violating the fire regulations and the state law excluding children. It has decided to turn over information of this character to the police and to other private societies.

The commissioner of accounts of New York city, after an investigation of the moving-picture shows of the city, reported: "We are satisfied from our examination that the intelligent work of the board of censorship has largely curtailed the objectionable features of moving-picture shows in New York, as far as the pictures themselves are concerned." This also represents the opinion of many city officials and private societies, letters from whom are reproduced in the report. These letters in some cases show how objectionable sets of slides (not motion-pictures) or old films made by firms which have ceased to produce pictures are often the cause of criticisms aimed against the work of the board.

WHEREIN COLUMBUS IS PROGRESSIVE

Besides passing this spring an excellent housing code, Columbus, O., has taken another important step forward in his article on the Discoveries of Columbus, in this issue, Otto W. Davis has shown those in the business part of the city. Hereafter the city will be better and more thoroughly performed. This new undertaking will make it easier to force the provisions in the new code relating to cleanliness. Within a week after the City Council provision funds necessary, teams were at work cleaning the alleys, streets, and yards and removed all the ashes and rubbish were found in a

By failing to collect manure till now the city has failed up to its slogan, Progressive Columbus, but the city has done several things to show that henceforth the city is determined to justify their claim. His last annual report Mayor Marshall enumerates some of the measures already taken and recommends a department of public recreation, public playgrounds, recreation and baths. It is hoped that this a forerunner of a bureau of civic features continue the public health, dance-halls, oversee housing and investigate all cases of disorder. Although the ordinance providing a new system for regulating dancing has not as yet succeeded, an attempt has been made to secure the same through the police.

Other recommendations in the report are for public comfort stations, municipal lodging houses and industrial establishments, and rest and recreation rooms for women, as well as reading rooms and a gymnasium for the convenience of those in the business part of the city. If Columbus were not "committed to municipal ownership", to quote the mayor, these proposals would probably be quite unlikely for adoption, but under the present conditions they can be considered more imminent than the recommendations of mayors sometimes are.

FEDERAL HEARINGS ON COMPENSATION

The last year's work in behalf of a uniform system of compensation by the National Civic Federation's Committee on Industrial Accidents and their Preventions, was commented on in THE SURVEY of January 14. The uniform bill presented by the federation in the legislatures of thirty-three states was based somewhat upon the same principles as the New York law.<sup>1</sup> The position taken by this committee on the decision of the New York Court of Appeals in the Ives case is therefore of peculiar interest.

When the decision was first published the chairman of the committee, P. Teumseh Sherman, and the secretary of the federation's department on compensation, Launcelot Packer, expressed themselves guardedly on the question of constitutional amendment since they felt that Judge Werner's view of the constitutional question was by no means final; that it was quite possible that if other state courts declared such legislation constitutional the New York court, like the court of Illinois on the question of the regulation of the hours of women's work, would reverse its decision. When the New York Commission on Compensation presented its proposed amendment to the state constitution, however, certain individual members of the legal committee of the federation, of which Francis Lynde Stetson is chairman, felt that this amend-

<sup>1</sup>Although it framed its provisions somewhat liberally, and further to eliminate the uncertainty and waste which necessarily result from double remedy, it restricted the scope of the negligence remedy.

ment had the fundamental defect of applying not to compensation alone but to all the relations of parties entering into a contract of employment and suggested even that the words "well-being of the parties thereto" might be used against the workman and for the employer. Those individual members therefore drew up the following substitute for consideration in case some form of amendment is decided on, though certain members felt that any amendment was inexpedient. The proposition is only tentative; the amendment being intended not for action but for consideration:

The Legislature may require employers, or employers and employes jointly, to make provision for, and to pay reasonable compensation regardless of fault in accident arising out of and in course of the employment, or to the dependents of any such employe dying from such accident.

To assure the payment of such compensation the Legislature may prescribe or approve methods of insurance which may or may not include the mutual association of persons responsible for, or of persons entitled to such compensation, or both or without others. Any employer so insured may be relieved from personal responsibility for such compensation.

No civil proceeding other than as authorized by a compensation law shall be maintained in respect of any accident covered thereby; provided, however, that nothing herein contained shall preclude the recovery of damages according to the rule of the common law.

In the exercise of the powers herein conferred the Legislature shall not be affected by antecedent provisions of this constitution requiring trial by jury and forbidding limitation of the amount recoverable in the case of injury resulting in death.

The federation was instrumental in causing a bill to be introduced last week in the New York Legislature providing for a new commission on compensation to take the place of the one which has just gone out of office. The bill recently introduced into the Federal Legislature by David Lewis, representative from Maryland, was substantially that drawn up by the federation. This bill was discussed at the hearings now being held before the Federal Commission on Employer's Liability and Workmen's Compensation.

At these hearings those interested in compensation were brought together for



the first time since the Philadelphia meeting on Work Risks. In Washington as in Philadelphia the strength of the new movement for national insurance was apparent. At the hearings on June 14 and 15, two briefs were presented by Miles M. Dawson, one on the relative advantages of compensation and of national insurance, the other on the constitutionality of such insurance, under the taxing power of the federal government. To arguments supporting these the commission listened for several hours. James A. Emery, counsel for the National Manufacturers' Association, had at the first hearing in May expressed the opinion that national insurance is constitutional and most desirable, and R. J. Carey, counsel for the New York Central Lines, also supported this view as regards interstate railways. The counsel of the Louisville and Nashville Railroad spoke against the constitutionality of the Lewis bill. Among those supporting the constitutionality of this method of compensation legislation by Congress as regards railways were Alfred P. Thom, the counsel of the Southern Railway, Prof. Ernst Freund for the American Association for Labor Legislation, Messrs. Kellogg and Judson, of the Massachusetts State Commission, and James A. Lowell, counsel for the railroad unions. In spite of their advocacy of the bill, representatives of the unions and Mr. Lewis expressed the deepest interest in the national insurance proposals. Mr. Lewis was himself the author of the contributory mining insurance law in force since 1907 in Maryland.

The arguments for national insurance were also presented by Mr. Dawson before the executive council of the American Federation of Labor, and both this body and the American Association for Labor Legislation have appointed committees to consider the subject, particularly the question of constitutionality.

It is interesting to note in connection with the movement for national insurance that President Taft has been authorized by Congress to send out an official invitation to the International Association for Social Insurance to hold its next meeting in Washington in 1913.

#### NINETEEN VOLUMES ON WOMEN AND CHILD WAGE-EARNERS

Eight volumes of the report of the United States Department of Labor on the condition of women and child wage-earners have come from the press—those on Cotton Textile Industry, Men's Ready-Made Clothing Trade, Glass Industry, Silk Industry, Wage-Earning Women in Stores and Factories, Beginnings of Child Labor Legislation, Conditions Under Which Children Leave School to go to Work, and Juvenile Delinquency and its Relation to Employment. Résumés bringing out the gist of these important volumes will be published in early issues of THE SURVEY, three of them having already appeared.

While a technical review of the investigation as a piece of research must await the issuance of the full series, these early volumes indicate that a great bulk of specific and informing data is being embodied in the reports, and that they will serve for some time to come as arsenals of facts in the discussion of labor conditions and legislation. At the same time, a big piece of work very evidently remains to be done in popularizing and interpreting in compact and graphic form the significant factors which the government's statistical studies capitulate at such unwieldy length.

Announcement is made by the Department of Commerce and Labor of the titles of the full nineteen volumes as follows:

- I. Cotton Textile Industry.
- II. Men's Ready-Made Clothing.
- III. Glass Industry.
- IV. Silk Industry.
- V. Wage-Earning Women in Stores and Factories.
- VI. The Beginnings of Child Labor Legislation in Certain States; a Comparative Study.
- VII. Conditions under which Children Leave School to Go to Work.
- VIII. Juvenile Delinquency and Its Relation to Employment.
- IX. History of Women in Industry in the United States.
- X. History of Women in Trade Unions.
- XI. Employment of Women in the Metal Trades.
- XII. Employment of Women in Laundries.
- XIII. Employment of Women and Infant Mortality.